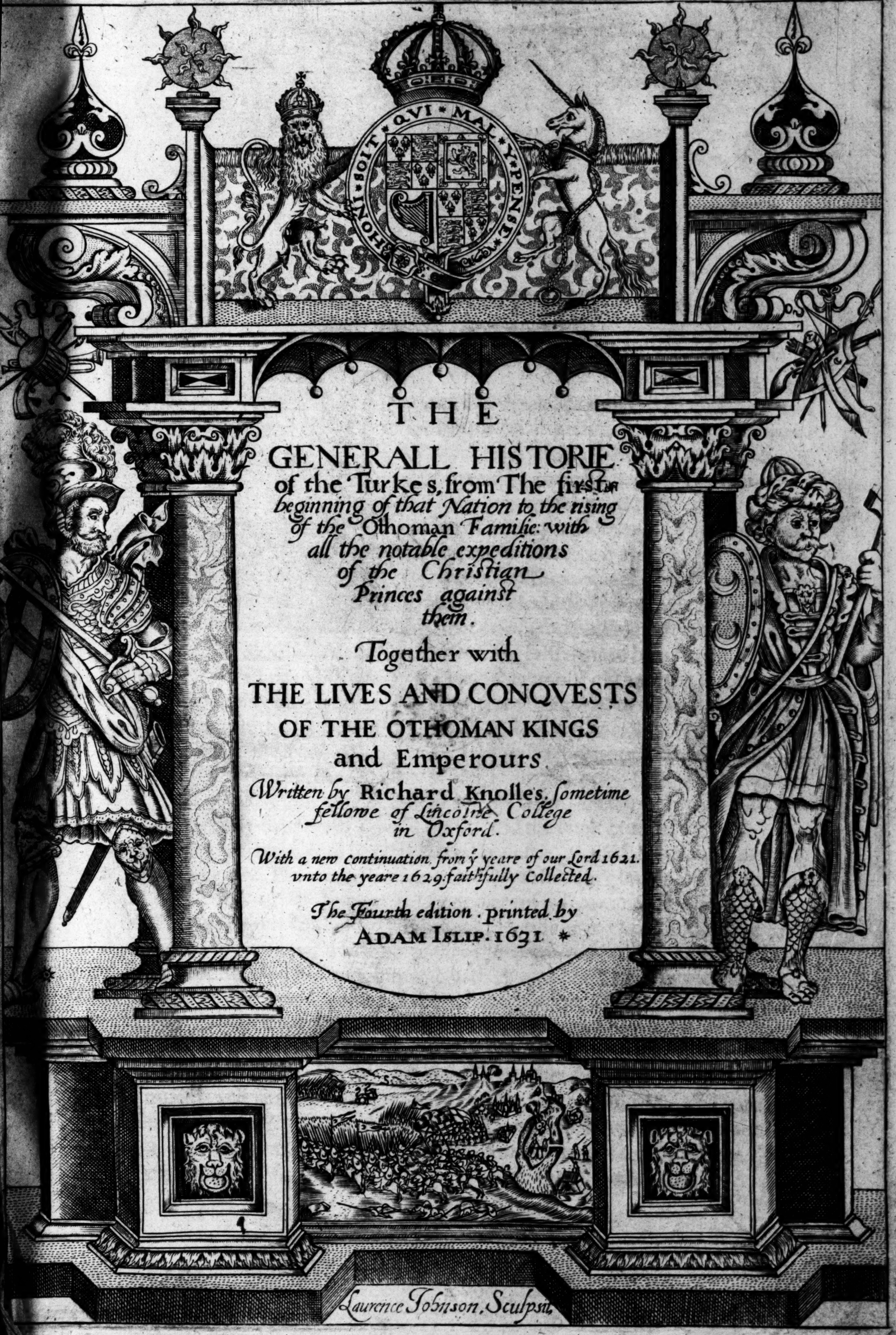
HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE

THE GENERALL HISTORIE

of the Turkes, from The first
beginning of that Nation to the rising
of the Othoman Familie: with
all the notable expeditions
of the Christian
Princes against
them.

Together with

THE LIVES AND CONQVESTS OF THE OTHOMAN KINGS and Emperours

Written by **Richard Knolles**, ſometime
fellowe of Lincolne College
in Oxford.

With a new continuation from yͤ yeare of our Lord 1621.
vnto the yeare 1629. faithfully Collected.

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Laurence Johnson, Sculpsit.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTIE Prince IAMES, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; *Defendor of the Faith, &c.*

IT may of ſome, and not without iuſt cauſe (moſt gracious and dread Soueraigne) be imputed vnto me for no ſmall preſumption, to preſent vnto your royall Maieſtie (a prince of ſo great learning and judgement) theſe homely fruits of mine endeuors and paines, taken in the Generall Hiſtorie of the Turkes, and ſtrange ſucceſſe of their great and mightie *Othoman* Empire. Whereunto for all that I was the rather induced, not only by the rare and wonderfull clemencie ioyned vnto many other the great and moſt reſplendent vertues of your heroicall mind; the leaſt whereof is ſufficient to haue cheared vp my weake and feeble ſpirits; but alſo by the enconragement of the right Worſhipful my moſt eſpecial good friend Sir *Peter Manwood* knight of the Bath, the firſt mouer of mee to take this great worke in hand, and my continuall and only comfort, ſtay, and helper therein. Which to do, I was alſo the more deſirous, ſeeing diuers little volumes, and ſmall parts of the Hiſtorie preſented vnto the greateſt Princes: as the little Treatiſe of *Paulus Iou. de Rebus Turcicis*, dedicated vnto the great and mightie Emperour *Charles* the fiſt; and the ſmall Hiſtorie of *Cœlius Secundus, de Bello Melitenſi*, vnto her late ſacred Maieſtie, of moſt happie and bleſſed memorie, the rare Phœnix of her ſex, who now reſteth in glorie: with diuers others of like ſort by the learned Authors thereof ſtill commended, ſome to one great Prince of their times, ſome to others: all filling me with good hope that this whole and continuat Hiſtorie of that Northern and warlike Nation (which in ſhort time by God his appointment hath brought ſuch fatall mutations vpon a great part of the world, as former times haue ſeldome or neuer ſeene) drawne euen from the firſt beginning thereof (not together to my knowledge by any one before written) ſhould with your moſt noble Maieſtie find no leſſe grace and fauour, than hath almoſt euery part thereof with other the aforeſaid and ſuch like moſt mightie and famous Princes: and the rather, for that your Majeſtie hath not diſdained in your *Lepanto* or *Heroicall Song*, with your learned Muſe to adorne and ſet forth the greateſt & moſt glorious victory that euer was by any the Chriſtian confederate Princes obtained againſt theſe the *Othoman* Kings or Empeted the firſt founder of the mightie Empire of the Turkes: which continued by many diſcents directly in the line of himſelfe, euen vnto Achmat, who now reigneth, is from a ſmall beginning become the greateſt terrour of the world; and holding in ſubiection many great and mighty kingdoms in Aſia, Europe, and Africke, is growne to that height of pride, as that it threatneth deſtruction vnto the reſt of the Kingdomes of the earth; labouring with nothing more than with the weight of it ſelfe. In the greatneſſe whereof is ſwallowed vp both the name and Empire of the Saraſins, the glorious Empire of the Greekes, the renowned kingdomes of Macedonia, Peloponeſus, Epirus, Bulgaria, Seruia, Boſna, Armenia, Cyprus, Syria, Ægypt, Iudea, Tunes, Algiers, Media, Meſopotamia, with a great part of Hungarie, as alſo of the Perſian kingdom, & all thoſe churches and places ſo much ſpoken af in holy Scripture (the Romans only excepted;) and in briefe ſo much of Chriſtendome as far exceedeth that which is thereof at this day left. So that at this preſent if you conſider the beginning, progreſſe, and perpetuall felicitie of this the Othoman Empire, there is in this world nothing more admirable and ſtrange; if the greatneſſe and luſtre thereof, nothing more magnificent or glorious; if the power and ſtrength thereof, nothing more dreadfull or dangerous: which wondering at nothing but at the beauty of it ſelfe, and drunk with the pleaſant wine of perpetuall felicitie, holdeth all the reſt of the world in ſcorn, thundring out nothing but ſtill bloud and war, with a full perſuaſion in time to rule ouer all, preſining vnto it ſelfe no other limits than the vttermoſt bounds of the earth, from the riſing of the Sun vnto the going downe of the ſame. The cauſes whereof are many and right lamentable, but for the moſt part ſo ſhut vp in the counſels of the great, as that for me to ſeeke after them, were great folly: yet amongſt the reſt, ſome others there be, ſo pregnant and manifeſt, as that the blind world taketh thereof as it were a generall knowledge, and may therefore without offence of the wiſer ſort (as I hope) euen in theſe our nice dayes be lightly touched. Whereof the firſt and greateſt, is the iuſt and ſecret iudgement of the Almightie, who in iuſtice deliuereth into the hands of theſe mercileſſe miſcreants, nation after nation, and kingdome vpon kingdome, as vnto the moſt terrible executioners of his dreadfull wrath, to be puniſhed for their ſins: others in the mean while, no leſſe ſinful than they, in his mercie enioying the benefit of a longer time, calling them vnto repentance. Then, the vncertaintie of worldly things, which ſubiect to perpetuall change, cannot long ſtay in one ſtate, but as the ſea is with the wind, ſo are they in like ſort toſſed vp and down with the continual ſurges and waues of alteration and change; ſo that being once grown to their height, they there ſtay not long, but fall again as faſt as euer they riſe, and ſo in time come to nothing: as we ſee the greateſt monarchies that euer yet were vpon earth haue done, their courſe being run; ouer whom Time now triumpheth, as no doubt at length it ſhall ouer this ſo great a Monarchie alſo, when it ſhall but then liue by fame, as the others now do. Next to theſe cauſes from aboue (without offence be it ſaid) is the ſmal care the Chriſtian princes, eſpecially thoſe that dwelt further off, haue had of the common ſtate of the Chriſtian common weale, whereof euen the very greateſt are to account themſelues but as the principall members of one and the ſame bodie, and haue, or ought to haue, as ſharpe a feeling one of anothers harmes, as hath the head of the wrongs done vnto the feet, or rather as if it were done vnto themſelues: in ſtead of which Chriſtian compaſſion and vnitie, they haue euer, and euen yet at this time are ſo diuided among themſelues with endleſſe quarrels, partly for queſtions of religion (neuer by the ſword to be determined) partly for matters touching their own proper ſtate and ſoueraigntie, and that with ſuch diſtruſt and implacable hatred, that they neuer could as yet (although it haue bin long wiſhed) ioyne their common forces againſt the common enemie: but turning their weapons one vpon another (the more to be lamented) haue from time to time weakned themſelues, and opened a way for him to deuoure them one after another: whereas with their combined forces (the greedie enemies greateſt terror) they might long ſince not onely haue repreſſed his furie, and abated his pride, but with ſmall danger and much glorie (God fauoring their ſo honorable attempts) haue againe recouered from him moſt of thoſe famous Chriſtian kingdomes, which hee by force againſt all right holdeth at this day in moſt miſerable ſubiection and thraldome: many millions of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians in the meane time out of the furnace of tribulation, in the anguiſh of their ſoules crying in vaine vnto their Chriſtian brethren for reliefe. By ciuill diſcord the noble countrey of Græcia periſhed, when as the father riſing againſt the ſon, and the ſon againſt the father, and brother againſt brother, they to the mutuall deſtruction of themſelues called in the Turke, who like a greedie Lyon lurking in his den, lay in wait for them all. So periſhed the kingdomes of Bulgaria, Seruia, Boſna, and Epirus, with the famous Iſland of the Rhodes and Cyprus, betraied as it were by the Chriſtian princes their neighbors, by whom they might haue eaſily beene relieued. So the moſt flouriſhing and ſtrong kingdome of Hungarie (in the reliques whereof the fortune of the Turkiſh empire hath longer ſtucke, than in the conqueſt of any other kingdome, by it attempted whatſoeuer) diuided in it ſelfe by the ambition of princes, and ciuile diſcord, the weaker ſtill calling vnto

The cauſes of the greatneſſe and encreaſe of the Turks Empire.

his aid the mighty power of the Turke, is long ſince for the moſt part become unto him a prey; the poore remainders thereof being at this day hardly defended by the forces of the Chriſtian Emperor, and of the Princes his Confederates, ſeldome times meeting together with ſuch cheerefulneſſe or expedition as the neceſsitie of ſo great a matter requireth. Vnto which ſo great a cauſe of the common decay, may be added the euill choice of our ſouldiers employed in thoſe warres, who taken vp hand ouer head, out of the promiſcuous vulgar people, are for moſt part vntrained men, ſeruing rather for ſhew, and the filling vp of number, than for vſe; and in no reſpect to be compared with the Turkes IaniZaries, and other his moſt expert ſouldiers, continually euen from their youth exerciſed in feats of armes. Not to ſpeake in the meane time of the want of the antient martiall diſcipline, the wholeſome preſeruatiue of moſt puiſſant armies, which breedeth in the proud Enemie a contempt of the Chriſtian forces, with a full perſuaſion of himſelfe, that he is not by ſuch diſordered and weake means to be withſtood. But to come neerer vnto the cauſes of the Turks greatneſſe, and more proper vnto themſelues, as not depending of the improuident careleſneſſe, weakeneſſe, diſcord, and imperfections of others: firſt, in them is to be noted an ardent and infinite deſire of ſoueraigntie, wherewith they haue long ſince promiſed vnto themſelues the Monarchie of the whole world, a quick motiue to their ſo haughty deſignes: Then, ſuch a rare vnitie and agreement amongſt them, as well in the manner of their Religion (if it be ſo to be called) as in matters concerning their State (eſpecially in all their enterpriſes to be taken in hand for the augmenting of their Empire) as that thereof they call themſelues Iſlami, that is to ſay, men of one mind, or at peace among themſelues; ſo as it is not to be maruelled, if thereby they grow ſtrong themſelues, and dreadfull to others: ioyne vnto this their courage, conceiued by the wonderfull ſucceſſe of their perpetuall fortune, their notable vigilancie in taking the aduantage of euery occaſion for the inlarging of their Monarchie; their frugalitie and temperateneſſe in their dyet and other manner of liuing, their ſtraight obſeruing of their antient militarie diſcipline, their cheerefull and almoſt incredible obedience vnto their Princes and Sultans; ſuch, as in that point no Nation in the world was to be worthily compared vnto them: all great cauſes why their Empire hath ſo mightily encreaſed, and ſo long continued. Whereunto may be added the two ſtrongeſt ſinewes of euery well gouerned Commonweale; Reward propounded to the good, and Puniſhment threatened vnto the offendor; where the priZe is for vertue and valour ſet vp, and the way layd open for euery common perſon, be he neuer ſo meanely borne, to aſpire vnto the greateſt honours and preferments both of the Court and of the field, yea euen vnto the neereſt affinitie of the great Sultan himſelfe, if his valour or other worth ſhall ſo deſerue: when as on the contrary part the diſloyall or cowardly is to expect from the ſame ſoueraigne power nothing but diſgrace, death, and torture. And yet theſe great ones, not contented by ſuch commendable and lawfull meanes ſtill to extend or eſtabliſh their farre ſpreading Empire, if that point once come in queſtion, they ſticke not in their diueliſh policie to breake and infringe the Lawes both of Nations and Nature. Their leagues, grounded vpon the Law of Nations, be they with neuer ſo ſtrong capitulations concluded, or ſolemnity of oath confirmed, haue with them no longer force than ſtandeth with their owne profit, ſeruing indeed but as ſnares to intangle other Princes in, vntill they haue ſingled out him whom they purpoſe to deuoure; the reſt faſt bound by their leagues, ſtill looking on, as if their owne turn ſhould neuer come, yet with no more aſſurance of their ſafety by their leagues, than had the other whom they ſee periſh before their faces. As for the kind law of Nature, what can be thereunto more contrary, than for the father moſt vnnaturally to embrue his hands in the bloud of his owne children? and the brother to become the bloudy executioner of his owne brother? a common matter among the Othoman Emperors. All which moſt execrable and inhumane murthers, they couer with the pretended ſafety of their State, as thereby freed from the feare of all aſpiring competitors (the greateſt torment of the mighty) and by the preſeruation of the integritie of their Empire, which they thereby keepe whole and entire vnto themſelues, and ſo deliuer it as it were by hand from one to another, in no part diſmembered or impaired. By theſe and ſuch like means is this barbarous Empire (of almoſt nothing) growne to that height of maieſty and power, as that it hath in contempt all the reſt, being it ſelfe not inferiour in greatneſſe and ſtrength vnto the greateſt monarchies that euer yet were vpon the face of the earth, the Roman Empire onely excepted. Which how farre it ſhall yet further ſpread none knoweth, but hee that holdeth in his hand all the kingdomes of the earth, and with his word boundeth in the raging of the ſea, ſo that it cannot further paſſe. Moued with the greatneſſe and glory of this ſo mighty and dreadfull an Empire, growne for the moſt part out of the ruine of the Chriſtian commonweale, with the vtter ſubuerſion of many great and flouriſhing kingdomes, and wofull fall of many moe right puiſſant and mighty princes, not without griefe to be remembred; I long ſince (as many others haue) entred into the heauy conſideration thereof, purpoſing ſo to haue contented my ſelfe with a light view *of that which might well be for euer of all good Chriſtians lamented, but hardly or neuer remedied; vntill that afterwards led with a more earneſt deſire to know the ſtrange and fatall mutations by this barbarous Nation in former time brought vpon a great part of the world, as alſo ſo much as I might to ſee ſo great a terrour of the preſent time, and in what termes it ſtandeth with the reſt, I had with long ſearch and much labour, mixt with ſome pleaſure and mine owne reaſonable contentment, paſſed through the whole melancholly courſe of their tragicall Hiſtorie: yet without purpoſe euer to haue commended the ſame or any part thereof vnto the remembrance of poſteritie, as deeming it an argument of too high a reach, and fitter for ſome more happy wit, better furniſhed with ſuch helpes both of nature and art as are of neceſsity requiſite for the vndertaking of ſo great a charge, than was my ſelfe, of many thouſands the meaneſt. Not vnmindefull alſo of that which the Poet (keeping* decorum) *ſaith in like caſe, though far leſſe matter, of himſelfe:*

Cum canerem Reges & prælia, *Cynthius* aurem
Velit, & admonuit: Paſtorem *Tittere* pingues
Paſcere oportet oues, deductum ducere carmen.

When I did ſing of mighty Kings, or elſe of bloudy warre,
Apollo *pluckt me by the eare, and ſayd I went too farre:*
Beſeemes a Shepheard Titterus, *his fatlings for to feed,*
And for to fit his rurall ſong vnto his ſlender reed.

Beſides that, ſo many difficulties euen at the firſt preſented themſelues vnto my view, as to ouercome the ſame, if I ſhould take the labour in hand, ſeemed to me almoſt impoſsible: for beſide the ſea and world of matter I was to paſſe through (requiring both great labour and time) full of the moſt rare example both of the better and worſe fortune in men of all ſort and condition, yeelding more pleaſure vnto the Reader, than facilitie to the Writer; I ſaw not any (among ſo many as had taken this argument in hand) whom I might as a ſure guide or loadſtarre long follow in the courſe of this ſo great an Hiſtory: many right worthy and learned men (whoſe memory my ſoule honoureth) contenting themſelues to haue with their learned pennes enrolled in the records of neuer-dying Fame, ſome, one great expedition or action, ſome another, as in their times they fell out; yea, the Turkiſh Hiſtories and Chronicles themſelues (from whom the greateſt light for the continuation of the Hiſtorie was in reaſon to haue been expected) being in the declaration of their owne affaires (according to their barbarous manner) ſo ſparing and ſhort, as that they may of right bee accounted rather ſhort rude notes, than iuſt Hiſtories, rather pointing things out, than declaring the ſame, and that with ſuch obſcuritie, by changing the antient and vſuall names as well of whole kingdomes, countries, and Prouinces, as of cities, townes, riuers mountaines, and other places, yea and oftentimes men themſelues into other ſtrange and barbarous names of their owne deuiſing; in ſuch ſort as might well ſtay an intentiue Reader, and depriue him of the pleaſure, together with the profit he might otherwiſe expect by the reading thereof; whereunto to giue order, perſpicuitie, and light, would require no ſmall trauell and paine: Not to ſpeake in the meane time of the diuerſitie of reports in the courſe of the whole Hiſtorie, ſuch as is oftentimes moſt hard, if not altogether impoſsible to reconcile. Notwithſtanding all which difficulties, with many others more proper vnto my ſelfe, hauing with long labour and diligent ſearch paſſed through the courſe of the whole Hiſtorie, and ſo in ſome reaſonable ſort ſatisfied my ſelfe therein, I thought it not amiſſe, as well for the worthineſſe of the matter, as for the Zeale I beare vnto the Chriſtian Commonweale, and for the ſatisfying alſo of ſome others my good friends much deſirous of the ſame, to make proofe if out of the diſperſed Workes of many right worthy men, I could ſet downe one orderly and continuate Hiſtorie of this ſo mighty an Empire, with the great and fatall mutation or rather ſubuerſion of many right ſtrong and flouriſhing Kingdomes and States (the proper worke of all mighty riſing Empires, ſtill encreaſing by the fall of others) wherewith this proud Monarchie hath alreadie daunted a great part of the world, being ſo many and ſo ſtrange, as that moe, or more wonderfull were not euer to be ſeene in any of the greateſt Monarchies of antient time or memorie; and ſo together, and as it were vnder one view, and at one ſhew, to lay open vnto the Chriſtian Reader, what I was glad to ſeeke for out of the confuſed Labours of many: A Worke ſo long and laborious, as might well haue deterred a right reſolute and conſtant minde from the vndertaking thereof, being as yet to my knowledge not vndergone or performed by any. Wherein, among ſuch varietie, or more truly to ſay, contrarietie of Writers, I contented not my ſelfe, as a blinde man lead by his Guide, happely of no better ſight than himſelfe, to tread the ſteppes of this or that one man, going for a while before me, and by and by lea-

The order of the Authort proceeding in the writing of this hiſtorie.

uing me again ſtumbling in the darke : but out of the learned and faithful works of many, according to my ſimple iudgment to make choice of that was moſt probable, ſtil ſupplying with the perfections of the better, what I found wanting or defectiue in the weaker, propounding vnto my ſelfe no other mark to aime at, than the very truth of the hiſtorie ; as that which is it ſelfe of power to giue life vnto the dead letter, and to couer the faults eſcaped in the homely penning or compiling therof. Which the better to perform, I collected ſo much of the hiſtory as poſſibly I could, out of the writings of ſuch as were themſelues preſent, and as it were eye-witneſſes of the greateſt part of that they writ, and ſo as of all others beſt able, moſt like alſo to haue left vnto vs the very truth. Such is the greateſt part of ſo much of the hiſtorie of the Greeke empire as I haue (for the better vnderſtanding of the riſing of the Turks in this hiſtory ſet down, gathered out of the doings of Nicetas Choniates, Nicephorus, Gregoras, and Laonicus Chalcocondiles, all writing ſuch things as they themſelues ſaw, or were for moſt part in their time, and neere vnto them done. Such are the wonderfull and almoſt incredible wars betwixt old Amurath the ſecond, and his foſter childe the fortunat prince of Epirus, of the Turkes commonly called Scanderbeg, and by that waiward tyrant at his death together with his kingdome deliuered, as it were by inheritance, vnto his ſon, the great and cruell Sultan Mahomet . all written by Marinus Barletius, himſelfe an Epirot, and in all thoſe troubleſome times then liuing in Scodra, a city of the Venetians ioyning vpon Epirus. Such is the wofull captiuity of the Imperiall city of Conſtantinople, with the miſerable death of the Greeke Emperor Conſtantinus Palæologus, and the fatall ruine of the Greeke empire, written by Leonardus Chienſis, Archbiſhop of Mytilene, being himſelfe then preſent, and there taken priſoner. Such is the lamentable hiſtorie of the Rhodes, taken for moſt part out of Ia. Fontanus his three bookes de bello Rhodio, a learned man then preſent, and in great credit with Villerius the great Maſter, at ſuch time as that famous Iſland, after it had by him and the other worthy knights of the Order, bin moſt wonderfully of long defended, was to the great ruth of Chriſtendom taken by the great Sultan Solyman. Such is the moſt tragicall hiſtory of Baiazet, Solymans youngeſt ſon, collected out of the notable Epiſtles of Augerius Busbequius, Legationis Turcicæ, he himſelfe then lying embaſſador for the Emperor Ferdinand at Conſtantinople, and preſent in Solymans campe, at ſuch time as he himſelfe in perſon went ouer with his army into Aſia, to countenance his eldeſt ſon Selymus, who ſucceeded him in the empire, againſt his valiant yonger brother Baiazet, and beſide well acquainted with the great Baſſaes, Achmet, Ruſtan, Haly, and others, oftentimes mentioned in the hiſtory following. Such is alſo the hiſtory of the taking of the antient city of Tripolis in Barbary from the knights of Malta, by Sinan the proud Baſſa, written by Nicholas Nicholay lord of Arfeuile, preſent at the ſame time with the lord of Aramont, then embaſſador for the French king vnto Solyman. So might I ſay alſo of the miſerable ſpoile of the fruitfull and pleaſant Iſlands of the Mediterranean, made by Lutzis Baſſa, Solyman his brother in law, and great Admirall; with the ſubmitting of the Iſland of Naxos to the Turks obeiſance, written by Iohn Criſpe, at that time duke of the ſame Iſland. And ſo likewiſe of diuers other parts of the hiſtory, too long to rehearſe. But foraſmuch as euery great and famous action had not the fortune to haue in it a Cæſar, ſuch as both could and would commend vnto poſterity by writing that whereof they might truly ſay, They were themſelues a great part, many right excellent Generals contenting themſelues with the honor of the field, and their glory there woon, leauing the honorable fame thereof to be by others reported) for lacke of ſuch moſt certain Auhtors, or rather (as I before ſaid) eye witneſſes, I gathered ſo much as I could of that remained, out of the workes of ſuch as being themſelues men of great place, and well accquainted with the great and worthy perſonages of their time, might from their mouths, as from certaine Oracles, report the vndoubted truth of many moſt famous exploits done both by themſelues and others: as might Pau: Iouius from the mouth of Muleaſſes king of Tunes, from Vaſtius the great Generall from Auria the prince of Melphis, Charles the Emperor his Admirall, and ſuch others: or els out of the writings of ſuch as were themſelues great trauellers into the Turks dominions, and withall, diligent obſeruers of their affairs and ſtate, as were the Phyſitions Pantaleon, Minadoie, and Leunclauius (of all others a moſt curious ſearcher of their antiquities and hiſtories) vnto which great clerkes, and ſome others of that learned profeſſion, we may worthily attribute the greateſt light & certainty of that is reported of a great part of the Turkiſh affaires. But theſe in the courſe of ſo long an hiſtory failing alſo (as by conferring that which is hereafter written, together with their hiſtories, is eaſily to be perceiued) to perfect that I had taken in hand, I tooke my refuge vnto the writings of ſuch other learned and credible authors, as of whoſe integritie and faithfulneſſe the world hath not to my knowledge at any time yet doubted : yea for theſe few late yeares I was glad out of the German and Italian writers in their

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To the Reader.

owne language in part to borrow the knowledge of theſe late affaires: as alſo from the credible and certain report of ſome ſuch honorable minded gentlemen of our owne country, as haue either for their honors ſake ſerued in theſe late wars in Hungary, or vpon ſome other occaſions ſpent ſome good times in trauelling into the Turks dominions, but eſpecially vnto the Imperiall citie of Conſtantinople, the chiefe ſeat of the Turkiſh Empire, and place of the great Turks abode: amongſt whom, I cannot but deſeruedly remember my kind friend and couſin M. Rog. Howe, vnto whoſe diſcreet & curious obſeruations during the time of his late abode at Conſtantinople, I iuſtly account my ſelfe for many things beholden. In which courſe of my proceeding, if the Reader find not himſelfe ſo fully ſatisfied as hee could deſire, I would be glad by him my ſelfe to be better informed, as being no leſſe deſirous to learne the truth of that I know not, than willing to impart to others that little which I know.

Thus much I thought good to ſet downe, to perſuade the Chriſtian Reader of the truth of the hiſtory following, wherein he ſhall find matter enough to wonder at, and no leſſe ſtrange than that whatſoeuer it is that is written of the greateſt Monarchies of antient time, vnto whom for power and maieſtie it yeeldeth little: but ſo much the more worthy our conſideration than they, for that their periods alreadie run, and ſo their furie ouer paſt, this in our time ſo flouriſheth, and at this preſent ſo mightily ſwelleth, as if it would ouerflow all, were it not for the mercy of God firſt, and then by the force of ſome few of the Chriſtian princes neereſt vnto ſo great a danger, with their ſo great charge, to their immortall glorie, and benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale, mightily checked and kept within ſome bounds and compaſſe. This hiſtory for the moſt part thus, as is aforeſaid paſſed through, and brought to ſome good perfection, was yet by me againe laied aſide, and like enough euen as an abortiue fruit to haue periſhed in the birth before it was growne to perfection, had I not, many times fainting in the long and painefull trauell therewith, by my eſpeciall good and honourable friend, Sir Peter Manwood of S. Stephens in the countie of Kent, knight of the honorable Order of the Bath, a great louer and fauorer of learning (and in whoſe keeping it ſo for the moſt part many yeares in ſafety reſted) been ſtill comforted, and as it were againe reuiued, and finally encouraged to take it in hand; and as at firſt to perfect it; ſo now againe to continue it: vnto whom (being the onely furtherer, ſtay, and help of theſe my labors) thou art for ſuch pleaſure as thou findeſt therein in courteſie beholden, and I for euer bounden. Now, what I for my part haue in this my long trauell performed, I leaue it to thy good diſcretion to conſider, contenting my ſelfe in ſo great matter to haue bin willing to haue done ſomething; wiſhing no longer to liue, than in ſome meaſure to be profitable to the Chriſtian common-weale, which long ſince in my nurſing mothers houſe Lincolne Colledge in Oxford, where I was ſometime Fellow, I did purpoſe to performe, as it ſhould pleaſe God in time to giue me means and occaſion: In which mind I hope by the goodneſſe and mercy of Chriſt my Sauior ſo long as I liue to continue. Onely this fauour (to conclude with) I requeſt of thee, that if in this ſo long and perplexed an hiſtory (by piece meale of ſo many diuerſly handled) written by me in a world of troubles and cares, in a place that affoorded no means of comfort to proceed in ſo great a worke, thou chance to light vpon ſome things otherwiſe reported than thou haſt elſewhere read them (as I doubt not but thou maieſt) not therefore forthwith to condemne what thou here findeſt, beeing haply taken from a more certaine reporter than was that whereunto thou giueſt more credit, or at leaſtwiſe not written by me, as meaning in any thing to preiudice thy better Iudgement, but to leaue it to thy good choice in ſuch diuerſity of reports to follow that which may ſeeme vnto thee moſt true. By which courteſie thou haſt already encouraged me to ioyne vnto my former hiſtorie a continuation for ſome few yeares, in this edition, and yet mayſt (God giue me life and health) hereafter incourage me to performe ſome other worke to thy no leſſe contentment. So wiſhing thee all happineſſe, I bid thee farewell. From Sandwich the laſt of March, 1610.

Thine in all dutifull kindneſſe,

R. KNOLLES.

THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF THE TVRKES, BEFORE THE RISING OF THE OTHOMAN FAMILIE, WITH ALL THE NOTABLE EXPEDITIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN PRINCES AGAINST THEM.

THE glorious Empire of the Turkes, the preſent terrour of the world, hath amongſt other things nothing in it more wonderful or ſtrange, than the poore beginning of it ſelfe, ſo ſmall and obſcure, as that it is not well known vnto themſelues, or agreed vpon euen among the beſt writers of their Hiſtories, from whence this barbarous nation, that now ſo triumpeth ouer the beſt part of the world, firſt crept out or tooke their beginning. Some (after the manner of moſt nations) deriue them from the Troians, led thereunto by the affinitie of the words *Turci* & *Teucri*, ſuppoſing (but with what probability I know not) the word *Turci* or Turks to haue bin made of the corruption of the word *Teucri*, the common name of the Troians: as alſo for that the Turks haue of long moſt inhabited the leſſer ASIA, wherein the antient & moſt famous city of TROY ſometime ſtood. No great reaſon in my deeming; yet giue the authors thereof leaue therewith to pleaſe themſelues, as well as ſome others, which dwelling much further off, borrow, or rather force their beginning from thence, without any probabilitie at all; and that with ſuch earneſtnes, as if they could not elſewhere haue found any ſo honorable anceſtors. Otherſome report them to haue firſt come out of PERSIA, and of I wot not what city there to haue taken their name: neither want there ſome which affirme them to haue taken their beginning out of ARABIA, yea & ſome out of SYRIA, with many other far fet deuices concerning the beginning & name of this people: all ſeruing to no better purpoſe, than to ſhew the vncertaintie thereof. Among others, *Philip* of MORNAY the noble & learned Frenchman, in his worthie worke concerning the truneſſe of the Chriſtian religion, ſeemeth (and that not without good reaſon) to deriue the Turks, together with the Tartars, from the Iewes, namely from the ten Tribes, which were by *Salmanaſer* king of ASSIRIA, in the time of *Oſeas* king of ISRAEL, carried away into captiuitie, & by him confined into MEDIA, & the other vnpeopled countries of the North: whoſe going thither is not vnaptly deſcribed by *Eſdras*, where among the great hords of the Tartars, in the fartheſt part of the world Northward, euen at this day are found ſome, that ſtil retaine the names of *Dan*, *Zabulon*, and *Nepthaly*, a certaine argument of their diſcent: whereunto alſo the word *Tartar* or *Tatar*, ſignifying in the Syrian tongue, remnants or leauings, and the word *Turke*, a word of diſgrace, ſignifying in Hebrew, baniſhed men, ſeemeth right well to agree. Beſides that, in the Northern countries of RVSSIA, SARMATIA, & LYTHVANIA, are found greater ſtore of the Iewiſh nation, than elſwhere, and ſo neerer vnto the Tartarians ſtil the moe: whereunto *Io. Leunclauius* the moſt curious ſearcher out of the Turks antiquities & monuments, addeth as a farther coniecture of the diſcent of thoſe barbarous Northern people from the Iewes, That in his trauell through LIVONIA into LYTHVANIA in the Coun-

Diuers opinions concerning the beginning of the Turkes.

2.King. ca.17, 4.Eſdr. cap.13,

Io. Leunclauius Pandect. cap. 22,

trie neere vnto the metropolitan citie of Riga, hee found there the barbarous people of the Lettoes, quite differing in language from the other country people of the Curons & Eſtons, no leſſe barbarous than themſelues; who had always in their mouths as a perpetual lamentation, which they with dolefull moans daily repeated abroad in the fields, *Ieru, Ieru, Maſco Lun:* whereby they were thought to lament ouer Ierusalem and Damasco, as forgetfull of all other things in their antient country, after ſo many worlds of yeres, and in a deſolate place ſo far diſtant thence. And *Munſter* in his deſcription of Livonia, repeating the like words, reporteth, That this rude people being demanded what they meant by theſe words ſo often & ſo lamentably by them withoutcauſe vttered: anſwered, That they knew no more, than that they had bin ſo of long taught by their anceſtors. But to leaue theſe opinions cõcerning their beginning, ſo diuers and vncertain, & to follow greater probabilities as concerning the place from whence they came, it is vpon better ground thought by diuers others, and thoſe of the beſt Hiſtorians, That this barbarous nation which hath of late brought ſuch fatall mutations vpon ſo great a part, not of Chriſtendome only, but euen of the whole world, tooke their firſt beginning out of the bare and cold country of Scythia: induced thereunto both by the authority of the greateſt Coſmographers, as by moſt apparant reaſons. *Pomponius Mela* the deſcriber of the world, reckning vp the people neere vnto the great riuer Tanais (the bounder of Europe from Asia Eaſtward) amongſt others maketh mention of the Turkes, in theſe words, *Geloni vrbem ligneam habitant. Iuxta Thyrſagetæ Turcæq; vaſtas ſyluas occupant alunturq; venando. Tum continuis rupibus late aſpera & deſerta regio ad Arympheos vſque permittitur:* The Geloni inhabit a city of wood, and faſt by, the Thyrſagets & Turks poſſeſſe the vaſt forreſts, and liue by hunting. Then, a rough and deſart country, with continual rocks, is ſpaciouſly extended euen as far as vnto the Arympheians. *Pliny* alſo in like manner reckning vp the Nations about the fennes of Mæotis, agreeing with that *Mela* reporteth, ſaith, *Deinde, Euazæ, Cottæ, Cicimeni, Meſſeniani, Coſtobocci, Choatræ, Zigæ, Dandari, Tuſſagetæ, Turcæ, vſque ad ſolitudines ſaltuoſis conuallibus aſperas, vltra quos Arymphei qui ad Riphæos pertinent montes:* Next vnto them, are the Euazæ, Cottæ, Cicimeni, Meſſeniani, Coſtobocci, Choatræ, Zigæ, Dandari, the Thuſſagets and Turks, vnto the deſarts rough with woodie valleys: beyond whom are the Arympheians, which border vpon the Riphean mountaines. And *Ptolomie* in the deſcription of Sarmatia Asiatica, maketh mention of the Tuſci, whom many learned men ſuppoſe to haue bin the ſame nation with the Turks. Vnto which antient teſtimonies of reuerend antiquitie, adde the manners and conditions of the Turks, their antient attire, their geſture, their gate, their weapons, and manner of riding and fight, their language and dialect, ſo well agreeing with the Scythians; and a man ſhall find matter enough ſufficient to perſuade him in reaſon, that the Turkes haue vndoubtedly taken their beginning from the Scythes; whom they in ſo many things reſemble, and with whom of all other nations they beſt agree.

G

Sebaſt. Mũſter Vniuerſalis Coſmograph. lib. 3.

H

Scythia the natiue countrey of the Turkes.

Pomp. Mela, lib. 1. cap. vlt.

I

Plin. ſecundus, lib. 6. cap. 7.

K

The great agreement betwixt the Turkes and Scythians.

Now it hath been no leſſe doubted alſo, among the writers of the Turks hiſtories, at what time, and for what cauſes the Turkes (to the trouble of the world) left their naturall ſeats in the cold country of Scythia, to ſeek themſelues others in more pleaſant & temperat countries more Southerly, than it had bin of their originall beginning. *Blondus* and *Platina* report them, enforced with a generall want, to haue forſaken their natiue Countrie, and followed their better fortune, in the yeare of our Lord 755: with whom alſo *Segonius* agreeth in the cauſe of their departure, but not in the time or place whẽ or wherby they departed: for they (as he ſaith) iſſued out of their dwelling places in the yere of Grace 844, by the ſtraits of the mountaine Caucasus: whereas the other with greater probabilitie ſuppoſe them to haue come forth by the Caſpian ſtraits: which the Turkes alſo (as ſaith *Sabellicus*) affirme of themſelues, their anceſtors (as they ſay) being by their neighbors driuen out of the Caſpian mountains. Some others there be that report them to haue forſaken their natiue country, neither inforced therunto by neceſſity, or the power of others; but for their valor ſent for by the *Sultan* of Persia, to aid him in his wars: vnaduiſedly ſuppoſing that to haue bin the cauſe of their firſt comming out, which indeed hapned long time after, as in the proces of this hiſtory ſhall appeare. But whatſoeuer the aforeſaid cauſes of want, or of the enemies power, might inforce them vnto, a greater power no doubt it was that ſtir'd them vp, euen the hand of the Almightie, who being the author of al kingdoms vpon earth, as wel thoſe which he hath appoynted as ſcourges wherewith to puniſh the world, as others more bleſſed, will haue his worke and

When and for what cauſes the Turks left their antient and naturall ſeats in Scythia, to ſeek others in the countries more Southerly.

L

755

844

Sabellicus, Ennead. 9. lib. 2.

M

A purpoſe full of Diuine maieſtie, to appeare in the ſtirring of them vp from right ſmall beginnings, in the increaſing and eſtabliſhing of their greatneſſe and power, to the aſtoniſhment of the world; and in the ruine and deſtruction of them againe, the courſe of their appointed time once runne. As for the difference of the time of their comming forth, before remembred, it may reaſonably be referred to the diuers emotions of that people, who beeing not vnder the command of any one, but of their diuers gouernors, as the manner of that people was, are not to be thought to haue come forth all at once, either for one cauſe; but at diuers times, ſome ſooner, ſome later, and that for diuers cauſes. This people thus ſtirred vp, and by the Caſpian ports paſſing thorow the Georgian Country, then called IBERIA, neere vnto the Caſpian ſea, firſt ſeiſed vpon a part of the greater ARMENIA, and that with ſo ſtrong hand, that it is by B their poſteritie yet holden at this day, and of them called TVRCOMANIA; of al other the moſt true progenie of the antient Turkes. In which great Countrey they of long vnder their diuers leaders, in the manner of their liuing moſt reſembling their anceſtors, roamed vp and downe with their families and heards of cattell, after the manner of the Scythian Nomades, their countrey men, without any certaine places of abode, yet at great vnitie among themſelues, as not hauing much to loſe, or wherefore to ſtriue.

Armenia, now called Turcomania, the firſt ſeat of the Turks after their firſt comming out of Scythia.

C

The firſt kingdome of the Turks erected in PERSIA by *Tangrolipix*, Chiefetaine of the Selzuccian Familie: *with the ſucceſſe thereof.*

THis wandring & vnregarded people, but now the terror of the world, thus firſt ſeated in ARMENIA, long time there liued in that wide country, after D their rude and woonted manner, (from which the Turcoman nation their poſteritie in that place, euen at this day, as we ſaid, much differeth not) and not onely notably defended the Countrey, thus by them at the firſt poſſeſſed, but ſtill incroching farther & farther, and gaining by other mens harms, became at length dreadful vnto their neighbors, and of ſome fame alſo farther off: whereunto the effœminate cowardiſe of thoſe delicate people of ASIA, with whom they had to do, gaue no leſſe furtherance than their owne valour; being neuertheleſſe an hardie rough people, though not much skilfull or trained vp in the feats of warre.

The fame of theſe Turks, together with their fortune, thus daily increaſing, and the mighty empire of the Saraſins as faſt declining, which vnder their Chaliphs, the ſucceſſors of the falſe E Prophet *Mahomet*, hauing in leſſe than the ſpace of two hundred yeares ouerſpread not onely the greateſt part of ASIA and AFRICKE, euen vnto GADES & the pillers of *Hercules*; but alſo paſſing ouer that ſtrait, had ouerwhelmed almoſt all SPAINE; & not there ſtaying, but paſſing the Pirenei, had pierced euen into the heart of France, and diuers other parts of Chriſtendome, as namely ITALY, SICILY, the famous Iſland of the RHODES, with many others of the MEDITERRANEAN: now diuided in it ſelfe, and rent into many Kingdomes, turned their victorious arms from the Chriſtians, vpon one another, to the mutual deſtruction of themſelues & their empire. Amongſt other the Saraſin Sultans, which forgetting their obedience to their great Caliph, tooke vpon them the ſoueraigntie of gouernment (which admitteth no partner) was one *Muhomet* Sultan of PERSIA, a right great prince, who hardly beſet on the one ſide F with the Indians, and on the other with the Caliph of BABYLON his mortall enemie, prayed aid of the Turks his neighbors, who were now come euen to the ſide of ARAXIS, the bounds of his empire: vnto which his requeſt the Turkes eaſily granted, in hope thereby to find a way for them afterwards to enter into PERSIA, and ſo ſent him 3000 hardie men vnder the leading of one *Togra Mucalet*, the ſonne of *Mikeil* a valiant captaine, and chiefe of the Selzuccian

Togra, otherwiſe called Tangrolipix, ſent to aid the Perſian Sultan.

tribe or familie; whom the Greekes commonly call *Tangrolipix*, and ſome others, *Selduck*, or *Sadock*, names (as I ſuppoſe) corrupted of the great familie whereof he was deſcended. By the aid of this *Tangrolipix* (for now we wil ſo call him, as by the name moſt vſed) *Mahomet* the Perſian Sultan ouercame *Piſaſiris* the Caliph of BABYLON, his Arabians being not able to endure the force of his Turkiſh Archers. This war thus happily ended, the Turkes deſiring to returne home, requeſted of the Sultan leaue to depart, and with a ſafe conuoy to bee conducted vnto the riuer ARAXIS, and there to haue the paſſage of that ſwift riuer opened vnto them, which was by the Perſians ſtrongly kept by two Caſtles built vpon each end of the bridge, wherby the riuer was to be paſſed. But *Mahomet* loath to forgo ſuch neceſſarie men, by whom he had obtained ſo great a victory, and purpoſing to imploy them further in his ſeruice againſt the Indians, would by no meanes hearken vnto their requeſt; but ſeeming therewith to be diſcontented, commanded them to ſpeake no more thereof, threatning them violence if they ſhould more preſume to talke of their departure. The Turks therfore doubtful of their eſtate, and fearing further danger, ſecretly withdrew themſelues into the deſart of CARAVONITIS: and for that they were in number but few, and not able to come into the open field againſt ſo many millions of the Saraſins, liued as they might, by continuall incurſions and roads which they made out of the deſart forreſt into the countries adioyning: wherewith *Mahomet* greatly incenſed, ſent out an army of twentie thouſand men, vnder the conduct of ten of his beſt Captaines, againſt them: who for want of water and other neceſſaries, doubting to enter the deſart, encamped themſelues in the ſide of the forreſt, there to conſult what courſe to take. But *Tangrolipix*, who with his Turks lay a great way off in the couert of the woods and mountains, vnderſtanding of the comming of his enemies, and of the manner of their lying, thought it beſt vpon the ſudden by night to ſet vpon the Saraſins and Perſians, if ſo happily hee might ouerthrow them by policie, whom he was not able to encounter in plain battell. Vpon which reſolution hauing trauelled 2 days long march in the deſart, the third day at night he ſuddenly ſet vpon his enemies, lying negligently in their trenches, & by his vnexpected comming brought ſuch a feare vpon them, that they without longer ſtay betook themſelues to flight, euery man ſhifting for himſelfe, without regard of others. This victorie ſo happily gained, and *Tangrolipix* now (beyond his hope) throughly furniſhed with armor, horſes, and aboundance of all things needfull for the wars, kept the woods and forreſts no longer as a theefe or out-law, but ſhewed himſelfe in the open field, where daily repaired vnto him numbers of rogues & vagabonds ſeeking after ſpoyle; with many other deſperate vallains, who for feare of puniſhment were glad of ſuch a refuge: ſo that in a ſhort ſpace his armie was growne to be fifty thouſand ſtrong; and ſo much the ſtronger, for that they had nothing to truſt vnto more than the valor of themſelues. Whileſt *Tangrolipix* thus increaſeth, *Mahomet* inraged with the ouerthrow of his armie, in his furie cauſed all thoſe ten captains which had the leading thereof, to haue their eyes pluckt out; threatning alſo to attire all the ſoldiers that fled out of the battel, in womans apparel, and ſo diſgraced to carry them about as cowards; and withall raiſed a great armie for the ſuppreſſing of the Turks. All things being now in readineſſe, he ſet forward; when by the way the ſouldiers whom hee had ſo threatned to diſgrace, ſuddenly fled to the enemy: with whoſe comming *Tangrolipix* greatly encouraged and ſtrengthned, reſolued to giue the Sultan battell. And ſo boldly comming on, met with him at ISPAHAN a city of PERSIA, where was fought betwixt them a moſt terrible battell, with wonderfull ſlaughter on both ſides. In the heat of which battel, *Mahomet* vnaduiſedly riding to and fro to encourage his ſoldiers, falling with his horſe, brake his necke: vpon which miſchance both the armies comming to agreement, by common conſent proclaimed *Tangrolipix* Sultan in his ſtead, and ſo made him King of PERSIA, and of all the other large dominions vnto that kingdome belonging.

Mahomet the Perſian Sultan goeth himſelfe with an armie againſt Tangrolipix.

Tangrolipix by conſent of the ſouldiers made Sultan of Perſia.

Tangrolipix firſt Sultan of the Turks.

This was the firſt kingdome of the Turks, begun by the good fortune of *Tangrolipix*, about 214 yeres after their comming out of SCYTHIA, in the yere alſo of our Lord, 1030, *Conſtantinus Monomachus* then raigning, or a little before (according to the Turks account) in the raign of *Romanus Argirus*, *Conſtantine* his predeceſſor. *Tangrolipix* by rare fortune thus of a meane captain become king of PERSIA, forthwith commanded the garriſon which kept the bridge ouer the riuer ARAXIS, to be remooued, and ſo free paſſage to be giuen vnto the Turkes his countrymen, at their pleaſure to come ouer: who in great multitudes repaired into PERSIA, where they were by the new Sultan wel prouided for, & by little & little promoted vnto the

greateſt

A greateſt dignities of that kingdome, the Perſians and Saraſins, the antient inhabitants thereof, being by theſe new come gueſts now kept vnder, and as it were troden vnder foot. Together with this kingdome, the Turkes receiued the Mahometane ſuperſtition, from which they before not much abhorred, as men vſing circumciſion: So that hard it is to ſay whether Nation loſt more; the Perſians and Saraſins by the loſſe of ſo great a kingdome; or the Turks, by imbracing ſo great a vanitie.

When the Turks firſt receiued the Mahometan ſuperſtition.

Tangrolipix with his Turkes thus poſſeſſed of the kingdome of PERSIA, held not himſelfe therewith long content, but made war vpon his neighbor princes, eſpecially againſt *Piſaſiris* the Caliph of BABYLON, whom he in diuers battels ouerthrew; and hauing at length ſlaine him, ioyned his kingdome vnto his owne. After that, he ſent *Cutlu-Muſes* his couſin, with an B armie againſt the Arabians, by whom hee was ouerthrowne and put to flight. But returning by MEDIA, he requeſted of *Stephan* the Greeke Emperours Lieutenant, leaue to paſſe with his armie by the confines of his countrie: which his requeſt *Stephan* not onely reiected, but alſo by ſtrong hand ſought to ſtop his paſſage; but ioyning battell with him, was by the Turkes eaſily ouerthrowne, and himſelfe taken. So *Cutlu-Muſes* returning to *Tangrolipix*, & recounting vnto him the ſucceſſe of his warres, perſuaded him to turne his forces into MEDIA, as a moſt fruitfull country, and eaſie to be ſubdued. But he highly offended with the ouerthrow giuen by the Arabians, would not hearken vnto him, but raiſing a new armie in hope of better fortune, went againſt the Arabians in perſon himſelfe. *Cutlu-Muſes* in the meane time fearing the Sultans diſpleaſure, fled with his followers and fauourites; and taking for his refuge C PASAR a ſtrong citie of the Choraſmians, reuolted from him: which the Sultan ſeeming not to regard, held on his intended journy againſt the Arabians, by whom hee was alſo put to the worſt, and enforced with diſhonour to returne. After that, he with part of his army beſieged *Cutlu-Muſes*, who by the ſtrength of the place, and valour of the people, for a great while notably defended himſelfe. In the meane time *Tangrolipix*, not vnmindfull what *Cutlu-Muſes* had before ſaid vnto him, concerning the eaſines of the conqueſt of MEDIA (a countrey, as he ſayd, defended but by women) ſent *Aſan* his brothers ſon, ſirnamed the Deafe, with a conuenient army to inuade the ſame: who entring into the frontiers of that prouince, was there by the Emperours lieutenant ouerthrown, and himſelfe with the greateſt part of his army ſlaine. With which loſſe the Sultan rather inraged than diſcouraged, ſent *Habramy Alim* his brother D againe, with an army of an hundred thouſand fighting men: with which ſo great a power the Emperors lieutenant thought it not good to encounter, vntill hee had procured further ayd from the Emperour, eſpecially out of IBERIA; and therefore kept himſelfe with ſuch power as he had, within his ſtrong and fenced places. Which *Alim* perceiuing, & out of hope to draw him vnto battell, roaming vp and downe the Countrey, at laſt beſieged ARZEN, an open town, but full of rich Merchants, by whom it was (contrarie to his expectation) notably defended for the ſpace of ſixe dayes; vntill that at length the Turkes ſeeing no other way to win it, ſet fire vpon it in diuers places; by force whereof the inhabitants were enforced for ſafeguard of their liues to flie, and to leaue the towne with an infinite wealth to the ſpoyle of the enemie. By this time was *Liparites* Gouernor of IBERIA, come with a great power to the ayd of the E Emperors Lieutenant in MEDIA: whereof *Alim* hauing intelligence, without delay haſted with his armie towards his enemies: and meeting with them a little before night, had with them a cruell fight; wherein the victorie fel vnto the Chriſtians, who had the Turks in chaſe a great part of the night. Neuertheles *Liparites* valiantly fighting in another wing of the battel, was there taken, & ſo carried away priſoner: for whoſe ranſome the Emperor ſent a great ſum of mony, with certain preſents to the Sultan; all which he ſent back againe, & frankly ſet *Liparites* at libertie, wiſhing him neuer to beare armes more againſt the Turks. And with him ſent the Seriph, a man of great place among the Mahumetans, his Embaſſador vnto the Emperor. Who comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, amongſt other things, proudly demanded of the Emperour, to become tributarie vnto the Sultan, and ſo to bee at peace with him for euer: F Which his vnreaſonable demand was by the Emperour with no leſſe diſdaine ſcornefully reiected, and the Seriph ſo diſmiſſed. Which contempt of his Embaſſadour the Sultan taking in euill part, as alſo not a little mooued with the death of his nephew, and loſſe of his armie, with all his power inuaded the Roman prouinces; but being come as far as COIME without any notable harme doing, for that the countrey people hearing before of his comming, had in time conueighed themſelues with their ſubſtance into their ſtrong holds, whereof there

Cutlu-Muſes ſent by Tangrolipix againſt the Turkes.

Cutlu-Muſes rebelleth againſt Tangrolipix.

The Turks Embaſſadour contemned of the Emperor.

Tangrolipix inuadeth the Emperors Dominions.

was great ſtore in thoſe countries; and hearing alſo that the Greeke Emperour was raiſing a great power to come againſt him at CESAREA; not daring to proceed any further, leauing ſo many enemies behind him, he fretting in himſelfe, returned into MEDIA, where finding the people all fled into their ſtrong townes, he layd ſiege vnto MANTZICHIERT, a citie ſtanding in a plaine champian Countrey, but ſtrongly fortified with a triple wall and deepe ditches. This Citie hee furiouſly aſſaulted by the ſpace of thirtie dayes without intermiſſion, but all in vaine, the ſame being ſtill notably defended by *Baſilius* Gouernour thereof, and the other Chriſtians therein. The Sultan wearie of this ſiege, and about to haue riſen, was by *Alcan* one of his chiefe Captaines, perſuaded yet to ſtay one day, for him to make proofe in, what he were able to doe for the gaining thereof: whereunto the Sultan yeelded, committing the whole charge of the aſſault vnto him. *Aloan* the next day diuiding the Armie into two parts, and placing the one part vpon the higher ground, of purpoſe with the multitude of their ſhot to haue ouerwhelmed the defendants; with the other part of the Armie, furniſhed with all things needfull for the aſſault, approched to the walls: the Sultan in the mean time, with certaine of the chiefe Turkes, from an high place beholding all that was done. But this ſo forward a Captaine in the middeſt of his endeauour loſt himſelfe, being ſlaine with a great number of his followers in approching the wall. His dead bodie knowne by the beautie of his Armor, was by two valiant young men that ſallyed out of the gate, drawne by the haire of his head into the Citie, and his head beeing forthwith cut off, was caſt ouer the wall among the Turks: wherewith the Sultan diſcouraged, and out of hope of gaining the citie, roſe with his army, pretending himſelfe with other his vrgent affaires to be called home, and threatning withal, the next ſpring to returne with greater power, and to do great matters. But not long after, great diſcord aroſe betwixt the Sultan and his brother *Habramie Alim*, inſomuch that the Sultan ſought by diuers meanes to haue taken him out of the way: which *Habramie* perceiuing, fled to his Nephew *Cutlu-Muſes*, add ioyning his forces with his, denounced warre vnto the Sultan his brother; who meeting with them not far from PASAR, ouercame them in plain battell, wherein *Habramie* was taken, and preſently by the commandement of his brother put to death. But *Cutlu-Muſes*, with his couſin *Melech* and 6000 Turkes, fled into ARMENIA; and by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, requeſted of the Emperor *Conſtantinus Monomachus*, to bee receiued into his protection. But the Sultan with his armie following them at the heeles, they for their more ſafetie were glad to flie into ARABIA. The Sultan afterwards turning into IBERIA, did there great harme, ſpoyling the countrey before him: againſt whom the Emperor ſent *Michael Acoluthus*, a valiant captaine. Of whoſe approch the Sultan hearing, and that he would vndoubtedly ere long giue him battell, (deeming it no great honour vnto him to ouercome the Emperors ſeruant, but an eternall diſhonour to be of him ouerthrowne) retired with his armie backe againe to TAVRIS, leauing behind him one *Samuch* with 3000 Turkes, to infeſt the frontiers of the Emperors territories: which both he and other the Turks Captaines afterward more eaſily did, for that *Monomachus* the Emperour hauing prodigally ſpent the treaſures of the Empire, to increaſe his reuenue, had impoſed a tribute vpon the frontier countries of his Empire, woont before to bee free from all exactions; in lieu whereof they were bound to defend the paſſages from all incurſions of the enemie: but now preſſed with new impoſitions, had diſſolued their woonted garriſons, and left an eaſie entrance for the barbarons enemies into the prouinces confining vpon them. Beſides that, the Emperors immediately following, and eſpecially *Conſtantinus Ducas*, abhorring from wars, and giuen altogether to the hoording vp of treaſure, gaue little countenance, and leſſe maintenance, vnto men of ſeruice, which in ſhort time turned to the great weakening, and in fine to the vtter ruine of the Conſtantinopolitan empire. At the ſame time alſo the gouernment of the Conſtantinopolitan empire, by the death of *Conſtantinus Ducas* the late Emperour, came to his wife *Eudocia* with her 3 ſons, *Michael*, *Andronicus*, and *Conſtantinus*, all very yong: whoſe ſex & tender yeres the barbarous nations hauing in contempt, at their pleaſure grieuouſly ſpoyled the prouinces of the empire, namely MESOPOTAMIA, CILICIA, CAPADOCIA, yea and ſometimes as farre as CŒLESIRIA. The report wherof much troubled the Empreſſe, & gaue occaſion for many that loued her not, to ſay, That ſo troubled an Eſtate required the gouernement of ſome worthie man. Wherefore ſhe fearing leſt that the Senate making choice of ſome other, ſhe and her children ſhould be remoued from the gouernment, thought it beſt for the preſeruation of her ſtate and her childrens, to make choice of ſome notable and valiant man for her husband, that for

Diſſention betwixt Tangrolipix and his brother Habramie Alim.

Cutlu-Muſes flieth into Arabia.

Couetouſneſſe and lacke of reward the decay of the Conſtantinopolitan empire.

Eudocia the Empreſſe contrarie to her oath deſirous to marrie.

A for her and hers,ſhould take vpon him the managing of ſo weightie affaires. But to checke this
her purpoſe (the only remedy of her troubled thoughts) ſhe had at the death of the late Empe-
ror *Conſtantine* her husband, at ſuch time as the ſoueraigntie was by the Senate confirmed vnto
her and her ſonnes,ſolemnly ſworn neuer more to marry ; which her oath was for the more aſ-
ſurance conceiued into writing,and ſo deliuered vnto the Patriarch to keepe. This troubled her
more,than to find out the man whom ſhe could thinke worthy of her ſelfe,with ſo great honor.
She held then in priſon one *Diogenes Romanus*, a man of great renowne and honourably diſcen-
ded ; whoſe father hauing married the neece of the Emperor *Romanus Argirus*, and aſpiring to
the empire,being conuicted thereof,ſlew himſelfe for feare to be enforced by torments, to be-
wray his confederates. This *Dogenes* was by the late Emperor *Conſtantine*, for his good ſeruice
B againſt the Scythes(who then much troubled the empire)highly promoted,with moſt honora-
ble teſtimonie in the charters of his promotions, That ſuch honours were beſtowed vpon him,
not of the Emperors meere bountie,but as the due rewards of his worthy deſerts. Notwithſtan-
ding after the death of the Emperor,he ſicke of his fathers diſeaſe, and ſwelling with the pride
of ambition,ſought by ſecret meanes to haue aſpired vnto the empire : whereof the empreſſe
hauing intelligence, cauſed him to bee apprehended and brought in bonds to CONSTANTI-
NOPLE, where beeing found guiltie of the foule treaſon, and ſo committed to ſafe keeping,
was ſhortly after brought forth to the iudgement ſeat againe, to receiue the heauie ſentence of
death. In which wofull plight,ſtanding as a man out of hope and now vtterly forlorne,he moo-
ued all the beholders with a ſorrowfull compaſſion: for beſide that he was a man of exceeding
C ſtrength, ſo was hee of incomparable feature and beautie, adorned with many other rare qua-
lities and vertues anſwerable thereunto: wherewith the Empreſſe mooued with the reſt, or
pierced with a ſecret good liking, is hard to ſay,reuoked the ſentence of condemnation ready
to haue bin pronounced vpon him, and gaue him pardon. And ſhortly after hauing ſet him at
libertie,ſent for him as he was going into CAPADOCIA his natiue countrie,and made him Ge-
nerall of all her forces, with a full reſolution in her ſelfe to marry him,and to make him Empe-
ror,if ſhe might by any meanes get the writing out of the Patriarchs hand,wherein her oath for
neuer marrying againe was compriſed. For the compaſſing whereof, ſhee entred into a deepe
deuice ful of feminine policie with one of her Eunuches,whom ſhe purpoſed to vſe as her pan-
der for the circumuenting of the Patriarch. This craftie Eunuch inſtructed by his Miſtreſſe,
D comming to the Patriarch *Ioannes Xiliphilines*, a man both for his place and integritie of life
much honored,told him in great ſecret,that the Empreſſe had ſo far ſet her good liking vpon a
yong gentleman,a nephew of his called *Barda* (then a gallant of the court)as that ſhe could bee
content to take him to her husband,and to make him Emperor, if ſhe might by his holineſſe be
perſuaded,that ſhe might with ſafe conſcience do it,and by him be diſcharged of the raſh oath
ſhe had vnaduiſedly taken,neuer to marrie againe,whereof hee had the keeping. The Patriarch,
otherwiſe a contemner of worldly honours,yet mooued with ſo great a preferment of his Ne-
phew,promiſed the eunuch to doe therein whatſoeuer the Empreſſe had deſired, which he ac-
cordingly performed. And ſo ſending for the Senators one by one, in whoſe good liking the
matter chiefly reſted,he with much grauity propounded vnto them the dangerous eſtate of the
E common-weale,with the troubles daily increaſing,and the continual feare of forrein enemies,
not to be repreſſed by the weake hand of a woman,or the authoritie of young children,but re-
quiinrg (as hee ſaid) the valiant courage of ſome worthy man. After that, he began to finde
great fault with the raſh oath which the Empres had taken a little before the death of her huſ-
band,neuer to marry ; and vtterly condemning the ſame,as contrary to the word of God,& vn-
iuſtly exacted of her, rather to ſatisfie the iealous humor of the Emperor her late husband,than
for any good of the common-weale: hee in fine perſuaded them,that the vnlawfull oath might
be reuoked,and the Empres ſet at libertie at her pleaſure,by their good liking to make choice
of ſuch a man for her husband, as might better vndertake ſo weightie affaires of the empire,
more fit for a man, than for ſo tender a Lady and three young children. The greater part of the
F Senate thus perſuaded by the Patriarch, and the reſt with gifts and promiſes ouercome by the
Empreſſe,the patriarch deliuered vnto her the writing ſhe ſo much deſired,and diſcharged her
of her oath: whereupon ſhee forthwith calling vnto her,certaine of her ſecret friends, married
Diogenes,whom ſhe cauſed to be proclaimed Emperour. Now thought *Eudocia* after the man-
ner of a woman,to haue had her husband(whom ſhe euen from the bottom of diſpair had exal-
ted

Diogines Romanus of a priſoner by the Empreſſe made Generall of her armie.

Eudocia marrieth Diogenes Romanus,and proclaimes him Emperour.

ted to the higheſt type of honour) in all things loyall and pliant: whereunto he for a while at G
the firſt forced himſelfe, but afterwards (beeing a man of a proud nature, and haughty ſpirit) became
weary of ſuch obſeruance, and began by little and little to take euery day more and more
vpon him. And for that the imperiall prouinces in the Eaſt, were in ſome part loſt, and the reſt
in no ſmall danger, he, as well for the redreſſe thereof, as for his owne honour, and to ſhew himſelfe
an Emperour indeed, and not the ſeruant of the Empreſſe, left the court, and paſſed ouer into
Asia, although it were with a ſmal army and euill appointed: for why, it was no eaſie matter
for him to furniſh out the army with all things neceſſarie, which by the ſloth and ſparing of
the late Emperours, had, to the great danger and diſhonor of the empire, bin vtterly neglected.
Neuertheleſſe the Turkiſh Sultan, who at the ſame time with a great power inuaded the prouinces
of the empire, hearing of his comming, and that he was a man of great valour, and doubting H
what power he might bring with him, retired himſelfe; and diuiding his army, ſent the
one part thereof into the South part of Asia, and the other into the North, which ſpoiled all
the countrey before them as they went, and ſuddenly ſurpriſing the citie of Neo-Cesaria,
ſacked it, and ſo laded with the ſpoile thereof departed. But the Emperor vnderſtanding thereof,
and not a little grieued therewith, drawing out certaine bands and companies of the beſt and
moſt readieſt ſouldiers in his army, and with them coaſting the countrey to get betwixt the
Turks and home, vſed therein ſuch expedition, that he was vpon them before they were aware,
and ſo ſuddenly charging them, brought ſuch a feare vpon them, that they betooke themſelues
to their heeles, leauing behind them for haſte, their baggage and carriages, with all the priſoners
and bootie they had before taken at Neo-Cesaria, and in their late expedition: yet was I
there no great number of them ſlain, for that the Chriſtians forewearied with long trauel, were
not able far to follow the chace. From thence taking his way vnto Siria, he ſent part of his armie
to Melitena, and carried himſelfe from Aleppo, a great booty both of men and cattel.
At which time alſo the citie of Hierapolis was yeelded vnto him, where hee ſhortly after
built a ſtrong caſtle. But whilſt he there ſtaied, newes was brought vnto him, that the other part
of his army which he had ſent away, was ouerthrowne by the Turks; for the reliefe of whom,
he roſe with all haſt and marched towards them: but being in number farre inferiour vnto his
enemies, hee was by them as hee lay encamped, incloſed round in ſuch ſort, as that it was
thought almoſt impoſſible for him to haue eſcaped. At which time alſo the gouernour of Aleppo
traiterouſly reuolted from him, and ioyned his forces with the enemy, making now no K
other reckoning, but aſſuredly to haue taken him. But whileſt the Turks thus dreame of nothing
but of a moſt glorious victorie, and were in mind diuiding the ſpoile, the Emperour without ſo
much as the ſounding of a trumpet, ſuddenly iſſuing out of his trenches, when they leaſt thought
he durſt ſo haue done, and reſolutely charging them home, put them to flight, and had of them
a notable victorie, had he throughly proſecuted the ſame. After that, hauing taken diuers towns
he came to Alexandria, in Cilicia, and there all about in the countrey bilited his army,
becauſe of the approach of winter, and ſo returned himſelfe to Constantinople. The
next ſpring the Turks, according to their vſuall manner inuading the frontiers of the Empire,
did much harme about Neo-Cesaria: whereof the Emperor aduertiſed, went thither with
his armie, and quickly repreſſing their furie, tooke his iourney to the riuer Euphrates, where
leauing part of his armie with *Philaretus* for the keeping of thoſe frontiers, he himſelfe retired L
Northward into Capadocia. But after his departure, the Turks ſeting vpō *Philaretus*, put him
to flight with his garriſons: and taking the ſpoile of the frontiers, entered into Capadocia,
waſting all as they went: and afterwards turning into Cilicia, ſacked Iconium a rich and
populous citie. Whereof the Emperour vnderſtanding at Sebastia, made towards them: but
hearing by the way that they had ranſackt the citie, and were for feare of his comming already
retired, he ſent *Chatagurio* gouernor of Antioch, with part of his armie to Mopsiphestia,
to ſtop the Turks of their paſſage. But they in the plaines of Tharsus were before diſtreſſed
by the Armenians, and ſtript of all their rich prey: and hearing farther of the approach of the
Emperors power, fled by night and ſo eſcaped: which the Emperor vnderſtanding, and hauing M
now well quieted thoſe prouinces, and the yeare farre ſpent, returned againe to Constantinople.
But after his departure, the Turks againe inuading the frontier prouinces, he ſent *Manuel Comnenus*,
a valiant young man, Generall againſt them; who ſo preuailed, that the Emperor
enuiyng at his honor, tooke from him a great part of his armie, and ſent him with a ſmall
power

The prouinces of the empire ſpoiled by the Turks.

The Turkes diſcomfited by Diogenes the Emperour.

A power into SIRIA. But as hee was vpon the way,he was by the Turkes entrapped neere vnto
SEBASTIA, and there taken, moſt part of his armie being at the ſame time ouerthrowne
and ſlaine: with which loſſe,the Emperour troubled,made great preparation to goe himſelfe
in perſon againſt his enemies; who encouraged with the former victorie, ceaſed not to infeſt
his territories. In the mean time by great fortune came *Mannel Comnenus* home,together with
the Turke that tooke him; who being fallen into the diſpleaſure of the Sultan, fled vnto the
Emperor with his priſoner, of whom he was honorably entertained. All things now in a readines,
for ſo great an expedition as the Emperor had in perſon purpoſed,he ſet forward: and
after long trauell hauing paſſed CESAREA,he incamped at a place called CRYAPEGA:where
for ſeuere execution done vpon certaine mutinous ſouldiers, one of the legions of his armie
B roſe in mutinie againſt him: whom (for all that) he quickly pacified with the terror of the reſt
of his army, which he threatned to turne vpon them if they proceeded to forget their dutie.
After that,remouing to THEODOSOPOLIS,he diuided his army,and ſent *Ruſelius* one of his
beſt captains,with one part thereof againſt *Chliat*, and another part he ſent to beſiege MANTZICIERTS,
retaining with himſelfe the reſt, being of no ſtrength. The Turkes in MANTZICIERTS
finding themſelues not able long to hold out, fel to compoſition,and yeelded the citie.
But ſhortly after,the ſouldiers left there in garriſon for the keeping thereof,going out to
ſeeke for forrage, were by the Turks ſuddenly oppreſſed: which the Emperour vnderſtanding,
ſent thither one *Nicephorus Bryennius*,with certaine companies to relieue the citie; who
encountring with the Turks, and finding himſelfe too weake,ſent vnto the Emperor for aid:
C who not knowing the ſtrength of the enemies, blamed him of cowardiſe, yet ſent vnto him
Nicephorus Baſilacius with part of his armie; who ioining his forces with *Briennius*,and giuing
the Turkes battell,put them to flight. But following too faſt vpon them vnto their trenches,
and *Bryennius* making no great haſt after,he had his horſe ſlain vnder him,and ſo on foot heauily
laden with armour,and not able to ſhift for himſelfe, was there taken and brought to the
Sultan: who honourably entreated him,and oftentimes queſtioning with him concerning the
Emperour,and ſhewing him his owne power,examined him alſo of the Emperours.

Diogenes goeth
with a great ar-
armie againſt
the Turks.

Tangrolipix was now dead, and the Sultan now in field againſt the Emperour,was *Axan* his
ſon,a man of great wiſedom & diſcretion; who conſidering the doubtful euent of battel,ſent
embaſſadors vnto the Emperor to intreat with him of peace. But hee(perſuaded by ſome of
D his captains,that this motion made by the Sultan for peace,proceeded but of a meere feare and
diſtruſt he had in his owne power,or els to gaine time vntill ſome greater ſtrength came) had
ſmall regard of the embaſſadors or their meſſage,but proudly willed them to tel their maſter,
That if he were deſirous of peace,he ſhould get him farther off,and leaue the place wherin he
lay encamped,for him to lodge in: and ſo without other anſwer,comanded them away. Now
had the Emperor(as is before ſaid)ſent away part of his army by *Ruſelius* againſt *Chliat*,whom
he ſent now for in haſt again:but he hearing of the approach of the Sultan,by the perſuaſion of
Tarchomiates, one of his captaines, was retired for his more ſafetie backe into the Romane
frontiers,leauing the Emperour deſtitute of his helpe. At which time alſo a companie of the
Scythians which ſerued in the Emperours campe, reuolted vnto the Turkes; not without
E ſome ſuſpition,that the reſt of their fellows which remained,would ere long do the like; neuertheleſſe
the Emperor preſuming of ſuch ſtrength as he had, or carried headlong with his
owne fortune,reſolued to giue the Turks battell,and therfore putting his men in order,ſet vpon
them. Who ſomewhat troubled with the Emperors ſo ſudden a reſolution,as being yet in
ſom hope of peace,yet hauing put themſelues in order of battel,receiued the enemies charge;
ſtill giuing a little ground,as men not greatly deſirous either to fight or to flie. This fight continuing
long,and the day now declining,the Emperour doubting leaſt the Sultan ſhould ſend
part of his army to aſſault his campe (from which he was now drawne ſomewhat far,and had
left the ſame but weakly manned) cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, & ſo began orderly to retire
himſelfe with them that were about him: which others a far off in the battell beholding, and
F ſuppoſing him to haue fled,began themſelues to flie amaine. Of which ſo ſhamefull flight and
M ſudden feare *Andronicus* (the ſonne of *Iohn Ducas*, the late Emperour *Conſtantine* his brother,
and by him created *Cæſar*, who with his ſonnes ſecretly enuied at the honour of *Diogenes*)was
the cauſe; for he commanding a great part of the army, gaue it firſt out vnto ſuch as were about
him, that the Emperor fled;and to increaſe the feare,turning his horſe about,fled towards the

Axan the Sultan
ſendeth embaſ-
ſadours vnto
Diogenes for
peace.

Iohn Ducas a
notable traitor
cauſe of the
flight of the em-
perours armie.

campe

Diognes the Emperor taken by the Turkes.

Eudocia the Empreſſe depoſed by the traitor Iohn Ducas Pſellus,and others.

Diogines the Emperor taken priſoner by Andronicus.

The Miſerable death of Diogenes the Emperor

camp as faſt as he could:after whom al the reſt moſt diſorderly followed:which the emperor be holding,and therewith not a little troubled,made a ſtand,labouring in vaine to haue ſtaid the reſt: for now the Turks incouraged with the ſudden flight of the Chriſtians,began hardly to purſue them,as men already ouerthrown by the hand of God; whom for al that the emperor with ſuch as yet ſtood with him,for a ſpace notably reſiſted. But being forſaken by the greater part of his army,& oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies,being wounded himſelfe,and his horſe ſlain vnder him,he was with taken al imbrued his own bloud,& the bloud of his enemies,of whom he had wounded and ſlain many. The Sultan aduertiſed of his taking, at the firſt beleeued it not,ſuppoſing it rather to haue been ſome other great man: vntill that he was both by them, whom he had but a little before ſent embaſſadour vnto him, and by *Baſilacius* one of his captaines then priſoner with him, aſſured that it was vndoubtedly hee, which *Baſilacius* brought before him to ſee if he knew him,fel downe proſtrate at his feet, as before his dread Lord and Soueraigne. The Emperor brought before the Sultan, and humbling himſelfe in ſuch ſort as beſt beſeemed his heauie fortune,the Sultan preſently took him vp,and thus cheerfully ſpoke vnto him: *Grieue not noble Emperor* (ſaid he)*at thy miſhap for ſuch is the chance of war,ouerwhelming ſomtimes one ſomtimes another: neither feare thou any harme,for I will vſe thee not as my priſoner,but as an Emperor:* which he accordingly did,preſently appointing him a princely pauillion,with all things anſwerable to his eſtate, ſetting him oftentimes at his owne boord,and for his ſake enlarging ſuch priſoners as he required. And after he had thus for certain daies honorably vſed him,and diſcourſed with him of many things,he concluded a perpetuall peace with him, vpon promiſe of a marriage to be made betwixt their children,and ſo with a ſafe conuoy ſent him away with greater honor than was at an enemies hand to haue bin expected. The Emperour in Turkiſh attire, which the Sultan had beſtowed vpon him,comming to THEODOSOPOLIS,there ſtaid the curing of his wounds,& afterwards accompanied with the Sultans embaſſadors,ſet forward toward CONSTANTINOPLE. But all was now there changed: for vpon the report of his captiuity, *Iohn* the *Caſar* with *Pſellus* one of the chiefe Senators,and others of the ſame faction,which alwaies enuied at the honour of *Diogenes*,preſently took the imperiall gouernment from *Endocia* the Empreſſe, and thruſting her into a monaſterie which ſhe had built neere to PROPONTIS, ſet vp *Michael Ducas* her eldeſt ſon,Emperour,in ſtead of *Diogenes*: whoſe ſimplicity, *Caſar* his vncle abuſing with the reſt,did now what they liſt. And hearing that *Diogenes* was now (contrary to their expectation)ſet at libertie by the Sultan,and comming towards the emperiall city,ſent out letters euery way in the new Emperors name,vnto all the gouernours of the prouinces whereby he was to paſſe,not to receiue him as Emperour,or to do him any honor: which *Diogenes* vnderſtanding,ſtaid at the caſtle of DOCIA,whither ſome of his friends with ſuch power as they were able to make,reſorted vnto him. Againſt whom, *Caſar* with the contrary faction firſt ſent his ſon *Conſtantine*,and after that *Andronicus* his eldeſt ſonne,both *Diogenes* his mortall enemies, with a great army: by whom *Diogenes*,with his friends and followers,were ouerthrowne and diſcomfited. *Diogines* himſelfe flying to the citie of ADANA, was there hardly beſieged by *Andronicus*, and in the end glad to yeeld himſelfe,vpon condition, that hee ſhould reſigne the empire, and ſo for euer after to lead a priuate life. For whoſe ſafetie,certaine of the chiefe of the clergie ſent of purpoſe from *Michael* the Emperor,gaue their faith: ſo *Diogenes* all attired in black,yeelded himſelfe to *Andronicus*; by whom he was brought to COTAI,then the metropoliticall citie of PPHRIGIA,there to expect what further order ſhould be taken for him from the court: during which time he fell ſicke, being (as many ſuppoſed) ſecretly poiſoned. But whilſt he there lay languiſhing,an heauier doome came from the young Emperour,That he ſhould haue his eies put out: which was forthwith in moſt cruell manner done; the clergie men that had before for his ſafetie gaged their faith, crying out in vaine againſt ſo horrible a crueltie. Thus depriued of his ſight,he was conueyed into the Iſland of PROTA, where his eies for lack of looking to,putrifying,and worms breeding in them,with ſuch an odious ſmel as that no man could abide to come nigh him,he in ſhort time after died,when he had raigned three yeares, eight monethes. All which miſerie was thought to haue happened vnto him through the malice of *Caſar*,without the knowledge of the youug Emperour his nephew.

Axan the Sultan ſeeketh to reuenge the death of Diogenes.

Axan hearing of the miſerable end of the late Emperor *Diogines*,was therwith much grieued and the more,for that the league which he had to his good content ſo lately made with him, A was thereby come to nought: wherfore in reuenge thereof, he with great power inuaded the imperiall prouinces, not for ſpoile & booty only, as in former time, but now to conquer and to hold the ſame. Againſt whom, *Michael* the Emperor ſent *Iſaac Comnenus* his Lieutenant, with a great army: who meeting with the Turks, & ioyning battell, was by them ouerthrown with all his armie, and taken priſoner, and glad afterwards for a great ſumme of mony to redeeme himſelfe. After which ouerthrow, the Emperor ſent his vncle *Cæſar* with another army againſt them, who was by *Ruſelius*, that had before reuolted from the Emperour, ouerthrowne at the riuer SANGARIVS, and taken priſoner; whom he for all that, ſhortly after ſet at libertie againe, and ioyning with him againſt the Turks, were both together by them diſcomfited and taken priſoners, but afterwards redeemed; *Cæſar* by the Emperour, and *Ruſelius* B by his wife. This *Ruſelius* was a notable traitour, who ioyning with the Turks, did what hee liſt in the prouinces of the empire in the leſſer ASIA: for the repreſſing of whom, the Emperor ſent *Alexius Comnenus*, a young man, but verie politick and couragious; who ſecretly practiſing with the Turks that were great with *Ruſelius*, had him at laſt by them for a ſum of money betraied into his power: who forthwith ſent him to CONSTANTINOPLE to the Emperor, by whom he was impriſoned, but afterward ſet at libertie and employed againſt *Bryennius* and his brother, then vp in rebellion againſt the Emperour.

But to come neerer to the Turkiſh affaires. *Cutlu-Muſes*, who with his couſin *Melech* and others, were for feare of *Tangrolipix* their couſin fled into ARABIA, as is before declared, now in the beginning of the raigne of *Axan*, returned: and as the enuious competitors of his king- C dom, hauing raiſed a great power of their friends and partakers, were now ready to haue tried the matter with him by plaine battell. Againſt whom alſo, the Sultan on the other ſide had brought into the field his whole forces, and was now likewiſe ready to haue incountred them neere vnto the city of ERES. But whilſt the Turks thus diuided, ſtood ready to deſtroy themſelues, the Caliph of BABILON (from whom though the Turks had taken all temporal ſoueraigntie, yet in matters of religion ſtill held him in great reuerence and eſteem, as their chiefe Biſhop, and the ſucceſſor of their great Prophet) conſidering that nothing could be more dangerous to his ſect and religion, than that ciuil diſcention, the late confuſion and vtter ruine of the Saraſin empire, and authority of the Caliphs; and fearing the like effect in theſe new Saraſins, now the chiefe ſtay of the Mahometan ſuperſtition: ſetting aſide al pontifical formality, D whereby he was bound not to go out of his own houſe, came with all ſpeed, euen as the armies were now ready to ioyn battell, and thruſting himſelfe into the middeſt betwixt them, what with the reuerence of his perſon, what with his effectual perſuaſion, wrought ſo much, and preuailed ſo far with both parties, that they were content to lay down their weapons, and to ſtand to his order, and iudgment: which was, That *Axan* the Sultan ſhould ſtil inioy his kingdom and territories, whole and entire vnto himſelfe as he did: and that *Cutlu-Muſes* and his ſons, aided by him, and ſo inuading the prouinces of the Conſtantinopolitan empire, ſhould thereof ſubdue ſo much as they could vnto themſelues, and to be thereof accounted the only Lords and gouernors: which order as it was vnto the Turks, and for the maintenance of the Mahometan ſuperſtition, very wholſome and commodious, ſo was it vnto the Chriſtian com- E monweale and religion moſt dangerous and hurtful, as in proceſſe of time by proofe it appeared. For by this mean, in ſhort time after, *Cutlu-Muſes* with his couſins and ſons ſubdued all MEDIA, with a great part of ARMENIA, CAPADOCIA, PONTVS, and BYTHINIA, and ſo a great part of the leſſer ASIA. By the aid of this *Cutlu-Muſes*, and the fauor of the ſoldiers, *Nicephorus Botoniates* aſpiring vnto the empire of CONSTANTINOPLE, diſplaced his maſter the Emperor, *Michael Ducas*, after he had raigned ſix years and ſix moneths, and in the habit of a Monke thruſt him into an Abbey: which vſurper by the iuſt iudgement of God, was at length requited euen with the ſame meaſure, & in like manner ſerued by *Comnenus*; who thruſting him out, ſucceeded himſelfe in the empire. Much it was that this *Cutlu-Muſes*, with his ſons and kinſmen did for the inlarging of the Turkiſh empire, by the helpe of the great F Perſian Sultan: whoſe forces, together with their own, in diuers countries cõducted by theſe worthie leaders his nigh kinſmen, & doing great matters, gaue occaſion for themſelues to be accounted Sultans, though indeed they were none, neither their names ſuch as are by ſom antient writers, and others of later time alſo reported; but vnto the Turks themſelues by thoſe names, either for Sultans, vnknown. Out of theſe great cõmanders, all born of the Selzuccian

Cutlu-Muſes with his ſonne and kinſmen take vp armes againſt Axan the Sultan.

A moſt hurtfull order for the Chriſtian common weale.

The ground of the errour of diuers writers about the ſucceſſors of Tangrolipix, otherwiſe of them called Sadocb family, hath *Aithonus*, and others following his report, deriued their *Dogriſta*, *Aſpaſalemus*, *Meleclas*, and *Belchiaroc*, whom they ſuppoſe to haue orderly ſucceeded *Zadoc*, otherwiſe called *Tangrolipix*, in the Turkiſh empire, and to haue done great matters: whereas both by the report of the Turkes themſelues, & the relation of the Greeks, it appears plainly, *Axan* (more truly called *Ax-han*, that is to ſay, the White king) to haue beene the ſon of *Tangrolipix*, and to haue ſucceeded him in the empire: and that by him the emperor *Diogenes* was taken, and not by *Aſpaſalemus* as they vainely imagine. As for *Aſpaſalemus*, whom the Turks by that name know not either any thing of his doings, it ſeemeth to haue beene a name corrupted of *Aſpam Sallarius*, the brother of *Tangrolipix* and *Habrami*, and not his ſonnes ſon as they would haue it. In like manner *Meleclas* alſo ſeemeth to haue been forged of *Melech* the ſon of *Habrami*, *Tangrolipix* his brother, and not of *Aſpaſalemus*, as ſome without any good ground report. Whom they finding to haue beene all great men in the Selzuccian family, with ſome others alſo, haue both corrupted their names, and giuen vnto them an imaginarie ſoueraigntie and ſucceſſion in the Turks firſt empire, ſuch as beſide that the Turks themſelues acknowledge not, is eaſily to be refelled out of the hiſtories of the Greeks, who had with them ſtill much to do. Wherefore leauing thoſe ſuppoſed princes of the Turks, with their imaginarie ſucceſſion, and doings, vnto the authors thereof, following more certainties, to returne again to the courſe of our hiſtorie. *Axan* the Sultan at the ſame time that he had by the mediation of the Chaliph (or not long after) fallen to agreement with his couſin *Cutlu-Muſes*; to increaſe the honour of his nation and the bounds of his empire, gaue vnto *Ducat* and *Melech*, two of his nigh kinſmen, the gouernement of DAMASCO and ALEPPO, with that part of SIRIA which ioyneth vnto them, of purpoſe that way to incroch vpon the Ægyptian Chaliph, who then had vnder his iuriſdiction, all, as far as LAODICIA in SIRIA; yet not with ſo large pripriuiledge as had *Cutlu-Muſes*, vnto whom and his poſteritie he had yeelded the abſolute honour of a Sultan or King, ouer ſuch conntries and prouinces as they ſhould win from the Chriſtians: but vnto theſe others his kiuſmen, he gaue the gouerment of the aforeſaid cities of DAMASCO and ALEPPO, in the frontiers of his dominion in SIRIA, conditionally that that they ſhould ſtill remaine his vaſſals, and hold of him as of their ſoueraigne, whatſoeuer they had, who neuertheleſſe in ſhort time mightily preuailed vpon the Egyptian, ſtil increaſing the Turkiſh territorie with the loſſe of the Saraſins, whoſe name together with their empire, was now by the Turks almoſt quite driuen out of ASIA.

But theſe proud branches of the Turkiſh Empire, thus ouerſpreading the leſſer ASIA, with the greateſt part of SIRIA, were in ſhort time after by the mercie of God, and the valour of the moſt Chriſtian and moſt religious princes of the Weſt, cut ſhorter, and brought againe into ſome better order. The full diſcourſe whereof, worthy eternall memorie, by others inrolled in the antient records of fame, I purpoſe not at large to follow, but in breif to touch, for the orderly continuation of the preſent hiſtorie, haſting to the doings of this victorious nation of latter times, wherein we are to make a longer ſtay, as more pertinent vnto the dangerous eſtate of the preſent time.

Peter a French Hermit goeth on pilgrimage to Ieruſalem.

It fortuned that whileſt *Cutlu-Muſes* and his ſons, ſupported by the Sultan *Axan* their kinſman, thus mightily preuailed againſt the Chriſtians in the leſſer ASIA on the one ſide, and *Melech* with his couſin againſt the Egiptian Caliph in SIRIA on the other: that one *Peter* a French Hermite mooued with a deuout zeale, according to the manner of that time, went to viſit the ſepulchre of our Sauior, with the other holy places at IERVSALEM: who comming into SIRIA, thē for the moſt part poſſeſſed by the Turks, & Saraſins, diligently noted by the way as he trauelled, the maners & faſhions of theſe barbarous nations, their gouernmēt, their cities, their power and ſtrength; but aboue all, the grieuous miſeries of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians, that there liued in moſt miſerable thraldom among them, without hope of releaſ: al which, he in the habit of a poore pilgrim, at liberty ſafely viewed, in the midſt of theſe miſcreants, being withall a little low hard fauoured fellow, & therefore in ſhew more to be contemnd than feared: yet vnder ſuch ſimple & homly feature lay vnregarded a moſt ſubtil ſharp & pearching wit, fraught with diſcretion and ſound iudgment, ſtil applying to ſom good vſe what he had in his long & painful trauel moſt curiouſly obſerued. He commeth to IERVSALEM, & performing his deuotions there, ſaw the grieuous miſery of the poore deuout Chriſtians, ſo greatly & heauy, as that greater or more intollerable could none be: wherwith not

The deſcription of Peter the Hermit.

G H I K L M

A little grieued, he entred into a deepe diſcourſe thereof with *Simon* the Patriarke and Abbot of the monaſterie of the Chriſtians (there before built by certaine Italian Merchants) and with the maſter of the Hoſpitalers, by whom he was fully informed thereof, as of whatſoeuer elſe he required. After much graue conference, it was at length agreed vpon amongſt them, that the Patriarke and the grand Maſter, ſhould in their own, and the names of the other oppreſſed Chriſtians, write their letters vnto the Pope & the other Chriſtian Princes, concerning their miſeries; & to craue their aid for the recouerie of thoſe holy places out of the hands of thoſe cruell Infidels: of which letters the deuout Hermit promiſed himſelf to be the truſtie carrier, and of their petitions the moſt carefull ſoliciter. Whereupon the Patriarke and grand Maſter, in the name of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians wrot their letters vnto this effect:

B *We the citiſens of the holy Citie, and countreymen of Chriſt Ieſus; dayly ſuffer thoſe things which Chriſt our King ſuffered but once, in the laſt dayes of his mortalitie. Wee are dayly buffeted, ſcourged, and pierced: euery day ſame of vs are brained, beheaded, or crucified. We would flie from citie to citie, vnto the remoteſt parts of the earth, and remooue out of the middle of that land where Chriſt our Sauior wrought our redemption, to lead a poore exiled and vagrant life; were it not impietie to leaue the Land (ſacred with the birth, doctrine, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of our Sauiour) without inhabitants and Prieſts; and that there ſhould firſt lacke ſuch as would indure death and martyrdome, than ſuch as would inflict the ſame; and that there ſhould not be which would willingly die for Chriſt, as in battell, ſo long as there were any that would fight againſt them. Theſe things truly wee moſt miſerably ſuffer: C yet was there a time when as our anceſtors feared no ſuch thing, either to themſelues or their poſteritie. And now perhaps the Chriſtian kingdomes of the Weſt liue likewiſe without the leaſt ſuſpicion of feare: but let them be moued by our example & teſtimony. The ſtrength of the Turks is daily increaſed, & ours diminiſhed: The continuall gaining of new kingdomes giueth them courage: They haue alreadie deuoured the whole world, in hope. The forces of the Turks are fiercer and ſtronger than the forces of the Saraſins, their policies deeper, their attempts more deſperat, their endeauors greater, and their ſucceſſe fortunater. Yet haue the Saraſins attempted both Romes: they haue beſieged Conſtantinople, and haue waſted not onely the ſea coaſts of Italie, but euen the heart of the land alſo. Then why ſhould the kingdomes of the Weſt preſume themſelues to ſtand in ſafetie and out of all perill, when as the chiefe fortreſſes of the world haue beene ſo indangered? What may the reſt of Chriſtendome promiſe vnto it ſelfe, ſeeing that Ieruſalem (the ſeat and ſpectacle of the Chriſtian Religion) hath beene beſieged, taken, ſacked, raſed, and D triumphed vpon? Seeing that of the Chriſtian profeſſion remaine but the poore and weake reliques, in compariſon of the antient whole entire bodie? This land, which is dayly beſprinkled with our bloud, yea the bloud it ſelfe crieth out for reuenge. And we your moſt humble ſuppliants, proſtrate at your feet, call vpon the helpe, aid, mercie, faith, and religion, of you moſt bleſſed Father, of the Kings, Princes, and Potentates; Chriſtians not in name and profeſſion onely, but in heart, ſoule, and ſpirit. Before the tempeſt thunder, before the lightning fall vpon you, auert from you and your children the ſtorme hanging ouer your heads: defend vs your poore ſuppliants, deliuer your religion from moſt wicked and accurſed ſlauerie. You ſhall in ſo doing deſerue immortall fame, and God ſhall requite your ſo great valour in this world with terreſtriall kingdomes, and in the world to come with eternall bliſſe, whoſe ſacred inheritance you ſhall haue defended from the rage of hell.*

The Letters of Simon Patriarke of Ieruſalem, and of the graund Maſter of the Hoſpitalers, vnto the Pope and other Chriſtian Princes, in the behalfe of the oppreſſed Chriſtians in Ieruſalem.

Rome and Conſtantinople, which was alſo called Noua Roma, *or new* Rome.

E With theſe letters, and plentie of other ſecret inſtructions, the deuout hermit returning into Italie, and comming to Rome, deliuered his letters vnto *Vrban* the ſecond of that name, then Pope, with a ful diſcourſe of the miſeries of the Chriſtians vnder the Turkiſh thraldom, which he had ſeene at Ieruſalem and other places as he trauelled; requeſting his holy care for the redreſſe thereof: with whom he ſo preuailed, that ſhortly after, hee calling a Councell at Claremont in France, among other things, propounded the miſerie of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians at Ieruſalem, as an eſpeciall matter to be conſidered of. And hauing cauſed the aforeſaid letters, directed vnto him and the other Chriſtian Princes, to be openly read in the F Councell, whereunto three hundred and ten Biſhops were then out of diuers parts of Chriſtendome aſſembled, with the Embaſſadors of all countries, much moued the whole aſſembly to compaſſion: at which time alſo the hermit (whoſe flowing eloquence fully counteruailed what wanted in his feature, ſtanding vp in the midſt of the Councell, deliuered his meſſage in the name of the afflicted Chriſtians, with their heauie groanings and teares: which as they

The Councell of Claremont in France.

could not be in letters expreſſed, ſo were they not hardly by the religious hermit (as by him G
who hauing but lately ſeene both the miſerie of the men, and deſolation of the places, and at
the heart touched with the griefe thereof) ſo liuely repreſented, as that it mooued the whole
aſſemblie with the like ſimpathie of heauineſſe and griefe. Which the Pope perceiuing, tooke
thereupon occaſion to enter into a large diſcourſe concerning that matter, with many effectuall
reaſons perſuading the Fathers and Princes there preſent, of the neceſſitie of ſo religious
a Warre to be taken in hand, for the deliuerance of their oppreſſed brethren out of the thraldome
of the Infidells; and now as well with their preſent Decree, as afterwards at their returne
home into their Countreys, by all meanes to further the ſame. Which notable perſuaſion,
with the heauie complaint of the Hermit, and the equitie of the Cauſe, ſo much
mooued the whole Councel, and the reſt there preſent, that they all as men inſpired with one H
Spirit, declared their conſent by their often crying out, *Deus vult*, *Deus vult*, God willeth
it, God willeth it: which words ſo then vttered by way of applauſe, were in the great and
moſt ſacred expedition following, much vſed of the deuout Chriſtians, as the fortunate
ſignall of their cheerefull forwardneſſe, euen in their moſt dangerous enterpriſes. Strange it
were to tell, and hardly to be beleeued (but that the antient Hiſtories beare witneſſe of the
like) how farre in one dayes ſpace the report of this religious decreed warre was by flying
Fame diſperſed.

An expedition agreed vpon by the Councel, for the relief of the Chriſtians oppreſſed in the Holy land.

The Councell diſſolued, and the reuerend Fathers returning euerie man home into his
owne countrey, it pleaſed God by their effectuall perſuaſions ſo to worke with the reſt of the
Chriſtian Princes, and people in generall, that in all countries and Prouinces in Chriſtendom, I
were ſhortly to be ſeene men of all ſorts in great number, with red Croſſes on their breſts (the
cogniſance of that ſacred expedition) readie of themſelues to ſpend both life and goods for
the defence of the Chriſtian Religion, and recouerie of the Holy Land. The number of
whom is of diuers diuerſly reported; but of moſt ſuppoſed to haue been three hundred thouſand
fighting men: Of whom the chiefe Commanders were, *Godfrey* Duke of Lorrain, with
his two brethren, *Euſtace* and *Baldwin*, all of the honourable Houſe of Buillon; *Hugh* ſyrnamed
the Great, brother to *Philip* then the French King; *Raymond* and *Robert* Earles of Flanders;
Robert Duke of Normandie, *William* the Conquerors ſonne; *Stephan de Valoys* Earle of
Chartiers; *Ademar* Biſhop of Podie, the Popes Legat; and *Peter* the Hermit, not to be numbred
amongſt the leaſt, as chiefe author of this moſt famous expedition: vnto whome manie K
other honourable Princes ioyned themſelues, as partakers of their trauels, though not with
like charge.

The chiefe commanders of the Chriſtians in their expedition into the Holy Land.

The firſt that ſet forward in this expedition, was one *Gualter Senſauier* a noble gentleman,
with a great band of men: not long after whom followed *Peter* the Hermit, with fortie thouſand
moe; who both trauelling thorow Germanie, Hungaria, and Bulgaria, were glad oftentimes,
eſpecially in the further part of Hungarie and Bulgaria, to open themſelues a way with
the ſword; and ſo with much labour, and no leſſe loſſe, came at length to Conſtantinople:
where they were not greatly welcome vnto the Emperour *Alexius Comnenus*; who guiltie
vnto himſelfe of the vnlawfull meanes whereby he had extorted the Empire from *Nicephorus*
his predeceſſour, had that expedition of the Chriſtians into the Eaſt, in diſtruſt, as purpoſed
againſt himſelfe: vntill that fully reſolued to the contrarie, by the Hermit and others; L
and that a farre greater power was comming after, for the inuaſion of the Turkes, and recouerie
of the Holy Land; he was content to relieue them now wearie of their long trauell: and
afterward to make roome for them that were to come, ſhipped them ouer the ſtrait of Boſphorus
into Aſia; who marching forward into Bithynia, encamped their Armie in the countrey
not farre from the Citie of Nice. In the meane time *Godfrey* with his brethren, and diuers
other Princes that had ioyned themſelues vnto him, with the Germaines and Loranois,
and the greateſt part of the Armie, followed the ſame way that the Hermit had taken before
him. At which time alſo *Hugh* the French Kings brother, with the Legate, the two *Roberts*
(the one Duke of Normandie, and the other Earle of Flanders) and the reſt of the French
Commaunders, paſſing ouer the Mountaines into Italie, came to Rome, with a wonderfull M
great Armie: where taking their leaue of the Pope, becauſe they would be leſſe troubleſome
vnto the Cities and Countreys whereby they were to paſſe, they diuided their great Armie
into three parts; whereof the one part went to Bruduſium, and the other to Bary, and the
third

A third to Hydruntum, vnto whom alſo *Bohemund* one of the great Princes of Apulia, joyned
himſelfe with twelue thouſand good ſouldiers that followed him. From theſe three ports the
Chriſtian armie departing, and croſſing the Adriaticke, arriued in ſafetie at Dirrachium, and
nigh thereabout vpon the coaſt of Dalmatia: from whence they trauelled by land thorow
Macedonia, to Conſtantinople; were they met with the Duke *Godfrey* and the reſt of the Armie:
whom alſo at the firſt, *Alexius* the Emperor is reported to haue but coldly entertained, as
jealous of his owne eſtate; vntill that better perſuaded of their deſignements and good meaning
towards him, confirmed by many rich Preſents ſent vnto him by theſe ſtrange Princes,
he joyned with them in league: wherein it was agreed, That the Emperor during the time of
this expedition ſhould furniſh them with new ſupplies of men, armour, victuals, and whatſoeuer
elſe they ſhould want: in regard whereof, the Princes on the other ſide promiſed to reſtore
B againe vnto the empire, what prouinces, countries, or cities they ſhould happily gain out
of the hands of the Turks and Saraſins, the Citie of Ieruſalem onely excepted: which agreement
was afterward on the ſuſpicious Emperors part but ſlenderly performed. Neuertheleſſe
this league ſo made, hee granted them paſſage, and ſo tranſported them ouer the ſtrait into
Aſia: only *Bohemund*, for an old grudge betwixt the Emperour *Alexius* and his father, would
not come to Conſtantinople, but marching with his armie thorow the vpper Myſia and Thracia,
came ſooner than any man had thought, vnto the ſtrait of Helleſpontus, and ſo paſſed.

Godfrey duke of Buillon, and the other Christian Princes, meete together at Cōſtantinople.

Now had *Gualter*, and the Hermit *Peter*, with their armie, lien two moneths in the countrey
about Nice, expecting the comming of the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes: for why, they
C thought it not good before their comming to attempt any thing againſt the enemie, whome
they knew to lie not farre off verie ſtrong. But the common ſouldiers wearie of ſo long lying,
and nought doing, and pinched with ſome wants; and withall diſliking of *Gualter* their
chiefe Commander, and the Hermit *Peter*, (of whoſe integritie and holineſſe they had a greater
opinion, than of his proweſſe and direction) roſe vp in mutinie, and diſplacing *Gualter*,
made choice of one *Raymund* a valiant Germaine Captaine, for their Generall: by whoſe
conduct they tooke Exorgum, a towne of purpoſe forſaken of the Turks. For they long before
vnderſtanding what a tempeſt of warre was growing vpon them out of Europe, ſought
by all meanes to cut off theſe that were alreadie come ouer, as the forerunners of a greater Armie
following; and therefore had left them this Towne, as a bait to traine them out of their
D Trenches. And after that the Chriſtians were thus poſſeſſed of the Towne, hauing layd certaine
ſtrong ambuſhes, they draue out certaine heards of cattell the more to allure them: all
which certaine companies of the Chriſtians brought in without any loſſe, the Turks ſtil winking
thereat. With which bootie the Chriſtians encouraged, went out three thouſand of them
to take in a little towne not farre off; who were by the Turks cut off and ſlaine euerie mothers
ſonne, as they were about to haue diuided the ſpoyle. Which ouerthrow reported into the
towne, diſcouraged euen the chiefe commanders of the armie, ſo that they reſolued no more
to trie the fortune of the field, before the comming of their friends. Neuertheleſſe the common
ſoldiers condemning them of cowardiſe, choſe them a new Generall, one *Godfrey Burel*,
whom they now requeſted not, but enforced to go out to reuenge the death of their fellows.
E Which their raſhneſſe not long after turned to their owne deſtruction: for ten thouſand of
them going out of Exorgum, to forrage the countrey, were by the Turkes intrapped, and almoſt
all ſlaine, except ſome few, which by ſpeedie flight eſcaped. The Turkes proſecuting
their victorie, layd hard ſiege to them in the towne alſo, vntill they had partly with famine,
and partly with the ſword conſumed the moſt part of them. The Hermit with the poore remainder
of his armie tooke his refuge to Cinite, a towne not farre off, before abandoned by
the Turks; where with much adoo he defended himſelfe vntil the comming of Duke *Godfrey*
and the reſt of the Princes.

Cutlu-Muſes the Turke was now dead, hauing left vnto his ſon Sultan *Solyman* many large
countries and prouinces, altogether gained from the Chriſtians in Aſia, whom he held in great
F ſubiection and thraldome. This warrelike Prince hauing diſcomfited and almoſt brought to
nought the hermits forces, was no leſſe careful for the withſtanding of the great army following:
which now being come into Bithynia, & lying before Nicomedia, remouing thence, laid
ſiege to the city of Nice, called in antient time Antigonia, of *Antigonus*, the ſon of *Philip* that
built it; and afterwards Nicea, of *Nicea* the wife of King *Lyſimachus*. In this city dwelt many

Nice beſieged by the Chriſtians.

deuout Greeks, Chriſtians; but in ſuch thraldome vnto the Turks, that they could not do any G thing for the deliuerie of themſelues. This ſiege indured longer than the Chriſtian Princes had at the firſt ſuppoſed: who although they to the vttermoſt of their power forced the citie on three ſides, yet was it ſtill notably defended, new ſupplies ſtil comming from the Turks by the lake of Aſcanius ioyning vpon the other ſide of the Citie. But after that the Chriſtians, poſſeſſed of the lake, began on that ſide alſo to lay hardly vnto the citie, the Turkes diſcouraged, and ſeeing themſelues beſet round with their enemies, yeelded vp the citie the fift of Iulie, in the yeare 1097, after it had been fiftie days beſieged. But whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege, the Turks aſſailed that quarter of the campe where the Legat lay; by whom they were notably repulſed, and with great loſſe inforced to retyre vnto the mountains. In this Citie, amongſt the reſt of the Turks, was taken *Solymans* wife, with two of her children, whome H the Princes ſent priſoners to Conſtantinople. This city ſo woon, was according to the agreement before made, reſtored vnto *Alexius* the Emperour, whoſe fleet had in that ſiege done good ſeruice, by taking the lake from the Turks.

1097

A cruell battell fought betwixt the Turkes and the Chriſtians.

The city of Nice thus won, the Chriſtian Princes remoouing thence with their armie, and marching thorow the country, came the fourth day after vnto a riuer which watred many rich paſtures: where as they were about to haue incamped, for the commodiouſneſſe of the place, and refreſhing of the armie, ſuddenly news was brought into the quarter where *Bohemund* lay, now buſie in caſting vp his trenches, That the Turkes with a great armie were readie euen at hand to charge him. For *Solyman* hauing raiſed a great power of his owne, and aided by the Sultan of Perſia his kinſman, was now come with an armie of 60000 ſtrong to giue the Chriſtians I battell: of whoſe approch *Bohemund* aduertiſed, left the fortifying of his trenches, and putting his ſoldiers in array, ſet forward to meet him; ſending word to the reſt of the Princes that lay a far off, to be readie as occaſion ſhould require, to relieue him. Theſe two armies conducted by their moſt reſolute chieftaines, meeting together, ioyned a moſt fierce and terrible battel, where in a ſhort ſpace the Turks lay ſlaine vpon heaps, in ſuch ſort that they ſerued the Chriſtians in ſtead of bulwarks. But whileſt *Bohemund* thus preuaileth in the battel, certain of the Turks horſemen wheeling about, brake into *Bohemunds* camp (not as then altogether fortified, & but ſlenderly manned) where among the women, and other weake perſons there left, they raiſed a great tumult & outcry, to the great appaling of them that were fighting in the battel: which *Bohemund* perceiuing, withdrew himſelfe with certain companies vnto the campe, K from whence he with great ſlaughter repulſed the enemie. But returning again into the battel, he found there a great alteration: for his ſoldiers whom before he had left as it were in poſſeſſion of a moſt glorious victorie, were now ſo hardly laid vnto by the Turks, as that they were readie to haue turned their backes and fled. Neuertheleſſe by his comming in, the battel was notably reſtored, and again made doubtful: when the enemie perceiuing how much the aſſaulting of the campe had troubled the Chriſtians in battell, ſent out certain troupes of horſemen again to aſſault the ſame; and had not failed vndoubtedly to haue taken it, being as aforeſaid not yet fortified, had not *Hugh* the French Kings brother come in good time to the reſcue: who comming in with 30000 horſemen, after hee had relieued the campe, entring directly into the battell, was notably incountred by a ſquadron of freſh ſoldiers of the Turks, by them L of purpoſe reſerued for ſuch euent. There began a battell more terrible than the firſt, with moſt doubtfull victorie: but at the length the Turks wearie of the long and cruell fight, and ſeeing moſt of their fellows ſlaine, began by little and little to giue ground, and ſo retyred into the mountains, which were not far off. In this battell, which continued a great part of the day, were ſlaine of the Turks 40000, and of the Chriſtians about 2000. The next morning *Bohemund*, with the French Kings brother, came againe into the field, in ſuch order as if they ſhould preſently haue giuen or receiued battell: where after they had ſtayd a great while, and ſaw no enemie to appeare, they fel to the honeſt burial of their dead; which were eaſily known from the Turks, by the red croſſes vpon their garments, the cogniſance of their ſacred warrefare.

Solyman flyeth.

Solyman flying with the remainder of his army, notably diſſembled his loſſe, giuing it out M that he had got the victorie: yet by the way as he went he burnt vp the countrey villages, and deſtroied or carried away whatſoeuer elſe he thought might ſtand the Chriſtians in any ſtead, if they ſhould further follow after him, leauing nothing for them but the bare ground.

After this victorie, *Bohemund* and the Chriſtian Princes, without reſiſtance marching

thorow

Antioch in Piſidia taken by the Chriſtians.

Heraclea yelded

A through the hot and drie countries of the leſſer Aſia, came to Antiochia a Citie of Piſidia,
which they tooke with ſmal labour: and ſo marching vnto Iconium the principall citie of Ci-
licia, neere vnto the mountaine Taurus, were there alſo of the citiſens courteouſly receiued,
where they ſtayed certaine dayes for the refreſhing of the armie. From thence they ſet for-
ward toward Heraclea, where a great power of the Turks were reported to be aſſembled. But
they, together with the garriſon ſouldiers, vpon the approch of the victorious armie of the
Chriſtians, forſooke the citie & fled: the citiſens being Chriſtians (as they were yet generally
in all the prouinces of the leſſer Aſia, but in great ſubiection to the Turks) and now rid of their
cruel maſters the Turkiſh garriſons, came foth, & meeting the Princes, gladly yeelded them-
ſelues with their citie vnto them, as vnto their deliuerers. Here the Chriſtian Princes fully in-
B ſtructed of the great feare and deſperation of the Turks, who now in no place durſt abide their
comming; for the more ſpeedy taking in of thoſe countries but lately oppreſſed by the Turks,
diuided their armie into two parts, leauing the one part thereof with ***Baldwin*** and ***Tancred*** in
Cilicia, for the full ſubduing thereof, (who in ſhort time tooke the cities of Tarſus, Edeſſa,
and Manuſſa, with all the reſt of the country, the Turkes not daring any where to abide their
comming:) the other part of the army in the mean time entring into the leſſer Armenia, tooke
the ſame from the Turkes, which the Princes gaue to one ***Palmurus*** an Armenian, who had in
that expedition done them great ſeruice. From thence they tooke their way into Capadocia,
which they alſo ſubdued, driuing out the Turks in euery place, and tooke the cities of Cæſa-
rea and Socor, where they ſtaied a few days for the refreſhing of the armie: with like ſucceſſe
they paſſed thorow the reſt of the prouinces of the leſſer Aſia, of late poſſeſſed by the Turks,
C ſtill chaſing them out before them, and ſetting at libertie the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians of
thoſe countries. Whereof ***Solyman*** (crauing aid of ***Axan*** the Perſian Sultan his couſin) grieuou-
ſly complained, by his letters to him directed in this ſort: ***The famous citie of Nice, with the***
countrey of Romania, which we by your aid and power haue gotten from the kingdome of the Greeks, and
of your bountie poſſeſſed, the Chriſtians of the kingdome of France haue again taken from vs. Thus was
the late erected kingdome of the Turks in the leſſer Aſia, by theſe valiant Chriſtian champi-
ons againe brought low, and they glad to retyre themſelues further off into the mountains and
more Eaſterne countries, vntill this heat was ouerpaſt; and that they, taking the benefit of the
troubled ſtate of the Greeke empire (afterwards rent in ſunder by ambition and ciuil diſcord,
the ruine of the greateſt monarchies) recouered not onely their former ſtate, but became alſo
D dreadfull vnto the Greeke Emperors themſelues: vpon whom they dayly gained in one cor-
ner or other, ſtill maintaining the honour of their eſtate vntill the riſing of the *Othoman* Fami-
lie, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall God willing be declared.

Sultan Solyman his letters vnto the Perſian Sultan Axan.

The Chriſtians bind themſelues by Oath, neuer to returne vntill they had woon the Holie Citie.

Theſe victorious Princes (then, and to the worlds end famous) not contented, to their im-
mortall praiſe, to haue thus driuen the Turks out of the leſſer Aſia, and recouered ſo many
countries; bound themſelues, as wel the Princes as the common ſoldiers, by ſolemne oath, ne-
uer to returne againe into their countries, vntill they had accompliſhed that ſacred war with
the conqueſt of the Holy citie. So mounting together the high mountain Taurus, and deſcen-
ding thence as into another world, they came to the citie Mareſia, which they tooke without
E reſiſtance, the Turks there in garriſon being by night before for feare fled: where the Chriſti-
ans for the refreſhing of themſelues certaine days ſtaid. In the mean time ***Robert*** Earle of Flan-
ders with 1000 men at armes, was ſent out to giue ſummons vnto a citie called Artaſia, about
15 miles diſtant from Antioch: when as the citiſens beholding the enſignes of the Chriſtians,
ſuddenly tooke vp armes againſt the Turks there in garriſon, which had of long holden them
in ſubiection, and preuailing vpon them, ſlew them euery mothers ſon: whoſe heads they pre-
ſented vnto the Earle, and receiued him into their citie. The Turkes to reuenge the death of
their friends, and to recouer againe the citie before the comming of the reſt of the armie, ſent
out about 10000 men out of Antioch; for thither was aſſembled a great power of them to
haue hindred the further proceedings of the Chriſtians: & being come neere to Artaſia, they
ſent before certain ſtragling companies, of purpoſe to draw the new come Chriſtians out of
F the citie, lying in the mean time in ambuſh with the reſt, of purpoſe to intrap them. With theſe
ſtragling companies the Flemings ſallying out luſtily, encountred, & eaſily put them to flight;
the Turkes indeed flying of purpoſe to bring them within the danger of the other, lying in
ambuſh. After whom the Flemmings eagerly following, were before they were aware en-

cloſed round with their enemies, and there had vndoubtedly periſhed, had not the Citiſens G
(being Chriſtians) preſently ſallied out and right worthily relieued them.

Antioch in Syria beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The deſcription of the famous citie of Antioch.

Shortly after, the Chriſtian Princes marching forward with their armie, were incountred
by the Turke at the riuer Orontes, who had there thought to haue ſtayd their further paſſage:
with whom *Robert* Duke of Normandie, who had the leading of the vantgard, had a hard conflict,
vntill that the Turks, diſcouraged with the ſight of the armie ſtill comming on, forſooke
the bridge, and betooke themſelues to flight. So the Chriſtians paſſing the riuer, came and incamped
with their armie before the famous citie of Antioch, the one and twentieth day of
October, in the yere 1097: the gouernor whereof vnder the Perſian Sultan was one *Caſſianus*,
(of ſome alſo honored with the name of a King) who at the comming of the Chriſtians, had
with him in the citie ſeuen thouſand horſemen, and twentie thouſand foot of the Turkes, with H
great ſtore of victuals, and all manner of other prouiſions neceſſarie for the defence thereof.
This citie, called in antient time Epidaphane, or Epiphane, and of the Hebrewes, Reblatha,
ſometime the ſeat of the Syrian Kings, and afterwards the metropoliticall citie of Syria, hauing
vnder it an hundred and fiftie Biſhops, (famous for many things, and amongſt others, for
that it was the ſeat of the bleſſed Apoſtle S. *Peter*, and firſt place whereas the profeſſors of the
Chriſtian religion tooke the name of Chriſtians) is ſcituate vpon the riuer Orontes, about
twelue miles from the ſea, and was then ſtrongly fortified both by Nature & Art, being compaſſed
about with a double wall; the vttermoſt whereof was of hard ſtone, and the other of
bricke, with 460 towers in the ſame, and an inpregnable caſtle at the Eaſt end thereof, whereunto
was ioyning a deepe lake, comming out of the great riuer, which watred the South ſide I
of the citie. Round about this ſtrong citie (one of the moſt aſſured refuges of the Turks) although
it were in circuit great, lay the Chriſtian Princes encamped, except on that ſide which
being defended with the high broken mountaines, is not there to be beſieged. Vpon whom
the Turks out of the citie, during the time of the ſiege made many a fierce and deſperat ſallie,
being ſtill by the Chriſtians moſt valiantly repulſed: eſpecially at the bridge which the Chriſtians
had made of boats for their more commodious paſſage too and fro ouer the riuer. In
this ſort was the ſiege continued vntill the beginning of Februarie, with many a bloudie ſkirmiſh.
At which time ſuch abundance of raine fell, as that hardly could a man finde any place to
lie drie in; and the ſcarcitie of victual grew ſo great in the campe, that many (horrible it is to
ſay) to aſſuage their hunger, were glad to eat the dead bodies of their late ſlaine enemies. In K
theſe extremities many died of hunger and cold, yea their horſes alſo periſhed for want of
meat, ſo that in the whole camp were ſcarcely left two thouſand horſes fit for ſeruice, the reſt
being either all dead, or brought ſo low, as that they were altogether vnſeruiceable. Theſe
miſeries dayly increaſing, diuers men of great account, whom no terror of the enemie could
haue diſmaid, began ſecretly to withdraw themſelues out of the campe, with purpoſe to haue
ſtolne home; among whom were *Peter* the hermit author of this war, and *Tancred* the nephew
of *Bohemund*, who taken by the way, and brought backe with the reſt as fugitiues, were ſharply
reprehended by *Hugh* the French Kings brother, as cowards, and traitors to their brethren
and fellow ſoldiers, & ſo inforced to take a new oath for their fidelitie and perſeuerance. *Bohemund*
in the mean time going to Arthuſia a town not far off, by good fortune cut off a great part L
of the Turks there in garriſon: who after their vſuall manner ſallying out to haue cut off the
forragers of the Chriſtians, were now themſelues caught tardie: whereby the countrey for a
time was more open for the diſtreſſed Chriſtian ſoldiers to ſeeke abroad for reliefe. But this
libertie ſo lately gained laſted not long, when newes was brought vnto the campe, That the
Turks in great number, out of the prouinces about Aleppo and Damaſco, were comming vnto
the reliefe of their beſieged friends in Antioch. Neuertheleſſe the Chriſtians truſting to their
own ſtrength, & the ſtrength of the place wherin they were incamped, lay ſtil, & at their comming
ſo incountred them, that they ſlew 2000 of them, and put the reſt to flight. In which conflict
the Chriſtians got great ſtore of prouiſion and victuals which the Turkes had thought to
haue put into the city. The heads of the ſlaine Turks the Chriſtians ſet vpon ſtakes before the M
citie, to the more terrour of the defendants. This ouerthrow of the Turkes, wherein *Caſſianus*
had loſt his eldeſt ſonne, with others of his beſt captains, ſo daunted the beſieged, that they requeſted
a truce for a time of the Chriſtian princes: which granted, they of the city came oftentimes
into the campe, and they of the campe likewiſe into the city: *Caſſianus* ſtil expecting reliefe

A liefe from the Perſian Sultan. Whileſt the Chriſtians Princes were thus buſie in Aſia, the Venetians with a great fleet of two hundred gallies ſcowring the ſeas, vnder the conduct of *Henry Contarenus* the Biſhop, and of *Vitalis* the Dukes ſon, meeting with the gallies of *Piſa* at the Rhodes, and falling out with them, had with them a great fight, wherin the Venetians hauing the vpper hand, tooke eighteene of their gallies, & in them fiue thouſand ſouldiers: whome they ſeeing to be marked with the red croſſe, the cogniſance of the ſacred war, they preſently ſet at libertie, together with the gallies, detaining only thirty of the better ſort as hoſtages. After that, the Venetians ſailing into Ionia, tooke the citie of Smyrna, and ſpoiled al along the coaſts of Lycia, Pamphilia, and Cilicia, before for feare abandoned by the Turks.

The truce before taken between the Turks and the Chriſtians at the ſiege of Antioch, being B in ſhort time after broken by the death of one *Vollo* a Frenchman, ſlaine by the Turkes; the war was againe begun, and the citie more hardly laid vnto than before. At which time the gouernor, who in the time of this long ſiege, which had now continued nine months, had loſt moſt part of his beſt ſoldiers, was glad for the defence of ſo great a citie, to vſe the ſeruice of diuers Chriſtians, then dwelling in the citie. Among whom was one *Pirrhus*, a citizen of great reputation, vnto whom he had committed the guarding of a tower, called the two Siſters; but afterward S. *Georges* tower. This *Pirrhus* had ſecret intelligence with *Bohemund* Prince of Tarentum, with whom hee agreed to giue him there entrance into the citie, vpon condition, that he ſhould of the other Chriſtian Princes procure the gouernment of the citie to himſelf; and that he, with the reſt of the Chriſtian citizens in the citie, might bee at his hands well C vſed: which thing being eaſily obtained, all things agreed vpon, *Bohemund* with his ſoldiers were by night by *Pirrhus* let into the citie, who made way for the reſt of the armie to enter. The citie thus taken, many of the Turks fled into the caſtle, the reſt were put to the ſword, man, woman, & child; and among them alſo many of the Chriſtians, the furious ſoldiers taking of them no knowledge. Great wealth was there found, but ſmall ſtore of victuals. *Caſſianus* the late gouernor flying out of the city to ſaue himſelfe, in wandring thorow the mountains, fel into the hands of the Chriſtian Armenians, who lately thruſt out of Ieruſalem, were fled thither for refuge, by whom he was there ſlaine. In the citie were ſlaine about ten thouſand perſons. Thus was the famous city of Antioch, which the Turks had long before by famin taken from the Chriſtians, againe recouered the third day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord God, 1098. The poore oppreſſed Chriſtians in Ieruſalem hearing of this ſo notable a victorie, gaue ſecret D thanks vnto God therfore, & began to lift vp their heads in hope that their deliuerie was now at hand. Of this victorie, the Princes of the armie by ſpeedy meſſengers & letters certified their friends in all countries, ſo that in ſhort time, the fame thereof had filled a great part of the world. Among others, *Bohemund* Prince of Tarentum, vnto whom the citie was deliuered, ſent the ioyfull newes thereof vnto *Roger* his brother prince of Apulia: whoſe letters as the moſt certain witneſſes of the hiſtory before reported, I thought it not amiſſe here to ſetdown:

Antioch betraied to the Chriſtians.

Caſſianus gouernour of Antioch in flying ſlaine.

1098

I ſuppoſe you to haue vnderſtood by the letters of your ſonne Tancred, *both of the great feare of ſome of vs, and the battels which wee haue of late with our great glorie fought. But concerning the* E *truce, and the proceeding of the whole action, I had rather you ſhould be certified by my letters, than the letters of others. King* Caſſianus *had required a time of truce: during which, our ſouldiers had free recourſe into the citie without danger, vntill that by the death of* Vollo *a Frenchman, ſlaine by the enemie, the truce was broken. But whilſt it yet ſeemed an hard matter to winne the citie, one* Pyrrhus *a citizen of Antioch, of great authoritie and much deuoted vnto mee, had conference with mee concerning the yeelding vp of the citie; yet vpon condition, That the gouernment thereof ſhould be committed to mee, in whom he had repoſed an eſpeciall truſt. I conferred of the whole matter with the Princes and great commanders of the armie, and eaſily obtained that the gouernment of the citie was by their general conſent allotted vnto mee. So our armie entring by a gate opened by* Pyrrhus, *tooke the citie. Within a few dayes after, the towne Aretum was by vs aſſaulted, but not without ſome loſſe and danger to our per-* F *ſon, by reaſon of a wound I there receiued. I aſſure you much of the valor of your ſon* Tancred, *of whom I and the whole armie make ſuch account and reckoning, as is to be made of a moſt valiant and reſolute Generall. Farewell. From Antioch.*

The letters of Bohemund Prince of Tarentum, to his brother Roger prince of Apulia, concerning the winning of Antioch.

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Antioch, *Corbanas* (the Perſian Sultan his lieutenant)

Edeſſa in vaine beſieged by the Turks.

Corbanas the Sultans lieutenant, with a great armie commeth to recouer againe the citie of Antioch.

lieutenant) with a great armie beſieged Edeſſa, with purpoſe after the taking thereof, to haue G releiued the citie of Antioch. But this being notably defended by *Baldwin* left there of purpoſe with a ſtrong garriſon for the defence thereof; the Turke fearing in the meane time to loſe Antioch, the ſafeſt refuge of the Turks in all thoſe parts, roſe with his armie, and ſet forward againſt the Chriſtians: where by the way, it was his fortune to meet with *Sanſadolus*, *Caſſianus* his ſon, but lately fled from Antioch, by whom he vnderſtood of the loſſe of the citie, and by what meanes the ſame was moſt like againe to be recouered: vpon which hope, *Corbanas* with his mightie armie kept on his way, with a full reſolution to ſet all vpon the fortune of a battel. Whoſe comming much troubled the Chriſtians: for that although they were poſſeſſed of the citie, yet was the caſtle ſtill holden by the Turks. Neuertheleſſe leauing the Earle of Tholous in the city, with a competent power for the keeping in of them in the caſtle, H they tooke the field with the whole ſtrength of the armie, & ſo in order of battell expected the comming of their enemies: who couragiouſly comming on, as men before reſolued to fight, ioyned with them a moſt terrible and bloudie battell. Neither were they in the citie in the mean time idle; for that the Turks in the caſtle hauing receiued in vnto them certaine ſupplies from *Corbanas*, ſallied out vpon them that were left for the ſafegard of the citie, and had with them a cruell conflict. Thus both within the citie and without, was to be ſeene a moſt dreadful fight of reſolute men, with great ſlaughter on both ſides: yet after long fight & much effuſion of bloud, the fortune of the Chriſtians preuailing, the Turkes began to giue ground, and afterwards betook themſelues to plain flight, whom the Chriſtians hardly purſuing, made of them a wonderfull ſlaughter. In this battell were ſlain of the Turks aboue an hundred thouſand, I and of the Chriſtians about foure thouſand two hundred. There was alſo taken a great prey; for beſides horſes and other beaſts for burden, were taken alſo fiue thouſand camels with their lading. The next day, being the 28 of Iune, the caſtle was by the Turks (now diſpairing of reliefe) yeelded vp vnto the Chriſtians.

Antioch thus taken, *Hugh* the French kings brother, ſyrnamed the Great, was ſent from the reſt of the Princes to Conſtantinople, to haue deliuered the citie vnto *Alexius* the Emperor according to the agreement before made. But he, guiltie in conſcience of his owne foule dealing with them, vnto whom he had ſent no reliefe at all during the long and hard ſiege of Antioch; neither performed any thing of that he had further promiſed, and therefore knowing himſelfe hated of them; had in diſtruſt ſo great an offer of the princes, ſo euill deſerued, and K therfore refuſed to accept therof. Whereupon *Bohemund* by the general conſent of the whole armie was choſen Prince, or (as ſome call him) King of Antioch.

Bohemund choſen Prince of Antioch.

The plague in the Chriſtian army.

Diſcord ariſing vpon emulation betwixt Bohemund and Raimund.

After this long ſiege and want of victuals, enſued a great plague in the army of the Chriſtians, the Autumne following, whereof it is reported fiftie thouſand men to haue died, and amongſt them many of great accouat. But the mortalitie ceaſing, the Chriſtians in Nouember following, by force tooke Rugia, and Albaria, two cities, about two dayes iourney from Antioch: where diſſention ariſing betwixt *Bohemund* and *Raimund*, who of all others only enuied at his preferment vnto the principalitie of Antioch: *Bohemund* for the common cauſes ſake, gaue way vnto his aduerſarie, & retired with his ſouldiers backe againe to Antioch; after whom followed the Duke *Godfrey*, and the Earle of Flanders with their regiments. The reſt of L the Princes wintred ſome at Rugia, ſome at Albaria, from whence *Raimund* made ſundrie light expeditions further into the enemies countrey: but the Spring approching, the Chriſtian Princes with all their power tooke the field againe. *Bohemund* with them that remained with him, departing from Antioch, beſieged Tortoſa. *Raimund* in the meane time with the reſt, beſieging the citie of Tripolis: who become much more inſolent than before, by reaſon of ſome fortunate roades hee had made vpon the enemies the laſt winter, ceaſed not ſtill to maligne *Bohemund* and his proceedings: matter enough to haue diuided the whole power of the Chriſtians, & to haue turned their weapons vpon themſelues: which *Bohemund* well conſidering, roſe with his army; and becauſe he would not with his preſence trouble the proceeding of the religious war, retired himſelfe to Antioch. After whoſe departure, *Godfrey* & the Earle M of Flanders, tooke Gabella, a citie about twelue miles from Laodicia, and from thence returned againe to the ſiege of Tortoſa, whether *Raimund* came alſo with his armie, hauing before driuen the gouernour of Tripolis to ſuch compoſition as pleaſed himſelfe, and to furniſh him with ſuch things as he wanted. Thus was Tortoſa hardly on three ſides beſieged

A by the Chriſtians, but ſo notably defended by the Turks, that after three moneths hard ſiege, the Chriſtians were glad to depart thence: and marching long the ſea ſide, ſpoiled the countrey about Sidon. But foraſmuch as that citie was not eaſily to be won, they left it, and encamped before Ptolemais, which they alſo paſſed by: the gouernour thereof ſending them out victuals, with ſuch other things as they wanted, and vpon ſummons giuen, promiſing to yeeld the citie after they had once woon the citie of Ieruſalem. From thence they came to Ceſarea in Paleſtine, where they ſolemnly kept the feaſt of Whitſontide; and ſo to Rama, which they found for feare forſaken of the Infidels. Marching from Rama, and drawing neere to Ieruſalem, they in the vantgard of the armie, vpon the firſt deſcrying of the Holy citie, gaue for ioy diuers great ſhouts and outcries, which with the like applauſe of the whole army was ſo B doubled and redoubled, as if therewith they would haue rent the very mountaines, and pierced the higheſt heauens. There might a man haue ſeene the deuout paſſions of theſe moſt worthy and zealous Chriſtians, vttered in right diuers manners: ſome, with their eyes and hands caſt vp towards heauen, called aloud vpon the name and helpe of Chriſt Ieſus; ſome, proſtrate vpon their faces, kiſſed the ground, as that whereon the Redeemer of the world ſometime walked: others, ioyfully ſaluted thoſe holy places which they had heard ſo much of, and then firſt beheld: in briefe, euery man in ſome ſort expreſſed the ioy he had conceiued of the ſight of the Holy citie, as the end of their long trauell.

The exceeding ioy of the Chriſtians vpon the firſt deſcrying of the holy citie

This moſt antient and famous citie, ſo much renowned in holy Writ, is ſcituate in an hillie countrey; not watred with any riuer or freſh ſprings, as other famous cities for moſt part be; C neither yet was it wel ſeated for wood, or paſture ground: but what wanted in theſe, and ſuch other benefits of nature, was by the extraordinary bleſſings of the moſt higheſt ſo ſupplied, as that the Iews there dwelling, ſo long as they kept the ordinances of the Lord, were of al other people in the world iuſtly accounted the moſt happie and fortunate. Yet in thoſe ſo bleſſed times, was this citie for the ſin of the people oftentimes deliuered into the enemies hand, and the glorie therof defaced; as wel appeareth by the whole courſe of the hiſtorie of holy ſcripture, as alſo by the antient & approoued hiſtories, as well of the Iewes themſelues, as others. Neuertheleſſe it ſtil roſe againe (though not in like glorie as before in the time of king *Dauid*, *Salomon*, & the other next ſucceeding kings) and ſo was ſtill repeopled by the Iews, vntill that at laſt according to the foretelling of our Sauiour Chriſt, it was with a great and of all others D moſt lamentable deſtruction, vtterly raſed and deſtroied by the Romans, vnder the leading of *Veſpatian* the Emperour, and his noble ſonne *Titus*, fortie yeares after our Sauiour his precious death and paſſion. Since which time, it was neuer vntill this day againe repaired, or yet well inhabited by the Iews; but lying buried in the ruins of it ſelfe, all the raigne of *Domitian*, *Nerua*, and *Traian*, vntill the time of the great Emperour *Ælius Adrianus*, it was again by him re-edified about the yeare 136, and after the name of him called Ælia; who together with the name changed alſo in ſome part the antient ſituation of the city. For wheras before it was ſeated vpon the ſteep riſing of an hil, in ſuch ſort that towards the Eaſt and the South it ouerlooked the whole ground, hauing only the Temple and the caſtle called Antonia, in the higheſt part of the citie; *Adrian* tranſlated the whole citie vnto the very top of the hill, ſo that the E place where our bleſſed Sauior ſuffered his moſt bitter paſſion, with the Spulchre wherein he was alſo laid, and from whence he in glory roſe again, before without the citie, were then incloſed within the wals therof, as they are at this day to be ſeen. Yet for all that, the Emperor being dead, in proceſſe of time this new built citie recouerd again the antient name of Ieruſalem, whereby it hath euer ſince, and is at this day yet knowne. This city ſo re-edified, the Emperor firſt gaue vnto the Iewes, whom he afterwards thruſt out againe for their rebellion, and gaue it to the Chriſtians to inhabit; ouer whom, one *Marke*, firſt Biſhop of the Gentiles there, had the charge. But foraſmuch as the Roman Emperors were at that time altogether Idolaters and perſecutors of the poore Chriſtians, the Church alſo at Ieruſalem, with others, endured ſundry & many grieuous perſecutions, vnder the emperors *Antonius*, *Commodus*, *Seuerus*, F *Maximinus*, *Valerianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Diocleſianus*, and *Maxentius*, vntill that at length *Conſtantine* the Great, conuerted vnto the faith of Chriſt about the yeare of Grace 320, ſuppreſſing the Pagan Idolatry, gaue generall peace to the afflicted Church: wherby the Chriſtian church at Ieruſalem, for the ſpace of three hundred yeares after, happily flouriſhed vnder the Greeke emperors, vntill the time of the emperor *Phocas*; who hauing moſt cruelly ſlain the good Emperour

Ieruſalem reedified by the great Emperour Ælius Adrianus.

A briefe diſcourſe of the ſtate & fortune of the Holy citie of Ieruſalem, from the deſtruction thereof, vnder Veſpatianus the Emperor, and Titus his ſonne, vntill it was now agian erecouered out of the hands of the Infidels by Godfrey of Buillon and the other Chriſtian princes of the Weſt.

rour *Maurice* with his children,and ſo poſſeſſed himſelfe of the empire, gaue occaſion there- G
by vnto *Choſroe* the Perſian King,in reuenge of the death of *Maurice* his father in law,with all
his power to inuade Syria: who as a tempeſt bearing downe all before him , tooke alſo by
force the citie of Ieruſalem, hauing that yere,which was about the yere ſix hundred and ten,
ſlain almoſt an hundred thouſand Chriſtians. But *Phocas* the vſurper beeing by them of his
guard moſt cruelly ſlaine,and *Heraclius* ſucceeding in his ſtead, *Choſroe* was by him againe dri-
uen out of Syria,and the holy citie againe recouered, about the yere 624. In theſe great wars
againſt the Perſians,*Heraclius* had vſed the help of the Arabians,called Scenite,a warlike peo-
ple of Arabia Deſerta,altogether giuen to the ſpoile: who,the wars now ended,expecting to
haue receiued their pay,were contrary to their expectation,and without al reaſon reiected by
them that ſhould haue paid them,with very foule and contumelious words;as,that there was H
not mony enough to pay the Chriſtian ſoldiers of the Latines & the Greeks,much leſſe thoſe
vile dogs (whom they ſo called, for that they had but a little before receiued the damnable
doctrine of the falſe Prophet *Mahomet*,the great ſeducer of the world,who euen in that time
flouriſhed.)Vpon which diſcontentment they at their returne reuolted from the empire, and
ioined themſelues vnto their great Prophet, & ſo afterwards vnto the Caliphs his ſucceſſors,
extending his doctrine,together with his ſoueraigntie,to the vtmoſt of their power: and that
with ſo good ſucceſſe, that in ſhort time they had ouerrun all Ægypt, Syria, the land of Pro-
miſe, and taken the holy citie. With theſe (the diſciples of *Mahomet* and his ſucceſſors, the
Saraſins,for ſo now they would be called) the Greeke Emperours enſuing had for certaine
yeres diuers conflicts, with diuers fortune, for the poſſeſſion of Syria. But at length wearied I
out,and by them ouercome,they left the aforeſaid countries wholly to their deuotion. Here-
by it came to paſſe,that the Saraſins for the ſpace of 370 yeres following held theſe countries,
with many others in great ſubiection, oppreſſing ſtill the poore Chriſtians in Ieruſalem with
moſt grieuous tributes and exactions: vnto whom they yet left a third part of the citie for
them to dwell in,with the Temple of the Sepulchre of our Sauior, and mount Sion; not for
any deuotion,either vnto them,or thoſe places,but for that it yeelded them a great profit by
the recourſe of deuout Chrtſtians trauelling thither:reſeruing in the meane time vnto them-
ſelues,the other two parts of the citie, with the Temple of *Saloman*, before re-edified by the
Chriſtians. Now whileſt the Saraſins thus triumph it in the Eaſt,and not in the Eaſt only, but
ouer a great part of the Weſt alſo; contenting themſelues with ſuch tributes as they had im- K
poſed vpon the ſubdued nations and countries; vp ſtart the Turks,a vagrant,fierce,and cruell
people; who firſt breaking into Aſia (as is before declared) and by rare fortune aſpiring vnto
the kingdome of Perſia, ſubdued the countries of Meſopotamia, Syria,with the greateſt part
of the leſſer Aſia,and Iudæa, together with the Holy citie: who both there and in all other
places,held the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians in ſuch ſubiection and thraldome, as rhat the for-
mer gouernment of the Saraſins ſeemed in compariſon of this to haue bin but light and ea-
ſie. Neither was there any end or releaſe of theſe ſo great miſeries to haue bin expected, had
not God in mercy by the weake means of a poore hermit,ſtirred vp theſe moſt worthy Prin-
ces of the Weſt to take vp arms in their defence,who hauing with their victorious armies re-
couered the leſſer Aſia, with a great part of Syria,were now come vnto this Holy citie. L

Ieruſalem beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The gouernor of Ieruſalem vnderſtanding by his eſpials, of the proceedings of the Chri-
ſtians,had before their approch,got into the citie a very ſtrong garriſon of right valiant ſoul-
diers,with good ſtore of all things neceſſarie for the holding out of a long ſiege. The Chri-
ſtians with their army approching the city,encamped before it on the North;for that toward
the Eaſt,& the South,it was not wel to be beſieged, by reaſon of the broken rocks and moun-
taines. Next vnto the citie lay *Godfrey* the Duke,with the Germans and Loranois: neere vnto
him lay the Earle of Flanders,and *Robert* the Norman: before the Weſt gate lay *Tancred* and
the Earle of Tholous: *Bohemund* and *Baldwin* were both abſent;the one at Antioch,the other
at Ediſſa. The Chriſtians thus ſtrongly encamped,the fift day after gaue vnto the citie a fierce
aſſault,with ſuch cheerefulneſſe,as that it was verily ſuppoſed,it might haue beene euen then M
woon,had they beene ſufficiently furniſhed with ſcaling ladders: for want whereof, they
were glad to giue ouer the aſſault and retire. But within a few days after,hauing ſupplied that
defect,and prouided all things neceſſarie,they came on againe afreſh,and with all their pow-
er gaue vnto the citie a moſt terrible aſſault,wherein was on both ſides ſeene great valour,po-

licie,

A licie, and cunning, with much ſlaughter, vntil that at length the Chriſtians wearie of the long fight, and in that hot countrey, and moſt feruent time of the yeare, fainting for lacke of water, were glad againe to forſake the aſſault, and to retire into their trenches: only the well of *Siloe* yeelded them water, and that not ſufficient for the whole campe; the reſt of the wels which were but few, being before by the enemie either filled vp or elſe poiſoned.

The Genowaies come to the ſiege.

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Ieruſalem: a fleet of the Genowaies arriued at Ioppa; at which time alſo a great fleete of the Ægyptian Sultans lay at Aſcalon, to haue brought reliefe to the beſieged Turkes in Ieruſalem, whereof the Genowaies vnderſtanding, and knowing themſelues too weake to encounter them at ſea, took all ſuch things out of their ſhips as they thought good, and ſo ſinking them, marched by land vnto the campe. There was B amongſt theſe Genowaies diuers enginers, men (after the manner of that time) cunning in making of all manner of engines fit for the beſieging of cities: by whoſe deuice, a great mouing tower was framed of timber and thick plancks, couered ouer with raw hides, to ſaue the ſame from fire: out of which the Chriſtians might in ſafety greatly annoy the defendants. This tower being by night brought cloſe to the wall, ſerued the Chriſtians in ſtead of a moſt ſure fortres in the aſſault the next day: where whilſt they ſtriue with warlike valor & doubtful victory on both ſides, from morning vntil midday, by chance the wind fauouring the Chriſtians, caried the flame of the fire into the face of the Turks, wherwith they had thought to haue burnt the Tower, with ſuch violence, that the Chriſtians taking the benefit therof, & holpen by the tower, gained the top of the wal: which was firſt footed by the Duke *Godfrey*, & his brother C *Euſtace*, with their followers, and the enſignes of the Duke there firſt ſet vp, to the great encouraging of the Chriſtians, who now preſſing in on euery ſide, like a violent riuer that had broken ouer the banks, bare down all before them. All were ſlain that came to hand, men, women, & children, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition: the ſlaughter was great, & the ſight lamentable, all the ſtreets were filled with bloud and the bodies of the dead, death triumphing in euery place. Yet in this confuſion, a wonderful number of the better ſort of the Turks, retiring to *Salomons* temple, there to do their laſt deuoire, made there a great and terrible fight, armed with deſpaire to indure any thing; & the victorious Chriſtians no leſſe diſdaining, after the winning of the citie, to find there ſo great reſiſtance. In this deſperat conflict, fought with wonderful obſtinacie of mind, many fel on both ſides: but the Chriſtians came on ſo fiercely, D with deſire of bloud, that breaking into the temple, the foremoſt of them were by the preſſe of them that followed after, violently thruſt vpon the weapons of their enemies, & ſo miſerably ſlaine. Neither did the Turks thus oppreſſed, giue it ouer, but as men reſolued to die, deſperatly fought it out with inuincible courage, not at the gates of the Temple only, but euen in the midſt thereof alſo, where was to be ſeene great heaps, both of the victors and the vanquiſhed; ſlaine indifferently together. All the pauement of the Temple ſwam with bloud, in ſuch ſort, that a man could not ſet his foot, but either vpon ſome dead man, or ouer the ſhooes in bloud. Yet for all that, the obſtinate enemie ſtill held the vaults and top of the Temple, when as the darkeneſſe of the night came ſo faſt on, that the Chriſtians were glad to make an end of the ſlaughter, & to ſound a retrait. The next day (for that proclamation was made, for mercy to E be ſhewed vnto all ſuch as ſhould lay downe their weapons) the Turks that yet held the vpper part of the Temple, came downe and yeelded themſelues. Thus was the famous citie of Ieruſalem with great bloudſhed, but far greater honor, recouered by theſe worthy Chriſtians, in the yeare 1099, after it had beene in the hands of the Infidels aboue foure hundred yeares. 1099

A moſt cruell and bloudie fight, betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, euen in the Temple of Ieruſalem.

The next day after, hauing buried the dead, and cleanſed the citie, they gaue thanks to God with publicke praiers and great reioycing. The poore Chriſtians before oppreſſed, now ouercome with vnexpected ioy, welcomed their victorious brethren with great ioy & praiſe; and the ſoldiers embracing one another, ſparing to ſpeake of themſelues, freely commended each others valour. Eight daies after, the princes of the armie meeting together, began to conſult about the choice of their king: among whom was no ſuch difference, as might wel ſhew which F was to preferred before the others. And although euery one of them for proweſſe and deſert, ſeemed worthy of ſo great an honor, yet by the generall conſent of all, it was giuen to *Robert* Duke of Normandie: who about the ſame time hearing of the death of the Conquerour his father, and more in loue with his fathers new gotten kingdome in England, in hope thereof, refuſed the kingdome of Hieruſalem, then offered vnto him: which at his returne he found poſſeſſed by ***William Rufus*** his yonger brother, and ſo in hope of a better, refuſing the G worſe, vpon the matter loſt both.

Godfrey Duke of Buillon by the generall conſent of the Chriſtian army choſen firſt king of Ieruſalem.

After whoſe departure, *Godfrey* of Buillon Duke of Loraine (whoſe enſigne was firſt diſplaid vpon the walls) was by the generall conſent both of the Princes and the armie, ſaluted King. He was a great ſoldier, and indued with many heroical vertues, brought vp in the court of the Emperour *Henrie* the fourth, and by him much emploied. At the time of his inauguration, he refuſed to be crowned with a crowne of gold: ſaying, That it became not a Chriſtian man there to weare a crown of gold, where Chriſt the Sonne of God had for the ſaluation of mankind, ſometime worne a crowne of thorne. Of the greateſt part of theſe proceedings of the Chriſtians, from the time of their departure from Antioch, vntill the winning of the Holy Citie, *Godfrey* by letters briefly certified ***Bohemund***, as followeth: H

Godfrey *of Buillon, to* Bohemund *King of Antioch, greeting.*

After long trauell, hauing firſt taken certaine townes, wee came to Ieruſalem: which citie is enuironed with high hils, without riuers or fountaines, excepting onely that of Salomons, *and that a very little one. In it are many Ciſternes, wherein water is kept, both in the citie and the countrey thereabout. On the Eaſt, are the Arabians, the Moabits and Ammonits. On the South, the Idumæans, Ægyptians and Philiſtians: Weſtward alongſt the ſea coaſt, lie the cities of Ptolemais, Tyrus, and Tripolis: and Northward, Tiberias, Ceſaræa, Philippi with the countrey Decapolis and Damaſco.* I *In the aſſault of the Citie, I firſt gained that part of the wall that fell to my lot to aſſaile, and commanded* Baldwin *to enter the citie: who hauing ſlaine certaine companies of the enemies, broke open one of the gates for the Chriſtians to enter.* Raymond *had the citie of* Dauid, *with much rich ſpoile yeelded vnto him. But when wee came vnto the Temple of* Saloman, *there wee had a great conflict, with ſo great ſlaughter of the enemie, that our men ſtood in bloud aboue the ancles: The night approching, wee could not take the vpper part of the Temple, which the next day was yeelded, the Turkes pittifully crying out for mercie: and ſo the Citie of Ieruſalem was by vs taken, the fifteenth of Iuly, in the yeare of our redemption 1099, thirtie nine dayes after the beginning of the ſiege, foure hundred and nine yeares after it fell into the hands of the Saraſins in the time of* Heraclius *the Emperour. Beſides this, the Princes with one conſent ſaluted mee (againſt my will) King of Ieruſalem: who although* K *I feare to take vpon mee ſo great a kingdome, yet I will doe my deuoire, that they ſhall eaſily know mee for a Chriſtian King, and well deſeruing of the vniuerſall Faith; but loue you me as you do, and ſo farewell. From Ieruſalem.*

An hundred thouſand Turks and Saraſins ſlaine.

Godfrey of Buillon firſt Chriſtian King of Ieruſalem, dieth of the plague.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing at Ieruſalem, ſuch a multitude of the Turkes, and Saraſins their confederates (now in their common calamitie all as one) were aſſembled at Aſcalon (a citie about fiue and twentie miles from Ieruſalem) to reuenge the iniuries they had before receiued, as had not before met together in all the time of this ſacred war. Againſt whom, *Godfrey* (the late Duke, and now King) aſſembled the whole forces of the Chriſtians in thoſe countries, and leauing a ſtrong garriſon in the new woon citie, ſet forward: and meeting with L them, ioined a moſt dreadfull and cruell battell; wherein (as moſt report) were ſlaine of the Infidels, an hundred thouſand men, and the reſt put to flight. The ſpoile there taken, far exceeded all that the Chriſtians had before taken in this long expedition. *Godfrey* after ſo great a victorie, returning to Ieruſalem, gaue vnto God moſt humble thanks. The reſt of the Princes returned either to their charge, as did ***Bohemund*** to Antioch, ***Baldwin*** to Edeſſa, ***Tancred*** into Galiley, whereof hee was created Prince; or elſe hauing now performed the vttermoſt of their vowes, returned with honour into their owne countries. This was of all others the moſt honourable expedition that euer the Chriſtians tooke in hand againſt the Infidels, and with the greateſt reſolution performed; for the moſt part, by ſuch voluntarie men, as moued with a deuout zeale, to their immortall praiſe, ſpared neither life nor liuing in defence of the Chriſtian M faith and religion; all men worthy eternall fame and memorie. Not long after, enſued a great peſtilence (the ready attendant of long war & want) whereof infinit numbers of people died, and among the reſt *Godfrey*, the firſt Chriſtian King of Ieruſalem, neuer to be ſufficiently commended: who with the generall lamentation of all good Chriſtians, was honourably buried

ried

A tied in the church of the Sepulchre of our Sauior, on the mount Caluarie, where our Sauiour ſuffered his paſſion: in which the Chriſtian Kings ſucceeding him were alſo afterwards buried, He departed this life the eighteenth of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1100, when he had yet ſcarce raigned a full yeare. Whoſe tombe is yet at this day there to be ſeene, with an honourable inſcription thereupon.

1100

After the death of *Godfrey*, the Chriſtians made choice of **Baldwin** his brother, Countie of Edeſſa, who leauing his former gouernment to *Baldwin* ſyrnamed *Burgenſis*, his neere kinſman, came to Ieruſalem honorably accompanied, and was there by the Patriarke on Chriſtmas day with all ſolemnitie crowned king, in the yere 1101. He aided by the Venetians & Genoways at ſea, and by *Bohemund* King of Antioch, by land, tooke from the Infidels the citie of Ceſarea B Stratonis, ſtanding vpon the ſea ſide, and ouerthrew certaine companies of the Ægyptian Sultans at Rama. But vnderſtanding that the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt were comming to his aid with a new power, he glad thereof, went to meet them, and ſafely conducted them to Ieruſalem alongſt the ſea coaſt, by the cities of Berythus, Sidon, Tyre, and Ptolemais, all yet holden by the enemie. At which time the Turkes at Aſcalon hauing receiued great aid from the Arabians and Ægyptians, inuaded the country about Ra[illegible]; where betwixt them and the Chriſtians was fought a moſt cruell battell, wherein the Chriſtians receiued a moſt notable ouerthrow, many of their great commanders being there ſlaine, and among the reſt, *Stephan* Earle of Charters, (but lately returned home from the former expedition, & now come backe againe) and *Stephen* Earle of Burgondie and Tholous: yea the King himſelfe hardly eſcaped the enemies hands, and after many dangers came at length to Ioppa, after it had been conſtant- C ly before reported him to haue been in that battell alſo ſlaine. Who hauing there in haſt repaired his armie, came againe ſpeedily vpon his enemies, fearing as then nothing leſſe; and ouerthrew them with ſuch a ſlaughter, as that they had ſmall cauſe to rejoyce of their former victorie. Neither were the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes in the other parts of Syria and Paleſtine, in the mean time idle, but ſought by all means to inlarge their territories. *Tancred* prince of Galilie hauing raiſed a great power, tooke Apamea the metropoliticall citie of Cœleſyria, and after much toyle woon alſo the citie of Laodicea. *Baldwin* alſo the Gouernor of Edeſſa, beſieging the citie of Carras, had brought the beſieged Turks to ſuch extremitie, that they were about to haue yeelded the citie; when ſuddenly he was ſet vpon by a great armie of the Turks ſent from the Perſian Sultan for the reliefe of the beſieged, & being there ouerthrown, D was himſelfe there taken, with *Benedict* the Biſhop, and one *Ioſcelin* his kinſman: who after fiue yeares captiuitie, found meanes with the Turke that had taken them, to redeeme themſelues, to the great offence of the Perſian Sultan, and of the Sultan *Solyman*.

Baldwin county of Edeſſa, and brother to Godfrey, ſecond king of Ieruſalem.

1101

King *Baldwin* after the late victory, liued for a ſeaſon at ſome good reſt in Ieruſalem, vnmoleſted of his enemies: but knowing his greateſt ſafetie among ſuch warlike people, to conſiſt in arms, he vpon the ſudden raiſed the whole ſtrength of his kingdome, and laid ſiege to Ptolemais, otherwiſe called Acon, a city of Phœnicia, ſtanding vpon the riuage of the ſea, where he found ſuch reſiſtance, that he was glad to raiſe his ſiege and depart, hauing done nothing more than ſpoyled the pleaſant places about the citie. By the way in his returne backe againe E it fortuned him to meet with certaine companies of the enemies aduenturers, by whom he was in a ſkirmiſh mortally wounded, although he died not thereof in long time after: for albeit that the wound was by his ſurgeons healed vp, yet was the griefe thereof ſo great, that at length it brought him to his end. Yet he notwithſtanding the former repulſe, the next yere incouraged by the comming of the Genoa fleet, laid hard ſiege againe to Ptolemais both by ſea and land, which after twentie dayes ſiege was by compoſition yeelded vnto him.

King Baldwin mortally wounded.

Ptolemais woon by K. Baldwin.

Shortly after, the gouernor of Aleppo, with certaine other of the Turks great captaines in thoſe quarters, hauing ioyned their forces together, and ſo inuaded the countrey about Antioch, were by *Tancred* (whom *Bohemund* at his departure into Italie had left gouernuor of that citie) notably incountred and put to flight. At which time alſo the Caliph of Ægypt ſending great forces both by ſea and land againſt the King of Ieruſalem, was in both places diſcomfited, at land by the Chriſtians, and at ſea by tempeſt.

Bohemund in the mean time, with a great armie of voluntarie men and others (wherein he is reported to haue had fiue thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot) returning towards the Holy Land, in reuenge of many iniuries done by *Alexius* the Emperour, vnto the ſouldiers of this ſacted war, contrarie to his faith and promiſe to them before giuen; by the way landed his men in Epirus, and grieuouſly ſpoyled the countrey about Dirrachium, part of the Emperors dominion. Neither made he an end of ſpoyling, vntill he had inforced the Emperour for redreſſe of ſo great harmes, to make peace with him, and again by ſolemne oath to promiſe all ſecuritie and kindneſſe vnto all ſuch Chriſtian ſouldiers as ſhould haue occaſion to trauell too or fro thorow his countries, during the time of this religious war. After which agreement he put to ſea againe, and ſo returned for Ieruſalem: but whileſt he ſtayed at Antioch, he ſhortly after there died in the yeare 1108, leauing the principalitie thereof vnto his young ſonne *Bohemund* a child, vnder the tuition of his nephew *Tancred*.

Bohemund dieth at Antioch.

1111

Sidon woon.

Yet were the cities Berytus, Sidon, and Tyre, alongſt the ſea coaſt, in the enemies poſſeſſion: for the gaining whereof *Baldwin* the King raiſed a great armie, and ſo came and laid ſiege to Berytus, which after many ſharpe aſſaults he at length won, the 23 day of Aprill, in the yere 1111, and put to ſword moſt part of them that he found therein. The ſame yeare alſo he, aſſiſted by a fleet ſent vnto him out of Norway, beſieged the citie of Sydon: which the citiſens (ſeeing themſelues now beſet both by ſea and land) at length yeelded vnto him by compoſition, the 19 day of December. After which victorie he diſmiſſed the fleet, and returned himſelfe in triumph to Ieruſalem. Now of all the famous cities alongſt the ſea coaſt of Phœnicia and Paleſtine, from Laodicea to Aſcalon, was only the citie of Tyre that remained in the enemies hands: which citie *Baldwin* alſo hardly beſieged; neuertheleſſe it was ſo well defended by the Turks, that after he had all in vain lien before it by the ſpace of foure moneths, he was glad to riſe with his armie and depart.

It fortuned that within two yeres after, the Turks with a mightie armie ſent from the Perſian Sultan, inuaded the country of Cœliſyria, where ſpoiling al before them as they went, they came and incamped vpon the ſea coaſt neere vnto Tyberias. Againſt whom *Baldwin* gathered the whole ſtrength of his kingdome; with whom alſo *Tancred* (who now raigned in Antioch, the young *Bohemund* being dead) with the Countie of Tripolis, and the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, joyned their forces: who all together marching forward, came and incamped not far from the enemie, being in number far more than they. *Mendus*, Generall of the Turks armie (for ſo I find him called) vnderſtanding of their approch, ſent out certain companies of his men to ſkirmiſh with them: againſt whom the Chriſtians alſo ſent out others, who incountring them, eaſily put them to flight, being before commanded ſo to doe, of purpoſe to draw the Chriſtians into the danger of a great ſtrength, lying in ambuſh to intrap them: which according to the Turks deſire fel out; for the Chriſtians fiercely purſuing the flying enemie, fel into the ambuſh, and ſo before they were wel aware, were beſet on euerie ſide with their enemies: vnto the reſcue of whom other companies of Chriſtians comming in, & others likewiſe from the Turks, both the great armies were at length drawn into the field, where betwixt them was joined a moſt fierce & terrible battel, with great ſlaughter on both ſides: but at length the multitude of the Turks preuailing, the Chriſtians were put to the worſe, and ſo glad to flie: after whom the fierce enemie hardly followed, not without great ſlaughter. In which flight the King himſelfe hardly eſcaped, with *Arnolphus* the Patriarke. Whileſt *Baldwin* was thus buſied abroad, the Turks and Saraſins from Aſcalon came and beſieged Ieruſalem, being then but weakly manned: but hearing of the Kings comming, and that the armie of the Chriſtians daily increaſed with new ſupplies out of the Weſt by ſea, they retyred home againe, hauing burnt certaine ſtorehouſes full of corne, and ſpoyled ſuch things as was ſubiect to their furie.

Long it were to recount all the hard conflicts and combats this King had with the Saraſins and Turks, which for breuitie I paſſe ouer, contented to haue briefly touched the greateſt. In the laſt yere of his raigne, hauing for certaine yeres before liued in ſome reaſonable peace, he made an expedition into Ægypt, where he with much difficultie woon Pharamia, a ſtrong citie vpon the ſea coaſt, which he joyned vnto his owne Kingdome. After that, he went to the mouth of the riuer Nilus, and with great admiration learned the nature of that ſtrange riuer: and hauing therein taken abundance of fiſh, returned into the city, and there with the ſame feaſted himſelfe with his friends. But after dinner he began to feele the griefe of his old wound, and growing thereof ſicker & ſicker, returned with his armie toward Ieruſalem, where by the way neere vnto a citie called Laris, he died (to the great griefe of all the Chriſtians) in the yeare 1118. His dead bodie being brought backe vnto Ieruſalem, was there royally buried,

1118

neere

A neere vnto his brother *Godfrey*, after he had raigned eighteene yeares: whoſe ſepulchre is yet there alſo to be ſeene, faſt by the ſepulchre of his brother.

Baldwin Brugenſis choſen King of Ieruſalem.

The late King thus dead and buried, the Chriſtians with one conſent made choice of his couſin *Baldwin*, ſyrnamed *Brugenſis*, gouernor of Edeſſa: who by the name of *Baldwin* the ſecond, was the ſecond of Aprill in the yeare 1118, ſolemnly crowned King of Ieruſalem. He was of ſtature tall and well proportioned, of countenance comely and gracious, hauing his haire thin and yellow, his beard mingled with ſome gray haires hanging downe to his breſt; his colour freſh and liuely for one of his yeares. 1118 He was a man of great courage, and therefore no leſſe redoubted of his enemies, than beloued of his ſubiects, who had in him repoſed great hope both for the defence and inlarging of that new gained kingdome. Againſt him the ſame B Summer the Caliph of Ægypt, aided by the King of Damaſco and the Turks, in reuenge of the loſſe he had in the expedition the yere before receiued, raiſed a great power to inuade him both by ſea and land. Againſt whom *Baldwin* alſo oppoſed himſelfe with his whole ſtrength, and ſo came and incamped within the ſight of his enemies. In which ſort, when both armies had lien the one facing the other by the ſpace of three moneths, they both roſe; the Chriſtians fearing the multitude of the Turks, and the Turks the valour of the Chriſtians, and ſo retired without any notable thing doing.

This yeare died *Alexius* the Greeke Emperour, who euen from the beginning of this ſacred warre ſecretly repined at the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians in Syria, although his empire were thereby greatly inlarged: after whom ſucceeded *Calo Ioannes* his ſonne, who al the C time of his raign right worthily defended his territories in the leſſer Aſia, againſt the inuaſion of the Turks.

Not long after, *Gazi* one of the greateſt Princes of the Turks in the leſſer Aſia, with the king of Damaſco, and *Debeis* King of Arabia, ioyning their forces together, with a great army inuading the countrie about Antioch, came and incamped not far from Aleppo: againſt whom *Roger* Prince of Antioch, not expecting the comming of *Baldwin* and the other Chriſtian Princes his confederats, but preſuming of his owne ſtrength, went forth with greater courage than diſcretion, whereunto his ſucceſſe was anſwerable; for incountring with them at too much odds, he was by them in a great battell ouerthrowne, wherein himſelfe was ſlaine, with moſt part of his armie. Of which ſo great a ſlaughter, the place wherein this battel was fought was D afterward called the field of bloud. But whileſt the Turks after ſo great a victorie, careſly and at pleaſure roame vp and down the country, *Baldwin* ſetting vpon them, ouerthrew them with a great ſlaughter, and ſo put them to flight. After this victorie gained by the Chriſtians the fourteenth of Auguſt in the yeare 1120, King *Baldwin* in great triumph entred into Antioch, 1120 and ſo ioyned that principalitie vnto his owne kingdome.

The yere following, the Turks with another armie inuaded the ſame countrey againe: for repreſſing of whom, whileſt *Baldwin* and the other Chriſtian Princes were making their preparations, it fortuned that *Gazi* their great commander ſuddenly died of an Apoplexie; vpon whoſe death they retired without any further harm doing. Neuertheleſſe the next Spring, the 1122 King of Damaſco aided by the Arabians, entred againe with a great power into the countrey E about Antioch, and there did ſome harme: for the Antiochians now deſtitute of their owne Prince, and *Baldwin* (who had taken vpon him their protection) being farre off, and otherwiſe buſied at Ieruſalem, were much more ſubiect vnto the inrodes of their enemies (ſtill at hand) than before when they had a Prince of their owne ſtill preſent amongſt them. But *Baldwin* aduertiſed thereof, was making toward them with a moſt puiſſant armie, ſooner than they had thought it could haue bin poſſible. Of whoſe approch the Turks vnderſtanding, retired againe out of the country: after whom the King thinking it not good to make further purſuit, turned a little out of the way, and tooke by force Garaze, one of the ſtrongeſt caſtles of the Kings of Damaſco, built but the yere before, which becauſe it was not without great charge and danger to be holden, he raſed down to the ground.

F *Baldwin* notwithſtanding that he had many times thus honourably repulſed his enemies, wiſely conſidering how he was on the one ſide beſet with the Turks, & on the other ſide with the Saraſins (which yet raigned in Ægypt, the kingdome of Ieruſalem lying as it were in the mouth of them both) thought it good betime to craue aid of the Chriſtian Princes of Europe; and to that purpoſe had ſent diuers his Embaſſadors vnto diuers of them, but eſpecially vnto the Venetians, whom of all others he thought fitteſt at his need to yeeld him reliefe by ſea. It fortuned in the meane time, that *Balac* the Perſian Sultan with a great armie of the Turks inuaded the country about Antioch; whereof *Baldwin* vnderſtanding (although he certainly knew he ſhould ere long receiue aid from the other Chriſtian Princes his friends, but eſpecially from the Venetians, and might therefore with great reaſon haue protracted the war vntil their comming, yet being therewith much moued, or elſe his deſtinie ſo requiring) raiſed ſuch forces as he had of his own, and without longer ſtaying for his friends, with greater courage than good ſpeed ſet forward; and ſo joyning battell with the enemie, was therin ouerthrown, with the greateſt part of his armie, and himſelfe taken priſoner in the fight, with certain other of his beſt commanders; who all together were carried away captiues vnto Carras.

Ioppa beſieged by the Saraſins.

Vpon the report of this ouerthrow, and taking of the King, the Caliph of Ægypt on the other ſide tooke occaſion with all his power to inuade the kingdome of Ieruſalem; & hauing in himſelfe purpoſed the vtter ruine thereof, beſide the great armie which he ſent thither by land (which lay incamped not far from Aſcalon) he put to ſea an huge fleet alſo of 700 ſaile, for the diſtreſſing of the ſea townes, which he well knew were not otherwiſe to be won. This fleet of the Saraſin Kings (for Ægypt with the kingdomes of Tunes and Morocco were yet in poſſeſſion of the Saraſins) arriuing at Ioppa, there put aſhore their land forces, and hardly beſieged the town both by ſea and land. But whileſt they thus lay in great hope to haue won the town, *Dominicus Michael* duke of Venice, ſtirred vp by *Calixtus* then Biſhop of Rome, was come to Cyprus with a fleet of two hundred ſaile, for the reliefe of the Chriſtians in Syria and the Holie land: and hearing of the diſtreſſe of Ioppa, nothing diſmaid with the number of the enemies fleet, haſted thither, and came ſo ſuddenly vpon them, that he had (as ſome report) ouerthrowne them before they could put themſelues in order, or be in readineſſe to fight: or as ſome others ſay, after a great & doubtful fight, hauing ſunke or taken a great number of them, and put the reſt to flight, he obtained of them a moſt glorious victorie. With like good fortune alſo were the Saraſins ouerthrowne in a notable battell at land, neere vnto Aſcalon, by the Lord *Euſtace*, vnto whom the defence of the kingdome was committed after the taking of the King, who not long after ſo great a victorie died.

Tyre beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Ioppa relieued (as is aforeſaid) the Duke of Venice trauelled by land to Ieruſalem, where he was honorably receiued by *Guarimund* the Patriarke, and the confederation before made betwixt King *Baldwin* and the Venetians, vpon the ſame conditions ſolemnly againe renued.

1124 The Saraſins thus notably diſcomfited both by ſea and land, and the Chriſtians thereby not a little incouraged, and joining their forces together with the Venetians, came and the firſt of March laid ſiege vnto the antient and ſtrong city of Tyre: which they hauing beſet both by ſea and land, gaue thereunto many a ſharpe aſſault; which the Turks as men fighting for their liues and wiues right valiantly repulſed. In which ſort the ſiege was continued longer than the Chriſtians had at the firſt thought ſhould haue needed: yet at length after foure moneths ſiege, the Turks ſore weakened with often aſſaults, and hardly pinched with want of food, all their ſtore being ſpent, yeelded the citie by compoſition. Thus was the citie of Tyre (the moſt famous port of Phœnicia) yeelded vnto the Chriſtians the nine and twentieth of Iune, in the yeare 1124. The third part of this citie was giuen to the Venetians, according to the compoſition made betwixt them and the Kings of Ieruſalem, That of all ſuch cities as were by their helpe woon from the Infidels in Syria, they ſhould haue a third part, with one ſtreet, and free traffique in all the reſt of the cities of the Kingdome of Ieruſalem. Shortly after was King *Baldwin* ſet at libertie for the ranſome of an hundred thouſand ducats, after he had been eighteene moneths priſoner among the Turks.

The Duke of Venice hauing now ſpent almoſt three yeares in this ſacred expedition, and well confirmed the ſtate of the Chriſtians in Syria, returning home, by the way tooke the Iſlands of Chios, Rhodus, Samos, Mitylen, and Andrus, with the citie of Modon in Peloponeſus; all, places belonging vnto the Greeke Empire. Which hee did in reuenge of the iniuries done by the Emperor in the time of his abſence, who enuying at the ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians in Syria, as had his father *Alexius* before him, had in the abſence of the duke infeſted the territories of the Venetians, for the which he was now iuſtly requited, with the loſſe of a good part of his owne.

Baldwin alſo not vnmindfull of the iniuries vnto him before done by the Turks, in requitall

A thereof, inuaded the countrey about Damaſco, and there in three notable battells ouerthrew the king, and ſpoyled the country: wherein he tooke ſo great a prey, that therewith he redeemed his daughter, whom he had at the time of his deliuerance left in hoſtage with the Turkes for the payment of his ranſome. He alſo ouerthrew the Saraſins at Aſcalon, who aided by the Caliph of Ægypt, had ſundrie times inuaded the countrey about Ieruſalem. And ſo hauing well repreſſed his enemies, for a ſpace liued in peace.

Not long after, ***Hugh Paganus*** firſt Maſter of the Templars (an Order of knights firſt begun in the raigne of this ***Baldwin***) before ſent to craue aid of the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt, againſt the Turks and Saraſins, returned with a great number of zealous Chriſtians, readie to lay down their liues for defence of the Chriſtian faith & religion: with whom ***Baldwin*** & the B other Chriſtian Princes of Syria joyning their forces, ſet forward and beſieged Damaſco, the regall ſeat of the Turks in thoſe quarters. But ſuch was the ſtrength of this citie, with the valor of the defendants, and contagiouſneſſe of the aire, that the Chriſtians (the heauens as it were then fighting againſt them) were glad to raiſe their ſiege, in vaine begun, and ſo to retyre.

Damaſco in vain beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Whileſt things thus paſſed in Syria, ***Fulke*** Countie of Turin, Mayn, and Aniou, a man almoſt of threeſcore yeres, hauing as he thought beſt diſpoſed of his things at home, had for deuotion ſake taken vpon him an expedition into the Holy land. In the time of which his preparations, Embaſſadors came vnto him from King ***Baldwin***, offering him in marriage ***Meliſenda*** (or as ſome call her, ***Margaret***) his eldeſt daughter, with the ſucceſſion into the kingdome of Ieruſalem in dowrie, if he ſhould ſuruiue the King; and in the meane time to content himſelfe C with the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais: of which offer he accepted, and ſo held on his journey before intended. It fortuned about three yeres after, that the king fell dangerouſly ſick, & feeling his death drawing on, hauing layd aſide all regall dignitie, cauſed himſelfe to be remooued out of his owne palace, into the Patriarkes houſe, which was neerer vnto the temple of the ſepulchre: and there calling vnto him ***Fulke*** the Countie, his ſon in law, with his daughter and his ſonne ***Baldwin***, then but two yeares old, in the preſence of the Patriarke, and diuers other Princes and great Commanders, commended vnto them the gouernment and defence of the kingdome, appointing ***Fulke*** to ſucceed him. And taking vnto himſelfe the habit and profeſſion of a Monke (if he ſhould haue longer liued) preſently after gaue vp the ghoſt the two and twentieth day of Auguſt, in the yeare 1131; whereof he raigned with much trouble thirteen D yeres, and was ſolemnly buried in the temple vpon mount Caluarie, with the other two kings ***Godfrey*** and ***Baldwin*** his predeceſſors.

The death of Baldwin the ſecond, the third King of Ieruſalem.

1131

The Kings funerall ended, the Princes of the kingdome with one accord made choice of ***Fulke*** the old Countie, Earle of Aniou, for their King: who the 16 day of September, was with all ſolemnitie by ***William*** the Patriarke crowned in Ieruſalem. This man in the beginning of his raigne, beſides his troubles abroad, was alſo vext with domeſticall and inteſtine diſcord; ***Pontius*** Countie of Tripolis, ſeeking by force of arms to haue rent the dukedome of Antioch from the kingdom: and ***Hugh*** Countie of Ioppa, for feare of due puniſhment for his treaſon, joyning himſelf with the Saraſins of Aſcalon, and ſo with them infeſting the territories of Ieruſalem, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian ſtate, and aduantage of the infidels. Which trouble- E ſome broyles were yet afterwards by the King, partly by force, partly by the mediation of the Patriarke and other Princes (who ſeeing the danger thereof like to enſue, had interpoſed themſelues) well againe appeaſed. Vengeance yet neuertheleſſe ſtill following both the aforeſaid traitors: ***Pontius*** being ſhortly after ſlaine by the Turks, and ***Hugh*** dying in exile.

Beſides theſe domeſticall troubles, the Turks alſo inuaded the countrey about Antioch, where they were by the ſudden comming of the King ouerthrowne, with the loſſe of their tents, & exceeding great riches. And that nothing might be wanting vnto the diſquieting of the ſtate of that new erected kingdome, not long after, ***Iohn*** the Conſtantinopolitan Emperor, (together with the empire, inheritour alſo of his fathers malice, againſt the proceeding of the Chriſtians in Syria) with a puiſſant armie paſſing thorow the leſſer Aſia, and by the way taking F by force Tarſus the metropoliticall citie of Cilicia, with the whole prouince thereunto belonging, came and beſieged Antioch; which ***Fulke*** but a little before had, together with ***Conſtance*** the daughter and heire of the late Duke of Antioch, giuen in marriage to ***Raymund*** Countie of Poitou, for that purpeſe ſent out of France. But in this ſo dangerous a ſtate of that Chriſtian kingdome, the other zealous Chriſtian Princes interpoſed themſelues as me-

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diators betwixt the Emperor (pretending the ſame to belong vnto his Empire) and *Raymund* that was in poſſeſſion thereof. And in fine brought it to this end, that *Raymund* for the preſent ſubmitting himſelfe vnto the Emperor, ſhould from thenceforth hold his dukedome of him as of his Lord and Soueraigne: vpon which agreement the Emperour returned vnto Tarſus, where he wintred, and ſo afterwards vnto Conſtantinople.

Much about the ſame time, *Sanguin* one of the Turks great Princes, inuading the countrey about Tripolis, beſieged the caſtle of Mont-Ferrand: vnto the reliefe whereof *Fulke* comming with his armie, was by the Turks ouerthrowne, and for the ſafegard of his life glad to take the refuge of the caſtle, the Countie himſelfe being in that battell taken priſoner. After which victorie, the Turks layed harder ſiege vnto the caſtle than before; the beſieged in the meane time being no leſſe pinched within with famine, than pinched without by the enemie. In this the Kings hard diſtreſſe, the other Princes hauing raiſed the whole power of the kingdome, were comming to his reliefe: whereof the Turke vnderſtanding, offered of himſelfe to giue them all leaue freely to depart, and to ſet the Countie at libertie, ſo that they would deliuer vnto him the caſtle: of which his offer they gladly accepting, yeelded vp the ſtrong Hold, and ſo departed. The King by the way meeting with the armie, thanked his friends for their forwardneſſe, and ſo returned to Ieruſalem.

Calo Ioannes the Greeke Emperour ſeeketh in vaine to haue ſurpriſed the citie of Antioch.

About foure yeares after, *Iohn* the Conſtantinopolitan Emperour with a great armie came againe into Syria, with purpoſe to haue vnited the famous citie of Antioch vnto his Empire, and ſo to haue made a way into the kingdome of Ieruſalem, whereafter he had now a good while longed. But comming thither in hope to haue found the Cilicians and Sirians readie to haue receiued him, he was deceiued of his expectation, being ſhut out by the Latines, and not ſuffered to enter but vpon his oath, and that with ſome few of his followers; and ſo after due reuerence done vnto him, quietly to depart without any ſtirre or innouation in the citie. In reuenge of which diſgrace, at his departure he gaue the ſuburbs of the city as a prey to his greedie ſoldiers, pretending the ſame to be done for want of victuals; who made hauock of whatſoeuer came to hand, not ſparing the verie fruit trees, but cutting them downe to dreſſe their meat withall. Hauing thus vnder colour of neceſſitie reuenged the diſgrace receiued, he returned into Cilicia, and there wintred: where one day for his diſport hunting of the wild boare, and hauing wounded him with his boare ſpeare, the wild beaſt therewith inraged, and with all his force bearing forward vpon the weapon, forced the Emperours hand backward vpon the point of a poyſoned arrow that was hanging in a quiuer at his backe, and ſo was therewith lightly wounded. Neuertheleſſe as light as the wound was, ſuch was the ſtrength of the poyſon, that the griefe thereof ſtil increaſing, and his hand & arme more and more ſwelling, there was no remedie to be found, but that his arme muſt be cut off: which deſperat and vncertaine cure he abhorring, and in the extremitie of his paine oftentimes pleaſantly ſaying, That the Greeke Empire was not to be gouerned with one hand; ouercome with the ſtrength of the poyſon, died. In whoſe place ſucceeded his youngeſt ſonne *Emanuel*, *Alexius* and *Andronicus* his two elder ſonnes being both dead at his ſetting forth vnto this ſo vnhappie an expedition.

The death of Calo Ioannes the Greeke Emperour.

It fortuned about this time alſo, that the kingdome of Ieruſalem being now at peace, that *Fulke* the King, with the Queene his wife, lying at the citie of Ptolemais in the time of Autumne, it pleaſed the Queene for her diſport to walke out of the Citie, vnto certaine pleaſant fountains there by in the country; for whoſe companie the King would neeeds go alſo, with certaine of his courtiers: where by the way it chanced that certaine boyes running along the field, put vp an hare that was ſitting in a furrow; after which all the Courtiers on horſebacke gallopped amaine, with notable outcry and hollowing. Amongſt the reſt, the King to be partaker of the ſport, forcing his horſe to the vttermoſt of his power, in the midſt of his courſe fell, together with his horſe foundring vnder him, and in falling, chanced to fall his head vnder the horſe: with whoſe weight, and the hardneſſe of his ſaddle, he was ſo cruſhed, that the braines came out both at his noſe and eares. In this pittifull caſe being taken vp for dead, and with great heauineſſe being carried backe, he yet breathing lay ſpeechleſſe three dayes, and ſo died the thirteenth of Nouember, in the yeare of Grace 1142. His dead bodie afterwards brought to Ieruſalem, was there with great magnificence, and the generall lamentation of all his ſubiects, buried with the other Kings his predeceſſors.

The miſerable death of Fulke, fourth King of Ieruſalem.

Now had the late King left behind him two ſons, *Baldwin* about the age of thirteen yeres,

A and *Almerick* about the age of ſeuen. Of the elder of theſe two, the Chriſtian Princes made
choice, who by the name of *Baldwin* the third, was together with *Meleſinda* his mother, partner
with him in the kingdome, vpon Chriſtmas day with great ſolemnitie crowned King of
Ieruſalem, in the yeare 1142. About which time, *Sanguin* the Turke, taking hold of the diſcord
betwixt *Raymund* Prince of Antioch, & *Ioſcelin* Countie of Edeſſa, came and with a great
power beſieged Edeſſa, the Countie being at the ſame time abſent: and did ſo much, that at
length he tooke the citie by vndermining of it, where the bloudie Turke exerciſed all manner
of cruelty vpon the poore Chriſtians in the citie. By the loſſe of this famous city, ſo large
a territorie fell againe into the hands of the Turks, as that three Archbiſhopricks were thereby
drawne from the Church of Antioch. The Turke encouraged with this victorie, ſtraightwaies
B after beſieged Cologenbar, another ſtrong towne of the Chriſtians: one night drinking
liberally with his friends, he was by one of them in his drunkenneſſe ſtabbed, and ſo ſlaine,
and the ſiege raiſed. In whoſe ſtead *Noradin* his ſonne ſucceeded.

Baldwin the third of that name fiſt King of Ieruſalem.

1142

Baldwin, in the firſt yeare of his raigne, recouered from the Turkes the Caſtle of Sobal, a
ſtrong hold beyond Iordan, which hee notably fortified, for the defence of that ſide of his
kingdome againſt the incurſions of the Turks. But the next yeare vndertaking an expedition
againſt the King of Damaſco, he was by *Noradin* the Turke, the Kings ſonne in law, ſo hardly
beſet in his returne, as that it was accounted a thing miraculous, how he with his armie eſcaped
his hands.

The report of the loſſe of Edeſſa, with the miſeries there endured by the Chriſtians, being
bruted thorow all parts of Chriſtendome, greatly moued the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt.
C Whom *Eugenius* the third, then Biſhop of Rome, ceaſed not both by himſelfe and by his Legates
to ſtir vp to take that ſacred war in hand. And therein wrought ſo effectually, that almoſt
in euery prouince of Chriſtendome preparation was made for the reliefe of the diſtreſſed
Chriſtians in Syria. Of all others, *Conrade* the third then Emperor of Germanie, was moſt forward,
who aided by the German Princes and others, with an incredible number of voluntarie
men out of all parts of Chriſtendome, had raiſed a moſt puiſſant army, and therewith ſet forward
on this ſacred expedition. Of this his deuout purpoſe he had before certified *Emanuel*
the Greeke Emperour, thorow whoſe countries he was to paſſe, crauing that he might by his
good fauor ſo doe, and for his money to be relieued with victuals, and other ſuch things as he
ſhould haue need of for himſelfe or his people; promiſing in moſt quiet and peaceable manner
D to paſſe, without any harme doing vnto his territories or ſubiects. Al which the Greek Emperor,
commending his zeale, ſeemed in moſt large terms willingly to condeſcend vnto. Neuertheles
he inwardly repined thereat, wiſhing indeed no better ſucceſſe to the Chriſtians in this
ſo honourable an expedition, than did the Infidels themſelues, as by the ſequel of his doings
wel appeared. For *Conrade* with his populous army, indeed a terror vnto the Greeks, entring
into the frontiers of the Conſtantinopolitan empire, found al things in ſhew friendly (for why
Emanuel had before giuen out ſtrait command, that good ſtore of victuals & all other neceſſaries
ſhould be ready at all places to be ſold as the army was to paſſe:) but they were not farre
come into the country, but that in the taile of the army ſtil followed certain ſtrong companies
E of the Greeks, to keepe the ſoldiers from ſtragling from their enſignes, roaming about in the
country, now & then cutting them ſhort, as they tooke them at aduantage. And ſtil the further
that they trauelled, the more it was to be ſeen in the countenances of the diſcontented Greks,
how vnwelcome gueſts they were. Yet ſtil on they went thorow the countries of their diſſembling
friends, little differing from open enemies, vntil they came to Phillippopolis: in departing
from whence, ſuch diſcord roſe between them that were in the rereward of the army,
& the Greeks that followed them, that it was like to haue come to plain battell, had not thoſe
broils, by the diſcretion of ſome of the wiſer ſort, bin in good time appeaſed. So marching on
they came to Adrianople, & in few days after to the plain called Cherobachi, thorow which
the riuer Melas hath his courſe, which in Summer being almoſt dry, in Winter or any other
great downefall of water, right ſuddenly ouerfloweth his bankes, and ſo drowneth the whole
country, that then it ſeemeth no more a riuer, but a ſea; and ſwelling with the wind, is not to
F be paſſed ouer but by great boats. This riuer then ſuddenly riſing by night, by reaſon of the
great rain that then fell, in ſuch aboundance, as if the flood gates of heauen had bin opened, ſo
ouerflowed the place wherein the armie lay encamped vpon the ſide thereof, that with the

Conrade third Emperour of Germanie taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy Land.

violence of the water were carried away not only many weapons, ſaddles, garments, and ſuch other the ſouldiers neceſſaries, but euen the horſes and mules, with their burdens, yea & great numbers of armed men themſelues alſo, a moſt miſerable & lamentable thing to behold. Many valiant men there fel without fight, and died no men killing them: to be tal, helped not; neither did valor ſtand them in any ſtead; they periſhed like hay, & were caried away like chaffe, with ſuch outcries and lamentation, that they which ſaw it, verily ſaid, That the wrath of God was broke into the camp: ſuch a ſudden inundation had ouerwhelmed all, that happie was he could make ſhift for himſelfe, without regarding one another. This misfortune ſore troubled the Emperor with his whole army. Neuertheleſſe, the water being againe fallen, and all put in ſo good order, as in ſuch a confuſion was poſſible, he marched on to the imperial citie: which the ſuſpicious and malicious Greeke had before notably fortified & ſo ſtrongly manned with armed men gliſtring vpon the wals, in ſuch ſort as if it ſhould haue preſently bin aſſaulted.

Conrade the Emperour not ſuffered to enter into Conſtantinople.

Conrade approching the citie, was not ſuffered to enter, but perſuaded by the Greek Emperour forthwith to tranſport his armie ouer the ſtrait, with promiſe to ſupplie his wants with whatſoeuer he ſhould require. Which was don with ſuch haſt, as if nothing had bin farther to haue bin regarded, but only to haue them ſhipped ouer: in which ſeruice the Greekes ſpared no labour, or kinde of veſſell, that might ſerue to tranſport them. The Greeke Emperour in the meane time, by men ſecretly appointed for that purpoſe, keeping account of the number that paſſed, vntill that they wearied with the multitude, ceaſed further to number them. But when they were once ſhipt ouer, then began the couert malice of the Greek Emperor forthwith to appeare. For, beſides that they truſting vnto his promiſes, had brought little or no prouiſions ouer with them, the countrey people by his appointment brought nothing vnto them to ſell, as before: and they of the towns and cities ſhut their gates againſt them as they marched, not affording them any thing, but at an extream rate, for which they would firſt receiue their mony by ropes caſt down from the wals, and then deliuer them what they pleaſed therfore, yea and oftentimes nought at all. Among many other vile practiſes, not beſeeming Chriſtians, the miſchieuous Greekes, to poiſon the ſouldiers, mingled lime with the meale which they ſold vnto the armie, whereof many of the hungrie ſoldiers greedily feeding, died. Whether the Greeke Emperour were priuie thereunto, or no, is not certainly knowne; but certain it is, that he cauſed counterfeit mony to be coined, of purpoſe to deceiue them: and in briefe, there was no kinde of miſchiefe to bee practiſed againſt them, which either hee himſelfe deuiſed not, or ſet not others to deuiſe; to the intent that their poſteritie, terrified by this ſo vnfortunat an expedition, might for euer be afraid to take the like in hand againe. And that nothing might be wanting that malice could deuiſe, he had ſecret intelligence with the Turkes themſelues, concerning the ſtrength of the army, plotting vnto them the means how the ſame might beſt be defeated: whereby it came to paſſe, that ſome part thereof was by *Pamplano*, a captaine of the Turks, ouerthrowne neere Bathis, and many ſlain. But attempting to haue done the like vnto that part of the armie that paſſed thorow Phrygia, they were themſelues ouertaken in their owne deuice and ouerthrowne, with a great ſlaughter. After which, the Turks in great number, to ſtay the Chriſtians further paſſage, kept the riuer Mœander, encamping vpon the farther banke of that winding riuer, with a moſt huge army. There theſe worthy Chriſtians right well declared, that it was but their patience, that the Grecian legions that had before ſo long followd them, with their countries & cities they had paſſed by, were not to them become a prey. For the Emperor comming vnto the riuer ſide, where was neither bridge nor boat to paſſe ouer, & finding the great army of the Turks on the other ſide, ready to giue him battell if he ſhould aduenture the riuer, with their archers ſtanding vpon the very bank ſide: he retired a little out of the danger of the ſhot, and there encamping, commanded his ſoldiers to refreſh themſelues and their horſes that night, and to be ready againſt the next morning to ioyne battell with their enemies they were ſo far come to ſeek for. Little reſt ſerued him that night; early in the morning before day he aroſe, and arming himſelfe, put his whole army in order of battel: as did alſo the enemie on the other ſide of the riuer, with their batalions orderly placed, and their archers vpon the banke ſide, ready to giue the firſt charge on the Chriſtians, if they ſhould aduenture to come ouer. Both armies thus ſtanding in readines the one in ſight of the other, & nothing but the winding riuer betwixt them, the Emperor before reſolued to fight, with cheerefull countenance and ſpeech encouraged his men as followeth.

The Turks with a great armie ſeeke to ſtay Conrade his farther paſſage at the riuer Mæander.

A *That this expedition was of vs taken in hand, for Chriſt his ſake, and for the glorie of God, and not*
of man, you know right well fellow ſouldiers. For, for this cauſe hauing contemned a pleaſant life at
home, voluntarily ſeperated from our neereſt and deereſt friends, wee indure miſeries in forraine countries;
wee are expoſed vnto dangers, wee pine with hunger, wee quake with cold, wee languiſh with
heat; wee haue the earth our bed, the heauen our couering: and although wee be noble, famous, renowned,
rich, ruling ouer nations; yet weare we alwaies our gorgets as neceſſarie bonds, & are with them and
our armour loaded, as was the greateſt ſeruant of Chriſt, Peter, *ſurcharged with two chaines, and kept*
with foure quaternions of ſoldiers. But theſe Barbarians (diuided from vs by this riuer) to be the enemies
of the croſſe of Chriſt, whom wee of long haue deſired to encounter withall, in whoſe bloud (as Dauid
ſaith) we haue vowed to waſh our ſelues: Who is there that knoweth not, except he be altogether blockiſh
B *and will not with open eyes ſee, nor open eares heare? If wee wiſh to aſcend ſtraight way into heauen,*
(for neither is God vniuſt, that hee knoweth not the cauſe of this our iourney, or will not in recompence
giue vnto vs the immortall fields, and ſhadie dwellings of Paradice, which hauing forſaken
our owne dwellings, haue choſe rather for his ſake to die than to liue) if wee call to remembrance
what things theſe men of vncircumciſed hearts doe commit againſt our friends and countreymen,
if wee remember what grieuous tortures they inflict vpon them, or if wee be any thing touched with
the compaſſion of their innocent bloud, vnworthily ſpilt; ſtand now couragiouſly, and fight valiantly,
and let not any feare or terrour daunt vs. Let theſe Barbarians know, that by how much Chriſt
our maſter and inſtructer doth excell their falſe prophet and ſeducer, authour of their vaine impietie;
ſo much are wee ſuperiours vnto them in all things. Seeing therefore wee are an holy campe, and an armie
gathered by the power of God, let vs not cowardly loſe our ſelues, or feare for Chriſt his ſake honourably
C *to aduenture our liues. For if Chriſt died for vs, how much more right is it that we for him*
ſhould die alſo? Vnto this ſo honourable an expedition let vs alſo giue an honourable end: let
vs fight in Chriſts name, with a moſt aſſured hope of an eaſie victorie. For none of them (I truſt) ſhal
be able to abide our force, but ſhall all giue way, euen to our firſt charge. But if wee ſhall die (which God
forbid) there ſhall be an honourable place of our buriall, whereſoeuer wee ſhall for Chriſt fall. Let the
Perſian archer for Chriſt his ſake, ſtrike me, I will die in aſſured hope; and with that arrow, as with a
chariot, I wil come vnto that reſt, which ſhal be to me deerer than if I ſhould with a baſe or ordinarie kind
of death in my ſinnes end my dayes in a bed. Now at length let vs take reuenge of them, with whoſe
impure feet our kinſmen and Chriſtian brethren troden downe, are gone into that common ſanctuarie,
D *in which Chriſt our Sauiour, equall and aſſociate to his Father, is become a companion of the dead. Wee*
are thoſe mightie men, wee all haue drawne our ſwords, which ſtand about the liuely and diuine ſepulchre,
as about Salomons *bed. Wherefore we that be free borne, let vs take out of the way theſe Agarens,*
the children of the bondwoman: and let vs remooue them as ſtones of offence out of the way of
Chriſt: whom (I know not why) the Grecians feed vp as greedie wolues to their owne deſtruction, and
with ſhame fat them with their bloud; when as with couragious mindes and thoughts beſeeming wiſe
men, they ought ſo to haue beene driuen from their prouinces and cities, as rauening wilde beaſts from
their flocks. Now for as much as this Riuer, as it ſeemeth, is not, but by ſome aduenture to be paſſed
ouer, I my ſelfe will ſhew you the way, and be the firſt that ſhall take it. Let vs, ſerred together, forcibly
breake into the riuer, and wee ſhall well enough ride thorow it. I know that the water beaten backe by
E *our force, will bee at a ſtand, and breake the courſe, returning as it were backward. By not vnlike*
meanes the Iſraelites in antient time on foot paſſed ouer Iordan, the courſe of the riuer being ſtaid. This
attempt ſhall be ſpoken of in all poſteritie, it ſhall by no tract of time be worne out or forgotten, but ſtil remaine
in freſh remembrance, to the great diſhonour of the Turkes, whoſe dead bodies ouerthrowne at this
riuer, ſhall lie like a mountaine, and be ſeene as a Trophey of our victorie, vnto the worlds end, and our
immortall praiſe and glorie.

A notable ſpeech of Conrade the Emperour, to encourage his ſouldiers to aduenture the riuer Meander.

Hauing thus ſaid, and the ſignall of battell giuen, euery man hauing before by deuout praier
commended himſelfe vnto almightie God, he was the firſt that put ſpurs to his horſe, & tooke
the riuer; after whom followed the reſt, ſo cloſe & ſo forcibly, with ſuch a terible outcry, that
the courſe of the water, being by the force of their horſes ſtaid, and as it were beaten backtowards
the fountain, the whole army paſſed ouer with leſſe trouble than was feared. And then
F charging the Turks, already diſcouraged to haue ſeen them ſo deſperatly, & contrary to their
expectation, to haue paſſed the riuer; after ſome ſmal reſiſtance put them to flight, wherin ſuch
infinit numbers of them fel, the Chriſtians like fierce lions purſuing the chace, that al the vallies

The Turks ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians with a wonderfull ſlaughter.

lies ran with bloud, and the fields were couered with the bodies of the dead. Many of the Italians were wounded with the Turks arrowes, and but few or none ſlain. But what a multitude of the enemies there fell, the ſundrie and hugie heapes of bones, to bee compared vnto great hils, did long time after well declare; whereat euery man that trauelled that way did worthily wonder, as did I my ſelfe (ſaith *Nicetas Choniates*) in reporting this hiſtorie. Not much vnlike that, is reported of the Cimbers, ſlaine by *Marius* in ſuch number, that of their bones the countrey people about Marcellis where the field was fought, long time after made walls for the defence of their vineyards. G

Nicetas Choniates Annali primo rerum a Manuele Comneno Imperatore geſtar. fol. 139

Iconium in vaine. beſieged by the Chriſtians.

After this ſo great a victory, the Chriſtians without reſiſtance came to Iconium, the chiefe ſeat of the Turkiſh Kings in the leſſer Aſia, which they hardly beſieged. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch was the ſtrength of the citie, being ſtrongly fortified both by Nature and Art, together with H the valour of the defendants, that lying there long, they little preuailed, preſſed in the meane time with greater extremities & wants in the camp, than were the beſieged in the citie: whereupon enſued ſuch a mortalitie, people dayly without number dying in the army, that the Emperor was glad to raiſe his ſiege and to returne into his countrey. The chiefe cauſe as well of this ſo great a mortalitie, as of the ouerthrow of ſo notable an action, moſt men aſcribe vnto the malice of the Greekes; who not without the priuitie of their Emperour (as it was commonly bruited) mingled lime with the meale which they brought to ſell into the armie, whereof the hungrie ſouldiers deſirouſly feeding, were therewith poiſoned, and ſo miſerably died. Of the certaine time of this iourney of the Emperours into Aſia, Authours agree not;
1146 howbeit muſt referre it vnto the yeare 1146. I

This expedition, though not ſo fortunat as it was at the firſt wel hoped of, yet profited the Chriſtian common weale in this, That the Turks therewith throughly buſied, and doubtful of the euent thereof, *Baldwin* in the meane time fortified Gaza (ſometimes a famous citie of the Philiſtines, but as then ruinous) which ſerued as a moſt ſure bulwarke for the defence of that part of his kingdome towards Ægypt: and alſo for the diſtreſſing of Aſcalon, the only refuge of the Ægyptians, then left in that countrey: which ſtrong citie ſtanding vpon the ſea ſide, he with all the power of his kingdome afterward beſieged both by ſea and land; vnto the reliefe whereof, the Caliph of Ægypt, after it had beene fiue moneths by the Chriſtians beſieged, ſent a ſtrong fleet of threeſcore and ten gallies. At which time alſo on the other ſide *Noradin* the Turke, who had now got into his hand all the kingdome of Damaſco, to withdraw the K Chriſtians from the ſiege of Aſcalon, beſieged Paneada, from whence he was by the valour of the citizens repulſed, as was alſo the Caliphs fleet at ſea, and the ſiege at Aſcalon continued. Where at length the Chriſtians after long batterie had made a breach in the wall; but giuing thereunto an aſſault, they were with great loſſe of their men repulſed, and the breach againe by the enemie repaired; who to the greater deſpight of the Chriſtians, hanged ouer the wals in ropes the dead bodies of their ſlaine: with which ſpectacle the chiefe commanders of the armie were ſo moued, that they with all their power returned againe to the aſſault, with a full reſolution to gage thereon their whole forces: which they ſo couragiouſly performed, that the beſieged diſcouraged with the great ſlaughter of their men, and now with true valour ouercome, craued parley; and ſo couenanting that they might with their liues in ſafety depart, L agreed to yeeld vp the citie, which they accordingly performed. The ſpoile of the citie was giuen to the ſoldiers, and the gouernment thereof vnto *Almericke* the Kings brother, Earle of Ioppa. By this victorie, great ſecuritie was gained vnto that ſide of the kingdome, the enemy hauing now no place left in thoſe parts whereon to ſet his foot.

The honourable expedition of Lewis the French king, by the malice of the Greekes, and enuie of other Chriſtian princes of Syria fruſtrated and brought to nought.

About the ſame time alſo (or as ſome write, euen at the ſame time together with the Emperor) *Lewis* the French King, the eight of that name, tooke vpon him the like expedition for the reliefe of the Chriſtians in the Holy Land: who ſetting forward with all the chiualrie of France, and accompanied with diuers other great Princes, with a right puiſſant army came to Conſtantinople, where he was by *Emanuel* the Emperor honorably receiued, with all the outward ſhews of feigned courteſie that could be deuiſed. But hauing paſſed the ſtrait, and landed M in Aſia, he found nothing anſwerable to that the diſſembling Greeke had before moſt largely promiſed. And to diſtreſſe him the more, was by falſe guides before corrupted by the Emperour, conducted thorow the moſt deſolate and barren countries, where by the way a wonderfull number of his ſouldiers periſhed of hunger and thirſt: many of them alſo being cut off in

A the ſtrait and difficult paſſages, or as they ſtraied from the army by the Greeks themſelues, appointed by the malicious Emperour for that purpoſe. Yet after many dangers paſſed, and his armie ſore waſted, he came at length into Syria, and laid ſiege vnto Damaſco, the royal ſeat of *Noradin* the Turkiſh king; which he ſo notably impugned, that the defendants were almoſt out of hope to be able for any long time to hold out. Neither had it otherwiſe happened, had not enuie, the inſeparable attendant of all honourable actions, fruſtrated ſo great an hope: for the beſieged Turks being brought to great extremity, and now euen at the point to haue yeelded the citie, certaine of the Chriſtian Princes of that countrey, vnderſtanding that the king had promiſed the gouernment of that ſo famous a citie, vnto *Philip* Earle of Flanders, if it ſhould be won, & ſecretly grudging to haue a ſtranger preferred before themſelues, corrupted B alſo (as ſome ſay) with the Turks gold, fraudulently perſuaded the King to remoue from that part of the city where he lay, and might in fine haue taken the ſame, vnto another far ſtronger: where, after he had lien a great while, ſtriuing with no ſmall extremities, he was enforced for want of victuals to raiſe his ſiege and to depart. And ſo without any thing done worth the remembrance, returned againe into France, deteſting the very name of *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperor, by whoſe ſiniſter dealing, ſo notable an expedition was brought to be of none effect, to the great diſcouraging of all other Chriſtian Princes for taking the like againe in hand.

Damaſco in vaine beſieged by Lewis the French King.

1147

Now had the ſtate of the Chriſtians in Syria, for certaine yeres after the aforeſaid expeditions, reſted in good peace: when *Noradin* the Turke (moued with ſome iniuries done by the Chriſtians vnto the Turkes and Arabians, who by the leaue of King *Baldwin* dwelt in the forreſt of Lybanus) came and ſtraitly beſieged Paneada, a citie of the Chriſtians there by: vpon C whom the Chriſtians in the citie, now brought vnto great extremitie, made a moſt deſperate ſallie, and had with the Turks a ſharpe and cruell fight: but oppreſſed with the multitude, and inforced to retire, they were ſo hardly purſued, that the Turks together with them entred the citie, and put to ſword al that came in their way. Neuertheles, the greater part of the citizens (by good fortune) had in good time before retired themſelues into the caſtle, which was of great ſtrength, and there ſtood vpon their gard. Of whoſe diſtreſſe, with the taking of the city, *Baldwin* hearing, raiſed a great army, & ſo ſet forward to relieue them. But *Noradin* hearing of his comming, and doubtfull of his owne ſtrength, after hee had taken the ſpoile of what hee could, ſet fire on the city, and ſo departed. The citizens thus deliuered, repaired again the wals D of the city, the Kings power ſtill defending them. *Noradin* with his power all the while lying cloſe in the woods not farre off, ſtill awaiting the offer of ſome good opportunitie to take the Chriſtians at aduantage, which ſhortly after fel out according to his owne deſire: for the king doubting no ſuch matter, but ſuppoſing him to haue bin quite gone, hauing at his returne ſent away all his footmen, followed after himſelfe, accompanied only with his horſmen, and they alſo not very ſtrong: but as he was paſſing the riuer Iordan, he was ſuddenly ſet vpon by *Noradin* & the Turks, and after a ſharp conflict ouerthrown: the king himſelf with ſome few hardly eſcaped to Saphet, a town there by; moſt part of his nobility being there either ſlaine or taken priſoners: among the reſt, *Bertrand* of Blanquefort, maſter of the Templars, with diuers others of great name, fel at that time into the enemies hands, & ſo were carried away priſoners.

Paneada taken and ſacked by the Turks.

Paneade againe repaired by the Chriſtians.

E After this victorie, *Noradin* ſtrengthened with new ſupplies from Damaſco, came againe and beſieged Paneade, in good hope, that the citizens diſcouraged with ſo great an ouerthrow of the king, and out of hope to bee by them relieued, would now either yeeld the city, or elſe not be able long to hold it out. But the king, contrary to his expectation, had in ſhorter time than was thought poſſible, raiſed a great power; and aided by the prince of Antioch, and the countie of Tripolis, was marching to the reliefe of his citie: of which approch *Noradin* vnderſtanding, although hee had made diuers breaches in the wals, and brought the citizens almoſt vnto vtter deſpaire; roſe with his armie and departed. And ſo *Baldwin* hauing now twice relieued the beſieged citie, returned alſo to Ieruſalem.

Many an hard conflict with the Turks had this young king afterwards, during the fortunate F time of his raigne: wherein that troubleſome kingdom happily flouriſhed amidſt the miſcreants; all which to recount, were long and tedious. Yet among other things, it is worth the remembrance, how that *Noradin* the Turke, then King of Damaſco, beſieging Sueta, a caſtle belonging to the kingdome of Ieruſalem, was in a ſet battell by *Baldwin* ouerthrowne and put to flight, with the loſſe of the greateſt part of his armie. King *Baldwin* had before married

ried ***Emanuel*** the Greeke Emperors neece: and now the ſame Emperor by ***Guido Stephanus***, and ***Triſillas*** his embaſſadours, requeſted to haue giuen him againe in marriage one of the Kings nigh kinſwomen. Vnto whom the King, after mature deliberation had concerning the matter, offered him ***Matilde***, an honourable Lady, the ſiſter of the countie of Tripolis; whom the Emperour refuſed: and afterward by the conſent of the king, made choice of ***Mary*** the daughter of ***Raimund*** Prince of Antioch lately dead. Which the countie of Tripolis taking in euill part, in reuenge therof, by certaine men of warre whom he put to ſea, grieuouſly infeſted the frontiers of the Emperours dominions. Now during the time that the marriage was in ſolemnizing, the king made his abode at Antioch, at which time hee fortified the caſtle of Pontiſer vpon the riuer Orantes, againſt the incurſions of the enemies. But lying there, he according to his wonted manner, to preuent ſickneſſe, vpon the approch of Winter tooke phyſicke of ***Barac*** a Iew, the countie of Tripolis his phyſitian. After the taking whereof, hee fell preſently into the bloudie flix, and afterward into a conſumption: whereby it was verily ſuppoſed, that he was poyſoned by the Iew; and the rather, for that ſome little part of the ſame medicine that was left, being giuen to a dogge, he thereof in ſhort time dyed. The King thus languiſhing in paine, to change the aire, remooued firſt to Tripolis, and afterward to Berytus, where hee departed this troubleſome life, to liue with his Sauiour Chriſt in bliſſe for euer. His dead bodie was afterward with generall mourning of his ſubiects conueied to Ieruſalem, and there ſolemnly enterred by the bodie of his father. He departed the 13 of Februarie, in the yeare of Grace 1163, when he had raigned 21 yeares. He was a man ſo gracious, that not onely his friends, but euen the Infidels themſelues (as it is reported) lamented his death. Inſomuch that ***Noradin*** King of Damaſco, his antient enemie, beeing incited by ſome of his captains to inuade his kingdome at ſuch time as his funerals were in ſolemnizing, refuſed ſo to doe, anſwering, That compaſſion and regard was to be had of the iuſt ſorrow of the Chriſtians his ſubiects; for that they had loſt ſuch a King, the like was hardly againe to be found in the world.

The death of king Baldwin lamented by his enemies.

1164

Diſcord among the Turkes in the leſſer Aſia.

Maſut the Sultan diuideth his kingdome amongſt his three ſonnes.

But leauing the kingdome of Ieruſalem, with the greater part of Seruia, thus victoriouſly gained from the Infidels; let vs for the orderly continuation of our hiſtorie, againe returne to ſee the proceedings of the Turkes at the ſame time in the leſſer Aſia alſo: wherein they yet held the ſtate of a kingdome, though not ſo great as before the comming of the Princes of the Weſt into thoſe countries. After the death of Sultan ***Solyman*** (with whom Duke ***Godfrey*** and the other Chriſtian Princes had much to doe as they paſſed into Syria) as is aforeſaid, one ***Muhamet*** ſucceeded him: betwixt whom and ***Maſut***, Sultan of Iconium, great diſcord aroſe, which at length broke out into open war, to the further weakning of that late ſhaken kingdome. For the maintenance of which quarrell, as profitable for his ſtate, ***Iohn Comnenus*** the Greeke Emperor, gaue aid to ***Maſut***, againſt his enemie ***Muhamet***. Neuertheleſſe in ſhort time the two Infidels (profeſſing both one ſuperſtition) became friends, & ioyning their forces, ouerthrew the Emperour with his whole armie, as he lay at the ſiege of Iconium, at which time he himſelfe with much adoe eſcaped by flight. ***Maſut*** afterwards hauing got into his hands the whole kingdom of the Turks, at the time of his death diuided the ſame among his three ſons: vnto ***Clizaſtblan*** his eldeſt ſon he gaue Iconium his chiefe city, with the towns and prouinces ſubiect thereunto: vnto ***Iagupaſan*** his other ſon (or rather as ſome will haue it, his ſon in law) he allotted Amaſia and Ancyra, with the fruitfull countrey of Cappadocia, and the places adioyning: but vnto ***Dadune*** his other ſon (or ſon in law) he gaue the great cities of Ceſarea and Sebaſtia, with the large countries thereabouts, all ſometime a part of the Greeke empire, but then the portions of the Turks. Long it was not after this diuiſion of the kingdome, but that theſe brethren after the manner of ambitious men, forgetfull of the bonds both of loue & nature, fell at diſcord among themſeluer; the Sultan ſeeking the deſtruction of ***Iagupaſan***, and hee likewiſe of him, and that not by ſecret meanes, but euen by open force of armes. ***Emanuel*** the Greeke Emperor in the mean time wiſhing the deſtruction of them both, heartily reioycing thereat, and by his embaſſadours ſecretly animating the one againſt the other; yet in open ſhew more fauouring of the part of ***Iagupaſan*** than of the Sultan, by whoſe aid hee obtained againſt him many notable and bloudie victories: inſomuch that the Sultan wearie of the quarrell, was glad not onely by his embaſſadours to ſeeke the Emperours fauor, but euen in perſon himſelfe to goe and meet him, as he came with his army out of Syria,

A and ſo to accompanie him vnto Conſtantinople, where he was together with the Emperour
moſt honorably receiued, with all the ſignes of joy and triumph that could poſſibly be deui-
ſed. The Emperor no leſſe rejoycing to be ſued vnto by ſo great a Prince, than did the Sultan
at his ſo honorable entertainment.

Another fooliſh Icarus.

Nicetas Choniates, rerum ab imper. Manuele Comneno, geſtar. li. 3. fol. 143.

Among other queint deuices of many, for the ſolemniſing of ſo great a triumph, there was
an actiue Turke who had openly giuen it out, That againſt an appointed time he would from
the top of an high tower in the tilt yard flie by the ſpace of a furlong: the report whereof
had filled the citie with a wonderfull expectation of ſo ſtrange a noueltie. The time prefixed
being come, and the people without number aſſembled, the Turke according to his promiſe,
vpon the top of an high tower ſhewed himſelfe, girt in a long and large white garment, gathe-
red into many pleits and foldings, made of purpoſe for the gathering of the wind: wherwith
B the fooliſh man had vainely perſuaded himſelfe to haue houered in the aire, as doe birds vpon
their wings, or to haue guided himſelfe as are ſhips with their ſailes. Standing thus houering
a great while, as readie to take his flight; the beholders ſtill laughing, and crying out, Flie
Turke, flie, how long ſhall we expect thy flight? The Emperor in the meane time ſtill diſſua-
ding him from ſo deſperate an attempt; and the Sultan betwixt feare and hope hanging in
doubtfull ſuſpence what might happen to his countreyman. The Turke, after he had a great
while houered with his armes abroad, (the better to haue gathered the wind, as birds do with
their wings) and long deluded the expectation of the beholders, at length finding the winde
fit, as he thought, for his purpoſe, committed himſelfe with his vaine hope vnto the aire: but
C in ſtead of mounting aloft, this fooliſh *Icarus* came tumbling downe with ſuch violence, that
he brake his necke, his arms, his legs, with almoſt all the bones of his bodie. This fooliſh flight
of the Turke gaue ſuch occaſion of ſport and laughter vnto the vulgar people (alwaies readie
to ſcoffe and jeaſt at ſuch ridiculous matters) that the Turks attending vpon the Sultan could
not walke in the ſtreets vnderided; the artificers in their ſhops ſhaking their arms, with their
tooles in their hands, as did the Turke, and ſtill crying out, Flie Turke, flie: whereof the Em-
peror hearing, although he could not chuſe but thereat ſmile himſelfe, as not ignorant of the
ſcoffes and taunts of the vulgar people; yet in fauour of the Sultan, who was not a little grie-
ued therewith, he commanded ſuch their inſolencie to be reſtrained.

The ſolemnitie of the triumph ouerpaſſed (which by an ominous earthquake at the ſame
time hapning, was ſomwhat obſcured) the Emperor to ſhew his wealth, & to gratifie the Sul-
D tan, gaue vnto him many rich and royal preſents, with ſuch a maſſe of treaſure, as that he much
wondred thereat. In requitall whereof, and in token of his thankfulneſſe, he again honored the
Emperor with the name of his father, and terming himſelfe by the name of his ſon, promiſed
to reſtore vnto him the citie of Sebaſtia, with the territorie thereunto belonging, then part of
Dadune his inheritance. Neuertheleſſe all this was nothing elſe but meere diſſimulation, as af-
terward by proofe appeared: for returning home, he thruſt *Dadune* indeed out of Sebaſtia,
which he ſpoyled, with the country thereabout; but forgetfull of his promiſe, kept it wholly
to himſelfe, and by force tooke alſo from him the city of Cæſarea, with the country of Ama-
ſia, by him before but lately poſſeſſed. In like manner he bent his forces alſo vpon *Iagupaſan*
E his other brother, who in the verie preparation of thoſe wars died: by whoſe vntimely death
the citie of Ancyra, with all his dominions in Capadocia, fell into the Sultans hands. Who
now poſſeſſed of all his fathers kingdome, and ſwelling with pride, forgetting all former cur-
teſies, inuaded the Emperors territories, & tooke from him the citie of Laodicea in Phrygia,
where he did great harme, as alſo in the country thereabouts, killing the people as he went, or
elſe carrying them away with him captiues. For the repreſſing of which outrages, the Empe-
ror with a ſtrong armie paſſed ouer into Aſia, and there in the frontiers of his territories forti-
fied Dorileum againſt the incurſions of the Turks. In performing whereof, he, to the example
and ſtirring vp of others, carried the firſt basket of ſtones himſelfe vpon his ſhoulders; and
vſed ſuch further diligence, that in ſhort time the citie was compaſſed about with ſtrong wals,
F and deepe ditches, maugre the Turks, who ceaſed not with continuall alarmes and skirmiſhes
to haue hindred the worke. With like care, and for like purpoſe he alſo fortified Subleum, ano-
ther ſtrong Hold; and leauing in either place a ſtrong garriſon, returned againe to Conſtanti-
nople. Neuertheleſſe the Turks ceaſed not with continuall inrodes to doe what harmes they
might vpon the frontiers of the Empire, although not altogether with ſo good ſucceſſe as
before,

Vnkindneſſe betwixt the emperour and the Sultan.

before,being many times cut off by the garriſons of the late fortified towns : which grieuances G
ſtill increaſing, cauſed the Emperor to expoſtulate with the Sultan,as with an vnthankfull
man, and forgetfull of ſo great kindneſſe before done vnto him,as the eſtabliſhment of him in
his kingdome came vnto : who with no leſſe vehemencie vpbraided him againe with inconſtancie
and breach of promiſe, as well for fortifying the aforeſaid places, contrarie to the
league betwixt them, as for that hauing promiſed much more, he had thereof performed nothing.
Thus vnkindneſſe dayly growing vpon euerie trifle (as it commonly falleth out among
men of great ſpirit, and jealous of their owne honors) it was dayly expected,when the matter
ſhould fall out into open and bloudie war; both of them being men of great valour,and apt to
reuenge the leaſt iniurie to them offered. Yet was it the Sultans manner, warily to mannage
his wars by his politique and expert captaines; whereas the Emperour being of an hotter nature, H
and couragious aboue meaſure, commonly in all his great expeditions aduentured his
own perſon,without reſpect what danger might thereof inſue vnto himſelfe or his ſtate.Long
it was not but that the Emperour,fully reſolued to be reuenged of ſo many wrongs done vnto
him and his ſubiects by the Turks,raiſed the whole power of his Empire, both in Europe and
Aſia, in ſuch ſort as if he had therewith purpoſed, not only to haue raſed to the ground Iconium
the regall ſeat of the Turkiſh Sultan, but euen vtterly to haue deſtroyed the whole Nation
of the Turks. Thus with a moſt puiſſant and populous armie,wel appointed of all things
neceſſarie, he paſſed ouer into Aſia, and ſo in good order marching thorow Phrygia, Laodicea,
Chonas, (called in antient time Paſſas) S.Archangel,Lampis, Cælænas, (where the head
of the great and famous riuer Mæander riſeth,whereinto the riuer Marſyas falleth) and from I
thence to Chonia,he with euill lucke,and worſe ſpeed,paſſed by Myriocephalon, an old ruinous
caſtle, ominous by the name thereof,as by the euent in ſhort time after it prooued. And
albeit that he marched verie circumſpectly, ſtill intrenching his armie in euery place where
he lodged; yet could he make but ſmal ſpeed,by reaſon of the multitude of his carriages,and
of the baſe people that attended the ſame. The Turks in the meane while oftentimes ſhewing
themſelues in troupes, and in places of aduantage skirmiſhing ſometime with one part of
the armie,and ſometime with another,but neuer daring to aduenture the fortune of a juſt battell:
yet by ſuch meanes were the victuallers of the armie oftentimes cut off, and the paſſages
for the Emperor made verie dangerous. And the more to diſtreſſe the Chriſtians in their long
trauell, they found the countrey before them of purpoſe deſtroyed by the Turks,and the water K
in many places poyſoned, whereof the Chriſtians vnaduiſedly drinking, fell into many
grieuous diſeaſes,eſpecially the flix,and thereof died in great number. The Sultan in the mean
time, although he had in readineſſe a right puiſſant armie of his owne,and had procured great
aid from the Perſian Sultan his kinſman and chiefe ſupporter; yet fearing the doubtful euent
of war,& loath to aduenture his whole eſtate vpon the fortune of a battell,ſought by his embaſſadors
ſent for that purpoſe,to grow to ſome peace with the Emperour, and that vpon ſuch
honorable conditions,as by the wiſer ſort were thought not to be at any hand refuſed : which
large offers,the Sultan as deſirous of peace,made vnto him not once,but againe & again:which
the Emperor neuertheleſſe (repoſing great confidence in his owne power,and prickt forward
by the gallants of the court, better acquainted with the braue triumphs of peace, than the L
hard wars of the Turks) proudly reiected, and ſo diſmiſſing the Embaſſadors, ſcornfully willed
them to tel their Maſter, That he would giue him anſwer vnto his requeſts vnder the wals
of Iconium. Which cauſed the Sultan, now out of all hope of any reconciliation to be made
betwixt the Emperour and him, with all his power to take the ſtraits of Zibrica, whereby the
armie of the Chriſtians,departing from Myriocephalon,muſt of neceſſity paſſe.The entrance
into theſe ſtraits was by a long valley, on either ſide incloſed with high mountaines, which
towards the North riſing and falling according as the hils gaue leaue,opened into diuers large
vallies, which by little and little growing againe ſtraiter and ſtraiter, with high and craggie
rocks hanging ouer on either ſide,and almoſt touching one another,gaue vnto the painful traueller
a moſt hard and difficult paſſage. M

A great ouerſight of the Emperour.

Into this ſo dangerous a valley the Emperor,not fearing the enemies force, deſperatly entred with his armie, hauing neither prouided for the cleering of the paſſages, or ſafetie of his carriages,in no other order than as if he had marched thorow the plaine and champaine countrey,although it were before told him (that which he ſhortly after, but too late ſaw) that the enemie had ſtrongly poſſeſſed both the ſtraits & mountains, to hinder his farther paſſage. The vauward of his armie was conducted by *Iohn* and *Andronicus* the ſons of *Angelus Conſtantine*, acompanied with *Macroducas Conſtantine* and *Lapardas Andronicus*: in the right wing was *Baldwin* the Emperors brother in law; and in the left *Maurozomes Theodorus*: after them followed the drudges and ſcullions, with an infinit number of carters and other baſe people, attending vpon the carriages, with the baggage of the whole armie: next vnto theſe came the Emperor with the main battel, conſiſting for the moſt part of right valiant & worthie ſoldiers: the rereward was ſhut vp by *Andronicus Contoſtephanus*, with a number of moſt reſolute men. They were not far entred into theſe ſtraits, but that the Turks from the mountains and broken cliffs ſhewed themſelues on euery ſide, deliuering their deadly ſhot from the vpper ground, vpon the Chriſtians below, as thick as haile: neuertheleſſe the ſons of *Angelus*, with *Macroducas* and *Lapardas*, and the vantgard, caſting themſelues into a three ſquare battell in forme of a wedge, with their targuets in manner of a penthouſe caſt cloſe together ouer their heads, and their archers on euery ſide luſtily beſtowing their ſhot among the thickeſt of their enemies, by plain force droue them out of the ſtraits they had before poſſeſſed, and cauſed them to retire farther off into the mountains, and ſo hauing made themſelues way, with little or no loſſe paſſed thoſe dangerous ſtraits; vntil that at length hauing recouered the top of a hill very commodious for their purpoſe, as the caſe ſtood, they there ſtaied, & preſently incamped themſelues. And haply with like good fortune might the reſt of the armie haue paſſed alſo, had they in like order, and with like courage preſently followed after: but failing ſo to do, & troubled with the multitude of their carriages, which could not poſſibly make any way thorow thoſe ſtrait & rough paſſages, (but troubled themſelues one another, as alſo the whole armie) they were from the vpper ground miſerably ouerwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkiſh archers, whoſe arrows fel as thick vpon them from the mountains, as if it had bin a perpetual tempeſt or ſhoure of haile, to the great diſordring & diſmaying of the whole armie: which the Turks quickly perceiuing, and therewith encouraged, in great numbers came downe from the mountaines, where they had before houered ouer the heads of the Chriſtians, and forcibly entring the plaine ground, and comming to handie blows, firſt ouerthrew the right wing; where *Baldwin* himſelfe ſeeking to reſtore his diſordred companies, and to ſtay the furie of the enemie (now raging in the bloud of the Chriſtians) with a troup of valiant horſmen breaking into the thickeſt of them, as became a worthie captaine, was there compaſſed in with the multitude of his enemies, and ſlaine, together with all his followers, and the greateſt part of the whole wing by him commanded. With this victorie the Turks were ſo encouraged, that comming downe with all their power, they ſtopped all the ways whereby the Chriſtians were to paſſe, who as men couped vp in thoſe dangerous ſtraits, were not able either to defend themſelues, or to helpe one another: but incloſed as deere in a toyle, and one troubling another, were the cauſe both of the deſtruction of themſelues & others. For by reaſon of the ſtraitneſſe of the place, neither could they that were before, retire, neither they that were behinde in the rereward, come forward to relieue the one the other, as need required: the carriages alſo, which were many, & in the midſt of the armie, ſeruing them to no other purpoſe, than to the hurt of themſelues. There were the beaſts that ſerued for burden, together with the ſoldiers, ouerwhelmed with the Turks ſhot, the vallies lay ful of dead bodies, the riuers ran mingled with the bloud of men and beaſts, in ſuch terrible manner as is not by pen to be expreſſed. For the Chriſtians not able either to go forward or retire, were there in thoſe ſtraits ſlain like ſheepe: if any courage or ſparke of valour were by any ſhewed againſt the enemie, fighting at ſo great aduantage, it was but loſt, ſeruing to little or no purpoſe. And to increaſe their miſeries, the Turks in ſcorne ſhewed vpon the point of a lance the head of *Andronicus Bataza*, the Emperors nephew, who comming with an armie out of Paphlagonia, and Heraclea Pontica, againſt the Turks of Amaſia, was now by the way by them ouerthrown and ſlaine. The report whereof, confirmed by the ſight of his head, and the conſideration of the deſperate danger wherein the whole armie preſently ſtood, ſo troubled the Emperor, that he was at his wits end; and with drie teares (if it may be ſo ſaid) diſſembling his inward grief, as one out of comfort, ſtood doubtful which way to turn himſelfe. For the Turks hauing ſuffered the vantgard to paſſe, with all their power charged the Emperours maine battell, as his chiefe ſtrength, nothing doubting, but that hauing once ouerthrowne it, they ſhould eaſily and at pleaſure ouerthrow the reſt. Oftentimes

Baldwin ſlaine.

The miſerie of the Chriſtians, by the Turks incloſed in the ſtraits.

The Emperor in great perplexitie.

The deſperat reſolution of the Emperour.

had the Emperor attempted to haue driuen the enemy out of thoſe ſtraits, and ſo to haue opened G
a way for his armie to haue paſſed, but all in vaine, the power of the Turks ſtil increaſing,
and they at great aduantage notably maintaining the paſſages before by them taken. Neuertheleſſe
ſeeing no leſſe danger in ſtaying ſtil, than in going forward, he with a few of his beſt ſoldiers,
armed with deſpaire, and reſolued to die, (vnto which kind of men nothing is terrible)
ſet forward directly vpon his enemies, willing the reſt with like reſolution euery man to make
for himſelfe the beſt ſhift he could. And ſo with many wonds and ſturdie blows both giuen
and receiued, he by plaine force and might of hand brake thorow the thickeſt of his enemies,
and ſo eſcaped out of thoſe ſtraits as out of a trap: but yet not without many wounds receiued
in his perſon, and himſelfe ſo wearied as that he was not able to lift vp his helmet, being beaten
cloſe to his head; and in his targuet were found ſticking 30 of the Turks arrows, or thereabouts, H
the manifeſt tokens of his danger. The other legions ſeeking to follow the Emperour,
(for other way they had none) were on euery ſide hardly aſſailed by the Turks, and infinite
numbers of them ſlaine, beſide many others that periſhed in thoſe ſtraits, ouerborn and trodden
to death by their own fellows. Yea ſuch as had the fortune to eſcape out of one of theſe
perrilous ſtraits, were forthwith ſlaine in the next: for this ſo dangerous a paſſage thorow the
mountains, was diuided (as is aforeſaid) into ſeuen vallies, which giuing faire and broad entrances,
the farther a man went, grew ſtil ſtraiter and ſtraiter, all which ſtraits the Turks had before
ſtrongly poſſeſſed. At which time alſo, the more to increaſe the terrour of the day, the light
ſand raiſed with the feet of the men and horſes, was with the violence of a moſt tempeſtuous
wind which then blew, carried ſo forcibly and thicke, that both the armies grapling together, I
as if it had bin in the darkneſſe of the night, killed whomſoeuer they met withall, without reſpect
of friend or foe; by which errour many were euen of their own friends ſlaine. In euery
place lay great heaps of Turks ſlain together with the Chriſtians, and with them great number
of horſes and other beaſts for carriage; ſo that thoſe vallies where this bloudie conflict was,
ſeemed to be nothing elſe but a large burying place of the Turks & Chriſtians with their horſes:
but the greater number was of the Chriſtians that periſhed, and they not altogether of the
common ſort, but euen of the braueſt captaines, and the Emperours neereſt kinſmen. The violence
of the wind ceaſing, and the day cleering vp, there was of all others to be ſeene (a moſt
wofull ſpectacle) men yet aliue, ſome wounded, ſome whole, couered ſome to the middle,
ſome to the necke, with dead carkaſes, in ſuch ſort as that they were not able with any ſtrugling
to get out: who with their hands caſt vp towards heauen, with ruthfull voices cried out K
for helpe to ſuch as paſſed by; but al in vain, for euery man poſſeſſed with the common feare,
and by their danger meaſuring their own, paſſed by them without compaſſion, as more careful
of their own ſafetie, leauing them yet liuing, as men to be numbred among the dead.

A moſt miſerable ſpectacle.

The emperor in danger to haue been taken, valiantly defendeth himſelfe.

The Emperor himſelfe, as a man almoſt now ſpent, being got out of the danger, ſtood a while
to breath himſelfe vnder the ſhadow of a wild peare tree, without any page or man to attend
him; whom a poore common ſouldier eſpying, and mooued with compaſſion, came vnto him,
and offering him the beſt ſeruice he could, helped him vp with his helmet, and buckled vp his
armor, which before hung dangling here & there about him: when in the mean while a Turke
comming in vpon him, had taken his horſe by the bridle, in hope to haue led him away priſoner: L
whom for al that, the Emperor as wearie as he was, with the trunchion of his broken lance
which he had yet in his hand, ſtrucke down to the ground, and ſo cleered himſelf of him. Preſently
after came alſo another ſort of the ſtragling Turks, readie alſo to haue ſeiſed vpon him,
and to haue taken him priſoner; of whom he ſlew one with the aforeſaid horſemans ſtaffe, and
with his ſword ſtrucke off the head of another of them, and ſo kept them off, vntill that by the
comming in of ten of his own ſouldiers he was relieued. Departing thence with purpoſe to
haue joyned himſelfe vnto the legions that were gone before in the vauward, he had not gone
far, but that he was much troubled by other Turks that he met, and the heapes of the dead
bodies that lay in his way: yet at laſt, hauing with much labour and more danger paſſed the
ſtraits, & a riuer running thereby, being glad in many places to ride ouer the dead bodies of M
his own people, & ſome other of his own ſoldiers now reſorting vnto him, he there ſaw *Iohn*
Catacuzene, a noble & right valiant gentleman that had maried his niece, fighting alone againſt
a great number of the Turks, to be compaſſed in and ſlaine; whom he was no way able to relieue.
Which Turks alſo ſeeing him paſſe by, followed after him, as after a moſt rich prey, in

hope

A hope to haue either preſently taken or ſlaine him: whom neuertheleſſe he (encouraging the ſmall companie he had about him) notably repulſed, and ſo ſometime marching forward, and again as occaſion required making a ſtand, came at length long looked for, but moſt welcome, vnto the legions that were gone before, not ſo ſorrie for their owne hard eſtate, as carefull of his danger.

The malaperte ſpeech of an inſolent ſoldier, to the Emperour.

The great patience of the Emperour.

The fearefull reſolution of the Emperour.

A ſharpe reprehenſiō of a common ſoldier, vnto the emperour.

But before he could come to thoſe his legions, he readie to faint for thirſt, commanded water to be brought him out of the riuer that ran faſt by; which after he had taſted, & by the vnpleaſant taſt thereof perceiued the ſame to be infected, he fetching a deep ſigh, ſaid, *O how vnfortunatly haue I taſted Chriſtian bloud!* whereunto an audacious and malapert ſoldier there preſent, and more bitter than the cruell time it ſelfe, replied, *Emperor, thou didſt not now, thou didaeſt* B *not now, I ſay, firſt, but long ſince, and oftentimes drinke the bloud of the Chriſtians, euen vntil thou waſt drunke againe, at ſuch time as thou didſt with moſt grieuous exactions vexe and deuoure thy poore ſubjects.* Which reproachfull ſpeech the Emperor put vp in ſilence, making as if he had not heard it. With like patience he alſo forbare the ſame railing companion, at ſuch time as he ſeeing his treaſures hardly beſet, and in danger to be taken by the Turks, to animate his ſoldiers, willed them to do what they could to reſcue the ſame, and to take it for their labour: *This treaſure* (ſaid this impudent fellow) *ſhould before haue been giuen vnto thy ſoldiers, rather than now, when as it cannot be recouered but with great danger and bloudſhed: and therefore if thou be a man of valour, as thou wouldeſt be accounted, and as the preſent caſe requireth, valiantly charge the Turks (now readie to carrie it away) thy ſelfe, and ſo recouer thyne euill gotten goods.* Whereunto the Emperour anſwe- C red no more but, *Good words ſouldier,* & ſo put it vp, as did *Dauid* the railings of *Shimei*. Shortly after the comming of the Emperor vnto thoſe legions of his vauntgard (the onely remainder of his armie that was left whole and vnbroken) came alſo *Andronicus Contoſtephanus*, who had the leading of the rereward, with diuers other of great place, who had by good fortune eſcaped the furie of the Turks. The miſeries of that day (not well to be expreſſed) being ended by the comming on of the night, the Chriſtians ſate in the campe, oppreſſed with a generall heauines, leaning their heads vpon their elbows, & conſidering the preſent danger wherein they were, ſcarcely accounted themſelues among the liuing: the Turks in the mean time to increaſe their feare, all the night running about the campe, and crying aloud vnto ſuch of their countreymen in the campe, as had abiured their religion, or for other reſpects had taken part D with the Imperials, that they ſhould that night get them out of the campe, wheras otherwiſe if they ſtayd vnto the morning, they ſhould be all but loſt men. In this ſo great an extremitie the Emperor not knowing not what to do, calling together his chiefe commanders, declared vnto them the deſperat danger they were in, together with his reſolution; which was, ſecretly himſelfe to flie, and to leaue the reſt, euerie man to make what ſhift he could for himſelfe. Which his baſe determination, ſo foule as fouler could not be, they all wondering at, as proceeding from a diſtraughted mind, and by chance ouerheard by one of the common ſoldiers that ſtood without the tent, the ſame ſoldier fetching a deepe ſigh, in deteſtation therof cried out with a loud voyce, *What meanes the Emperor?* And ſo turning himſelfe vnto him, ſaid, *Art not thou he that haſt thruſt vs into this deſolate and ſtrait way, and caſt vs headlong into deſtruction?* E *and haſt as it were in a morter incloſed vs in theſe rockes and mountains, readie as it were to ouerwhelme vs. What had we to do with this vaile of mourning, and mouth of hell? Wherefore came we into theſe miſchieuous and rough ſtraits? What can we particularly complaine of the Barbarians, which in theſe inextricable windings and ſtraits haue thus intangled and beſet vs? Was it not thou that broughtſt vs hither? And wilt thou now, as ſheepe appointed to the ſlaughter, thy ſelfe betray vs?* With which ſo ſharpe a reprehenſion the Emperor throughly pierced, changed his former determination for flight, reſoluing now to ſtand by it, whatſoeuer hapned. But what ſhould he now doe, beſet with his enemies ſtill readie to deuoure him? Help he ſaw none, either in himſelf, or to be expected from others, nought remained but death and deſpaire. In this extremity, al mans help now failing, it pleaſed the moſt mighty (which chaſtiſeth & healeth again, which ſtriketh, and F yet giueth life, and ſuffereth not the ſtaffe of the ſinners always to rage into the portion of the iuſt) with mercifull eye to looke downe vpon theſe diſtreſſed men, and with an vnwonted kind of clemencie to touch the Sultans heart, in ſuch ſort, as that he which but the other day ſtood in dread of the Emperour, and now hauing him as it were in his power, was ouercome with his miſerie: or as in times paſt he by *Huſai* ouerthrew the councell of *Achitophel*, and changed the mind of *Abſalon* to follow ſuch aduice as ſhould bring him to deſtruction: ſo then alſo he turned the mind of the Turkiſh Sultan, that (perſuaded by certain of the chiefe men about him, who in time of peace had vſed to receiue great gifts and Preſents from the Emperor) he of his own accord by his Embaſſadors offered peace vnto the Emperor, before that he in ſo great diſtreſſe ſued vnto him for any; and that vpon the ſelfe ſame conditions they had made their leagues before. The Turks in the meane time ignorant of the Sultans reſolution, early in the morning were readie to aſſault the Emperors campe, in hope at once to haue ouerthrown his whole power, and with a barbarous outcrie ſtill riding about it, came ſo nigh, that with their arrows they ſlew diuers of the Chriſtians within their own trenches: againſt whom the Emperor ſent out *Iohn* the ſon of *Conſtantinus Angelus*, and after him, *Macroducas Conſtantinus*, but to little or no purpoſe. In the mean time came one *Gabras*, a man of greateſt reputation among the Turks, Embaſſador from the Sultan; by whoſe commandement the Turks ceaſed further to aſſault the campe. This *Gabras* comming vnto the Emperour, and after the manner of the Barbarians, honoring him with reuerence done euen down to the ground; firſt preſented him with a goodly horſe, whoſe furniture was all of ſiluer, as if it had bin for triumph, and a faire two edged ſword. Afterwards falling into a large diſcourſe concerning a peace to be made, and with many kind words as with an inchantment appeaſing the Emperours heauineſſe conceiued of his late loſſe; he among other pleaſant conceits then vttered, ſeeing the Emperor in a rich robe of yellow ouer his armor, told him, that the colour was not fit for war, as ominous, and portending euil lucke: whereat the Emperor a little ſmiling, gaue it him, with the fortune thereof; and receiuing the horſe and ſword ſent him from the Sultan, ſigned the peace. Amongſt other conditions of the peace (which the dangerouſneſſe of the time ſuffered not the Emperor curiouſly to examine) one was, That Dorileum and Subleum, before by him fortified, and the ground of this vnfortunat war, ſhould be again raſed. Peace thus beyond all hope being concluded, and the emperor deliuered of a great feare, purpoſed another way to return home, to auoid the ſight of the ſlaine: yet was he by his guides, euen of purpoſe as it was thought, led back the ſame way, to behold with his eys thoſe miſerable ſpectacles of the ſlain, which could not with any teares be ſufficiently lamented: for the ſtraits were made plain, the vallies were raiſed into hils, and the foreſts lay couered with the carkaſſes of the ſlain: no man paſſed by, but with heauines and griefe, calling by name vpon their friends and familiars there loſt. Hauing again paſſed thoſe dolefull ſtraits, the Turks were again in the taile of the armie: for it was reported, That the Sultan repenting himſelfe to haue ſuffred his enemies ſo to ſcape out of his hands, had giuen leaue to ſuch as would, to purſue them, but followed not himſelfe with his whole power, as before; for moſt of the better ſort of his ſoldiers loaded with the ſpoile, were now returned home. Yet theſe that followed after the army, ſlew many, eſpecially ſuch as were weake or wounded, and ſo vnable to follow the reſt: although the Emperour to help the matter, had for the repreſſing of them placed the beſt of his captains and ſouldiers in the rereward. Being come to Chonas, and now out of feare of his enemies, he gaue vnto euery one of his hurt ſouldiers mony to pay for the curing of their wounds, and to bring them into their countries; and comming to Philadelphia, there ſtayed for the refreſhing of himſelf after ſo great miſeries. In his return he raſed Subleum, according to his promiſe, but not Dorileum: wherof the Sultan by his Embaſſadors complaining, he anſwered, That what he had, inforced thereunto by neceſſitie, promiſed, he greatly forced not to performe. In reuenge wherof, the Sultan ſent out one of his moſt valiant captains, called *Atapack*, with 24000 good ſoldiers choſen out of his whole armie, with ſtrait charge to waſt & deſtroy all the Emperors prouinces and towns euen vnto the ſea ſide, without ſparing man, woman, or child; and in token thereof, to bring with him ſome of the ſea water, an oare, and ſome of the ſea ſand: who according to his charge ſpoiled Phrygia, with the cities along the riuer Mæander, euen vnto the ſea ſide: and ſo returning with a rich prey, by the way ſpoyled what before he had left vntouched. But in paſſing the riuer Mæander, when he feared leaſt, he fell into the hands of *Iohn Bataza* the Emperours nephew, and of *Ducas Conſtantine* a moſt valiant Captaine; of purpoſe ſent againſt him by the Emperour with a great power: where hee was by them ſlaine, together with all his Armie, and the rich bootie he had taken, all againe recouered. Manie other hard conflicts paſſed after this, betwixt the Imperialls and the Turkes, the one continually ſeeking to annoy the other; all which, for that therein nothing fel out much worth the

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The Emperour returneth.

The Emperour altogether performs not what he had promiſed to the Sultan.

Atapacke with all his Armie ſlaine.

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great empire, hauing in the time of his ſickneſſe but a little before his death taken vpon him
the habit of a Monke, in token he had forſaken the world. All the time of his raigne he was no
leſſe iealous of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, than of the Turks in the Eaſt; and therfore
euer dealt with them vnkindly. In time of war he was ſo laborious, as if he had neuer taken felicitie
but in paine; and againe in peace ſo giuen ouer to his pleaſure, as if he had neuer thought
of any thing els. After whoſe death the Turkiſh Sultan, without reſiſtance inuading the frontiers
of the empire, tooke Sozopolis, with diuers towns therabout in Phrygia, and long beſieged
the famous city of Attalia, and ſo daily encroched more and more vpon the prouinces of
B the empire, ioyning the ſame vnto his owne; which was no great matter for him to doe; the
Greeke empire being then no better gouerned than was the chariot of the Sun (as the Poets
feigne) by *Phaeton*, far vnfit for ſo great a charge: for *Alexius Comnenus*, otherwiſe called *Porphyrogenitus*,
being then but a childe of about 12 yeares old, ſucceeding his graue father in the
empire, after the manner of children altogether following his pleaſure; his mother with his
fathers kinſmen & friends, who aboue al things ought to haue had an eſpecial care of his education,
neglecting the old Emperors truſt in them repoſed, followed alſo their owne delights,
without the regard of the ruine of the commonweale. Some enamoured with the beautie of
the yong empreſſe, gaue themſelues all to brauerie, & the courting of her: otherſome in great
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C ſenſual pleaſure, nor the heaping vp of wealth, looked not ſo low, aiming at the very empire
it ſelfe. As for the common good, that was of al other things of them al leaſt regarded. Among
theſe third ſort of the ambitious, was old *Andronicus*, the couſin of the late Emperor *Emanuel*,
a man of an haughty & troubleſome ſpirit, whom he the ſaid Emperor *Emanuel* had for his aſpiring,
moſt part of the time of his raigne kept in priſon, or elſe in exile, as he now was, being
by him not long before, for feare of raiſing of new troubles, confined to liue far off from the
court at Oenum: who now hearing of the death of the Emperor *Emanuel*, of the factions in
court, of the childiſhnes of the yong Emperor *Alexius*, giuen wholly to his ſports; & the great
men put in truſt to haue ſeen to his bringing vp, & to the gouernment of the empire, ſome like
Bees to flie abroad into the country, ſeeking after mony as the Bees do for hony; ſome others
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wallowing in all exceſſe & pleaſure, to haue no regard of the honor or profit of the common
weale: thought it now a fit time (in ſuch diſorder of the ſtate) for him to aſpire vnto the empire
after which he had all his life time longed. That he was generally beloued of the Conſtantinopolitans,
yea & of ſome of the nobility alſo, he edoubted not: for them hee had long before
by his popular behauior gained, together with the diſtruſt of the late Emperor, iealous of
his eſtate; which as it coſt him his liberty, ſo miſſed it not much but that it had coſt him his
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man could without danger, as vpon the venemous Baſiliske, look vpon him. Of which his ſo
excessiue

Andronicus aſpireth.

Ambition couered with the zeale of the commonweale.

the mind of *Abſalon* to follow ſuch aduice as ſhould bring him to deſtruction: ſo then alſo he G
turned the mind of the Turkiſh Sultan, that (perſuaded by certain of the chiefe men about him,
who in time of peace had vſed to receiue great gifts and Preſents from the Emperor) he of his
own accord by his Embaſſadors offered peace vnto the Emperor, before that he in ſo great diſtreſſe
ſued vnto him for any; and that vpon the ſelfe ſame conditions they had made their
leagues before. The Turks in the meane time ignorant of the Sultans reſolution, early in the
morning were readie to aſſault the Emperors campe, in hope at once to haue ouerthrown his
whole power, and with a barbarous outcrie ſtill riding about it, came ſo nigh, that with their
arrows they ſlew diuers of the Chriſtians within their own trenches: againſt whom the Emperor
ſent out *Iohn* the ſon of *Conſtantinus Angelus*, and after him, *Macroducas Conſtantinus*, but
to little or no purpoſe. In the mean time came one *Gabras*, a man of greateſt reputation among H
the Turks, Embaſſador from the Sultan; by whoſe commandement the Turks ceaſed further
to aſſault the campe. This *Gabras* comming vnto the Emperour, and after the manner of the
Barbarians, honoring him with reuerence done euen down to the ground; firſt preſented him
with a goodly horſe, whoſe furniture was all of ſiluer, as if it had bin for triumph, and a raire
two edged ſword. Afterwards falling into a large diſcourſe concerning a peace to be made,
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Andronicus aſpireth.

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exceſſiue

Andronicus departeth from Oenum toward Conſtantinople.

exceſſiue and inſolent power *Andronicus* by his letters now greatly complained, moued there- G
unto (as he would haue it beleeued) with the care he had of the yong Emperors ſafety, which
could not (as he ſaid) long ſtand with the others ſo great power, which he therfore (as in duty
bound) wiſhed to be abridged: aggrauating withall the infamous report of *Alexius* his too
much familiaritie with the empreſſe; which firſt muttered in court, afterwards flew (as he ſaid)
throughout the whole world. The reformation of which things, as tending to the danger of
the perſon of the Emperour, & diſhonor of the ſtate, he forſooth as one in conſcience bound,
with great grauity and eloquence (beeing a very learned man) both in open ſpeech and writing
moſt earneſtly deſired: and therby ſo wrought, as that he was generally accounted for a
man of great experience (as indeed he was) and a faithful counſellor to the ſtate, a thing much
to haue bin wiſhed. Wherefore leauing Oenum, the place whereto hee was by the Emperour H
Emanuel in a ſort baniſhed, trauelling towards Conſtantinople, hee gaue it out in euery place
where he came, what he had ſworne, and what he would for his oathes ſake do: vnto whom
men deſirous of the change of the ſtate, & ſuch as gaue credit vnto the report long before giuen
out, That he ſhould at length become Emperor; flockt in great numbers, as birds about n
owle, to ſee him, and with vain praiſes to chatter about him. In this ſort he came as far as Paphlagonia;
in euery place honorably receiued, as if he had bin a deliuerer of his countrie ſent
from God. And in the imperial city he was not longed for of the vulgar people only, as their
light and load ſtar, but diuers of the nobility alſo by ſecret meſſengers and letters, perſuaded
him to haſten his comming, and to take vpon him the gouernement; aſſuring him, that there
would be none to reſiſt him, or to oppoſe themſelues againſt his ſhadow, but all ready to receiue I
him: eſpecially *Mary* the yong Emperors ſiſter by the fathers ſide, with her husband *Caſar*
(who beeing a woman of great ſpirit, and grieuing much to ſee her fathers Empire made a
prey vnto *Alexius* the preſident, & the Empreſſe her ſtep mother, whom ſhe naturally hated)
had raiſed a great and dangerous tumult in the citie againſt them both, which was not without
much bloodſhed appeaſed: and now ceaſed not by often and moſt earneſt letters (to her
own deſtruction and her husbands, as it afterwards fel out) to prick forward *Andronicus* and to
haſten his comming: who by letters and meſſengers daily comming vnto him from the court
ſtill more and more encouraged, leauing behind him the country of Paphlagonia, came to Heraclea
in Pontus, and ſtil on towards the imperiall citie, with great cunning and diſſimulation
winning the hearts of the people as he went. For who was ſo ſtonie hearted, whom his ſweet K
words and aboundant teares flowing from his gracious eyes, as from two plentiful fountains
down by his hoary cheeks, might not haue moued? All that he did or deſired, was (as he ſaid)
for the common good and liberty of the Emperor. By which means he had drawn vnto him
a wonderfull number of the rude countrey people by the way as he came. But comming into
Bythinia, he was by *Iohn Ducas* gouernor of the great city of Nice, ſhut out as an enemy to the
ſtate, and ſo at Nicomedia alſo. Neuertheleſſe, paſſing by thoſe cities, he held ſtil on his way,
vntill at length he was neere vnto a caſtle called Charace, encountred by *Andronicus Angelus*,
ſent with a great power againſt him, by the great preſident *Alexius*; who otherwiſe as an effeminat
man, giuen ouer to his pleaſure, ſpending the greateſt part of the night in rioting by candle
light, and moſt part of the day in his bed, with curtaines cloſe drawne as if it had beene L
night: yet doubtful now of the comming of his enemy, left nothing vndon which he thought
might helpe for the aſſuring of his ſtate. Many of the nobilitie of whom he ſtood in doubt, he
gained vnto him by means of the Emperors mother; who by her rare beautie, ſweet words,
& gracious behauior, as with a line drew al men to her. Other ſome hee ouercame with gifts
and great ſummes of money, whereof hee now made no ſpare: And ſo wrought the matter,
that no man of any account or marke went ouer to *Andronicus*. Who neuertheleſſe with
ſuch followers as hee had, ioyning battell with *Angelus* (ſent againſt him, as is before ſaide)
ouerthrew him and put him to flight. Wherewith *Alexius* much troubled, in great diſpleaſure
and without reaſon, called *Angelus* (now fled to Conſtantinople) to an account for the
money deliuered vnto him for the defraying of the charges of that vnfortunate warre: who M
ſeeing his misfortune to be ſo taken as if he had framed it himſelfe, and of purpoſe betraid the
army committed to his charge; by the counſell of his ſix ſonnes, being all men of great valor
and wiſedome, firſt tooke the refuge of his owne houſe: but finding himſelfe there in no
ſafety, with his wife and his ſaid ſonnes (two of which came afterwards to be Emperours)
preſently

A preſently fled ouer the ſtrait to *Andronicus:* who ſeeing of him comming towards him, is reported to haue vſed this text of Scripture, *Behold I will ſend mine Angell before thy face, to prepare thy wayes*, alluding to his name of *Angelus*, as the preſage of his good ſucceſſe. Wherefore incouraged with the comming of theſe noblemen his kinſmen, he without longer ſtay marched directly vnto the ſea ſide, and there a little aboue Chalcedon encamped almoſt right ouer againſt Conſtantinople: cauſing wany great fires (moe than needed) to be made in his armie, to make it ſeeme vnto them of the citie greater than indeed it was; and with the ſight thereof to keep the citizens in ſuſpence, with the doubtful expectation of ſome great matter to enſue. Wherein he was no whit deceiued; for they hauing him now as it were in ſight, leauing their worke, ran ſome to the ſea ſide, ſome vp to the hils and high towers to behold his armie a far off, willing with their friendly lookes, if it had bin poſſible, to haue drawn him ouer the ſtrait B into the citie. *Alexius* knowing himſelfe not able by land to encounter with ſo ſtrong an enemie, (for now ſome which on foot could not go ouer to *Andronicus*, were ſecretly in heart already with him; otherſome thought themſelues ſufficiently to ſhew their fidelitie to the Emperor, if ſitting ſtil at home, they ſhould take part with neither: for ſo haue ſubtill heads and aſpiring mindes, for the furtherance of their deſires, taught the common people both to ſay & thinke) thought it beſt by ſea to auert the preſent danger: and therefore commanded all the Emperors gallies (being before rigged vp and ready) to be ſtrongly manned and put to ſea, for the keeping of Propontis and the ſtrait of Boſphorus, that *Andronicus* ſhould not that way paſſe. Now had hee determined to haue made eſpeciall choice of ſome aſſured friend of his own to be General of this fleet, as he had done of the captains & maſters, being all his own C kinſmen or domeſticall ſeruants: but as he was about to haue ſo done, *Contoſtephanus* (ſyrnamed the great captain) oppoſed himſelfe againſt it, challinging that place as due vnto himſelf, before all others: ſo that ouercome by his authoritie (which it was no time for *Alexius* now to diſpute) he was glad to commit the charge and truſt of the whole fleet vnto him, as Generall. Thus hauing (as hee thought) made the ſea ſure, he ſent ouer vnto *Andronicus*, as from the Emperor, (for all was done in his name) one *George Xiphilinus*, with letters and other inſtructions, whereof the effect was, to command him forthwith in peace to returne to the place from whence he came, & not farther to trouble the ſtate: promiſing him in ſo doing, the Emperors fauor, with many great honors and preferments to be afterward beſtowed vpon him; which otherwiſe might turn to his vtter deſtruction. Which letters *Xiphilinus* hauing deliuered, and D done his meſſage, is reported to haue ſecretly aduiſed *Andronicus* to proceed in his purpoſe, and not in any caſe to yeeld to that which was of him required: wherwith *Andronicus* encouraged, proudly reiected the graces offered, & willed the meſſenger to tel them that ſent him, that if they would haue him to returne vnto the place from whence he came, they ſhould firſt diſplace the proud preſident *Alexius*; & call him vnto an account for the villanies he had don; then the Emperours mother they ſhould depriue of her honors, & ſhut her vp as a Nun into ſome cloyſter, there to learn to amend her life; & laſt of al, that the Emperor according to his fathers wil, ſhould take vpon himſelf the gouernment, & not be ouertopt by others, by whoſe too much authority, his maieſty & honor was (as he ſaid) too much impaired. But within a few E days after, *Contoſtephanus*, the great captain & General, caried ouer al the gallies to *Andronicus*, leauing nothing but their names for the preſident in his rols to look vpon. whoſe reuolt aboue al other things encouraged *Andronicus*, & caſt *Alexius* euen into the bottome of deſpaire. For now *Andronicus* his friends flocked together in the city, not ſecretly as before, but openly in al places: and ſuch as wiſht a change in the ſtate, impudently ſcoffing at *Alexius*, paſſed ouer the ſtrait to Chalcedon in great numbers to *Andronicus*, where hauing filled their eys with beholding of his goodly perſon, his cheerfull countenance, & reuerent age; and their eares with his ſweet words & great promiſes, returned home merry & ioyful, as if they had bin in ſome tereſtrial paradice, filling the city with his praiſes. After that, *Andronicus* his two ſons, *Iohn* and *Manuel*, with diuers others, whom the preſident had caſt in priſon, were ſet at liberty, & other F of his chiefe fauorits laid faſt in their rooms. As for *Alexius* the preſident himſelf, with all his friends & faction in the court, they were taken & committed to the keeping of the guard: a right ſtrange alteration. But about midnight, *Alexius* himſelf was ſecretly conueied out of the court to the Patriarchs houſe, & there kept with a ſtronger guard than before. A wonderfull change, & worth marking, a man ſo honorably born, but yeſterday in greateſt honor, attended

Andronicus encampeth in ſight ouer againſt Conſtantinople.

Xiphilinus ſent ouer to Andronicus, dealeth vnfaithfully in doing his meſſage.

The proud anſwer of Andronicus.

Contoſtephanus reuolteth to Andronicus. Alexius in deſpaire.

Alexius and his friends apprehended.

A ſtrange alteration.

vpon with many thouſands, all at his command, hauing the power to ſpill or ſaue: to day in G
bond, ſin diſgrace, in miſerie and deſpaire, and not ſo much as a page to wait vpon him. Which
he taking very grieuouſly, yet complained of nothing more, than that they which had the keeping
of him, would not ſuffer him to ſleepe or take any reſt. Of whoſe miſerie, the Patriarch
taking pitie (although he had of him very euill deſerued) yet cheered him vp with comfortable
words, perſuading him with patience to endure his hard fortune, and not with ſuch ſpeeches
as fitted not his preſent ſtate, to prouoke his keepers to vſe him euill. Within a few daies
after early in a morning, he was brought out of the Patriarchs houſe, and ſet vpon a very little
bad Iade, and ſo with a ragged clout vpon the top of a reed in manner of an enſigne, carried
before him in deriſion, was brought to the ſea ſide, and there caſt into a little boat, was ſo

Alexius broght to Andronicus, hath his eyes put out.

brought to ***Andronicus***, by whoſe commandement, with the generall conſent of the nobilitie, H
he for his euil gouerment ſhortly after had his eys put out. This was the miſerable end of the
immoderat power, or rather of the inſolent ſoueraigntie of ***Alexius***: who, had he with more
moderation and vigilancie gouerned, might both haue kept ***Andronicus*** out of the citie, and
himſelfe from ſo great miſerie; hauing at his command all the Emperors treaſure, his gallies,
with moſt part of the ſtrength of the empire. Now came the noblemen ouer apace to ***Andronicus***:

The meeting of the Patriarch & Andronicus

the laſt that came, was the reuerend Patriarch ***Theodoſius***, with the chiefe of the clergie: of
whoſe approch, ***Andronicus*** hearing, went out of his tent to meet him, and falling downe (as
great as he was) flat at his horſes feet, and in a while after ariſing againe, kiſſed the Patriarchs
foot, calling him, the Emperors Sauiour, the louer of vertue, the defender of the truth; and
comparing him with the famous Father ***Iohn Chryſoſtome***, omitted not any honorable title hee I
could poſſibly deuiſe to giue him. But the deuout Patriarch, that had neuer ſeene ***Andronicus***
before, hauing now well viewed him, and marked his ſterne countenance, his ſubtil nature, his
craftie and diſſembling manners, his exceeding ſtature, being almoſt ten foot high, his ſtately
gate, his proud looke, his continual ſeueritie, and melancholie ſilence; as it were pittying them
that to their owne deſtruction had called ſuch a man in, ſaid, ***Hitherto I haue heard, but now I haue***
alſo ſeene, and plainly knowne: and fetching a deepe ſigh, adioyning thereunto that ſaying of the
Prophet ***Dauid***: ***As we haue heard, ſo haue we alſo ſeene.*** In which words, he couertly quipped
the diſſembled meeting and ſubmiſſion of ***Andronicus***: and withall called to remembrance the
words of the Emperour ***Emanuel***, wherewith he had many times ſo painted forth ***Andronicus***
vnto the Patriarch, as if he would moſt liuely haue repreſented him vnto his view. K

Andronicus paſſeth ouer the ſtrait.

All things in the citie and in the pallace ſet in order according to ***Andronicus*** his mind, by
his two ſons, and leaue giuen vnto the Emperors friends to come ouer vnto him, and to be acquainted
with him; at length ***Andronicus*** himſelfe departing from Damalum, in a gallie croſſed
the ſtrait, oftentimes by the way merrily ſinging that ſaying of the heauenly Pſalmiſt: ***Returne
my ſoule into thy reſt, becauſe the Lord hath done well vnto thee, hauing deliuered my life from***
death, mine eyes from teares, and my feet from falling. The Emperour with his mother ***Xene***, then
lay not in the pallace at Conſtantinople, but at another princely houſe of his in the countrey
neere vnto Philopatium, as ***Andronicus*** had appointed: whither ***Andronicus*** firſt went, and
comming vnto his preſence, moſt humbly proſtrat before him, with ſobbing and teares, as his
deceitfull manner was, kiſſed his feet. As for the Empreſſe his mother, he lightly ſaluted her, L
and as it were but for faſhion ſake, not diſſembling in his countenance the old grudge he bare
againſt her. And ſo without longer ſtay went vnto his tent prouided for him not far off; round
about which, all the great noblemen had pitched their tents alſo, flocking vnto him as chickens
ſeeking for refuge vnder the hens wings. Hauing there ſtaied with the Emperour a good
while, he was deſirous to go vnto the imperiall citie, and to ſee the late Emperor ***Emanuel*** his
couſins graue. Where entering into the monaſterie of our Lady, where he was buried, and
comming to his tombe, he wept bitterly, and roared as it were mainely out. So that diuers of
the ſtanders by, ignorant of his diſſembling nature, by way of admiration ſaid; ***O what a wonderfull
thing is this! O how he loued the Emperor, his couſin, although his fierce and cruell perſecutor!***
And when one of his kinſemen would haue pulled him from the tombe, ſaying that hee M
had ſorrowed for him enough; he would not be remoued, but requeſted them to ſuffer him
yet a little to tarrie by the tombe, for that he had ſomthing in ſecret to ſay vnto the dead: and
ſo with his hands caſt vp and cloſe together, as if he had praied, and his eys faſt fixed vpon the
tombe, he moued his lips, and ſecretly ſaid ſomthing, but what, no man could tel. Some ſaid it

was

A was ſome charme or incantation. But others more pleaſantly conceited, ſaid, and (as it afterward appeared) more truly, that *Andronicus* did triumph ouer the dead Emperor *Emanuel*, and reuell with his ghoſt, with theſe or like words: *I haue thee now faſt, my cruel perſecutor, by whom I haue bin driuen to many great extremities: and hauing wandred almoſt all the world ouer, haue thereunto bin made by thee a common by-word. But now this tombe riſing vp with ſeuen tops, & priſon, out of which thou canſt not ſtart, holdeth thee oppreſſed with a dead ſleepe, out of which thou ſhalt not be awaked, but by the ſounding of the laſt trumpe. And now will I be reuenged of thy poſteritie, and ſatisfie my ſelfe as a Lyon with a fat prey; and take ſharpe reuenge of all the wrongs thou haſt done me, when I haue once poſſeſſed my ſelfe of this royall citie.*

After that, viſiting al the Emperors ſtately houſes, but ſtaying in no place long, he diſpoſed B of al matters of ſtate, according to his own pleaſure. Vnto the yong Emperor he allowed hunting, and other his vain delights, with keepers ioined vnto him, to watch not only his going in & out, but alſo that no man ſhould talke with him of any matter of importance: for all the gouernment of the ſtate he tooke vnto himſelfe: not for that he wiſhed ſo well therunto, aboue others, but ſo to driue from the court al them of the contrary faction to himſelf, that were able to do any thing, & had before borne ſome ſway. The ſoldiers, whoſe help he had vſed in aſpiring to the gouernment, he rewarded with great bounty; all their offices and preferments hee beſtowed either vpon his own children, or other his great fauourits; diuers of the nobility of whom he liked not, were by him in ſhort time driuen into exile: ſome were by him depriued of their ſight, and ſome others caſt in priſon, not knowing any cauſe why, more than that they C were by him ſecretly condemned, for that they were of the nobility, or had done ſome good ſeruice for the ſtate, or exiled for their perſonage, or ſome other thing that grieued *Andronicus*, or els for the ſparke of ſome old diſpleaſure which yet lay hid as fire raked vp in the aſhes. So that the ſtate of that time began to grow moſt miſerable: & the trecherie euen of men neereſt in blood, ſeeking the deſtruction one of another, for to ſerue their own turns, or to gratify *Andronicus*, moſt horrible: not only one brother betraid another, but euen the father his ſon, and the ſon his father, if *Andronicus* would haue it ſo. Some accuſed their neereſt kinſmen, that they derided *Andronicus* his proceedings, or that without regard of him, they more fauoured *Alexius* the yong emperor, then, a great offence. Yea, ſuch was the miſchiefe of the time, that many in accuſing others, were themſelues accuſed; & charging others of treaſon againſt *Andro-* D *nicus*, were themſelues charged by them whom they accuſed, & ſo clapt vp both together in one priſon. Neither were they of the nobility onely, which were enemies to *Andronicus*, thus hardly dealt withal, but euen ſome of his great fauorits & followers alſo: for ſome whom but yeſterday he had vſed moſt kindly, & enrolled among his beſt friends, vpon them to day hee frowned & tyranized moſt cruelly: ſo that you might haue ſeen the ſame man the ſame to day (as it is reported of *Xerxes* his admiral) to be crowned & beheaded, to be graced & diſgraced: inſomuch that the wiſer ſort deemed *Andronicus* his praiſings, the beginning of a mans diſgrace; his bounty, his vndoing; & his kindnes, his death. The firſt that taſted of his tiranny, was *Mary* the daughter of *Emanuel* the emperor, who for the hate ſhe bare to *Alexius* the late Preſident, & the empreſſe her mother in law had (as is aforeſaid) aboue al other, wiſht for his com- E ming; but was now by one *Pterigionites* (ſomtime an eunuch of her fathers, corrupted by *Andronicus*, hauing in his aſpiring mind purpoſed the vtter deſtruction of all *Emanuels* poſteritie) cunningly poiſoned; as was her husband *Cæſar*, who liued not long after her, poiſoned alſo (as was ſuppoſed) with the ſame cup that his wife was. Now among others of the late emperors houſe, none had euer ſtood more in his light, than had the faire empreſſe *Xene*, the yong emperors mother, whom now he ceaſed not moſt bitterly (though wrongfully) to accuſe, as an vtter enemie both to the emperor & the ſtate, making as if he would leaue al, and again depart, if ſhe were not remoued from the Emperor her ſon: and by his cunning ſo incenſed the giddy headed vulgar people againſt her, that they came flocking to *Theodoſius* the good Patriarch, ready to teare him out of his cloaths, if he conſented not to the remouing of the empreſſe, as *Andro-* F *nicus* had deſired. So a counſel being called of ſuch his fauorits and others, as were not like indifferently to heare her cauſe, but aſſuredly to condemne her, the guiltleſſe empreſſe after many things falſly laid to her charge, was accuſed of treſon: as that ſhe ſhould by her lettters haue ſolicited *Bela* king of Hungarie, her brother in law, to inuade Brantizoba and Belligrade, two ſtrong places belonging to the empire. Whereupon ſhee was condemned, and ſhamefully

caſt

Andronicus taketh vpon him the gouernment

Andronicus tyrannizeth.

A miſerable ſtate of a commonweale.

Mary the daughter of Emanuel, with her husband Cæſar poyſoned by Andronicus.

Xene the Empreſſe accuſed of treaſon, and condemned.

Dangerous to ſpeake the truth to a tyrant.

caſt into a moſt filthie priſon neere vnto the monaſterie of S. Diomede. Amongſt other no- G blemen called vnto this wicked counſell, were *Leo Monaſteriotes, Demetrius, Tornicius*, & *Conſtantius Petrenus*: who not yet altogether deuoted to *Andronicus*, being asked their opinions concerning the Empreſſe, ſaid, They would be glad firſt to know, Whether that counſell againſt his mother, were called by the Emperors conſent or not? With which ſpeech, *Andronicus* peirced to the heart as with a ſword, in great rage ſtart vp and ſaid, Theſe are they which encouraged the wicked preſident to all his villanies, lay hands vpon them. Wherupon they of his guard in threatning manner ſhook their weapons & ſwords at them, as if they would euen preſently haue ſlain them: and the tumultuous common people, catching them by their cloaks as they came out, pulling them ſome one way ſome another, were ſo fierce vpon them, as that they had much adoe to eſcape out of their hands with life. Now lay the faire Empreſſe (but H the other day one of the greateſt princes of the Eaſt, and honored of all her ſubiects) in great miſerie & deſpaire, ſcorned euen of her baſe keepers, euery houre expecting the deadly blow of the hangman. Yet was not the crueltie of *Andronicus* againſt her, ſo any thing aſſuaged, but greeuing that ſhe yet breathed, ſhortly after aſſembled the former counſell, the miniſters of his wrath, demanding of them, What puniſhment was by law appointed for ſuch as betraied any towne or prouince of the Empire? whereunto anſwere beeing giuen in writing, That it was by the law, death, he could no longer hold; but that he muſt in great choler breake out againſt the poore empreſſe, as if it had bin ſhe that had done it: and therupon the wicked counſellors crying out with one voice, That ſhe was to be taken out of the way, as they had before agreed, by and by without longer ſtay, a damned writing was ſubſcribed by the yong Emperor I her ſon, as if it had bin with the bloud of his owne mother, whereby ſhe was (I abhor to write it) moſt vnworthily condemned to die. The men appointed to ſee this moſt horrible & cruell execution done, were *Manuel, Andronicus* his eldeſt ſon, and *Georgius Auguſtus*, his neere kinſman; who both diſmaid at the very mentioning of the matter, not regarding the emperors command, ſaid plainly, that they neuer before conſented to the death of the empreſſe, but had clean hands of ſo hainous an offence, & therefore would now much leſſe ſee her innocent body diſmembred in their ſight. At which vnexpected anſwer *Andronicus* much troubled, with his fingers oftentimes pluckt himſelf by the hoary beard, and with burning eyes caſting ſomtime vp his head, & ſomtime downe, ſighed at his own moſt miſerable tyrannical eſtate, fretting inwardly, that they which were neereſt vnto him, whom he thought he might euen with K a beck haue commanded to haue done any miſchiefe, abhorring his cruelty, ſhould refuſe to do the thing he ſo much deſired to haue don: yet repreſſing his anger for a while, within a few days after, he again commanded her to be ſtrangled; which was accordingly don by *Conſtantinus Tripſicus*, and *Pterigionites* the vngracious eunuch, by whoſe helpe he had before poiſoned *Mary* the emperors daughter, with *Cæſar* her husband, as is before declared. Thus periſhed this great empreſſe, cruelly ſtrangled in priſon, by theſe two wicked men, the mercileſſe executioners of *Andronicus* his wrath. Her dead bodie lately adorned with all the graces of nature, euen to the admiration of the beholders, was without more adoe ſecretly raked vp in the ſand faſt by the ſea ſide: a poore ſepulchre for ſo great a perſon.

A wicked counſell.

The miſerable death of the empreſſe.

What might not *Andronicus* now do to others, that durſt thus cruelly to deale with the yong L emperors own mother, & neereſt friends? yet was all couered vnder the pretence of the common good, and ſafety of the ſtate and empire. And the more to ſhadow *Andronicus* his ſecret purpoſes, as not proceeding of any priuate or hidden malice, or aſpiring humor, from which he of all men would ſeeme moſt free; and the more to manifeſt his deuotion & loyaltie to the young Emperour his couſin, he was the onely perſuader vnto the reſt of the nobilitie, to haue him ſolemnly crowned (which as yet by reaſon of his tender age he was not;) and at the time of his coronation, with his own ſhoulders ſupported him vp, as he was (after the maner of that ſolemnitie) carried vnto the great church, and ſo back againe; the Crocodiles teares ſtill plenteouſly running downe his aged face, as if it had bin for exceeding ioy: which many of the meaner ſort beholding, and deeming therof the beſt, highly commended his kindnes, accoun- M ting the yong Emperor thrice happie, in ſo graue a gouernour, and faithfull counſellor; who in loue and kind affection towards him, ſeemed not inferior to his naturall father: ſo cunningly had hee vnder the vaile of pietie, ſhadowed his moſt execrable treacherie; as that in the very plotting thereof, he was accounted moſt louing and kinde. But hidden treaſon, be it neuer

The ſlie practiſe of Andronicus in aſpiring to the Empire.

A ſo wel diſſembled, muſt at length ſhew it ſelfe. So *Andronicus* hauing got into his power both the Emperor and the empire, and the chiefe friends of the late Emperor *Emanuel* being taken out of the way, or elſe driuen into exile, thought it now high time for himſelfe to aſpire vnto that high ſoueraigntie, after which he had ſo many yeres longed. Wherfore calling together a councel of his flatterers and fauorits, whom he had for ſuch purpoſe promoted vnto the higheſt places of ſtate (all or the moſt part of the graue councellors and friends of the late Emperor *Emanuel* being now diſplaced, or otherwiſe taken out of the way) he as a man only carefull of the common good, declared vnto them the dangerous ſtate of the empire, by reaſon of a rebellion raiſed in BYTHINIA at NICE, by *Iſaack Angelus*, and *Theodorus Catacuzenus*; & another at PRVSA, by *Theodorus Angelus*; requiring their graue aduice for the ſuppreſſing thereof: who B not ignorant of their lords purpoſe (as thereof before ſufficiently inſtructed) anſwered with one conſent, That of ſuch great miſchiefes there would be no end, except hee were ioyned in fellowſhip of the Empire together with *Alexius*, by his grauitie and deepe wiſedome to supplie what wanted for the good gouernment of the State in the yong Emperor his couſin. At which ſpeech the by-ſtanders (being in number many, and for the moſt part the followers of *Andronicus* his flatterers) gaue a great ſhout, and as if it had bin alreadie granted, with one applauſe cried out, *Long liue Alexius and Andronicus the Greeke Emperors*, and that with ſuch a vehemencie, as if they would therewith haue rent the verie heauens. The bruit thereof flying abroad into the citie, forthwith you might haue ſeene euery ſtreet and corner of the citie full of the vulgar people, with ſome alſo of better ſort, ſwarming together like Bees, & ſounding C the praiſes of *Andronicus* (who now was come out of his houſe into the court, with a world of people following him) and crying out, *Long liue the Emperors Alexius and Andronicus*. With which loud acclamation, mixt with the heauie ſighings of many good men, (for all were not mad of that frenzie) the yong Emperor awaked, and ſeeing the court full of people, and *Andronicus* by them ſaluted his fellow in the Empire; knowing now no other remedy, thought it beſt to yeeld vnto the time, & ſo with the reſt flattering the old tyrant, welcommed him ful ſore againſt his will, by the name of his friend & companion in the empire: which he now in diſſembling manner ſeeming vnwilling to take vpon him, & refuſing the place offred, was by the rout of his flattering fauorites enforced to his own great contentment, to yeeld to their re-D queſt: ſome of them with both their hands carrying him vp, vntil they had as it were againſt his wil placed him in the imperiall ſeat, prepared for him faſt by the yong emperor: others in the meane time no leſſe buſied in pulling off his priuat attyre, and putting vpon him the imperiall roabes.

The next day, when this participation of the empire ſhould be publiſhed, & they both proclaimed emperors, the name of *Andronicus* was ſet before the name of *Alexius*: whereof his fauorits (though ſome others interpreted it otherwiſe) gaue this reaſon, That it fitted not with the maieſty of the empire, that the name of a boy ſhould be ſet before the name of ſo reuerend graue, wiſe, & excellent a man as was *Andronicus* his companion in the Empire. Shortly after, *Andronicus* being brought into the great temple to be crowned, then firſt began to ſhew to the people a chereful countenance, & ſetting aſide his ſterne looke, after his long deuotion done, E filled the vain peoples heads with many large promiſes of a more happy form of gouernment than before. All which proued nothing but meere diſſimulation and deep deceit, that cheerefulnes of countenance & ſpeech ſeruing but for a while to couer his inward, ſecret, & moſt inhuman cruelty. And the more to deceiue the world, the ceremonies of his coronation paſt, at ſuch time as he ſhould for conſummation and confirmation of al, receiue the ſacred & dreadful myſterie, the pledge of our redemption, not without due reuerẽce to be named, much leſſe with impure hands touched: after he had receiued the bread, and taken the cup in his hand, he with a moſt deuout countenance framed of purpoſe to deceiue, & his eyes caſt vp to heauen, as if his ſoule had there already bin (the faireſt maske of hypocriſie) ſwore by thoſe dreadful myſteries, & moſt deeply proteſted in the hearing of the people ſtanding by, that he had taken vpon him the fellowſhip of the empire for no other end or purpoſe but to aſſiſt *Alexius* his coſin in the gouernment, & to ſtrengthen his power: whereas his ſecret meaning was nothing leſſe, as ſhortly after appeared. For after a few dayes ſpent in feigned deuotions for the proſperous beginning of his empire, hee forthwith turned his mind vnto other his more ſecret, but moſt wicked and execrable deſignes. And hauing aboue all things purpoſed the death of the yong

Alexius depriued of the Empire.

Alexius condemned.

Alexius the emperor cruelly ſtrangled.

Emperor, he called together them of the Councell, his owne creatures and corrupt miniſters of his wickedneſſe, who had now oftentimes in their mouths that ſaying of the Poet,

> *Eſt mala res multos dominarier: vnicus eſto*
> ——*Rex dominuſque.*
>
> An euill thing it is to be ruled by many:
> One King and one Lord, if there be any.

and that the old age of an Eagle was better than the youth of a Larke. So by the generall conſent of that wicked aſſembly (vnworthy the name of a graue counceel) a decree was made, That *Alexius* ſhould (as a man vnfit to gouern the State) be depriued of all imperiall dignitie, and commanded to liue a priuat life. Which diſloyall decree of the conſpirators was yet ſcarcely publiſhed, but that another more cruell came out of the ſame forge, That he ſhould forthwith be put to death, as one vnworthie longer to liue. For the execution of which ſo horrible a ſentence *Stephanus Hagiochriſtophorites* (one of the chiefe miniſters of *Andronicus* his villanies, and by him promoted euen vnto the higheſt degrees of the honours of the court) with *Conſtantinus Trypſicus*, and one *Theodorus Badibrenus*, captaine of the tormentors) were ſent out; who entring his chamber by night, without compaſſion of his tender age, or regard of his honour or innocency, cruelly ſtrangled him with a bow ſtring: which deteſtable murther ſo performed, *Andronicus* ſhortly after comming in, ſpurned the dead body with his foot, railing at his father the late Emperor *Emanuel*, as a forſworne and iniurious man; and at his mother, as a common whore. The head was forthwith ſtrook off from this miſerable carkaſſe (the mirror of honors vnſtabilitie) and left for the monſtrous tyrant to feed his eyes vpon: the bodie wrapped vp in lead, was in a boat carried to ſea by *Io. Camaterius*, and *Theodoſius Chumenus*, two of *Andronicus* his noble fauorits; who with great ioy and glee returned with the ſame boat to the Court, as if they had done ſome notable exployt. But long continueth not the ioy of the miſchieuous, vengeance ſtill following them at the heeles; as it did theſe two, who not long after, with the reſt that conſpired the innocent Emperors death, all or moſt part of them came to ſhameful or miſerable ends. Thus periſhed *Alexius* the Emperor, not yet ful fifteen yeres old, in the third yeare of his raigne: which time he liued more like a ſeruant than an Emperor, firſt vnder the command of his mother, and afterwards of the tyrant which brought him to his end.

An vnequall marriage.

Andronicus ſeeketh by tyranny to eſtabliſh his eſtate.

Who ioyeth now but old *Andronicus*, made yong again, as ſhould ſeem, by his new gained honors? for ſhortly after the murder committed, he married *Anne* the French kings daughter (as ſome report) before betroathed to yong *Alexius*; a tender & moſt beautiful lady, not yet full 11 yeres old, an vnfit match for three ſcore and ten. And in ſome ſort as it were to purge himſelfe & his partakers of the ſhamefull murther by them committed, & to ſtop the mouths of the people, he by much flattery & large promiſes procured of the biſhops a general abſolution for them all, from the oath of obedience which they had before giuen vnto the emperor *Emanuel*, & *Alexius* his ſon. Which obtained, he for a while had the ſame Biſhops in great honor, and ſhortly after in greater contempt, as men forgetfull of their duties and calling. After that, he gaue himſelfe wholly vnto the eſtabliſhing of his eſtate, neuer reckning himſelf thereof aſſured, ſo long as he ſaw any of the nobility or famous captains aliue, that fauored *Emanuel* the late Emperor, or *Alexius* his ſon: of whom ſome he ſecretly poyſoned, as *Mary* the Emperor *Emanuels* daughter, with her husband *Caeſar*; ſome for light occaſions hee depriued of their ſight, as he did *Emanuel* and *Alexius* the ſons of that noble captaine *Iohn Comnenus*; *Andronicus Lapardus*, whoſe good ſeruice he had oftentimes vſed; *Theodorus Angelus*, *Alexius Comnenus* the Emperor *Emanuels* baſe ſon: ſome he hanged, as *Leo Syneſius*, *Manuel Lachanas*, with diuers others: ſome he burnt, as *Mamalus* one of the Emperor *Alexius* his chiefe Secretaries; all men of great honor and place. For colour whereof he pretended himſelfe to be ſorrie for them, deeply proteſting, that they died by the ſeueritie of the law, not by his will, and by the iuſt doome of the Iudges, whereunto he was himſelfe (as he ſaid) to giue place; & that with teares plentifully running down his aged cheekes, as if he had been the the moſt ſorrowfull man aliue. O deepe diſſimulation, and Crocodiles teares, by nature ordained to expreſſe the heauineſſe of the heart, flowing from the eyes as ſhowers of raine out of the Clouds: in good men the moſt certaine ſignes of greateſt griefe, & ſureſt teſtimonies of inward torment:

but in *Andronicus* you are not ſo, you are far of another nature, you proceed of ioy, you promiſe not vnto the diſtreſſed pittie or compaſſion, but death & deſtruction! how many mens eys haue you put out? how many haue you drowned? how many haue you deuoured? Moſt of the nobilitie that fauored the late emperor *Emanuel* and *Alexius* his ſon, thus taken out of the way by *Andronicus*, ſtrook ſuch a feare into the reſt, that for ſafegard of their liues they betook themſelues to flight, ſome one way, ſome another, neuer thinking themſelues in ſafety ſo long as they were within the greedie Tyrants reach; whereof ſhortly after enſued no ſmall troubles, to the ſhaking of the ſtate of the whole empire. *Iſaac Comnenus* the emperor *Emanuels* nigh kinſman, took his refuge into CYPRVS, & kept that Iſland to himſelfe. *Alexius Comnenus*, *Emanuels* brothers ſon, fled into SICILIA, & there ſtir'd vp *William* king of that Iſland, againſt *Andronicus*, who with a great army landed at DYRRACHIVM, tooke the city, & ſo from thence without reſiſtance paſſing thorow the heart of MACEDONIA, ſpoiling the country before him as he went, met his fleet at THESALONICA, which famous city he alſo tooke by force, & moſt miſerably ſpoiled it, with al the country thereabout, ſo that he brought a great feare vpon the imperial city it ſelf. Vnto which ſo great euils *Andronicus* (intangled with domeſtick troubles, and not knowing whom to truſt) was not able to giue remedy, although for ſhew he had (to no purpoſe) ſent out certain of his moſt truſtie miniſters with ſuch forces as he could well ſpare. For the maieſtie of his authoritie growing ſtil leſſe & leſſe, & the number of his enemies both at home & abroad daily increaſing, & the fauor of the vnconſtant people (who now began to ſpeake hardly of him) declining, he vncertain which way to turn himſelfe, reſted wholly vpon tyrannie, proſcribing in his feare, not only the friends of ſuch as were fled, & whom he diſtruſted, but ſomtimes whole families together, yea and that for light occaſions, ſometime thoſe who were his beſt fauorits, whoſe ſeruice he had many times vſed in the execution of his crueltie: ſo that now no day paſſed wherein he did not put to death, impriſon, or torture one great man or other. Whereby it hapned that the imperiall city was filled with ſorrow & heauines, euery man hanging the head, & with ſilence couering his inward griefe, not without danger to haue bin then vttered. Among many others appointed to this ſlaughter, was one *Iſaac Angelus* a man of great nobilitie, whom *Hagiochriſtopherites* (the chiefe miniſter of *Andronicus* his tirannie, & for the ſame by him highly promoted) ſuſpecting, as one that bare no good will to the emperor (cauſe enough of death) came to his houſe to apprehend him; & finding him at home, after a few hot words commanded him to follow him: whereat the nobleman making ſome ſtay, & abhorring the very ſight of the wretch, as vnto him ominous & fatal, *Hagiochriſtoporites* himſelfe began to lay hands on him, reuiling his followers, that they had not forthwith drawn him out of his houſe by the haire of his head, vnto the priſon by him appointed. For they, touched with the honor of the man, & moued with pitty, forced him not, but ſtood ſtil as beholders. *Iſaac* ſeeing himſelfe thus beſet, & no way now left for him to eſcape, reſoluing rather there preſently to die, than ſhortly after to be murdred in priſon, drew his ſword as the reſt were laying hands vpon him, and at the firſt blow cleft the wicked head of *Hagiochriſtophorites* down to his ſhoulders; & ſo leauing him wallowing in his own bloud, & like a deſperate man laying about him amongſt the reſt, made himſelfe way through the midſt of them: And ſo imbrued with bloud, with his bloudy ſword yet in his hand, running thorow the midſt of the city, told the people what he had done; and crying vnto them for helpe in defence of his innocencie, fled into the great temple, there to take the refuge of the Sanctuarie: where he had not long ſit (in the place where the gultie flying thither for refuge vſed to ſit, & confeſſing their offence, craue pardon of ſuch as go in & out) but that the temple was filled with the multitude of people flocking thither out of al parts of the city, ſome to ſee the nobleman, ſome to behold what ſhould become of him: for all men thought that he would before Sun-ſet (notwithſtanding the reuerence of the place) be drawn thence by *Andronicus*, & put to ſome ſhameful death. Thither came alſo *Iohn Ducas*, *Iſaacs* vncle, and his ſon *Iſaac*, to increaſe the tumult; not for that they were any thing guiltie of the death of *Hagiochriſtopherites*, but for that they had before become ſureties vnto the ſuſpitious tyrant, for their kinſman *Iſaac*, and he likewiſe for them; by whoſe treſpas they wel knew themſelues now brought into no leſſe danger than if they had bin abettors therunto. And beſide them alſo, many other there were, which doubting of their owne eſtate, and fearing the like might happen to themſelues, pricked forward with hard ſpeeches, the common people flocking thither, inſtantly requeſting them to ſtay

Exceeding cru-eltie.

Iſaac Angelus taketh Sanctu-arie.

The people in a tumult reſort vnto Angelus.

Andronicus in vaine ſeeketh to appeaſe the tumultuous people.

Iſaac Angelus by the people in a tumult ſaluted Emperor.

there, and to ſtand by them now at their need, being ſo iniuriouſly wronged, whoſe pittifull complaints mooued many to take part with them. At which time alſo, no man yet comming from the Emperor (being as then out of the city) to repreſſe the ſedition, nor any of the Nobilitie oppoſing themſelues, no friend of *Andronicus* appearing, none of his bloudie miniſters or officers ſhewing themſelues, nor any that did ſo much as ſpeake a good word in his behalfe, or in diſlike of the tumult, the boldnes of the ſeditious people increaſed, euery man in ſo great libertie ſaying what he liſt, and after their rude manner one incouraging another. So ſpent *Iſaac* that long night, not thinking (God wot) of an Empire, but ſtill expecting the deadly ſtroke of *Andronicus*. Yet had he with great intreating ſo preuailed, that diuers of the aſſemblie ſhutting the church doores, and bringing lights into the church, ſtayed there with him all night, and by their example cauſed ſome others to ſtay alſo. The next morning by breake of day were all the citiſens flockt again vnto the temple, curſing the tirant to the deuil, as the common enemy of mankind, wiſhing vnto him a ſhamefull death, & the honor of the empire vnto *Iſaac*. At that time by fortune, or rather God ſo appointing it, *Andronicus* was out of the city at his pallace of MELVDINVM, on the Eaſt ſide of PROPONTIS, where he was by nine a clocke at night certified of the death of *Hagiochriſtuphorites*, and of the tumult of the people: yet that night ſtirred he not, neither did any thing more, but by ſhort letters aduiſed the people to pacifie themſelues, and not by fooliſh rebellion to caſt themſelues into further danger. In the morning *Andronicus* his fauorits began to ſhew themſelues, and to doe what they might to haue appeaſed the tumultuous multitude; yea and preſently after came *Andronicus* himſelfe, and landed with his imperiall galley at the great pallace in the city. But with the inraged people naught preuailed either the perſuaſions of the one, or report of the preſence of the other: for they all, as vpon a ſignall giuen, and as men inſpired with one ſpirit, or ſtirred vp with the ſame fury, flocked together into the temple of S. SOPHIA, one incouraging another; and ſcoffing at ſuch as ſtood by as idle lookers on, without weapons in their hands, reuiling them and calling them rotten lymnes that had no feeling of the common harme. After that, they broke open the priſons, and ſet at libertie the priſoners, as fitteſt inſtruments to increaſe the tumult, who were not all notable offenders of the dregs of the people, but many of them borne of good houſes, and for ſome light fault, or inconſiderate word (whereof euery man was in thoſe times bound to giue an account) or for ſome friends offence againſt *Andronicus*, there laid faſt. Theſe of all others moſt animated the people, in ſuch ſort, as they which before for feare of the danger did but ſoftly murmure to themſelues againſt *Andronicus*, did now openly ioyne with the reſt of the baſe ſeditious. Then might you haue ſeen ſome with their ſwords and targets, ſome alſo in their armor, but the greateſt part armed but with clubs and ſtaues, & other ſuch like rude weapons, armes of furie, haſtily taken vp in their ſhops as by chance they came firſt to hand, running forth in euery place. By this aſſemblie of the moſt furious and promiſcuous people was *Iſaac* hoyſed vp, and with a generall applauſe ſaluted Emperor. At which time one of the Sextons of the church, with a ladder tooke downe *Conſtantine* the great his crowne of gold, (which for a monument hung ouer the holy altar, and ſet it on *Iſaacs* head: which he at the firſt ſeemed vnwilling to weare, not for that hee was not deſirous enough of the Empire, but for that he feared the extream danger of the matter, and thought thoſe things that were then done to be but as it were a ſicke mans dream, like enough ſtraitway to vaniſh: beſide that, he feared in ſo doing, the more to exaſperate *Andronicus*. Which his vncle *Iohn Ducas* (as is ſayd before, ſtanding by him) perceiuing, plucking off his owne cap, and ſhewing his old bald head, requeſted the people, That if his nephew did refuſe it, they would ſet it vpon his: whereunto they with a great outcry anſwered, That they would no more yeeld their obedience to an old bald man, as hauing receiued many harmes from the hoarie haires of old *Andronicus*; and therefore for his ſake hated euery old man, more fit for *Charons* boat, and his coffin, than for an Empire, and eſpecially if he had a forken beard and bald head, as had *Andronicus* and this *Ducas*. Thus was *Iſaac* by the tumultuous multitude inueſted in the empire; and ſo royally mounted vpon one of the Emperors horſes, richly furniſhed with a ſaddle and trappings of gold, which they had by chance gotten, was by them brought from the temple vnto the court; *Baſilius Camaterus* the Patriarch waiting vpon him, whom the headſtrong people had inforced againſt his wil to confirme with his authoritie what was by them done for the eſtabliſhing of *Iſaac* in the empire. *Andronicus* at his comming to the pallace perceiuing firſt by the confuſed crie of the tumultuous

A multuous multitude,and afterward by that which he ſaw with his eies,how the world went; calling vpon his old friends and flattering fauorits,thought firſt by their helpe to haue repreſſed the furie of the rebellious: who as friends of his better fortune, and not of himſelfe,were now for the moſt part ſhrunk from him;and thoſe that were left ſo feintly comming on,as if in his quarrell they had had no mind to ſpend their liues: with which heartleſſe company *Andronicus* fearing to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the furie of the multitude,with his bow & arrows in his hand got him vp into the higheſt tower of the pallace,called CENTENARIA,and from thence beſtowed certaine ſhot among the people.But ſeeing that to be to no purpoſe,and better perſuaded to do more with them by faire words,than ſuch vain force,hee from the top of the tower cried aloud vnto them, That if they would be quiet and depart, hee would by their B conſent reſigne the empire vnto his ſon *Manuel*: whereat the people more inraged,ſpared not to poure forth moſt reprochfull words in contempt both of himſelfe and his ſon; and ſo furiouſly brake into the court by one of the gates called CAREA. Which *Andronicus* beholding, and now out of all hope,caſting from him all his habiliments of honour,and diſguiſing himſelfe fled again to his gally,accompanied only with *Anna* his wife, and *Maraptica* his minion, & ſo returned to MELUDIUM,his place from whence he came. *Iſaac* but yeſterday in the bottom of diſpaire,and ſhadowed as it were with the hand of death,by the ſtrange change of fortune to day mounted vnto the higheſt type of worldly honour, entering the palace,was there again with the greateſt apprauſe of the people that might be,ſaluted Emperor. From whence he forthwith ſent out certain companies of his moſt aſſured friends & followers,to apprehend C *Andronicus*; who now as a man at once forſaken both of his friends and of his better fortune, ſecretly fled with his wife and his paragon,before remembred,to CHELE,attended vpon only with a few of his truſtie ſeruants,which had of long time ſerued him before he was Emperor. There taking ſhip,with purpoſe to haue fled vnto the Tauroſcythes(as not thinking himſelfe ſafe in any prouince of the empire) he was twice or thrice by foule weather put backe again,the wrought ſea abhorring (as it ſeemed) to carrie him that had ſo polluted it with the dead bodies of the innocent by him ſlain,and ſtill threatning(as it were)to deuoure him.Thus ſtrangely ſtayed by foule weather,or more truly to ſay,by the reuenging hand of the higheſt, he was found by ſuch as were ſent out to ſeeke after him, & being by them apprehended,was with two great yron chains faſt locked about his proud necke,and heauie gyues vpon his legs, D caſt into the caſtle of AMENA; and in that miſerable habit ſhortly after preſented to the Emperor *Iſaac*,yet buſied in appeaſing and reforming of the diſordred citie: where by the way as he went,he was by the people moſt ſhamefully reuiled, and iniuriouſly vſed; ſome plucking him by the beard,ſome by the haire of the head, ſome other in the meane time playing with his noſe,and bobbing him in the face,with a thouſand other deſpights done vnto him; eſpecially by ſuch women,as whoſe husbands he had before murdred or depriued of their ſight. Afterward being committed to the hatefull furie of the people,he had his right hand cut off, and was againe committed to the ſame caſtle,without meat,drinke, or other comfort: where after he had lien a few days,hauing one of his eyes put out,he was ſet vpon a foule leane cammel,with his face toward the taile therof,and ſo (as it were in triumph)led through the E Market place,his bald head all bare, as if it had bin a dead mans ſkull taken out of a charnel houſe; in a ſhort old coat; ſo miſerable a ſpectacle,as might haue expreſſed a fountain of teares out of the eyes of a right hard hearted man. But the bedlam & moſt inſolent citiſens,eſpecially they of the baſer ſort,as cookes,coblers,curriers,and ſuch like,flocking about him like Bees(without regard that he had but the other day worne vpon his head the imperiall crowne,then honored by them as a god,& extolled vnto the heauens; that they had not long before ſolemnly ſworne vnto him obedience and loyaltie) ranne now as men out of their wits, omitting no kind of villanie they could deuiſe to do vnto him: ſome thruſt nailes into his head, ſome caſt durt in his face,ſome the dung both of men and beaſts,ſome prickt him in the ſides with ſpits, ſome caſt ſtones at him as at a mad dog,and other ſome opprobrious and deſpightfull words, F no leſſe grieuous vnto him than the reſt: amongſt others, an impudent drab comming out of the kitchen,caſt a pot ful of ſcalding water in his face; and in brief, their outrage ſo exceeded, as if they had ſtriuen among themſelues, who ſhould do him the greateſt villanie. Hauing thus ſhamefully,as in a ridiculous triumph brought him into the Theatre, they there betwixt two pillars hanged him vp by the heeles: where hauing ſuffered all theſe deſpightfull indignities,

Andronicus forſaken of his flattering fauorits.

A ſtrange change

Andronicus the Emperor taken, and brought in bonds to Angelus.

Andronicus the Emperor hanged vp by the heeles.

with many moe, not without offence to be named, he with an inuincible courage yet ſtill held his patience, not giuing one euill word, but ſometimes ſaying, ***Lord haue mercie vpon me***; and otherwhiles, ***Why do you breake a bruiſed reed?*** Yet the furious people nothing mooued with the calamitie of ſo great a man, (of all others now the moſt miſerable) ſtript him of his bad cloathes as he hung, & cut off his priuities. One among the reſt, to make an end of him, thruſt his ſword in at his throat vp to the twiſt as he hung: other two with their long ſwords proued their ſtrength, who could ſtrike furtheſt into his buttocks. Thus miſerably periſhed this famous Emperour, after he had raigned two yeares. That which was left of his bodie (for many had carried away ſome pieces thereof) being taken downe from the place where he hung, was caſt into a baſe vault in the Theatre, where it for a ſpace lay, as the loathſome carkaſſe of ſome wilde beaſt, and the miſerable ſpectacle of mans fragilitie; for *Iſaac* the Emperour would not ſuffer it to be buried. Howbeit afterwards (the furie of the people ouerpaſſed, it was by ſome more charitable men remooued thence, and layd in a low vault neere vnto the monaſterie of the *Ephori*: which as *Nicetas Choniates* (author of this hiſtorie, ſpeaking of the time wherein he liued) ſaith, is yet there vndiſſolued to be ſeene. He was a man moſt honorably diſcended, of ſtature tall, and well proportioned; in his countenance ſate a certaine reuerend maieſtie, adorned with ſuch notable vertues, as might haue made him worthily to haue bin compared vnto the greateſt Emperors of his ſtocke and familie, had he not obſcured the ſame with too much ambition and crueltie; whereof the one cauſed him to lead the greateſt part of his life in priſon or exile; the other brought vnto him a moſt ſhamefull end.

Nicetas Choniates, Annal. lib. 1. fol. 161. col 4.

Iſaac Angelus the Emperour tyranniſeth.

Iſaac the Emperor thruſt from the Empire, and depriued of his ſight by his brother Alexius.

Iſaac Angelus his ſucceſſor, by the fauour of the people thus exalted vnto the Empire, at the firſt gouerned the ſame with great lenitie and moderation, as if hee had altogether abhorred from the effuſion of his ſubiects bloud: but afterwards not a little troubled both with forrein enemies, and domeſticall rebellion, beſieged in the Imperiall Citie by ſuch of the Nobilitie as thought themſelues no leſſe worthie of the Empire than himſelfe: for repreſſing of which inſolencies, and the aſſuring of his State, he became ſo ſeuere in chaſtiſing the offendors, and ſuch others as he had in diſtruſt, that he was counted of moſt men not inferiour in crueltie to *Andronicus* his predeceſſor; few dayes paſſing without the condemnation or execution of one great man or other, beſides them of the meaner ſort, of whom hee ſeemed to make no great reckoning: whereby he in few yeares loſt the loue and fauour of his Subiects, who before had him in great honour; and became vnto them no leſſe odious than was before *Andronicus*. Vpon which generall diſlike of the people, his ingratefull yonger brother *Alexius* (by him before for a great ſumme of money redeemed from the Turkes) tooke occaſion to riſe vp againſt him, and by the fauour of the ſoldiers depriued him together both of the Empire and his ſight: and hauing put out his eyes, thruſt him into a Monaſterie, there to liue as it were out of the world, as a man condemned to perpetuall darkeneſſe, after he had raigned nine yeres and eight moneths, being not yet full fortie yeares old. Whither it were the reuenging hand of God, for the hard meaſure vſed to *Andronicus*, or not, I leaue it to the wiſer to conſider; who in his deepe prouidence, wherewith he beſt gouerneth all things, would haue a moderation vſed in puniſhment of our moſt capitall enemies, as hauing alwayes before our eyes the ſlipperie ſtate of power and authoritie: and that as all worldly things are ſubiect to change, ſo by the iuſt iudgement of God it oftentimes falleth out, that what hurt we doe vnto others, the ſame we may receiue againe from others. In theſe ſo great and ſtrange mutations of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire (which I haue ſomewhat more at large proſecuted, not ſo much for the nouelty of the matter, although it were right ſtrange, as for that out of the loſſes & ruin thereof, the greatnes of the Turks for the moſt part grew) *Clizaſthlan* Sultan of Iconium, after the death of the Emperor *Emanuel*, found meanes to take from the Empire diuers ſtrong Townes and caſtles in the leſſer Aſia, together with a great part of the country of Phrygia: *Alexius*, *Andronicus*, and *Iſaac* the ſucceeding Emperours, troubled with dangers neerer home, hauing nothing to oppoſe againſt him, but faire intreatie and rich preſents; ſo redeeming for a while an vnſure peace, with no leſſe charge in ſhort time to be renewed againe. This victorious Sultan (for ſo he may of right be called) holding in his ſubiection a great part of the leſſer Aſia, now a man of great yeares, dying, left behinde him foure ſonnes, *Maſut*, *Coppatine*, *Rencratine*, and *Caichoſroes*, all men growne. Amongſt whom he diuided his Kingdome: Vnto *Muſat* he bequeathed Amaſia, Ancyra, Doryleum, with diuers other pleaſant Cities of Pontus:

Clizaſthlan the Turks Sultan incroacheth vpon the Greeke Empire in the leſſer Aſia.

Clizaſthlan diuideth his kingdome amongſt his foure ſons.

A vnto *Coppatine* he aſsigned Melytene, Ceſarea, and the colonie now called Taxara: vnto *Reucratine* hee allotted Aminſum, Docea, with ſome other Cities vpon the ſea coaſt: but vnto *Caichoſroes*, he left Iconium his regall ſeat, and with it Lycaonia, Pamphilia, and all the countries thereabouts as farre as Cottianyum. Of theſe foure, *Coppatine* long liued not after his father; for whoſe inheritance *Reucratine* Prince of Docea, and *Maſut* Prince of Ancyra (his two brethren) fell at variance, and ſo at laſt into open warre. But *Maſut* finding himſelfe too weake for his warlike brother *Reucratine*, yeelded vnto him the territories which hee ſaw he muſt needs forgoe; and glad now to keepe his owne, ſo made peace with him. *Reucratine* being a man of an ambitious and haughtie ſpirit, with his forces thus doubled, denounced warre vnto his brother *Caichoſroes*; who doubting his owne ſtrength, fled vnto the Emperour B *Alexius Angelus* for ayde, as had his father done before him vnto the Emperour *Manuel*, although not with like good fortune. For the Emperour but of late hauing obtayned the empire by the depoſing of his brother, and altogether giuen to pleaſure, reputing alſo thoſe domeſticall warres of the Turkes, ſome part of his owne ſafetie; ſent him home without comfort, as one ſtrong enough of himſelfe to defend his owne quarrell againſt his brother.

The ſonnes of Clizaſthlan at variance among themſelues.

Howbeit, hee was ſcarcely come to Iconium, but he was by *Reucratine* expulſed thence, and driuen to flie into Armenia, where hee was by *Zebune* King of that countrey, a Turke alſo, honourably receiued and courteouſly vſed, but yet denied of the ayd he requeſted: the King pretending that hee was already in league with *Reucratine*, and therefore could not; or as ſome thought, fearing the dangerouſneſſe of the matter, would not intermeddle therein. C Wherewith the poore Sultan vtterly diſcouraged, returned againe to Conſtantinople, and there in poore eſtate, as a man forlorne, paſſed out the reſt of his dayes.

Now hauing thus paſſed through the Turkiſh affaires in the leſſer Aſia, together with the troubled eſtate of the Conſtantinopolitan empire, no ſmall cauſe of the Turks greatneſſe; the courſe of time calleth vs backe againe before we paſſe any farther, to remember their proceedings alſo at the ſame time, and ſhortly after, in Syria, Iudæa, Ægypt, and thoſe more Southerly countries, where theſe reſtleſſe people ceaſed not by all meanes to enlarge their empire, vntill they had brought all thoſe great kingdomes vnder their obeyſance.

After the death of *Baldwin* King of Ieruſalem, of whom wee haue before ſpoken, *Almericus* his younger brother, Earle of Ioppa and Aſcalon, beeing then about ſeuen and twentie D yeares old, was by the better good liking of the clergie and people, than of the nobilitie, elected King: not for that there wanted in him any good parts worthy of a kingdom, but for that ſome of them enuied vnto him ſo great an honour. Neuertheleſſe he was (as wee ſaid) by the generall conſent of the people, elected, proclamed, and by *Almericus* the Patriarch with al ſolemnitie crowned, the 17 day of Februarie, in the yeare of Grace, 1163. To begin whoſe troubled raigne, the Ægyptians firſt of al denyed to pay vnto him their wonted tribute. In reuenge whereof, he in perſon himſelfe with a puiſſant armie entred into Ægypt; and meeting with *Dargan* the Sultan, overthrew him in plaine battell, and put him to flight: who to ſtay the further purſuit and paſſage of the Chriſtians, cut the bankes of the riuer Nilus, and ſo drowned the countrey, that the King was glad to content himſelfe with the victorie he had E already gotten, and ſo to returne to Hieruſalem.

Almericus ſixt King of Ieruſalem.

The next yeare *Almericus* was againe drawne downe with his power into Ægypt, by *Dargan* the Sultan, to aid him againſt *Saracon*; whom *Noradin* the Turke, King of Damaſco, had ſent as Generall with an army, to reſtore *Sanar* the Sultan before expulſed, and to depoſe *Dargan*. In which expedition *Dargan* being ſlaine, and *Saracon* hauing won certaine townes, kept them to himſelfe: *Sanar* doubtfull of his good meaning, ioyned his forces with *Almericus*, and by his helpe expulſed *Saracon* out of Ægypt. But whileſt *Almericus* was thus buſied in Ægypt, *Noradin* the Turk making an inroad into the frontiers of the Chriſtians neere vnto Tripolis, was by *Gilbert Lacy*, maſter of the Templars in thoſe quarters, and the other Chriſtians, when he leaſt feared, ſo ſuddenly ſet vpon, that he had much adoe by flight to ſaue himſelfe, F halfe naked for haſte, moſt of his followers being at the ſame time ſlain. In reuenge of which diſgrace, he not long after with a great power came and beſieged Arethuſa: for reliefe whereof, *Bohemund* Prince of Antioch, *Raymond* the younger, Earle of Tripolis, *Calamon* gouernour of Cilicia, and *Toros* Prince of Armenia, came with their power. Of whoſe comming the Turk hearing, raiſed his ſiege and departed. After whom theſe Chriſtian Princes eagerly

Noradin the Turke diſcomfited by the Chriſtians.

gerly following, were by the Turkes ſhut vp in certaine deepe and rotten fennes (whereinto they had vnaduiſedly too far entred) and there with a great ſlaughter ouerthrowne. In which conflict, all the chiefe commanders of the armie were taken, except the Prince of ARMENIA, who forecaſting the danger, had retired, after he had in vaine diſſwaded the reſt from the further purſuit of the flying enemie. The Prince of ANTIOCH there taken, was about a yeare after for a great ſumme of money redeemed; but the Countie of TRIPOLIS was after eight yeares ſtraight captiuitie hardly deliuered. *Noradin* after this victorie returning againe to the ſiege of ARETHVSA, in few daies won the towne: and encouraged with ſuch good ſucceſſe, and the abſence of the King, laid ſiege to the citie of PANEADE, which was alſo deliuered vnto him, vpon condition that the citizens might at their pleaſure in ſafetie depart.

At the ſame time *Saracon* Generall of *Noradin* his forces, tooke from the Chriſtians two caſtles; the one in the countrey of SIDON, the other beyond IORDAN vpon the borders of ARABIA, both in the cuſtody of the Templars: twelue of whom the King at his returne hanged vp for treaſon.

Rhortly after *Saracon*, King *Noradin* his great man of war, with all the power of the Turks, came downe againe into ÆGYPT, with purpoſe to haue fully ſubdued all that notable kingdome vnto his Lord and maſter. Of whoſe power, *Sanar* the Sultan ſtanding in dread, praied aid of *Almericus*, promiſing vnto him beſide his yearely tribute, the ſumme of fortie thouſand ducats for his paines. The matter fully agreed vpon, and all things now in readineſſe, *Almericus* ſet forward with his armie, and encountring with *Saracon* and his Turkes at the riuer NILVS, ouerthrew him in a great battel: yet not without ſome loſſe, for the Turks in their flight lighting vpon the Kings carriages with the whole baggage of the army, and ouerrunning them that had the charge therof, carried away with them a moſt rich prey, whereby it came to paſſe that as the Chriſtians had the victorie, ſo the Turks inioyed the ſpoile.

Saracon after this ouerthrow hauing againe gathered together his diſperſed ſoldiers, tooke his way to ALEXANDRIA, where he was by the citizens receiued: after whom the King following, gaue no attempt vnto the city, for that he knew to be but vain, but incamped cloſe by the ſide of the riuer NILVS, from whence the citie was chiefly to be victualled. Whoſe purpoſe *Saracon* perceiuing, and betime foreſeeing the diſtreſſe of his whole armie for want of victuals, if he ſhould there long ſtay: leauing there his ſon *Saladin* (or as ſome call him his nephew) with a thouſand horſmen for the keeping of the citie, ſecretly by night departed thence himſelfe with the reſt ef his army: and paſſing through the deſerts, did great harm in the vpper parts of EGYPT. Of whoſe departure *Almericus* vnderſtanding, was about to haue followed him, but that he was otherwiſe perſuaded by the Egyptian captaines to continue his former purpoſe for the gaining of the citie: wherefore now after the departure of *Saracon* he began to approach the wals, and with diuers engines of war to diſturb the defendants: wherewith the citizens (better acquainted with the trade of merchandize, than the feats of war) diſcouraged, began now to conſult amongſt themſelues for the turning out of thoſe troubleſome gueſts whom they had ſo lately receiued: which *Saladin* perceiuing, certified *Saracon* his vncle therof, requeſting his ſpeedie reliefe in that his ſo dangerous eſtate, and with much intraty perſuaded the citizens for a while to hold it out, vntil he might from him receiue anſwer: of al which the Chriſtians and Egyptians without, hauing intelligence, laid ſo much the harder vnto the citie. Gladly would *Saracon* haue done what he was by his nephew requeſted: but perceiuing it to be a matter of no leſſe danger than difficultie, he by the means of *Hugh*, Countie of CESAREA, and one *Arnolphus* another noble Chriſtian, both then priſoners with him, concluded a peace with the King: whereupon the citie was forthwith yeelded vp, and *Saladin* with his Turks ſuffred in ſafetie to depart. At which time alſo al priſoners were on both ſides freely and without ranſome ſet at libertie. Thus *Saracon* for this time diſappointed of this his purpoſe for the conqueſt of EGIPT, returned back again to DAMASCO: and *Almericus* with great glory to ASCALON, where he arriued with his armie the 21 of September in the yeere 1167.

Saladin left in Alexandria by Saracon, craueth ayd.

Alexandria yeelded to Almericus.

1167

In this late expedition, K. *Almericus* on the one ſide enflamed with the wealth of EGYPT, and on the other encoraged with the weaknes of that effeminate people: reſting for the moſt part vpon forraine ſtrength; had purpoſed himſelfe to inuade the kingdom, & ſo if poſſible he might, to ioine it to his own. For color wherof, it was pretended that the Sultan contrary to his faith before giuen, had ſecretly ſought to ioine in league & amity with *Noradin* the Turk,

A King of DAMASCO. The chiefe ſtirter vp of the King vnto this warre, was one *Gerbert* maſter
of the Templars; who iu reſpect of the aid by them of his order to be giuen, had obtained of
the king, after the victorie gained, to haue the city of PELVSIVM with all the rich countrey a-
bout the ſame, giuen vnto him and his brethren the knights of the order for euer: vpon which
hope, he contrarie to the mind of many of the Knights, for the furtherance of that war, gaged
his whole wealth and credit, with all the treaſure of his houſe. So all things now in readineſſe
for ſo great an enterpriſe, *Almericus* with his army ſet forward in October, and hauing in ten
daies paſſed the ſandy deſert, came to PELVSIVM, which city he (after three daies ſiege) took
by force, and put to ſword al them that were therein, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition:
which citie, he according to his promiſe before made, gaue vnto the Templars. After that, he
B began alſo to beſiege CAIRE, at which time his fleet ſacked the citie of TAPIVM. In the
meane time, *Sanar* the Egiptian Sultan, conſidering the danger he was in, to ſatisfie *Almericus*
his greedy deſire, offred to pay him twentie hundred thouſand ducats to withdraw his for-
ces: & forthwith ſent him one hundred thouſand, for the ranſom of his ſon & his nephew ta-
ken priſoners at PELVSIVM: and for the reſt to be paid within fiue daies after, he gaue two of
his nephewes hoſtages. Neuertheles the paiment he deferred from day to day, of purpoſe in
the meane time to raiſe the whole power of ÆGIPT, as alſo to receiue aid from the Turks by
Saracon, which he daily expected: of whoſe ſpeedie comming, *Almericus* vnderſtanding, left
part of his armie at PELVSIVM, and with the reſt went to haue met him: but miſſing him by
the way, *Saracon* with his Turks came in ſafetie to CAIRE vnto the Sultan, as he had deſired.
C Wherefore *Almericus* diſmaid with the multitude of two ſo great armies now ioyned toge-
ther, retired back againe to PELVSIVM, and there taking with him the garriſon before left, re-
turned home to HIERVSALEM: hauing in that expedition (begun with the breach of faith)
laid the foundation of the ruine of his kingdome, as in few yeres after, it by proofe appeared,
by the euill neighbourhood of the Turks, by that meanes brought downe into EGIPT.

Peluſium taken by Almericus.

Saracon the Turke after the departure of *Almericus*, eaſily perceiuing a moſt fit time and
opportunitie to be offered for him now to obtaine that, which hee had in vaine before both
ſought and fought for, encamped with his army neere vnto CAIRE, and notably counterfei-
ted himſelfe of all others the moſt deuoted friend of the Sultans: ſo that betwixt them two
paſſed all the kind tokens of loue and friendſhip, that could poſſible be deuiſed; the Sultan of-
D tentimes feaſting the Turk, and in kindnes likewiſe being feaſted of him: but at length going
as his manner was, vnto the camp to viſit him, he was by the Turkes ſlaine. So *Saracon* hauing
brought to paſſe what he deſired, and entring the citie with his armie, was by the great Ca-
liph (from whom the Ægyptian Sultans, as from their ſuperiors, the true ſucceſſours of their
great Prophet *Mahomet*, tooke their authoritie) appointed Sultan, the firſt of the Turks that
euer enioyed the ſame: which royall dignitie hee had not poſſeſſed fully a yeare, but that hee
was taken away by death. In whoſe ſtead *Saladin* his brothers ſon, by and by ſtept vp: who
altogether a martiall man, not regarding the reuerent maieſtie of the Caliph (as had his vncle
Saraçon, and al the Egiptian Sultans before him) with his horſmans maſe ſtruck out his brains,
and not ſo contented, vtterly rooted out all his poſteritie, the better to aſſure himſelfe and his
E ſucceſſors the Turks in the poſſeſſion of his new begotten kingdom; and after that diuided the
great treaſures of the Egyptians among his Turks, to encourage them the more to follow him
in his warres againſt the Chriſtians.

The Sultan of Aegipt vnder the colour of friendſhip ſlain by Saracon.

This glorious kingdome ſo much ſpoken of in holy Scripture, & renowned of the learned
hiſtoriographers of all ages, after the ruine of the Roman empire, was ſometime part of the
Conſtantinopolitan empire, & a notable member of the Chriſtian cōmon weale; vntil that a-
bout the yere of our Lord 704, the Egiptians weary of the pride & couetuouſnes of the Gre-
cians, reuolted from them vnto the Saraſins, whoſe ſuperſtition they alſo receiued: & ſo vnder
the gouernement of the Saraſin Caliphs, the ſucceſſors of the falſe prophet *Mahomet* liued
about 464 years, vntil that now being inuaded by *Almericus*, they prayed aid of *Noradin* the
F Turke, Sultan of DAMASCO: who to their reliefe ſending *Saracon* with an army, repulſed in-
deed the Chriſtians, but oppreſſing their liberty, took to himſelfe the kingdom, which he left
vnto his nephew *Saladin*, in whoſe poſterity it remained vntil it was from them again taken by
the Circaſſian ſlaues the Mamalukes: vnder whoſe ſeruile gouernment it was holden of long
time, til that by the great emperor of the Turks *Selimus* the firſt, it was again conquered & the
Mamalukes

How the kingdome of Aegypt firſt fell into the hands of the Saraſins, with the notable alterations thereof.

Mamalukes vtterly deſtroyed: In the gouernement of whoſe proſperitie, the mightie Emperours G of the Turks, it hath euer ſince remained as part of their empire, vntill this day, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie God willing ſhall appeare.

1170 *Saladin* thus poſſeſſed of the great kingdome of EGIPT, and all things ſet in ſuch order as he thought beſt for the Newneſſe of his eſtate, with a great armie entred into the land of PALESTINE, in the yere 1170, and there beſieged DARON; which towne he woon, and ouerthrew ſuch as were ſent by King *Almericus* to haue relieued the ſame: with which ſmall victorie contenting himſelfe, as with the good beginning of his riſing fortune, he returned backe again into his kingdom: yet was his army ſo great and populous, as that the like armie of the Turks had neuer before bin ſeene in the Holy land. Wherefore *Almericus* conſidering in what great danger he ſtood, his kingdome now being on both ſides beſet by the Turks, ſent out his H embaſſadors vnto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to craue their aid for the defence of that kingdom which their fathers had won: and for the ſame purpoſe went himſelfe in perſon vnto the Emperor of CONSTANTINOPLE, of whom he was royally entertained, and afterward ſent backe loaded with the promiſes of great matters, as were alſo his embaſſadours from the Princes of the Weſt. All which for all that ſorted vnto nothing, but vaniſhed into ſmoake.

1171 The yeare following, *viz.* 1171, *Saladin* beſieged PETREA, the Metropoliticall Citie of ARABIA: but hearing that *Almericus* with a great power was comming to the reliefe thereof, he raiſed his ſiege and retired: as he did alſo next yeare after, hauing in vaine attempted the ſtrong caſtle of MONT-ROIALL, on the further ſide of IORDAN. In like manner alſo the third yeare he came againe into the Holy Land, and ſpoiled the countrey beyond IORDAN: but I hearing of the Kings comming againſt him, he forthwith returned againe into EGIPT. All theſe light expeditions, this politique Prince made not ſo much for hope of victorie, or to proue his enemies ſtrength, as to traine his ſouldiers, eſpecially the effeminate Egyptians, and to make them fitter to ſerue him in his greater deſignes.

1173 Shortly after died *Noradin* Sultan of DAMASCO, and in his time a moſt notable champion of the Turks, after he had raigned nine and twentie yeares. Vpon whoſe death, *Almericus* forthwith beſieged the citie of PANEADE, in hope to haue againe recouered the ſame: but he was by the widow of the late dead Sultan, for a great ſum of money and the deliuerie of certaine noble priſoners, intreated to raiſe his ſiege and depart. So hauing ſent away his armie, and traueling with his ordinarie retinue to TIBERIAS, where he had the Summer before bin K ſicke of the flix, feeling himſelfe not well, he returned on horſe backe by NAZARETH and NEAPOLIS to HIERVSALEM, where his old diſeaſe increaſing vpon him, he was alſo taken with a Feauer: wherwith after he had bin ſome few dayes grieuouſly tormented, he requeſted his Phyſitians, with ſome gentle potion to looſe his bellie, which was now ſomewhat ſtayed: which they refuſing to doe, he commanded the potion to be giuen him vpon his owne perill, hap thereon what hap ſhould: which being giuen him, and his bellie againe looſed, he ſeemed therewith to haue beene at the firſt well eaſed; but his wonted Feauer with great vehemencie returning, before his weake and ſpent bodie could be with conuenient meats refreſhed he ſuddenly died the tenth of Iuly, in the yeare 1173, when he had raigned about ten yeares. His dead bodie was with the great lamentation of all his ſubiects, ſolemnly buried by his L brothers. He was a moſt wiſe Prince, and withall *right valiant*, amongſt many moſt fit for the gouernment and defence of *that troubleſome kingdome*, ſo hardly beſet with the Infidels, if it had pleaſed God to haue giuen him longer life.

Baldwin the fourth of that name, ſeuenth King of Hieruſalem.

Foure daies after the death of *Almericus*, was *Baldwin* his ſonne, then a youth about thirteene yeares old, by the generall conſent of the Nobilitie choſen King, and by *Almericus* the Patriarch in the Temple with great ſolemnitie crowned in the yeare 1173: vnto whom as not yet by reaſon of his tender age, fit himſelfe to mannage the weightie affaires of the kingdom, *Raymond* Countie of TRIPOLIS, was by the whole conſent of the Nobilitie appointed Tutor to ſupplie what was wanting in the young King.

Noradin Sultan of DAMASCO (dead as is aforeſaid) left behind him *Melechſala* his ſonne, yet M but a youth, to ſucceed him in his kingdome. Whoſe gouernment the Nobilitie diſdaining, ſent ſecretly for *Saladin* Sultan of EGIPT, vnto whom at his comming they betrayed the city of DAMASCO, the regall ſeat of the Turkes in SIRIA. Whereof *Saladin* poſſeſſed, and entring into CELESIRIA without reſiſtance, tooke HELIOPOLIS, EMISSA, with the great citie of

CESAREA;

A CESAREA; and in fine, all the whole kingdome of DAMASCO, the citie of ARETHVSA onely excepted. But thus to ſuffer *Melechſala* the young Prince to be wrouged, and the kingdome of DAMASCO to be ioyned to the kingdome of EGIPT, was of the wiſer ſort thought not to ſtand with the ſafetie of the kingdome of HIERVSALEM, lying in the middle betwixt them both. Wherefore the Countie of TRIPOLIS, gouernour of that kingdome, made out certain forces to haue hindred his proceedings. At which time alſo, *Cotobed* Prince of PARTHIA, and *Melechſalas* vncle, ſent certaine Troupes of Parthian horſemen to haue aided his diſtreſſed Nephew, who were by *Saladin* ouerthrowne and almoſt all ſlaine, neere vnto ALEPPO where *Melechſala* lay. As for the Countie of TRIPOLIS and the other Chriſtian Princes, with whom *Saladin* in the newneſſe of his kingdom had no deſire to fal out; he appeaſed them with faire intreatie, and rewards; vnto the Countie hee ſent freely the hoſtages, which yet lay for B his ranſome at EMISSA: vnto the other princes he ſent rich preſents; and therewith ſo contented them all, that they returned without any thing doing againſt him. After which time, three or foure yeares paſſed in great quietneſſe, to the great ſtrengthning of him in thoſe new gotten kingdoms. At length vpon the comming ouer of *Philip* Earle of FLANDERS, the Chriſtian Princes of SYRIA encouraged, conſulted of an expedition to be made in EGIPT, whereof *Saladin* hauing intelligence, drew down into that countrey the greateſt part of his ſtrength. But *Philip* diſliking of that expedition, and the rather for that he ſaw no great cheerfulneſſe in the Countie of TRIPOLIS and the reſt thereunto; they with one conſent changed their purpoſe for EGIPT, and turning their forces a quite contrarie way, miſerably and without reſiſtance waſted the country about EMISSA and CESAREA.

Saladin ouerthrown by king Baldwin.

C Whileſt the Chriſtians was thus buſied in CÆLISIRIA, *Saladin* on the other ſide tooke occaſion out of EGIPT to inuade the kingdome of HIERVSALEM: of whoſe comming, King *Baldwin* hauing intelligence, with ſuch ſmall forces as he had left, haſtened himſelfe to ASCALON. In the Meane time *Saladin* with a great armie was entred into the Holy Land, where burning the countrey before him, and raging in the bloud of the poore Chriſtians, hee came and encamped not farre from ASCALON: and ſtrucke ſuch a feare vpon the whole countrey, that they which dwelt in HIERVSALEM, were about to haue forſaken the citie: as for the King himſelfe, hee lay cloſe within the citie of ASCALON, not daring to aduenture vpon ſo ſtrong an enemie. Wherewith *Saladin* encouraged, and out of feare of his enemies, diſperſed his armie, ſome one way, ſome another, to forrage the countrey. Which the King perceiuing, D ſecretly with all his power iſſued out of the citie, if happilie ſo he might ouertake the Sultan vnawares; neither was he deceiued in his expectation: for comming ſuddenly vpon him, and ſecretly charging him, he had with him for a good ſpace an hard and doubtfull battell, vntill that the victorie by the power of God, at length inclining to the Chriſtians, *Saladin* with his Turkes fled, ouerthrowne with a great ſlaughter, moſt part of his great armie beeing eyther there ſlaine, or loſt afterward with hunger and could. This victorie fell vnto the Chriſtians the 25-day of Nouember, in the yere 1177, not without the almightie hand of God, the Turk hauing in his army aboue 26 thouſand horſmen, and the king not paſt 4. hundred horſe with ſome few footmen. After which victorie, *Baldwin* in great triumph returned to IERVSALEM, and there ſhortly after with great care & diligence repaired the decaied wals of the city.

1177

The Chriſtians diuiding the ſpoile, ouerthrowne by the Turkes.

E *Saladin* in reuenge of this ouerthrow, made diuers incurſions into the frontiers of the Chriſtians, and did great harm, ſpecially in the country about SIDON. For the repreſſing wherof, the king put himſelfe in armes, and going againſt him, ouerthrew part of his army, as they were carrying away a great bootie. Of which ouerthrow *Saladin* vnderſtanding, came in ſuch haſte with the reſt of his army, as if it had bin a ſudden tempeſt, vpon the Chriſtians, then in great ſecuritie diuiding the ſpoile; of whom they ſlew a great number, and put the reſt to flight: In which ſo ſudden a confuſion, *Otto*, grand maſter of the Templars, and *Hugh* the Earle of TRIPOLIS his ſon in law, were both taken priſoners. The Earle himſelfe with a few fled to TIRE: the king alſo at the ſame time was glad to ſhift for himſelfe, & by flight to ſaue himſelfe as he might: after which victory, *Saladin* beſieged a ſtrong caſtle which the king but the yere before had built vpon the bank of the riuer IORDAN, and giuen it to the Templars, with the country F round about; which caſtle *Saladin* took by force, and put to ſword al that were therein, except ſome few whom he carried away priſoners. By this victory *Saladin* became dreadful vnto the chriſtians in SIRIA, which cauſed them, eſpecially ſuch as had any charge, with more vigilancie to looke about them. Yet ſhortly after, a peace was for a time concluded betwixt the Sultan and the King; whereby their troubled eſtates breathed themſelues almoſt the ſpace of two yeares. G

But this ſo welcome a calme was by domeſticall troubles againe by the Kings friends ſuddenly troubled: for the countie of TRIPOLIS, to whom the gouernment of the kingdome was committed, comming towards HIERVSALEM, being by the ſuggeſtion of his enemies brought into ſuſpition with the King, as if he had affected the kingdome, was to his great diſgrace by the way commanded to ſtay. The chiefe authors of which diſcontentment, were the Kings mother, a woman of a turbulent nature, and her brother the Kings Steward; who in the abſence of the Earle, had wrought the Kings ſicke mind according to their owne appetites: But the reſt of the nobility wiſely foreſeeing vnto what great danger that diſcord might tend, H in diſpight of them, with much labor, cauſed him to be ſent for againe, and ſo reconciled vnto the King; by which means, that dangerous fire of diſſention was for that time appeaſed, which afterwards brake out againe, to the vtter ruine of that kingdome.

Saladin goeth out of Aegypt to Damaſco.

Saladin now wearie of the league he had before made with King *Baldwin*, as no longer ſtanding with his haughtie deſignes, renounced the ſame, and raiſing a great power in ÆGIPT, ſet forward toward DAMASCO. Of whoſe comming, King *Baldwin* hauing knowledge, with the whole power of his kingdome went to haue met him, not farre from the dead Sea, and there encamped at an old towne called PETRA. But *Saladin* turning out of the way, into the Kings territorie, came and encamped before MOVNT-ROIALL, a caſtle which *Baldwin* had giuen vnto the Templars, about three daies march fom the place where the King lay. I

Galiley ſpoiled, and the caſtle of Burie taken by the Turkes.

There *Saladin* with the ſpoile of the country refreſhing his armie, now weary of long trauel, ſet forward againe, and ſo without reſiſtance arriued with his armie at DAMASCO. At the ſame time, the Turks Captains about DAMASCO, BOSTRVM, and EMISSA, perceiuing the frontiers of the Chriſtians thereabout to be kept with ſmall ſtrength, paſſed ouer IORDAN, and ſpoiling a great part of GALILEY, beſieged the caſtle of BVRIE, at the foot of mount TABOR, not farre from the cttie of NAIM; which caſtle they in few daies tooke, and hauing there made a great ſlaughter, carried away with them about fiue hundred priſoners. *Saladin* being come to DAMASCO, called together all the garriſons of that kingdome, and ioyning them vnto the forces he brought out of ÆGIPT, entred into the Holy Land: at which time the Countie of TRIPOLIS, gouernour of the kingdome, lay ſicke of a burning feauer. Neuertheleſſe the King encouraged by the Knights of the order, went out with his armie againſt K him; and encountring with him neere vnto a village called FROBOLET, ouerthrew him in a great battell; wherein, and afterward in the flight, moſt part of the Sultans armie periſhed: *Saladin* himſelfe being glad by ſpeedie flight to eſcape the danger, and ſo by long marches to get him againe to DAMASCO.

Beritus in vain beſieged by the Turkes.

In reuenge of this ouerthrow, *Saladin* hauing repaired his armie, and ſent for his fleet out of ÆGIPT, came and beſieged BERITVS both by ſea and land: at which time alſo his brother, whom he had left gouernour in ÆGIPT, beſieged DARVM, a ſtrong towne in the vttermoſt bounds of the kingdom of HIERVSALEM towards ÆGIPT: both whoſe forces *Baldwin* being not able at once to repreſſe, by the counſell of his *nobilitie*, thought it beſt firſt to re- L lieue BERITVS, as the place of greateſt importance. And for that purpoſe ſet forward with his armie by land, hauing alſo rigged vp three and thirtie gallies at TYRE, for the reliefe thereof by ſea. Of which preparation *Saladin* vnderſtanding, as alſo of the Kings comming (by letters intercepted by his ſcouts, directed to the beſieged, for the holding out of the ſiege, with promiſe of ſpeedie reliefe) he preſently roſe with his armie, and departed: whereof the King being aduertiſed, retired to SEPHOR.

Saladin inuading Meſopotamia, is himſelfe inuaded by the King of Hieruſalem.

Not long after, *Saladin* according to his ambitious nature, deſirous aboue meaſure to extend the bounds of his Kingdome, and ſeeing the ſucceſſe of his attempts againſt the King of HIERVSALEM not anſwerable to his deſire, conuerted his forces vnto the countries more Eaſtward; and paſſing the riuer EVPHRATES, and entring into MESOPOTAMIA, partly by M force, partly by corruption, got into his hands the cities of EDESSA, CARRAS, and diuers others. In which time the king of IERVSALEM took occaſion firſt to ſpoile the country about DAMASCO, and after that diuers other places of the Sultans kindome, making hauocke of whatſoeuer came in his way, & ſo laded with the ſpoile of the Turks, retired to IERVSALEM.

Saladin

A *Saladin* with victorie returning out of MESOPOTAMIA, in reuenge of the iniuries done vnto him in his abſence, marched directly to ALEPPO, the ſtrongeſt citie of the Chriſtians in that part of SYRIA, which aboue all other he longed after: where he had not long lien, but that it was by the treaſon of the gouernour deliuered into his hands, with all the countrey thereabouts: wherewith the Chriſtian Princes were ſo diſcouraged, that they euen then began to feare greater matters to enſue. The Prince of ANTIOCH ſold TARSVS the metropoliticall citie of CILICIA, to *Rupinus* Prince of ARMENIA; for that hee ſaw it was not without great charge and danger to be by him defended, being ſo farre from him, and *Saladin* as it were now ſtept in betwixt him and it.

Aleppo betraied vnto the Turks

At the ſame time, King *Baldwin* at NAZARETH fell ſicke of a feuer, the leproſie alſo his old B diſeaſe growing dayly more and more vpon him: inſomuch as deſpairing of his life, hee called vnto him *Guy Luſignan* Countie of IOPPA & ASCALON, vnto whom he had before eſpouſed *Sybil* his eldeſt ſiſter, and in the preſence of his mother, the Patriarch, and all the chiefe commanders of the ſoldiers of the ſacred war, appointed him gouernor of the kingdome, reſeruing vnto himſelfe only the title of a King, with the citie of IERVSALEM, and a yerely penſion of ten thouſand duckats: all which was done, to the great diſgrace and diſcontentment of the Countie of TRIPOLIS the old gouernor.

It was not long, but that *Saladin* hauing breathed himſelfe a little, after ſo great labors came againe into the Holie land, where he tooke many caſtles, and did infinite harm; inſomuch that the country people were glad for feare to forſake their houſes, & to flie into cities. The C Chriſtian armie in the meane time lying faſt by at SEPHOR, not once mouing, although many a faire occaſion were offered: for the chiefe Commaunders affectionated vnto the Countie of TRIPOLIS, and enuying at the preferment of *Guy* the new gouernor, were vnwilling to fight, but finding one excuſe or other, ſuffered the enemie at his pleaſure to ſpoyle the country, and ſo in ſafetie to depart, which he had neuer before done in thoſe quarters.

Within leſſe than a moneth after, *Saladin* with a great armie well appointed with all the habiliments of war needfull for the beſieging of a city or ſtrong caſtle, came againe into the land of PALESTINE, and paſſing thorow the countrey beyond IORDAN, ſate downe at laſt before PETRA, in hope by the taking thereof to haue made his paſſage between ÆGYPT and DAMASCO more ſafe. Of which his purpoſe King *Balawin* hauing knowledge, and taught by the euill D ſucceſſe of late, to what ſmal purpoſe it was to commit the mannaging of his wars vnto a Generall ſo euill beloued, and leſſe regarded, as was *Guy* his brother in law; ſent againſt him with his armie, *Raymund* the Countie of TRIPOLIS the old gouernor, whom he had again reſtored vnto the gouernment, and diſplaced *Guy*. Of whoſe comming *Saladin* hearing, raiſed his ſiege after he had lien there a moneth, and ſo departed.

Petra in vaine beſieged by the Turks.

A little before this expedition, the King ſtil growing ſicker and ſicker, his foule diſeaſe ſtil increaſing, by the common conſent of the nobilitie, appointed *Baldwin* his nephew by his ſiſter *Sybilla*, a child but of fiue yeres old, to ſucceed him in the kingdome; and the Countie of TRIPOLIS to haue the gouernment of the ſtate during the time of his minoritie. This *Sybilla* the kings ſiſter was firſt married to *William* the yonger, Marques of MOVNT-FERRAT, who E dying within three months after, left her with child with this his poſthumus ſonne *Baldwin*, now by his vncle deputed vnto the hope of the kingdome. After whoſe death ſhe was married to *Guy Luſignan* Countie of IOPPA and ASCALON, the late gouernour; who taking in euill part this the kings deſignement, eſpecially for the gouernment of the kingdome by the Countie of TRIPOLIS, departed from the court as a man diſcontented, vnto his city of ASCALON: whereof the Patriarch and the Princes of the ſacred war, fearing (and that not without cauſe) great danger to enſue, came to the King, then holding a Parliament in the citie of ACON, moſt humbly requeſting him for auoyding of further danger, and the ſafetie of his kingdome, to receiue againe into his fauour the Countie *Guy* his brother in law, and to make an attonement betwixt him and the Countie of TRIPOLIS. But this their requeſt ſorted to no purpoſe; for F that the Parliament was diſſolued without any thing for the good of the Commonweale in that point concluded.

Diſſention in the court of Ieruſalem.

After that time the kingdome of IERVSALEM began ſtil more and more to decline; in the old King *Baldwin* (ſicke both in bodie and mind) was almoſt no hope: in the young King (yet vnfit for ſo great a burthen) much leſſe: and the diſſention betwixt the two Counties *Guy* and

King Baldwin ſendeth Embaſſadors vnto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt for ayd.

Raymund with their fauorits, was like enough to bring great harme vnto the State. Beſides that, the Countie of Tripolis fearing the power of *Guy* his enemie, was thought to haue ſecret intelligence with *Saladin* the Turke, inſomuch as the King was almoſt in purpoſe to haue proclaimed him traitor. Wherefore the King now reſted only vpon the councel of *William* Archbiſhop of Tyre, and the maſters of the Knights of the ſacred warre: by whoſe aduice he ſent *Heraclius* Patriarch of Ieruſalem, *Roger Molins* maſter of the Knights of S. *Iohns*, and *Arnold* maſter of the Templars, Embaſſadors vnto *Lucius* the third, then Pope, vnto *Frederick* the emperor, *Philip* the French King, and *Henry* the ſecond, King of England, to declare vnto them the dangerous ſtate of that Chriſtian kingdome, and to craue their aid againſt the Infidels. Theſe Embaſſadors comming to the Councell then holden at Verona, with great grauity and diligence, in the preſence of the Pope & of the Emperor, declared the hard eſtate of the Chriſtians of the Eaſt, with their humble requeſt vnto them for aid; in ſuch ſort that they mooued them, with all the Princes there preſent, to compaſſion. From thence they were by the Pope directed vnto *Philip* the French King, with whom hauing diſpatched their affaires, they from him paſſed ouer into England, and afterward into Germanie: and had at length brought their negotiation to ſo good paſſe, that in euery place great preparation was made for a great expedition to be made againſt the Turks, for the reliefe of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt: with which good newes the Embaſſadours returning to Ieruſalem, filled the ſicke King with the hope of great matters. But greater quarrels ſhortly after ariſing betwixt the Pope and the Emperour, and ſharpe warre likewiſe betwixt the French King and the King of England, and the other Chriſtian Princes alſo being at no better quiet, the notable expedition that had with the expectation thereof ſo filled the world, was againe layd aſide and quite daſhed. Whereof King *Baldwin* vnderſtanding, both by meſſengers and letters from his friends, oppreſſed with griefe and heauineſſe more than with the force of his diſeaſe, (a man for his proweſſe and painefulneſſe not inferior to any his predeceſſors) died without iſſue the 16 day of May, *Anno* 1185, being but fiue and twentie yeres old, whereof he had raigned twelue. His bodie was afterward with the generall mourning of his ſubiects, ſolemnly buried in the Temple neere vnto the mount Caluarie, together with his predeceſſors the Kings of Ieruſalem.

1185.

Guy the ninth and laſt King of Ieruſalem.

King *Baldwin* thus buried, *Baldwin* the fift of that name, yet but a boy, was crowned King. But then began the ſparkes, which had of long lien raked vp and hidden in the aſhes, to breake out into a great fire: for *Raymund* Countie of Tripolis contended the whole gouernement of the kingdome, & tuition of the King to be due vnto him, by the appointment of the late King, and conſent of the nobilitie; and did ſo much, that he had almoſt obtained it to haue bin confirmed vnto him in open Parliament. But *Sybylla* a woman of a moſt haughtie ſpirit (ſiſter vnto the late King, and mother vnto the yong King yet liuing) prickt forward her husband *Guy*, in no caſe to giue place vnto his competitor *Raymund*; and ſo animated him, that by the helpe of his own fauorits, and the countenance of *Boniface* Marqueſſe of Mount-Ferrat, (who euen then was come with a great power into Syria) he extorted from the nobilitie whatſoeuer hee deſired. But ſeuen moneths were ſcarce well paſſed, but that this yong King *Baldwin* was dead and buried; poyſoned (as was reported) by his mother, for the deſire ſhee had of the Kingdome her ſelfe: whoſe death ſhe with all ſecrecie concealed, vntill ſhe had obtained of the Patriarch and other Princes of the kingdom, that *Guy* her husband might be proclaimed king. So by her means it was ſo wrought, that vpon one and the ſelfe ſame day the yong King *Baldwin* was buried by his vncle, and *Guy* the Countie crowned. This yong King *Baldwin*, by reaſon of his tender yeres and ſhort raigne, is of ſome not reckoned amongſt the Kings of Ieruſalem: howbeit, ſeeing he was by his vncle and the Princes of that time thought worthy of the kingdome, let him alſo haue his place amongſt the reſt as the eighth King of Ieruſalem.

When *Guy* was thus poſſeſſed of the kingdome, the Countie of Tripolis ſeeing himſelfe out of al hope of the gouernment, & highly therewith diſcontented, did what he might by al meanes to croſſe the doings of the King: whoſe ſicke and aſpiring mind *Saladin* prickt dayly more and more forward, promiſing him his helping hand whenſoeuer he ſhould need; which curteſie the Countie deſirouſly embraced. For now the fatall period of the kingdome of Ieruſalem grew faſt on, & al things tended to deſtruction, diſcord raigning in euery place: which *Saladin* well perceiuing (after that he had compacted with the County) by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, inuited the Turks, Saraſins, and Ægyptiaus, as men agreeing in one and the ſame religion, A gion, generally to take vp armes in ſo fit an opportunitie of the diſcord of the Chriſtians, aſſuring them of great prey and ſpoyle, beſides the honor of the conqueſt. The city of Ptolomais was the place by him appointed, where all this power ſhould meet: whither ſuch a multitude of the barbarous Mahometans (partly for the hatred of the Chriſtian religion, partly for the hope of the rich ſpoyle which *Saladin* had promiſed them) came flocking out of all places, that in ſhort time there was met together about fiftie thouſand horſemen, beſides an infinite number of foot: and vnto ſuch as could not ſafely paſſe by the borders of Ieruſalem, to them the falſe Countie gaue ſafe conduct, by the countries of Tiberias, Nazareth, and Galile.

Saladin vpon the diſcord of the Chriſtians taketh occaſion to inuade the Holy land.

All the power of the Infidels thus aſſembled, *Saladin* laid ſiege vnto the city of Ptolomais: which the Templars and the Knights hoſpitallers had notably fortified, and ſtrongly manned, B (as before vnto them giuen by the Kings of Ieruſalem, to defend againſt the Infidel) and therein now were both the maſters of both thoſe honorable Orders, with the whole flower of the Knights of their profeſſion. Vnto this citie *Saladin* gaue a moſt terrible aſſault vpon May day in the morning, in the yere 1187, which was by the Chriſtians notably defended, & the enemie with great ſlaughter ſtill beaten downe. In the heat of this aſſault, the two great maſters ſallied with certaine troupes of their moſt readie horſemen, aſſailed the enemies campe, and bearing downe all before them, raiſed there a great tumult, and by and by turning vpon the backes of them that were aſſaulting the citie, made there an exceeding great ſlaughter. Inſomuch that *Saladin* diſmayd, firſt with the confuſion in his campe, and now with the ſudden danger behind him, was glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and to turn his whole forces vpon them, C where was fought a moſt bloudie and terrible battell. Amongſt others that there fought, the Countie of Tripolis, now an enemie vnto God and his Countrey, diſguiſed in the habit of a Turke notably helped the Infidels, and meeting with the great maſter of the Knights Hoſpitalers, vnhorſed him; who ſurcharged with the weight of his armor, and oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies, there died. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch was the valor of theſe worthy men, and new ſuccor ſtill comming out of the citie, that *Saladin* hauing in that battell, and at the aſſault loſt fifteene thouſand of his Turkes, was glad with the reſt to betake himſelfe to flight. Neither was this ſo notable a victorie gained by the Chriſtians without bloud, moſt part of the worthie Knights Hoſpitalers being together with their grand maſter there ſlaine.

Ptolomais beſieged by Saladin.

1187.

Saladin by this ouerthrow perceiuing, that by open force he ſhould not be able to do much D againſt the Chriſtians, thought it good vnto his forces to ioyn alſo policie. Wherein the falſe Countie of Tripolis was the man hee thought beſt to make choice of, as his fitteſt inſtrument to worke by. Him he compacted withall, to ſeeke for grace at the King of Ieruſalems hands, as of his dread Soueraigne, and after ſo long diſcord, to ſue to be reconciled vnto him, as now wearie of the Turks amitie, with whom he ſhould make ſhew to be vtterly fallen out. At which time alſo, to giue the matter the better grace, *Saladin* of purpoſe with a great armie came and beſieged Tiberias, a citie of the Counties iuriſdiction: for the reliefe whereof, the traiterous Countie craued aid of the King and the other Princes of the ſacred warre. Who with an Armie, though not great, yet very well appointed, came according to his deſire, and encamped neere vnto the fountaine of Sophor: where they had not long ſtayed, but that they met with E the huge armie of the Turks, being in number one hundred and twentie thouſand horſe, and one hundred and ſixtie thouſand foot: with whom they ioyned a moſt ſharp and terrible battell, which by reaſon of the extremitie of the heat of the weather (it then being the twelfth of Iuly) and the approch of the night, was againe giuen ouer, both armies (as if it had bin by conſent) retyring. The next day the battell was againe begun, wherein the Turks, by the treaſon and ſhamefull flight of the falſe Countie of Tripolis, gained the victorie. In this battell *Guy* the King himſelf, with *Gerard* maſter of the Templars, *Boniface* Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, and diuers others, men of great marke, were taken priſoners. And to ſay the truth, in this battaile was broken the whole ſtrength of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt.

Guy King of Ieruſalem taken priſoner.

The Chriſtian commonweale by the treaſon of the falſe Countie thus betrayd vnto the Infi- F dels, *Saladin* without any great reſiſtance had the cities of Ptolomais, Biblis, and Berithus deliuered vnto him: in all which places he vſed his victorie with great moderation, not enforcing any Chriſtian (more than the Latines) to depart thence, but ſuffering them there ſtil to remaine as before, yeelding vnto him their obedience, with ſuch tribute as he had impoſed vpon them. With like good fortune he within the ſpace of one moneth tooke all the port towns betwixt Sidon and Aſcalon alongſt the ſea coaſt, excepting only the antient citie of Tyre: vnto the citie of Aſcalon alſo he laid ſiege by the ſpace of nine days; but loth to ſtay the courſe of his victorie, by the valour of the defendants reſolued there to ſpend their liues, he departed thence, and marched directly vnto Ieruſalem the chiefe citie of that kingdome: and approching the ſame, gaue ſummons thereunto, perſuading the citiſens yet whiles they had time, to yeeld themſelues, together with the citie, vnto his mercie. Which they refuſing to do, he incloſed the ſame with his armie, and by the ſpace of fourteene dayes layd a hard ſiege vnto it, leauing nothing vndone or vnattempted, that might helpe for the gaining thereof. At which time the citiſens conſidering the danger they were in, and that the ſtrength of the Kingdome, with the flower of their chiualrie, were in the late battell loſt, and that they were not now to expect any forreine aid, agreed vpon certaine conditions to yeeld vp the Citie: which were, That ſuch Chriſtians as would, might remaine ſtill with their libertie and goods; & that ſuch as would not, might in ſafetie depart with ſo much of their goods as they could carrie vpon their backes. Theſe conditions being by *Saladin* granted, the holy citie was vnto him deliuered the ſecond of October, in the yeare 1187; after that it had been by the Chriſtians holden from the time that it was by *Godfrey* of Bullion and other Chriſtians woon, about 89 yeares. *Saladin* entring into the citie, prophaned firſt the Temple of the Lord, conuerting it vnto the vſe of his Mahometan ſuperſtition; the other churches he vſed as ſtables for his horſes, only the temple of the Sepulchre was by the Chriſtians for a great ſumme of mony redeemed, and ſo kept vndefiled. The Latine Chriſtians he thruſt out of the Citie, yet with leaue to carry with them ſuch things as they were able themſelues to beare: who trauelling with heauie burthens, but much more heauie hearts, ſome to Tripolis, ſome to Tyre, ſome to Antioch, (for only theſe three cities were now left vnto the Chriſtians in Syria) were by the falſe Countie of Tripolis by the way lightned of their burthens, to the increaſing of the heauineſſe of their hearts, moſt of them beeing by him and his followers ſpoyled of that little they had by the mercie of their enemies ſaued in the ruine of their ſtate.

Ieruſalem beſieged.

Ieruſalem taken by Saladin.

G H I

Vnto the other Chriſtians that were naturall Syrians, Greekes, Armenians, Georgians, and ſuch like, *Saladin* appointed certain places of the citie for them to dwel in, where ſome of their poſteritie were long time after to be found. All the monuments of the Chriſtians were by the barbarous Mahometans and Turks defaced, only the Sepulchre of our bleſſed Sauior Chriſt, with the monument of *Godfrey* of Bullion, and his brother *Baldwin*, for the reuerence of the men, were by them ſpared. In theſe ſo great troubles aboue twentie thouſand of the Chriſtians periſhed: amongſt the reſt, the Countie of Tripolis was ſhortly after found dead in his bed, and (as ſome ſay) circumciſed; a manifeſt token of his reuolt, not from the King onely, but from the Chriſtian Faith alſo.

The death of Raymund the traiterous Countie of Tripolis.

K

Ieruſalem thus woon, *Saladin* returned againe to the ſiege of Aſcalon, which after he had by the ſpace of ten dayes moſt ſtraitly beſieged, was vnto him by compoſition deliuered: wherein amongſt other things agreed vpon for the ſafe departure of the citiſens, was compriſed alſo, that he ſhould freely ſet at libertie *Guy* the King, and *Gerard* maſter of the Templars, both before taken priſoners, as is before declared; which he afterward performed.

Thus the victorious Turke ſtil vrging his good fortune, departing thence, attempted to haue taken Tripolis; but hauing made ſome proofe of his owne forces, and the valor of the defendants, he was glad to giue ouer the ſiege, and to depart as he came. Marching thence with his army, becauſe he would leaue no place vnattempted, he laid ſiege vnto the city of Tyre, where *Conrade* Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat was a little before arriued with *Iſaac Angelus* the Greeke Emperors fleet, and a ſupplie of certaine companies of good ſoldiers. Vnto which place were come great numbers of the poore diſtreſſed Chriſtians, fled from Ieruſalem and other places, ſo that the citie was full of men.

L

This citie *Saladin* moſt furiouſly aſſaulted, but was by the Chriſtians notably repulſed, not without the great loſſe of his beſt ſoldiers. At which time alſo the Admirall of Sicilia diſcomfited his fleet at ſea, and landing his forces, came vnlooked for vpon the backe of him: ſo that hauing his hands full before by them of the towne, and charged behind by theſe new come enemies, he was glad to retyre in ſuch haſt, as that he left his Tents, with all that therein was, vnto the ſpoyle of the Chriſtians.

M

Within a few dayes after, *Saladin* hauing againe repaired his armie, inuaded the Countrey

about

A about Antioch; with fire and ſword deſtroying whatſoeuer was ſubiect to his furie, euen to
the gates of the citie: but knowing that ſo ſtrong a citie was not without great charge & long
ſiege to be woon, he thought it good to make proofe if it might by policie or corruption bee
gained. Wherein he ſo cunningly dealt with the Patriarch, that he had by his means the caſtle
(otherwiſe almoſt impregnable) for gold betrayd vnto him. By means wherof he in ſhort time
became lord and maſter of that famous citie, (about ninetie yeres before hardly gained by the
whole power of the Chriſtians, after eleuen moneths ſiege) and with it fiue and twentie cities
moe, that depended of the fortune thereof, with all the prouinces belonging thereunto, alwayes
deemed to haue been the third part of the kingdome of Ieruſalem.

The famous city of Antioch betrayd vnto the Turkes.

The loſſe of ſo great a citie, together with the ruine of the whole kingdome, had in a ſhort
B ſpace filled euery corner of Chriſtendome with the heauie report thereof. Wherewith the
Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt (namely *Frederick* the German Emperor, with *Frederick* his ſon
Duke of Sueuia, *Philip* the French King, *Henry* the ſecond, king of England, *Otto* Duke of Burgondie,
Leopold Duke of Auſtria, with many other great Princes and Prelats of Germanie, Italie,
and other places) not a little mooued, as alſo with the pittifull complaints of the Embaſſadors
at the ſame time ſent from the diſtreſſed Chriſtians, aud the effectuall perſuaſions of *Clement*
the third, then Pope; promiſed, and all, or moſt part indeed, made great preparations:
which they afterwards, though not all at once (as letted by other occaſions) but at diuers times
imployed, for the moſt part with the danger of their owne perſons, againſt the Turkes, for the
reliefe of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians, and recouerie of the Holy land: but with what ſucceſſe
C ſhall hereafter (God willing) be declared.

Of which ſo great preparations made againſt him, *Saladin* not ignorant, ſet at libertie *Guy*
the King of Ieruſalem, who contrarie to his promiſe made at Aſcalon, he had now detained a
yeare in priſon; yet before his inlargment exacting of him an oath, Neuer by force of armes
afterwards to ſeeke to recouer his kingdome, or to reuenge the wrongs he had ſuſtained: hoping
thereby to ſtay the comming of the other Princes in his quarrell. Which oath for all
that, the Pope diſpenſed withal, as extorted by conſtraint from him, at ſuch time as *Saladin* had
longer detained him in priſon, than of right he ſhould.

Guy now at libertie, and yet in mind a King, came to Tyre, but could not be there receiued,
the citiſens hauing before ſworn their obedience vnto *Conrade* marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, by
D whom they had bin notably defended againſt the furie of *Saladin*. Wherſore departing thence
with ſuch power as he had, and the diſperſed Chriſtians dayly repairing vnto him out of all
parts of Syria, he came & beſieged Ptolemais: where he had not long lien, but firſt came vnto
him the Venetian fleet, with them alſo of Piſa, and after them the Flemings with a fleet of fiftie
ſaile, who all ioyned their forces together for the winning of the Citie. But whileſt the
Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Ptolemais, came *Saladin* with a great armie to the reliefe of
the beſieged: where betwixt him and the Chriſtians was fought a great battell, wherein the
Chriſtians at the firſt had the better; but afterward feinting, and readie to flie, had there vndoubtedly
receiued a notable ouerthrow, had not *Geffrey Lyſignan* the Kings brother (left for
the guarding of the campe) in good time come in with new ſupplies; and not only ſtayd their
E flight, but alſo repreſſed the further purſuit of the fierce enemie, now almoſt in poſſeſſion of
the deſired victorie. Neuertheleſſe there were 2000 Chriſtians there ſlaine, and among them
Gerard maſter of the Templars. *Saladin* by that which was now done, perceiuing how hard a
matter it would be for him by land to relieue his citie, ſent for the fleet which he had ſtrongly
rigged vp at Alexandria, and ſo by force put new ſupplies both of men & victuals into the beſieged
citie. Wherewith the Turks encouraged, made often ſallies vpon the Chriſtians; and
in deſpight of the Chriſtian religion, whipped the image of Chriſt crucified, which they had
for that purpoſe in the ſight of the Chriſtians ſet vp vpon the top of the wall. With the ſame
fleet alſo he ſo ſcoured the ſeas, that no victuals or new ſupplies of men could that way without
great danger be brought vnto the campe: wherby ſuch ſcarcitie & want of al things began
F ſhortly after to ariſe among the Chriſtians, that ſome of them not able longer to indure the famin,
fled vnto the Turks campe, then lying not far off, crying out for bread. Of which diſtreſſe
in the campe of the Chriſtians, *Saladin* knowing right well, both by ſuch fugitiues as dayly
came ouer vnto him, and by his own eſpials, yet made ſhew as if he vnderſtood nothing thereof:
but ſuddenly riſing with his armie (as doubtfull of his owne ſtrength) departed, leauing

his campe ful of all manner of victuals. Whereof the Chriſtians vnderſtanding, and ſuppoſing him to haue for feare been gone indeed, in great numbers haſted vnto the forſaken campe, as vnto a moſt deſired prey: where whileſt they were gorging themſelues *Saladin* ſuddenly returning, and getting betwixt them and home, made of them a great ſlaughter. Neuertheleſſe the Chriſtians hauing now lien before the citie ſix moneths, continued the ſiege all the Winter, ouercomming with patience the hardeſt difficulties, in hope of aid from the other Chriſtian Princes, whoſe comming they expected with the firſt of the next Spring: during which time many an hot skirmiſh paſſed betwixt them and the Turks both by ſea and land.

1160.

Fredericke the Emperour ſetteth forward towards the Holy Land.

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Ptolemais, *Frederick* the Emperor, with diuers of the great German Princes and others, before reſolued vpon an expedition for the recouerie of the Holy land, and the reliefe of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in Syria: hauing now raiſed a great armie, furniſhed with all things neceſſarie for ſo long a journey, ſet forward from Ratisbone, and ſo comming to Vienna, and paſſing thorow Hungaria, Bulgaria, and Thracia, arriued at length at Conſtantinople; where he was by *Iſaac Angelus* the Emperour that then raigned, honorably entertained: but indeed more for feare and faſhion ſake, than for any loue or good will; for that he after the ſupicious manner of the Greekes, hauing in diſturſt ſo great a power of the Latine Emperors, wiſhed rather for his abſence than his preſence. And therefore ceaſed not in what he might, to haſten his paſſage ouer into Aſia, pretending for the color thereof, the neceſſitie the Chriſtians had of his preſent aid. So the Emperor with his Armie paſſing ouer the ſtreight, and without reſiſtance marching thorow the greateſt part of the leſſer Aſia, entred Into Lycaonia, where meeting with a great power of the Turkes, that were come from the Sultan of Iconium to ſtay his further paſſage, hee ouerthrew them in a great battell, and ſo marching directly on to Iconium, tooke it by force, and gaue the ſpoyle thereof vnto his ſoldiers, in reuenge of the iniuries before done vnto his vncle the Emperour *Conrade*, by the Sultan of that citie. Departing thence, and marching thorow Cilicia, hee in another battell ouerthrew the Turks, that hauing taken the ſtraits of the mountaines, had thought to haue ſtayd his further paſſage into Syria. After that, he tooke the citie Philomela, which the Sultan had ſtrongly fortified, which he raſed to the ground, and put to ſword all the peopeople therein, for that they contrarie to the law of nations, had ſlaine ſuch meſſengers as hee had ſent vnto them for the ſummoning of the citie. In like manner hee entred into the leſſer Armenia, where he tooke the citie Melitene, and ſubdued all the countrie thereabouts: vnto the reliefe whereof the Turks comming with a moſt huge armie, were by him with an exceeding great ſlaughter ouerthrowne and put to flight. After that, entring into Comagena, and meeting with *Saphadin, Saladin* his ſonne, with a great armie of the Turks, he ouerthrew him in the plaine field, and diſcomfited his whole armie: but whileſt hee too eagerly purſueth the enemie he had then in chace, his horſe foundring vnder him as he paſſed the riuer Saleph, hee was ſo ouerthrowne, and his foot hanging faſt in his ſtirrop, drawne thorow the deepe Riuer, and almoſt drowned; and at the farther ſide of the riuer was ſo plunged by his horſe, at his landing, that he was taken vp for dead: yet breathing a little, and caſting his eyes vp to heauen, with much adoe he vttered theſe few words, *Lord receiue my Soule*; and ſo in the hands of them that tooke him vp gaue vp the ghoſt, vnto the great griefe and hindrance of the Chriſtian Commonweale: for *Saladin* hearing of his approch, was ſo affraid of him, as that hee began to doubt, not how to keepe that he had before woon in Syria, but how to defend himſelfe in Ægypt. Thus miſerably periſhed this worthie Emperor, the tenth of Iune in the yeare of Grace, 1190, being then of the age of ſeuentie yeares, whereof hee had with much trouble raigned eight and thirtie. His dead bodie was carried along with the armie, and afterward with all funerall pompe buried in the Cathedrall church at Tyre.

Frederick the Emperors ſon choſen Generall of the Chriſtian Armie.

Frederick the Emperor thus dead, *Frederick* his ſon Duke of Sueuia, was by the general conſent of the Princes in the armie choſen Generall in his ſtead: vpon whom, with the reſt of the armie, yet mourning for the death of the Emperor, the Turks gaue a ſudden & fierce charge, in hope ſo to haue ouerthrowne them: but finding greater reſiſtance than they had before ſuppoſed, and hauing loſt ſome of their men, they with like ſpeed that they came, retyred again. Now began famine (one of the ordinarie attendants of great armies) to increaſe in the campe: for why, the Turkes for that purpoſe had before deſtroyed or carried away all that was in the Countrey, leauing nothing for the Chriſtians more than the bare ground. Wherefore

A *Frederick* turning a little out of the way, came to Antioch, which was eaſily deliuered vnto
him, and his hungrie ſouldiers well refreſhed by the citizens, beeing as yet for the moſt part
Chriſtians. But he had not there ſtaied paſt fifteene daies for the refreſhing of his armie, but
that the plague (the handmaid of famin and another ſcourge of the greateſt multitudes) began
to rage among his ſoldiers, in ſuch ſort, that he was glad with his army to forſake the citie, and
to get him abroad againe into the open field: where forthwith newes was brought vnto him,
that *Dodequin* Generall of ſuch forces as *Saladin* had ſent for out of Ægypt (which were not
ſmall) was by great iourneyes comming towards him: againſt whom hee in good order ſet
forward, with his fathers corſe ſtill carried in the midſt of his armie. Theſe two armies mee-
ting together, and both willing to fight, ioyned a great and doubtfull battell, fortune now in-
B clining to the one ſide, and by and by to the other; the Chriſtians exceeding their enemies in
valour, and they them again in number. At length the Chriſtians in the vantguard began to re-
tire, and they that ſeconded them were alſo hardly charged: when *Frederick* mindfull of his
fathers valor, with a troupe of valiant horſmen brake into the enemies battel with ſuch force,
that the Turks were glad to giue ground: after whom *Leopold* Duke of Auſtria comming pre-
ſently on with his footmen, brought ſuch a feare vpon the whole army of the Turks, that they
betook themſelues to ſpeedie flight. In this battell were foure thouſand of the enemies ſlain,
with ſmall loſſe of the Chriſtians; and about one thouſand moe taken priſoners, with fifteen
of their enſignes. After which victorie, *Frederick* marching further in Cælo-Syria, pacified
Laodicea then in mutinie, and like to haue beene deliuered vnto the Turks. He alſo with a lit-
C tle labour tooke Berythus, with diuers other cities of Syria, which before belonging vnto the
Kings of Ieruſalem, were now reuolted vnto the Turks. So Afterward, comming to Tyre, he
there ſolemnly buried his father, (dead, as is before ſaid:) and from thence certified *Guy* the
King (ſtill lying with the other Chriſtian Princes at the ſiege of Ptolemais) of his comming:
who forthwith ſent the Marques of Mont-Ferrat, with part of the fleet, to tranſport him with
his people that were left, by ſea: for that by land he could not ſo ſafely haue come, being now
but weake, for meeting with *Saladin*; who with a great armie lay ſtill houering about his be-
ſieged citie, intentiue to all opportunitie. So was Duke *Frederick*, with his ſouldiers yet left,
ſafely by ſea conducted from Tyre to the campe at Ptolemais, and there ioyfully receiued
by the King and the other Princes, with the generall applauſe of the whole campe.

A great battell betwixt the Turks and the Christians.

D In the meane time the Turks ſallying out of the citie of Ptolemais, had done great harme
among the Chriſtians, by whom they were not without ſome loſſe againe repulſed. But after
the comming of Duke *Frederick* and his Germans, it was thought good by the generall con-
ſent of all the great commanders in the army, that the citie ſhould be aſſaulted round: and to
that purpoſe was euery mans regiment appointed what place to aſſaile. The King himſelfe
with the Templars and the Italians from Piſa, vndertook that part of the citie which was to-
ward the ſea: vnto Duke *Frederick* & his Germans, was allotted all betwixt the bridge ouer
the riuer Bele, and the Biſhops palace: the Venetians, Genowaies, and Knights Hoſpitalers,
were appointed vnto the reſt of the wall as far as the court of *Raymund*: the Friſelanders, Fle-
mings, and Hollanders, tooke vp all the reſt of the wall vnto the ſea ſide. Thus was the citie at
E once in euery ſide aſſailed by the Chriſtians, with ſuch furie, as if they had theron purpoſed to
gage their whole forces, ſeeking by a thouſand wounds, and a thouſand kinds of death to haue
by their ſcaling ladders gained the top of ahe wals, the Turks with no leſſe courage ſtil bea-
ting them downe again. But in the heat of this ſo dreadfull and deſperat an aſſault, *Saladin* ſtill
houering aloofe, came now vpon the ſudden and aſſailed the campe of the Chriſtians, filling
the ſame with feare and tumult: whoſe charge they that were left for the defence of the ſame,
at the firſt notably receiued, but finding themſelues too weake, began to giue ground; by
which means the Turks tooke certaine tents with ſome enſignes, and fired ſome other of the
pauillions of the Chriſtians, hauing ſlaine ſomewhat moe than an hundred of the defendants.

Ptolemais aſſaulted by the Chriſtians.

The Chriſtians in the mean time little preuailing in the aſſault, and troubled with the dan-
F ger of their campe, retired to the reliefe thereof. But the Turke perceiuing himſelfe too weak
for the whole power of the Chriſtians, retired alſo; yet not with ſuch haſte, but that he had
there almoſt loſt himſelfe. This notable aſſault was giuen the fourteenth of October: after
which, many light skirmiſhes paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, but more for
bootie, than for any other great purpoſe.

In the meane time, diuers great Princes of the Weſt that had vowed themſelues vnto this ſacred war, came thither, whoſe number rather increaſed the want of victuals, than furthered the ſeruice. At which time alſo the diſcord betwixt *Guy* the King (whoſe wife and children were now dead) and *Conrade* Marques of Mont-Ferrat (who had married *Iſabel* the late queens ſiſter, by whom hee pretended a claime vnto the title of the imaginarie kingdome) did much harme vnto the proceedings of the Chriſtians: ſo pleaſing a thing theſe haughtie ſtiles be vnto the loftie mindes of the ambitous. Shortly after the Chriſtians yet lying at the ſiege, the contagion and famine ſtill increaſing, it fortuned that Duke *Frederick* fell ſick of the Plague, whereof hee died; and with the great mourning of the whole armie, was afterward ſolemnly buried faſt by his father in the cathedral Church at Tire: after whoſe death the Chriſtians attempted no great matter againſt the city, although they were oftentimes by the Turks prouoked, but lay ſtil ſtrongly intrenched, expecting ſome greater aid from the princes of the Weſt.

Now all the hope of the Chriſtian affaires in Syria, and in the land of Paleſtine, reſted vpon the comming of the two mightie Princes, *Phllip* the ſecond of that name, King of France, and *Richard* the firſt, King of England: who hauing agreed betwixt themſelues, with their combined forces to relieue the diſtreſſed Chriſtians of the Eaſt; and againe (if it were poſſible) to repaire the broken ſtate of the kingdome of Ieruſalem, were now met together at Marſeilles in Prouence. From whence the French King firſt departing with his fleet for Cicilia, and with a proſperous gale for certaine dayes holding on his courſe, and now come nigh vnto the Iſland, was by force of a furious tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing, ſo toſſed and tumbled in the deep, that many of his Ships there periſhed, eaten vp of the Sea; others by force of weather driuen vpon the ſands and rocks, were there broken all to pieces; and the reſt, ſome with their maſts broken, ſome with their tacklings and ſailes rent, and all in generall ſore weather beaten, with much adoe arriued at Meſſana, the deſired Port. At which place King *Richard* afterwards (but with better fortune) arriued with his fleet alſo. Both the Kings now met together, reſolued there to winter: the French king enforſed by neceſſity ſo to do, for the reparing of the late loſſes he had receiued, as well in his people & prouiſion, as in his ſhipping; al which was to be relieued by new ſupplies out of France: and the king of England ſtaying to take order for the dowrie of his ſiſter *Ioan* (widow of *William* the late King of Cicilia) with *Tancred* the baſe ſonne of *Roger*, that had now aſpired vnto the kingdome of that Iſland. About which matter great ſtirs aroſe betwixt King *Richard* the Queenes brother, and *Tancred* the new King, inſomuch that it was like to haue broken out into open warre, had it not to the good contentment of King *Richard* beene otherwiſe taken vp, and ſo the controuerſie ended. But whileſt theſe two great Kings thus wintred in this fruitfull Iſland, and oftentimes as good friends met together, ſometime for their diſport, and ſome time to conferre of their ſo weightie affaires; the way (as was thought) to haue appeaſed all former diſpleaſure, and to haue increaſed loue: it fell out clean contrarie, iealouſie & diſtruſt, not only reuiuing the old, but alſo ſtil raiſing new quarrels betwixt them, to the great hindrance of the common good by them intended: which may ſerue for a warning to all great Princes, willing to continue in amitie, and to hold a good opinion one of another, neuer to ſee one the other; or comming ſo to an interuiew, not to conuerſe or ſtay long together: which as it is not often done without the danger of their perſons, ſo can it not poſſibly be long continued, but that it wil engender in themſelues as well as in their followers, iealouſie, enuie, hatred, and miſtruſt, as we haue before ſaid and hereafter in the courſe of this Hiſtorie may appeare.

An old grudge betwixt Philip the French King, and Richard king of England.

There was an old quarrell betwixt theſe two great Kings, *Richard* and *Philip*, about *Adela* the French kings ſiſter; whom *Richard* hauing before (his father yet liuing) affianced, had now reiected, as her whom his aged father *Henry* the ſecond had too familiarly vſed: and in ſtead of her, to the great diſgrace of the French, eſpouſed the Lady *Berengaria*, daughter to the king of Nauar: which indignitie with diuers others, then ariſing betwixt the French and the Engliſh, as then with great heart-burning ſmouldred vp in reſpect of the common cauſe then in hand, afterwards brake out againe, to the ſhamefull ouerthrow of this moſt honorable expedition, and lamentable diſturbance of both realmes.

Winter paſt, and the Spring now come, the French King not altogether the beſt pleaſed, firſt looſed from Meſſana, and with his fleet in ſafetie arriued at Ptolemais, where he was by the Chriſtians, now the third yeare lying at the ſiege, ſo ioyfully receiued, as if he had beene

to

A to them ſent with ſuccours from heauen. After whom, ſhortly after followed alſo King Richard:
of whoſe fleet (by force of weather ſore beaten and diſperſed) two ſhips by the rage of
the tempeſt driuen a ground vpon the coaſt of Cyprus, were by the Iſland people ſpoyled,
and the men that in them had hardly eſcaped the danger of the ſea, with moſt barbarous inhumanitie,
ſome ſlaine and ſome taken priſoners: the reſt of the fleet arriuing there alſo, were
with like inciuilitie forbidden to land; the Cipriots ready at hand in all places to keepe them
off. With which ſo great an indignity the king iuſtly moued, and by force landing his people,
with incredible celeritie and ſucceſſe ouerran the whole Iſland, neuer ceaſing vntill hee had
made a ful conqueſt therof, and taken *Iſaac Comnenus*, commonly called the King of that Iſland
and of ſome (for what treaſon I know not) Emperor of the Griffons, priſoner: yet was he indeed
B neither King nor Emperor, but being a man of great nobilitie and power, and of the honorable
ſtocke of the *Comneni*, had in the troubleſome raigne of *Andronicus Comnenus* the Emperor,
his couſin, laid hold vpon that fruitfull Iſland, and there tyrannized as a reputed King;
vntill that now he was by King *Richard* taken priſoner, and for his vnfaithfull dealing ſent faſt
bound in chaines of ſiluer into Syria. The King thus poſſeſſed of the whole Iſland, there at
Limozin married the Lady *Berengaria* the King of Nauars daughter, brought thither by *Ioan*
late Queene of Cicilia, the Kings ſiſter. And ſo diſpoſing as he thought beſt of all things for
the ſafe keeping of the Iſland, ſet forward againe with his fleet towards Siria. Where by the
way he light vpon a great ſhip of the Sultans, laded with victuals and other warlike prouiſions
for the reliefe of the beſieged; all which became a prey vnto him. So holding on his
C courſe, he at length arriued at Ptolemais, where he was by the French King, and the reſt of the
Chriſtians there lying, moſt honourably receiued.

King Richard reuengeth the iniurie done to his people by the Cipriots.

King Richard arriueth at Ptolemais.

Now had the citie of Ptolemais beene three yeares beſieged by the Chriſtians, and notably
defended by the Turks: during which time many an hot aſſault and bloudie skirmiſh had
paſſed betwixt them. And now the eies of all men were fixed vpon the two Kings of England
and France, vnto whom all the reſt offred their obedience and ſeruice. The Chriſtian campe
was great, compoſed eſpecially of Engliſhmen, Frenchmen, Italians, and Almaines; not them
that were left of the Emperor *Frederick* his armie (for they were for the moſt part dead, or els
returned home againe into their countries) but of ſuch as (moued with the zeale they bare vnto
this religious war) came daily in great numbers thither: as did alſo many others of diuers
D nations, deſirous in ſome meaſure to be partakers of ſo honourable a warre.

Theſe religious and venerous Chriſtians thus lying at the ſiege, had with much painful labor
vndermined one of the greateſt towers of the city, called the accurſed Tower, with ſome
part of the wall alſo, by means whereof they were in hope to find a way into the city. Wherefore
rll things being now in a readineſſe for the firing of the mine, it was thought good by generall
conſent, that an aſſault ſhould alſo at the ſame time be giuen vnto the citie: and therupon
euery regiment was by lot appointed which part of the wall to aſſaile, which they all with
great courage vndertooke. In the heat of which aſſault, the aforeſaid vndermined tower, with
ſome part of the wall (the timber whereon it ſtaied, now burnt) fell down with a great fal, laying
open a faire breach for the Chriſtians to enter: wherewith the Turks diſmaied, forthwith
E craued to come to parle: which granted, they for ſafegard of their liues yeelded forthwith to
giue vp the city, and to reſtore to the Chriſtians the holy Croſſe, with two thouſand captiues,
and two hundred horſemen, ſuch as they ſhould require of all them that were in the power
of *Saladin*; beſides 200000 Conſtantinopolitan ducats, to be by him giuen to the two Kings,
for the coſt by them beſtowed in the ſiege. For paiment whereof the Turks in the city were to
remain as hoſtages vnder the ſafe keeping of the Chriſtians, ſo that if all the couenants aforeſaid
were not within forty daies performed by *Saladin*, they ſhould all for their liues be at the
kings mercie. So was this ſtrong city, after it had bin almoſt three yeres beſieged, deliuered vp
vnto the Chriſtians the 12 of Iuly, in the yere 1191. The firſt that entred were the Germanes 1191
of Auſtria, who as if they had bin the only men by whoſe valour the city had bin won, at their
F firſt entry preſumptuouſly aduanced their enſignes vpon the top of the walls, to the great offence
of al the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, but eſpecially of king *Richard*, who (not vnworthily
for his princely courage was commonly called *Richard Cueur de Lyon* (not brooking ſo
proud an indignity, cauſed the enſignes of *Leopold* their Duke to be puld down, and ſoiled vnder
foot; which ſhortly after gaue him occaſion of repentance, as ſhall hereafter be ſeene.

The two Kings poſſeſſed of the citie, diuided the ſame, with all the people and ſpoile G thereof betwixt them, without regard of the reſt of the other noble Chriſtians, that had ſuſtained the whole trauell of that long ſiege: for which cauſe moſt part of them, ſeeing themſelues ſo deluded, withdrew themſelues from them, and with one conſent ſent them word, That they would forſake them, except they were made partakers of the gaines, as they had beene of the paines. Which the two Kings to content them, promiſed they ſhould: howbeit, they delayed ſo long their promiſes, that many worthy men, conſtrained by pouertie, departed diſcontented from them into their countries.

But long it was not, that this one citie, ſo lately gained, could contain theſe two great kings; whom two large kindomes could not retaine in peace. For albeit that they were in body together preſent, and in one, and that a moſt honorable action, combined, yet were they in H hearts farre aſunder, and their ſecret deſignes much different: enuie and diſtruſt ſtill reuiuing vnkindneſſe paſt, and miniſtring new matter of greater diſcontentments. King *Richard*, according to his noble nature, was of nothing more deſirous, than to haue the war continued vntill they had made a full conqueſt of Syria and the land of Paleſtine; and for that cauſe requeſted the French King to bind himſelfe together with him by ſolemne oath, there to ſtay yet three yeeres, for the regaining of thoſe countries. But he in mind long before eſtranged from King *Richard*, and in his deep conceit plotting matters neerer home better fitting his purpoſe, would by no meanes be perſuaded ſo to doe; but ſtill found one occaſion or other for to colour his departure. And ſhortly after (as the French Chronicles report) falling extreamely ſicke, hee requeſted King *Richard* and the other Chriſtian Princes to come vnto him: vnto I whom being come, he in few words declared his purpoſe of returne, as followeth:

I cannot my Lords longer endure the inclemencie and intemperature of the ayre in this extreame hot ſeaſon. If my death might profit the Chriſtian religion, or any one of you, or the Chriſtian Commonweale; there ſhould be no diſtemperature whatſoeuer, that could ſeperate me from you, or withdraw mee from hence. But more may the life of one abſent, ſerue and profit you, than the death of him preſent. I muſt of neceſsitie depart, yet at my departure I will leaue you fiue hundred men at armes, and ten thouſand footmen, the flower and choice of all the forces of France, vnder the conduct of my couſin Odo, *Duke of Burgundie, vnto whom I will giue pay and entertainment, with a continual ſupplie of all things for them neceſſarie.* K

The French king ſweareth to king Richard in his abſence not to inuade his territories in France.

This excuſe of the French Kings, King *Richard* could not take in good part: but ſaid, That it was apparant to all men, that hee abandoned the warres in Syria, to returne into France, for no other end or purpoſe, but the more eaſily to inuade the prouinces of Guien and Normandie, now diſfurniſhed of their garriſons, and ſo ſubiect to his malice. Which point he ſo vrged, that the French King could haue no leaue with his honor to depart, vntill ſuch time as he had by ſolemne oath bound himſelfe vnto King *Richard*, not to attempt any thing either by force or fraud againſt him, or any thing of his, vntil fiftie daies were expired after King *Richard* his return home: which how well it was by the French king obſerued, I leaue it to the report of the hiſtories of that time. And ſo the French king, not to be intreated longer to ſtay, leauing L behinde him the aforſaid number of men hee had promiſed, embarking the reſt of his armie, and accompanied with three tall ſhips of the Genowaies his friends, and *Ruffin Volta* their admirall, departed from Ptolomais to Tyre, the firſt of Auguſt, and two daies after, looſing thence, ſailed alongſt the ſea coaſt of Aſia, and cutting through the Mediterranean, arriued at length in the mouth of the riuer of Tyber, and from thence went to Rome: where after he had viſited Pope *Celeſtine*, and the famous places of that moſt renowned citie, he returned again to his fleet, and ſo by ſea arriued in ſafetie in France; hauing in that great expedition, ſo honorably by him entertained, performed nothing anſwerable to that the world looked for.

After the French King, followed *Leopold* Duke of Auſtria, with his Germans: and not long after him the Venetians alſo, with them of Piſa and Genua. Of whoſe departure *Saladin* vnder- M ſtanding, & that the Chriſtian forces were thereby much empaired, refuſed either to pay the money, or to reſtore the priſoners, as was promiſed at the giuing vp of Ptolemais: threatning moreouer to chop off the heads of al ſuch Chriſtian captiues as he had in his power, if the king ſhould ſhew any extremity vnto the pledges of the city. Neuertheles, ſhortly after he ſent his

A embaſſadours with great preſents vnto the King, requeſting a longer time for the ſparing of
his pledges; which his requeſt, together with his gifts, the King refuſed to grant or accept.
Whereupon *Saladin* forthwith cauſed ſuch Chriſtian captiues as were in his power, to be beheaded:
which albeit King *Richard* vnderſtood, yet would hee not preuent the time before
agreed vpon for the execution of his priſoners, being the 20 day of Auguſt: vpon which day
he cauſed the Turks priſoners, to the number of 2500 (or as the French and Germans write, to
the number of 7000) in the ſight of *Saladines* armie to be executed.

The loſſe of the ſtrong towne of Ptolemais, much empaired the reputation of *Saladin*, euen
among his owne people; as it commonly falleth out, that the euill ſucceſſe of a great commander
in his affaires, altereth the good will, affection, and opinion, eſpecially of the vulgar
B ſort, which iudge of all things by the euent. And albeit that his loſſes were great, and ſuch as
much daunted him: yet hee thought it beſt as the caſe then ſtood, to make them greater, and
with his owne hands (as it were) to ruinate and ouerthrow ſuch towns and cities as he ſaw he
could not keepe, rather than to ſuffer them whole and vndefaced to fal into the enemies hand.
So carried headlong with diſpaire, he cauſed all the townes he had along the ſea coaſt in Syria
and Paleſtine, to be ſacked and ruinated, and their wals ouerthrowne; eſpecially ſuch as
were of moſt importance, and like to ſtand the Chriſtians in ſtead, namely Porphiria, Ceſarea,
Ioppa, Aſcalon, Gaza, and Elam, with diuers other caſtles and citadels in the countries thereabouts;
moſt part whereof were againe by King *Richard* and the Templars fortified and repeopled,
although *Saladin* in the meane time did what hee might to haue letted the ſame.

C Nothing more hindred the good proceeding of the Chriſtian Princes, in this and other
their moſt honourable expeditions againſt the Infidels, than the diſcord among themſelues:
one ſtill enuying at anothers honor, and euery one iealous of his owne. Great ſtrife and heartburning
there had been betweene the two Kings of France and England, during the time they
were together in this ſacred expedition, to the great hindrance of the ſame. No leſſe contention
had there bin betwixt *Guy* the late King of Ieruſalem, and *Conrade* Marqueſſe of Montferrat,
about the title of that loſt kingdome: whereby the whole power of the Chriſtains in Siria
was diuided into two factions. *Richard* King of England, *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders, *Henry*
Earle of Champaine, the Knights Hoſpitalers of S. *Iohn*, the Venetians and Piſans, taking
part with *Guy*: And *Philip* the French King, *Odo* Duke of Burgundie, *Rodolph* Earle of Claremont,
D the Templars, the Genowayes, the Lantgraue of Thurin, *Leopold* Duke of Auſtria,
and *Robert* Countie of Naſſau, taking part with *Conrade* the Marqueſſe. But *Conrade*
ſhortly after the taking of Ptolemais beeing ſlaine; by two of the deſperate Aſſaſſins,
or (as ſome others ſay) by two deſperate ruffians; (ſuborned thereunto by the Prince
of Torone, in reuenge of the deſpight done vnto him by the ſayd Marqueſſe, by taking from
him *Iſabel* his eſpouſed wife) as hee was walking in his citie of Tyre, and doubting no ſuch
treaſon: King *Richard* ſeeing now a fit occaſion offered for the vtter extinguiſhing of that
claime, and how to intitle himſelfe vnto that kingdome; perſuaded the aforeſaid *Iſabel* (the
widow of the late Marqueſſe, and in whoſe right he had laid claime vnto the kingdome) to relinquiſh
that ſo troubleſome a title, and to take to her husband *Henry* Earle of Champain, his
E nephew, vnto whom he gaue the citie of Tyre. *Guy* the King exclaiming to the contrary, as of
a wrong done vnto himſelfe. Shortly after he began alſo to temper with *Guy*, perſuading him
to reſigne vnto him that little right and intereſt hee had in the kingdome of Ieruſalem, and in
lieu thereof to receiue at his hands the kingdome of Cyprus: which his offer the poore king
was glad to accept. By which exchange, *Guy* became King of Cyprus, and *Richard*, King of
Ieruſalem; which honourable Title hee afterwards (as ſome report) vſed in his ſtile, as did
ſome others his ſucceſſours the Kings of England after him. So *Guy* with al his wealth paſſing
ouer into Cyprus, tooke poſſeſſion of the kingdome, where he long liued not. Neuertheleſſe
that pleaſant kingdome continued in his family of the Luſignans, by the ſpace of about 283
yeares afterwards: vntill that at length that familie failing in the poſthumus ſonne of *Iames*
F the baſtard, laſt King of that Iſland, it fell into the hands of the Venetians: by whom it was
holden as a part of their ſeigniorie almoſt an hundred yeares, vntill that it was in our freſh remembrance
againe from them taken by *Selymus* the ſecond, great Emperour of the Turkes, in
the yeere 1571, as in the proceſſe of this hiſtorie ſhall in due place (God willing) be delared.

King Richard marcheth with his armie towards Ieruſalem.

Now was King *Richard*, for the increaſe of his honor, more deſirous than before of the citie
of

A notable battell fought betwixt King Richard and Saladin.

of HIERVSALEM, as the moſt precious and honorable prize of all that religious warre. And G thereupon with all the power of the Chriſtians then at his command, ſet forward from PTOLEMAIS, and was come on his way as farre as ARSVA, a towne ſcituated betwixt CESAREA and IOPPE. In the vauward was King *Richard* himſelfe, with the Engliſhmen: after whom followed *Odo*, Duke of BVRGVNDIE, with his French: and in the rereward *Iaques de Auenes*, with the Flemings, Brabanders, and Wallons, who after the death of their Countie *Philip* at the ſiege of PTOLOMAIS, had put themſelues all vnder his regiment. *Saladin* with a great army ſtill at hand, and as it were tending vpon them, firſt with certain embuſcadoes charged the rereward, and ſo afterward came on with his whole power: vpon whom *Iaques* turning himſelfe, with his Flemings, receiued the charge with great aſſurance, and ſo long themſelues endured the ſame, vntill the French came in to their ſuccours, and after them the Engliſh alſo. H There was fought a notable battell, and great valour ſhewed both on the one ſide and on the other, but eſpecially by them of the Turks part, who knew wel the purpoſe of the Chriſtians for the beſieging of HIERVSALEM, and that thereon depended their only hope, and that he that could hold the ſame, might almoſt aſſure himſelfe to carrie away the glorie of that war. The French and Engliſh in that battell honourably ſtroue who might ſhew the greateſt valour: neither would the low countrey men vnder *Iaques* their Generall, ſeeme to bee any thing behind them. This ſharpe conflict began about noone, and continued vntill the going downe of the Sunne. King *Richard* (as ſome write) was there wounded with an arrow: and *Iaques* valiantly there fighting was ſlaine, hauing ſold his life deere, to the great admiration of the Infidels, and dying left the victorie vnto the Chriſtians. I It is reported, that in this battell was ſlain more Turks and Saraſins, than in any one battell within the memorie of man before: of the Chriſtians were not loſt any great number, either any man of name, more than the aforeſaid *Iaques*, the valiant Generall of the Flemings.

King Richard purpoſing to haue beſieged Hieruſalem, is by the backwardneſſe of the French inforced to retire

King Richard glad vpon hard conditions to conclude a peace with Saladin.

The next day the Chriſtians remoued to BETHLEM, a towne about the mid way betwixt IOPPE and HIERVSALEM. But Winter now comming faſt on, & want of victuals like enough to increaſe, the king changing his mind for the ſiege, returned with the greateſt part of the armie to ASCALON, which he that winter new fortified, the wals therof being before by *Saladin* in his diſpaire demoliſhed: the Duke of BVRGVNDIE, with his Frenchmen, all that while quietly wintring at TIRE. In the mean time the power of the Chriſtians was that greatly diminiſhed, ſome one way departing from the campe, and ſome another. The Italians for the K moſt part, with them of PISA (who in theſe three yeres wars had ſtriuen with the Venetians for the honor of their ſeruice) were now returned home, as were the Venetians themſelues alſo, Neuertheleſſe, Winter now paſt, and the Spring time come, King *Richard* tooke the field again, and came to BETHLEM: where by the way he met with an exceeding great number of cammels, charged with great ſtore of victuals and munition, ſent by *Saladin* out of EGIPT to HIERVSALEM, all which he tooke: but purpoſing to haue gone on to the ſiege of IERVSALEM he was by the backwardnes of the French glad to change his purpoſe, and to returne to PTOLOMAIS: for the Frenchmen, perſuaded by the Duke their Generall (who well knew the French Kings minde) that if any thing worth remembrance were done, it was to be done by them, and that the glory therof ſhould wholly redound vnto the King of ENGLAND, as there L in perſon preſent, and to his Engliſhmen, ſhewed themſelues ſo vnwilling to the ſiege, as that therin was nothing done, to the great griefe of that worthy Prince. At which time alſo news was brought vnto K. *Richard*, how that *Philip* the French King (forgetful of his ſolemne promiſe made before his departure out of SIRIA) had now inuaded the country of NORMANDIE, & excited Earle *Iohn* (the kings brother, a man of a hauty and aſpiring nature) to take vpon him the kingdome of ENGLAND in his abſence: as had before in like caſe *William* the yonger brother, ſerued duke *Robert* his eldeſt brother, then abſent at his father the Conquerors death, in the firſt ſacred expedition vnder *Godfrey* of BVLLION. Wherfore K. *Rich.* beſide the preſent difficulties, fearing leſt while he was ſo far off in wars for defence of the Chriſtian common weale, he might loſe his kingdom at home, thought it beſt to grow to ſome good end M with *Saladin*, and ſo to make his return: but the politick and warie Sultan, not ignorant of the diſcord of the Chriſtians, & that their forces daily decaied in SIRIA; either of the troubled eſtate of the kings affaires at home in his kingdom or of his deſire to return; would not hearken to any other conditions of peace, but ſuch as might both for the preſent, weaken the forces of

A the Chriſtians in Syria,& diſcourage others that had a mind to come thither afterward, when they ſhould ſee that for naught they ſhould trauel to conquer that,which in the end they muſt of neceſſitie reſtore again. The conditions he offered,were, That the Chriſtians ſhould forthwith reſtore whatſoeuer they had woon in thoſe three yeres wars, Ptolemais only excepted; and from thenceforth for the ſpace of fiue yeres,the Turks ſhould not in any thing moleſt the Chriſtians, but to ſuffer them in peace to liue by them: which hard conditions (for that no better could be had) the king was glad to accept,and ſo concluded a peace. Wherby the labor and trauel of the two great kings,& ſo many nations with them,were all become fruſtrate and vain; hauing now to no purpoſe loſt their men,their mony,their time,their hope,their bloud, their long trauell,to gaine that they muſt now in one houre forgo; nothing more left vnto the B poore Chriſtians in Syria,than the cities of Antioch,Tyre,and Ptolemais.

This done,King *Richard* leauing the affaires of Aſia vnto the charge of *Henrie* Countie of Champagne his nephew,ſhipping the greateſt part of his people,with his wife *Berengaria*,firſt for Sicilia,and from thence for England, (where they in ſafetie at length arriued) followed ſhortly after with ſome few himſelfe; where by the way, by extremitie of weather he was in the Adriatique driuen to land vpon the coaſt of Hiſtria: where trauelling with a ſmall retinue homewards in the habit of a Templar,he was diſcouered & taken priſoner by *Leopold* duke of Auſtria,whom he had before diſgraced at the winning of Ptolemais, as is before declared: who now glad to haue him in his power,made priſe of him,and ſold him to *Henrie* the Emperor,for fortie thouſand pounds; by whom he was kept priſoner by the ſpace of a yere & three C moneths,and then ranſomed for the ſumme of an hundred and fiftie thouſand pounds.

King Richard returning out of the Holy land taken priſoner by Leopold duke of Auſtria

About this time died the great Sultan *Saladin*, the greateſt terrour of the Chriſtians: who mindfull of mans fragilitie,and the vanitie of worldly honours,commanded at the time of his death no ſolemnitie to be vſed at his buriall,but onely his ſhirt in manner of an enſigne, made faſt vnto the point of a lance,to be carried before his dead bodie as an enſigne, a plaine Prieſt going before,and crying aloud vnto the people in this ſort: *Saladin Conqueror of the Eaſt,of all the greatneſſe and riches he had in his life,carrieth not with him after his death any thing more than his ſhirt.* A ſight worthie ſo great a King, which wanted nothing to his eternall commendation, more than the true knowledge of his ſaluation in Chriſt Ieſus. Hee raigned about ſixteene yeares with great honour,and dying left nine ſonnes, which were all murthered by *Saphradin* D their vncle, excepting one called alſo *Saphradin* Sultan of Aleppo; who by the fauor and ſupport of his fathers good friends,ſaued himſelfe from the treacherous practiſes of his vncle. Of this *Saphradin* the vncle, deſcended *Meledin* Sultan of Ægypt, and *Coradin* Sultan of Damaſco and Ieruſalem: *Saladin* his great kingdome being by them now againe rent in pieces.

The death of *Saladin* in ſhort time bruited abroad, with the diſcord amongſt the Turks and Saraſins about his dominions,put *Celeſtinus* (then Pope) in good hope, that the citie of Ieruſalem might in that change and hurlie be eaſily againe recouered, and that kingdome eſtabliſhed. But when hee had in vaine dealt to that purpoſe with the Kings of France and England, (then altogether buſied in their wars the one againſt the other) hee perſuaded *Henrie* the ſixt, then Emperor,to take the matter in hand: who (for that he well could not,or elſe would not E himſelfe in perſon vndertake that long expedition) ſent *Henrie* Duke of Saxonie his Lieutenant,with a great armie into Aſia: vnto whom were ioyned two Legats, *Conradus* Archbiſhop of Mogunſia another of the Electors,and *Conradus* the Biſhop of Herbipolis. At which time alſo many other great Princes tooke vpon them that holy war; namely *Herman* Lantgraue of Thurin, *Henrie* Palatine of Rhine, *Henrie* Duke of Brabant, *Conrade* Marqueſſe of Morauia, *Frederick* Duke of Auſtria,and *Albertus Hapſpurgenſis*,with ſome others: vnto whom alſo ioyned themſelues the Biſhops of Rheme, Halberſtat,and Ratisbone, with diuers other great Prelats. Who hauing paſſed thorow Hungarie and Thracia,and by the Greeke Emperor *Alexius Angelus* relieued with all things neceſſarie, were by the Grecian ſhips tranſported vnto Antioch, and ſo by land came to Tyre,and from thence to Ptolemais,with purpoſe to haue gone to F relieue the Germans beſieged in Ioppe; who before their comming were all by treaſon ſlaine, and the citie raſed: wherefore being come to the ruines thereof, they departed thence to Sidon,which they found alſo abandoned by the Turks. After that,they tooke Berithus, which citie they fortified,and ſo went to beſiege Torone,which citie when they had brought to the extremitie,as that it muſt needs (as it was thought) either yeeld or be taken, the Turkes came on ſo faſt to the reliefe thereof, that the Chriſtians were glad to raiſe their ſiege and to bee gone: which they in garriſon at Berithus perceiuing, and ſeeing the enemie to approch them, they abandoned the citie, and ioyning themſelues vnto the reſt of the armie, marched all together to Ioppe, a little before ruinated, which they now againe fortified. But the enemie comming to Berithus, and finding it forſaken, raſed it downe to the ground, and ſo in few moneths ſpace was Berithus both repaired and raſed, in the yeare 1197.

1197.

The Turks ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians.

Ioppe repaired by the Chriſtiās.

But whileſt the Chriſtians were repairing the citie of Ioppe, the Turks proud of that they had done at Berithus, came now to diſturbe alſo the fortifying of that place. Of whoſe comming the Chriſtians vnderſtanding, remoued by night about fiue miles from the citie, of purpoſe to draw the Turks vnto a conuenient place for battell. The Turks thinking them to haue been fled for feare, ſent part of their armie to aſſaile the citie; & with the other followed after them diſorderly, as if it had bin after men they had had in chaſe. Vpon whom the Chriſtians turning, had with them at the firſt a ſharpe encounter, but afterwards put them to flight: in which conflict certain thouſands of the Turks fel; of whom the Chriſtians taking the ſpoile, and hauing put the reſt to flight, returned againe vnto the fortifying of the citie. But the ioy of this victorie was by the ſudden death of two of the greateſt Princes in the armie greatly diminiſhed: for the Duke of Saxonie hauing in the battell taken great paines in performing the parts both of a worthie Generall and valiant ſouldier, had ouer-heated himſelfe, and thereupon without regard of his health taking cold, died of a feuer the fourth day after. The Duke of Auſtria mortally wounded in the battell, died alſo the night following.

The Germane Princes returne home.

About this time, or not long after, died *Celeſtinus* the Pope, author of this expedition, and *Henrie* alſo the German Emperor: after whoſe death great troubles began to ariſe in Germanie about the chuſing of a new Emperour. Whereof the Biſhop of Mogunſia (then chiefe Commander of the Armie of the Chriſtians in Syria) one of the Electors, and the other German Princes with him, hauing intelligence, could not by any entreatie of the poore Chriſtians (in whoſe quarrell they were come) be perſuaded longer to ſtay, but that needs home they would, and indeed home they went the ſame way that they came. After whoſe departure the Turks tooke Ioppe, hauing one of the ports betrayed vnto them by one of the Citie, at ſuch time as the Germans there in garriſon, after the manner of their countrie, vpon S. *Martins* day were careleſly making merrie together in their pots: vpon whom ſo ſurcharged with wine, the Turks entring by the port giuen vnto them, put them all with the reſt of the Chriſtians to the ſword, and ſo afterward raſed the citie downe to the ground. Of which victorie they became ſo proud, that they had thought without ſtop to haue driuen the Chriſtians quite out of Syria: but by the comming of *Simon* Countie of Mont-Fort (a moſt valiant and expert Captain, ſent thither by *Philip* the French King, with a Regiment of tall ſoldiers, at the inſtance of *Innocentius* 3, that ſucceeded *Celeſtinus* in the Papacie) & by ciuil diſcord then raigning amongſt the Turks themſelues for ſoueraigntie, their furie was repreſſed, and a peace betwixt them and the Chriſtians concluded for the ſpace of ten yeares; during which time the Turks promiſed not to moleſt the Chriſtians in Tyre or Ptolemais: which hapned in the yere 1199, or as ſome others ſay, 1198. After which peace ſo concluded, the worthie Countie returned againe with his ſouldiers into France: with whom we alſo will repaire into the leſſer Aſia (whither the courſe both of the time and of the hiſtorie now calleth vs) to ſee the other great affaires of the Turks in thoſe Eaſterne Countries; leauing for a ſeaſon theſe poore remainders of ſo many Chriſtians in Tyre and Ptolemais now for a while in peace, but to be ere long deuoured of the Infidels their enemies, as in the proces of this Hiſtorie ſhal in due time and place appeare.

1199.

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A

The ruine of the Turks firſt Empire in PERSIA: with the ſucceſſe of their ſecond Kingdome in the leſſer *Aſia, vnder the* Aladin *Kings.*

B

AS no Kingdome or Empire vpon earth (were it neuer ſo flouriſhing
or great) was euer yet ſo aſſured, but that in the reuolution of time,
after the manner of other worldly things, it hath as a ſicke bodie
beene ſubiect vnto many ſtrange innouations and changes, and at
length come to nothing: ſo fared it now with the Turkiſh Empire,
which firſt planted by *Tangrolipix* in Perſia and the other farre Eaſterne
Countreys, increaſed by *Axan* his ſonne, and ſo by the Turkiſh
Sultans their Succeſſours (although their names and doings, as
too farre off, bee not vnto vs all knowne) for the ſpace of one hundred
C and ſeuentie yeares continued, muſt now (I ſay) giue place vnto a greater power, and
ſettle it ſelfe elſewhere, the ineuitable deſtinie thereof ſo requiring. It fortuned, that about
this time (when in the ſpace of a few yeares ſuch mutations as had not before of long beene
ſeene, chanced in diuers great Monarchies and States) that the Tartars, or rather Tattars, inhabiting
the large, cold, and bare countries in the North ſide of Aſia (of all others a moſt barbarous,
fierce, and needie Nation) ſtirred vp by their owne wants, and the perſuaſion of one *Zingis*
(or as ſome call him, *Cangis*) holden amongſt them for a great Prophet, and now by them
made their Leader, and honoured by the name of *Vlu-Chan*, that is to ſay, The mightie King,
(commonly called the great *Cham*) flocking together in number like the ſand of the ſea, and
conquering firſt their poore neighbours, of condition and qualitie like themſelues, and eaſie
D enough to be entreated with them to ſeeke their better fortune, like ſwarmes of Graſhoppers
ſent out to deuoure the world, paſſed the high Mountaine Caucaſus, part of the Mountaine
Taurus, of all the Mountaines in the world the greateſt; which beginning neere vnto the Archipelago,
and ending vpon the Orientall Ocean, and running thorow many great and famous
kingdomes, diuideth Aſia into two parts: ouer which great Mountaine, one of the moſt aſſured
bounders of nature, that had ſo many worlds of yeares ſhut vp this rough and ſauage people,
they now paſſing without number, and comming downe as it were into another World,
full of ſuch Natures pleaſant delights as neuer were to them before ſeene, bare downe all before
them as they went, nothing beeing now able to ſtand in their way. Old *Zingis* their fortunate
Leader dead in this ſo great an expedition, *Hoccata* his ſonne, eldeſt of his twelue brethren,
E a man of great wiſedome and courage, tooke vpon him his fathers place: who ſending
part of his great Armie for the ſubduing of the Countreys Weſtward, turned himſelfe with
a world of people towards the Eaſt: where hauing ſubdued the Bactrians and Sogdians, with
diuers others, he entred into India, and ſubduing that rich countrey on both ſides the riuer Indus,
euen to the Eaſt Ocean, there in the countrey of Cathai built the famous citie of Cambalu,
in circuit eight and twentie miles about; for pleaſure and plentie of all things neceſſarie
for the life of man, of all the cities of Aſia the chiefe: where the great *Cham* of Tartarie ſtill
reſiant, as in his Imperiall Citie, commandeth ouer one of the greateſt and ſtrongeſt Empires
of the world. In whoſe Kingdome alſo, in the Prouince of Mangy more towards the Eaſt,
he hath another moſt famous Citie called Quinſay, of all the Cities in the world the greateſt,
F in circuit an hundred miles about, as *M. Paulus Venetus* writeth, who himſelfe dwelt therein
about the yere 1260. It is ſcituate in a lake of freſh water, and hath in it twelue thouſand bridges;
of which ſome are of ſuch an heigth, that tall Ships with their ſailes vp may eaſily paſſe
vnder them. In this populous citie the great *Cham* hath for the keeping thereof always thirtie
thouſand men in garriſon. The Tartar Kingdome thus planted in Cambalu, *Hoccata* conten-

Kingdomes after the manner of other things, haue but their time to flouriſh in, and ſo againe decay.

The Turkes driuen out of Perſia by the Tartars.

1202.

The beginning of the Aladinian kingdome in the leſſer Aſia, at Sebaſtia and Iconium.

ting himſelfe with the rich pleaſures of India, afterward managed his wars by his lieutenants, being for the moſt part his brethren, or other his nigh kinſemen; of whom he ſent out with his armies ſome Northward, ſome Weſtward, and ſome toward the South: by whom he ſubdued the Arachoſians, Margians, and diuers other great nations; and entring into Perſia, ſubdued the country, with all Parthia, Aſſiria, Meſopotamia, and Media. At this time in the city Balch or Belch in the countrie of Choraſan in the fartheſt part of Perſia, raigned ouer the Turks one *Curſumes*, of the Greekes called *Corſantes*; who finding himſelfe farre too weake to ſtand before the Tartarians, fled with all his people, leauing vnto them both the citie and the countrie which hee and the Turkes his predeceſſours had euer ſince the time of *Tangrolipix* poſſeſſed: which citie the Tartars raiſed, and tooke the Countrey vnto themſelues. In this generall flight of the Turks, when as euery man was glad to make what ſhift he might for himſelfe, *Curſumes* their Sultan died, the laſt of the kings of the *Selzuccian* familie that raigned ouer the Turks in Perſia: whoſe ſonne *Vgnan-Chan* taking vpon him the leading of ſuch multitudes of Turks as followed his father, ſeiſed vpon the great city of Babilon, now called Bagadat, neere vnto the ruines of the old Babylon: where hauing put to the ſword all the inhabitants thereof, he there and in the country thereabout ſeated himſelfe with the Turks his followers: but long he had not there reſted, but that the Tartars hearing thereof, purſued him, tooke him priſoner, and expulſed thence all his people. There was at the ſame time alſo another kingdome of the Turks at Nachan a citie in Perſia, giuing name vnto the countrey wherein it ſtood, not farre from Choraſan: wherein then raigned one *Solyman*, of the *Oguzian* familie, as had diuers other of his progenitours before him; who terrified with this dreadfull ſtorme ſo ſuddenly riſen out of the North, and warned by the ſudden fal of the *Selzuccian* Sultan & his kingdom, of far greater fame and power than himſelfe or his, fled alſo with ſuch his ſubiects as would follow him, into the leſſer Aſia. But of him and his proceedings more ſhall bee ſaid hereafter in the riſing of the victorious *Othoman* familie, as deſcended from him. After this, the Tartars together with their good fortune ſtill extending the bounds of their Empire, conquered Armenia the greater, with the countries of Colchis and Iberia: ſo that now their Empire was become of all others the greateſt and moſt flouriſhing. This great Conquerour the Tartar, had in his proud conceit purpoſed to haue ſubdued all Aſia, and to haue made the ſea the only bounder of his Empire: but ouercome with the delicacies of India, hauing diuided amongſt his people thoſe great prouinces and fruitfull countries, with the rich cities & pleaſant fields, he ſo reſted, embracing the manners and ſuperſtition of the people hee had ouercome. Long it were, and far from our purpoſe, to recount al the famous victories and conqueſts of this bare Northerne people: ſufficeth it to the Hiſtorie we haue in hand, that the Turks were by them then driuen out of Perſia, with the countries thereabouts, and their *Togran* kingdome (as they call it) firſt founded by *Tangrolipix*, there extinguiſhed, about the yere of our Lord 1202. The Turks thus driuen out of Perſia, and their kingdome ouerthrown, retired themſelues into the leſſer Aſia, poſſeſſed by the Turks their countrey men, long before brought thither by *Cutlu-Muſes* and his ſonnes, (as is before declared) and by them euer ſince in ſome part, though with diuers fortune holden. Where theſe Turks now arriued out of Perſia vnder the leading of *Aladin* the ſonne of *Kei-Huſren*, deſcended alſo of the *Selzuccian* familie in Perſia, and taking the opportunitie offered them by the mortall diſcord of the Latines with the Greekes, and the Greekes among themſelues, ſeiſed vpon Cilicia with the countries thereabouts, and there firſt at Sebaſtia, and afterward at Iconium, erected their new Kingdome; which of this *Aladin* is by the Turks called the Kingdome of the *Aladin* Kings, although their names were not all ſo.

Now about this time, and within the courſe of ſome few yeares after, ſuch great & ſtrange mutations happened in the Conſtantinopolitane Empire, as had not therein at any time before bin ſeen: whereby the whole eſtate of that great Empire, which ſometime commanded ouer a great part of the world, was almoſt vtterly ſubuerted, and a fit opportunitie giuen vnto the Turks & infidels for the ſure ſetling of themſelues, and eſtabliſhing of their kingdoms both in Syria and the leſſer Aſia: which briefly to run thorow ſhall not be from our purpoſe; their affaires proſpering by theſe troubles, and their proud & ſtately empire that now braueth all the reſt of the world, being raiſed out of the ruines of that Chriſtian Empire, & at this preſent triumphing euen in the ſame Imperial citie wherein theſe ſo great innouations hapned through

A the working of ambitious heads, to the lamentable ruine and deſtruction of a great part of the
Chriſtian Commonweale.

Alexius the young Prince craueth ayd of Philip the Emperour and the Latine Princes, againſt his Vncle the Vſurper.

Alexius the vſurper, but now Emperor, not contented (as is before declared) traiterouſly to
haue depriued *Iſaac* his elder brother of his empire and ſight together, ſought alſo after the
life of the yong Prince *Alexius* his brothers ſon, & heire apparant of the empire; who ſeeing
the villanie committed in the perſon of his father, ſaued himſelf by flight from the fury of his
vncle, and ſo accompanied with certaine great Lords of the Greeks his fathers friends, fled to
craue aid of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, whō the Grecians commonly cal the Latines.
And firſt he tooke his way to *Philip* the German Emperour, who had married *Ireue* his ſiſter,
the Emperor *Iſaacks* daughter, by whom he was moſt honorably receiued & entertained. This
B great ladie not a little moued with the miſerie of her father, and the flight of her brother, ceaſed
not moſt inſtantly to ſolicite the Emperor her husband, not to leaue vnreuenged ſo great a
villanie, by the example thereof dangerous vnto himſelfe and others of like maieſtie & ſtate.
She declared vnto him, what an execrable indignitie it was, to ſee her father the Emperor vnworthily
impriſoned, depriued of his empire & ſight, & of the ſocietie of men, by his brother
that had by him receiued & recouered his life, his light, & his liberty: and to ſee the heire apparant
of the Empire baniſhed by the wickednes of his vncle, to wander vp and down here and
there like a beggar: a great part of which diſgrace, as ſhee ſaid, redounded vnto herſelfe the
daughter of *Iſaac*, and ſiſter to the young wandring Prince, and to himſelfe alſo, the ſon in law
vnto the vnfortunate Emperor her father. Moreouer ſhe ſaid, that the murderer *Alexius* durſt
C neuer haue been ſo hardie as to commit ſo great and deteſtable a villanie, if he had not lightly
regarded & contemned the maieſtie of the ſaid *Philip*; whom if he had had in any reuerence
or honor, or at all feared, he durſt not haue attempted ſo villanous an act. This Greek lady, moued
with iuſt griefe, with theſe & ſuch like complaints ſo preuailed with her husband, that he
promiſed her to be in ſome part thereof reuenged; which hee could not for the preſent perform,
letted by the wars he then had with *Otho* his competitor of the empire. At the ſame time
it fortuned, that great preparations were making in France and Italy, and diuers other places of
Chriſtendome, for an expedition to be made againſt the Turks into the Holy land. The chief
men wherein were *Theobald* Countie of Champagne, (a man of great fame, & Generall of the
Chriſtian armie) *Boniface* Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders and Henault,
D & *Henry* his brother Earle of S. *Paul*, *Henry* Duke of Louain, *Gualter* Earle of Breame, with diuers
other noble gentlemen, which to name were tedious: vnto whom reſorted alſo many valiant
and deuout Chriſtians out of diuers parts of Chriſtendome, readie to haue ſpent their
liues in that ſo religious a war: ſo that now the number of them was great, and the army right
populous. But beeing thus aſſembled together, they thought it not beſt to take their way to
Conſtantinople, thorow Hungarie & Thrace, and ſo to paſſe ouer into Bythinia, for that the
Greekes had ſtil in all former times ſhewed great vncourteſie vnto the Latines, in paſſing with
their armies that way: and therefore they thought it much better now by the way of Italie to
take their journey by ſea into the Holy land; and for their tranſportation, eſpecially to vſe
the helpe of the Venetians, whom they found much the eaſier to be intreated, for that by the
E means of ſo great an army, they were in hope to ſcoure the Adriaticke (then much infeſted by
the Dalmatians) as alſo to recouer Iadera, with ſome other cities vpon the coaſt of Sclauonia,
before reuolted from their ſtate to the Hungarians, as indeed they afterward did. But by
the way as this army was marching out of France, & come into Piemont, the noble Countie of
Champagne General thereof, there fell ſicke & died, to the exceeding griefe & ſorrow of the
whole army: in whoſe ſtead, the Marques of Mont-Ferrat, a man of great nobilitie, & well acquainted
with the wars of the Eaſt, was choſen General. This great army, tranſported by the
Venetians into Sclauonia, tooke Iadera, with diuers other port townes along the ſea coaſt, and
hauing there done what the Venetians moſt deſired, was about againe to haue bin imbarkt for
Syria, & ſo into the Holy land. But the yong prince *Alexius* in the mean time had by himſelfe
F & the noble Grecians (fled with him for feare of the tyrant) ſo wrought the matter with the
Latin Princes of the Weſt, eſpecially with *Innocentius tertius* the Pope, with *Philip* the emperor
his brother in law, & *Philip* the French king, that they pittying his eſtate, & induced alſo with
ſome other conſiderations more proper to themſelues, tooke him as it were into their protection,
commending by letters & meſſengers for that purpoſe ſent vnto the army, (which they

Great preparations made by the Chriſtians, for an expedition into the Holy Land.

Alexius commeth vnto the Armie.

might command) the defence both of himſelfe and his cauſe: who with the commendation of three ſo great Princes, comming to the armie yet lying at Iadera(expecting but a faire wind to haue paſſed into Syria)was there of them al moſt honorably receiued, as the ſon of an Emperor, and as became one to them ſo highly commended. And he himſelf alſo, as one knowing his good, was not wanting vnto himſelfe, but recommended his perſon to their protection, as a poore exiled Prince in diſtreſſe; yet was hee of a liuely ſpirit, gratious in ſpeech, beautifull to behold, and very young, and withall fully inſtructed by the noble Grecians that were with him, in all things that might ſerue to further his purpoſe. And foraſmuch as this great Armie conſiſted of diuers nations, eſpecially of the French, Italians, & Venetians, not all to be by one mean moued; he fitted euery one with ſuch motiues as hee thought might beſt preuaile with them: Vnto the French hee promiſed to pay the great ſums of money they had borrowed of the Venetians for the furniſhing of themſelues in this war: Vnto the Venetians he promiſed recompence for all the iniuries they had ſuſtained by the late Conſtantinopolitan Emperors, eſpecially by the Emperor *Emanuel* (who for that they refuſed to aid him in his warres againſt *William* king of Sicilie, did in one day confiſcat al the goods of the Venetian merchants within his empire, of a great value; and afterwards contrary to the law of nations, ſhamefully entreated their embaſſadors ſent vnto him, amongſt whom was *Henry Dandulus*, now by fortune generall for the Venetians in the army: who moued as wel with the wrong in particular done vnto himſelfe, as with the common, deſired to be reuenged both of the one & the other; which although he could not haue of *Emanuel* himſelfe, being long before dead, yet was he ſtill deſirous to haue it of ſome one of the Greeke Emperors, whoſoeuer he were:) Vnto the Pope and the Italians, both he & the noblemen with him, had before promiſed, that the Greek Church ſhould euer acknowledge the ſupremacie of the Church of Rome, and from thenceforth ſubmit it ſelfe thereunto, as vnto the ſoueraign judge of al the Chriſtian Churches: which cauſed the Pope *Innocentius*, by letters, by legats, by embaſſadors, and by all other means poſſible, to further the cauſe of the yong Prince *Alexius*, ſo combined with his own; alledging the diuerſitie of opinions in matters of religion, betwixt the Greeks and the Latines, to haue beene the chiefe cauſe that the Mahometans had not beene long agoe by their vnited forces ſubdued, or vtterly rooted out. In briefe, the young Prince ſpared not to promiſe moſt bountifull rewards in generall, to all that ſhould take his part againſt his vncle the vſurping Emperor.

By this means, the deuout war taken in hand for the reliefe of the poore Chriſtians in Siria, was laid aſide, & the ſame forces that ſhould haue bin therein imployd, now conuerted againſt the Greeke empire, to the great weakning of that ſide of the Chriſtian commonweale, and aduantage of the common enemie; who might then eaſily haue beene oppreſſed, had hee with the vnited forces of the Chriſtians bin on this ſide charged home, as he was on the farther by the Tartars. The Grecian war thus reſolued vpon, it ſeemed beſt vnto the great Commanders of the armie, to march directly to Conſtantinople, as to the head of the Grecian ſtate, & place where the tyrant whom they ſought after was reſiant. In the meane time it was by them giuen out thorow all the Greeke cities which the Emperour had ſtrongly manned and fortified for the ſtaying of their paſſage, that their purpoſe was not to make war againſt the Grecians their friends, but only to reſtore their lawfull Emperour vnto his former ſtate and honor: And that foraſmuch as euery city and town in antient Greece had appointed rewards, and almoſt diuine honours vnto ſuch as had deliuered them from tyrants, they ſhould now more fauourably receiue & intreat them that came to reſtore vnto euerie citie, and to euery man in generall, their former libertie and honor. And ſo vpon the reſolution for Conſtantinople imbarking their armie, and paſſing thorow the Ionian ſea into the Ægeum, and ſo without let thorow the ſtraits of Heleſpontus into Propontis, and entring the ſtraits of Boſphorus Thracius, which diuide Europe from Aſia, they came to an anker euen in the face of the citie. In this fleet were two hundred and fortie ſaile of tall ſhips, ſixtie gallies, ſeuentie ſhips for burthen, and one hundred and twentie ſaile of Victuallers: which all together made a moſt braue ſhew, couering that ſtrait in ſuch ſort, as that it ſeemed rather a wood than a part of the ſea. Thus for a ſpace they lay facing the city, attending if happily vpon the comming and ſight of ſo great a fleet, and the report of ſo puiſſant an armie as the yong Prince *Alexius* had brought with him, any tumult or ſedition might ariſe in the Citie. But the warie Tyrant had ſo well prouided therefore before hand, that the Citiſens, although they in heart fauoured the young Prince, and wiſhed

A great fleet of the Latines before Conſtantinople.

A him well, yet durſt they not once moue or ſtirre in his quarrell. Whileſt the fleet thus lay, embaſſadors came from the Iſle of Creet, in two great gallies, with three banks of oars, yeelding vnto the yong prince that goodly iſland, with all the towns and cities therein: which he forthwith gaue vnto the Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, Generall of the armie, thereby to encourage the other great commanders of the armie to doe the vttermoſt of their deuoire, in hope of recompence and rewards anſwerable to their deſerts and valour.

The Latines by force enter the hauen of Conſtantinople.

Before the arriuall of this fleet, *Alexius* the Emperour had with a great chaine made faſt the entrance of the hauen betwixt Conſtantinople and Pera, and appointed twentie great gallies wel manned for the keeping therof: but a great gale of wind ariſing, the General ſent out the greateſt and ſtrongeſt ſhip in the fleet (of her greatnes and ſwiftnes called the Eagle) which
B with all her ſailes vp, carried with a full gale of wind, by maine force brake the chaine, and made a way for the reſt of the fleet to enter; which the Greekes in the gallies ſeeing, for feare fled, leauing the gallies for a ſpoile vnto the Venetians, by whom they were all taken, but not a man found in them. The hauen thus gained, *Theodorus Laſcaris* the Emperours ſon in law, was preſently ready vpon the ſhore with a ſelect companie of the braueſt gallants of the city and of the court, to haue hindered the Latines from landing; who running their ſhips a ground, landed with ſuch cheerfulnes and courage, and with ſuch haſt, that in one moment you might haue ſeene them leape out of their ſhips, take land, enter into the battell, and lay about them like mad men. This hot skirmiſh endured a great while, for that they were only footmen that ſuſtained this brunt, for the horſes could not ſo ſoone be landed, and the Greeks were brauely
C mounted. All this great fight the Conſtantinopolitanes beheld, with doubtfull hearts, expecting what ſhould bee the euent thereof. There were in the citie ſix thouſand of the flower of Greece, which brauely ſallying out, made the battel much more doubtfull; yet ſuch was the valour and reſolution of the Latines, that in fine the Greekes diſcomfited, were glad to retire themſelues againe into the citie, but with what loſſe, was not certainly knowne: eaſie it were to gueſſe, that it was right great, for that the old tyrant *Alexius* diſcouraged therewith, and doubtful of his owne eſtate, with *Theodorus Laſcaris* his ſon in law, and ſome few others of his truſtie friends (hard to be found in ſo dangerous a caſe) the next night following ſecretly fled out of the citie, carrying away with him a wonderfull maſſe of treaſure (which he againſt all ſuch euents had cauſed to bee ſecretly hidden by his daughter *Irene*, in a monaſterie of Nuns
D within the citie, whereof ſhe was the abbeſſe) and ſo ſaued himſelfe.

A hot skirmiſh betwixt the Greekes & the Latines at their landing.

Iſaac the old Emperor taken out of priſon, & againe ſaluted Emperor, together with yong Alexius his ſon.

The flight of the tyrant once bruted, the next morning the Conſtantinopolitans taking the old Emperor *Iſaac* out of priſon, ſaluted him againe for their Emperor, reioyſing greatly for his deliuerance and the ſafegard of his life: and after that opened the gates of the citie to the Latines, calling and ſaluting them by the names of the reuengers and ſauiours of the libertie of the Greekes, as alſo of the life and maieſtie of their Emperor: they requeſted them that they might ſee and ſalute *Alexius* their young Prince, whom they had ſo long deſired: and ſo was the citie of Conſtantinople, by the ſubmiſſion of the citizens, for that time ſaued from ſaccage and ſpoile. The old Emperor thus deliuered, and together with his ſon *Alexius* again placed in the imperiall ſeat, gaue the moſt hearty thanks that poſſibly he could vnto the Latine
E Princes, for that by their bounty, charity, and valour, the Greek empire had bin deliuered out of a long and miſerable ſeruitude: and for his own particular, that he had receiued of them ſo great good, that albeit his ſight could not be reſtored to him againe, neuertheleſſe he acknowledged his life, his liberty, his empire, his countrey, his ſon, to haue bin vnto him by them reſtored, and he likewiſe to them, for which their ſo great deſerts he could not (as he ſaid) render them condigne thanks, or deuiſe rewards or honors anſwerable to their demerits and valour: and that therefore he did ratifie and confirme whatſoeuer his ſon had before promiſed vnto them for his deliuerance: and not only that, but further promiſed, That if they were not therwith contented, he would of his owne bountie giue them better contentment, not meaning they ſhould goe diſcontented, that had ſaued his life, and otherwiſe ſo highly pleaſured him.
F Hereupon this good old Emperor began to conſult with his friends about the means whereby he might ſatisfie and content the Latines in ſuch things as the yong prince his ſon had vnto them promiſed. And to the intent that the citizens of Conſtantinople might the more willingly doe that hee was to command them, and the more cheerefully pay ſuch impoſitions as he was to lay vpon them, he intreated all the Latines to retire themſelues out of the citie into

their campe or about their ſhips, which they accordingly did. But the impoſition beeing ſet downe, and what euery man was to pay, ſeemed vnto the Greeks (as men of long accuſtomed to receiue tribute of others, and not to pay tribute to others) a matter moſt heauie and intollerable. In this very inſtant that this exaction was required, died the old Emperour *Iſaac*, who hauing of long beene kept in a darke and ſtinking priſon in continuall feare of death, and now deliuered and reſtored to his Empire, could not indure ſo ſudden and vnexpected a change, both of the aire and of his manner of liuing, but ſo ſuddenly died.

At this exaction impoſed for the contentment of the Latines, the light Conſtantinopolitans grieuouſly murmured and exclaimed, ſaying, That it was a villanous thing to ſee the Greeke empire ingaged and bound (by a yong boy) vnto a couetous and proud nation, and ſo to be ſpoyled and bare of coyne: That the great and rich Iſland of Crete lying in the midſt of the ſea, was by him giuen as a gift vnto the Latines: That the citie of Conſtantinople and the Greeke church, had by him beene enforced and conſtrained to yeeld vnto the See of Rome, to receiue the opinions of the Latine church, to ſubmit it ſelfe vnto the obeyſance of old Rome, from whence it had once happily departed euer ſince the time that the empire was by *Conſtantine* the Great tranſlated thence to them. Thus euery one ſaid for himſelfe in particular: thus all men ſaid in generall. And therof the noble men in their aſſemblies, and the vulgar people in their meetings, grieuouſly complained: whereupon a great ſedition and tumult was raiſed in the city. Some preſently tooke vp armes, and the common people all enraged ran furiouſly diſordered vnto the palace, with a purpoſe to haue committed ſome great outrage vpon the perſon of the yong emperor *Alexius*: who in that ſo ſudden an inſurrection, as might well haue troubled a right conſtant man, without longer ſtay reſolued vpon a moſt wholſome and neceſſarie point for the appeaſing of the peoples furie; vnto whom (aſſembled in a wonderfull multitude) he ſhewed himſelfe from aboue in his palace, promiſing them to remain in their power, and not from thenceforth to doe any thing without their aduice and liking, but wholy to depend vpon them: with which good words the people held themſelues well content, and ſo was the tumult for that time appeaſed. But forthwith the young emperor conſidering the iniury done vnto him, began to burn with the deſire of reuenge and to change his purpoſe. He could not together ſatisfie the citizens and the Latines: for if he would keepe his promiſe with the Latines, he muſt of neceſſitie offend his owne people; neither was there any means to be found to ſatisfie both the one and the other. But thinking himſelfe more bound to keep his promiſe with the Latines, whoſe forces he knew not how to withſtand, he ſent ſecretly to requeſt the Marques of Mont-Ferrat, General of the armie, to ſend him about midnight certaine companies of ſoldiers vnto the citie, aſſuring him to receiue them in by a gate neere vnto the palace, which ſhould bee opened vnto them by certaine of his truſtie ſeruants there left for that purpoſe. Of this plot *Alexius Ducas* (of his bittle browes ſurnamed *Murzufle*, whom of a baſe fellow the Emperor *Iſaac* had promoted vnto the greateſt honors of the court) was not ignorant, who being a man of an aſpiring mind, and in thoſe troubleſome times hauing long thirſted after the Empire, tooke now this occaſion to worke vpon.

Alexis ſeeketh to bring the Latines againe into the citie.

The Conſtantinopolitans again in an vprore.

The night following, he by his agents, men inſtructed for the purpoſe, raiſed a tumult in the citie, not inferiour vnto that which had hapned the day before: and at the ſame inſtant, as if he had had nothing to do in the matter, came ſuddenly to the yong Emperor in the dead time of the night (which he might at all times do, by reaſon of the great confidence the Emperor had in him) and with a ſad countenance told him, That the people were vp again in an vprore, and eſpecially they of his guard, & that they were comming toward him to do him ſome violence for the loue he bare vnto the Latines. With which vnexpected news the yong Emperor terrified, demanded of him as of his moſt faithfull counſellor, What were beſt in that caſe for him to do? Who preſently embracing him in his night gown, led him out by a ſecret doore into a tent he had of his owne in the court, as if he would there haue kept him ſafe: but far was that from his traiterous thoughts; who departing from him, as if he had gone to appeaſe the tumult, had before taken order, that he ſhould preſently after his departure, be caſt into bonds, & ſo be clapt vp into a cloſe ſtinking priſon: which done, the falſe traitor openly ſhewing himſelfe made an oration to the people, wherin he ſhewed himſelf to haue great compaſſion of the Greek empire, & of the Greeks his countrymen themſelues, ſpecially in that they were gouerned by a youth vnfit for the gouernment, who ſuffred himſelf to be miſſ-led according to the

pleaſure

A pleaſure of the Latines. And that it was high time for the citie of Conſtantinople, the ſeat of the Greeke empire, to looke about it, and to haue an eye vnto it ſelfe, ſith it was betraied and ſold by them which ought to preſerue and keepe the ſame: that they had now need of a man that loued his country and countrymen, before that which yet remained of the Græcian name were vtterly extinguiſhed by the Latines.

This his ſpeech, fitted of purpoſe vnto the humour of the ſeditious, was receiued with the great outcrie and applauſe of the windie headed people. Some cried out, that hee, and none but hee, was to bee made chiefe of the common weale that was by them to bee eſtabliſhed: otherſome cried as loud to haue him made generall of the armies and forces of the ſtate: but the greateſt crie was to haue him choſen and created Emperour; whereunto the reſt giuing B place, he was by the generall conſent of the tumultuous people, without longer ſtay, choſen and proclaimed Emperour.

Murzufle attempteth to burne the Venetian fleet.

Alexius the traitour, by no lawfull election or rightfull ſucceſſion, but only by the fury of the tumultuous people, thus created Emperour; was of nothing more carefull than how to breake the forces of the Latines, of whom only he now ſtood in dread. And therfore to begin withall, hee firſt attempted by certaine gallies filled with pitch, flax, brimſtone, and ſuch like matter apt to take fire, to haue burnt the Venetian fleet: which gallies ſo ſet on fire & carried with a faire gale of wind among the fleet, had bin like enough to haue done great harm, had it not by the warineſſe of the Venetians bin preuented: who being good ſea men, and not vnacquainted with ſuch deuiſes, eaſily & without danger auoided the ſame, by keeping themſelues C aloofe one from another in the ſea. This finenes ſorting to no purpoſe, he to color the matter ſent certaine meſſengers to the Generall, and other commanders of the army, to giue them to vnderſtand that that which was done for the firing of the fleet, had bin done without his priuity, by the malice of the tumultuous people, and that for his part he would be glad of their fauor and friendſhip, aſſuring them likewiſe of his, and promiſing them to aid them both with men and mony, and whatſoeuer els they ſhould haue need of in their wars againſt the infidels. Wherunto an anſwer was giuen by *Dandulus* the Venetian generall, that he would beleeue it, when *Alexis* the ſon of the Emperor *Iſaac*, whom the Latines had placed in the empire, ſhould aſſure them thereof, and intreat for the people, vpon whom the fault of that outrage was laid: which anſwer the more moued the traiterous tyrant, to rid himſelfe cleane of the feare of the D yong prince, by taking him out of the way; to the intent to hinder the people of the hope and great deſire they had to grow to ſome peace with the Latins, by taking him out of priſon, and receiuing him againe for their Emperor: For the people (by nature mutable, and not deſirous of the good of themſelues, but according to the occurrents preſent, without any great regard of that they had already done, or ought to haue done) began now to repent themſelues of that they had done againſt the yong Emperor *Alexis* in the fauor of the tirant, and commonly ſaid, That they muſt find ſome meanes, whatſoeuer it were, to remedie their fault together with their troubles. Wherefore *Murzufle* fearing the ſudden mutation of the people, with his own hands moſt villanouſly ſtrangled the young Prince *Alexis* in priſon, hauing as yet not raigned much aboue ſix moneths, and immediatly after cauſed it to be bruited abroad, That the ſaid E young prince deſpairing of his eſtate, had as a man deſperat hanged himſelfe.

Murzufle encourageth his ſouldiers.

The tyrant in vain hauing thus attempted the burning of the fleet, & ſtill fearing the reuenging ſword of the Latines, reſolued now by plain force to meet them in the field, and there to dare them battel. So hauing made ready and armed the whole ſtrength of the imperiall citie, he with cheerefull ſpeech encouraged his ſoldiers, requeſting them valiantly to maintain and defend their country of Greece, the monuments of their fathers, the glorie of their anceſtors, their preſent honor, and the future hope of their poſteritie: that hauing before their eyes the wals of their citie, within which they were borne, nouriſhed, and brought vp in hope of great matters, they would haue pitie and compaſſion of their temples, their wiues, their children, and in no caſe to ſuffer them to fall again into ſo miſerable & wretched a ſeruitude, but rather F to die a thouſand deaths. And the more to grace this his enterpriſe taken in hand for the defence of his country (as he would haue the world to beleeue it) with the colour of a ſuperſtitious deuotion alſo, he cauſed the Prieſts in their eccleſiaſtick attire and ornaments, to march forth in the armie, with an enſigne, hauing in it diſplayed the picture of the virgin *Marie*. So couragiouſly marching forward, hee firſt charged that quarter of the campe where *Baldwin*

Conſtantinople hardly beſieged.

Conſtantinople et on fire.

the Countie of Flanders lay, where at the firſt was fought a right fierce and doubtfull battell. G But afterward the alarum running throughout all the campe of the Latines, and new ſupplies comming in on euery ſide, the Greeks were put to the worſe, and inforced againe to retire into the city, hauing loſt a great number of men, together with their ſuperſtitious enſigne. It was a wonderfull thing to ſee, with what rare agreement the Latines, being of diuers nations, continued this expedition vndertaken againſt the Greekes. Seuentie two daies was this City of Conſtantinople ſtraightly beſieged by the Latines both by ſea and land, without giuing any time of reſt or repoſe day or night to the beſieged, freſh men comming ſtill on to the aſſault, as the other fell off, and in ſuch ſort troubled the Greekes in the citie, that they knew not well what to do or which way to turne themſelues. The Venetians vnto whom was committed the charge to aſſault that ſide of the citie which was toward the hauen, vpon two great gallies H made faſt together, built a ſtrong tower of wood, higher than the wals and rampiars of the town, out of which they both with ſhot and fireworks much troubled the defendants, wherwith they in the time of the aſſault approaching the wal, by their fine deuices fired that ſide of the citie: by the rage whereof, a great number of houſes were burnt, with many other ſtately buildings and ancient monuments of that famous citie: and had at that preſent gained a great tower neere vnto the port, deſtitute of defenders, had not the tyrant himſelfe in good time come with new ſupplies to the reſcue thereof. In like manner, the French, with the reſt, aſſayled the other ſide of the citie by land, where they were to fight not againſt the defendants only, but againſt deep ditches, high and ſtrong wals, and bulwarks alſo: neuertheleſſe, ſuch was the valour and furie of the Latines, with the deſire of victorie, as that they were not with any I difficulties to bee diſmaied; but preſſing ſtill on, by a thouſand dangers, at length after a moſt ſharpe aſſault, they gained one of the greateſt baſtilions on that ſide of the city, called the Angels tower, and ſo by plain force opened a way both for themſelues and the reſt into the city. Whereof *Alexius* vnderſtanding, and ſtrucke with preſent deſpaire both of his ſtate and life, the night now comming on, fled with *Euphroſina* the Emperour *Alexius* his wife, and *Eudocia* her daughter, whom he had married when he had raigned about a moneth and ſixteene daies.

The tyrant, author of all this miſchiefe, and of the calamities enſuing, thus fled, and the Latins furiouſly entring; the Prieſts and religious men in their ſurplices, and other eccleſiaſtick ornaments with their croſſes and banners (as in ſolemne proceſſion) met the Latins, and falling downe at the ſoldiers feet, with flouds of teares aboundantly running down their heauy countenances, K beſought them, but ſpecially the captains and commanders, to remember the condition of wordly things, and contenting themſelues with the victory, the glorie, the honour, the empire, the immortality of their name, to abſtain from ſlaughter, from burning, from ſpoiling & ranſacking of ſo beautifull a city: and that ſeeing they were themſelues men, they would alſo haue pitie of men: and being themſelues captains and ſoldiers, they ſhould alſo haue compaſſion vpon captains and ſouldiers; who although they were not ſo valiant and fortunate as they were, yet neuertheles were both captains and ſouldiers: and that they would keepe and preſerue their city, whereof (if they ruinated it not) they might haue much more pleaſure and commodity, than if they ſhould deſtroy the ſame, which as it had bin the principall ſeat of the Greek empire, ſo might it now be of the Latines: That ſeeing they had thereof a carefull regard, L as then belonging to another man, they ought now vpon better reaſon to haue more care therof, being their own: That the authors of all thoſe troubles and miſchiefes, *Alexius* the elder, and *Murzufle*, had already receiued a reward anſwerable to their follies, in that they were driuen into exile: That they would haue pity and compaſſion of an innocent and vnfortunate multitude of poore people, oppreſſed and grieuouſly tormented with the often tyrannies of their murderous lords and gouernors: That in ſo doing, God the Lord of hoſts, the giuer and guider of battels, the God of mercy, would therfore reward them: To conclude, they humbly beſought them to pardon their citizens, to put on the hearts of gracious & merciful lords and fathers, not of enemies and rough maſters, of forgiuers, not of reuengers; and to vnderſtand by their tears, their miſerable eſtate and woes paſſed. With this ſo humble a ſubmiſſion and complaint M of the religious, ſome of the better ſort were happily moued: but with the common ſoldiers, breathing nothing but victory, with their weapons in their hands, & the ſpoile of an empire in their power, what auailed praiers or teares? Euery man fel to the ſpoile, and in ſo great choice & liberty of al things, fitted his own diſordred appetite, without reſpect of the wrong

A or iniurie done to others: onely from the effuſion of innocent bloud they abſtained; they whoſe liues they ſought after, being already fled, together with the tyrant. Other iniuries and outrages (ſo great, as that greater none could be) were in euery place ſo rife, that euery ſtreet, euery lane, euery corner of the citie was filled with mourning and heauineſſe. There might a man haue ſeene noble men earſt of great honor, and reuerend for their hoarie haires, with other citizens of great wealth, thruſt out of all they had, walking vp and downe the citie weeping and wringing their hands, as men forlorn, knowing not where to ſhroud their heads. Neither ſtaied the greedie rage of the inſolent ſoldiers within the wals of mens priuate houſes, but brake out into the ſtately palaces, temples, and churches of the Greekes alſo, where al was good prize, and nothing dedicated to the ſeruice of God, left vnpolluted and defaced, no B place vnſought, no corner vnrifled: right lamentable and almoſt incredible it were to report all the miſeries of that time. Some of the Greeke Hiſtoriographers, men of great marke and place, and themſelues eye-witneſſes and partakers of thoſe euils, haue by their writings complained to all poſteritie, of the inſolencie of the Latines at the winning of the citie, to their eternall diſhonor: but that diſordered ſouldiers in all ages in the libertie of their inſolent victorie, haue done ſuch outrages, as honeſt minds abhorre to think vpon. Thus Conſtantinople the moſt famous citie of the Eaſt, the ſeat and glory of the Greeke empire, by the miſerable ambition and diſſention of the Greekes for ſoueraigntie, fell into the hands of the Latines, the twelfth of Aprill, in the yeare 1204, or after the account of others, 1200.

Nicetas Choniates, annalium, fol. 180.

1204

Conſtantinople thus taken, and the tyrants put to flight, the Princes and great commanders C of the armie held a counſell, to conſider what were beſt to bee done concerning the citie and the new gained empire: for after ſo great a victorie, they thought it not good to raſe ſo ancient and important a citie, ſeated as it were a watch-tower vpon the theatre of the world, ouerlooking both Aſia and Europe from the one to the other, as an eye of the vniuerſall, and ſo commodiouſly planted, as was no other city of the world, for the keeping vnder of the enemies of the Chriſtian Religion: but that it were much better to place there a Latin gouernor, to eſtabliſh there the Latine lawes and cuſtomes, and to vnite the Greeke church as a member vnto the Church of Rome. In which conſultation, ſome were of opinion, not to haue any moe Emperours in Chriſtendome but one, and therefore to make choice of *Philip* the Germane Emperour, authour of this warre, whoſe wife *Irene* was the onely daughter and heire of D the late Emperour *Iſaac Angelus*, vnto whom by all right the inheritance of her fathers empire belonged. But the greater part, conſidering that the troubled affairs of Greece, in ſo great a change and newneſſe of the empire, had need of the perſonall preſence of a Prince, thought it better to make choice of one among themſelues, who there ſtill reſiant in that place, might at all times giue aid vnto the Latines in their ſacred warres, taken in hand againſt the infidels: which opinion as the better, was approued of them all. The chiefe men in this election of the new Emperour, were *Baldwin* Countie of Flaunders and Hainault, *Henrie* his brother, *Lewis* Countie of Bloys, *Symon de Montfort*, *Iohn de Dammartin*, *Gualter de Brienne*, *Hugh* Countie of S. *Paul*, *Iohn* Countie of Brenne, *Boniface* Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, *Stephen* Countie of Perch, and fiue gentlemen of Venice: vnto whome alſo were ioyned two Bi- E ſhops of Syria, the one of Bethlem, the other of Ptolemais, who had oftentimes come to the campe of the Latines, to ſtirre them vp for the taking in hand the ſacred warre in Syria; with two Biſhops of France alſo, namely of Soiſſon and Troy in Champagne, and the Abbot of Lemely. Theſe great Lords and Prelates aſſembled into the Church of the holy Apoſtles, after they had there with great deuotion craued of God to inſpire them with his ſpirit for the choice of a good and iuſt Prince fit for ſo great a charge; with one conſent made choice of *Baldwin* Countie of Flaunders and Haynault, for Emperour of Greece: a braue and valiant Prince, about two and thirtie yeares old, who was afterward the ſixteenth day of May in the yeare 1204 (or after the computation of others, in the yeare 1205) in the great Temple of S. *Sophia* ſolemnly crowned by *Thomas Maurocenus* a Venetian, firſt Patriarch F of the Latines in Conſtantinople. From which time the Greeke Church in Conſtantinople began to receiue the rites and ceremonies of the Latines, and to acknowledge the ſupremacie of the Church of Rome.

It was not long after that Conſtantinople was thus taken by the Latines, but that they diuiding their forces without any reſiſtance, tooke in the moſt part of the great countries

The Greeke empire diuided amongſt the Latines.

and prouinces on Europe ſide, belonging to the Greeke empire in the time of *Iſaac Angelus* G the late Emperour: the fortune of the whole empire, as it were following the fortune of the imperiall citie. Which large countries ſo gained from the Greeks, the Latins diuided amongſt themſelues, as good prize taken from their enemies. Vnto *Baldwin* the emperor and his ſucceſſors in the empire, was aſſigned the imperiall Citie of Conſtantinople, and the countrey of Thracia, with a limited ſoueraigntie ouer all the reſt of the prouinces by the Latines alreadie or afterwards to be gained. Vnto the Venetians in this diuiſion of the empire, was allotted for their ſhare all the rich Iſlands of the Ægeum, and Ionian, with the famous Iſland of Candie alſo; which although it were before by the youug Emperour *Alexis* in the beginning of theſe warres, giuen vnto the Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, yet in this diuiſion of the empire, it was taken from him (not without his good liking) and giuen to the Venetians, as for them H more fit: in ſtead and lieu whereof, the Marqueſſe had the citie of Theſſalonica with all the kingdome of Theſſalie, and a great part of Peloponeſus aſſigned vnto him, with the Royall title of a King. Of the aforeſaid Iſlands (in number many and exceeding rich) the Venetians in the name of the ſtate, fortified ſome few of the greateſt with conuenient garriſons, the reſt they left to bee poſſeſſed and defended by the better ſort of the citizens at their priuate coſt and charges; who according to their abilitie, tooke into their poſſeſſion, ſome one Iſland, ſome another, and ſome two or three, one, as they were able to ſet out their gallies, one, two, or moe, for the keeping of the ſame: ouer all which, the ſeigniorie neuertheleſſe had a generall care, ſtill keeping a fleet with one of their Admirals at ſea: by whom they not onely repreſſed the Genoa pirats then buſie in thoſe ſeas, but alſo tooke in certaine ſtrong townes in I the maine vpon the coaſt of Peloponeſus, namely Modon and Corone; all which they of long time after held as a part of their ſeigniorie. Some other particular places, yet parts alſo of the empire, were giuen vnto particular men: as the dukedom of Athens vnto one *Geffrey* of Troy in Champaigne, a French man, a valiant Captaine, whom they alſo made Prince of Achaia: Another Dukedome was alſo giuen to the Countie of Bloys; as were diuers other countries and townes alſo vnto other more priuate men: who neuertheleſſe were bound to hold the ſame of the Emperor, as of their Lord, and to pay him yerely a fourth part of the reuenue ariſing thereof, towards the maintenance of his ſtate. Yea the Greekes themſelues in this ſhipwracke of their ſtate and empire, although they diſdained nothing more than the ſtrange gouernment of the Latines, yet could they not be perſuaded to ioyne together in ſo common K a calamitie, but after their wonted manner ſought euery man how to ſhare out ſomething for himſelfe, without regard of the common good: one ſeized vpon one ſtrong towne or citie, and ſo likewiſe another; which for all that they held not long, driuen thence for the moſt part by a greater power, either of the Latines, or of their owne countreymen.

The man whom the diſcontented Greekes moſt looked after, was *Theodorus Laſcaris*, the Emperour *Alexius Angelus* his ſonne in law; who at the taking of the citie, fled to Adrianople, and afterward into Bythinia, where hee was of the people, not of that countrie onely, but of others alſo farther off, ioyfully receiued and honoured as their Emperour. So taking into his hands the countries of Bythinia, Phrygia, Miſſia, Ionia, and Lydia, euen from the windings of the famous riuer Mæander Southward, vnto the Euxine Sea Northward, hee with L the generall good liking of the people, tooke vpon him the eſtate of an Emperour, and ſo in the renowned citie of Nice made the ſeat of his empire. At the ſame time alſo *Dauid*, and *Alexius Comneni*, the nephewes of the tyrant *Andronicus* (ſometime Emperour of Conſtantinople) by his ſonne *Manuel*, poſſeſſing the more Eaſterne countries of Pontus, Galatia, and Capadocia, erected vnto themſelues another empire in Trapezond, where their poſteritie of the honourable houſe of the *Comneni* raigned in great glorie many yeares after, vntill their empire, together with the empire of Conſtantinople, was by the great Emperour of the Turkes, *Mahomet* the ſecond, ſubuerted and brought to nought, as ſhall afterward in due time and place be declared. Thus the Greek empire expoſed (as it were) to the general ſpoile, was no longer one, but many empires: *Baldwin* raigning in Conſtantinople, the Marqueſſe M of Mont-Ferrat in Theſſalie, *Theodorus Laſcaris* at Nice, *Alexius Comnenus* in Trapezond, and the Venetians in the Iſlands, all in royall dignitie. Beſides whome were many other leſſer Princes, which had heere and there according to their abilitie ſeized vpon ſome one or other part of the Empire, and there erected their Toparchies, raigning therein as

The beginning of the empire of Trapezond by the Comneni.

petty

A pettie Kings: as did *Aldebrandinus* in Attalia,*Michael Angelus* in Epirus,with diuers others too long to rehearſe.

Hadrianople beſieged by the Emperor Baldwin.

Baldwin (as is aforeſaid) created Emperor of Conſtantinople, by the helpe of the Venetian Admirall *Dandulus*, and other great commanders of the Armie, in ſhort time brought vnder his obeiſance all the cities of Thracia,excepting the citie of Adrianople, whereunto the better ſort of the diſcontented Greeks,together with *Theodorus Laſcaris* (diſdaining the gouernment of the Latines) were fled,as vnto a moſt ſafe ſanctuarie: which *Baldwin* knowing, and withal deſiring whileſt yet he had his friends about him,to ſet his new Empire in ſome good ſtay,without farther delay came and laid hard ſiege to the ſame. Now the Greekes generally euill entreated by the Latines,and grieued to be gouerned by them, were ſome of them fled B into other their neighbour Princes countries, but eſpecially into Bulgaria, otherwiſe called Miſia,a large kingdome, lying betwixt the great mountaine Æmus, and Danubius: by whoſe perſuaſion,*Iohn* King of that country,aided by the Scythians, (a fierce Northerne people, but lately come into thoſe quarters) and by the fugitiue Greeks themſelues, tooke vpon him to relieue the beſieged citie: and ſo with a great armie approching the ſame,ſent before certaine troups of the Scythian Archers on horſebacke,to fetch in ſuch bootie of horſes or cattell as they ſhould find neere vnto the Emperors campe; and withall commanded them, that being charged by the Imperials,they ſhould forthwith retire,ſo to draw them out of their trenches, into the place where the King with the greateſt part of his armie lay couertly to intrap them: Which the Scythians (well acquainted with ſuch ſeruice) ſo well performed vnder the leading of one C *Cozas* their Generall, that hauing once or twice drawne their enemies vnto ſome light skirmiſhes,and ſo retyring,and ere long againe with a greater number returning, they at length cunningly drew the Emperor with all his armie,in hope to do ſome great matter vpon them,euen as they wiſhed, into the place whereas the King with his armie lay in wait among the woods and mountaines for them; where they,wearied and out of breath with the former purſuit,& now on euery ſide beſet with freſh enemies,were ouerthrowne with a great ſlaughter. In which conflict to increaſe the loſſe,*Baldwin* the Emperour himſelfe was taken and ſent priſoner in bonds to Ternoua; where afterwards by the commandment of the barbarous king he was moſt cruelly put to death,hauing his hands and feet cut off, & ſo diſmembred was caſt out into a deepe valley,where hee yet lay miſerably breathing three dayes after, and ſo died; D leauing his bodie as fortunes ſcorne, for a prey vnto the wild beaſts and birds of the aire, no man vouchſafing to burie it. Thus periſhed this worthie Prince, for his vertues commended euen of the Greeks themſelues,being about the age of three and thirtie yeres, and not hauing raigned yet a full yeare,in the yere of our Lord 1206.

1206.

The victorie thus gained,and the citie relieued,the barbarous King with his ſauage ſouldidiers hauing taſted the wealth of the Latines ouerthrowne in the late battel, and the pleaſures of Thracia now ſubiect to their luſt; greedily purſued their good fortune, without reſpect of all humanitie: the open country they ouerran,ſpoiling whatſoeuer came to hand,the rich and famous cities they rifled,and afterward raſed them down to the ground; namely Serræ,Philippopolis, Apri,Rhedeſtum,Perinthus,Daonium,Arcadiopolis,Meſena,Zurulus,& Athyra: E the citiſens & country people fled into the cities for refuge, they put al to the ſword,without reſpect of age,ſex,or condition,except ſome few, whom they carried away with them priſoners; ſo that of all the prouinces of that rent and ruinated empire,the country of Thrace was moſt miſerable,as firſt ſpoyled by the Latines, and now layd deſolate by the Bulgarians and Scythians. Only ſome few of the ſtrongeſt cities,as Didymotichum and Adrianople (valiantly defended by the Greeks and Latines) eſcaped this furie of the Barbarians, all the reſt that fell into their hands being layd waſt and deſolate.

Henry ſecond Emperor of the Latines in Conſtantinople.

In this ſo troubled a ſtate of the new erected Empire of the Latines in Conſtantinople, the Latines made choice of *Henrie* the late Emperor *Baldwins* brother,as of all others the fitteſt to ſucceed him in the Empire: who aided by the Marqueſſe,now King of Theſſalie,& the other F Latine Princes,notably repulſed the Barbarians,and left them not vntill that at length he had recouered from them all ſuch townes and cities as they had before taken, and driuen them quite out of the countrie,and ſo well eſtabliſhed himſelfe in his new Empire.

But to leaue this diſmembred empire,now in the hands of many,and to come neerer to our purpoſe: *Alexius Angelus* the vſurper, driuen out of the imperiall citie by the Latines, to ſaue

himſelfe, fled into Theſſalie, & from thence vnto *Leo Scurus* (then a man of great fame among G
the Greekes) who tyranniſing at Nauplus, as had his father before him, was in theſe trouble-
ſome times growne greater, by ſurpriſing of the two famous cities of Argos and Corinth: by
whoſe meanes he cunningly entrapped *Alexius Ducas*, ſyrnamed *Murtzufle*, the traitour, and for
a ſecret grudge not commonly knowne, put out his eyes: himſelfe an exiled man, being a moſt
heauie enemie vnto the other alſo exiled; and himſelfe thruſt out of the Empire, a deadly foe
vnto the other, oppreſſed with the like calamitie. Shortly after which loſſe of his ſight he was
by chance taken by the Latines, and ſo brought backe to Conſtantinople, where hee was for
murdring the yong Emperor *Alexius*, worthily condemned vnto a ſtrange and horrible kinde
of death; for, caſt off from an high tower, and tumbling heeles ouer head downward, hee was
with the waight of himſelfe, and violence of the fall, cruſhed all to pieces, and ſo miſerably H
died, a death too good for ſuch a traitor. Not long after it fortuned alſo, that *Alexius* himſelfe
wandering vp and down in Thracia, was by the Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, going againſt *Scu-
rus*, taken and ſtript of his great treaſure, and whatſoeuer elſe hee had; and ſo ſent away naked,
long time after in beggars eſtate wandred about in Achaia and Peloponeſus, now farre vnlike
that *Alexius* which ſometime proudly raigned in Conſtantinople: but ſuch is the aſſurance of
euill gotten honour. He hearing that *Theodorus Laſcaris* his ſonne in law raigned in Aſia, and
there held the ſtate of an Emperour, reioyced not thereat as a kind father in law, but inwardly
grieued thereat as an enemie, ſorrie that any other but himſelfe ſhould be honoured with the
title of the Greeke Emperour: in which malicious humor he ſailing out of Greece into Aſia
ouer the Ægeum, came ſecretly vnto the Turks Sultan *Iathatines* his old acquaintance, then ly- I
ing at Attalia, (which famous citie he had not long before taken from the Chriſtians) vnto
whom he declared his heauie eſtate, and how his empire had been rent from him, as well by
the Greekes as the Latines; requeſting, that by his meanes hee might be reſtored againe into
ſome part thereof, eſpecially that in the leſſer Aſia, which was by *Theodorus Laſcaris*, toge-
ther with the honour of the Greeke Emperor, vniuſtly (as he ſaid) detayned from him. This
Iathatines, now Sultan of Iconium, was the yonger ſonne of Sultan *Aladin*; who not long ſur-
uiuing his father *Cai-Choſroe*, left his kingdome vnto his two ſonnes *Azadin* and *Iaſſadin*, of the
Greekes called *Azatines* and *Iathatines*: where long it was not, but that theſe two bretheren
falling out for the ſoueraigntie, (which admitteth no equalitie) *Iathatines* was by *Azatines* his
elder brother driuen into exile, and for the ſafegard of his life glad to flie vnto this *Alexius*, K
then raigning at Conſtantinople, by whom he was honorably entertained, and as ſome write,
conuerted and baptiſed. But *Azatines* the Sultan ſhortly after dying, this *Iathatines* returning
home again, and renouncing the Chriſtian Religion, was by the Turks receiued for their Sul-
tan: of whom the Emperour *Alexius* in like extremitie now craueth aid. The Sultan not for-
getfull of his owne troubles before paſſed, or of the kindneſſe he had receiued, and mooued
with the pittifull complaint of his old friend, together with his large offers, beſides that hee
was in hope to ſhare out ſome good part of whatſoeuer he got, for himſelfe; tooke him into
his protection, and forthwith ſent Embaſſadours to *Laſcaris*, threatning vnto him all extremi-
ties, except he did forthwith giue place vnto *Alexius* his father in law, vnto whom, as vnto the
Greeke Emperor, thoſe countries which were by *him* poſſeſſed, of right (as he ſaid) appertai- L
ned. With which vnexpected meſſage *Theodorus* was not a little troubled, as fearing both the
Sultans power, and the *inclination* of the people to their old Emperor. Neuertheleſſe, hauing
propounded the matter in councel, and finding the minds of his ſubiects well affected towards
him, & a readines in them in his quarrell to aduenture their liues; he encouraged therewith,
accompanied only with two thouſand choice horſemen, together with the Sultans Embaſſa-
dor, without farther ſtay ſet forward to Philadelphia: the Sultan at the ſame time with *Alexi-
us*, (whom he carried with him as a bait to deceiue the people withall) and twentie thouſand
Turkes, beſieging the citie of Antioch, ſcituate vpon the winding bankes of the riuer Mean-
der. Which the Emperour *Theodorus* well vnderſtanding, and that the Sultan by gaining that
ſtrong citie (ſtanding vpon the paſſage of the great riuer, the bounder of his Empire) ſhould M
open a faire way for himſelfe into the heart of Romania Aſiatica, to the great hazard of his
whole Empire, reſolued with thoſe few he had, to doe what he might to relieue his Citie.
And ſo ſetting forward vpon the ſpurre, carrying nothing with him more than a little victu-
all; and now come neere vnto the Citie, ſent before the Sultans Embaſſador, following him

Antioch beſieged by Iathatines.

A at the heeles. Who comming to the Sultan, and telling him of the Emperors approch with ſo
ſmall a power, could hardly perſuade him that it was ſo, although hee bound it with many
oathes: yet at length perſuaded of the truth of the matter, and that indeed it was ſo, hee in
all haſt put his armie in the beſt order he could vpon ſuch a ſudden, but not to his beſt aduantage,
being hindred ſo to do by the ſtraitnes of the place wherein he lay. Of the two thouſand
ſelect horſemen in the Emperours armie, were eight hundred Italians, all moſt reſolute men,
who giuing the firſt charge, brake through the middeſt of the Sultans army, diſordering his
whole battell as they went; after whom followed alſo the Greeks, though not with like courage:
but thoſe Italian horſemen now diuided from the reſt, & in number but few, in comming
backe again, were by the diſordred Turks, ſome on horſebacke, ſome on foot, ſo beſet on euerie
B ſide, as that there was no way left for them to paſſe, but there valiantly fighting, were altogether
ſlaine, hauing both before and at the time of their death made ſuch a ſlaughter of the
Turkes, as is hardly to be beleeued to haue beene poſſible for ſo few men to haue made. The
Greeks alſo hardly laid to by the Turks, and diſcouraged by the ſlaughter of the Latins, were
euen vpon the point to haue fled: when as the Sultan, now almoſt in poſſeſſion of a certaine victory,
deſcrying the Greeke Emperor, and truſting to his own great ſtrength, ſingled him out,
beeing as readie as himſelfe to meet him; when as at the firſt encounter, the Sultan with his
horſemans maſe gaue him ſuch a blow vpon the head, as might haue killed a Bull, ſo that the
Emperour therewith aſtonied, fell downe from his horſe: who yet euen in the fall comming
ſomething againe vnto himſelfe, and although diſmounted, yet quickly recouering his feet,
C with his faulchion hoxed the hinder legs of the Mare whereon the Sultan rid, beeing a moſt
beautiful beaſt, & of a wonderfull height; which now ſuddenly faultring vnder him, and ſo the
Sultan tumbling down as from an high tower, before he could recouer himſelfe, had his head
cut off by the Emperor: which by and by put vpon a launce, and ſo holden vp, with the ſight
thereof ſo diſmayed the Turks, that ſtrucken with a ſudden feare, they preſently fled, leauing
the victorie vnto the Emperour, before more than halfe ouercome: who for all that, conſidering
his ſmall number, durſt no further purſue them, but entring the citie, gaue thankes to God
for ſo great a victorie. Vnto whom the Turkes ſhortly after ſent their Embaſſadors, and ſo vpon
ſuch reaſonable conditions as it pleaſed him to ſet downe, concluded with him a peace.
Alexius himſelfe author of theſe troubles, taken in this battell and carried to Nice, was by the
D Emperor his ſonne in law, notwithſtanding his euill deſerts, well intreated and vſed.

Iathatines the Sultan ſlaine by Theodorus Laſcaris the Greek Emperour.

Whileſt the Latins thus ſpend thoſe forces in ſubuerting of the Greek empire, which ſhould
haue bin imployed for the reliefe of the Chriſtians in Syria, and that the Greeke Emperour
Laſcaris was thus troubled with the Turks, the affairs of the Chriſtians in Syria and the Holy-land
grew ſtill worſe and worſe. Whereof the Knights Hoſpitalers and Templars (the chiefe
champions of the Chriſtian religion in thoſe countries) greatly blamed *Almericus* the king of
Cyprus, for that he being ſo neere at hand, and hauing married *Iſabella* the heire of that kingdome,
and ſo in her right taken vpon him the title of the King of Ieruſalem, gaue himſelfe
wholly to pleaſure, doing nothing for the defence or reliefe of the poore diſtreſſed Chriſtians,
or repreſſing of the Turks: who although they were yet in league with the Chriſtians there,
E and at ſome diſcord alſo among themſelues, yet ſpared not as occaſion ſerued, ſtill more and
more to encroach vpon them, & by building of new caſtles & fortreſſes to cut them ſhort. Of
al which things, the aforeſaid Knights by their embaſſadors certified Pope *Innocentius*, requeſting
his fatherly care for the remedy thereof: certifying him withal, that there was yet liuing
one *Mary*, the daughter of the Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, a ladie of rare beautie, whom they
as her tutors had brought vp in hope of the kingdome, & now were ready to beſtow her vpon
ſome ſuch man as he ſhould thinke worthie of her, together with the right ſhe had vnto the
kingdome. Hereupon *Innocentius* diſcharging *Almericus* of the title of the kingdome of Ieruſalem,
gaue it to *Iohn* Countie *de Brenne* of Daulphine in France, a man of great fame & valour,
then in armes with the other Latine Princes againſt the Greeks. Who now returning home,
F commended his earledome to his brother, and with ſuch power as as he was able to make, ſetting
forward, came firſt to Venice, where he was royally entertained: and from thence ſailing
to Conſtantinople, was with like honour receiued by the Emperor *Henry*, and ſo at length the
fiſt of September arriued at Ptolemais in Syria, where hee was with the great rejoycing and
applauſe of the people receiued as their King: And the laſt of the ſame moneth marrying

Iohn Brenne by Innocentius the Pope appoynted King of Ieruſalem.

the aforeſaid Ladie *Mary* at Tyre, was there together with her with a great ſolemnitie crowned G
King in the yere 1209. Which *Almericus* the old King of Cyprus hearing, ſhortly after
1209. died for griefe. Neither wanted this noble gentleman, thus honoured with the title of a Kingdome,
ſome that enuied at his promotion, and therefore commonly called him in deriſion, a
King, but ſtill with this addition, *Sans Ville*, that is to ſay, Without a Towne.

Now was the ten yeres peace, before taken betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians in Syria,
at the comming ouer of *Simon* Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat (as is before declared) almoſt expired:
which had not ſo much giuen to thoſe poore remnants of the Chriſtians ſome time of
reſt and breathing, as had the diſcord of the Turks among themſelues; which hauing for the
ſpace of nine yeres continued betwixt *Noradin* and *Saphadin* for the ſoueraigntie, was now by
the death of *Saphadin* ended. *Noradin* contenting himſelfe with the gouernement of Aleppo, H
and *Corradin* and *Meledin* the two ſonnes of *Saphadin*, diuiding their fathers kingdome betwixt
them, the one taking vnto himſelfe Damaſco and Syria, and the other the great kingdome of
Ægypt, but all enemies vnto the Chriſtians.

Corradin and Meledin diuide their fathers Kingdome betwixt them.

About this time alſo, or not long after, *Innocentius tertius* yet Pope, ſummoned a generall
Councel to Lateran, whereunto, beſides a multitude of great Biſhops, and other reuerend Prelats,
repaired alſo the honorable Embaſſadors of moſt of the Princes of Chriſtendome: vnto
whom ſo aſſembled, among other things was propounded the dangerous eſtate of the Chriſtians
in Syria, and how the ſame was by the helpe of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt to be relieued.
Whereunto all the Fathers & Princes there aſſembled eaſily gaue their conſent: and
thereupon were ſome appointed in euery countrey and prouince, to publiſh this decree of the I
Councel, for the reliefe of the oppreſſed Chriſtians, and to ſtir vp the deuout people for the
vndertaking of ſo religious a war. The chiefe furtherers of this ſacred expedition, to bee thus
taken in hand againſt the Infidels, were the Biſhops of Germany, eſpecially the three great
Biſhops of Mets, Cullen, and Triuers, whoſe example moued alſo many others, all which to
rehearſe were tedious. Out of France alſo were ſent *Henry* the Countie of Niuers, & one *Gualter*
the Kings great Chamberlain, with a great number of the gallant youths of France, and ſo
out of diuers other places alſo: ſo that at length ſuch a number of men were met together at
diuers ports of the Adriaticke, as made vp a fleet of two hundred ſaile; which with a proſperous
wind carried ouer into Syria, arriued in ſafetie at Ptolemais the chiefe citie of the Chriſtians,
now that Ieruſalem was loſt. After whom followed alſo *Andrew* King of Hungary, long K
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the King of Hungarie bathing himſelfe in the riuer, forthwith (as one diſcharged of his vow
and promiſe) returned with all his power vnto Ptolemais, and ſo from thence backe again into L
his country, all the reſt of the armie of the Chriſtians crying out to him to the contrarie:
who after the kings departure ſtill marching on, came to the mount Thabor. But ſhortly after,
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from whence they much troubled the Barbarians thereabouts all that Winter. Vpon the appearance
of the Spring, and the armie againe met together, it was thought beſt by all the great
commanders, that for ſo much as the kingdome of Ægypt was the chiefe maintenance of the
Mahometan ſuperſtition, againſt the Chriſtians in thoſe parts, and that ſo long as it ſtood vpright,
they ſhould not be able to do any great matter in Syria, to attempt the conqueſt thereof, M
as an exployt beſt beſeeming their valour, and ſo great preparation: for that that kingdome
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themſelues without more adoo ſtreightway yeeld vnto them. And for as much as the famous
Citie of Damiata, called in antient time Peluſium, not much inferiour vnto Alexandria,

A andria, was the firſt and moſt commodious port for their purpoſe, as neereſt vnto Syria; and
that by the taking thereof they ſhould haue a faire entrance into the great riuer Nilus, with
the command of a moſt rich and pleaſant countrey about it. They reſolued there to begin the
war: and thereupon embarking themſelues with all things neceſſary for ſo great an enterpriſe,
at Ptolemais, & carried with a faire wind, they in ſhort time arriued at the deſired port. Now
that rich and antient citie, the key of that ſide of the kingdome, ſtood about a mile from the
ſea, and ſomewhat diſtant alſo from the great riuer, enuironed with a nauigable ditch or Cut,
drawn out of the Nile, in manner of an Iſland, as a man commeth from Syria by land, & com-
paſſed about with three ſtrong ſtone walls, the worke of the good Emperour *Ælius Pertinax*,
and of him (as ſome affirme) called alſo Æliopolis. At the mouth of this cut, as you ſhould en-
B ter vnto the citie, ſtood a ſtrong Watch-tower for the defence thereof, and round about it a
number of faire houſes, in manner of a pretty town entrenched. Beſide that, for the more ſafe-
tie thereof, the ſame cut was barred with a great ſtrong yron chaine, in ſuch ſort, as that it was
not poſſible for any ſhip, without breaking of the ſame to enter. The Chriſtians with their
fleet entring the mouth of the riuer, & comming to this cut, by great ſtrength brake the chain:
but thinking ſo to haue made their paſſage vnto the city, they found a greater ſtay at the watch
tower, which ſtrongly built of ſquare ſtone, & wel ſtored with warlike engins of all ſorts, and
a good garriſon of valiant ſouldiers, ſtayed their further paſſage, ouerwhelming them as they
approched, with ſhot, fire, ſtones, timber, and ſuch like, before prouided for that purpoſe.

The ſcituation of Damiata in Ægypt.

The Chriſtians (after the manner of the fight of that time) had vpon certaine flat veſſels built
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they were not only troubled with the enemie, but with the tumult and ſtir of their owne peo-
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mor encouraging one another for the repulſing of the Chriſtians. So the ſoldiers hindred the
mariners to do their buſines, and the mariners the ſoldiers. In the midſt of this hurly-burly &
tumult, one of the wooden towers ſurmounting the reſt in height, ouercharged with the preſſe
of men, fel, and in falling made ſuch a noiſe, as if heauen it ſelfe had fallen: where in a moment
(as it were) was preſently to be ſeen a moſt heauy ſpectacle; many ouerwhelmed with the fal-
ling of the tower, lay there cruſhed to death; ſome grieuouſly hurt, & yet not dead, lay oppreſ-
D ſed with the timber, crying out for helpe; others bruiſed or hurt, but not ouerwhelmed, for
feare of further harme, leapt ſome into the Nile, ſome aboord the other ſhips neere by, ſome
crying out of his arm, ſome of his leg, ſome of his head or other part of his bodie, to the great
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to be diſcouraged with the accident of the fal of a tower, which was neither to be imputed to
their cowardiſe, or the valour of the enemie, but only to the chance of warre.

E In the mean time *Meledin* the Ægyptian Sultan, had with a great armie encamped himſelfe
within the ſight of Damiata, thereby to encourage the beſieged, and to fill them with hope of
reliefe; ſending them oftentimes by the riuer, newes, meſſages, victuals, ſoldiers, armour, and
whatſoeuer elſe they wanted. The chiefe cauſe of his ſtaying there, was to take occaſion for
the ſurpriſing of the Chriſtians, if any ſhould bee offred, either by chance, or their owne negli-
gence. Euery day ſome skirmiſh or other paſſed betwixt our men and the Barbarians, ours ſtill
carrying away the victorie: yet could theſe Barbarians neither be drawn forth to battell, nei-
ther could our men keep them from victuals, for as much as they had the riuer of Nile at com-
mand, whereby victualls were out of the vpper part of Ægypt in great aboundance conueigh-
ed into the Sultans campe: whereas on the contrary part, the ſame riuer diuiding it ſelfe into
F many armes, in ſome places here and there ouerflowing, in another cut into many ditches and
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the aforeſaid Ladie *Mary* at Tyre, was there together with her with a great ſolemnitie crowned G
King in the yere 1209. Which *Almericus* the old King of Cyprus hearing, ſhortly after
1209. died for griefe. Neither wanted this noble gentleman, thus honoured with the title of a Kingdome,
ſome that enuied at his promotion, and therefore commonly called him in deriſion, a
King, but ſtill with this addition, *Sans Ville*, that is to ſay, Without a Towne.

Corradin and Meledin diuide their fathers Kingdome betwixt them.

Now was the ten yeres peace, before taken betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians in Syria,
at the comming ouer of *Simon* Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat (as is before declared) almoſt expired:
which had not ſo much giuen to thoſe poore remnants of the Chriſtians ſome time of
reſt and breathing, as had the diſcord of the Turks among themſelues; which hauing for the
ſpace of nine yeres continued betwixt *Noradin* and *Saphadin* for the ſoueraigntie, was now by
the death of *Saphadin* ended. *Noradin* contenting himſelfe with the gouernement of Aleppo, H
and *Corradin* and *Meledin* the two ſonnes of *Saphadin*, diuiding their fathers kingdome betwixt
them, the one taking vnto himſelfe Damaſco and Syria, and the other the great kingdome of
Ægypt, but all enemies vnto the Chriſtians.

About this time alſo, or not long after, *Innocentius tertius* yet Pope, ſummoned a generall
Councel to Lateran, whereunto, beſides a multitude of great Biſhops, and other reuerend Prelats,
repaired alſo the honorable Embaſſadors of moſt of the Princes of Chriſtendome: vnto
whom ſo aſſembled, among other things was propounded the dangerous eſtate of the Chriſtians
in Syria, and how the ſame was by the helpe of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt to be relieued.
Whereunto all the Fathers & Princes there aſſembled eaſily gaue their conſent: and
thereupon were ſome appointed in euery countrey and prouince, to publiſh this decree of the I
Councel, for the reliefe of the oppreſſed Chriſtians, and to ſtir vp the deuout people for the
vndertaking of ſo religious a war. The chiefe furtherers of this ſacred expedition, to bee thus
taken in hand againſt the Infidels, were the Biſhops of Germany, eſpecially the three great
Biſhops of Mets, Cullen, and Triuers, whoſe example moued alſo many others, all which to
rehearſe were tedious. Out of France alſo were ſent *Henry* the Countie of Niuers, & one *Gualter*
the Kings great Chamberlain, with a great number of the gallant youths of France, and ſo
out of diuers other places alſo: ſo that at length ſuch a number of men were met together at
diuers ports of the Adriaticke, as made vp a fleet of two hundred ſaile; which with a proſperous
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Euery day ſome skirmiſh or other paſſed betwixt our men and the Barbarians, ours ſtill
carrying away the victorie: yet could theſe Barbarians neither be drawn forth to battell, neither
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tower, they brought the ſame neere vnto the Turks tower, & the ſuburbs adioining thereun- G
to, after which followed alſo the reſt of the fleet well appointed for the aſſault. At which time
all the reſt of the armie at land ſtood in battell readie ranged, as well to diſcourage them of
the town, as that the Sultan ſhould not be able to helpe them without the hazarding of battel.
There began a fierce and cruell aſſault; they of the ſuburbes right valiantly defending them-
ſelues againſt their enemies. Within theſe ſuburbs, the tower, and the trenches, dwelt not on-
ly Ægyptians, (the naturall inhabitants of the countrey) but alſo Arabians, Perſians, Syrians,
Indians, Moores, and Æthyopians, who were there reſiant; for that, that citie was a publique
mart whereunto all kind of merchandiſe were brought from farre out of the remoteſt parts of
the world, and ſo from thence in like manner tranſported alſo: which encouraged them the
more to fight for the defence of their liues and goods, the two things which men hold moſt H
deare: and in like ſort animated our men vnto the aſſault, as well in the quarrell of the Chriſti-
an religion, as to inrich themſelues with the ſpoile of thoſe rich nations. The Chriſtians with
their ſhips drew as neere as poſſibly they could vnto the land, to the intent that vpon the bank
of the riuer they might come to fight hand to hand, and man to man, and ſo come cloſe vnto
their enemies. But the Barbarians on the other ſide fought by ſhot and all other meanes they
could, to keepe them further off, and ſo from landing.

A deſperat act of a Chriſtian.

That which moſt feared the Ægyptians, was, that as one of our ſhips by chance ran a ground
vpon that ſide of the riuer where the enemy lay, and being boorded by the enemie, thronging
in as faſt as he could, and there making a cruell ſlaughter, one of the Chriſtian ſouldiers going
down vnder the hatches, made there a great hole, whereby the water abundantly comming in, I
ſunke the ſhip before the enemie was aware, and ſo drowned a great number of the Ægyptians
together with the Chriſtians. At which time alſo the high Tower built vpon the two ſhips,
ioyning now cloſe vnto the watch-tower, and mating the ſame, diſmaied the defendants with
the ſtrangeneſſe thereof, as with a miracle, in ſuch ſort, that they ſtrucken with a great feare, as
now being to fight with a ſtrange, hardie, and cruell kind of men, without any great reſiſtance
forſooke the tower and fled. The watch-tower thus taken, and they that ſhould haue defended
the ſame, ſome ſlaine, and ſome fled; they in the ſuburbs diſcouraged, and flying away, were
many of them wounded from aboue, out of the watch-tower but now gained by the Chriſti-
ans. At which time alſo the other ſhips landed the ſouldiers, who entring the ſuburbs, put all
they found there to the ſword, euen vnto the laſt man. There was found great abundance of K
victuals, but far greater ſtore of riches, in ſo much that it ſeemed to haue bin the ſpoyle of A-
rabia, Perſia, and the rich Indies.

Damiata in vain aſſaulted.

Now yet remained the ſtrong towne of Damiata, which was forthwith aſſaulted by the
Chriſtians, more to proue if in that heat and ſudden feare it would bee yeelded, than for any
hope they had by force to win it. But hauing done what they could both by ſcaling, and by
other engins, they gained nothing but hard blowes and wounds, & ſo retyred. Neuertheleſſe
they lodged themſelues in the ſuburbs, and layd a great part of the armie betwixt the Sultan
and the beſieged citie, to the intent that no ſupplie of victuals ſhould be brought vnto it, yet
both the enemie oftentimes attempted to haue entred the citie, and the beſieged to haue ſal-
lied out, but both the one and the other were letted to doe what they would haue done, & that L
not without the great loſſe of their men: for why, the town was now on euery ſide ſo incloſed
by the Chriſtians, as that no man could enter in or out thereof. Whileſt the Chriſtians thus
lay at the ſiege, it fortuned that the riuer of Niſe ſwelling with a great Eaſterne winde, riſe
aboue the banks, & ſo ouerflowed the places wherein the Chriſtians lay, that they could keep
nothing drie, and that moſt part of their victuals were therewith ſpoyled. With which vnſea-
ſonable riſing of the riuer, the Chriſtians not a little troubled, by commandement of *Pelagius*
the Popes Legate, gaue themſelues to faſting and prayer by the ſpace of three dayes. But the
wind falling the fourth day, and the riuer againe decreaſing, they gaue themſelues more ear-
neſtly to prayer than before, thanking the Almightie, that as he had put them in a great feare,
ſo he had in mercie againe comforted them.

Now with long lying began victuals to grow ſcant in the Sultans campe, ſo that hee was M
glad to ſend away halfe of his armie vp againe into the countrey of Caire. At which time alſo
it chanced (as if it had beene in an extreame and common danger of the Mahometan ſuper-
ſtition) that Embaſſadours ſent from *Corradin* Sultan of Damaſco and Ieruſalem, vnto the

A Princes of the Chriſtian armie, came to ſue for peace, both for himſelfe and his brother the Ægyptian Sultan; promiſing in regard thereof againe to reſtore vnto them the Holy Croſſe, and whatſoeuer els himſelf, his father, or Sultan *Saladin* had before taken from them: of which their offer, moſt part of the army liked wel, ſaying, That they had therefore taken vp arms for the recouerie of that which had been before gotten, and gained by the valour of the worthie Chriſtian captains, and had of late beene taken from them; and to blot out the ignominy of the loſſe therof, to the end it ſhould not be ſaid, that they could not leaue whole and entire vnto their children, what their fathers had got, when they had the keeping thereof; neither hauing loſt it, be able again to recouer it: that al theſe things being reſtored, there reſted not any further occaſion of war, or let to ſtay them as moſt victorious conquerours to returne home. B Neuertheles *Pelagius*, Pope *Honorius* his Legat (for *Innocentius* in the preparation of the wars was before dead at Peluſium) with king *Iohn*, the Maſters of the knights Hoſpitalers and Templars, the Duke of Auſtria, and the Germaines, were of opinion to the contrary: aleadging, That this ſacred warre was vndertaken generally againſt the Infidels, and for religions ſake againſt the Mahometan ſuperſtition, whereof the kingdome of Ægypt was the chiefe ſeat and ſtay; and that therefore they ought eſpecially to impugne that. Which perſuaſion, together with the authoritie of the perſuaders, ſo preuailed, that the Sultans large offers were reiected, and ſo the embaſſadors diſpatched without any thing obtained of that they came for. Whereupon *Corradin* fearing that the Chriſtians would at length come to Ieruſalem, as the place they moſt deſired; and doubting how hee ſhould bee able to defend the ſame, forthwith raſed the C wals thereof, and the more to deface it, ouerthrew and pluckt downe moſt of the goodly houſes, and other ſtately buildings therin, ſparing yet the tower of *Dauid*, and the holy Sepulchre; which he is ſaid to haue done at the humble requeſt and interceſſion of the Chriſtians of diuers countries, which yet dwelt there mixt with the Turks and Saraſins.

A faire offer euill refuſed.

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Damiata, the plague began to ariſe in the campe, whereof ſo many died, that it began to repent the great commanders of the armie that they had ſo much hearkened to the perſuaſion of the Legate (a man making no profeſſion of arms) rather than to the ſound aduice of others, who by long experience taught the ſudden alteration of matters of war, would willingly haue accepted of the Sultans large offers: ſo began *Pelagius* the Legat to be generally euill ſpoken of. There were now already ſix moneths paſt D ſince the beginning of the ſiege, and the Sultan lying in ſight had not with him ſo great an army as before, but only the flower and choice of his people, hauing (as we haue before ſaid) for want of victuals ſent away the reſt vp again into the country: now it fortuned that the Chriſtians, as men weary of the long ſiege, ſtood not ſo carefully vpon their guard, with watch and ward, as before, but gaue themſelues more to eaſe: which the Sultan perceiuing, drew nerer to the town, in hope vnder the couert of the ſilent night, to ſend new ſupplies vnto the beſieged; which companies by him appointed for that ſeruice, couragiouſly ſet forward, in hope to haue deceiued the Chriſtian ſentinels, & ſo indeed came neer vnto the town vnſeen or diſcouered; and now the foremoſt of thoſe companies were already entred the town; when the Chriſtians perceiuing them, & raſing an alarme, put themſelues in arms, and ſo furiouſly aſſailed the E hindermoſt of them, and in ſuch ſort, that they which were before within, & thoſe that were but now entred, fearing leſt the enemie in that hurly burly ſhould pell mell enter in with the reſt, ſhut them out of the gates, expoſed to the butcherie, where all were preſently cut in peeces.

Succours ſent vnto the beſieged.

The Chriſtians encouraged with this victory, the next day leauing a great part of the army before the town to continue the ſiege, preſented themſelues before the Sultans camp to giue him battell: who for all that well conſidering that the loſſe of a battell might endanger the whole ſtate of his kingdome, would by no meanes be drawne out of his trenches, but lay ſtill; wherewith the Chriſtians, eſpecially the French men (in the firſt charge naturally furious) greatly encouraged, attempted to haue forcibly entred their rampiers, but not with ſucceſſe anſwerable to their courage. For the Ægiptians perceiuing the ſmal number of their enemies, F notably repulſed them, & in fine inforced them to retire, hauing loſt *Gualter* one of their chiefe commanders, with diuers others: yea King *Iohn* in aſſailing the campe, loſt many of his men, and grieuouſly burnt in his face, hardly eſcaped himſelfe with life. After which diſcomfiture, they reſolued, not to thinke of any thing elſe but of the ſiege, and aboue all things to prouide that no ſuccours ſhould be brought into the towne. They in the citie more ſtraitly beſet and

beſieged than before,and now brought vnto extream neceſſitie and famine,and out of al hope G
of reliefe,aſſembled themſelues to conſult of their affaires,and what were beſt for them to do
in ſo dangerous a ſtate: ſome one or other of them by night or otherwiſe ſecretly flying into
the camp. And that more was,the citie had vndoubtedly bin yeelded by the greatet part,had
not the chiefe commanders within mured vp the gates,and commanded that none of the inhabitants
vpon paine of death ſhould come vpon the wals,or rampiers,to the intent they ſhould
not get out,or caſt themſelues from aboue ouer the wals into the ditches. The chiefe commanders
and captains went here and there vp and down the city,to ſearch and view al things,
eſpecially the ſhops and ſtorehouſes, where finding ſmall ſtore of wheat, they diuided it in
ſmall portions among themſelues: the common people enforced with want, eat whatſoeuer
came to hand,were it lawfull or vnlawfnll or forbidden by their ſuperſtition,wholſom or vnwholeſome, H
good or bad,ſalt or freſh,roaſted or raw; and ſo prolonged their liues with ſuch
things as they could find. Now the beſieged, not able to indure theſe extreamities of the famine
(being the paſſion that moſt grieuouſly and often troubleth mankind) they were alſo attached
with the wrath of God: for the plague(the fury wherof had before attainted the camp
of the Chriſtians,and afterward quite ceaſed)was now got into the city,where it made a great
ſlaughter: which mortalitie day by day in ſuch ſort increaſed,that men were not only now no
more to be found,to viſit,comfort,ſuccour, ſerue, and help the ſicke; but were wanting alſo
to burie them,to draw them out of their beds and houſes,and to ſeperate the liuing from the
dead: the ſtreets and houſes full of dead bodies,gaue forth a moſt horrible ſtinke,with a moſt
grieuous and infectious aire: there was not any place cleare from the plague, or any man that I
could boaſt hee had not bin attainted therewith,or the feare thereof; and remedie was there
none. The rage and furie of theſe two deuourers,the famine,and plague,deuoured them without
number,chuſing rather ſo to dy,than to ſubmit themſelues vnto their enemies;or to humble
themſelues ſo low, as to craue their fauour. That they within were thus pinched with famine,
the Chriſtians knew: but that the plague ſo raged amongſt them,they knew not. Now
the Chriſtians had of purpoſe caſt vp certain trenches and baricadoes, for the keeping in of
ſuch as the famin ſhould enforce to come out of the town; thinking that the beſieged,to eaſe
their wants,would thruſt the baſer ſort of the people & vnprofitable mouths out of the city;
vnto whom the Chriſtians meant not to giue any paſſage:for they hauing long before ſo ſtraitly
enuironed the citie,as that no reliefe could be brought vnto it,lay now ſtil expecting when K
the beſieged,enforced by neceſſity,ſhould yeeld themſelues;and ſo without loſſe of any man,
to become maſters of ſo ſtrong and rich a towne. It was now more than a yeare that the Chriſtians
had thus lien at the ſiege of Damiata, when as certaine of the ſouldiers vpon a brauerie
aduentured with a few ſcaling ladders to mount the wal:in which doing,finding no reſiſtance,
and withall hearing ſo great ſilence, as if there had bin no bodie within the citie,they ſtood
ſtill a great while hearkening,but ſeeing that dumbe ſilence ſtil to continue,they returned vnto
the camp,giuing the captains to vnderſtand how the matter ſtood;who at the firſt thought
it to bee ſome policie and fineneſſe of the deceitfull enemie: yet afterward they thought
it good to aduenture certaine men, to proue their fortune, and to cauſe certaine companies
well appointed to ſcale one of the bulwarkes of the citie, in ſuch ſort, as if they ſhould haue L
gone againſt a puiſſant enemy,that had had the power to reſiſt them. And hereupon were ſcaling
ladders brought forth, and all things made ready, as for a great aſſault. So the Chriſtians
couragiouſly mounting the ladders, without reſiſtance tooke the bulwarke. But as they were
entring farther into the towne,a ſmal company of the Turks and Barbarians (all the ſouldiers
that the furie of the plague had left,and they alſo with the famine & infection of the aire very
weake and feeble) met them,and began to make ſome ſmal reſiſtance,but to no purpoſe,being
forthwith al cut in pieces. Which done,the matter wherewith the gates of the city were mured,
was preſently remoued,the gates ſet open, & the Chriſtians with enſignes diſplaied let in.
But euen at the very entring in at the gates,they were attainted with a moſt grieuous and horrible
ſtinke,they ſaw a faire city diſpeopled,and that which was moſt fearefull to behold,the M
ſtreets couered with bodies of the dead,and ſuch a dreadfull deſolation, as might moue euen
the enemy himſelf to compaſſion. The Chriſtians were entred,as men appointed to haue done
a great execution,and to haue made the channels run with bloud,as men iuſtly prouoked with
the long ſiege,and the paines they had endured; they had their ſwords and weapons in their
hands,

Damiata without reſiſtance taken by the Chriſtians.

Damiata vnpeopled by the plague.

A hands, but found none againſt whom to vſe them: for a man could not enter into any houſe, or goe into any ſtreet, but he muſt paſſe ouer the dead, or others which being not yet altogether dead, were miſerably drawing toward their end. Of ſeuentie thouſand perſons in the citie, were not found aboue three thouſand aliue, and thoſe for the moſt part yet yong children: for all the reſt were dead, taken away either with the ſword, famine or the plague; the greateſt part whereof lay yet ſtinking aboue the ground vnburied. Theſe three thouſand that were left, were ſo maigre and poore, that pitie it was to behold them: vnto whom their liues were granted, vpon condition that they ſhould make clean the city, and burie the dead, which they were three moneths in doing.

1221

Thus was Damiata taken by the Chriſtians the fift day of Nouember, in the yeare 1221, after B it had beene more than a yeare by them beſieged. The ſpoile there taken was great, for beſides the rich marchandiſe brought thither from farre, was found great ſtore of gold, ſiluer, and precious ſtones. The Chriſtians thus enriched, and the citie made clean, ſtaied there more than a yeare after, as in a Colonie wherein they had beene willing to dwell, forgetfull of their owne country. In the beginning of theſe wars, the Princes of the army had with one conſent agreed, That whatſoeuer citie or territorie ſhould by them be taken from the Turkes or Infidels, ſhould bee giuen vnto the King of Ieruſalem, whom after the departure of the King of Hungarie, they had made Generall of the whole armie. But now that the citie was taken, *Pelagius* the legat, pretending, That by the vertue of his legation, it belonged vnto him to diſpoſe of all things taken in that ſacred war, (as a man not vnmindfull of his maſter) adiudged the citie C from thenceforth to belong vnto the See of Rome. With which indignitie and wrong, the King inwardly diſcontented, (and yet for the authoritie of the Legat, diſſembling the matter) withdrew himſelfe, and ſo retired to Ptolemais.

1222

The yere following, *Pelagius* wearie to ſee the armes of the Chriſtians to corrupt with ruſt, and nothing doing, conſidering the deſire and hope hee had vtterly to haue ruinated the Infidels, together with their ſuperſtition, commanded, That euery man ſhould again take vp arms for the proſecuting of this war againſt the Sultan, and the beſieging of Caire. But for all that, when he had commanded what he would, or could, the ſoldiers little regarding his command with one voice cryed out, that they would not be commanded by any, but by the King of Ieruſalem only. So that the Legat, enforced by the ſouldiers, was glad to ſend vnto the King, to D requeſt him againe to returne vnto Damiata, and to take vpon him the charge for the managing of that war, taken in hand for the defence of the Chriſtian Religion: who for all that excuſed himſelfe from ſo doing, one while by his owne particular affaires, another while by his owne indiſpoſition: yet in fine, preſſed and ouercome with the praiers and requeſts of the other Latine Princes, he returned to Damiata, at the ſelfe ſame time, that the Duke of Bauaria arriued there with a goodly companie of braue men, brought thither out of his owne countrey, after he had beene now from thence ten moneths abſent.

Pelagius the Legat perſwadeth the Princes of the Chriſtian armie to proceed for the conqueſt of Aegypt.

The Legat deſirous of the proſecution of this war, requeſted and vrged the King, with the reſt of the Princes & great commanders, without delay to take the field, telling them, that the enterpriſe of the holy war was growne old, and cold, by thoſe long delaies and protracting of E the time: and that they which kept wars ſo far from home, ought to make haſt to force the enemie, to take all occaſions, to loſe no time, but euer to be doing, and to proue all things for the annoying of the enemy: and that that was the way, whereby the Worthies of antient times, both Kings and Emperors, had gained vnto themſelues empires, glory, greatnes, and wealth: That it was for them that were inuaded and aſſailed, vpon whoſe liues depended the ſafety of their country, their wiues, their children, & goods, to delay & prolong the time as they might to delude the enemy, to fruſtrate his deſignes, to defeat his attempts, and with delaies to dally him off, vntil that hauing therby weakned his forces, he ſhould together with his courage loſe alſo his hope: Caire (he ſaid) to be indeed a great city, but yet that the greateſt cities that euer were, had by the wars become great deſarts, forced by the power of their puiſſant and ſpeedy F enemies: & that great empires, as were thoſe of the Sultans, ought not to be inuaded or aſſailed by any forrain force, if they were not at the firſt onſet, ouerthrown, or at leaſt ſo weakned, as that they could not afterwards lift vp their heads or recouer themſelues; for otherwiſe, that they which had prepared a deſtruction for others, ſhould fall into the ſame themſelues: That it behooued either not to haue attempted or aſſailed Ægipt at al; or els now, after it had bin

once aſſailed,not ſo to giue it ouer before it were conquered. The King of Ieruſalem,whether G
it were that he were pricked with the griefe, that being called the King of the holy land, hee
could not haue the citie of Damiata (vnder the leading and conduct won by the Chriſtians
come to the ſacred war) giuen vnto him by the Legate; or that he had before proued that the
higher country of Ægypt was not without great and manifeſt danger to be attempted; ſayd,
that he would not in any caſe goe: alleaging that honorable and ſacred war to haue bin taken
in hand,onely for the recouerie of the holy Land,and not for the winning of Memphis,Babylon,
or Thebes in Ægypt; which after they were taken,would not for any long time continue
in their fidelitie or allegeance,and could not poſſibly be kept by force:whereas Syria,by *Godfrey*
of Bullion and the other great princes his aſſociats,entred into,conquered and poſſeſſed;
and ſince his time,by diuers other Chriſtian Kings & Princes holden,was in right their own: H
and that therefore he greatly commended the forwardnes,the diligence,the courage,the deſire,
and whatſoeuer thing elſe *Pelagius* commended: but that he ought to employ the ſame in
Syria,and not there where no need was, or from whence no profit was to be drawne or expected.
Neuertheleſſe the Legat wedded to his owne opinion, by the power of his authoritie,
commanded the King of Ieruſalem, the Duke of Bauaria,with the reſt of the great commanders
and captains,to take vp their armes,to get them into the field vpon the expidition by him
appointed againſt the Sultan; threatning the paine of the high ſentence of excommunication
againſt him or them,that would ſhew themſelues backward or vnwilling to doe what he had
commanded. So as it were enforced by the Legat,they began with euill wil and worſe ſpeed,
to ſet forward in Auguſt, in the very hotteſt time of the yeere. At which time the Sultan beholding I
the great armie of the Chriſtians,in number about ſeuentie thouſand,retired as a man
afraid,into ſuch places as hee thought beſt,farther off: which the Legat ſeeing (as one not acquainted
with the feats of war (reioyced greatly,as if the victorie had bin already more than
halfe gained; commending to the heauens them that he ſaw couragiouſly marching forward,
ſaying, That fortune alwaies fauoured the valiant,and that vnto cowards all things fell ſtil out
to the worſt. By the way the Chriſtians ſeized vpon a bridge,which the enemie had made ouer
the Nile,and cut in pieces ſuch companies as were left for the keeping therof: ſo marching
on they drew neere vnto Caire, and there in the ſight of that great and rich citie encamped:
where running vp and down, the more to terrifie them of the citie, prouoked them to battell,
vpraiding vnto them their lazines,their cowardiſe and ſloth,brauing them (if they were men) K
to come out: Yet for all that they would not ſo doe,but keeping themſelues cloſe and couert
within the citie, let them alone to brag & boaſt at their owne pleaſure. This ſiege continued
long, of purpoſe protracted ſtill from day to day by them of the citie: and the great opinion
of the Chriſtians had of their owne valour, with the ſmall regard they had of their enemies,
made them ſo proud and careles, that they remembred no more to take good care of the war,
of their dutie, their watch, or their ſentinels: their confidence was in their owne valour and
good fortune,not conſidering or remembring that they were come into Ægypt,and that they
had put themſelues within the trenches, ſallies, channels and cuts, of a deceitfull riuer,which
not only brought victuals vnto their enemies,but alſo fortified them; who by how much they
were the leſſe valiant,and leſſe vnderſtood of the art of war,the more they vſed of craft & ſubtilty L
for the preſeruing of themſelues:ſo the crafty enemies drew the Chriſtians out at length,
abuſing them with many delaies and deceits; making ſemblance of great feare,to make themſelues
the leſſe to be feared;& more contemptible in their doings,to the end that they knowing
the paſſages and ſtraights of the country,and reſeruing themſelues vnto the occaſions and
aduantages both of the time, & of their enemies, might circumuent them and entrap them at
ſuch time as they leaſt feared any ſuch matter. The Chriſtians,at all aduenture had encamped
themſelues in a low ground,within the banks and cauſies of that fenny country,vnder the couert
therof, thinking themſelues ſafe as in their trenches, againſt al ſudden ſallies or attempts
of their enemies:but theſe places wherin they lay, were ſoft & durty,for ſo much as the country
people vſed at their pleaſure to water them by channels & ſluces out of the riuer of Nile: M
which now pluckt vp and opened,the riuer began to riſe and ouerflow all. Then too late they
perceiued themſelues taken as in a grin, without power to defend themſelues, or to make any
reſiſtance,or by any other means to ſhew their valor. So the riuer ſtil ariſing and ouerflowing
gaue vnto the Turkes and Ægiptians good hope of their wars, and of a victorie more deſired

The Chriſtians entrapped within the ſluces of the riuer Nile.

than

A than hoped for ouer a warlike and victorious people. All the ground where the Chriſtians lay encamped, was couered with water, ſo high that the victuals were corrupted, and no place left for a man to ſtand or lie drie in.

Now at the ſame time the Ægyptians had taken the high places, with the paſſages vpon the wals and banks in that drowned countrey, to the intent that the Chriſtians ſhould not be able to retire or to ſaue themſelues out of the bogs and mariſhes couered ouer with water. So was their raſh valour and preſumptuous confidence in themſelues, expoſed vnto the enemies ſhot and furie; and when they would by force haue defended themſelues, their hardineſſe was ouercome by the craftie ſubtilitie of the weake enemie. Then began euery man to crie out againſt *Pelagius* the Legat, accuſing, condemning, and railing at him: the King himſelfe they B blamed not, for that he had done his dutie, in diſſuading of this expedition, and was contrary to his good liking himſelfe drawn into this war, the charge whereof he had not without great intreatie taken vpon him: neither might he with his credit wel complaine of this misfortune, leſt in ſo doing, hee might ſeeme to haue had no comfort in himſelfe. But as for the Legate, what counſell could hee then giue, what counſell could he then take for himſelfe? They of Venice, Piſa, and Genoa, left at Damiata, were indeed ſtrong at ſea, but how could they come to relieue him at Caire? And how, or by what forces could the Chriſtians breake out of the banks & ſluces of the cuts & channels, which winding in and out with a thouſand inextricable turnings incloſed them, beſet alſo on euery ſide with the victorious enemie? After they had bin thus coupt vp, and enuironed with the waters three dayes, you might haue ſeene the C poore ſoldiers in euery place fall downe dead for want of food and ſleep, and ſo periſh in the water; the like miſerable kind of death, the reſt were alſo in ſhort time after to expect: other helpe was there none, but to yeeld vnto neceſſitie, and to accept of ſuch conditions as it ſhould pleaſe the proud enemie to propound. Now the Sultan deſired not ſo much their liues, as the liberty of his country, and therfore required to haue the citie of Damiata again reſtored vnto him, & all things els in ſuch ſort as were before the beſieging thereof: and ſo the Chriſtians without more adoe to depart his country. Hard conditions if a man reſpect the hope whereupon the Chriſtians had vndertaken this war, & were ſo come into Egypt, with the toile there by them endured: but vnto him that wil but enter into conſideration of mens affairs, and eſpecially in martiall matters, it wil ſeem but an accident to be yeelded vnto, the like wherof hath D oftentimes hapned vnto the greateſt men of the world. Theſe conditions (ſuch as they were) were by the diſtreſſed Chriſtians accepted of. But when they were brought to Damiata, and there propounded to the Chriſtians there left, a great contention began to ariſe among them: ſome ſaid they would not accept of them, or ſurrender the towne, which beeing kept would be a ſtay for al the affairs of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, and a moſt commodious place for them to haue recourſe vnto; but being reſtored and loſt, carried away with it all the hope of the Chriſtians, and that therfore it were better to indure al extremities, than to receiue ſuch diſhonorable and hurtfull a peace. Others of the contrary opinion ſaid, That they ought not to forſake them that were in danger before Caire, nor to expoſe them to the butcherie, but to haue a Chriſtian compaſſion of ſo many thouſands of ſoules as there lay diſtreſſed, ſeeing they E might be ſaued by the ſurrendrie of that one town: Towns (they ſaid) conſiſted of the number of men, and not men of the incloſures of wals and ditches. They that were of this opinion, for the deliuering vp of the town, ſeeing the other obſtinatly ſet down to the contrary, withdrawing themſelues from the counſel, preſently tooke vp armes, & by force entred the houſes of them that were of contrary opinion, and took from them their weapons, by that means & perforce to conſtrain them to yeeld to their deſire. As ſoon as they that lay before Caire (almoſt drowned in the waters) vnderſtood of this diſſention at Damiata about the deliuery of the town, they ſent them word, that if they would not yeeld the towne to the Sultan, they would forthwith ſend to Ptolemais, which would not faile to doe what ſhould be commanded, to haue it in ſtead of Damiata ſurrendred to the Egiptians. So was Damiata again yeelded to the F Infidels, and ſo great labors of the Chriſtians taken at the ſiege & winning therof, all loſt. That which made this indignity more tollerable, was that Sultan *Meladin*, hauing without bloudſhed gain'd ſo great a victory, did neither by word or deed any thing in diſpight or reproch of the Chriſtians, but vſed them with al courteſie, relieuing them alſo with victuals & ſuch other things as they wanted, and by faithfull guides conducting them in ſafetie out of the country.

The miſerie of the Chriſtians in the drowned land.

In like manner alſo, ***Corradin*** his brother, Sultan of Damaſco, made truce with the Latines G for eight yeares. Wherupon the King of Ieruſalem went ouer into Italie, and there by the perſuaſion of ***Honorius*** the Pope, his wife being now dead, gaue his daughter ***Yoland*** (now crowned Queene of Ieruſalem in the right of her mother) in marriage to ***Frederick*** King of Sicilia, and Emperor of the Latines, the rather thereby to ſtirre him vp for the taking in hand of the ſacred warre. Euer ſince which time, hee and the Kings of Sicilia his ſucceſſors haue beene called Kings of Ieruſalem, albeit that they haue euill proſecuted that their pretended right and title, as ſtill buſied in more prophane warres againſt other Chriſtian Princes. King ***Iohn*** afterwards departing from Rome for France, was by the way honourably entertained at Piſa: but arriuing at the French court, he found ***Philip*** the French King deſperately ſicke, who by his laſt will and teſtament gaue vnto the Knights Hoſpitalers and Templars, ſixtie thouſand H crownes for the maintenance of their warres againſt the Infidels; which money was to their vſe afterward payd vnto King ***Iohn***. Who ſhortly after to diſcharge himſelfe of a vow he had made, to viſit the pilgrimage at Compoſtella, going into Spaine, by the way married ***Berengaria***, the King of Caſtile his daughter: and there ſtaying a great while, returned againe into France, where he lay long expecting the ſetting forward of the Emperor ***Fredericks*** ſon in law for the recouerie of his wiues right to the kingdom of Ieruſalem; which although he ſolemnly vowed at ſuch time as he with all princely magnificence married the ſaid Lady at Rome, yet otherwiſe letted with troubles neerer home, performed not the ſame, vntill almoſt ſeuen yeares after: all which time the Chriſtians in Syria enioying the fruit of the late concluded peace for eight yeares, liued in great reſt and quietneſſe; where ſo leauing them, vntill the ariſing of new troubles, let vs in the meane time returne againe vnto the troubled affaires of the I Turkes, Greekes, and Latines, at Conſtantinople, and in the leſſer Aſia.

The death of Henry Emperour of Conſtantinople.

Peter Emperor.

Robert Emperour of Conſtantinople.

An horrible outrage committed vpon the perſon of an Empreſſe.

Henrie the ſecond Emperour of the Latines at Conſtantinople, after he had (as is aforeſayd) with much adoe repreſſed the furie of the Bulgarians and Scythes, his barbarous enemies, and ſo giuen peace to the miſerable countrey of Thracia, died, hauing raigned a moſt troubleſome raigne, about the ſpace of eleuen yeres. After whom ſucceeded ***Peter***, Countie of Auſſerre, his ſonne in law, third Emperour of the Latines in Conſtantinople: who in the beginning of his empire, willing to gratifie the Venetians, and to reuenge himſelfe of ***Theodorus Angelus***, a great Prince of Epirus, competitor of his empire, beſieged him in Dirrachium, which ſtrong citie, the ſaid ***Theodorus*** had but a little before ſurpriſed, belonging vnto the Venetian ſeigniorie. At which ſiege, ***Peter*** the Emperour lying, was ſo cunningly by the wilie Greeke vſed, K that a peace was vpon moſt honorable conditions betwixt them concluded, & a familiar kind of friendſhip ioined. Inſomuch that the Emperour at his requeſt, not well aduiſed, came vnto him as his gueſt: who now of his enemy became his hoſt, entertaining him with al the formalities that faigned friendſhip could deuiſe. But hauing him now in his power, and fearing no harm, regarding neither the lawes of fidelitie or hoſpitalitie, he moſt traiterouſly ſlew him, as he was yet in the middeſt of his banquet. Of whoſe end, ſome others yet otherwiſe report, as that he ſhould by the ſame ***Theodorus*** haue bin intercepted about the pleaſant woods of Tempe in Theſſalia, as he was trauelling from Rome to Conſtantinople, and ſo afterwards to haue bin by him cruelly put to death. Of whoſe misfortune, ***Tepulus*** gouernour of Conſtantinople L vnderſtanding, for the more ſafetie of the ſtate in that vacancie of the Greeke empire, made peace with ***Theodorus*** for fiue yeares, and the Turks for two. Shortly after came ***Robert*** (the ſon of the aforeſayd vnfortunate Emperour ***Peter***) with his mother to Conſtantinople, and there in his fathers ſtead was ſolemnly ſaluted Emperor; but not with much better lucke than was his father before him: for ſhortly after his comming he tooke to wife a faire young Lady, the daughter of a great rich and noble Matron of the citie, but before betrothed vnto a gallant gentleman, a Burgundian born; with whom the old Lady broke her promiſe, and more carefull of her daughters preferment, than fidelitie, gaue her in mariage vnto the new Emperour. The ioy of which ſo great an honor was in ſhort time conuerted not into a deadly heauineſſe, but euen into death it ſelfe: for the yong Burgundian, more enraged with the wrong done him M than diſcouraged with the greatneſſe and power of the Emperour, conſorted himſelfe with a companie of luſtie tall ſoldiers, acquainted with his purpoſe, and awaiting his time when the Emperor was abſent, by night entred the court with his deſperate folowers, and firſt meeting with the beautifull yong Empreſſe, cut off her noſe and her eares, and afterward threw her old

mother

A mother into the ſea, and ſo fled out of the citie into the woods and mountains, with thoſe deſperate cut-throats the miniſters of his barbarous crueltie. The Emperour pierced to the heart with this ſo great a diſgrace, ſhortly after went to Rome, to what purpoſe was not certainely knowne; but in returning backe againe through Achaia, he there died, leauing behinde him his yong ſon *Balduin*, yet but a childe, begotten by his firſt wife, to ſucceed him in the Empire; who by the name of *Baldwin* the ſecond, was crowned the ſixt and laſt Emperor of the Latines in Conſtantinople. And for becauſe he was as yet but yong and vnfit for the gouernment, hee was by conſent of the Nobilitie affianced, and afterward married vnto *Martha* the yonger daughter of *Iohn Brenne* King of Ieruſalem, a worthie old captaine, who was then Gouernour of Rauenna, which city, he being certaine yeres before ſent for out of France for that purpoſe, by B *Honorius* the Pope, he notably defended againſt the Emperor *Frederick* his ſon in law, (but that affinitie was before broken off by the death of the ſaid Emperors wife) who now ſent for out of Italie vnto Conſtantinople, had committed to his charge and protection, both the perſon and Empire of the young Emperour *Baldwin*, now his ſonne in law. Which great and heauie charge he for certaine yeres after worthily and faithfully diſcharged, vntill ſuch time as that *Baldwin* was himſelfe growne able to take vpon him the gouernment. Now although the Imperiall citie of Conſtantinople, with the countries of Thracia, Theſſalia, Macedonia, Achaia, Peloponeſus, and the reſt of the prouinces of Greece, were all or for the moſt part vnder the gouernment of *Baldwin* the Emperor, the Venetians, or other the inferior Latine Princes; yet were the oppreſſed Greeks, the natural inhabitants thereof, in heart not theirs, as abhorring nothing C more than that their forreine gouernment; but wholly deuoted to their owne naturall Princes, *Theodorus Laſcaris* and *Alexius Comnenus*, the one raigning at Nice in Bithynia, the other at Trapezond in Pontus, both called by the Greekes, Emperors, and ſo of them generally reputed. *Laſcaris* of the two the better beloued, and by farre of greateſt power, had during the time of his gouernment fought many an hard battell, (as is in part before declared) and ſtrongly fortified his chiefe cities againſt the inuaſion of his enemies, as well the Turks as the Latines: and ſo hauing as it were erected a new Empire in Aſia, and there raigned eighteene yeares, died, leauing behind him one *Iohn Ducas Batazes*, that had married the faire Ladie *Irene* his daughter and heire, to ſucceed him in the Greeke Empire in Aſia. This *Iohn* was a man of a great wit and ſpirit, and of more grauitie for his yeares, than was *Theodorus* his father in D law, neuer vndertaking any thing before he had thereof well conſidered; and once reſolued, not omitting or neglecting any thing for the performance thereof. So that it was not vnfitly ſayd of the Greekes, The planting of this new Empire to haue required the celeritie of *Laſcaris*, but the ſtay thereof to haue been the grauitie of *Ducas*. He in the beginning of his raigne in very ſhort time hauing ſet all things in good order, greatly augmented his legions, & ſhooting at a fairer marke than the Empire he held, euen the imperiall citie it ſelfe, and the recouerie of all Thracia and Grecia out of the hands of the Latines, which could not bee done without a fleet at ſea, built a great number of gallies in the ports of the leſſer Aſia. And ſo hauing rigged vp and manned a ſtrong fleet, and ſcouring the ſeas, in one Summer took in moſt of the Iſlands E of the Ægeum, namely Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Icaria, Coos, with the famous Iſland of the Rhodes, and many others alſo. And not ſo contented, to haue increaſed his Empire, the next Spring croſſing the Helleſpont, and landing his forces, firſt inuaded Cherſoneſus, and afterward to terrifie the Latines, forraged the countrey farre and neere, euen to the gates of Conſtantinople, no man daring to oppoſe himſelfe againſt him. At which time alſo he took many cities and ſtrong townes alongſt the ſea coaſt, as Calliopolis, Seſtus, and Cardia, with diuers others thereabout, ſome by force, ſome by compoſition, the Greekes almoſt in euerie place yeelding themſelues, where they were not ſo oppreſſed by the Latines, as that they could not helpe him. Now by theſe proceedings of the Greeke Emperor in Europe, was plainely to be ſeene againe the ruine of the Latine Empire in the Eaſt, all things proſpering in his hand according to his hearts deſire. *Aſſan* the Bulgarian King (no ſmall terror both vnto the Latines F and the Greekes) mooued with the fame hereof, by his Embaſſadours ſent of purpoſe vnto *Iohn* the Greeke Emperour, offered his daughter *Helena* in marriage with young *Theodore* his ſonne: of which offer the Emperour gladly accepted. For beeing buſied in his great affaires, he was loath to haue ſo great a King as was *Aſſan*, his enemie, able at his pleaſure to call in the Scythes; who with their multitude, as a great floud breaking ouer the bankes, had oftentimes carried

Baldwin the laſt Emperor of the Latines in Conſtantinople.

Iohn Batazes made emperor of the Greeks in Aſia.

carried away whole countries before them. Wherefore the match agreed vpon, the two great Princes by appointment met together about Cherſoneſus, where *Helena* King *Aſſans* daughter, beeing then about ten yeres old, was with great joy and triumph ſolemnly married vnto yong *Theodor* the Emperors ſon, much of the ſame age. Not long after, embaſſadors were alſo ſent vnto the Emperour from the Sultan of Iconium, to confirme and prolong the league betwixt them; for the Tartars not contented to haue driuen the Turks out of Perſia and the farre Eaſterne Countries, began now alſo to cut them ſhort in their prouinces in the leſſer Aſia. Wherefore the Sultan of Iconium, fearing leſt whiles he had his hands full of thoſe his moſt dreadfull enemies, of themſelues too ſtrong for him, hee ſhould behind be ſet vpon by the Greeke Emperour, and ſo thruſt out of all; ſent theſe his embaſſadours vnto him for peace: which hee for many cauſes eaſily granted. Firſt, for that hee foreſaw what an hard matter it would be for him to maintain war at once both in Aſia againſt the Turks, and in Europ againſt the Latines: then by this warlike nation, as by a moſt ſure bulwarke, to keepe his owne countries ſafe from the inuaſion of the barbarous Tartars, vnto whoſe furie hee ſhould himſelfe lie open, if the Turks were once taken out of their way. Both ſufficient reaſons for the Emperor to yeeld vnto the Sultan, which he did: ſo was the peace concluded, and the embaſſadors diſpatched. This peace exceedingly comforted, and afterwards inriched the Emperors countries: for now the people generally deliuered of the feare and miſerie of continuall warre, began on all hands to fall to their fruitfull labours of peace. Yea the Emperour himſelfe, to the ſtirring vp of others to the like good husbandrie, cauſed ſo much land to bee ploughed vp for corne, and ſo many vineyards to be planted, as might plentifully ſuffice his owne houſe; and ſuch poore as he dayly relieued; with a great ouerplus, which he cauſed to be carefully layd vp in ſtore: he kept alſo great heards of cattell, flockes of ſheepe, and fowles of all ſorts without number. The like he cauſed his kinſmen and other of the nobilitie to do, to the intent that euery great man hauing ſufficient for his owne ſpending at home, ſhould not take any thing from the poore country men, that ſo euery man contenting himſelfe with his own, might liue in peace without the grieuance of others. By which means in a few yeres euery barne and granarie was full of corne, euery cellar full of wines, euery ſtable full of cattell, euery ſtorehouſe full of victuals; the fields were couered with corne and cattell, and in euery mans yard were to be ſeene all kinds of tame fowles, without number. About which time alſo there fortuned a great famine among the Turks, inſomuch as that they were enforced to fetch their greateſt reliefe from out of the Chriſtian countries. Then might you haue ſeen euery way full of Turks, men, women, and children, trauelling to and fro into the emperors countries for victuals; their gold, their ſiluer, their other rich commodities, they gaue vnto the Chriſtians for food; a little corn was worth a good commodity, euery bird, ſheep, & kid, was ſold at a great rate: by which means the country mens houſes were full of the Turks wealth, & the emperors coffers ſtored with their treaſure. The greatneſſe of the profit ariſing of this plentie of the Chriſtians, and penurie of the Turks, may hereby eaſily be gathered, for that of eggs dayly ſold, ſo much monie was in ſhort time gathred, as made the empreſſe an imperial crown of gold, richly ſet with moſt orient pearle and precious ſtones of great price; which the emperour called *Ouata*, for that it was bought with egge money. Thus flouriſhed the Greeke empire in the leſſer Aſia, vnder the good Emperor *Iohn Ducas*: the Turks at the ſame time declining as faſt, daily pilled in one corner or another by the Tartars, and conſumed with famine at home.

Plentie enſuing of peace.

An imperiall crown bought with egge mony

Frederick the German Emperor had of long time vowed to take vpon him an expedition into the Holy land; for performance whereof he was hardly called vpon, firſt by *Honorius quartus* the Pope, & afterward for his long delay excommunicated by *Gregorie* the ninth: not ſo much for the zeale they had vnto the ſacred war, as to buſie the Emperour afar off in warres abroad, whileſt they in the mean time, to increaſe their own power, drew from him ſome one part or other of his empire: which he not without cauſe fearing, from day to day, & yere to yere, delayed the performance of his vow, ſo much vrged by the Pope; by his preſence & power ſtil diſappointing all the ſlie deſignes of the Popes, conceiued or put in practiſe againſt him. But now at length mooued, or more truly to ſay, inforced with the thundering and lightning of Pope *Gregorie*, he reſolued to ſet forward in the yeare 1227. About which time, *Iolenta*, or *Toland* his wife, the king of Ieruſalem his daughter, died in childbed, being before deliuered of a faire ſonne. Now were met together at Brunduſium an exceeding great number of couragious

1227.

A gious and deuout ſouldiers out of all parts of Chriſtendome, eſpecially out of Germanie, vn-
der the leading of *Lodwick* Lantgraue of Thuringe, and *Sigefride* Biſhop of Auguſta; all ſtirred
vp with the fame of ſo notable an expedition. But whileſt they there ſtayed ſomewhat long,
the plague aroſe among the Germans, whereof in ſhort time after, both the Lantgraue and
the Biſhop died, with many of the other beſt ſouldiers. The Emperour himſelfe was vpon his
way as farre as Malea, vpon the further ſide of Peloponeſus, where falling deſperatly ſicke of
a burning feauer, and put backe with contrarie windes, he returned againe to Brunduſium, and
there ſtayed a great while after. Then began the Pope againe to fret and fume, and to caſt out
his excommunications againſt the Emperour, as if it had been thunder and lightning, accuſing
him of periurie, infidelitie, and many other grieuous crimes; of all which the Emperour was
B readie to haue cleered himſelfe in an open aſſemblie of the Princes of Germanie to haue bin
holden at Rauenna, had it not bin by the Pope and the troubles of Lombardie diſturbed. Ne-
uertheleſſe, he by open proteſtations and writings, fully anſwered all the Popes vniuſt accuſa-
tions, wherewith he had been ſo hardly charged: and yet deſirous to performe the expedition
by him taken in hand, hauing ſet all things in good order, and put himſelfe againe in a readi-
neſſe, he ſet forward from Brunduſium in Auguſt, in the yeare 1228, leauing the charge of his
territories in Italie vnder the care of *Reynold* Duke of Spaleto. The Pope diſpleaſed, for that

1228.

the Emperor at his departure had neither reconciled himſelfe, nor taken his leaue of him, and
deeming therein his excommunications and fulminations to be contemned and ſet at naught,
fell into ſuch a rage and choler, that he forbad all the Chriſtian forces that were in Syria, to
C follow him, or to yeeld to him their obedience; and writ letters alſo vnto the Sultan, not to
come to any agreement with the Emperour, or to yeeld vnto him any part of the Holy Land:
which letters the Sultan afterwards ſent vnto the Emperor. Neither yet ſo contented, imme-
diatly after his departure, ran vpon his kingdome of Naples, and ſo filled all Italie with trou-
bles. Neuertheleſſe the Emperor happily arriuing at Ptolemais, was there honorably recei-
ued of the Chriſtian forces, notwithſtanding the Popes threats and curſings. Of whoſe arri-
uall Sultan *Meledin* hauing intelligence, and loth to draw ſo mightie an enemie as was the Em-
peror, vpon him, by his Embaſſadors offered him moſt honorable conditions of peace: which
before he would accept of, he by conuenient meſſengers ſent vnto the Pope, to haue his con-
ſent and approbation. But ſuch was his rage, as that hee would not ſuffer the meſſengers to
D come into his preſence, or vouchſafe to read the Emperours Letters, being brought vnto him,
but like a mad man preſently rent them in pieces. All which indignities the Emperor neuer-
theleſſe tooke in good part, and concluded a peace with the Turkes for ten yeares, vpon theſe
conditions: Firſt, That he ſhould be annointed and accounted King of Ieruſalem: then, That
the holy Citie, with all the land of Paleſtine ſhould be deliuered vnto him: thirdly, That hee
might at his pleaſure fortifie the cities of Nazareth and Ioppe: fourthly, That all ſuch places
as were ſometime in the power of *Baldwin* the fourth King of Ieruſalem, and taken from him
by Sultan *Saladin*, ſhould be reſtored: and laſt of all, That all priſoners on both ſides ſhould be
ſet at libertie without ranſome. So the peace concluded, the Emperor with his armie came to
the deſolate citie of Ieruſalem, and there vpon Eaſter day with great ſolemnitie was crowned
E King thereof, in the yere 1229. And ſo hauing repaired the walls of the Citie, with certaine
churches, fortified Nazareth and Ioppe, & furniſhed them with ſtrong garriſons, and appoin-
ted *Reynold* duke of Bauaria, his lieutenant in Syria, he with two gallies only returned into Ita-
lie. Euer ſince which time the Kings of Sicilia haue been alſo called Kings of Ieruſalem, and
haue oftentimes borne the armes of both kingdomes.

1229.

Fredericke the Emperor crowned King of Ieruſalem.

The next yere Pope *Gregory*, in deſpight of the emperor *Frederick*, more than for any zeale
to the Chriſtian religion, did by the Dominicans & Franciſcans (two orders of Friers but then
lately erected) as by his trumpeters, ſtir vp a wonderfull number of zealous and deuout Chri-
ſtians, almoſt in euery part of Chriſtendome, to take vpon them the croſſe (as they termed it)
the cogniſance of ſuch as had by vow bound themſelues to take vp arms againſt the Turks and
F Saraſins, for the recouerie or defence of the Holy land. Theſe deuout men met together in
great number, vnder the leading of *Theobald* King of Nauar, *Almericus* Countie of Montfort,
Henrie Countie of Champaigne, and others too long to rehearſe, (of purpoſe ſtirred vp to
trouble the ten yeres peace before concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Turks in Syria)
ſet forward, and after long trauell paſſing the ſtraight of Boſphorus, not farre from Conſtanti-

1230.

The vnfortunat expedition of the King of Nauarre into the Holy Land.

nople into Bithynia, came to the riuer Sangarius, & there ſtaied a while to refreſh themſelues. G Afterwards paſſing through Galatia, and ſo from country to country thorow the leſſer Aſia, they came at length vnto the ſtreights of the mountaine Amanus (a part of the mountain Taurus) which they found before taken by the Turks, and the Sultan of Iconium himſelfe not far off incamped with a ſtrong armie. Neuertheleſſe the valiant Countie of Montfort, which had the leading of the vantgard, couragiouſly marching forward, by plain force opened the paſſage of the mountain, hauing ſlain or put to flight the Turks appointed for the keeping thereof: the King of Nauarre in the mean time (though in vaine) aſſailing the Sultan in his campe; who fearing the great power of the Chriſtians, kept himſelfe within his owne ſtrength, and would not ſtirre. Wherefore the King ſeeing it to no purpoſe there longer to ſtay, diuiding his armie into three parts, left the Sultan, and followed after the Countie, placing his baggage H in the midſt, and the beſt of his ſoldiers in the rereward. But whileſt they thus march vp the great mountaine, the Turks better acquainted with thoſe paſſages, were ſtill at hand, aſſailing them ſometime behind, ſometime on the one ſide, ſometime on the other, as they ſaw occaſion: and at length taking them at an aduantage in a great plaine, ſet vpon them, now before almoſt ſpent with hunger and trauell, and there ſlew of them an exceeding great number. But by the comming on of the night the battell was broken off, and the Chriſtians repairing vnto their enſignes, paſſed the ſtraits, and ſo at length arriued at Antioch, hauing loſt by the way the greateſt part of the armie, with all their wealth, their victuals, and moſt part of their horſes: the remnant yet left, hauing a little refreſhed themſelues, were by ſea tranſported to Prolemais, from whence they were afterward by the Templars conducted to Gaza, where they I lay, and of the ſpoyle of the country greatly enriched themſelues. As for any other great matters they were not able of themſelues to take in hand; and helpe of ſuch forces as the Emperor had before left at Ieruſalem, and other places, they could haue none; hauing expreſſe charge from the Emperor himſelfe, not to doe any thing againſt the enemie, tending to the breach of the ten yeres league: which the Turks well perceiuing, and that they had to do but with theſe new come gueſts, and ſome few others their partakers; hauing gathered together their forces, lay in ambuſh for them in euery corner, to cut them off. Neither was it long, but that theſe of Gaza going far into the Country, and returning laded with ſpoile, were ſet vpon by the Turks; whom they (caſting away the ſpoyle they had before taken) notably repulſed and put to flight, the day now drawing to an end. But early the next morning appeared a farre K greater number of Turkes than before; which now putting on, charged the Chriſtians, who all that night had ſtood watching in their armor, and ſo ioyned with them a moſt cruell battel: wherein the Chriſtians ſhewed ſo much valour as was poſſible for men to doe; but wearied with the long fight, and oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies, they were ouercome and ſlaine almoſt euery mothers ſon. Among the reſt, the two Counties, *Americus* and *Henry* fell: the King of Nauarre himſelfe hardly eſcaped by the exceeding ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, and by vncertaine wayes wandring vp and downe the country, not knowing well which way to take, after two days came by good fortune to Ioppe: ſome few others eſcaped by flight to Ptolemais, the heauie meſſengers of the misfortune of their fellowes. The King afterwards viſiting the holy places at Ieruſalem, returned home into his countrie, with ſome few of his L followers, hauing performed nothing of that the world expected.

The Chriſtians by perſuaſion of the Templars, breake their League with the Turks.

About foure yeares after, *Raynold* Duke of Bauaria, whom *Fredericke* the Emperor had left his lieutenant in Ieruſalem, died; hauing by the ſpace of fiue yeres peaceably gouerned that bruiſed kingdome. After whoſe death, the Templars (who, he yet liuing, would oftentimes haue broken the League, but that they were by his wiſedome reſtrained) now tooke occaſion to ſtir vp the people to take vp armes againſt the Turks, without reſpect vnto the league yet in force, or of the dangers like thereof to enſue. Whereof the Ægyptian Sultan hearing, raiſed a great armie, ſending alſo for the Choraſines, a warlike nation then lying neere vnto Babylon, to come vnto his aid. Thus become verie ſtrong, he firſt layd ſiege to Gaza, but a little before repayred and fortified by the King of Nauarre and the Templars, which hee at length M tooke by force, and put to ſword all that were therein, as well the citiſens, as the garriſon ſoulers: in like manner he dealt alſo with them of Aſcalon and other places as hee went. To repreſſe this his furie, the Templars and Hoſpitallers had aſſembled the whole ſtrength of that weake Kingdome, and neere vnto Tyberias came to haue giuen him battell. Who vpon

A their approch haſtily retyred,as if he had for feare ſhunned battel. But whiles the Chriſtians
as victors the night following lay negligently incamped along the riuer ſide,he returning back
again with his armie,came vpon them before they were well aware, halfe ſleeping, halfe waking,
but altogether vnarmed , with a moſt horrible outcry. The Chriſtians now altogether
awaked,and not a little troubled with the ſuddennes of the matter, haſtily and diſorderly (as
muſt needs in ſo great a confuſion) tooke vp their weapons,ſuch as came firſt to hand, and ſo
couragiouſly oppoſed themſelues againſt their enemies. There was fought a moſt terrible and
doubtfull battell,and that alſo for a long ſpace,the Chriſtians ſtill encouraging one another to
do their laſt deuoir: but the Turkes ſtill keeping their order againſt the diſordred Chriſtians,
and far moe alſo than they in number,preuailed,& there ouerthrew them with a great ſlaughter,
B but not without the loſſe of many thouſands alſo of their own men, which there lay dead
vpon the ground. Moſt part of the beſt Commanders both of the Templars and Hoſpitalers
were there ſlaine,ſuch as eſcaped fled to Tyre.

The Sultan incouraged with ſo great a victorie,marched forthwith to Ieruſalem,which he
tooke without reſiſtance,and there put to ſword all that hee found therein,men, women, and
children,without reſpect of ſex or age: and afterwards hauing rifled the ſame, raſed it downe
to the ground,burning the buildings,and ouerthrowing the walls not long before repaired by
the Emperor *Frederick*,and much beautified by his lieutenant *Raynold*. And carried with an infernall
fury,defaced and moſt ſhamefully polluted the ſepulchre of our bleſſed Sauiour,neuer
before then violated or defiled,but of all nations vntouched & reuerenced; which for all that
C may ſeem to haue bin done not ſo much for the hatred vnto the Chriſtian religion, as for that
it was the place of all others moſt deſired of the Chriſtians; and for the gaining wherof they
had vndertaken ſo many hard aduentures,and ſo much troubled the Saraſins and Turks.

1234.

Ieruſalem taken and raſed by the Turks.

Thus by the vnfaithfull breaking of the league,the moſt antient and famous citie of Ieruſalem,
ſometime the terreſtriall ſeat of the moſt Higheſt,and glorie of the world,fell again into
the power of the Turks & Infidels,in the yere 1234,in whoſe hands it hath euer ſince remained
euen vntill this day: now a poore ruinous citie, gouerned by one of the Turks Sanzacks,
and for nothing now more famous,than for the Sepulchre of our bleſſed Sauior,againe repaired
and much viſited by the deuout Chriſtians, and not vnreuerenced by the Turkes themſelues.

D The loſſe of this ſo famous a citie, together with the dangerous ſtate of the Chriſtians in
Syria,much grieued the other Chriſtian princes of the Weſt, eſpecially *Frederick* the Emperor,
by whom it had bin but a few yeres before gained. Howbeit hee could not now remedie
the matter according to his deſire,being himſelfe grieuouſly entangled with the endles troubles
which Pope *Gregorie* had as it were by tradition left vnto the other Popes his ſucceſſors,
for the troubling of his ſtate,vntil at length they had depriued him of his Empire,& not long
after of his life alſo. Among other the great Princes,carefull for the poore Chriſtians in Syria,
was *Lewis* the ninth,the French King,a Prince of great power,but of all others of that time
moſt famous for his zeale vnto the Chriſtian religion,and for his deuout manner of life: who
abounding in wealth and all things elſe of a great Prince to be deſired,and withall oftentimes
E conſidering the notable expeditions many Chriſtian Princes had (to their immortall glorie)
made,ſome into Syria,ſome into Ægypt,againſt the enemies of Chriſt, and for the reliefe of
the oppreſſed Chriſtians,was many times about to haue taken vpon himſelfe the like. But in
theſe his deuout motions,before he could reſolue vpon ſo great an enterpriſe,hee fell dangerouſly
ſicke,inſomuch that for certaine days he lay ſpeechleſſe,deuoyd of ſence and motion,
without any ſigne of life, but that hee did a little faintly breathe: when comming a little vnto
himſelfe, (whither moued by deuotion,or troubled with his former conceits then running in
his weake braine,is vncertaine) the firſt thing he asked for was the Croſſe (the Cogniſance of
ſuch as vowed themſelues vnto the ſacred warre) which he ſolemnly receiued at the hands of
the Biſhop of Paris. At which time alſo his three bretheren, *Alphonſus* Countie of Poitiers,
F *Charles* Countie of Aniou, and *Robert* Countie of Arthois, with *Hugh* Duke of Bourgondie,
William Earle of Flanders, *Hugh* Countie of Saint *Paul*,and afterwards moſt of the nobilitie
of France,to accompanie the king,tooke vpon them the ſame charge. Neuertheleſſe it was
not by and by taken in hand, but ſome few yeares let paſſe in the conſultation and preparation
for ſo great an enterpriſe: many in the meane time diſcharging their vow, by dying before

1248.

at home in peace in their own countries. At length the deuout King ſtill reſolute in his former determination, hauing taken order with *Blanch* his mother for his affaires at home, and put all things in readineſſe for his iourney, came to Lyons to take his leaue of Pope *Innocentius* the fourth, (who for feare of the Emperor *Frederick*, then lay there for his more ſafetie) and from thence to Marceilles; where imbarking himſelfe with his armie the fiue and twentieth day of Auguſt, the yeare 1248, hee the twentieth day of September following arriued in ſafetie in the Iſland of Cyprus, and was there royally entertained by *Guy Luſignan* then King of that countrey.

King Lewis ſetteth forward toward the Holy land.

Now was the French King deſirous to haue gone directly for Ægypt, without longer ſtay in Cyprus, had he not beene otherwiſe perſuaded, both for that his whole fleet was not yet come, and the time of the yere began to grow vnſeaſonable, and the weather tempeſtuous. But whileſt he there ſtayed, paſſing the Winter, the plague (one of the readie attendants of great armies) began to ariſe in the campe, which dayly increaſing, had in ſhort time taken away a great number of men, and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort. Amongſt whom were *Robert* Biſhop of Beauvais, *Iohn* Countie Montfort, the Counties of Vendoſme and Dreux, *Archambaut* Lord of Burbon, with diuers other Knights & Gentlemen, to the number of 240. ſo that by force of the infectious contagion, the King was conſtrained to diuide his armie into diuers places of the Iſland, attending vntill the infection ſhould ceaſe. In the meane time the Templars hauing in ſuſpect both the French and the Turkes, (the Turkes, for feare they ſhould ouerrun all; the French, leſt hauing gotten the victory, they ſhould take all into their owne hands, and ſo diminiſh their power and authoritie wherewith they tyranniſed ouer the other poore Chriſtians) ſent Embaſſadors ſecretly vnto *Meledin* Sultan of Ægypt, to perſuade him betimes to come to ſome good agreement for peace, ſo to auert the power of the French King from doing him further harme, or proceeding further in that war. Of which motion the Sultan well liking, ſent one of his noblemen to intreat with the maſter of the Templars concerning a peace, ſo that it might be by conſent of the French. The Templars glad of ſo honourable a meſſage, writ vnto the French King out of Siria, how the matter ſtood; perſuading him to accept of the peace offered, ſetting out in great words, the Sultans great preparations and power. And ſo indeed had abuſed the King, had not the King of Cyprus acquainted with his doings, perſuaded him that it was but a fineneſſe of the great maſter, and that he had firſt ſent vnto the Sultan, and procured that nobleman to bee ſent: which the King vpon conſideration perceiuing to be true, fed the Turks Embaſſador with hope of peace, but writ vnto the Maſter of the Templars, vpon the price of his head, from thenceforth not to receiue any embaſſage from the enemie, or to haue any further intelligence with him.

Winter now paſt, and the plague well ceaſed, diuers noble gentlemen and great commaunders which following the king, and ſetting forth ſomewhat late, or for feare of the plague had ſtayed by the way, and wintred ſome in one place ſome in another, began to repaire vnto Cyprus: as *Robert* duke of Burgondie, who hauing wintred in Achaia, came now in the beginning of the Spring vnto the king, with a number of good horſemen; and with him, *William* Prince of Achaia, with a great fleet out of Peloponeſus, which country, with moſt part of Grecia, was then vnder the command of the Latines; amongſt others came alſo *William* ſyrnamed *Longeſpie*, Earle of Saliſburie, with a band of luſtie tall ſouldiers. So the army being met together, and all things againe in readineſſe, King *Lewis* departing from Cyprus, and toſſed at ſea with contrarie winds, about fiue days after fell with the coaſt of Ægypt, and there with all his fleet came before the ſtrong town of Damiata, being (as wee haue ſaid) the key of that kingdome. The Sultan long before vnderſtanding of the French Kings purpoſe for the inuaſion of his country, had ſtrongly fortified his frontier townes, and put into them ſtrong garriſons, beſide the great power he kept with himſelfe in readines at all aſſaies, as occaſion ſhould require. Vpon the approch of the Chriſtians, the gouernor of Damiata was readie vpon the ſhore, with a number of braue ſouldiers to keepe them from landing; who neuertheleſſe reſolutely before ſet down for the performing of that they came for, manning forth their long boats with their archers and croſſebowes to beat the enemie from the ſhore, ran a ground with their other ſmal boats, made of purpoſe for the landing of men; and ſo without longer ſtay came to handie blowes; where for a while was fought a moſt ſharpe and cruell battell, the Chriſtians ſtriuing to land, and the Turkes to keepe them off, many falling on both ſides. But what

ſhould

A ſhould an handfull doe againſt ſo many? The Turks oppreſſed with the multitude ſtill landing more and more, and hauing done what was poſſible for them to doe, fled into the towne, leauing behind them their gouernor, with fiue hundred of their beſt ſoldiers dead on the ſhore.

1249 This citie of Damiata was exceeding rich and populous, and had in the former warres not bin taken but by more than a yeares ſiege, (as is before declared) and that not ſo much by the valour of the Chriſtians, as by the extremity of the plague and famin: ſince which time it had bin ſtrongly fortified by the Turks, with deepe ditches, high wals, and ſtrong bulwarkes, and was at that time wel ſtored with victuals alſo, and al things els for the induring of a long ſiege. Neuertheleſſe, the ſoldiers that were left, and the citizens (diſcouraged with the loſſe of their gouernor, and remembrance of the miſeries before indured in the former ſiege, and ſeeing the B Chriſtians now ready againe to beſiege the ſame) the night following, a little before the break of day, ſet fire euery man vpon his owne houſe, and ſo by a bridge which they had made of boats fled ouer the great riuer, breaking the bridge when they were ouer, for feare their enemies ſhould thereby haue followed after them. The Chriſtians perceiuing their flight, without reſiſtance entred the city, and being ſtrangers, did what they could to quench the fire, and to ſaue that which the inhabitants themſelues would faine haue with fire deſtroyed; and ſo afterwards found great aboundance of riches, with plentifull ſtore of all manner of victuals, wherewith the ſouldiers both inriched and refreſhed themſelues. This ſo happy and vnexpected a victorie happened vnto the Chriſtians about the beginnning of October, in the yeare 1249. Sultan *Meledin* himſelfe, diſcouraged with the loſſe of ſo ſtrong a citie, offered vnto the C French King for the redeeming thereof, and to haue peace at his hands, more territorie in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, than the Chriſtians had of long time before: which large offer was by the French, eſpecially by the Earle of Arthois the Kings brother, proudly reiected, and Alexandria the moſt famous port and metropoliticall citie of Ægypt, further demanded, to the great diſcontentment of the Turks and Saraſins. In theſe troubles died *Meledin* the old Sultan, a man not much beloued of his people: in whoſe ſtead *Melech-ſala* (or *Melexala*, as ſome call him) a valiant and couragious Prince, wel beloued of his ſubiects, and but euen then returned out of Syria and Arabia, where he had beene to craue ayd of the other Mahometane Princes, was choſen Sultan. Which Princes, eſpecially the Sultan of Damaſco, although they had not of long beene at any good accord amongſt themſelues, or with the Ægyptian; D yet in this common danger of their ſuperſtition, which by the loſſe of Ægypt was like to bee greatly weakened, they ioined hands together, and ſo ſent him great ayd.

The citizens of Damiata ſet fire vpon the citie, and ran away by the light.

The new Sultan thus ſtrengthened, drew neerer vnto the Chriſtians, which then lay encamped not far from Damiata, and had with them a hot skirmiſh, wherein he was put to the worſe, & ſo with ſome loſſe glad to retire. But the Chriſtians the next day, in hope of like ſucceſſe ſallying out again were ouerthrowne, with ten times more loſſe than was he the day before, and ſo faine to flie vnto the campe. By which victorie the Sultan encouraged, began now to conceiue better hope of the ſucceſſe of his wars; and by ſtopping the paſſages both by water and land, to prouide, that no victuals could without great perill be brought either vnto the citie or the campe, inſomuch that at length victuals began to grow ſcarce in both: whereof E the Sultan was not ignorant, as beeing thereof throughly informed by ſuch fugitiues, as for want or other cauſes, oftentimes fled out of the French campe into his.

Winter thus paſſing, and wants ſtill increaſing, it fortuned that the gouernor of the great citie of Caire (vpon the fortune whereof depended the ſtate of the whole kingdom) a man not euill affected vnto the Chriſtian religion, and in his heart highly offended with the Sultan, for the death of his brother by him wrongfully executed; by ſecret meſſengers perſuaded the French king to come on with his army to the citie, the regal ſeat of the Sultan, promiſing him to deliuer it into his power, with ful inſtructions what he had in all points to do for the gaining thereof. Whereupon the King, who had before of himſelfe purpoſed the ſame exploit, but now filled with a greater hope, aſſembled together the greateſt forces he was able to make. At I which time alſo he ſent for the Earle of Salisburie, with the reſt of the Engliſhmen, who for many proud indignities offered them by the French (eſpecially by the Earle of Artois the kings brother) whereof they could haue no redreſſe, were gone to Ptolemais, without purpoſe to haue any more ſerued in thoſe wars: but now being ſent for by the King, with promiſe of better vſage and honorable recompence for the wrongs paſt, returned againe into Ægypt, A faire offer fondly refuſed.

there to doe their laſt endeuor. With whoſe comming the King ſtrengthned, but more by the G
new ſupplies brought vnto him by his brother *Alphonſus* out of France, leauing the Duke of
Burgundie with a conuenient garriſon, with the Queene his wife, *Odo* the Popes Legate, and
diuers other great Ladies in Damiata, he himſelfe ſet forward with his army towards Caire.
Of whoſe comming the Sultan hearing, and loth vpon the fortune of one battel to aduenture
his whole eſtate, offered by his embaſſadors to reſtore vnto him all the land of Paleſtine, with
a great ſumme of money for the defraying of the charges of thoſe wars, and all the priſoners
he had taken, ſo that he would redeliuer vnto him the citie of Damiata, and ioyne with him
in league and amitie. Which faire offer for all that, the French King, by the perſuaſion of the
Legat and others, refuſed. So the King marching ſtill on, was to paſſe an arme of the great riuer
Nilus (the Sultan on the other ſide ſtill readie with his armie to ſtay his paſſage) which he H
had thought to haue made by a bridge of boats, prepared for the ſame purpoſe: but better conducted
by a fugitiue Saraſine vnto a foord, before to him vnknowne, ſent his brother *Robert*
Earle of Artois, with the third part of the armie before him, accompanied with the maſter of
the Templars and the Earle of Saliſburie, with their followers. Who paſſing the riuer at the
aforeſaid foord, ſuddenly aſſailed the Turks in their tents (the Sultan being then abſent in ſolemniſing
one of their prophane feaſts) and put them to flight. With which victory the French
Earle aboue meaſure encouraged, would needs on forwards, as if hee would himſelfe alone
haue carried away the glorie of the whole conqueſt. Whom for all that certaine of the ancient
Templars, better acquainted with the manners of that deceitfull nation than hee, and better
conſidering alſo of their owne abilitie and ſtrength, perſuaded him to content himſelfe with I
the honour hee had already got, and not to proceed any further in proſecuting of the enemie,
vntill the comming of the reſt of the armie, eſpecially in that deſperate eſtate of the enemie,
wherein he was to win or loſe all. Vnto whom the proud Earle in great diſpight replied, that
he would proſecute his victorie, and follow his good fortune; calling them daſtards and cowards,
opprobriouſly obiecting vnto them the common fame, whereby it was commonly reported,
That the Holy land might long ſince haue beene againe vnited vnto the bodie of the
Chriſtian common-weale, but for the foule colluſion of the falſe Templars and Hoſpitalers
with the Turks and Infidels. With which reprochfull ſpeech, the maſter of the Templars not
without cauſe mooued, anſwered for himſelfe and his fellowes, that he ſhould, when he would
and where he durſt, diſplay his enſignes, and he ſhould find them as ready to follow as he was K
to goe before them. The Earle of Saliſburie alſo willing to ſtint this ſtrife, perſuaded Earle
Robert not to be ſo wedded to his own opinion, but to liſten to the graue and wholſome counſell
of the Templars, being men of great experience: and ſo turning vnto the maſter of the
Templars began likewiſe with gentle words to pacifie him alſo. But whileſt he was yet ſpeaking,
the Earle interrupting him with many opprobrious words, called him daſtard and coward,
and wiſhed that the army were rid of him, and the fearefull cowards his countreymen.
Whereunto the Earle of Saliſburie anſwered, *Well Generall, on in Gods name, and whereſoeuer
you dare ſet your foot, mine ſhall be as far as yours; and I beleeue we goe this day, where you ſhal not dare
to come nigh my horſes taile*; as afterward indeed it proued. How be it the Earle ſo ſaid, for that
Earle *Robert* and the Frenchmen had many times in reproch and diſdaine, after their manner, L
called him and his followers Engliſh tailes.

The proud earle conſtant in his former purpoſe, and not to be otherwiſe perſuaded, ſet forward;
and firſt aſſaulted a little towne or caſtle, not far off, called manſor, whereunto he inconſiderately
approching, was notably repulſed; and hauing loſt a number of his men, was as a man
diſcouraged, about to haue retired. When ſuddenly the Sultan, neerer at hand than the Earle
had thought, ſtirred vp with the noiſe of the alarum, came on with his whole power; and finding
the army of the Chriſtians now diuided (as he had long wiſhed) with the multitude of his
people encloſed them round, and had with them a great and mortall fight: wherein though
the Chriſtians right worthily behaued themſelues, for the ſmall number they were, yet oppreſſed
with the multitude, and on euery ſide beſet, they were ſlaine downe right. Then but all M
too late, it repented the Earle of his fooliſh raſhnes, and that he had not hearkned onto better
counſel, and ſeeing the Earle of Saliſburie valiantly fighting, cried out vnto him to flie, ſeeing
God as he ſaid fought againſt them. Whereunto the noble Earle anſwered no more, but *God
forbid that my fathers ſonne ſhould runne away from the face of a Saraſin.* The French Earle think-

King

A king by the ſwiftnes of his horſe to haue ſaued his life, flying out of the battell, and taking the
riuer of Thaſnes, ouerladed with his armour, was there drowned. The Earle of Saliſburie
couragiouſly enduring the enemies charge, with his owne hand manfully ſlew many a Turke
and Saraſin that day, vntill that at length hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him, and himſelfe ſo
wounded in the legs, as that he was not able longer to ſtand, yet vpon his knees laying about
him like a deſperate man, and ſelling his life as deere as he could, was there ſlaine, but not vanquiſhed.
With him periſhed the whole armie, ſo encloſed by the Sultan, that ſcarce any one
eſcaped aliue, more than two Templars, one Hoſpitaler, and one common ſouldier, the meſſengers
of this heauie newes.

Earle Robert in flying drowned.

The Earle of Saliſburie valiantly fighting ſlaine.

About the ſame time alſo ſickneſſe daily increaſing in the French campe, the king purpoſing
B to march forward to Caire, ſent a great number of ſicke and weake people downe the riuer of
Nilus to Damiata; of whoſe going the Sultan vnderſtanding, cauſed a great number of ſmall
boats to be carried in carts by land vnto the riuers ſide, which wel manned, and meeting them
by the way, ſet vpon them, and burnt or drowned them euery mothers ſonne, ſauing one onely
Engliſhman, called *Alexander Giffard*, who wounded in fiue places of his body, eſcaped yet into
the French campe, reporting there what had happened vnto the reſt.

Now had the Sultan alſo got intelligence of the compact betwixt the gouernour of Caire
and the King, for the betraying of the city; and thereupon had cauſed him to be ſuddenly apprehended
and put in ſafe keeping, vntil he were at better leiſure to vnderſtand farther of the
matter: which no leſſe troubled the French King, than did the former miſfortune, all his hope
C for the yeelding vp of the city being therby cut off. Thus his hopes together with his ſtrength
daily decreaſing, he would haue gladly accepted of the conditions which he before refuſed,
which the Sultan, now growne very ſtrong, would by no means heare of, but in ſtead thereof,
by way of deriſion, ſent to know of him, what was become of all his mattockes, forkes, rakes,
ſythes, plowes, & harrows, which he had brought ouer with him? and why he ſet them not to
worke, but ſuffred them like an euil husband to rot and ruſt beſide him? All which, with much
more, the good king was glad to put vp: for now his forces greatly diminiſhed, aſwell by ſickneſſe,
as by the former loſſes, finding himſelfe far too weake, he would faine haue retired back
again to Damiata: which the Sultan foreſeeing, got ſo betwixt him and home, that now there
was no remedy, but either to fight it out, or yeeld. The king himſelfe had bin often before intreated
D by his nobilitie, whilſt the riuer was yet vnpoſſeſſed by the enimie, to haue conueyed
himſelfe by water to Damiata, for that in the ſafetie of his perſon conſiſted (as they ſaid) the
ſafety of his kingdom, whatſoeuer became of them: whereunto he could neuer be perſuaded,
ſaying, that he would neuer forſake his people, becauſe he would not be forſaken of them, but
was reſolued to indure with them whatſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe God to lay vpon him: ſo paſſing
the riuer by the ſame foord wherby his brother had not long before vnfortunatly paſſed,
and comming to the place where the battell was fought, he might ſee the dead bodies of the
Chriſtians pitifully mangled, with their heads & hands cut off: for the Sultan, the more to encourage
his ſoldiers, had before the battel proclaimed, that whoſoeuer ſhould bring him the
head or hand of a Chriſtian, ſhould haue a great reward for his labor; in hope wherof, they had
E ſo diſmembred them. But long he had not there ſtaied, but that the Sultan began ſuddenly to
appeare, with a moſt huge great army, as if he would euen with the ſight thereof haue diſcouraged
the Chriſtians: againſt whom for all that, the Frenchmen in good order oppoſed themſelues,
and for the ſpace of 3 houres made great reſiſtance: but what could one do againſt ten,
and he alſo fainting for ſicknes & food? the hard plight wherin the greateſt part of the French
army then was. In concluſion, oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies, and no way left
to flie, they were all ouerthrowne and ſlain, except ſome few, ſaued in hope of great ranſome.
The king himſelfe, with his two brethren, *Alphonſus* and *Charles*, and ſome few others, were taken
priſoners, and brought vnto the Sultan: who demanding of him, what had moued him ſo
to make war againſt him? was anſwered by the King, that it was for religion, and the defence
F of the name of his God. In this vnfortunat battel, fought the 5. of Aprill, in the yere 1250, beſides
the common ſoldiers, were ſlain moſt of the nobilitie of France, & all their tents taken.

The gouernour of Caire apprehended.

The Sultan preſently vpon this ouerthrow, ſent of his owne ſoldiers the like number that
the French were of, with French enſignes, and diſguiſed in the attire of the ſlaine Frenchmen,
to Damiata, where the Duke of Burgundie, the French Queene, and the Popes Legate lay; in

hope to haue bin ſo let in for Frenchmen: but they were not ſo wel masked, but that they were G
by them of the citie diſcouered for enemies, and ſo kept out and deceiued of their purpoſe.

The Chriſtians thus ouerthrowne, and the French king taken priſoner, *Melech-ſala* the Sultan
taking compaſſion vpon him, and yet minding of his life to make his owne gaine, cheering
him vp with comfortable ſpeeches, began to talke with him of his deliuerance, & of a good
attonement to bee made betwixt them. The conditions whereof propounded by the Sultan
were, That the King ſhould forthwith deliuer again vnto him the citie of Damiata, and moreouer
pay vnto him for the ranſome of himſelfe and his, and for the charges of the warre, eight
thouſand pound of gold: That all priſoners ſhould on both ſides be frankly ſet at libertie, and
ſo a peace to be taken for ten yeres. For the more aſſurance wherof, the Sultan offred to ſweare
That if he failed in the performance thereof, to renounce his Mahomet: requiring alſo of the H
king to ſweare, If he failed in any thing that he had promiſed, to denie his Chriſt to be God;
which prophane oath the King deteſting, and wiſhing rather to die than to giue the ſame; the
Sultan wondring at his conſtancie, took his word without any oath at all, and ſo publiſhed the
league. But whilſt they were comming together to Damiata, *Melech-ſala* now in the pride of
this victorie, fearing nothing leſſe than the ſudden change of fortune, or the miſchiefe hanging
ouer his head, was in the preſence of a number of his noblemen ſuddenly ſlain by two deſperat
Mamalukes; and one *Turquiminus* a ſturdie ſlaue of their owne order and vocation (by
whoſe procurement it was ſuppoſed to haue been done) by the conſent of the whole armie
created Sultan in his ſtead: who reuoking the league before concluded by *Melech-ſala*, made another
in his owne name with the King, much vpon the ſame conditions that the other was; I
which after he had receiued Damiata, he cauſed openly to be proclaimed. Neuertheleſſe after
that King *Lewis* had paied his ranſome, and was with the remnant of his armie by the Genowaies
tranſported from Damiata to Ptolemais, the falſe miſcreant performed not the halfe of
that he had promiſed, of twelue thouſand Chriſtian captiues that ſhould haue beene ſet free,
ſcarce enlarging foure thouſand; and killing all the ſicke ſouldiers whom by his promiſe hee
ought to haue relieued, neither ſuffering any Chriſtian to carrie any of his goods with him
out of Ægypt, which by the league he ought to haue done alſo.

The French King comming to Ptolemais, and purpoſing to haue returned home, was intreated
by the maſter of the Templars and Hoſpitalers, and other the nobility of the Chriſtians,
to ſtay, which he did almoſt by the ſpace of foure yeares: in which time he repaired the K
cities of Ceſarea & Ioppe, and fortified many ſtrong places for the defence of the Chriſtians
agaiſt the Infidels; and ſo commending the protection thereof vnto the Knights of the ſacred
war, and ſending his brethren away before him, followed after himſelfe, greatly lamented for
by all the Chriſtians in Syria, and ſo arriued in France the ſixt yeare from the time of his departing
thence. This was the end of this long and vnfortunat expedition of *Lewis* the French
King, wherein as ſome write, were eightie thouſand Chriſtians loſt: Howbeit the French
Chronicles extenuating their loſſe, report, of two and thirtie thouſand French, ſix thouſand to
haue returned againe into France. The citie of Damiata in the ſpace of a few yeares twice
woon, and twice loſt by the Chriſtians, was ſhortly after the deliuering vp thereof, by the Sultan
raſed downe to the ground, because it ſhould no more ſerue the Chriſtians for an entrance L
into his kingdome.

The beginning of the Mamalukes and their kingdome.

The late Ægiptian Sultans thus oftentimes inuaded by the Chriſtian princes, and repoſing
no great aſſurance in the prowes of the effeminate Ægiptians, a people fitter for merchandize
and other baſe occupations than for chiualrie and war, had for the ſtrengthning of their kingdom,
bought an infinit number of ſlaues, eſpecially of the poore and hardie Circaſſians, called
in antient timed *Geta* and *Zinchi*, neere vnto Cholchis and the Euxine ſea, brought vnto Alexandria
and other ports of Ægypt out of thoſe bare cold countries, by merchants, and from
thence tranſported to Caire & other cities of Ægypt: of which poore ſlaues, the late Ægiptian
Sultans taking their choice, & culling out from the reſt ſuch as were like to be of greateſt
ſpirit and ability of body, deliuered them vnto moſt ſkilfull and expert teachers; by whome M
they were carefully taught to run, to leape, to vaut, to ſhoot, to ride, with al other feats of actiuity,
and withal cunningly to handle al manner of weapons, as well on horſebacke as on foot,
and ſo inſtructed, and become cunning, were taken out of their ſchooles into pay, and inrolled
together as the Sultans choice horſemen, were commonly called by the name of Mamalukes.

A lukes. In whoſe good ſeruice the late Sultans finding great vſe, ſpared for no coſt, both for
their maintenance and increaſing of their number; daily erecting new nurſeries ſtored with
yong frie, which growing vp and ready, was ſtil ioined to the other. It is wonderful to tel, vnto
what a ſtrength and glory this order of the Mamalukes was in ſhort time grown, by the care of
the Ægyptian kings: by them they managed their greateſt affaires, eſpecially in time of wars;
and by their valour, not only defended their country, but gained many a faire victorie againſt
their enemies, as they did now againſt the French: but as too much power in ſuch mens hands,
ſeldome or neuer wanteth danger, ſo fell it out now betwixt the late Sultan *Melech-ſala*, and
thoſe maſterfull Mamaluke ſlaues, who proud of their preferment, and forgetful of their duty,
and ſeeing the greateſt ſtrength of the kingdom in their hands, traiterouſly ſlew *Melech-ſala*
B their chiefe founder, ſetting vp in his place (as aforeſaid) one *Turquiminus*, a baſe ſlaue, one of
their owne order and ſeruile vocation, but indeed otherwiſe a man of a great ſpirit and valour.
This *Melech-ſala* murthered by the Mamalukes, was the laſt of the free born Kings of Ægipt;
in whom the Turks kingdome in Ægypt, erected by *Sarracon* and the great Sultan *Saladin* (as
is before ſaid) and in his ſtocke and family euer ſince continued, tooke end, as did alſo all the
power of the Turks in that great and rich kingdome. For the proud Mamalukes hauing now
got the ſoueraigntie into their hands, & exalted a Sultan out of themſelues, imperiouſly com-
manded as great Lords ouer the reſt of the people, not ſuffering them to haue the vſe either of
horſ or armor, or to beare any ſway in the common-weale: but keeping them vnder with moſt
heauie impoſitions, and ſtill preferring their owne ſlaues (wherewith the countrey of Ægypt
C now ſwarmed) made the naturall countrey people, of all others moſt miſerable, not daring to
meddle with any thing more than Merchandiſe, their husbandrie, or other their baſe mecha-
nicall occupations; whereof the greateſt profit ſtill came vnto the Mamalukes, who as
Lords of all, with great inſolencie, at their pleaſure tooke it from them as their owne. As for
the great Sultan, they ſtill choſe him from among themſelues, not ſuffering any the Sultans
children to ſucceed their fathers in the kingdome; for feare leaſt they in proceſſe of time,
proud of their anceſtors and parentage, ſhould reckon of them as of his ſlaues (as indeed they
were) and ſo at length bring in another more free kinde of gouernment.

The ruine of the Turks kingdom in Ægypt.

Againſt which they prouided alſo, not only by this reſtraint of their Sultans children, but
of their owne alſo: taking order and eſtabliſhing it as an immutable law, That though the ſons
D of the Mamalukes might enioy their fathers lands and wealth after their death; yet that it
ſhould not be lawfull for them in any caſe to take vpon them the name or honor of a Mama-
luke: ſo debarring them from all gouernement in the common wealth, to the intent it might
ſtill reſt with the Mamalukes. Neither was it lawfull for any borne of Mahomatane parents
(which could not be ſlaues) or of the race of the Iewes, to be admitted into that order; but
only ſuch as being borne Chriſtians and become ſlaues, had from the time of their captiuitie
bin inſtructed in the Mahometan ſuperſtition; or elſe being men growne, and comming thi-
ther, had abiured the Chriſtian Religion (as many reprobates did in hope of preferment.)
Right ſtrange it is to conſider, vnto what honour and glorie this ſlauiſh empire in ſhort time
grew: many of theſe poore ſlaues by rare fortune or ſecret diuine power, exalted out of the
E duſt vnto the higheſt degree of honor, prouing moſt excellent and renowned Princes, of ſuch
ſtrength and power, as was dreadfull euen vnto the greateſt Princes of the world. In which
great glorie, this ſeruile empire (to the worlds wonder) flouriſhed from this time amongſt the
greateſt by the ſpace of 267 yeares; vntill that hauing run the appointed race, it was with a
great deſtruction by *Selymus* the victorious Emperour of the Turks, ouerthrowne in the yeare
1517, and the kingdome of Ægypt, with all Syria and the land of Paleſtine, brought into the
forme of Prouinces, vnited vnto the Turks empire, as they are at this day, and as in the courſe
of this hiſtorie ſhall in due time and place (God willing) at large appeare.

But leauing the kingdome of the Turks thus ouerthrowne in Ægypt, and the Mamalukes
there triumphing, the French King returned into France, and the Chriſtians in peace in Syria;
F let vs againe returne into the leſſer Aſia, and vnto the imperiall Citie of Conſtantinople,
whither the affaires both of the Turkes and of the Chriſtians now call vs. All this while the
Greeke empire (for ſo the Greekes will haue it called) flouriſhed both in peace and plentie
in the leſſer Aſia, vnder their Emperour *Iohn Batazes*: the power of the Latines in the mean
time declining as faſt at Conſtantinople, vnder the gouernment of the Latine Emperour

Baldwin the ſecond. As for the Turks whom we left grieuouſly troubled both with famine G and the often incurſions of the Tartars, they had all this while, and yet alſo, enough and more than enough to doe to withſtand the ſame enemie. At length it fortuned that *Iohn Dycas* the Greeke Emperour died, being at the time of his death about threeſcore yeares old, whereof he had happily raigned three and thirtie: by whoſe good and diſcreet gouernment the Greek empire before brought low and almoſt to nought by the Latines, began againe to gather ſtrength and to flouriſh both in Aſia and ſome little part of Europe alſo. Of him are reported many notable matters, which as impertinent to our purpoſe I could willingly paſſe ouer, were I not by the worthy remembrance of one of them ſtaied a while by the way.

The Emperor in in loue with Marceſina.

This noble and famous Emperour hauing long lamented the death of the faire Empreſſe *Irene* his firſt wife, at laſt married another young Lady, the ſiſter of *Manfred* King of Sicilie, H called *Anne*, with whom amongſt other honorable and beautifull dames, ſent by the King her brother for the accompanying of her to Conſtantinople, was one *Marceſina*, a rare paragon, of ſuch a feature as if nature had in her meant to beſtow her greateſt skill. From whoſe mouth alwayes flowed a fountaine of moſt ſugred words, and out of her eyes iſſued (as it were) nets to intangle the amarous in: vpon this ſo faire an obiect, the Emperor not fearing further harme, tooke pleaſure oftentimes to feed his eyes, vntill that at length caught with her lookes, he had loſt his libertie, and was of a great Emperour become her thrall, in ſuch ſort, as that in compariſon of her he ſeemed little or nothing to regard the yong Empreſſe his wife; but ſo far doated vpon her, that he ſuffered her to be attired and honoured with the ſame attire and honour that the Empreſſe was her ſelfe; whom ſhe now ſo far exceeded both in grace and fauor with I the Emperour, and honor of the people, as that ſhe almoſt alone enioyed the ſame, without regard of her vnto whom it was of more right due. Whilſt ſhe thus alone triumpheth, at length it fortuned that ſhe in all her glorie, attended vpon with moſt of the gallants of the court, and ſome of the Emperors guard, would needs goe (whether for her deuotion or for her recreation, I know not) to viſit the monaſterie and faire church, which *Blemmydes* (a Noble man of great renowne, both for his integritie of life, and learning) had of his owne coſt and charges but lately built in the country, where he together with his monks, as men weary of the world, liued a deuout and ſolitarie contemplatiue life, after the manner of that time, with the great good opinion of the people in generall. This *Blemmydes* was afterward for his vpright life and profound learning, choſen Patriarch of Conſtantinople: which great honour, next vnto the K Emperor himſelfe, he refuſed, contenting himſelfe with his cell. *Marceſina* comming thither in great pompe, and thinking to haue entred the church, had the doores ſhut againſt her by the Monks, before commanded ſo to do by *Blemmydes* their founder: and ſo was to her great diſgrace kept out. For that deuout man deemed it a great impietie, to ſuffer that ſo wicked and ſhameleſſe a woman, againſt whom he had moſt ſharply both ſpoken and written, with her prophane and wicked feet to tread vpon the ſacred pauement of his church. She enraged with this indignitie, hardly by ſo proud a woman to be with patience diſgeſted, and prickt forward by her flattering followers alſo, returning to the court, grieuouſly complained thereof vnto the Emperour, ſtirring him vp by all means ſhe could to reuenge the ſame, perſuading him to haue beene therein himſelfe diſgraced. Whereunto were ioyned alſo the hard ſpeeches of L her pickthanke fauourities, who to currie fauor, ſpared not as it were to put oyle vnto the fire, for the ſtirring vp of the Emperour to reuenge. Who with ſo great a complaint nothing mooued vnto wrath, but ſtrucke as it were to the heart with a remorſe of conſcience, and oppreſſed with heauineſſe, with teares running downe his cheekes, and fetching a deepe ſigh, ſaid, *Why prouoke you me to puniſh ſo deuout and iuſt a man? Whereas if I would my ſelfe haue liued without reproach and infamie, I ſhould haue kept my imperiall maieſtie vnpolluted or ſtained. But now ſith I my ſelfe haue bin the cauſe both of mine owne diſgrace, and of the empires; I may thanke mine owne deſerts, if of ſuch euill ſeed as I haue ſowne, I now reape alſo an euill harueſt.*

Marceſina the Emperors concubine ſhut out of the Church.

Theodorus Laſcaris choſen Emperour.

After the death of this good Emperor, *Theodorus* his ſon, borne the firſt yeare of his fathers raigne, being then about three and thirtie yeres old, was by the generall conſent of the people M ſaluted Emperour in his ſtead: who in the beginning of his empire renewed the league which his father had made with *Iathatines* the Turkiſh Sultan. And ſo hauing prouided for the ſecuritie of his affaires in Aſia, he with a puiſſant armie paſſed ouer the ſtrait of Helleſpontus into Europe, to appeaſe the troubles there raiſed in Macedonia and Thracia, by the King

of

A of Bulgaria his brother in law, and *Michael Angelus* the Deſpot of Theſſalia; who vpon the death of the old Emperor began to ſpoile thoſe countries, not without hope at length to haue ioyned them vnto their own: by whoſe comming they were for all that diſappointed of their purpoſe, and glad to ſue to him for peace. But whileſt he was there buſied, he was aduertiſed by letters from Nice, that *Michael Paleologus*, whom he had left there gouernor in his abſence, was ſecretly fled vnto the Turks: with which newes he was not a little troubled. The cauſe of whoſe flight, as *Paleologus* himſelfe gaue it out, was, for that he perceiued himſelfe diuers wayes by many his enemies brought into diſgrace, and the Emperors eares ſo filled with their odious complaints, ſo cunningly framed againſt him, as that they were not eaſily or in ſhort time to be refelled: and therefore fearing in the Emperors heauie diſpleaſure to bee ſuddenly B taken away, to haue willingly gone into exile, if ſo happily he might ſaue his life from the malice of them that ſought after it.

At his comming to Iconium, he found *Iathatines* the Sultan making great preparation againſt the Tartars; who hauing driuen the Turks out of Perſia and other the far Eaſterne countreys, (as is before declared) and running ſtill on, did with their continuall incurſions ſpoyle a great part of their territories in the leſſer Aſia alſo; and now lay at Axara, a towne not far off from Iconium: againſt whom the Sultan now making the greateſt preparation he could, gladly welcommed *Paleologus*, whom he knew to be a right valiant and worthie captain, commending to his charge the leading of certaine bands of Greekes, whom hee had retained to ſerue him in thoſe wars, as he had others of the Latines, vnder the conduct of *Boniface Moline* a Nobleman C of Venice: and ſo hauing put all things in readineſſe, and ſtrengthned with theſe forrein ſupplies of the Greekes and Latines, ſet forward againſt his enemies the Tartars: who at the firſt ſight of the ſtrange enſignes and ſoldiers were much diſmaied, fearing ſome greater force had been come to the aid of the Turks; neuertheleſſe, ioining with them in battel, had with them at the firſt a moſt terrible & bloudie conflict, wherein that part of the armie that ſtood againſt *Paleologus* and his Greeks, was put to the worſe, to the great diſcomfiture of the Tartars, being euen vpon the point to haue fled, had not one of the greateſt Commanders in the Turks army, and a nigh kinſman of the Sultans, for an old grudge that he bare vnto the Sultan, with all his regiment, in the heat of the battel reuolted vnto the Tartars: whereby the fortune of the battel was in a moment as it were quite altred, they which but now were about to haue fled, fighD ting like lyons; and they that were victors now glad to turn their backs & flie: in which flight a great number of the Turks fell, the fierce Tartars moſt eagerly purſuing them. *Paleologus*, with the Generall of the Turks, hardly chaſed by the Tartars, and glad euery houre to make a ſtand, and to fight for their liues, with much adoe, after many dayes flight recouered a caſtle of the Generals, neere vnto Caſtamona, and ſo ſaued themſelues. The Tartars after this ſo great a victorie (wherein they had broken the whole ſtrength of the Turks, and brought in hazard the whole ſtate of their kingdome) without reſiſtance forraged all the countries and prouinces ſubiect vnto the Turkiſh Sultan, making ſpoyle of whatſoeuer they light vpon: inſomuch that the Sultan diſcouraged, & hauing now no ſtrength left to oppoſe againſt them, fled vnto the Greeke Emperour *Theodorus* for aid; who moſt honorably entertained him, with all E his train, and comforted him with ſuch ſmall aid as he thought good then to ſpare him: which for his more ſafetie he ſent home with him, vnder the leading of *Iſaacius Ducas*, ſyrnamed *MurtZuſle*, a man in great credit with him. In recompence of which kindneſſe, the Sultan gaue vnto the Emperor the citie of Laodicea, whereinto he preſently put a ſtrong garriſon: neuertheleſſe, it was not long before it fell againe into the hands of the Turks, being a place not to be holden by the Greekes. Yet for all this, the Sultan finding himſelfe ſtil too weake to withſtand the continuall inuaſions of the Tartars, and wearie of the harmes he dayly ſuſtained, by the aduice of his chiefe councellors made a league with them, yeelding to pay them a certain yerely tribute, thereby to redeeme his peace. From which time the Tartars accounted of the Turks as of their tributaries and vaſſals.

F Not long after this, *Michael Paleologus* was by the Emperors kind and gratious Letters called home; with his faith ful promiſe alſo before giuen for his ſecurity: who before his return bound himſelfe alſo by ſolemne oath, to be vnto the Emperour and his ſonne alwayes loyall, and from thenceforth neuer to ſeeke after the Empire, or giue cauſe of new ſuſpect for ſuch matters as he had beene before charged with: but for euer to yeeld vnto the Emperour, his ſonne,or other his ſucceſſors in the Empire,his dutifull obedience and fidelitie. Vpon which conditions he was againe made great Conſtable,and ſo receiued into the Emperors fauor,and liued the reſt of his raigne in great honour and credit with him.

The death of Theodorus the Greek Emperor

Enuie in court.

Now *Theodorus* the Emperor hauing raigned 3 yeres,fell ſicke & died, leauing behind him his ſon *Iohn*,then but a child of ſix yeres old,to ſucceed him in the empire: whom he vpon his death bed,together with the empire,commended to *Arſenius* the Patriarke,& one *George Muzalo* his faithful councellor,as to his truſtie tutors,to ſee him ſafely brought vp,& the empire wel & peaceably gouerned. This *Muzalo* was a man of a meane parentage,but for his familiar acquaintance & ciuile behauiour, of a child brought vp in the court with the Emperour as his play fellow:with whom he growing vp,ſo framed himſelfe to his manners & diſpoſition,that he alone was vnto him in ſtead of all,ſtil at hand,readie to ſay or do whatſoeuer might be vnto the Emperor gratious or pleaſing. And the elder they grew,ſo increaſed this their mutual affection and loue alſo: in ſuch ſort,that with him now Emperour,he was of all others in greateſt fauour and authoritie; a wary obſeruer of his delights,a readie miniſter of his affairs, & faithful partaker of his ſecrets : for which he was in ſhort time promoted vnto the greateſt honors of the court,& honorably married vnto one of the Emperors nigh kinſwomen,and now at his death,by his laſt wil,with the reuerend Patriarke appointed tutor to the yong Emperor & his two yong ſiſters. And for the more aſſurance thereof,a ſolemne oath of obedience to the yong Prince,as Emperor,and vnto them as his tutors,was exacted of al ſorts of men,both high and low,of what vocation ſoeuer; and that not once,but firſt a little before the Emperors death, & again after he was now dead: for many of the nobilitie honourably diſcended, ſeeing the ſudden change of *Muzalo's* fortune, among themſelues murmured thereat,as grieuing at his preferment,ſeeing there were many among them,vnto whom both the tuition of the yong emperor,& adminiſtration of the empire,of better right appertained; inſomuch as they were both neerer of kin vnto the Emperor,& fitter(as they thought)for ſo great a charge than was *Muzalo*,whom(as they ſaid)they had many cauſes both to contemne & hate: For,beſide that hee was not honorably borne,& had ſerued the late Emperor *Theodore*,as the miniſter of his wrath againſt ſome of the nobilitie,cauſes ſufficient of the peoples hatred; if he ſhould now alſo in ſo great authoritie affect the empire , it was by his malicious enemies vainly doubted , that hee would not ſpare to commit any manner of villanie for the effecting of his inordinat deſire. Of all which *Muzalo* was not ignorant,a man at all other times of a moſt quicke apprehenſion for ſuch matters,but as then eſpecially,his wits being awaked with theſe ſo great motiues & dangers. Wherfore ſpeedily calling together all the nobility into the court,he welcommed them one by one,& curteouſly diſcourſing with them,offred to diſcharge himſelfe both of the adminiſtration of the empire,and tuition of the yong emperor,& willingly to yeeld the ſame to any one of them, whom the reſt ſhould thinke fitteſt for ſo great a charge: which though they all with one conſent as it were refuſed,ſaying,That he was of all others to be preferred, vnto whom the emperor,lord both of the empire and the child,had committed the ſame: yet *Muzalo* earneſtly requeſted them to the contrarie,& ſtifly withſtood their deſire, wiſhing indeed rather to haue led a quiet priuat life in ſecuritie,than to haue bin ſo ouercharged; not ſo much for doubt of the enuy then ariſing,as for feare of ſome great danger therof to enſue. But would he,would he not,remedy there was none,but that as the late emperor had appointed, ſo muſt he take the charge vpon him. And now was euery one,as well of the nobilitie, as of the inferior ſort,again with greater ſolemnitie than before,the third time ſworn,to the vtmoſt of their power to defend the yong emperor in his empire,and *Muzalo* in the tuition of him, and adminiſtration of the affaires of the State,& faithfully to yeeld vnto them both all due honour and obedience: which if they ſhould faile religiouſly to performe,they wiſhed to themſelues euery man,& to all theirs,a ſhamefull end and deſtruction. Yet notwithſtanding all this ſolemne ſwearing,mixt moſttimes with much forſwearing,there was not fully nine days paſt,but that certain of the chiefe nobility,forgetful,or elſe careleſſe of their oath,and ful of enuy,ſeldome ſatisfied but with bloud,conſpired the vnworthie death of *Muzalo* the Protector both of the Emperour & the empire. The ninth day appointed for the funerall of the Emperour,was now come; at which time were met together at Soſandra(an abbey by himſelfe built in the honor of the virgin *Marie* at Magneſia) many great ladies & graue matrons, to mourn as the manner was; all the great princes of the nobilitie,and among them the conſpirators alſo; thither re-

A paired alſo a number of ſouldiers prepared for the ſlaughter, with an infinite number of the common people, as at ſuch ſolemnities is vſual. But what needs many words, while the hymns were yet in ſinging, and the obſequies performing, the ſoldiers as they were before inſtructed, ſuddenly breaking into the church with their drawn ſwords in their hands, ſlew ***Muzalo*** (then fled to the altar for refuge) with his two bretheren ***Andronicus*** & ***Theodorus***, both men of great account, & diuers others appointed to the maſſacre. So the matrons and the reſt of the multitude breaking off their mourning, & for feare thronging out one in anothers necke, fled as faſt as they could, ſome one way, ſome another, as they thought for their beſt ſafety: but the prieſts & monks thinking to haue done the like, were by the imperious ſoldiers, whether they would or not, again inforced into the church; where tumbling one ouer another, as thronging in with B great force & violence, and ſcarce able to ſtand by reaſon of the ſlipperines of the bloud there ſhed vpon the pauement, they in great feare made an end of thoſe bloudie obſequies. This outrage appeaſed, ***Arſenius*** the Patriark, & only tutor of the yong emperor now left, was therwith yet much troubled, as with a thing dangerous both to the perſon of the yong prince, & quietneſſe of the ſtate; but what good courſe to take therein he could not tell: for as he was a man for his learning & integritie of life not inferior to the beſt, ſo in matters of ſtate he was as farre to ſeeke: as it commonly hapneth, the contemplatiue man buried in his meditations, to be vnfit for temporal gouernment; whereas he that ſhould performe both, muſt to his rare vertues and great learning ioyne a ciuil conuerſation, with great experience in worldly affaires, not to be learned but by great and long practiſe. This reuerend father (of no great reach, yet wiſhing C all well) calling together the nobilitie, conſulted with them what were beſt to be done for the gouernment both of the yong Emperor and the empire, now that ***Muzalo*** was dead; not conſidering in the mean time, who they were with whom hee conſulted, or, that councel grounded vpon no wiſe foreſight, or approoued experience, was more dangerous vnto him whome hee would haue prouided for, than all the enemies murthering ſwords, as ſhortly after appeared.

Muzalo traiterouſly murdred in the Church.

Michael Paleologus aſpireth.

Amongſt others of the nobilitie called to councel, was ***Michael Paleologus*** (of whom we haue before ſpoken) much ſuperior to the reſt, as diſcended of the imperiall houſe of the ***Comneni***, a man of a cheerefull countenance, gracious and curteous, and withall exceeding bountifull and liberall, whereby he eaſily woon the hearts of all men in generall, but eſpecially of the Colonells, captains, and other martiall men, commanders in the armie: of whoſe aſpiring to the Em- D pire, many preſages and common rumors (not always vaine) had in former time paſſed alſo, to the mouing of many: yea the Patriarke himſelfe not conſidering his haughtie and aſpiring nature, made no leſſe account of him than did the reſt, but vpon an eſpeciall fauor, committed to his only truſt the keyes of the common treaſure, at ſuch time as mony was to be deliuered out for payment of the armies, or other like great occaſions of the ſtate; the moſt effectual means for the furtherance of his ſecret practiſes, and the readieſt way for the effecting of that he had ſo long before plotted: for hauing in his fingring ſuch a maſſe of treaſure, as hee might well haue wiſhed, but neuer reaſonably hoped for, hee poured it out as it were by buſhels, amongſt the nobilitie and martiall men, and ſuch others as he thought were able to doe moſt with the people; amongſt whom were many of the clergie alſo: of which his fauorits were made ma- E nie meetings, and by them was the Patriarke continually ſolicited, but yet in generall termes, without delay (according to the neceſſitie of the time) to take order for the good gouernment of the ſtate, which now as a great ſhip in the middeſt of the ſea without a maſter, was (as they ſaid) in danger to periſh, and being once loſt, was not to be againe recouered. At which time alſo the name of ***Paleologus*** was in euery mans mouth, as the only man for his wiſdome and experience fit to take vpon him the charge and gouernment of the empire, vntil the yong emperor were come to age. Vnto which common good liking, the Patriarke alſo (ſeeing no more, or peraduenture not ſo much as the reſt) gaue his conſent: and ſo without longer ſtay, to the great contentment both of the nobilitie and people in generall, made him gouernour of the empire, and tutor to the yong Emperor, wanting now nothing of an Emperor himſelfe, more than the F title and imperiall ornaments. This was the firſt ſtep whereby the aſpiring man (twice before in diſgrace with the two late Emperors, ***Iohn Ducas***, and his ſon ***Theodorus***) mounted at laſt vnto the Empire.

It was not many days after, but that his fauorits held another councel, wherein it was alledged, That it was not ſeemly for him that was tutor vnto the Emperour, gouernour of the ſtate

Machael Paleologus crowned Emperor by Arſenius the Patriarke.

and empire,and to giue audience vnto the Embaſſadours of forreine nations, to want the honour next vnto the Emperor,as well for the magnificence of the State,as for the credit of his place: whereupon he was both by the Patriarke and the yong Emperor honored with the title of the Deſpot,another ſtep vnto the empire. But what contentment finde the ambitious euen in the greateſt honours, ſo long as there is one aboue them? Little ſure, or none at all, more than that it ſerueth them to ſtep at next vp to the higheſt: as did this new made Deſpot, who ſhortly after,was by certain of the nobilitie his great fauorits,neere vnto Magneſia, with the great applauſe of the people,hoyſed vp and ſaluted Emperor. Whereof *Arſenius* the Patriarke hearing, was therewith much troubled, as fearing what would become of the young child,the right heire of the empire. And firſt he was about to haue excommunicated as well him that was made Emperor,as them that had ſo made him: but afterward changing his purpoſe,for feare of greater troubles, he thought it better by ſolemne oath to bind both him and the reſt,that they ſhould not ſeek after the life of the child,or by any force or colour go about to depriue him of the Empire; which was ſo done. Yet it was not full a moneth after,but that euen he that had ſo great a care of the young child,and ſo prouided for his ſafetie, (perſuaded by them of the nobilitie and clergie) with his owne hands,and all the accuſtomed ceremonies, ſet the imperiall crowne vpon this vſurpers head; yet not as vpon him that ſhould ſtill enioy the empire,but as vpon a man according to the preſent neceſſitie of the time and ſtate,thought fitteſt for ſo great a charge, vntill the young child came to age; vnto whom then hee was to giue place,and to reſigne to him the Empire. All which being by more ſolemne oath than before,confirmed,good news (as the certaine ſignes of his fortunate gouernment) were brought vnto him of a great victorie obtained by his captaines, againſt *Michael Angelus* Deſpot of Ætolia and Epirus: who hauing married the late Emperors daughter,& hearing of his death, with the troubles in Aſia,aided by the King of Sicilia,and the Princes of Peloponeſus and Achaia, his ſonnes in law,had thought in that hurle and perturbation of the State,to haue taken to himſelfe the greateſt part of the Emperors territories in Macedonia and Thracia; and for the ſame purpoſe was with a great armie entred into them,burning and ſpoyling the countrey before him: whereof *Michael Paleologus* (then but newly made Deſpot) hauing intelligence, ſent his brother *Iohn*, and ſome other his beſt captaines, with a great armie againſt him, by whom he with his complices were put to the worſe, and not without great loſſe enforced to retyre: the ioyfull newes whereof he receiued euen as he was crowned. Which was ſhortly after confirmed by the comming of the great Commaunders themſelues,bringing with them the Prince of Peloponeſus and Achaia,by them taken priſoner; who for his ranſome was afterward glad to giue vnto the Emperor *Paleologus*,Monembaſia,Maine,and Sparta,three of the beſt cities of Peloponeſus: whereinto he put ſtrong garriſons vnder the command of *Conſtantinus* his brother by the mothers ſide,a right valiant captaine. By whoſe good ſeruice,and the commodious ſcituation of the places,he gained diuers other townes and cities, and at length the greateſt part of Peloponeſus,out of the hands of the Latines: for the vtter rooting out of whome, hee ſhortly after with a great Armie paſſed ouer into Thracia, with purpoſe (as was thought) to haue beſieged Conſtantinople: but finding it to bee a matter of more difficultie than was before ſuppoſed,he left that,and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Pera ouer againſt it on the other ſide of the hauen, in hope by winning of that caſtle, to haue become maſter alſo of the towne: where he was notably repulſed,and enforced with loſſe to retyre. So riſing with his armie,he fortified diuers caſtles and ſtrong holds in the countrey about Conſtantinople, and putting into them ſtrong garriſons, charging them with continuall incurſions, to trouble the Conſtantinopolitans, and to cut them ſo ſhort, if it were poſſible, as that they ſhould not dare to looke out at the gates of their citie. Which they ſo well performed, that in ſhort time the Latines in the citie were driuen to ſuch extremitie,that for want of wood they were faine to burne many of the faireſt houſes in the citie,in ſtead of fewell. Which done,he returned again to Nice,the chiefe ſeat of the Greeke Emperors,euer ſince that Conſtantinople was taken by the Latines.

Now raigned in Conſtantinople the Latine Emperor *Baldwin* the ſecond(as is before declared) a man of ſmall courage, and leſſe power, and therefore not much regarded either of the Greeks or Latines:who for the maintenance of his ſtate,was glad to ſel away the publike ornaments of the citie, and to pawne his ſon vnto the Bruges merchants for money; by whom he

A was left at Venice to be brought vp: which gaue occaſion for ſome writers to report, That he was pawned vnto the Venetians.

1260.

Haalō the Tartar ſent with a great Armie againſt the Turks

About this time *Mango*, the great Chan of Tartarie, ſtirred by *Aitonius* the Armenian king, by whoſe perſuaſion he had alſo receiued the Chriſtian religion, ſent his brother *Haalon* with an exceeding great armie againſt the Turkes and Saraſins in Syria and the Land of Paleſtine. This *Haalon* (conuerted alſo vnto the Chriſtian faith by his wife) ſetting forward with a world of people following him, in the ſpace of ſix moneths ouerran all Perſia, with the countries adioyning, excepting one ſtrong place in the mountains, (which ſome ſay was Samarchand, afterward the royall ſeat of the great terror of the world, the mightie *Tamerlane*) which beſieged by ten thouſand horſemen, by him appointed for that purpoſe, and ſo continued by the ſpace B of ſeuen and twentie yeres after, was then at length (as *Aiton* himſelfe writeth) yeelded by the defendants, only for want of cloathes to couer their nakedneſſe. *Haalon* (in whoſe armie thoſe ten thouſand left behind were not miſſed, marching on, and as a violent tempeſt bearing all down before him, entred at length into Aſſiria, and there layd ſiege vnto the great citie of Babylon, then the ſeat of the great Caliph; whom all the Mahometan Princes honoured aboue all others, as the true ſucceſſor of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, and receiued from his mouth the interpretation of their law as moſt diuine oracles. Which great citie *Haalon* woon, and putting to ſword all he found therein, men, women, and children, with the ſpoile thereof, and the rich treaſures of the Caliph, inriched his ſouldiers. The Caliph himſelfe (reſerued for that purpoſe) he commanded to be ſet in the middeſt of the infinite treaſure which he and his C predeceſſors had moſt couetouſly heaped vp together, and that he ſhould of that gold, ſiluer, and precious ſtones take what it pleaſed him to eat, ſaying (by way of deriſion) That ſo gainfull a gueſt ſhould by good reaſon be fed with nothing but things of greateſt price, whereof he willed him to make no ſpare: in which order the couetous wretch kept for certaine dayes, miſerably died with hunger, in the middeſt of thoſe things whereof he thought he ſhould neuer haue had enough; which though they were in valew great, and with great care laid together, yet ſerued they him not now to ſuffice nature, beſt contented with a little. Babylon thus ſacked, and almoſt raſed, the Tartar marching on through Meſopotamia, by the way tooke the Citie Rhoais, where *Aiton* the Armenian King, and authour of this the Tartars expedition, came to him with twelue thouſand horſmen, and fortie thouſand foot, as reporteth *Aiton* D the Armenian Kings Nephew, then there preſent. So entring into Syria, in a few dayes tooke Aleppo, which he ſacked and raſed in the yeare of our Lord 1260. with diuers other ſtrong townes ſometime belonging vnto the Kingdome of Antioch. Then was one *Malacneſar* Sultan of Damaſco, commanding ouer all Syria and the land of Paleſtine: who terrified with the loſſe of his Cities, and the feare of farther danger, with his wife and children came and humbled himſelfe before the Tartar Prince, in hope ſo to haue ſaued vnto himſelfe ſome good part of his kingdome. Wherein he was much deceiued, beeing (as ſome ſay) carried away afarre off into exile, becauſe hee ſhould not hinder the Tartars proceedings: or as others report, (and happely with more probabilitie) being by him detained as his priſoner, and afterwards to the terrour of his ſonne, cut in pieces in his ſight vnder the walles of Damaſco, after E that it had in vaine been twice aſſaulted by the Tartars: which ſtrong citie for all that hee afterwards tooke by ſtrong hand, and ſacked it, and by the perſuaſion of his wife ouerthrew all the Mahometan temples, as hee had before in euery place where hee came. But purpoſing to haue gone on forward to Ieruſalem, and to haue conquered the whole land of Paleſtine, news was brought him of the death of his brother *Mango*, the great Chan: whereupon he ſtayd his iourney, and returned backe againe, in hope of that great empire; hauing in this expedition ſpent almoſt ſix yeares.

Aleppo raſed by the Tartars.

Damaſco woon.

Thus by the Tartars was the kingdome of the Turks at Damaſco ouerthrowne. At which time, the broken affaires of the Chriſtians in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, might eaſily haue been repaired, and thoſe two goodly kingdomes againe reſtored to the Chriſtian Common- F weale, had the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt then in time put to their helping hand on the one ſide, as did the Tartars on the other: but they then at fatall diſcord amongſt themſelues, and buſied with their wars at home, let ſlip that ſo faire an opportunitie, the like whereof they ſeldome or neuer had ſince. *Haalon* the Tartar Prince, in token of his good wil toward the Chriſtians and their affaires, at his departure from Damaſco left his ſonne *Abaga* there with and empire,and to giue audience vnto the Embaſſadours of forreine nations, to want the honour G next vnto the Emperor,as well for the magnificence of the State,as for the credit of his place: whereupon he was both by the Patriarke and the yong Emperor honored with the title of the Deſpot,another ſtep vnto the empire. But what contentment finde the ambitious euen in the greateſt honours, ſo long as there is one aboue them? Little ſure, or none at all, more than that it ſerueth them to ſtep at next vp to the higheſt: as did this new made Deſpot, who ſhortly after,was by certain of the nobilitie his great fauorits,neere vnto Magneſia, with the great applauſe of the people,hoyſed vp and ſaluted Emperor. Whereof *Arſenius* the Patriarke hearing, was therewith much troubled, as fearing what would become of the young child,the right heire of the empire. And firſt he was about to haue excommunicated as well him that was made Emperor,as them that had ſo made him: but afterward changing his purpoſe, H for feare of greater troubles, he thought it better by ſolemne oath to bind both him and the reſt,that they ſhould not ſeek after the life of the child,or by any force or colour go about to depriue him of the Empire; which was ſo done. Yet it was not full a moneth after, but that euen he that had ſo great a care of the young child,and ſo prouided for his ſafetie, (perſuaded by them of the nobilitie and clergie) with his owne hands,and all the accuſtomed ceremonies, ſet the imperiall crowne vpon this vſurpers head; yet not as vpon him that ſhould ſtill enioy the empire,but as vpon a man according to the preſent neceſſitie of the time and ſtate,thought fitteſt for ſo great a charge, vntill the young child came to age; vnto whom then hee was to giue place,and to reſigne to him the Empire. All which being by more ſolemne oath than before,confirmed,good news (as the certaine ſignes of his fortunate gouernment) were brought I vnto him of a great victorie obtained by his captaines, againſt *Michael Angelus* Deſpot of Ætolia and Epirus: who hauing married the late Emperors daughter,& hearing of his death, with the troubles in Aſia,aided by the King of Sicilia,and the Princes of Peloponeſus and Achaia, his ſonnes in law,had thought in that hurle and perturbation of the State,to haue taken to himſelfe the greateſt part of the Emperors territories in Macedonia and Thracia; and for the ſame purpoſe was with a great armie entred into them,burning and ſpoyling the countrey before him: whereof *Michael Paleologus* (then but newly made Deſpot) hauing intelligence, ſent his brother *John*, and ſome other his beſt captaines, with a great armie againſt him, by whom he with his complices were put to the worſe, and not without great loſſe enforced to retyre: the ioyfull newes whereof he receiued euen as he was crowned. Which was ſhortly K after confirmed by the comming of the great Commaunders themſelues,bringing with them the Prince of Peloponeſus and Achaia,by them taken priſoner; who for his ranſome was afterward glad to giue vnto the Emperor *Paleologus*, Monembaſia,Maine,and Sparta,three of the beſt cities of Peloponeſus: whereinto he put ſtrong garriſons vnder the command of *Conſtantinus* his brother by the mothers ſide,a right valiant captaine. By whoſe good ſeruice,and the commodious ſcituation of the places,he gained diuers other townes and cities, and at length the greateſt part of Peloponeſus,out of the hands of the Latines: for the vtter rooting out of whome, hee ſhortly after with a great Armie paſſed ouer into Thracia, with purpoſe (as was thought) to haue beſieged Conſtantinople: but finding it to bee a matter of more difficultie than was before ſuppoſed,he left that,and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Pera ouer againſt it on the L other ſide of the hauen, in hope by winning of that caſtle, to haue become maſter alſo of the towne: where he was notably repulſed, and enforced with loſſe to retyre. So riſing with his armie,he fortified diuers caſtles and ſtrong holds in the countrey about Conſtantinople, and putting into them ſtrong garriſons, charging them with continuall incurſions, to trouble the Conſtantinopolitans, and to cut them ſo ſhort, if it were poſſible, as that they ſhould not dare to looke out at the gates of their citie. Which they ſo well performed, that in ſhort time the Latines in the citie were driuen to ſuch extremitie,that for want of wood they were faine to burne many of the faireſt houſes in the citie,in ſtead of fewell. Which done,he returned again to Nice,the chiefe ſeat of the Greeke Emperors,euer ſince that Conſtantinople was taken by the Latines. M

Michael Paleologus crowned Emperor by Arſenius the Patriarke.

Now raigned in Conſtantinople the Latine Emperor *Baldwin* the ſecond(as is before declared) a man of ſmall courage, and leſſe power, and therefore not much regarded either of the Greeks or Latines: who for the maintenance of his ſtate,was glad to ſel away the publike ornaments of the citie, and to pawne his ſon vnto the Bruges merchants for money; by whom he

A was left at Venice to be brought vp: which gaue occaſion for ſome writers to report, That he was pawned vnto the Venetians.

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The Ægyptian Sultan inuadeth Syria.

This diſcord betwixt the Tartars & the Chriſtians, gaue occaſion vnto **Melech** the Ægyptian Sultan, now iealous of the Tartars neerneſſe, with a great armie of his Mamalukes & others to enter into Syria, and to ſpoile the countrey of Damaſco; againſt whom **Guirboca** with his Tartars, although both in ſtrength and number far inferior, went out. But ioyning battell with him at too much odds, and the victorie inclining vnto that ſide where moſt ſtrength was, hee there valiantly fighting was ſlaine, with moſt part of his Tartars: ſuch as eſcaped fled into Armenia vnto the friendly king. By this victorie, all Syria, with the land of Paleſtine, excepting ſome few places holden by the Chriſtians, fell again into the hands of the Ægyptian Sultans; as did ſome of them ſhortly after alſo: for **Bandocader** ſucceeding **Melech** in the Mamaluke kingdome, comming into Syria with a great armie, tooke Antioch from the Chriſtians, and with it moſt of the places before by them defended. The citie he burnt, and raſed the Caſtle down to the ground, and afterward entring into Armenia, did there great harme alſo.

Antioch taken from the Chriſtians.

Whileſt the Turks kingdome thus goeth to wracke in Syria, ruinated by the Tartars, but poſſeſſed by the Mamalukes; their affairs in the leſſer Aſia, now the whole hope of that Nation, went not at that time much better: for **Iathatines** the Turks Sultan, there alſo inuaded by the Tartars, and hauing loſt Iconium his regall citie, fled with his brother **Melech** to the Greek Emperor **Michael Paleologus**, in hope to be of him relieued, for the kindneſſe hee had not long before ſhewed him in like caſe, when as he fled from the late emperor **Theodore**; whereof now putting him in remembrance, hee requeſted him either with ſome conuenient force to aid him, or elſe to aſſigne him ſome corner in his large empire, where he might in ſafetie reſt with his wife & children, and other followers, whom with much wealth he had brought with him in great number. The Emperor on euery ſide himſelfe incombred with warres, thought it not good in ſo great newneſſe of his empire, to diminiſh his owne forces: and to aſſigne vnto him any place to inhabit, ſeemed no leſſe dangerous; for that he hauing been a great Prince, and commanding ouer many great countries, and brought vp in all princely royaltie, was not like to content himſelfe with a little: beſide that, his nobility, then diſperſed by the Tartars, were like enough in great numbers to reſort vnto him, as vnto their head, ſo ſoone as they ſhould once heare that he were ſeated in any place: and vnkindly to caſt him off, that had ſo noblely vſed him in like extremitie, the Emperor was loath. And therefore feeding him vp with faire words, & foording him on from time to time with *delays*, he held him a great while as a man in ſuſpence, betwixt hope and deſpaire. *At length* in the abſence of the Emperor (though happily not without his priuitie) *he* was commanded with all his traine, in number about twelue hundred, to get him to Ænus a citie of Thracia, ſtanding vpon the ſea coaſt: where hee much diſcontented, liued like an honorable priſoner at large; but with the watchfull eyes of ſo many vpon him, as that he could by no meanes (as he deſired) eſcape. In which caſe we will for a while leaue him, to feed vpon his owne melancholy thoughts.

1261. Now had **Michael Paleologus** the Emperor raigned at Nice two yeares, when new troubles began again to ariſe in the Weſt part of his Empire in Europ ſide, by the treachery of **Michael Angelus** Deſpot of Epirus. For the ſpeedie repreſſing whereof, he ſent one **Alexius Strategopulus**, a worthie captaine, and a man of great nobilitie (whom for his good ſeruice againſt the ſaid Deſpot, he had in the beginning of his raigne made *Cæſar*) with little aboue 800 Bythinian Souldiers, and Commiſſion for the taking vp of ſo many mo as hee ſhould for that ſeruice need, in Macedonia and Thracia: commanding him when hee had paſſed the ſtreight, with thoſe

A thoſe ſouldiers to take his wayes thorough the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, to terrifie the Latines, whom he was loth to ſuffer too long to liue in reſt and quiet, or to ſtirre too farre out of the gates, but to keepe them as priſoners coupt vp within the wals of the citie. This warlike captaine with this handfull of men, paſſing ouer Propontis, encamped at Regium, not farre from Conſtantinople; where by chance lighting vpon certain poore labouring men, Greeks borne in the citie, and there dwelling, hee diligently inquired of them the ſtate thereof, and of what ſtrength the Latines were, with many other things, ſuch as he was deſirous to know: who not onely told him that the ſtrength of the Latines was but ſmall, but alſo that the greateſt part thereof was gone to the ſiege of Daphnuſia, a towne not farre off vpon the ſide of the Euxine ſea: and withall (as Greekes euill affected to the gouernment of the Latines, and deſi- B rous of the libertie of their countrey) offered of themſelues to ſhew him a meanes how to giue him entrance into the citie. Theſe poore men dwelt within the citie, cloſe by one of the gates, neere whereunto by an old ruinous mine almoſt ſwarued vp, was a ſecret vnſuſpected way into the citie, not knowne to any but to themſelues: by this blind hole they promiſed him by night to receiue in fiftie of his beſt ſouldiers; which ſuddenly ſetting vpon the watch faſt by, and diſpatching them out of the way, might preſently breake open the gate, and ſo let in the reſt of the army: whereunto they promiſed themſelues with their friends to put to their helping hands, aſſuring him of the good ſucceſſe thereof. This plot for the betraying of the citie thus laid and agreed vpon, *Alexius* and *Caeſar* well rewarding the men, and filling them with greater promiſes ſent them away: who as if they had bin about their countrey work, were C after their wonted manner receiued into the citie, without ſuſpition at all. And within a few daies after according to their promiſe, at an appointed houre receiued in by night the aforeſaid fiftie ſouldiers; who aided by them, preſently ſlew the watch, and brake open the gate, whereby *Alexius* entring a little before day, in conuenient place put his men in order of battell, and afterward to the greater terror of the Latines, cauſed the citie to be ſet on fire in foure places, which increaſing with the winde, burnt in moſt terrible manner, and was in ſhort time come almoſt vnto the Emperors palace. Who ſcarce well awaked, and ſeeing the citie all on a fire about his eares, and the enemie comming on, was about at the firſt with thoſe few Latines that he had (for Greekes he had none) to haue made head againſt them. But better aduiſed, and perceiuing it to be now to no purpoſe, hee (the laſt of the Latine Emperors that euer raigned D in Conſtantinople) with *Iuſtinian* the Latine Patriarch, and ſome other of his friends, fled by ſea into Eubœa, and ſo from thence afterwards to Venice, and afterwards to *Lewis* the French King, in hope to haue beene by him and the Venetians relieued. After whom fled alſo all the reſt of the Latines. Thus the imperiall citie of Conſtantinople by great fortune fell againe into the hands of the Greekes, in the yeare 1261, after that it had beene in poſſeſſion of the Latines about 58 yeares.

The ioyful news of the recouerie of the imperiall citie, was in ſhort time carried vnto *Michael Paleologus* the Greeke Emperor at Nice; who at the firſt beleeued it not, as thinking it ſcarce poſſible, ſo ſtrong a citie to haue bin by ſo weake a power ſurpriſed, wheras he himſelfe not long before was not able with a right puiſſant army, and much other like prouiſion, to E win the caſtle of Galata ouer againſt it. But afterwards aſſured of the truth thereof, with his hands and eyes caſt vp towards heauen, gaue moſt heartie thanks to God therefore, cauſing hymnes and pſalmes of thankſgiuing to be ſolemnly ſung in euery church, with all the other ſignes of ioy and triumph that could be deuiſed. So ſetting all other things apart, hee wholly buſied himſelfe in making preparation for his going vnto Conſtantinople, now once again the ſeat of the Greeke empire: wherein, and in trauelling hauing ſpent many dayes, hee at length with the Empreſſe his wife and *Andronicus* his ſonne, then but two yeares old, as if it had been in ſolemne proceſſion, on foot entred into the citie, by the Gate called the Golden Gate; and ſo after prayers and thankes giuen, went to the palace prepared for him neere vnto the Tiltyard: for the other imperiall palaces of greater beautie (ſometime the ſtately dwellings of F the greateſt Emperours of the Greekes) had now of long during the raigne of the Latines, lien ruinous, or altogether defaced. And ſhortly after, becauſe vertue and true deſert ſhould not want their due honour, he cauſed *Alexius Caeſar* (by whoſe meanes the citie was recouered) in ſolemne triumph in his roabs of honour, with a crowne vpon his head, not much inferiour vnto the imperiall crowne, with great pompe to be carried thorow all the

Paleologus the Greeke Emperor taketh poſſeſſion of the citie of Conſtantinople.

citie: and farther commanded, that his name for one yeare next following, in all ſolemne praiers and hymnes of thanſgiuing, ſhould be ioyned with the name of the Emperor himſelf. And yet not thinking to haue done him honour enough, cauſed his liuely image afterward to be moſt curiouſly made, and as a trophie to be ſet vpon a faire marble pillar, before the great church of the holy Apoſtles, in perpetuall remembrance of him, and that he had done for the deliuerie of his countrey; which ſhortly after ouerthrowne by an earthquake, was by his ſon againe reſtored. Now was this great and famous citie, ſometime the beautie of the world, by theſe ſtrange and fatall mutations, wonderfully defaced, and brought to great deſolation: in euery place was to be ſeene great heapes, or rather (to ſay the truth) great hils of rubbidge, the eternall witneſſes of the ruine thereof; the houſes ſtood ſome quite fallen downe, ſome readie to follow after, and ſome other great and ſtately buildings now the ſmall reliques of great fires: for the great beautie thereof was before, at ſuch time as the Latines tooke it, moſt defaced by fire; who all the time that they had it, ceaſed not night and day to deſtroy ſome part or other of it, as if they had knowne they ſhould not long keepe it; neither did this laſt fire raiſed by the Greeks themſelues to terrifie the Latins, a little deform it: for which cauſe the Emperors chiefe care now was to cleanſe the citie, and in beſt ſort he could to reform ſo great a confuſion of things not to be all at once amended; firſt beginning with the churches, which ruinous or ready to fall, he repaired; and next to that filled the emptie houſes with new inhabitants. And albeit that the chiefe of the Latines were together with the Emperour fled and gone, yet was the moſt part of the artificers and tradeſmen of the citie, Venetians, and of them of Piſa, mingled together; vnto whom alſo to ioyne the Genowaies, and ſo to fill the citie with Latines, he thought it not altogether ſafe, although that by them he reaped great profit: wherefore he aſſigned vnto them the citie of Galatia now called Pera, on the other ſide of the hauen, for them to inhabit; granting them great priuiledges, and euery of thoſe companies to be gouerned by a Conſull or Poteſtate of their owne. As for the imperiall citie it ſelfe, he ſtored it (ſo neere as he could) with naturall Greekes borne.

Paleologus iealous of his ſtate.

Now although all things went as ***Paleologus*** the Emperor could himſelfe haue wiſhed; yet could he not reſt ſo contented, for feare leſt thoſe which now did eat their owne hearts, and with great griefe ſmouldred their anger, ſhould at length as the rightfull heires of the empire by him vſurped, breake out into open force, and ſo breed him great troubles, yea and perhaps worke his confuſion. For ſuch is the tormenting ſtate of vſurping tyrants, neuer to think themſelues ſafe ſo long as any one liueth, whom they may ſuſpect. Wherefore at once to rid himſelfe of this feare, he thought it beſt ſo to diſpoſe of the children of the late Emperor, ***Theodorus Laſcaris***, as that he ſhould not need of them to ſtand in doubt: to take them out of the way, beſides that it was a thing odious, he ſaw it like to be vnto him dangerous; ***Mary*** and ***Theodora*** (two of the eldeſt daughters) beeing before by their father married vnto two great Princes, (one the Deſpot of Epirus, and the other Prince of Bulgaria) with whom he had much before to do, and of them yet ſtood in ſome doubt; but theſe was ſafe enough out of his reach. Other two yonger ſiſters there were in his cuſtodie, ***Theodora*** and ***Irene***, with their brother ***Iohn***, the only heire of the empire: ***Theodora*** he married vnto one ***Belicurt***, a gentleman of Peloponeſus; and ***Irene*** to one ***Vigintimilio*** of Genoa; both Latines, men of no great birth or power, ſuch as he needed not to ſtand in doubt of. Theſe two Ladies, the daughters of ſo great an Emperour as was ***Theodorus***, thus baſely beſtowed; remained onely their brother ***Iohn***, the onely heire of the empire, then but ten yeare old, whom ***Peleologus*** long before euen in the beginning of his raigne, had ſent vnto Magneſia, there to be ſafely kept farre off from the court, for feare leaſt in his right and quarrell ſome diſcontented perſons deſirous of innouation, ſhould now beginne ſome new ſtirres dangerous vnto his eſtate. Which indignitie done vnto the young Prince, ***Arſenius*** the Patriarch (put in truſt by his father for the bringing of him vp) tooke in ſo euill part, that he forſooke the court with all his eccleſiaſticall dignitie, and as a man weary of the world, retired himſelfe vnto a little monaſterie of ***Paſcaſins*** in the countrey, there to ſpend the reſt of his dayes. From whence for all that hee was after the taking of Conſtantinople from the Latines, almoſt againſt his will drawne thither by ***Paleologus*** the Emperour, and made Patriarch thereof, there together with ſo great an honour to finde his greater diſcontent. For ***Paleologus*** the vſurper, altogether vnmindfull of his faith ſo ſolemnly before giuen, for the ſafetie of the young Prince, and the reſtoring vnto him of his empire, and

A now fully reſolued to eſtabliſh vnto him and his poſteritie the ſoueraigntie of ſo great an empire,
howſoeuer it was got, cauſed the yong Princes eies to be moſt cruelly put out: the vſual
practiſe of the tyrants of the Eaſt, vpon ſuch as they are loth or feare to kill, and yet would
make them vnfit for gouernment. Of which barbarous crueltie, his ſiſter *Theodora* (married to
Conſtantinus Prince of Bulgaria) hearing, ceaſed not with teares and praiers and all other womanly
perſuaſions, to ſtirre vp her husband in reuenge thereof: whereunto alſo *Iathatines* the
Turkes Sultan, gaue no ſmall furtherance; who wearie of exile, and to bee ſo into a corner
confined as into a priſon from whence he might not ſtart, by ſecret meſſengers intreated the
Bulgarian Prince to make war vpon the vſurping Emperor: promiſing him a great ſumme of
mony, if by his helpe he might recouer his former libertie. Wherewith hee the rather moued,
B with a great power of his owne, and aboue twentie thouſand Tartars which then lay by
the riuer Iſter, ſuddenly brake into the Emperours territories, and in ſhorter time than was to
haue beene thought, ouerranne all the countrey of Thracia, euen vnto the Sea ſide, leauing
neither man nor beaſt in all that countrey as hee went: in good hope alſo to haue by the
way ſurpriſed the Emperour himſelfe, euen then returning from his warres againſt the Deſpot
in Theſſalie: who hearing of his ſpeedie comming, beeing got vnto the Sea ſide, and
(hauing no way left to haue eſcaped by land) ſhipped himſelfe into a Galley of the Latines,
which with another, her conſort bound for Conſtantinople, by good hap put in there for to
water, and ſo in two dayes arriued in ſafetie at the imperiall citie. Thus diſappointed of the
Emperor, all his care was for the deliuerie of the Turks Sultan. Wherefore marching in haſt
C to Ænum, he ſo terrified the citizens with his comming, that they without farther delay deliuered
him into his hands, ſo to redeeme their owne peace. In his returne you might haue
ſeene the ſouldiers, eſpecially the Tartars, driuing before them infinit numbers both of men
and cattell, in ſuch ſort, as that in the open countrey of Thracia for a ſpace, was hardly to bee
ſeene either countreyman or beaſt, it was ſo cleane ſwept both of inhabitants, and likewiſe of
cattell.

Puleogus cauſeth the young Emperors eyes to be put out.

Iathatines the Sultan by the Tartars carried ouer Iſter, and ſo by them ſet at libertie, ſhortly
after dyed. In whoſe kingdome ſucceeded not his ſonne *Melikke* (as ſome write) but two
others (as the Turkes themſelues report) the one called *Meſoot*, the ſonne of *Kei-Cubades*,
and the other *Kei-Cubades*, the ſonne of *Feramcine*, borne alſo of the *Selzuccian* family, as
D were all the other Turkes Sultans, but how neere of blood vnto the late Sultan *Iathatines* they
ſay not. Betwixt which two, as his vaſſals, *Gazan* the great Tartar Chan (by whome they
were ſo preferred) for the payment of a yearely tribute, diuided the Turkes kingdome: apportioning
vnto *Meſoot* the cities of Amida (in antient time called Amiſus, and Aminſus in
Galatia, Melatia otherwiſe called Meletine in the leſſer Armenia, Siuaſte) in antient time
Sebaſtia, and Harbarie, before Satabrea, both in Cappadocia, with all the countrey about
them. And vnto *Keicubades*, Iconium, the antient ſeat of the Turkiſh Sultans, with all
Rumilia, Aſiatica, or the countries of the leſſer Aſia alongſt the Sea coaſt; which theſe two
Princes held as the Tartars tributaries, as had the late Sultan *Iathatines* before them, vntill
ſuch time as hee was by the ſame Tartars againe expulſed. So that the Turkes kingdome,
E which had of long time flouriſhed in the *Selzuccian* familie in Perſia, in Syria, Paleſtine,
and Ægypt, there quite ouerthrowne by the Mamalukes and Tartars (as is before declared)
and now brought vnderfoot in the leſſer Aſia alſo, where onely reſted all the hope of that
Nation, was now at a low ebbe, diuided betwixt two weake Princes, raigning but at the deuotion
of the Tartar. In which confuſion of the Turkiſh empire, ſo rent, not onely diuers
men of greater power and authoritie amongſt them, ſhared vnto themſelues, ſome one corner
of the declining kingdome, and ſome another; but many of the obſcure and baſeſt people
alſo, bearing with them nothing but their bowes and arrowes, tooke the ſtrait paſſages of
the mountaines, and from thence with their dayly incurſions, did much harme in the countries
of the Chriſtians ioyning vpon them: which was no great matter for them to doe, the
garriſons which were woont to defend the ſame, beeing for want of pay quite disbanded, and
the Caſtles vpon the frontiers by them abandoned; which at the firſt, as a thing of ſmall
importance neglected, was at length vnto the Greekes a great cauſe of the ruine and decay of
the greateſt part of their eſtate in Aſia. Theſe miſchiefes vnregarded, grew dayly more and
more, the Turkes ſtill gayning vpon the Greekes what they loſt vnto the Tartars. Whoſe

Iathatines d
in exile.

inuaſions (the glorie of their kingdome onely excepted) was not ſo hurtfull vnto them, as the cauſe of their much greater felicitie afterwards. At length it fortuned, that a great power of theſe aduenturous Turks meeting together in Paphlagonia, were about to haue inuaded the territotries of the Chriſtians: againſt whom ***Michael Paleologus*** the Emperour ſent out a ſtrong and puiſſant armie to ſtay their further comming on, leaſt breaking in that way, they ſhould without reſiſtance at their pleaſure forrage the countrey before them. Which army conducted by vnskilfull captaines, encountering with the Turks, was by them in a great battel ouerthrowne and vtterly defeated, few or none of all that great multitude eſcaping: for whileſt the Greekes vnaduiſedly purſued the Turks, retiring of purpoſe before them, they were by them drawne into the danger of a greater power lying in ambuſh for them, and ſo entrapped, were ſlaine with an exceeding great ſlaughter. After which ſo great a victorie (the beginning of the miſerie of the Chriſtians in the leſſer Aſia) the Turks without let or ſtay ouerranne all the countrey, vnto the riuer Sangarius: vpon the bankes whereof the Greeke Emperour was glad to fortifie diuers townes and forts to keepe them out of Bithynia. Neuertheleſſe they in ſhort time after ſubdued all the countries, from Pontus and Galatia, vnto the Lycian and Carian Sea, and the riuer Eurymedon, which they diuided amongſt them into diuers Toparchies: little or nothing acknowledging the ſoueraigntie eyther of ***Meſoot***, or ***Kei-Cubades.***

Whileſt the Turks in the leſſer Aſia thus win from the Chriſtians on the one ſide, and loſe to the Tartars on the other, many an hard conflict in the mean time paſſed betwixt the Ægyptian Sultans with their Mamalukes, and the Tartars, for the ſoueraigntie of Syria. The poore remainder of the Chriſtians all that while there, in doubt both of the one and of the other: from whom and from the Armenians (then alſo much infeſted with the Mamalukes) diuers embaſſadors were ſent vnto the Pope and the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to craue their aid and helpe in that their hard eſtate: whoſe prayers little preuailing with the reſt, yet ſo mooued ***Lewis*** the French King, and ***Henry*** the third, then raigning in England, that they both promiſed them aid. Whereupon ***Lewis*** a man of a great deuotion, and alwaies forward in that ſeruice againſt the Infidels, tooke vpon him the Croſſe, the cogniſance of the ſacred war; cauſing his three ſons, ***Philip*** that ſucceeded him in the kingdome, ſurnamed the Faire, ***Peter*** countie of Alangon, and ***Iohn*** Countie of Neuers (ſurnamed ***Triſtan***, for that his mother was in her greateſt heauines for the taking of her husband, deliuered of him in Ægypt) and moſt of the nobilitie of France to doe the like: vnto whom alſo ***Theobald*** King of Nauar his ſon in law, ***Alphonſus*** his brother, and ***Guydo*** Earle of Flanders, ioyned themſelues. And ſo hauing put all things in readines, tooke his way to Marſeilles, and from thence embarking himſelfe with his armie in the Genoway ſhips, hired for that purpoſe, ſet forward the firſt of March, in the yere 1270.

1270

Carthage beſieged by K. Lewis.

But being at ſea, he was by force of weather conſtrained to land in Sardinia, and there to ſtay a while: departing thence, he at length arriued at Carthage, the place by him deſired; where in the entrance of the hauen he ſurpriſed certaine of the enemies ſhips; but landing his men, and aſſaulting the towne, he was there notably repulſed. This is not that antient, great, and famous city, which ſometime mightily ſtroue with the proud Miſtreſſe of the world for ſoueraigntie, but another built long after in the ruines, or at leſt not far from the ruines of the ſame. In the beſieging whereof, the Frenchmen found ſuch reſiſtance, as wel put them in remembrance of the antient glory of the Carthaginians. One day it fortuned as the King thus lay at the ſiege, that the defendants made a great & fierce ſallie out vpon the Frenchmen, who before commanded ſo to do, by little and little retired, to draw their enemies further on; betwixt whom & the citie, the Conſtable with a great power comming in & charging them behind, and they which before retired now ſtanding cloſe vnto them, they were on both ſides hardly beſet; who for al that, as became valiant men, worthily defended themſelues, & made there a great fight, though not without extreame perill: which they in the citie beholding, gaue out a moſt hideous and piteous cry, a certain ſigne of their hard eſtate within; aſtonying with the ſuddennes thereof, both their friends & their enemies. But whilſt they of the town betwixt hope & diſpair ſtood thus beholding the fight at land, the Frenchmen by ſea approching a bulwarke on that ſide of the town, took it without reſiſtance: which ſo diſmaid thē without, that they began forthwith to flie, of whom the greateſt part caſting away their weapons, were by the Kings commandement taken to mercy; and they likwiſe of the town vpon promiſe of their liues, yeelded the

Carthage won.

ſame

A ſame vnto the King. Carthage thus woon, the King laid ſiege vnto Tunes, the chiefe citie of
that kingdome, beeing not far off: where by the way he was encountred by the King of the
countrey, who hauing there loſt ten thouſand of his Moores, betooke himſelfe to flight with
the reſt. Who thus ouerthrowne, reſolued no more to tempt fortune, but to keepe himſelfe
ſafe within the wals of his city, if happily ſo he might (as it oftentimes falleth out) more wea-
ken his enemies by lying ſtill and protracting the time, than by open force and valour. Which
their purpoſe King *Lewis* perceiuing, reſolued not to ſtir from thence vntill that hee were be-
come maſter of the citie, which as it ſeemed, could not hold out for want of victuals, conſi-
dering the multitude of people that were got into it. Neuertheleſſe thus beſieged both by ſea
and land, and ſo ſtraitly hemmed in on euery ſide, as that no reliefe could poſſibly be brought
B vnto it; yet held it out by the ſpace of ſix moneths. After which time wants daily more and
more increaſing amongſt the beſieged, embaſſadours were ſent out to the King, to intreat
with him of peace. But whileſt theſe embaſſadours goe to and fro, and reaſon vpon the capi-
tulations of the deſired peace, behold a great and furious plague aroſe in the French campe,
which began to cut them downe by heapes: there dyed *Iohn Triſtan* Countie of Neuers, the
Kings youngeſt ſonne, borne in the firſt expedition that the ſaid King his father made into the
holy Land, euen at ſuch time as he was taken priſoner; which *Triſtan* dyed the 25 day of Au-
guſt in the yeare of our Lord *1270.* The good King hauing yet ſcarcely performed the ob-
ſequies of his ſonne, fell ſicke of the bloudie flix, whereof he there ſhortly after died alſo. A-
bout which time arriued there *Charles* King of Sicilie, the French Kings brother, with a great
C number of freſh ſouldiers: whoſe comming lightned ſomewhat the Frenchmens hearts (hea-
uie for the death of their King) and daunted the Moores, before bragge of the ſame. Shortly
after whom arriued there alſo Prince *Edward*, King *Henry* the third his eldeſt ſonne, who tra-
uelling thorough France, and taking ſhipping at Aqueſmort, not farre from Marſeilles, was
now in ten dayes with a braue companie of Engliſhmen come to Tunes; and there of the
other Chriſtian Princes, namely of *Philip* the French King (his father *Lewis* being now dead)
of *Charles* King of Sicilie, and of the two Kings of Nauar and Aragon, ioyfully receiued.
But theſe Princes had a little before his ariual concluded a peace with the Moors King, & the
Infidels, vpon condition that hee ſhould pay a yeerely tribute of fortie thouſand crownes vn-
to the King of Sicilia; and to ſuffer the Chriſtian religion to bee freely preached in his do-
D minions, by ſuch deuout perſons as ſhould bee there left for that purpoſe; and that vnto ſuch
as ſhould by their preaching be conuerted vnto the faith in Chriſt Ieſus, it ſhould bee lawfull
for them to be baptized, and to profeſſe the Chriſtian religion. Of which peace, Prince *Ed-
ward* vnderſtanding, did what hee might to haue diſſuaded them from the ſame; ſaying, that
the warre was by them al taken in hand againſt the Infidels, as enemies to the croſſe of Chriſt,
with whom they were not to haue peace: and for the recouerie of the Holy Citie. But ſay
what he would, and doe what hee could, the peace (to his great diſcontentment) was now
concluded, which they might not (as they ſayd) againe breake: and thereupon with the firſt
faire winde hoiſed ſaile, and returned towards Sicilia, with purpoſe the next Spring to haue
gone into Syria; which their determination was ſhortly after by the hand of God diſappoin-
E ted. For beeing come vpon the coaſt of the Iſland not farre from Drepanum, moſt of the
great Princes and other Nobilitie, in their long boats went on land, the reſt of the fleet lying
at anker about a league off; for that being for the moſt part ſhips of great burthen they were
not able to put into the harbour: But as they ſo lay, by force of a ſudden and violent tempeſt
then ariſing, ſome were eaten vp with the rough ſea; ſome falling foule one of another, there
periſhed together; others driuen vpon the maine, were there beaten in peeces: ſo that of that
great fleet before the ſtorme ceaſed, periſhed about an hundred and twentie ſaile, with all
the people, as well marriners as ſouldiers left in them, and great ſtore both of armour and
munition: In ſuch ſort that moſt of the common ſouldiers and marriners which had eſca-
ped the plague at Tunes, there vpon the coaſt of Sicilia periſhed by ſhipwracke. Onely
Prince *Edwards* fleet, beeing in number but thirteene ſhips, eſcaped free without loſſe either
of ſhip or man. Neither were they that were got to land at Drepanum in much better caſe,
the plague ſtill following them; whereof dyed *Theobald* King of Nauar; and *Iſabel* his
wife, King *Lewis* his daughter; *Elizabeth* the French Queene, with a wonderfull number of
noble gentlemen, and other common ſouldiers; in ſuch ſort that that *Philip* the French King

The Chriſtian princes returning from Tunes ſuffer ſhipwracke vpon the coaſt of Sicilia.

diſcouraged

1271

Prince Edward arriueth at Ptolemais.

Prince Edward wounded.

diſcouraged with the greatnes of the mortalitie, and the miſerable loſſe at ſea, reſolued there G to make an end of the intended war, and ſo returned into France, as did the reſt that were left, euery man into his own country. Only Prince *Edward* hauing paſſed that Winter in Sicilia, with the firſt of the next Spring ſet forward again on his voyage, and in 15 dayes after arriued with his fleet at Ptolemais: where after he had by the ſpace of a moneth reſted himſelfe and his ſouldiers after their long trauell, and fully inquired of the ſtate of the country, he with ſix or ſeuen thouſand ſouldiers marching from Ptolemais about twentie miles into the Land, tooke Nazareth, and put to ſword all them hee found therein, and ſo againe returned. After whom the enemies following, in hope to haue taken him at ſome aduantage, hee vnderſtanding therof, turned backe vpon them, and killing a great number of them, put the reſt to flight. And after that about Midſummer, vnderſtanding that the Saraſins were againe making head H at a place called Cakhow, about fortie miles off, he ſet forwards towards them, and comming vpon them early in the morning before they were aware, ſlew aboue a thouſand of them, and diſperſed the reſt. Ayded alſo by the Nobilitie of Cyprus, hee with like ſucceſſe as before, made a third expedition againſt the Turks & Infidels: inſomuch that his fame began to grow great amongſt them, and they to ſtand of him in no little dread. But whileſt hee thus preuailed, he was by foule treacherie almoſt taken out of the way. The Admirall of Ioppa faigning himſelfe deſirous to become a Chriſtian, and willing to further the Princes proceedings, had by a ſecret meſſenger and letters ſundrie times intelligence with him, as well concerning his owne good entertainment, as the effecting of that which he had promiſed. This meſſenger by the Admirall thus employed, was (though to the Prince vnknowne) one of the *Aſſaſines*, a I companie of moſt deſperate and dangerous men among the Mahometans, who ſtrongly deluded with the blind zeale of their ſuperſtition, and accounting it meritorious, by any means to kill any great enemie of their religion; for the performance thereof, as men prodigall of their liues, deſperatly aduenture themſelues vnto all kinde of dangers. So now this meſſenger, being reſolued to die, comming the fift time vnto the Prince, and being ſearched for hauing any weapon about him, as the manner was, had acceſſe vnto him, then lying in his chamber vpon his bed, in his ierkin, bare headed, becauſe of the heat of the weather: where after due reuerence done, he pulled out certaine letters from his Lord vnto the Prince, which he read with great delight, as penned of purpoſe for to pleaſe. But as he was further queſtioning with him of many matters, and all the companie voided, the deſperate meſſenger making as though hee K would haue pulled out ſome other ſecret letters, ſuddenly pluckt out an enuenomed knife, which hee had ſecretly hidden about him, thinking to haue ſtrucke him into the bellie as hee lay: for the auoiding of which ſtroke, the Prince lifting vp his arme, was therein grieuouſly wounded. But as the villaine was about to haue doubled the ſtroke, the Prince with his foot gaue him ſuch a blow, that he felled him to the ground, and with that ſtarting vp, caught him by the hand, where in ſtrugling with him for the knife, in wreſting it out of his hand, he hurt himſelfe therewith in the forehead; but getting it from him, preſently thruſt it into the murtherers bellie, and ſo ſlew him. The Princes ſeruants being not farre off, and hearing the buſtling, came running in; where finding the meſſenger dead on the floore, one of them with a ſtoole beat out his braines: whereat the Prince tooke ſome diſpleaſure, for ſo ſtriking a dead L man. This danger of the Princes much troubled and grieued all the Chriſtians in Syria; and the more, for that the wound in his arme, after it had beene certaine dayes well dreſſed by the skilfull Surgeons and Phyſitians, began to mortifie and grow blacke, inſomuch, that they and others about him began to mutter among themſelues, and to looke heauily vpon the matter, as not without danger. Which hee perceiuing, ſayd vnto them, Why whiſper you thus amongſt your ſelues? What ſee you in mee? Can I not be healed? Tell mee the truth and feare not. Whereunto one of them anſwered; And like your Highneſſe, wee doubt not of your healing, but that it will be painfull for you to ſuffer. If ſuffering (ſayd he) may againe reſtore my health, I commit my ſelfe vnto you, worke on mee your skill, and ſpare not. So the next day they cut out all the dead and poyſoned fleſh out of his arme, and in fifteene M dayes after perfectly cured his wouud, to the great reioycing of all his people. The great Sultan to cleere himſelfe of this ſo diſhonourable a treacherie, ſent three of his noblemen vnto the Prince, calling to witneſſe his falſe Prophet, That the ſame was done neyther by him nor his conſent. Which Embaſſadours the Prince honourably vſed, but ſuffered

them

A them not to come nigh him. So hauing tarried eighteene moneths at Ptolemais, and no ayd comming from the other Chriſtian princes, as was expected, he tooke ſhipping, and returning homeward, landed firſt in Sicilia, and from thence croſſing ouer into Apulia, and ſo trauelling to Rome, was there honorably entertained by *Gregorie* the tenth, then Pope; and from thence by the way of France arriued in England, where he was ſhortly after crowned king, in the yere 1272. his father the old King, *Henrie* the third, being a little before his returne dead.

1273.

Rodulph the Emperour taketh vpō him the Croſſe.

The yeare following, *Gregorie* the tenth, not ignorant of the hard eſtate of the Chriſtians in Syria, (as hauing there bin of late himſelfe with Prince *Edward*, at which time he was in his abſence elected Pope) and now deſirous to procure them ſome reliefe, ratified the election of *Rodulphus* of Hapſpurge vnto the Empire; vpon condition, That hee ſhould promiſe to take B vpon himſelfe the Croſſe, and to giue them reliefe: for the performance whereof he offered vnto the Emperour two hundred thouſand crownes, with the tenths both of the Clergie and Temporaltie for ſix yeres: and many goodly bleſſings were in his name alſo, by the preachers of that time, promiſed vnto all ſuch as ſhould with him take vpon them that ſacred warre. Whereupon the Emperour with all his familie tooke vpon them the Croſſe, the ſigne of the ſacred expedition intended: as did alſo the Duke of Lorraine ſhortly after, with ſome others. Neuertheleſſe the Emperour, otherwiſe buſied in warres againſt the Bohemians and Bauarians, and delaying ſtill the time, as not greatly willing to take vpon him ſo long and dangerous a journey, and the Pope ſtill threatning his high ſentence of excommunication, the time paſſed, the Pope died, and nothing was as yet done. Vntill that at length the Emperour hauing C happily finiſhed his warres in Bohemia, and finding himſelfe at ſome good leiſure in ſome part to diſcharge his vow, and to ſatisfie the expectation the world had of long conceiued of him, ſent *Henrie* Prince of Megapolis, or as the Germanes call it, Meckelbourg, with a ſtrong power into Syria, to performe what himſelfe had promiſed. Who comming to Ptolemais, made many notable incurſions into the countrie about Damaſco, with fire and ſword deſtroying all before him as he went, and carrying thence many great and rich booties; vntill that at length hee was by the Mamalukes circumuented and taken priſoner, and ſo carried vnto the Sultan at Caire, where he remained in ſtrait priſon ſix and twentie yeares after; vntill that by chance one of the Mamalukes (a renegate Germane) beeing choſen Sultan, cauſed him to be brought before him, and at his comming demanded of him, If it would not doe him good to D celebrate the remembrance of the natiuitie of his Chriſt with his friends in Germanie? (for now that time of the yere was at hand) And I know (ſaid the Sultan) that thou art ſo addicted vnto thy ſuperſtition, that thou reſpecteſt the ſame more than thy libertie. Truth (ſaid *Henry*) mightie Prince, for libertie would auaile me nothing, if Chriſt by his moſt mild incarnation had not taken away our captiuitie: and therefore how much all men owe vnto the reuerend remembrance thereof, I would to God thou, ô King, didſt alſo vnderſtand; which as I moſt heartily wiſh, ſo I would I could thereof perſuade thee. God forbid (ſaid the Sultan) for I remember that when as I was chiefe enginer vnto thy father at Kneſe-Fenicke in Liuonia, and there did him good ſeruice, I was altogether of the Chriſtian perſuaſion; but now hauing left that common error, haue therewith alſo changed my priuat fortune. But as for thy Religion E I haue nothing to ſay, my talke is onely concerning thy libertie: Wouldeſt thou therefore gladly be free, and ſo returne home to thy friends? That, Nature craueth (ſayd *Henry*) although my fortune gainſayeth, which yet dependeth of your pleaſure: I deſire indeed to returne home, which if you ſhould denie me, I muſt as I haue done, take it in good part; aſſuring my ſelf, that my wife *Anaſtaſia*, with my beloued ſons, *Henry*, *Leo*, and *Iohn*, haue long ſince celebrated my funerals, and ended their mourning. Thou art deceiued, (ſaid the Sultan) for I am ſure that they know thou yet liueſt, and pray moſt heartily for thy returne. Truly I owe much vnto the remembrance of thy father, and therefore this day giue thee thy liberty. And hauing ſo ſaid, furniſhed him with all things neceſſary, and gaue him leaue to depart with one *Martin* his ſeruant, who taken with him, had borne him companie all the long time of his captiuitie. F So taking his leaue of the Sultan, hee came to Ptolemais: but ſhipping himſelfe for Cyprus, hee was by the way by certaine Pyrats taken at ſea, and as a fugitiue captiue brought backe againe vnto the Sultan: who pittying his hard fortune, ſet him againe at libertie, and by a ſhip ſet out for that purpoſe, tranſported him into Cyprus: where he was by the Queene of that

Henr. the prince taken priſoner, & ſent to Caire

Iſland his aunt (as ſome ſay) honourably entertained, and ſo furniſhed of all things fit for his eſtate. Departing thence he came to Marſeilles, where after he had ſome few dayes refreſhed himſelfe, he from thence trauelled by land home into his owne Countrey: where at the firſt he was not knowne of his owne children and friends, as being grown old in priſon, & by them long before accounted among the dead; but now at laſt found againe, and by them known, he was of his children ioyfully receiued as their father, and of his ſubiects as their Prince. Howbeit he ſhortly after died, and was honorably buried in the monaſterie of Dobran.

Thus in the whole courſe of this hiſtorie it appears, by that which is already written, what notable expeditions euen the greateſt Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to their immortal glory, from time to time vndertooke againſt the enemies of Chriſt, and his moſt ſacred word, & for the reliefe of the poore diſtreſſed Chriſtians in Syria and in the land of Paleſtine: whereof as diuers of them had right glorious ſucceſſe, vnto the great profit of the Chriſtian Commonweale; ſo ſome of them anſwered not with like euent, as vndertaken with too ſmal ſtrength, or otherwiſe ouerthrown by the diſcord or malice of the Chriſtians themſelues, rather than by the enemies force. Which neuertheleſſe how vnfortunatly ſoeuer they fel out in the hands of ſuch worthie men as vndertooke them, yet haue they this glory, commendation, and comfort, That they were taken in hand for the honor of the Son of God, Chriſt Ieſus, and the defence of his veritie, againſt the falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, & his moſt blaſphemous doctrine; ſo honorable and iuſt a quarrel as might well beſeeme the greatnes of the greateſt Prince, yea of all the Princes of Chriſtendome. Yet could not the worthines therof, euen in thoſe more zealous times, or the dangerous eſtate of that part of the Chriſtian commonweale, euen then like to periſh, (as ſome others be now) or the lamentable complaints of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians, crying out vnto their Chriſtian brethren for aid, any whit mooue the Chriſtian princes of that time, with their combined forces to reach vnto them their helping hands, or to yeeld vnto them any ſuccor or reliefe: for they little feeling thoſe harmes ſo far off, & more regarding their owne hereditarie quarrels, employed thoſe forces one againſt another, vnto the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtians bloud, as might haue ſufficed not for relief of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in Syria onely, but alſo to haue regained whatſoeuer had been before from them taken by the Turkes or Saraſins. The German Princes were ſtil at a iarre about the choice of their Emperors: the French agreed not with the Engliſh, or them of the Low-countries: neither the Engliſh with the Scots: the Arragonians were at odds with the French: and in Italy were almoſt as many deadly factions as prouinces. Of which diſcord of the Chriſtians (the greateſt occaſion of their ruin and decay) *Melechſares* the Ægyptian Sultan vnderſtanding by his eſpials, raiſed a great armie of the Mamalukes and others, with a full purpoſe to haue vtterly rooted out all the remainders of the Chriſtians in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, and ſo to haue entirely ioyned thoſe two great countries vnto his owne kingdome. But what he had ſo miſchieuouſly deuiſed, hee liued not to bring to paſſe, beeing in the midſt of thoſe his great deſignes taken away by ſudden death. After whom *Alphix* (or as ſome cal him, *Elpis*) ſucceeding him in the Kingdome, & with a puiſſant armie entring into Syria, laid ſiege to Tripolis, which he at length tooke by vndermining of it, and put to ſword all the Chriſtians therein (except ſuch as by ſpeedie flight had in time got themſelues out of the danger) & raſed the city down to the ground: which calamitie betided vnto the Chriſtians the ninth of Aprill in the yeare 1289. Preſently after, he had the ſtrong caſtle of Neleſine yeelded vnto him, whereinto he put a ſtrong garriſon, to hinder the Chriſtians from building againe the late deſtroyed city. In like manner alſo he tooke the cities of Sidon and Berythus, which he ſacked, and laid them flat with the ground. And after that, hee remooued to Tyre, which after three moneths ſtraight ſiege, was by the Citiſens (now out of all hope of reliefe) yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, That they might with bagge and baggage in ſafetie depart. With like good fortune hee in good time, and as it were without reſiſtance, tooke all the reſt of the ſtrong Townes and Caſtles which the Chriſtians yet held in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, excepting onely the Citie of Ptolemais; whereunto all the poore Chriſtians fled as vnto a Sanctuarie, to be there defended by the honourable Knights Templars and Hoſpitallers. Nothing now left vnto them more than that ſtrong Citie, the Sultan of his owne accord made a peace with them for the ſpace of fiue yeares, fearing (as was ſuppoſed) to haue drawne vpon him all the Chriſtian Princes

1289.

Tripolis woon and raſed by Elpis the Ægyptian Sultan.

Sidon and Berythus raſed. Tyre yeelded.

Princes of the Weſt, if hee ſhould at once haue then vtterly rooted out all the Chriſtians in thoſe countries together.

The Chriſtians affaires thus brought to the laſt caſt in Syria, and yet faintly as it were breathing, by the benefit of the late obtained peace, *Peter Belaiſe* maſter of the Templars, with the grand maſter of the Knights Hoſpitallers, ſuddenly paſſed ouer (as Embaſſadors from the reſt) into Europe, vnto *Nicholaus quartus* then Pope, crauing his fatherly ayd. Who mooued with ſo great miſeries of the poore afflicted Chriſtians, ſolicited the other Chriſtian princes to haue ſent them reliefe; eſpecially *Rodolph* the Germane Emperour, who then buſied with the affaires of the empire, and his troubles neerer home, (as were the other Chriſtian Princes alſo) gaue good words, but no helpe at all. Yet ſome of them vnder the colour thereof, got from their ſubiects great ſummes of money, which they imployed to their other worſe vſes: onely the Pope ſent fifteene hundred men at armes, whom with deuout perſuaſion, and much earneſt preaching, he had induced to take vpon them that ſacred expedition, and entertained them of his owne charge: vnto whom alſo many others out of diuers countries, vpon a religious zeale, ioyned themſelues as voluntarie men: who meeting together at Brunduſium, and there imbarked with the two graund maſters of the Templars and Hoſpitallers, in ſafetie at length arriued at Ptolemais. There was then in the citie a great number of people of all ſorts; of able men there was about fiftie thouſand, and about fortie thouſand of the weaker ſort: amongſt whom, diuers murders, felonies, rapes, and ſuch other ſhamefull outrages, (all haſting the dreadfull iudgments of God) were dayly committed, and let paſſe vnregarded, more than of them that were iniured. For all the chief commanders were then at variance among themſelues, euery one of them laying claim (not worth a ruſh) vnto the vaine title of the kingdome of Ieruſalem. *Henrie* King of Cyprus comming thither with a great fleet, charged the Templars to deliuer him the Crowne of that kingdome, which they had (as he ſaid) wrongfully taken from *Almericus* and *Guy* his Aunceſtors. And *Charles* King of Sicilia by his Embaſſadors layd claime vnto the title of that Kingdome, as due vnto the Kings of that Iſland: and vnderſtanding it to be giuen vnto *Henrie* King of Cyprus, cauſed all the reuenues of the Templars within his dominion, to be brought into his Treaſuries, and their lands & houſes to be ſpoyled. *Hugh* alſo, Prince of Antioch, laboured with tooth and naile, to defend the outworne right that his father and grandfather had vnto that loſt Kingdome. And the Countie of Tripolis layd in for himſelfe, That hee was diſcended from *Raymund* of Tholous; and that beſide himſelfe, remained no Prince of the antient Nobilitie, which had woon that kingdome out of the hands of the Saraſins, and that therefore that regall dignitie did not of better right appertaine vnto any other than vnto himſelfe. Neither did theſe foure Princes more ſtriue for the title of the loſt Kingdome, than for the preſent gouernment of the Citie, ſtraightway about to periſh. The Popes Legate pretending thereunto a right alſo, for that King *Iohn Brenne* had before ſubiected it vnto the See of Rome. As for the claime vnto the Citie of Ptolemais, the Patriarke of Ieruſalem challenged vnto himſelfe the preheminence, for that the Metropoliticall Citie of Tyre (vnder which the Citie of Ptolemais was the third Epiſcopall Seat) was vnder his iuriſdiction, euen by the Decree of the Weſt Church. The Templars alſo, and the Knights Hoſpitallers, whoſe power in the Citie was at that time farre the greateſt, pretended the gouernment thereof of beſt right to belong vnto them, as the iuſt reward of their bloud, alreadie and afterward to bee ſpent in the defence thereof: promiſing great matters if it might be wholly referred vnto them. Neither ſpared the French King, or the King of England, by their meſſengers to claime the ſoueraigntie of the citie, by their predeceſſors ſometimes woon. And they of Piſa hauing ſtill a Conſul therein, and by often marriages with the naturall inhabitants, grown into great affinitie with them, did what they might to get the gouernment into their hands. The Venetians alſo by their authoritie and great wealth, laboured to gaine the good will of the people, ſparing therein no coſt. And they of Genoa, no leſſe cunning than the reſt, ſupplanted the ſtrongeſt factions, by giuing aid both apertly and couertly vnto the weaker; that ſo hauing weakned the faction they moſt doubted and hated, they might by the ioynt fauour of the weaker, aſpire vnto the gouernment of the ſtronger, and ſo conſequently of the citie it ſelfe. The Florentines alſo by their continual traffique thither, were not out of hope, by one fineneſſe or other, amongſt ſo many competitors,

The miſerable eſtate of a city about to periſh.

to find a meane to ſtep vp aboue the reſt. But the greateſt part of the people for all that were G moſt inclined vnto the Armenians and Tartars, as both for their neerneſſe & power moſt like of all other to ſtand them in ſtead. All theſe aimed at one marke, which was, the gouernment and commaund of the Citie; and moſt of them had in the ſame their owne proper lawes and courts, to decide their cauſes and controuerſies in. Whereby it came to paſſe, that euerie man might without checke or controlement almoſt doe what he liſt, the offendors from one court to another, remoouing their ſuits as beſt ſerued their turnes. Thus were murders (as is before ſayd) dayly committed in the ſtreets, men abuſed, houſes robbed, ſhops broken vp, and many other outrages done, to the haſtning of the wrath of God, and griefe of all good men.

Ptolemais beſieged.

Ptolemais in vain aſſaulted by the Sultan.

1291. Diuiſion and diſſention (the ruine of all Common-weales) thus raigning in the Citie, the ſouldiers of late ſent thither, or in zeale come of themſelues, for the defence thereof, gaue H occaſion for the more ſpeedie deſtruction of the ſame: Such is the power of the Almightie, in his wrath and iudgements for ſinne, euen by thoſe things wherein we moſt truſt and ioy, to worke out vtter ruine and deſtruction. Theſe Souldiers, for want of ſuch pay as was promiſed them, were enforced to ſeeke abroad; and therefore contrarie to the league before made with the Ægyptian Sultan, oftentimes went out in great parties into the frontiers of his territories, taking the ſpoyle of ſuch things as they light vpon. Whereof the Sultan vnderſtanding, demaunded by his Embaſſadors, That reſtitution might be made, and the offendors deliuered vnto him to be puniſhed, according vnto the League. But in that ſo ſicke a ſtate of a dying Commonweale, neither was reſtitution made, as reaſon would, or yet the Embaſſadours courteouſly heard. With which inſolencie the Sultan prouoked, ſent *Emilech Araphus* a notable I Captaine, (and as ſome ſay, his ſonne) with an hundred and fiftie thouſand men, to beſiege the Citie: who comming thither, and hauing made his approches, had by a mine in ſhort time ouerthrowne a piece of the wall; but in ſeeking to haue entred by the breach, hee found ſuch ſtrong reſiſtance, that hee was glad with loſſe to retyre. Whileſt *Araphus* thus lay at the ſiege of Ptolemais, *Alphir* the Sultan died at Damaſco: in whoſe ſtead the Mamalukes made choice of this *Araphus* for their Sultan; who more deſirous of nothing, than of the glorie of the vtter rooting vp of the Chriſtians in Syria, was ſo farre from raiſing of his ſiege, (either for the death of the Sultan, or the newes of his Kingdome) that he more ſtraitly beſet the citie than he had in the three moneths ſpace that he had there lien before. Now had they in the citie choſen *Peter* the maſter of the Templars, their gouernor; a man of great expe- K rience and valour: vnto whom, and the reſt of the nobilitie, the Sultan offered great rewards, and vnto the ſoldiers their pay, with free libertie to depart, ſo that they would without more adoo yeeld vnto him the city, which they could not long hold. Which his offer the maſter reiected, and flatly told him, That he had not learned of his anceſtors, to ſel for money vnto the Infidels a Citie bought with ſo much Chriſtian bloud; either did ſo much regard his vaine threats, as therefore to forget his ſeruice due vnto his Sauior Chriſt and the Chriſtian Commonweale. With which anſwer the tyrant inraged, the next day with all his forces aſſaulted the citie, and that in ſuch deſperat and furious manner, as if hee would euen then haue carried it; hauing before filled the ditches, and promiſed the ſpoyle vnto his ſouldiers, the more to encourage them. Yet hauing done what he could, and loſt a number of his men, ſlaine both in L the aſſault, and in a ſallie which the Chriſtians made out at the ſame time, he was enforced to retyre backe againe into his trenches. In this ſo terrible an aſſault, not repulſed without ſome loſſe alſo of the Chriſtians, the grand maſter and gouernour of the citie was wounded with a poyſoned dart, whereof he in three dayes after died: with whom the courage of the Defendants fainted alſo, no man beeing left like vnto him to vndertake ſo great a charge, although many there were, that ouerweening of themſelues deſired the ſame. In the beginning of this ſiege the Chriſtians had ſent away all their aged and weake people, vnfit for ſeruice, into Cyprus, where they in ſafetie arriued. But now many of the better ſort, both Captaines and others, diſcouraged, one after another conueighed themſelues away out of the citie: of whom a great number in paſſing thence to Cyprus, were vpon the Coaſt of the Iſland, together M with the Patriarke drowned. In the citie remained only twelue thouſand, which were thought ſufficient for the defence thereof; who afterwards (as ſome report) fled alſo by ſea after their fellowes, and ſo left the citie emptie vnto the barbarous enemie: ſome others reporting

of

A of them more honourably, as that they ſhould right valiantly defend the citie againſt the aſſault of their enemies, vntill ſuch time as that moſt of them being ſlaine or wounded, and the reſt by force driuen from the walls into the market place, and there for a while notably defending themſelues, in flying thence vnto the ſhips, were by the way al cut in ſunder, or els drowned. But howſoeuer it was, the Sultan entring the citie (by the Chriſtians abandoned, or by force taken) gaue the ſpoile thereof vnto his ſouldiers; who after they had rifled euery corner thereof, by his commandement ſet it on fire and burnt it downe to the ground: and digging vp the very foundations of the wals, Churches, and other publicke or priuat buildings, which the fire had not burnt, left there no ſigne of any citie at all; but purging the place euen of the very heapes of the ſtones and rubbidge left of the raſed citie, made it a fit place for B husbandmen to plow and ſow corne in; which he did both there, at Sydon, Beritus, and other towns alongſt the ſea coaſt, becauſe they ſhould neuer more ſerue for a refuge vnto the Chriſtians, or giue them footing againe into thoſe countries. Thus together with Ptolemais was the name of the Chriſtians vtterly rooted out of Syria and the Land of Paleſtine, in the yeare 1291, about 192 yeares after the winning of Ieruſalem by *Godfrey* of Buillon and the other Chriſtian Princes his confederates.

Caſſanes the Emperour inuadeth Syria.

This loſſe, as tending to the great diſgrace of the Chriſtians in generall, mooued not a little euen the greateſt of the Chriſtian Princes; wronged all or moſt part of them in the perſons of the Templars or Knights Hoſpitalers, their ſubiects, ſo ſhamefully now quite caſt out of Syria and the land of Promiſe; howbeit, troubled with their owne turbulent affaires at home C or with their neighbour Princes not farre off, none of them once ſtirred for the redreſſe or reuenge thereof. Onely *Caſſanes* the great Tartar Prince, hauing of late ſubdued the Perſians, and married the daughter of the Armenian King (a Lady of great perfection, and of a Mahometane become a Chriſtian) at the requeſt of his wife and his father in law, tooke the matter in hand. And for that purpoſe hauing raiſed a moſt puiſſant armie of two hundred thouſand fighting men, and ayded by the Armenians and Georgians, paſſing ouer the mountaine Amanus into Syria, not farre from the citie Hama met with *Melcenaſer*, the Ægyptian Sultans Lieutenant, with a mightie armie, whome hee ouerthrew in a great and mortall battell, wherein fortie thouſand of the Ægyptians are reported to haue beene ſlaine, and ſo draue him quite out of Syria: ſending *Molais*, one of his captaines, with part of his armie to D purſue him, who neuer left him vntill hee had chaſed him ouer the deſart ſands into Ægypt. The victorious Tartar after this battell tooke the citie of Hama, where lighting vpon the great treaſures of the Sultan, hee bountifully diuided it, together with the ſpoile, amongſt his ſouldiers, reſeruing nothing thereof vnto himſelfe, more than a ſword and a casket full of ſecret letters. The Ægyptian thus put to flight, hee without reſiſtance tooke in moſt of the cities of Syria, with the citie of Ieruſalem alſo; which in many places by the Turks and Ægyptians defaced, he againe repaired: and together with the Temple of our Sauiour gaue it to the Armenians, Georgians, and other Chriſtians, repairing thither out of Cyprus, Crete, and other places, to inhabit. And hauing himſelfe honoured the holy places with great gifts, returned with his armie to Damaſco, which was forthwith deliuered vnto E him. But lying there, with purpoſe in Autumne following to haue gone into Ægypt, and to haue vtterly deſtroyed that kingdome, he was certified of new troubles ariſing in Perſia, and ſome other parts of his empire: for repreſſing whereof, he with the greateſt part of his army returned himſelfe into Perſia, leauing one *Capcapus* gouernour of Damaſco; who after the ouerthrow of the Sultans armie had reuolted vnto him; and *Molais* (of whom wee haue before ſpoken) gouernour of Ieruſalem: commanding them at his departure to re-edifie the citie of Tyre, and to ſend embaſſadours vnto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to ioyne in league with them, for the more ſure holding of thoſe new gained countries. And ſo Tyre was indeed repaired as he had commanded, and deliuered to the Chriſtians, with a conuenient garriſon for the keeping thereof: but the embaſſadors comming to the proud Biſhop *Boniface* F the eight, then Pope, whom of all others it beſeemed to haue furthered their buiſineſſe, they could of him obtaine nothing, but returned as they came. For hee at the ſame time fallen out with *Philip* the French King, thundering out his excommunications, diſcharging his ſubiects of their loyaltie, and ſo much as in him was, depriuing him of his kingdome, had giuen the ſame vnto *Albertus* Duke of Auſtria, whom he had declared Emperour: whereof

Ieruſalem taken and repaired by Caſſanes.

ariſe great troubles. Beſides that, he being of the ***Guelphes*** faction, was not in any thing more carefull, than of the vtter extinguiſhing of the contrarie faction of the ***Gibellines***, eſpecially of the moſt honorable familie of the ***Columnij***, of whom ſome he had ſlaine, ſome hee had depriued of their honours, ſome he had impriſoned, and driuen other ſome into exile; ſo that thus wickedly buſied for the maintenance of his owne proud eſtate, hee had no leiſure to further the good of the Chriſtian commonweale: which his intollerable pride, and forgetfulneſſe of dutie long eſcaped not the reuenging hand of God; being when hee thought leaſt, ſuddenly taken priſoner at his fathers houſe in the city of Anagnia (where he was borne) by ***Sara Columnius*** his mortall enemie; whom but lately before redeemed out of a pirats gally, the French King had ſent for that purpoſe, with one ***Longaret*** (or as ſome call him, ***Nogaret***) a French Knight: by whom the proud Prelat brought to Rome, in the caſtle of S. ***Angelo*** within fiue and thirtie days after moſt miſerably died, in his madnes (as ſome report) renting himſelfe with his teeth, and deuouring his owne fingers. This worthie Tartar Prince ***Caſſanes*** (by whom the Chriſtian commonweale might haue againe riſen in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, had not the pride of the great Biſhop, & the diſſention of the Chriſtian Princes hindred the ſame) was (as ***Aitonus*** writeth, who was preſent in this warre, following his vncle the Armenian King) a man of a verie ſhort ſtature, and exceeding hard fauor; but with valor, bountie, and other vertues of the minde, plentifully recompencing what wanted in the feature of his bodie. After whoſe departure into Perſia, ***Capcapus*** gouernour of Damaſco, conſidering that the power of the Tartars there left was not great, and that no aid was to be expected from the other Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt; to recompenſe his former treaſon of reuolting from the Sultan, with a new reuolt from the Tartar, roſe vp into open rebellion, drawing after him not onely the citie of Damaſco, but the greateſt part of Syria alſo. Whereof ***Molais*** gouernor of Ieruſalem vnderſtanding, was about to haue gone againſt him with his Tartars; but aduertiſed by his eſpials, that ***Capcapus*** in this his conſpiracie had compacted with the Ægyptian Sultan alſo, perceiuing himſelfe too weake to withſtand ſo great a power, retyred with his Tartars into Meſopotamia, there expecting new ſupplies both from ***Caſſanes*** and the King of Armenia. Of whoſe departure out of Syria the Ægyptian Sultan vnderſtanding, came directly with his armie to Ieruſalem, which he tooke, (being forſaken of the inhabitants) and prophaned the temple, ſparing only the Sepulchre of our Sauiour, at the humble ſuit of the religious, making there a greater ſhew of deuotion, than of crueltie. After that, hee woon all the other leſſer townes, which the Tartars had either kept for themſelues, or giuen to the other Chriſtians, and vtterly raſed all the forts of the Hoſpitallers and Templars, which valiant men, without other helpe, for the ſpace of almoſt a yeare held out againſt the tyrant, in which time moſt of them were honorably ſlain: the reſt that were left aliue being taken by the enemie, had neuertheleſſe leaue giuen with bag & baggage in ſafetie to depart, hauing before by ſolemne oath for euer abiured the country of Syria: and ſo theſe worthie men, the great ornaments of the Chriſtian commonweale, the Hoſpitalers and Templars, which to the vtmoſt of their power had by the ſpace of 300 yeres right worthily defended both the Chriſtians and the Chriſtian religion, againſt the Infidels in Syria and the Holy land, were now for euer driuen out thence about the yeare of our Lord 1300, to the great diſhonour of all Chriſtendome.

The deſcription of Caſſanes.

The city of Ieruſalem, with all Syria again recouered by the Ægyptian Sultan.

1300.

Wherefore with them now taking our leaue of Syria and the Holy land, leauing the ſame in the poſſeſſion of the Ægyptian Sultan and the Mamalukes, although it were ſhortly after like enough to haue bin againe recouered from them by the Tartars, had not the death of the great Tartar Prince ***Caſſanes***, and their domeſticall troubles letted: we will againe returne return to the troubled affaires of the Turks in the leſſer Aſia, whither the courſe of the time had ſomewhat before called vs, with the occurrents thereof, more proper to our purpoſe and the argument we haue in hand, but that al cannot be at once told: and for the better vnderſtanding of the deſirous Reader, I thought it not good abruptly to breake off the courſe of the aforeſaid hiſtorie, drawing ſo neere to an end, but to make him partaker of the heauineſſe thereof.

The death of Meſoot and Ceicubades.

Now had the Turks no kindome left in the leſſer Aſia, and that alſo at the pleaſure of ***Gazan*** the great Tartar ***Chan*** diuided betwixt ***Meſoot*** and ***Cei-Cubades***, as his vaſſals, bound vnto him by a yerely tribute, as is aforeſaid: who both kept in awe by the greatnes of the Tartar, did nothing worth the remembrance, but as they liued, ſo alſo died, almoſt buried in obſcuritie. Of theſe two, ***Meſoot*** died without iſſue; but ***Cei-Cubades*** departing, left behind him his ſonne

Aladin,

A *Aladin*, who by the name of *Aladin* the ſecond ſucceeding in the kingdome, vnited againe
the ſame before diuided, yet paying ſtill tribute vnto the Tartar his Soueraigne, as had his fa-
ther with the other late Sultans of the Turkes before him. Much it was not that this *Aladin*
did, albeit that the power of the Tartars in his time beganne to decline, and not to lie ſo hea-
uie vpon the Turkes as before. Hee was a man of a quiet ſpirit, and therefore much deligh-
ted in peace: a great friend vnto *Othoman* the firſt founder of the glorious and mightie *Otho-
man* empire, as in his life ſhall appeare. But this *Aladin*, the laſt of the Turkes Sultans of the
Selzuccian familie, dying without iſſue, one *Sabib* his Veſir-Azemes or chiefe Counſeller,
and then a man of greateſt authoritie, aſpired vnto the kingdome, which he had for moſt part
himſelfe ſwayed all the raigne of the late Sultan his maſter: which vſurped ſoueraigntie, no
B way vnto him due, hee could neither himſelfe long hold, or deliuer vnto his poſteritie; for
that many others of the nobilitie, men of great power, and ſome of greater families than hee,
enuying at his honour, and diſdaining to bee gouerned by him, or any other no greater than
themſelues, layed hold ſome vpon one countrey or prouince, ſome vpon another, where they
were able to doe moſt, erecting vnto themſelues greater or leſſer Satrapies, according to the
meaſure of their own ſtrength and power, without reſpect of any ſuperioritie one ſhould haue
ouer another, but euery one of them abſolutely commanding ouer ſo much as he was able by
ſtrong hand to hold. So that as it had oftentimes before chanced, that the great Monarchies
deſtitute of their lawfull heires, had in part, or all, become rich preyes vnto ſuch as could firſt
lay ſtrong hand vpon them; euen ſo fell it now out in the great kingdom of the Turks, euery
C one of their great Princes, meaſuring the greatneſſe of his territorie, not by the meaſure of
his right, but by the ſtrength of his owne power. Wherein they ſhared ſo well for themſelues,
that *Sabib* at firſt in poſſeſſion of all, was in ſhort time thruſt quite out of all: and ſo the great
kingdome of the Turkes in the leſſer Aſia, brought vnto a meere Anarchie; no King now left
among them, the whole kingdom being now diuided into diuers Satrapies, or other leſſer To-
parchies. The greateſt of thoſe Princes that thus ſhared the Turks kingdome amongſt them,
was one *Caraman Aluſirius*; who as ſtrongeſt, tooke vnto him the citie of Iconium, the regall
ſeat of the Turkiſh Sultans, with all the great countrey of Cilicia, and ſome part of the fronti-
ers of the countries of Lycaonia, Pamphilia, Caria, and the greater Phrigia, as farre as Phyla-
delphia, and the citie of Antioch vpon the riuer Meander: All which large territorie, was
D of him afterward called Caramania, and by the ſame name is commonly at this day knowne,
and by our late Geographers deſcribed. Of this *Caraman* alſo deſcended the Caramanian
Kings, who of long time after vnfortunately ſtroue with the *Othoman* Sultans for the So-
ueraigntie of their empires; vntill that at length they with their kingdome, and all the reſt
of theſe Turkiſh Satrapies, were in the fatall greatneſſe of the *Othoman* empire, ſwallowed
vp and deuoured, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall (if God ſo will) in due time and
place be declared. Next neighbour vnto him was *Saruchan*, of the Greekes called *Sarchan*, of
whome the countrey of Ionia-Maritima was and yet is called Saru-Chan-Ili, and Sarucha-
nia, that is to ſay, *Saruchans* countrey. The greateſt part of Lydia, with ſome part alſo of
the greater Miſia, Troas, and Phrygia, fell to *Calamus* and his ſonne *Caraſius*, of whome it is
E called Caraſia, or Caraſi-Ili, (or as wee might ſay) *Caraſius* his countrey. The greateſt part
of the antient Miſia, with ſome part of Lydia, was poſſeſſed by *Aidin*, and was of him cal-
led Aidinia, or Aidin-Ili, as his countrey. Some part of the great countrey of Pontus, with
the cities of Heraclea-Pontica, Caſtamona, Synope, and others neere vnto the Euxine, and
the countrey of Paphlagonia, fell into the handes of the ſonnes of *Omer*, or as the Greekes
call him, *Amur*: of whome that countrey tooke not name, as did the others, of ſuch
Princes as poſſeſſed them, but is commonly called Bolli, of a Citie in that Countrey
by the Turkes ſo named. As was alſo Mendeſia, or as ſome call it Menteſia, a Countrey
in the leſſer Aſia, ſo by the Turkes called of Mendos or Myndus, a Citie in Caria. There
were beſide theſe, diuers other places and Toparchies in the leſſer Aſia, which in the ren-
F ting of this great kingdome, from the Turkes receiued names, before vnto the world vn-
knowne; all which to proſecute were tedious. Sufficeth it vs, for the manifeſting of the
Turkes Anarchie, and the ruine of their kingdome in the leſſer Aſia, as in part alſo for the
more euidence of the heauie Hiſtorie following, to haue remembred theſe as the chiefeſt;
eſpecially ſuch as tooke their names of ſuch great Princes or Captaines as in that ſo great a
confuſion

The Turks kingdome rent in ſunder by themſelues.

The Turkes Anarchie.

Caramania.

Saruchania.

Caraſia.

Aidinia.

Bolli.

Mendeſia.

Othoman none of the Selzuccian familie.

confuſion of the Turks kingdome, by ſtrong hand firſt ceazed vpon them, and ſo left them to G
their poſteritie, of whom much is to be ſaid hereafter. Theſe Princes one and all that thus ſha-
red the late *Aladinian* kingdome, were deſcended of the better ſort of the Turkes, which with
the *Selzuccian* & *Aladinian* Sultans driuen out of Perſia by the Tartars, had vnder them ſeated
themſelues in the leſſer Aſia, as is before at large declared. Now amongſt theſe great men that
thus diuided the Turks kingdome, moſt of them that write of the Turks affaires, both Greekes
and Latines, reckon vp *Othoman* (the raiſer of his houſe and familie) for one, who indeed in the
latter time of the late Sultan *Aladin* began to flouriſh, and was of him for his valour extraordi-
narily fauoured (as in this Hiſtorie ſhall appeare) but of his kingdome held no more than one
poore lordſhip, called Suguta in Bythinia, not farre from the mountaine Olympus, (long be-
fore giuen vnto his father *Erthogrull*, for his good ſeruice) with ſuch other ſmall holds there- H
about, as he had himſelfe gained from the weake Chriſtians his neighbours. For although he
were a Turke borne, yet was hee not of the *Selzuccian* family, as were the reſt, but of another
houſe and tribe; and therefore not of them fauoured or thought to haue ſo good right to any
of the late Sultans prouinces or territories, as had they who beeing of his houſe, and holpen
with the preſcription of time, enuied at the ſudden riſing of this *Oguzian* Turk, being to them
as it were a meere ſtranger; whoſe fortune for all that (I know not by what ſecret foreknow-
ledge) they ſeemed to feare, as in time to grow dangerous vnto them and their poſteritie;
wherin they were no whit deceiued. But of him and his proceedings much more is to be ſaid
hereafter: leaue wee him now therefore with the reſt vnto their fortunes in this the Turkes
Anarchie, and ſo conclude this part of our Generall Hiſtorie: Glad when I looke backe I
to haue waded thus far, yet fearing to be drowned before I get ouer; ſuch a ſea
of matter and world of troubles yet remaining, not without
much labour and toile, and that in long time
to be paſſed through.

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FINIS.

THE
LIVES OF
THE OTHOMAN
KINGS AND EMPERORS.

FAITHFVLLY GATHERED OVT OF
the beſt Hiſtories both antient and moderne, and
digeſted into one continuat Hiſtorie.

By RICHARD KNOLLES.

ECCLES. 10. 4.

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*The
gouernment
of the earth is in the
hand of the Lord, [and
all iniquity of the nations
is to be abhorred:] and
when time it he wil ſet
vp a profitable Ru-
ler ouer it.*

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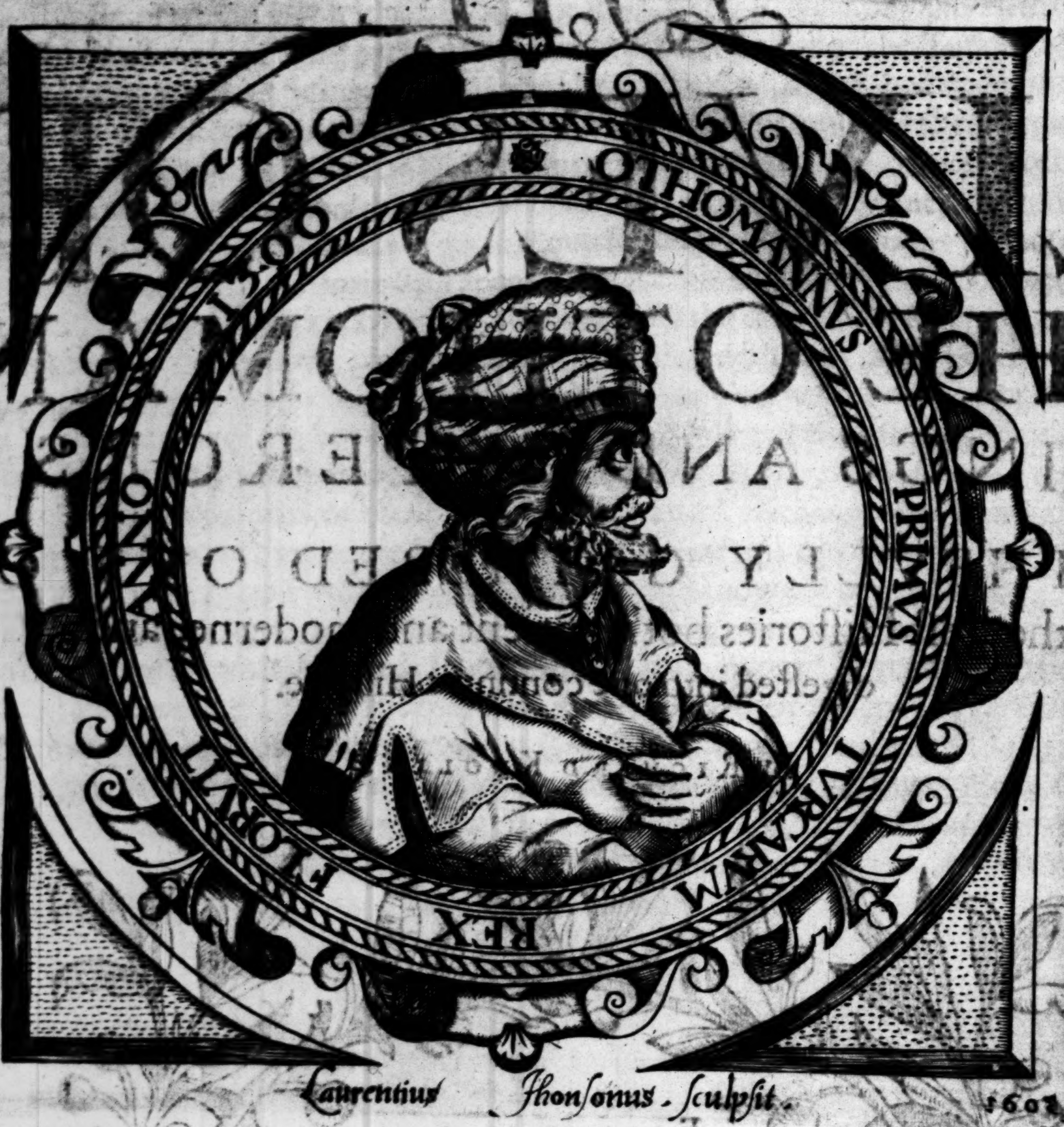
OTHOMANNUS PRIMUS TURCARUM REX FLORUIT ANNO 1300
Laurentius Jhonsonus . sculpsit . 1603

Phi. Loniceрus Hiſt. Turc. Lib. 1.

Multiplici laſſatæ Aſiæ res clade premuntur.
Hinc Sarracenus, Tartarus inde ruit.
Mutua Chriſticolæ gladios in vulnera ſtringunt:
Græcia funeſta ſeditione perit.
Impiger interea noua concipit Ottomannus
Concilia, & valida ſurgit in arma manu.
Et vaſta tricis regno fundamina turbæ
Ponit: & in multo ſanguine ſceptra lauat.

With endleſſe wars the Aſian ſtate farre ſpent and ouerworne:
By Saraſins and Tartars force, is all in peeces torne.
The Chriſtians draw their bloudie ſwords, wherewith themſelues to wound:
And Greece with ciuill diſcord ſeekes it ſelfe for to confound.
Meane while the warlike *Othoman*, new counſels doth deuiſe,
And with a crue of Martiall men doth vp in armes ariſe:
And layes the fatall plot whereon the waſtfull Turkes ſhould raigne,
And bathes his ſcepter in much bloud of people by him ſlaine.

THE RISING OF THE GREAT AND MIGHTIE EMPIRE OF THE TVRKES VNDER *OTHOMAN* FIRST FOVNDER THEREOF: WITH HIS LIFE AND DOINGS.

C WHAT ſmall aſſurance there is in mens affaires, and how
ſubiect vnto change euen thoſe things are wherein wee
for the moſt part repoſe our greateſt felicitie and bliſſe,
(beſide that the whole courſe of mans fraile life, by many
notable examples well declareth) nothing doth more
plainely manifeſt the ſame, than the heauie euents and
woefull deſtructions of the greateſt kingdomes and empires:
which founded vpon great fortunes, increaſed with
perpetuall ſucceſſe, exalted by exceeding power, eſtabliſhed
with moſt puiſſant armies, wholeſome lawes, and
D deepe counſels; haue yet growne old, and in time come
to naught: So that euen as men, all things elſe belonging
vnto man, are ſubiect vnto the ineuitable courſe of deſtinie,
or more truly to ſay, vnto the fatal doome of the moſt Higheſt, prefining vnto euery thing
that in time begun, a time alſo wherin to take end, being himſelfe without time the great commander
thereof, and of all things elſe done therein. The fame of the firſt Aſſyrian Monarchie,
is very antient, and was no doubt both great and long, yet hath it neuertheleſſe found an end;
and the more to put vs in remembrance of our infirmitie, was neuer with ſo much glorie and
valour by *Ninus* erected, as it was with ſhame and cowardiſe by *Sardanapalus* ſubuerted. With
like neceſſitie fel the great empire of the Medes & Perſians, the time thereof being come. And
E after them, the Macedonians alſo. Neither hath the great Roman empire, or the proud citie of
Rome it ſelfe (ſometime the miſtreſſe of the world) herein found any exemption, but runne the
ſame courſe with the reſt: which grown great with continuall triumphs, and ſo ſtrong as that
it was not with forrain power to be ſhaken; conuerted the forces of it ſelfe vpon it ſelfe, to the
ouerthrow of the antient liberty thereof, together with the vtter ſubuerſion of the ſtate. After
which time that mightie monarchie (of all that euer yet were, the greateſt) vnder the Romane
Emperors felt many an hard and perillous ſtorme, and by little and little ſtill declining (though
ſometime like a ſick aged bodie, by the valour or vertue of ſome one or other her worthie Emperors,
a little relieued, and by and by againe caſt downe by the follie or negligence of ſome
others ſucceding) it became at length a prey vnto a fooliſh rude & barbarous nation, which it
F had before oftentimes ouercome, and ouer which many the Roman captains had triumphed,
and therof taken their glorious ſurnames: which now againe without compaſſion, burning and
ſacking it, cauſed it to ſtoope, and to yeld vnto the ſeruile yoake which it had in former time
proudly impoſed vpon the necks of others: wherein if any thing be to be blamed, it is not the
fortune or folly of this or that man, then ſitting at the helm (although that may alſo much help

All worldly things ſubiect to change.

The greateſt kingdomes hath in time taken end, & ſo come to naught.

the matter as a meane) but the inſtabilitie of worldly things neuer permanent, but alwayes changeable,and the ſooner for their height;and that ſo forcibly,as that no man knoweth how to remedie the ſame,either if he did,were he able to performe it; the greateſt means that men could poſſibly deuiſe for the ſtay thereof, being oftentimes by a greater power from aboue, conuerted vnto the more ſpeedie effecting of that,againſt the which they were by mans wiſedome prouided.The like might be ſaid of the Athenians,the Lacedæmonians,the Thebanes, and of whom not? What maruell then,if the antient kingdomes of the Turks likewiſe in Perſia,and the leſſer Aſia,in Syria, Paleſtina, and Ægypt,hauing run their appointed times,mightily impugned by the Chriſtians, oppreſſed on the one ſide by the Tartars, and on the other by the Mamalukes,and at length by themſelues rent in ſunder(their deſtinie ſo requiring) loſt at laſt their wonted maieſtie,and ſo fel into a meere Anarchie,as in the former part of this Hiſtorie at large declared? Yet in this far more than any other people fortunate, That after the ruine of their former kingdomes,ſtraight way out of themſelues ariſe another, namely this *Othoman* monarchie, the chiefe obiect of this Hiſtorie: which at the firſt ſcarce of the world perceiued,or of themſelues regarded, in ſhort time ſo proſpered,as that the power and glorie thereof obſcured not their former kingdomes only(nothing,in compariſon of this)but euen the greateſt monarchies of the world; ouer a great part of which,it now ſo proudly triumpheth,as if it ſhould neuer haue end: at the beauty wherof the world wondereth,and at the power thereof quaketh: within the greatneſſe whereof are contained no ſmall portions of Aſia, Europe, and Africke, but euen the moſt famous and fruitfull kingdomes thereof: no part of the world left vntouched but America onely; not more fortunate with her rich mines, than in that ſhe is ſo farre from ſo great and dangerous an enemie. The foundation of this ſo great a kingdome (and now ſo mightie an empire, as holdeth the world in awe) was firſt laid by the valiant *Othoman*, or as the Turks call him, *Oſman*; not deſcended of the *Selzuccian* family, as were al the former Turks Sultans,but of the *Oguzian* tribe and kindred:in whoſe line this glorious empire hath euer ſince,by the ſpace of three hundred yeeres and three, to the aſtoniſhment of the world,wonderfully flouriſhed;and ſo yet doth at this day, vnder the gouernment of *Mahomet* the third, which now raigneth thirteenth in deſcent from him, knowing none in this world greater than himſelfe. But foraſmuch as both his greatneſſe,and the greatneſſe of the reſt of the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors his progenitors,tooke their beginning from this worthy and warlike *Othoman*,with whoſe life and doings we purpoſe to begin this part of our Hiſtorie,it ſhall not be amiſſe both for the continuation of that we haue in hand,with that we haue already written,and for the more manifeſting of that which hereafter followeth, a little farther to fetch his race and deſcent alſo: not meaning with a long and faigned pedegree to ſet him out of *Noah* his arke,(which continuall ſucceſſion of Princes,no Nation of the world, be it neuer ſo antient,the Iews onely excepted,and they alſo by writings and Hiſtories as much as was poſſible eternized, could truly and iuſtly challenge) but onely ſo farre as ſhall be pertinent vnto our purpoſe,and by the authoritie of good Hiſtories to be auerred.

At ſuch time as the Turks kingdome founded by *Tangrolipix* in Perſia,flouriſhed in the *Selzuccian* Princes his ſucceſſors,there was alſo another kingdome of theirs at the citie of Machan,as is before declared,but nothing comparable to the other either in glorie or power. In this citie,and ouer this ſmall kingdom,raigned one *Solyman*,by his ſubiects honored alſo with the name of a Sultan or King;at the ſame time that the Tartars vnder the leading of old *Zingis* their great captaine,leauing their owne countrey,and bearing downe the world before them, hauing conquered the fartheſt parts of the Eaſt,and there ſeated their kingdome, turned their forces into Perſia, and there ouerthrew the Turkes kingdome at Balch in Coraſan, and draue the Turks with *Curſumes* their laſt King, out of the countrey: after that they had there from the time of *Tangrolipix* raigned about an hundred and ſeuentie two yeares.

Solymon, Sultā of Machan forſaketh his kingdome for feare of the Tartars.

This *Solyman* of whom we ſpeake, then raigning at Machan,was not of the *Selzuccian* familie (as were all the other Turks Sultans,the ſucceſſors of *Tangrolipix*) but of the *Oguzian* tribe, a familie famous alſo amongſt the Turkes; who ſeeing the *Selzuccian* Sultan *Curſumes* (or as ſome call him, *Cuſſumes*) his countryman, beaten out of his kingdome by the Tartar, and his country ouerrun,and the great Caliph of Babylon alſo ouerthrown; thought it not good longer to ſtay in that country which he could not hold, but by ſpeedie flight betimes to prouide for the ſafetie of himſelfe & of ſuch his ſubiects as would follow him:and hearing that *Aladin*

A the ſon of ***Kel-Huſreu***, or as the Greeks call him, ***Cai-Coſroe*** (a great man of the ***Selzuccian*** fami-
lie, & neere of kin vnto the late Sultan ***Curſumes***) who for feare of the Tartars but lately come
into Romania-Aſiatica, had there by force of armes moſt honourably ſeated himſelfe and the
Turks his followers, amongſt the Chriſtians: in hope of like good fortune, and for the zeale
towards his ſuperſtition (accounting all wel gotten that was gained from the Chriſtians) tooke
his way after him, with ſuch of his kinſmen and ſubiects as would accompany him in his new
aduentures. And comming to Artezerum, a citie in the borders of Armenia and Cappadocia,
thereabout in the country according to the ſeaſon of the yere ſeated himſelfe with his follo-
wers, being in number many; who with their wiues and children, after the manner of the Tar-
tar Nomades their anceſtors, in poore tents and carts couered with a courſe kind of cloth, had
B followed him; being indeed nothing elſe but a verie rude and rough kind of ſturdie heardſ-
men, not wedded to any place, but ſtill remoouing with their tents and carts vp and down, as
beſt ſerued for their purpoſe and the feeding of their cattell, as do the Turcoman nation, the
true diſcent of the Turks, in many places of Aſia at this day: and were thereof not only called
Nomades, that is to ſay, Heardſmen, (by which name the proud Ianizaries will oftentimes in
contempt call euen the greateſt of the naturall Turks) but ***Hamaxophoreti***, and ***Hamaxobij***, that
is to ſay, people carried or liuing in carts. ***Solyman*** hauing ſtayd a while about Erzerum, remo-
uing thence came to Amaſia; and there ſpoyling the country, then inhabited by the Chriſti-
ans, did them much harme, oftentimes encountring them in the plain field, and ſometimes ſei-
ſing vpon their townes and cities, vntil he had ſubdued vnto himſelfe a right large territory:
C yea at length hauing in ſo many battels by him fought, and cities by him beſieged, loſt a great
number of his people, and ſo wearied the reſt as that they were not willing farther to follow
him; and fearing alſo with ſuch ſmall power as he had left, to be able to defend and keepe the
country by him alreadie gotten, in the midſt of ſo many enemies, thought it beſt to depart
thence, and to ſeeke his better fortune elſewhere. At the ſame time it was rifely reported,
that the affaires of Perſia, after ſo long trouble (for all this was not a while in doing) began
to grow againe to ſome good quiet, the furie of the Tartars beeing now well abated, and that
ſtorme ouerblowne: wherefore ***Solyman*** reſolued now to returne home againe, and to viſit his
natiue country, of him and his people aboue all others deſired. So paſſing thorow Syria, (for
that was now his way) neere Aleppo he ſeiſed vpon a caſtle called Ziaber-Cala, & there ſtaid
D a ſpace for the refreſhing of his people. Afterward ſetting forward againe, he came at length
to the great and famous riuer Euphrates, ouer which hee muſt needs paſſe: but finding there
neither bridge nor foord, or other means to get ouer, he ſtood ſtill as a man diſmaid, not know-
ing what to do. Stay there he would not, and go further he could not: his deſire bid him go,
but the great riuer ſaid not ſo. In this perplexitie ***Solyman*** himſelfe with his horſe oftentimes
taking the riuer, in hope to haue found ſome paſſage; but finding none, aduenturing too farre,
was with the force of the ſtreame carried away, and ſo together with his horſe drowned. His
bodie after long ſeeking being at length found, was with the great lamentation of his people
buried neere vnto the caſtle Ziaber, not long before by him taken: whereof they ſay the place
is now ni their tongue called ***Meſari-Zurac***, (*viz.*) the Turks Graue. Some of theſe ***Oguzian***
E Turks, after the death of their Sultan, wearie of their long trauell, ſeated themſelues in the
country therabouts, vnto whom the Turks that now hold that caſtle do refer their beginning.
The reſt of that great tribe and familie diuerſly diuided, went vnto diuers places as their for-
tunes led them; ſome of them into the waſt ground and deſarts of Arabia and Syria, and are
at this day called the Damaſcene Turcomans: other ſome returned backe againe into Roma-
nia, the ſame way that they came; of whom are diſcended the Turcomans of Iconium, & A-
natolia: who yet with their wiues and children, as heardſmen in great companies wander vp
and downe the countrey, after the manner of their anceſtors.

Romania Aſiatica.

Solyman thus loſt, left foure ſons, ***Sencur-Teken***, ***Iundogdis***, ***Ertogrul***, of ſome called ***Orthobules***
(the father of this ***Othoman*** founder of the Turks empire that now is) and ***Dunder***. With theſe
F. foure brethren, moſt part of theſe ***Oguzian*** Turkes that were left, returning into Romania (as
is aforeſaid) after they had there reſted themſelues a while, marching vp along the riuer Eu-
phrates, came to a place called Paſin-Ouaſi, about ten miles aboue Arterum, where ***Ertogrul***
and his brother ***Dunder***, with foure hundered families, not willing to goe any further, stay-
ed with their tents and carts, their beſt dwellings. ***Sencur*** and ***Iundogdis*** their other two bre-

The ſonnes of Solyman, ond their firſt aduentures.

thren in the meane time paſſing the riuer, returned with the reſt into Perſia: whom wee there G leaue vnto their vnknowne fortunes. In this place **Ertogrul** with his brother and his three ſons ſtaid a while, and had diuers conflicts with the country people thereabout, vntill that at length he thought it beſt to returne againe into Romania. So ſetting forward, he came to Ancyra, and from thence vnto the black mountains, and ſo to a plain called of the Turks *Sultan Vngi*, about 75 miles Eaſtward from the city of Nice in Bithynia, where he had many skirmiſhes with the Chriſtians.

Now a great while before this, **Aladin** the elder (of whom wee haue before ſpoken in the former part of this hiſtorie) fled out of Perſia, had ſubdued diuers great prouinces & countries in Romania Aſiatica, or the leſſer Aſia, for ſo it is more truly called: ſo that he was of all the people thereabouts accounted for a great Prince, and of the Turks themſelues honored with H the name of their *Vlu Padiſchach*, that is to ſay, their great King or Emperor. Hauing placed his regal ſeat firſt at Sebaſtia, and afterward at Iconium; which two cities before ruinous, he repaired, and therein raigned, as did ſome few of his poſterity after him, as is before declared. Neither was **Ertogrul** ignorant of the honour, glorie, and power of this great Sultan: but hauing three ſons, namely *Iundus*, *Serugatin*, and **Othoman**, ſent *Serugatin* his ſecond ſon (a bold wel ſpoken man) vnto him, to requeſt him in that his ſo large a kingdome, as yet not well peopled by the Turks, to grant vnto them his poore exiled countrymen, of long time oppreſſed with diuers fortunes, ſome ſmall corner for them with their families and cattell to reſt in. Which his requeſt, the Sultan not forgetfull of his own diſtreſſe ſometime in like caſe, graciouſly heard, and with great curteſie vſed the meſſenger. Now for the furtherance of his ſuit it fortuned, I that this Sultan before driuen out of Perſia by the Tartars, and by them alſo much troubled in theſe his new gotten countries in the leſſer Aſia, had with them diuers hot skirmiſhes & ſharp conflicts: in one of which it fortuned the Sultan himſelfe, with all the power he then had, to be hardly beſet by his enemies, and in danger to haue loſt the day: when as **Ertogrul**, but newly come into the country, & willing to do the Sultan ſeruice, & awaiting al opportunities for the commending of himſelfe and his followers; vpon the ſudden vnlooked for, with foure hundred men came vpon the backs or the Tartars, then almoſt in poſſeſſion of a great victory, and ſo forcibly charged them, that vnable to endure the charge, & to maintain the fight againſt the Sultan, (whoſe men encouraged by this vnexpected aid, as by ſuccour ſent from heauen, began now to fight with greater courage) being both before and behind hardly beſet, they K as men in deſpaire of the victory they had before aſſured themſelues of, turned their backs and fled. After which good ſeruice, the Sultan honorably welcommed this new come Turke, giuing him his hand to kiſſe, as the manner of the nation is; and highly commending his valor, commanded a rich cloake to be caſt vpon him (amongſt thoſe Eaſterne nations a great honor) and all his ſouldiers to be bountifully rewarded; and preſently after gaue vnto **Ertogrul** and his Turks a country village called Suguta, betwixt the caſtle Belezuga & the mountain Tmolus in the greater Phrygia: in which village they might liue in in Winter, and vpon the aforeſaid mountain, and the mountain Ormenius, betwixt the riuers Sangarius and Licus, feed their cattell in Sommer. And yet not ſo contented thus to haue honored him, in whom he ſaw ſuch approoued valor, committed to his protection that ſide of the countrie wherein he dwelt, be- L ing in the verie frontiers of his kingdome: which his charge he ſo well looked vnto, that all the country thereabout, before much infeſted with the often incurſions of the enemie, was by his vigilant care and prowеſſe well ſecured.

Thus is **Ertogrul** the *Oguzian* Turke, with his homely heardſmen, become a petty Lord of a countrey village, & in good fauour with the Sultan: whoſe followers, as ſturdie heardſmen with their families, liued in Winter with him in Seguta; but in Sommer in Tents, with their cattel vpon the mountains. Hauing thus liued certain yeres, and brought great peace vnto his neighbors, as well the Chriſtians as the Turks, before much troubled with the inuaſion of the Tartars; it fortuned that the Chriſtians of Cara-Chiſar (a caſtle thereby, called by the antient Greeks, *Melanopyrgon*, and of later time, *Maurocaſtron*, that is to ſay, the blacke tower or caſtle) M wearie of their owne eaſe, and of the peace they had by his cares enioyed, fell out with him, and euil intreated both him & his people. Which their ingratitude he taking in euil part, thereof, and of the wrongs by them done vnto the Turkes, ſo grieuouſly complained vnto the Sultan, that hee therewith mooued, raiſed a great armie, and ſo himſelfe in perſon came and

The Chriſtians of Cara-Chiſar fall out with the Turks.

A beſieged the caſtle. But lying there at the ſiege, news was brought him, that the Tartars with a great armie vnder the leading of one *Baintzar*, were entred into Caria, and there ſpoiling the country, had taken Heraclea. For the repreſſing of whom, the Sultan was glad to riſe with his armie; yet leauing a ſufficient ſtrength behind him for the continuing of the ſiege, vnder the charge of *Ertogrul Beg*, for ſo the Turks now called him. The Sultan afterwards encountring with the Tartars at Baga, ouerthrew them in a great battel. Whileſt *Ertogrul* in the mean ſpace hardly beſieged Cara-Chiſar, wherein fortune ſo much fauoured him, that at length he tooke the Caſtle, the ſpoyle whereof he gaue vnto the ſouldiers, reſeruing only the fift part thereof, as due vnto the Sultan; which he ſent him for a Preſent, together with the Captain of the caſtle, who he had taken aliue: which captaine the Sultan afterward inlarged, and reſtored again B to him his caſtle, for the payment of a yerely tribute, which he truly payed during the life of the Sultan; but he dying about two yeres after, he refuſed any more to pay it, and ſo reuolted from the Turks.

Sultan *Aladin*, founder of the Aladinian kingdome (for ſo the Turkes call it) being dead at Iconium, after him ſucceeded *Azatines* his eldeſt ſon; and after him *Iathatines* his yonger brother: who ſlaine by *Theodorus Laſcaris* the Greeke Emperour, (as is before declared) after him ſucceeded in that kingdome another *Iathatines*, the ſon of *Azatines*, who was by the Tartars expulſed, and his kingdome ſubdued, as in the former part of this hiſtorie it appeareth. After which time the *Selzuccian* familie there alſo by the Tartars in the leſſer Aſia depreſſed, retained ſcarce the name and ſhadow of their former maieſtie and glorie. In which troubleſome C times, and confuſion of the ſtate, *Ertogrul* well beaten and wearied in the world, kept himſelfe cloſe in his houſe at Suguta, as well contented therewith as with a kingdome; ſeeking by all meanes to keepe peace on euerie ſide with his neighbours, as well Chriſtians as others. In which quiet kind of life he ſweetly paſſed ouer the troubleſome times of *Meſoot* the ſonne of *Kei-Cubades*, and of *Kei-Cubades* the ſon of *Feramuzin*, both Sultans, but the great Tartars tributaries, and raigning but at their pleaſure, vntill the time of the ſecond *Aladin*, the ſole and laſt heire of the Iconian kingdome, before by the Tartars diuided, which was no few yeres. Al which time *Ertogrul* liued quiet at Suguta, as one amongſt many other of the Iconian Sultans ſubiects, wiſely conſidering the fall of the *Selzuccian* Sultans, both in Perſia and at Iconium; as alſo the ruine of his owne houſe and familie, both from royall ſtate brought almoſt vnto D nothing: and therefore with patience taking the world as it came, and making a vertue of neceſſitie, contenting himſelfe with a little, bare himſelfe kindly towards all men. In which contented kind of life he grew to great yeres, with his three ſons, great beloued and honored of their neighbours, as well Chriſtians as Turks; and no leſſe fauored by the ſecond *Aladin* then Sultan, than he had been of all the Sultans before him: whom the yong men his ſons, after the manner of their nation (forbidding them with empty hands to ſalute their Princes) oftentimes viſited with one Preſent or other. In all which his ſons were many good parts to be ſeene, yet ſo, as that in *Othoman* was eaſily to be ſeene a greater courage and ſpirit than in the other two his brethren: which was the cauſe that he was the more of them of his tribe regarded, but eſpecially of the youthful and warlike ſort, which commonly reſorted vnto him when he went to E hawke or hunt, or to other delights of the field (the counterfeits of war) and was of them commonly called *Oſman Gazi*, that is to ſay, *Oſman* the Warlike.

Small things in time of trouble yeeld vnto the wiſe great content.

In this frontier countrey neere vnto Suguta, the dwelling place of old *Ertogrul*, had Sultan *Aladin* diuers lieutenants and captains, gouernors of his caſtles and ſtrong holds vpon thoſe frontiers, with whom *Othoman* was wel acquainted, and vnto whom he for friendſhip ſake oftentimes reſorted: but eſpecially vnto the captaine of In-Vngi, for that he knew himſelf to be of him well beloued, & therefore vnto him verie welcome. So it fortuned vpon a time, that as *Othoman*, being yet but yong, was going to make merrie with the gouernor of Eski-Chiſar (a caſtle about foure and twentie miles off, called of the Greeks, *Palaecaſtron*) by the way as hee went, at a place called Itburne (a town in Phrygia) chanced there to ſee, and afterwards to fall F in liking of a faire maiden called *Malbatun*: vnto whom his affection daily increaſing, he without his fathers knowledge ſent a ſecret friend of his to intreat with her of mariage. Which after long diſcourſe to her made concerning *Othomans* affectiō & requeſt, gaue him anſwer, that betwixt *Othoman* & her was great inequality, a thing eſpecially to be regarded and eſchued of ſuch as wiſhed to liue a happie life in wedlock bands: ſhe was (as ſhe ſaid) but meanly borne,

Othoman amorous of Malbatun a Countrey Maid.

and therefore was not to expect ſo great a match: whereas he could not want choice of other G
maids of more worth,& in all reſpects more anſwerable vnto himſelfe. But among other cauſes
why ſhe gaue him this anſwer,one was,for that ſome that wiſhed her well,had put into her
head,that *Othoman* meant not indeed to marrie her,but vnder that color to obtain of her ſome
few days pleaſure, and ſo hauing diſhonored her; afterward againe to caſt her off: which was
indeed far from his thought; for he the more inflamed with her modeſt denial,the more deſired
her for his wife. In the mean time *Othoman* going again vnto the gouernor of Eski-Chiſar,
and curteouſly by him entertained,chanced (as it oftentimes doth among familiar friends
in their merriments)to fall in ſpeech of his Loue,with greater affection than diſcretion,commending
her beautie,her feature,and gracious perfections,not diſſembling alſo,to her greater
praiſe,the repulſe by him receiued at her hands. Which the gouernor hearing,ſeemed greatly H
to like of his choice,ſaying,that ſhe was by the diuine prouidence(for ſo the Turks religiouſly
vſe to ſpeak)appointed only for him to haue. But in the mean time ſecretly inflamed with the
immoderat commendation of *Othoman*,without reſpect of friendſhip,he began to grow amorous
of her himſelfe,whom he had neuer ſeen; ſo light is that fooliſh affection: & that ſo far,
as that being otherwiſe a man of good diſcretion,hee was not able to conceale or couer theſe
new conceiued flames,but that *Othoman* by certain coniectures & tokens perceiued the ſame:
And yet diſſembling the matter as if he had ſuſpected nothing, being riſen from the banquet,
calling vnto him one of his truſtie ſeruants,ſecretly ſent him away vnto certaine of the maids
friends,willing them in his name,as they tendred her honour,preſently to ſend her away vnto
ſome ſafe place further off, for feare ſhee were not ere long taken from them by a great man I
more amorous of her perſon,than reſpectiue of her honour. And by and by after taking leaue
of his vnfaithfull friend,& bidding him farwel,took his way to the captain of In-Vngi,whom
he knew to be his deere friend. But whileſt he there ſtayed certaine dayes,paſſing the time in
hawking,hunting,and other youthfull diſports,with the captain his friend; the gouernor of
Eski-Chiſar,who commanded all the country thereabout called Sultan-Vngi,ſent one of his
truſtie ſeruants to Iburne,to ſee faire *Malhatun*,and how all things went there. Who comming
thither, and vnderſtanding of her ſecret departure, and that by the aduertiſement from
Othoman ſhe was conueyed to certain of her friends afar off,at his returne, from point to point
certified his maſter thereof. Who exceedingly grieued with the report, and fretting aboue
meaſure to ſee himſelfe ſo deluded by *Othoman*,preſently ſent vnto the Captaine of In-Vngi, K
(being within his iuriſdiction) to commaund him without delay to deliuer *Othoman* vnto him.
But he louing of him well,as a faithfull man vnto his friend, could with no threats or intreaty
be perſuaded ſo to do. Wherefore the gouernour in a great rage preſently raiſing the greateſt
power he was able to make,came to the caſtle of In-Vngi, requiring to haue *Othoman* forthwith
deliuered vnto him. Where among the ſouldiers there in garriſon with the captain,began
to ariſe diuers opinions; ſome wiſhing, for the auerting of the preſent danger for which
they were now vnprouided,to haue him deliuered; & other ſome abhorring ſo treacherous
a fact,willing rather to endure al extremities. In the end after much conſultation honeſty preuailed,
& it was generally reſolued,that he ſhould be defended,who could not without their
great infamie be deliuered. But *Othoman* terrified with that diuerſitie of opinions,which had L
euen at firſt ſhewed it ſelfe; & thinking it not for his ſafety,to commit himſelfe vnto the truſt
of ſuch wauering men,entred into a deep conceit of a matter of great aduenture, which was,
by a ſudden ſally to make himſelfe way thorow the midſt of his enemies. Wherewith hauing
made his brother *Iundus* and thoſe few his followers there preſent acquainted, and thereupon
reſolued; he fiercely ſallied out,and by plaine force brake thorow the midſt of them, and ſo
tooke his way towards Suguta,ſtill notably repulſing them that were ſent to purſue him. But
being come into the frontiers of his fathers territorie,& the report of his dangers known, &
that being but weakely accompanied, he was by a great number of his enemies purſued; preſently
all the luſtie youths and ſuch as loued him well, took horſe to come to his reſcue; who
meeting with the gouernors ſoldiers,that had *Othoman* in chace, in a ſharp conflict ſlew diuers M
of them,and put the reſt to flight. Of whom ſome were alſo taken priſoners,& among the reſt
one *Michael Coſſe* a Chriſtian,Captaine of a little caſtle in that countrey, called Hirmen-Caia,
or the rocke of *Ormeni*: Of whom *Othoman* taking compaſſion,freely pardoned him that offence.
With which vnexpected curteſie he was ſo moued, that euer after he tooke part with
him,

A folly common vnto Louers.

No friendſhip in loue.

Othoman beſieged,and in danger for his loue.

A him, and did him great ſeruice in his wars: whoſe poſterity hath euer ſince euen vntil this our age continued, next vnto the *Othoman* family, moſt honorable and famous amongſt the Turks, by the name of *Michael Oglies*, that is to ſay, the ſonnes or poſteritie of *Michael*.

Ertogrul now ſpent with age, ſhortly after died, in the yere of our Lord 1289. hauing liued 93 yeres, and thereof gouerned the *Oguzian* familie after the death of his father *Solyman*, 52. His death was of all his tribe and kindred generally lamented, and his body after the Turkiſh manner honorably buried at Suguta, where he had of long time liued.

After whoſe death, theſe plaine *Oguzian* Turks, in a generall aſſemblie conſulting whome they might chuſe for their lord and gouernor in ſtead of old *Ertogrul*; caſting their eyes eſpecially vpon two, ſtood in doubt of which of them to make choice. For although moſt men B were of opinion, that *Othoman* for the rare gifts and vertues as wel of bodie as of mind, was to be preferred before the reſt of his brethren the ſons of *Ertogrul*; yet were there ſome, & they alſo men of great grauitie and experience, who had in ſuſpect the yong mans age, as of it ſelfe ſlipperie, & for the moſt part prone to vice, eſpecially in the liberty of great power: & therefore thought it better to make choice of *Dunder* (*Ertogruls* brother and *Othomans* vncle) a man of far greater grauitie, iudgement, and experience. But *Dunder* himſelfe being indeed a wiſe man, & far from all ambition, perſuaded them in that choice not to haue any regard at all vnto his honor or preferment, but to conſider what were beſt for their ſtate & welfare in general. For he prouidently foreſaw in what danger the *Oguzian* ſtate ſtood, expoſed on the one ſide to the mortall hatred and treacheries of the Greeks, grieued to ſee themſelues ſpoiled by the C Turks, & naturally hating them for the *Mahometan* religion: and on the other ſide not ſurely backt by the Sultans of Iconium, brought in thraldome to the Tartars, and dayly grown weaker and weaker. Vnto which inconueniences & dangers (he ſaid) an old, weake, & ouergrown bodie (as his was) could giue no helpe or remedie at all, but rrequired the helpe of a wiſe, politicke, vigilant, ſtirring, and valiant man, ſuch as they all well knew was *Othoman* his brothers ſon. Thus before he came vnto the election, he in priuat declared his mind vnto the chiefe of the *Oguzian* familie: & afterward at their requeſt comming to the generall aſſemblie, all mens minds & eies now fixed vpon *Othoman*, he firſt of al (by his example to encourage the reſt) for the good of the *Oguzian* tribe, his antient houſe and family, ſaluted him their great lord & gouernor, promiſing vnto him all loyaltie, with the vtmoſt of his ſeruice: whereunto by and by D enſued the great applauſe of the reſt of the people, as vnto a gouernor ſent vnto them by God; vnto whom they ioyfully wiſhed all happie ſucceſſe, with long long life, and a proſperous gouernment. Thus with all mens good liking was *Othoman* made the great gouernor of the *Oguzian* Turks, and ſo become among them a great commander, and honored with the title of *Oſman-Beg*, or the lord *Oſman*. Yet was this his honor included in a ſmall circuit, plain & homely, without any great pompe or ſhew, as commanding amongſt rough and rude heardſmen and ſhepheards, not acquainted with the curteſie of other more ciuil nations: for as yet they were the ſame homely Scythian Nomades that they were before, & could not as yet be perſuaded to forſake their woonted rude and vnciuil manners, by long tradition receiued from their anceſtors, and ſo beſt agreeing with their nature and calling. Amongſt which rude heardſmen, E this new gouernor himſelfe, not too far exceeding the reſt in ciuilitie, commanded much like vnto another *Romulus*; of whom alſo the Turks report many ſuch things as do the Romans of their founder, which for breuitie I thought good to paſſe ouer.

The Oguzian Turks in doubt of whome to make choice for their gouernor.

Now it fortuned that *Othoman* euen in the beginning of his gouernment fel firſt at ods with one *Hagionicholaus*, or S. *Nicholas* (captaine of Einegiol, a caſtle there by) for that he had oftentimes of purpoſe troubled and moleſted theſe *Oguzian* heardſmen, in paſſing to and fro with their cattell by his caſtle. For which cauſe *Othoman* was inforced to requeſt the captain of Bilezuga (another caſtle there by, alſo his neighbour & friend) that is people in paſſing that way to the mountains, might with their goods & cattell, as occaſion ſhould require, take the refuge of his caſtle; which the curteous captain (wel acquainted with old *Ertogrul*, *Othomans* father) F eaſily granted: yet with this prouiſo, that none ſhould with ſuch goods or cattell haue acceſſe into his caſtle, but the Turks women only: which his curteſie *Othoman* refuſed not. So was the caſtle of Bilezuga from that time forward a refuge vnto the Turkes women, who paſſing that way, and there ſhrouded with their goods and cattell, vſually preſented the Captaine with ſome one homely countrey Preſent or other, which afterwards was the loſſe of the Caſtle.

Yet was not *Othoman* vnmindful of the wrong done vnto his people, by his euill neighbor the captain of Einegiol: but purpoſing to be thereof reuenged, made choice of ſeuentie of his G beſt and moſt able men, whom he appointed ſecretly to paſſe the mountain Ormenius, and ſo if it were poſſible, to ſurpriſe or ſet on fire his enemies caſtle. Of which his deſignement the warie captaine hauing intelligence by one of his eſpials, in place conuenient vpon the mountain laid a ſtrong ambuſh for the cutting off of ſuch as were by *Othoman* ſent to haue ſurpriſed his caſtle: wherof *Othoman* (no leſſe wary than he) before warned by his ſcouts, & augmenting the number of his men, marched directly to the place where the enemie lay. Where betwixt them (for ſo ſmall a number) was fought a right bloudie and cruell battell, and many ſlaine on both ſides; amongſt whom *Hozza*, *Othomans* nephew was one. The victorie neuertheleſſe fel vnto *Othoman*: after which time his people in much more ſafetie fed their cattel in the Sum- H mer time on the mountains, as the manner was, and ſo in quiet paſſed to and fro.

The Caſtle of Chalce ſurpriſed by Othoman

The Chriſtians complain of the wrong done vnto them by the Turks.

Shortly after, *Othoman* by night ſurpriſed the little caſtle of Chalce, not far from Einegiol, and there without mercie he put to the ſword all the Chriſtians he found therein, and ſo afterwards burnt the Caſtle. Which outrage was the beginning, and occaſion of great troubles thereof enſuing: for the Chriſtians of the countries adioyning, much grieued therewith, and aſſembling themſelues together, complained vnto the captaine of Cara-Chiſar the greateſt commander thereabout, That theſe Turks, which not many yeres before were of meere pitty receiued as poore heardſmen into that countrey, began now in warlike manner to lay violent hands vpon the antient lands and poſſeſſions of the Chriſtians; which inſolencie (as they ſaid) if it were longer winked at and ſuffered by him, and other ſuch men of account and authoritie I as were to reforme the ſame, they would no doubt in ſhort time driue both them and all the reſt of the Chriſtians out of their natiue countries: wherefore it were now high time, & more than neceſſarie for him, and all the reſt, to awake (as it were) out of the dead ſleep wherein they had long time drowſily ſlept; and ioyning their forces together, to expulſe thoſe vnthankful, incroching, and mercileſſe ſtrangers out of their countries: the miſchief (they ſaid) being now ſpred far, therefore needed ſpeedie remedie; and that repentance would come too late when it was paſt cure. The Captaine mooued with the indignitie of the late fact, and iuſt complaint of the poore country people, ſent with all ſpeed a ſtrong companie of ſouldiers, vnder the leadinh of *Calanus* his brother; with commandement that they ſhould march vnto the Caſtle of Einegiol, and there to ioyne with the reſt of the Chriſtian forces. K

Othoman vnderſtanding of this preparation made againſt him, gathering his ſoldiers together, marched to a place called Opſicium, neere vnto mount Tmolus in Phrygia; where betweene him and the Chriſtians was fought a ſharpe battell, wherein he loſt his brother *Sarugatin* (whom the Turks account for a Saint or Martyr at this day) with many other of his ſouldiers. In this battell was alſo *Calanus* ſlain, whoſe bellie *Othoman* cauſed to be ripped, and his intrals to be pulled out, naming the place where he was buried, *Meſari-Kepec*, that is to ſay, The Dog-Graue, by which name the place is at this day known. The bodie of his brother *Sarugatin* he carried to Sugnta, and there honorably buried it neere to the bodie of his father *Ertogrul*. *Aladin* Sultan of Iconium vnderſtanding of this conflict, was very ſorry for the loſſe hapned vnto *Othoman*, being a Mahometan of his owne religion: wherefore in token of his good L will and fauour, he gaue vnto him the citie of Paleapolis, with all the territorie thereunto belonging, giuing vnto him alſo leaue to beſiege, take or ſpoyle, the ſeigniorie and caſtle of Cara-Chiſar: for accompliſhment whereof he ſent vnto him both ſouldiers and munition. *Othoman* incouraged with this great bountie of the Sultans, ſtraightly beſieged the caſtle of Cara-Chiſar, which at laſt he woon, and ſlew all the Chriſtians therein: the captain he tooke aliue, whom he cruelly executed: the ſpoile of the caſtle he gaue vnto his ſouldiers, reſeruing only the fift part therof, which he ſent for a preſent to the Sultan. All this hapned in the yere of our Lord 1290. This caſtle of Cara-Chiſar, with the reſt of Einegiol, Bilezuga, Chalce, & others before and hereafter in the life of *Othoman* to be mentioned, were all ſcituate in the borders of the greater Phrygia, or elſe neere thereunto in the confines of Bithynia and Myſia: In M which pleaſant countries (but lately part of the Conſtantinopolitan empire) the Chriſtians the antient inhabitants thereof, as yet dwelt, intermingled with the Turks at the riſing of the *Othoman* empire; with whom they liued at continual iars, vntill that at length they were by them altogether vtterly oppreſſed and extinguiſhed.

Othoman conſulteth with his brother Iundus what courſe to take for the oppreſſing of the Chriſtians his neighbours.

A *Othoman* encouraged with this good ſucceſſe, and ſupported by the great Sultan of Iconium, began now after his ambitious nature to conceit greater matters, for the further increaſe of his honor and territorie: yet not truſting altogether to his own deuice, he entred into conſultation with his brother *Iundus*, which way was beſt to take to diſtreſſe and bring in ſubiection his neighbours the Chriſtians. In which caſe, *Iundus* a man of greater courage than diſcretion, aduiſed him with all celeritie to vrge his good fortune, and preſently to inuade the Chriſtians alreadie diſcouraged with the loſſe of Cara-Chiſar. But this counſell altogether pleaſed not *Othoman*; for (ſaid he) the caſtles and forts by vs gained, muſt bee kept with ſtrong garriſons, otherwiſe they will again be recouered by the enemie; which garriſons cannot be maintained and kept, if we ſpoile or diſpeople the countries adioyning vpon vs; for in ſo doing we ſhal (as B it were) with our owne hands cut our owne throats: wherfore I thinke it better, that we enter into a league of amitie and friendſhip with the Chriſtians round about vs; which league wee will keep with ſome, & breake with others, as ſhall ſerue beſt for our purpoſe. And according to this reſolution, he made peace indeed with al the Chriſtians, but ſpecially with *Michael Coſſi*, captain of Hirmen-Caia caſtle, of whom we haue before ſpoken, who afterward ſerued him to great vſe in the managing of his wars, & became alſo a renegat of the Mahometan religion. All this *Othoman* did the rather, becauſe he was then at great variance with one *Germean-Ogli* (a great man among the Turks, but one of the *Selzuccian* familie) who enuying at the riſing of *Othoman*, ſought by all means poſſible to hinder his greatnes, as did alſo the others, his quietneſſe: which diſcord the Chriſtians liked well, as a meane for them to liue in more reſt by.

C In the meane time, *Othoman* deuiſed with all carefulnes to beautifie and ſtrengthen his new commonweale: and for the greater concourſe of people, built a faire temple in Cara-Chiſar for the exerciſe of the Mahometan religion; appointed markets to be kept in al peaceable maner, in his great townes, granting great priuiledges to ſuch as reſorted thither, as wel Chriſtians as Turks: vſing therin ſuch juſtice, that all ſorts of people without feare, in hope of gaine reſorting thither, furniſhed his country and townes with all things neceſſarie: yet this care of ciuil policie and gouernment, could not ſo withdraw him, but that according to his aſpiring mind, he had alwaies a greater deſire and care to inlarge his poſſeſſions and territorie. Wherefore intending to make a rode into Bythinia, he requeſted *Michael Coſſi*, the Chriſtian captaine before mentioned, to deliuer his opinion what was beſt to be done: who ſo politickely D directed him in that exploit, that he returned victorious, enriched with great ſpoile and more honor. This road ſo terrified moſt of the Chriſtians thereabouts, that they were loth to giue *Othoman* any cauſe of offence, for feare leſt they ſhould by him be ſpoiled.

Othoman ſetteth in order his little commonweale.

It fortuned about this time, that the captains of Bilezuga and Cupri-Chiſar falling at ods, he of Cupri-Chiſar firſt taking vp armes fiercely inuaded the captaine of Bilezuga: who therupon ſent vnto *Othoman*, to pray his ayd, which hee eaſily granted, and ſo without further delay preſently came vnto him with certaine companies of luſtie tall ſouldiers. By whoſe comming, the captaine of Bilezuga not a little encouraged and ſtrengthened, ſet vpon his enemie: where betwixt them was made a ſharpe conflict, and diuers on both ſides ſlaine: but the victorie by the helpe of *Othoman* the Turke, at length inclining to the Bilezugian, the other E vanquiſhed captaine in all haſt fled vnto his owne caſtle. After whome *Othoman* following, laid ſiege vnto the Caſtle, which at length he tooke together with th captaine, whom he cauſed to be preſently ſlaine. It is ſtrange to tell, how proud the Lord of Bilezuga was, to haue ſo reuenged himſelfe of his enemie, and to haue gained the victorie: although it were indeed gotten, not ſo much by his owne valour as by the proweſſe of the Turke: for whome and his followers in token of his thankfulneſſe, he cauſed a great feaſt to be prouided in the countrey there, whereby he honorably entertained them: and in the end of the feaſt, cauſed garments of great price (according to the manner of the Eaſterne nations) to be giuen to *Othoman*, in token of his fauour; and his ſouldiers to be alſo bountifully rewarded: but this was done with ſuch a preſumptious ſtate & grace, as if he had bin ſome great Prince, offring vnto the common F ſoldiers of the Turks, in paſſing by them, his hand to kiſſe, as a great fauour. With which exceeding inſolencie, *Othoman* was ſo much offended, that hee had much adoe to hold his hands from him: yet repreſſing his anger, hee in ſecret imparted his diſcontentment vnto his coſin *Dunder*, his vncle *Dunders* ſonne, grieuouſly complayning of the intollerable pride of the Chriſtian captain, and of the diſgrace by him done vnto the Turks, in offring them his hand to kiſſe; requiring his opinion how he were for the ſame to be corrected: who but a little before, beeing by the ſaid captaine made his lieutenant, franckly told his kinſmam, That as then nothing was to be attempted againſt him: firſt, for that on the one ſide they had ***Germean Ogli*** (a great man amongſt the *Selzuccian* Turkes) their enemie, and round about them beſides they were enuironed with the Chriſtians, whom he ſhould haue all in his neck at once if he ſhould offer the Bilezugian captain any wrong. By which anſwer, ***Othoman*** perceiuing his coſins great affection towards the Chriſtian captaine, and doubting to haue the miſchiefe he had imagined againſt him, by him reuealed, or at leaſtwiſe hindered; without more adoe ſuddenly taking vp his bow in his hand, with an arrow ſhot him quite thorow, and ſo ſlew him.

Michael Coſsi inuiteth Othoman to the mariage of his daughter.

Not long after, ***Michael Coſsi*** the captaine of Hirmen-Caia, ***Othomans*** great friend, hauing concluded a marriage betweene a gentleman of that countrey and his daughter, inuited all the Chriſtian captains of the caſtles thereabouts, requeſting them to come to the marriage; and the rather, that ſo they might grow into acquaintance with ***Othoman***, whoſe power began now to grow dreadfull vnto them: hoping that ſuch means might be found at that merry meeting, that all being made friends, euery man might in more ſecurity poſſeſſe his own without feare of being ſpoiled by him. Vnto this marriage came al theſe bidden gueſts, bringing with them ſuch preſents as they thought good to beſtow vpon the new married folks, according to the maner of the country: but ***Othomans*** gifts far exceeded al the reſt, who beſides many other rich things, gaue vnto them whole flocks and droues of ſheep and cattel: which thing drew all the Chriſtian captains into no little admiration of his bountie; inſomuch that they began to ſay among themſelues, that ***Othomans*** wealth and good fortune did portend ſome greater matter, to their vtter ruin and fall: which to preuent, they thought it beſt by ſecret meanes to compaſſe his death. The execution of which deuice they referred to the captaine of Bilezuga, as vnto one with him beſt accqainted. This captaine was of great wealth, credit, and authoritie amongſt the Chriſtian rulers thereabouts, but very full of craft and diſſimulation: which his euill diſpoſition, ***Othoman*** of longtime well perceiued; yet hauing occaſion to vſe him, in ſubtill manner gaue him (in outward ſhew) al the honour he could, magnifying him in words, and debaſing himſelfe as plaine and poore in compariſon of him. But to giue a beginning to this trecherous deuiſe; the captaine meeting with ***Othoman***, in friendly manner told him, how that he intended ſhortly to marrie the daughter of the captain of Iar-Chiſer, earneſtly requeſting him to honor that his marriage with his preſence, of the time whereof, he ſaid he would giue him farther knowledge afterwards: and al was but a color, to bring ***Othoman*** whithin his danger, not fearing any ſuch treaſon. ***Othoman*** vnderſtanding that the time of the marriage drew nigh, ſent thither a preſent of certain fat oxen and ſheep, in the name of his brother ***Iundus***, for the captains prouiſion againſt the mariage; certifying him, that ***Othoman*** himſelfe, with his ſimple retinue, would be preſent at the mariage, & then preſent him, not with ſuch preſents as were agreeable wito his honor, yet ſuch as his poore abilitie could affoord. This meſſage with the preſents, were wonderful welcome to the captain, hoping aſſuredly that his deuiſed trecherie would take ſuch effect as he wiſhed: and therefore calling vnto him ***Michael Coſsi***, in whom he had repoſed an eſpeciall truſt, declared to him his whole deuiſe (wherof he was not before altogether ignorant) requeſting him to take the pains to go vnto ***Othoman*** to bring him to the marriage, the time beeing now certainly appointed and at hand; which hee knew ***Coſsi*** might eaſily do, being of his familiar acquaintance: and in token of great friendſhip, he ſent vnto ***Othoman*** by the ſame meſſenger, a preſent of gilt plate. ***Coſsi*** tooke vpon him this meſſage, which when he had deliuer'd to ***Othoman***, he found him very willing to go, as a man not doubting any harme. But ***Coſsi*** inwardly grieuing to ſee ſo braue a man, and his kind friend, by ſuch trecherous maner to be brought to his end, moued with compaſſion, diſcouered vnto him the whole conſpiracy of the captain againſt him, & of the plot laid for his deſtruction, willing him to take heed vnto himſelfe: for which verture, ***Othoman*** gaue ***Coſsi*** great thanks, as to his friend for ſauing his life, & withall richly rewarded him, promiſing him greater matters if he would continue that his faithfull friendſhip. Now concerning the captaine of Bilezuga (ſayth he) at your returne recommend me vnto him, and tell him, That I thinke my ſelfe much bound vnto him for many courteſies, but eſpecially for that he hath heretofore diuers times in moſt friendly manner protected my goods and cattell, within the ſafegard of his caſtle: which his friendſhip I moſt humbly requeſt him to continue for one yeare more, enforced thereunto by rea-

A reaſon of the dangerous wars betwixt me and the Prince *German-ogli*, as he well knoweth:
wherefore if it might ſo ſtand with his good pleaſure, I would preſently ſend vnto his caſtle
ſuch things as I make moſt reckoning of, requeſting him once more to be the faithfull keeper
thereof, as he hath bin before: and tell him further, that my mother in law, with her daughter
my wife, deſire nothing more than to find opportunitie to be acquainted with the honorable
Lady his mother, for which cauſe (if it pleaſe him) I wil bring them both with me to the marriage.
This *Othomans* requeſt, when the captaine of Bilezuga vnderſtood by *Michael Coſsi*, he
ſent the ſame *Coſsi* backe againe to haſten his comming, willing him to bring with him what
gueſſe he pleaſed; appointing certain time and place when and where the marriage ſhould be
ſolemniſed. And becauſe the caſtle of Bilezuga was thought to be too little conueniently to
B receiue the multitude of people which were expected at the mariage, there was another open
place of greater receipt appointed in the country for that purpoſe, about three miles diſtant
from the caſtle. The marriage day drew nigh, wherunto *Othoman* muſt repaire for his promiſe
ſake: and therefore prepared with all diligence to ſet forward, and to put in execution what
he had deuiſed for the ſafetie of himſelf, & deſtruction of his enemy. *Othoman* had of long accuſtomed
in dangerous times, to ſend by carriage the beſt of his things, made vp in packs, to be
kept in ſafetie in the caſtle of Bilezuga: vnder the colour whereof, he now made great packes
in forme as he was wont; but in ſtead of his rich houſhold ſtuffe, & ſuch other things of price,
he thruſt in armed men, couering thoſe packs with homely couerings, ſending them by cariages
to the caſtle of Bilezuga, giuing charge that they ſhould not come thither before twilight
C After that, he apparelled certaine of his beſt ſoldiers in womens apparell, as if it had been his
wife and mother in law, with their women: ſo caſting his iourney, that he with theſe diſguiſed
ſoldiers, and the other ſent in packs, might at one inſtant meet at the caſtle aforeſaid. The captain
being now in the countrey, and vnderſtanding that *Othoman* was comming in the euening
with a great traine of gentlewomen; thought the cauſe of his late comming to be, for that the
Turkiſh women vſe to ſhun the ſight of Chriſtian men by all means they can. *Othoman* beeing
now come to the place in the country where the marriage was next day to be ſolemnized, hauing
done his humble reuerence to the captaine, requeſted him to do him the honor, that his
gentlewomen which were nigh at hand, might by his appointment be ſent to his caſtle, there
to haue ſome conuenient lodging where they might alight and beſtow themſelues apart from
D others, according to the homely faſhion of their nation; leſt peraduenture the preſence of ſo
honorable a companie of noblemen and gallants, might put them out of countenance: which
the captaine granted, and hauing ſaluted them a farre off after the Turkiſh manner, commanded
them to be conueyed to his caſtle, making reckoning of them all as of a rich prey. At the
ſame time that theſe diſguiſed ſouldiers arriued at the caſtle, came thither alſo the other ſouldiers
couered in packs in the carriages: which ſo ſoone as they came into the caſtle, ſuddenly
leapt out of the packs, and drawing their ſhort ſwords, with the helpe of their diſguiſed fellowes,
ſlew the warders of the caſtle, and without more adoe poſſeſſed the ſame: the greateſt
part of the captaines people beeing before gone out of the caſtle to the place of the marriage.
Othoman hauing tarried ſo long with the captaine, as he ſuppoſed the caſtle at that time by his
E men ſurpriſed, ſo ſoone as the captaine had taken his chamber, ſuddenly tooke horſe, with all
his followers, accompanied alſo with *Coſsi*, taking his way directly to the caſtle of Bilezuga, of
whoſe ſudden departure the captaine vnderſtanding, preſently tooke horſe and purſued him
with all his traine, which were for the moſt part drunk, and ouertaking him before he came to
the caſtle ſet vpon him: in which conflict, he was by *Othoman* ſlain, and the reſt put to flight.

The captaine of Bilezuga treacherouſly ſeeking the death of Othoman, is by him, himſelfe ſlaine.

The ſame night *Othoman* vſing great celeritie, early in the morning ſurpriſed the caſtle of
Iarchiſar, alſo where hee tooke priſoners the captain therof, with his faire daughter *Dulufer*,
(which ſhould haue bin married to the captaine of Bilezuga the next day) with all her friends,
as they were readie to haue gone vnto the marriage, which faire Lady he ſhortly after married
vnto his eldeſt ſonne *Orchanes*; who had by her *Amurath*, third King of the Turkes, and
F *Solyman* Baſſa.

Othoman omitting no opportunity, preſently ſent one of his captains called *Durgut-Alpes*,
a man of great eſteeme and valour, to beſiege the caſtle of Einegiol: wherein hee vſed ſuch
celeritie, that preuenting the fame of that was done at Bilezuga, hee ſuddenly enuironed the
caſtle, in ſuch ſort that none could paſſe in or out; vntill ſuch time, as that *Othoman* hauing

brought his priſoners and prey to the caſtle of Belizuga, and there hauing ſet all things in good order, came with the reſt of his men of warre to Einegiol; which he preſently by force tooke, promiſing the ſpoile thereof vnto his ſouldiers. The captaine called *Hagio Nicholaus* his antient enemie, he cauſed to be cut in ſmal peeces, and all the men to be ſlaine: which crueltie he vſed, becauſe they a little before had vſed the like tyrannie againſt his Turks.

Othoman by adminiſtration of iuſtice ſtrengtheneth his gouernment.

When *Othoman* had thus got into his ſubiection a great part of the ſtrong caſtles and forces of the greater Phrygia, with the territorie to them belonging, he began with all carefulneſſe to make good laws, and to execute Iuſtice to all his ſubiects, as well Chriſtians as turks: with great indifferencie ſtudying by all means to keepe his country in peace and quietneſſe, and to protect his ſubiects from the ſpoile of others, as well Chriſtians as Turks: whereby it came to paſſe, that the old inhabitants which had for the moſt part forſaken the countrey, by reaſon of the great troubles therein, repaired now againe to their antient dwellings; and not only they, but many other ſtrangers alſo, ſupplying the places of them whom the late warres had conſumed. So that by his good gouernment, that waſted countrey in ſhort time grew to bee againe very populous.

The citie of Nice beſieged by Othoman.

The ciuill gouernment of his countrey well eſtabliſhed, he beſieged the citie of Iſnica, in antient time called Nice, a citie of Bythinia, famous for the generall Councell there holden againſt *Arius* in the time of *Conſtantine* the Great. This citie he brought into great diſtreſſe, by placing his men of war in forts new built vpon euery paſſage and way leading vnto the ſame, ſo that nothing could bee brought out of the countrey for the reliefe of the poore citizens. They in this extremitie, by a ſecret maſſenger certified the Emperor of Conſtantinople (vnder whoſe obedience they were) in what diſtreſſe the citie ſtood; and that except he ſent them preſent reliefe, they muſt of neceſſitie either periſh with famine, or yeeld themſelues into the hands of their enemies the Turks. The Emperour moued with the pittifull complaint of this meſſenger, with all expedition embarked certaine companies of ſouldiers from Conſtantinople to relieue his beſieged citie. But *Othoman* vnderſtanding by his eſpials, where theſe ſouldiers were appointed to land, in ſecret manner withdrawing moſt of his forces from the ſiege, lay in ambuſh neere to the ſame place where the Emperors ſoldiers (caſting no peril) landed; who before they could put themſelues in order of battel were by *Othoman* & his turks in ſuch ſort charged, that moſt part of them were there ſlaine, and the reſt driuen into the ſea, where they miſerably periſhed. *Othoman* hauing thus politickely ouerthrown the Conſtantinopolitan ſouldiers, returning to the ſiege, continued the ſame in ſtraiter manner than before. The beſieged citizens driuen into great penurie, and now diſpairing of all helpe, yeelded themſelues with the great and rich citie of Nice into the hands of *Othoman*, with the ſpoile whereof he greatly enriched his men of warre.

Aladin the great Sultan of Iconium, glad to heare of this good ſucces of *Othoman* againſt the Chriſtians, in token of his fauour and loue, ſent vnto him a faire enſigne, with certaine drums, and trumpets, a ſword and princely robe, with large charters, That whatſoeuer he tooke from the Chriſtians ſhould be all his owne; and alſo that publicke prayers ſhould be ſaid in all the Turks temples, in the name of *Othoman*, for his health and proſperous eſtate: which two things properly belonged to the dignitie of the Sultan. Theſe extraordinarie fauours gaue occaſion for many to thinke, that Sultan *Aladin* (hauing no children) intended to make *Othoman* his adoptiue ſonne and ſucceſſour in his kingdome.

The preſents and charters ſent him, *Othoman* humbly accepted, ſending vnto *Aladin* the fift part of the ſpoile of Nice, taken from the Chriſtians; but the princely honours due to the Sultan only, he vſed not during the life of *Aladin*: intending not long after to haue gone himſelfe in perſon to viſit the Sultan, and ſo to haue growne into his further fauor. But hauing prepared all things for ſo honorable a iourney, at what time as he was about to ſet forward, he was certainly informed of the death of *Aladin*, and that *Sabib* (one of his great counſellors) had taken vpon him the dignitie of the Sulatan (as is before declared:) which news much diſcontented the aſpiring mind of this *Oguzian* Turk, in good hope to haue ſucceeded him in the kingdom, or at leſtwiſe to haue ſhared the greateſt part thereof vnto himſelfe, whereof he was now altogether diſappointed. Yet immediatly after the death of *Aladin*, he thought it now fit time to take vpon him the princely honours before granted vnto him by the Sultan in his life time, which he for modeſtie ſake had forborn, *Aladin* yet liuing; wherefore he made one *Durſu* ſyr-

named

A named *Fakitche* (that is to ſay, a man learned in the Turkiſh law) Biſhop and Iudge of Cara-Chiſar, commanding the publick praiers which were wont to be made for the health & proſperous raigne of the great Sultan, to be now made in his owne name; which was firſt openly done by the ſaid Biſhop in the pulpit of Cara-Chiſar. At the ſame time alſo he began to coin money in his owne name, and to take vpon him all other honours belonging vnto a Sultan or King: which was about ten yeares after the death of his father *Ertogrul*, and in the yeare of our Lord 1300, vnto which time the beginning of the great empire of the Turks is vnder the fortune of this *Othoman*, to be of right referred, as then by him thus begun.

1300

When *Othoman* had thus taken vpon him the maieſty of a King, he made his ſonne *Orchanes* Prince and gouernour of Cara-Chiſar; promoting his principall followers, to be gouernours B of other ſtrong caſtles and forts, diuers of which places retaine the name of thoſe captaines at this day. He himſelfe made choice of the citie Neapolis, about twentie miles from Nice, to ſeat his regall Palace in; where alſo diuers of his Nobilitie built them houſes, and changed the name of the city, calling it Deſpotopolis, as who ſhould ſay, the city of the Lord or Prince. For all this, *Othoman* ceaſed not to deuiſe by all meanes he could, to augment his kingdome: and for that cauſe beeing accompanied with his ſonne *Orchanes*, made many rodes into the countries adioyning vpon him, ſurprzing ſuch places as might beſt ſerue his purpoſe, for the enlargement of his kingdome, all which in particular to rehearſe were tedious.

Neapolis the firſt regall citie of the Othoman Kings.

The Chriſtian Princes, rulers of the countries bordering vpon this new kingdome, fearing leſt the greatnes of *Othoman* might in ſhort time be their vtter confuſion, agreed to ioyne all C their forces together, and ſo to commit to the fortune of one great battell their owne eſtates with his: according to which reſolution, the Chriſtian confederate Princes, which were for the moſt part of Myſia, and Bythinia, leuying the greateſt forces they were able to make, with fire and ſword inuaded *Othomans* kingdome. Who hauing knowledge beforehand of this great preparation made againſt him, had in a readineſſe all his captaines and men of warre: and hearing that his enemies had entred his dominion, in warlike manner marched directly towards them; and meeting with them in the confines of Phrygia and Bythinia, fought with them a great and mortall battell, wherein many were ſlaine on both ſides, as well Turks as Chriſtians: and after a long fight, obtained of them a right bloudy victorie. In this battell *Caſteleanus*, one of the greateſt Chriſtian captains was ſlaine: another called *Tekenſis* of the country which D he gouerned in Phrygia, chaſed by *Othoman* vnto the caſtle of Vlubad, not far diſtant from the place where the battell was fought, was for feare deliuered vnto him by the captaine of the ſame caſtle, and was afterward by *Othomans* commandement moſt cruelly cut in pieces, within the view of his chiefe caſtle: which *Othoman* afterward ſubdued, with all the countrey thereabouts. The other Chriſtian Princes and captains ſaued themſelues by flying into ſtronger holds farther off. The Prince of Bythinia the chiefe author of this war, fled into the ſtrong citie Pruſa, which the Turks now call Buruſa, whither *Othoman* not long after led his army, in hope to haue won the ſame: but finding it not poſſible to be taken by force began preſentat one time to build two great and ſtrong caſtles vpon the chiefe paſſages leading to the citie, which caſtles he with great induſtrie finiſhed in one yeare: and in the one, placed as captaine E *Actemeur* his nephew; in the other one *Balaban Zuck*, both men of great courage, and ſkilfull in feats of warre: and in this ſort hauing blocked vp the citie of Pruſa, ſo that little or nothing could without great danger be brought into it, he ſubdued the moſt part of Bythinia; and ſo returned home, leauing the two caſtles well manned with ſtrong garriſons, vnder the charge of the captaines before named.

Pruſa beſieged by Othoman.

Othoman returning home to Neapolis, honorably rewarded his ſoldiers, according to their deſerts, eſtabliſhing ſuch a quiet and pleaſing gouernment in his kingdom, that people in great number reſorted from far into his dominions, there to ſeat themſelues: wherby his kingdom became in few years exceeding populous, and he for his politicke gouernment moſt famous. And ſo liuing in great quietneſſe certaine yeares, being now become aged and much troubled F with the gout, his old ſoldiers accuſtomed to liue by the wars, abhorring peace, came to him, requeſting him as it were with one voice, to take ſome honorable warre in hand for the inlarging of his kingdome, with great cheerfulnes offring to ſpend their liues in his ſeruice rather than to grow old in idlenes: which forwardnes of his men of war greatly pleaſed him, and ſo giuing them thanks, for that time diſmiſt them, promiſing that he would not be long vnmindfull of their requeſt. But yet thinking it good to make all things ſafe at home before he tooke G any great wars in hand abroad, thought it expedient to call vnto him *Michael Coſsi*, the onely Chriſtian Captaine whom for his great deſerts he had at al times ſuffered to liue in quiet with his poſſeſſions, as it were in the heart of his kingdome; and by faire means (if it might be) to perſuade him to forſake the Chriſtian religion, & become a follower of *Mahomets*, ſo to take away all occaſion of miſtruſt: which if he ſhould refuſe to do, then forgetting al former friendſhip, to make war vpon him as his vtter enemie. Whereupon *Coſsi* was ſent for, being perſuaded by the meſſenger, that *Othoman* had ſent for him, becauſe he had occaſion to vſe his wonted faithfull counſell and ſeruice in a great exploit which hee had intended, as he had oftentimes before. *Coſsi* thinking of nothing leſſe than of that which enſued, came accompaned with ſuch ſoldiers as he thought to vſe in that ſeruice: But comming vnto *Othoman*, and vnderſtanding H the very cauſe why hee was ſent for, and ſeeing danger emminent on euery ſide, kiſſing *Othomans* hand, after the manner of the Turks, requeſted him in curteous manner to enter him in the principles of the Mahometan religion, which he promiſed euer after to embrace: And ſo ſaying certain words after *Othoman*, he turned Turke, to the great diſpleaſure of God, and the contentment of *Othoman* and his nobilitie. For which his reuolting, *Othoman* preſently gaue him an enſigne and a rich robe, tokens whereby the Mahometan Sultans aſſure their vaſſals of their fauour and the vndoubted poſſeſſion of ſuch land and liuing as they then hold.

Michael Coſsi turneth Turk.

Oftentimes after this, *Othoman* for the contenting of his ſoldiers, inuaded the countries bordering vpon him, tooke many ſtrong caſtles and forts, ſubdued the moſt part of Phrygia, Miſia, and Bythinia, and other great regions, vnto the Euxine ſea: and being now very aged and I diſeaſed as is aforeſaid with the gout, and thereby vnable to goe into the field in perſon himſelfe, oftentimes ſent his ſonne *Orchanes* againſt his enemies; who to the imitation of his father atchieued many great enterpriſes, *Othoman* his father yet liuing.

Now happily might the conſiderate reader (and not without iuſt cauſe) maruell, what dead ſleep had ouerwhelmed the Greeke Emperors of thoſe times; firſt *Michael Paleologus*, and afterwards his ſonne *Andronicus*, both men of great valour, and ſtill reſiant at Conſtantinople, thus to ſuffer the Turks (not *Othoman* for he as yet bare no ſway; but others the ſharers of Sultan *Aladins* kingdom) to take their cities, ſpoile their countries, kil their ſubiects, and dayly to incroch vpon them in the leſſer Aſia, and eſpecially in Bythinia, ſo neere vnto them, and as it K were euen vnder their noſes: But let him with me, heere as in a moſt conuenient place but breath a little, and conſider the troubled ſtate of that declining empire, now haſting to an end; and he ſhall plainly ſee the cauſes of the decay thereof, and how like an old diſeaſed bodie quite ouerthrowne and ſicke to death, it became at length a prey vnto the aſpiring Turks. *Michael Paleologus* hauing by great trecherie obtained the Greeke empire, and by rare fortune recouered alſo the citie of Conſtantinople from *Baldwin* the Emperor (as is in the former part of this Hiſtorie declared) fearing the power of the Princes of the Weſt, but eſpecially of *Charles* King of Sicilia, then a Prince of great fame and power, whom he knew *Baldwin* (the late Emperor) ceaſed not to ſolicite for the reſtitution of him againe into his empire, and to haue alſo ioyned with him a neere bond of affinitie, by marrying his daughter vnto *Charles* his ſon: to L auert this danger, and to intangle *Charles* with troubles neere home, by his embaſſadors offred vnto *Gregorie* the tenth, then Biſhop of Rome, to vnite and conforme the Greeke Church vnto the Latine, and to acknowledge the Biſhops ſupremacie, in ſuch ſort as that it ſhould bee lawfull for any man to appeale vnto the court of Rome, as vnto the higher and moſt excellent court; of which his offer the Pope gladly accepted, promiſing to performe what he had before requeſted, for the keeping of *Charles* otherwiſe buſied. But when it came to the point, that this reformation and alteration of religion in the Greek church ſhould be made, *Ioſeph* the Patriarch, to begin withall, gaue vp his place, & ſhortly after forſaking the city, retired himſelfe into a monaſterie neere vnto the ſtrait of Boſphorus, where he at quiet deuoutly ſpent the reſt of his life. The reſt of the clergie alſo diſcontented with this innouation, in their ſermons openly M inuaighed againſt it, perſuading the people not to receiue it; crying out, That now was come the time of their trial, the time of their martyrdome, and the time wherein they were to receiue the glorious crown of their painfull ſuffrings; inſomuch, that great tumults were thervpon raiſed, and all the citie and the country in an vprore: for it was not the clergie only, and the vulgar people by them moued, which diſliked and abhorred theſe the Emperors proceedings,

Alteration of religion in the Greeke church.

A dings,& made theſe ſtirs,but many of the better ſort,yea, of the chiefe magiſtrats themſelues alſo. So that *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor leauing all other forrein buſines,was enforced to conuert all his power and ſtudy vnto the appeaſing of theſe domeſticke troubles, as deeming them of greater danger than thoſe abroad. And firſt to perſuade his diſcontented ſubiects,hee told them,That this alteration was made not for any good liking he had thereunto,but in reſpect of the dangerouſnes of the time: and that it was a point of wiſedome,to foreſee dangers hanging ouer our heads,& not to delay,if any thing were to be altred,for the auerting therof: for if the enemies(as he ſaid)ſhould come,the city yet in many places rent,or but lately repaired,& as it were but newly raiſed from death to life, the preſent miſchiefs would be far greater than thoſe forepaſſed,& that then their enemies would become lords not of their religion B and ceremonies only,but of al at once,their wiues,their children,& whatſoeuer elſe they had: where their libertie changed into bondage, they ſhould be conſtrained to conforme themſelues not with their bodily ſeruice only,but euen with their minds alſo, vnto the wills of the Latines their enemies. And that ſo it would come to paſſe,that no man ſhould be able to keepe the old cuſtoms & manners of their anceſtors,but ſhould ſee euen their moſt ſacred rites and ceremonies changed & quite ouerthrown. Which he carefully foreſeeing,had not(as he ſayd) refuſed to yeeld vnto neceſſity,and as wiſdome would,neglected a little harme in reſpect of a greater benefit; & in the leſſe to haue yeelded vnto his enemies, to enioy the benefit of the greater. With which the emperors perſuaſion ſome were mooued,& ſo held themſelues contented: and ſome others not; againſt whom hee was inforced to vſe other more ſeuere remedies, C as againſt his rebellious ſubiects: of whom ſome he impriſoned, ſome he baniſhed, ſome he tormented,ſome he diſmembred,ſome he bereft of their ſight,or confiſcated their goods, vſing(in briefe)all the means wherby the minds of the reſolute or the weake were to be mooued. All which things, they whoſe zeale was grounded vpon knowledge(in number feweſt) with patience indured: but the greater part void of iudgement, & the refuce of the people in ſimple attire,ranne rogueing abroad,ſome into Peloponeſus,ſome into Thracia,ſome into Achaia,& ſome as far as Colchos,as men perſecuted for their conſcience,not regarding greatly whether,ſo it were out of the emperors iuriſdiction,& ſomthing fitting their owne humors; neither conforming themſelues vnto the religion then commonly by the emperor eſtabliſht, neither yet agreeing among themſelues,but taking vnto them diuers names,ſome as the diſci- D ples of *Arſenius*,ſome of *Ioſeph*,& ſome of others,ſome of them, themſelues deceiued,and deceiuing others alſo. Thus for the auoiding of forrein danger out of the Weſt, was the Empire at home no little indangered,& the ſtate thereof ſhaken. Wherewith the Emperor was ſo encombred,as that he had no leiſure to prouide for the tempeſt ariſing by the Turks out of the Eaſt,but was inforced wholly to imploy himſelf & al his indeauors to the keeping of his people & ſubiects in their due obedience at home. All whoſe deep deuices,firſt in aſpiring to the empire,no way vnto him due,& great trauells afterwards for the aſſuring of the ſame to himſelfe and his poſteritie,againſt all right,euen with the alteration of the religion of his fathers, yeelded him in the winding vp of all,not ſo much as credit of an honorable ſepulture: but dying in theſe troubles not far from Liſymachia,as he was making preparation againſt the prince E of Theſſalie,was there by his ſon *Andronicus* his commandement(for whoſe aduancement he had ſtrained both his faith & honor)obſcurely buried in the field,a good way from his camp, as vnworthie of a better ſepulture,for reuolting from the antient religion of his anceſtors, although his obſequies were for faſhion ſake afterward with ſome ſolemnitie celebrated. This was the end of the great emperor *Michael Paleologus*,in whoſe time the Turks,the ſucceſſors of *Aladin*,greatly incroched vpon him in the leſſer Aſia,as is in part before declared: a man greatly adorned with the good gifts both of the bodie and the mind, had hee not for the aduancement of himſelfe and his poſteritie,ſtained the ſame with foule treacherie and apoſtacie: for which(as ſome ſay)he euer after liued in conſcience troubled,and dying was euen by his own ſon not thought worthie of an honorable funerall. *A notable example vnto all ſuch as with gree-* F *dineſſe ſeeke after vaine glorie, and fooliſhly expoſe themſelues vnto ſuch aduentures, as oftentimes ouerwhelme their deepeſt deuices,hauing in themſelues no certaintie, preferring their inordinate deſires (either for themſelues or their poſteritie) before that which is good and vertuous. Twice wretched in ſo doing; firſt in their follie, and then in their indeauors: who beſide that they finde God himſelfe againſt their deſignes and purpoſes,they by & by alſo euidently meet with other things than what they had fore-*

Perſecution in the Greeke church for matters of religion.

caſted, contrarie vnto them; and ſo themſelues oftentimes, contrarie to their expectation, caſt headlong into extreame miſerie: for loe, euen he of whom we now ſpeake, otherwiſe a man of great wiſedome, and happie in his doings, ouercome with his affection towards his children, in deſiring to leaue vnto them the empire, when as he ought to haue caſt all the care both of himſelfe and of them, eſpecially vpon the prouidence of God; hee like a blind man following his owne deepe conceits, not grounded vpon the feare of God, but vpon mans wiſdome only, caſt himſelfe before he was aware into miſerable troubles, and became odious euen vnto his ſubiects, and them alſo for whom he had ſo forgot himſelfe. For whereas God had euen from his childhood allotted vnto him the empire (as was by many euident ſignes and tokens to haue bin gathered) if he could haue moderated his vntimely deſires, kept his tongue from periury, & his hands from bloud, and not turned out of the way after ſtrange doctrine; hee had by many degrees excelled euen the beſt Emperors his predeceſſors: wheras now he lieth obſcurely buried, ſhrouded in the ſheet of defame, the report of his foule and faithleſſe dealings far exceeding all his other worthie vertues.

Andronicus ſparing to maintain his nauie, weakneth his empire.

Andronicus Paleologus ſucceeding his father in the Empire, and thinking by reſtoring again the gouernment of the church, together with the rites and cuſtomes of the Greeks, to haue appeaſed all ſuch troubles as were before by his father raiſed, by bringing in thoſe of the Latines; found himſelfe therein much deceiued, and his troubles no leſſe than his fathers: they which had before receiued the Latine cuſtomes, and well liking of them, with great obſtinacie defending the ſame; and the other of the contrarie faction now countenanced by the Emperor, without modeſtie or meaſure inſulting vpon them: whereof aroſe exceeding great ſtirs and troubles, eſpecially in the beginning of his raigne: to the great benefit of the incroching Turks, who in the mean time ceaſed not by all means to increaſe their territories in Aſia; and not only there, but in the iſlands of the Mediterranean ſea alſo. For *Andronicus* by the death of *Charles* King of Sicilie, deliuered of the greateſt feare for which both he and his father before him had to their great coſt and charge both built and maintained a ſtrong fleet of gallies; now perſuaded by ſome, whoſe actions and ſpeeches were after the manner of the court, all framed vnto the princes appetite, (as the readieſt way to thriue, without reſpect of the common good) to ſpare that needleſſe charge (as they termed it) which yerely coſt him more than any thing elſe, had diſcharged all his mariners and ſea men, and commanded all the gallies to be laid vp, ſome in one creeke, ſome in another; where neglected and not looked vnto, they in time for the moſt part rotted and periſhed. As for the Marriners, they went ſome one way, ſome another, as their fortunes led them, to ſeeke for their liuings in forreine countries, euen with the Emperors enemies; and ſome gaue themſelues to husbandrie, thinking it better by doing ſomething to liue, than by ſitting ſtill to periſh. Which good husbandrie at the firſt ſeemed to be verie profitable vnto the Emperour, but eſpecially vnto ſuch as beeing neere vnto him, and couetouſly giuen, made ſmall reckoning of all other the moſt neceſſarie defences of the empire, in compariſon of hoording vp of mony, vntil that it was afterward too late by experience found hereof to haue ſprung many great miſchiefes, vnto the great weakning of the Greeke Empire. For beſides that the Turks without let did great harme on the ſea; the Pyrats now out of feare of the Emperours gallies, at their pleaſure tooke the ſpoyle of the rich Iſlands in the Mediterranean, and robbed the towns all along the ſea coaſt, to the vnſpeakable griefe of the poore country people: and yet not ſo contented, came with their gallies, ſometime two, ſometime three, and ſometime more, as it were in contempt, euen cloſe vnto the imperiall citie. Yea the Venetians were ſo bold, as vpon a right ſmall diſpleaſure to rifle and afterward to ſet fire vpon the ſuburbs thereof, which they would hardly haue aduentured, had the Emperors fleet bin preſerued and maintained in the woonted ſtrength.

At the ſame time alſo *Andronicus* the Emperor (to the great hindrance of the affaires of the empire, and aduantage of the forrein enemie) was not a little troubled with a jealous ſuſpition of his brother *Conſtantine* (commonly called *Porphyrogenitus*) as if he had ſought to haue aſpired vnto the empire, ſeeking by all means to win vnto himſelfe the loue and fauor of all men, but eſpecially of the nobility both at home and abroad, & ſo by that means to mount into the height of his deſires: All which (as moſt men thought) were but meere ſlanders, maliciouſly deuiſed by ſuch as enuying at his honor, and taking occaſion by the emperors ſuſpition, ceaſed not to increaſe the ſame, vntill they had wrought his vnworthie deſtruction. The firſt ground of this falſe ſuſpition in the Emperours head, was, for that that this *Conſtantine* euen from his childhood, was for many cauſes, better beloued of the old Emperour his father, than *An-*

A *dronicus*, as better furniſhed with thoſe gifts of nature which beautifie a prince, and of a more
curteous behauior than was his brother: inſomuch that had he not bin the yonger brother, his
father could willingly haue left him his ſucceſſor in the empire. This was one and the chiefeſt
cauſe of the emperors grudge, and the ground of his ſuſpition. Yet was there another alſo, and
that not much leſſe than this: for that his father in his life time had of long thought to haue
ſeparated from the empire a great part of Theſſalia & Macedonia, and to haue made him abſolute
Prince thereof; & had haply ſo done, had he not bin by death preuented: which thing
alſo much grieued *Andronicus*, and the more incenſed him againſt his brother. Which his ſecret
hatred he for all that according to his wiſedome, cunningly diſſembled, not onely during
the time that his father liued, but three yeres after his death alſo, making ſhew of the greateſt
B loue and kindneſſe towards him that was poſſible. *Conſtantine* in the meane time, of ſuch great
reuenues as were by his father aſſigned vnto him, eaping great profit, moſt bountifully beſtowed
the ſame vpon his followers and fauorits, and others that made ſute vnto him, as well
the meaner ſort as the greater, and with his ſweet behauiour woon vnto him the hearts of all
men: for affabilitie and curteſie in high degree eaſily allureth mens minds, as do faire flowers
in the ſpring the paſſengers eyes. This was that precept of the wiſe Indians, That the higher a
Prince was in dignitie, and the more curteous he ſhewed himſelfe vnto his inferiors, the better
he ſhould be of them beloued. He therefore that ſhould for the two firſt cauſes blame *Conſtantine*,
ſhould doe him wrong; as both proceeding not of himſelfe, but of his fathers too
much loue: but in the third he was not altogether blameleſſe; for if for want of experience
C he prodigally gaue ſuch gifts, as for the moſt part might haue beſeemed the Emperor himſelfe,
he ignorantly erred, yet did he no little offend: but if hee knew, that for his too profuſe
bounty he could not be vnſuſpected of his brother, & yet without regard held on that courſe,
he was greatly to be blamed therin. For if nothing elſe might haue moued him, yet he ſhould
haue conſidered, to what end the like doings of others in former times had ſorted, and how
many it had brought to vntimely end. So although perhaps that *Conſtantine* meant no harme
vnto his brother, or any way to ſupplant him, yet did theſe things not a little increaſe and aggrauate
the former ſuſpitions, and open the eares of the Emperour his brother vnto ſuch calumniation
as commonly attendeth vpon immoderat bountie. But to returne to our purpoſe,
this honorable *Conſtantine* then liued in Lydia, but lately married, and in good hope long to
D liue, being not paſt thirty yeres old: but pleaſantly ſpending the time with his wife at Nymphea
in Lydia, at ſuch time as he was thus ſecretly accuſed vnto his brother, the Emperour
thought it good, as vpon other occaſions of buſineſſe, to paſſe ouer into Aſia himſelfe, but indeed
with a ſecret reſolution, vpon the ſudden to oppreſſe his brother vnawares, as by proofe
it fel out. For at his comming ouer, *Conſtantine* fearing nothing leſſe, was forthwith apprehended,
with all his greateſt fauorits, of whom one *Michael Strategopulus* (ſometime a man in great
authoritie with the emperor his father, and of all other, for wealth, honor, & noble acts moſt
famous) was chiefe: who together with *Conſtantine* were faſt clapt in priſon, where wee will
leaue them euery houre looking to die, their lands and goods being before confiſcated. But
theſe worthie men, eſpecially *Conſtantine* and *Strategopulus*, thus laid faſt; who many times
E in great battels diſcomfited the Turks, & notably defended the frontiers of the empire along
the Eaſt ſide of the riuer Meander; they now finding none to withſtand them, forraged not
only all the rich countrie beyond the riuer, but with an infinit multitude paſſing the ſame, did
there great harme alſo: ſo that there was no remedie, but that the Emperor muſt of neceſſitie
make choice of ſome other worthie captaine for the defence of thoſe his cities and countries,
by the incurſion of the Turks then in danger in that part of Aſia.

Immoderate bounty in great men dangerous.

There was then in the Emperors court one *Alexius Philanthropenus*, a right valiant and renowned
captain, and then in the flower of his youth; of him the Emperour thought good to
make choice for defence of thoſe frontiers of his empire in the leſſer Aſia (againſt the Turks)
which were before, the charge of his brother *Conſtantine* & *Strategopulus*; ioyning to him one
F *Libadarius*, an old famous captain, & a man of great experience alſo: appointing vnto him the
gouernment of the cities of Ionia; and vnto the other the frontiers along the winding bankes
of Meander. Where *Alexius* hauing now gotten a charge worthie his valour, & in many great
conflicts with the Turks ſtill carrying away the victory, became in ſhort time of great fame:
beſides that, he was exceeding bountifull & curteous vnto all men; a coſtly, but a readie way

vnto dangerous credit and renown. Thus at the firſt al things proſpered in his hand according to his hearts deſire: yea the Turks themſelues, bordring vpon him, hardly beſet on the one ſide by the Tartars, & on the other by himſelfe; & yet not ſo much feared with their enemies behind them, as moued with his curteſie, came ouer to him with their wiues and children & ſerued themſelues (many of them) in his campe. But as they ſay, That in *Iupiters* court no man might drinke of the tun of bliſſe, but that he muſt taſte alſo of the tun of wo: ſo fell it out with this great captain, who hauing but taſted of the better tun, had the worſe all poured full vpon his head. For *Libadarius* ſeeing all to proſper with him, and ſomewhat enuying thereat, began to feare & ſuſpect, leſt he proud of his good fortune, & now grown very ſtrong, caſting off his allegeance, ſhould aſpire vnto the empire, and ſo firſt begin with him, as the neereſt vnto him: which thing many of the nobilitie ſecretly ſurmiſed alſo, but how truly many doubt. But this enuious plot was not yet ripe, but lay as fire raked vp in the aſhes. Now there was with *Alexius Philanthropenus*, certaine companies of Cretenſians, whom for their good ſeruice and fidelitie he both honored & truſted aboue others, vſing them all for the gard of his own perſon. Theſe men proud of their credit, hearing of the ſurmiſed aſpiring of their General, & in hope by his aduancement to raiſe their own fortunes alſo, ceaſed not continually to ſuggeſt vnto him high conceits of himſelfe, & to perſuade, with al ſpeed to take the matter vpon him; the very conceit whereof (as they ſaid) would be vnto him no leſſe danger, than if he ſhould enter into the action it ſelfe, as he might well ſee by the wofull examples of the noble *Conſtantine* and *Strategopulus*, both in extreame perill but for the iealous conceit ſurmiſed againſt them. Which quicke ſuggeſtions wrought in his great mind diuers, & thoſe moſt contrarie motions, ſo that he ſcarce knew himſelfe what he would or would not. *For they which are vnto themſelues in conſcience guiltie of any grieuous crime, if any miſchiefe hang ouer their heads therefore, it happeneth vnto them as foreknowing and expecting the ſame euen from the time that they offended: vnto whom, if nothing elſe, yet that ſame verie foreknowledge eaſeth not a little the griefe and miſerie: whereas contrariwiſe, they which are with ſudden miſchiefes, and vnlooked for, ouerwhelmed, not knowing any iuſt cauſe why, muſt needs ſtand as men diſmaid, and almoſt beſide themſelues.* But at length after diuers great conflicts with himſelfe, the euill perſuaders of rebellion preuailed with him. Yet did hee at the firſt forbid any mention to be made of him in the army as emperor: which cauſed the Cretenſians, the chiefe authours of his rebellion, almoſt to force him forthwith to take vpon him the imperiall ornaments, thereby to confirme the minds of his followers and fauorits: for that ſuch reſolutions were (as they ſaid) forthwith to be put into execution; neither that any thing required ſo ioynt celeritie and dexteritie both of the minde and the hand; and for that longer delay would but fill his ſoldiers heads with doubts, and diſcourage them with the feare of the vncertaintie of the euent: all which for all that moued him not ſo to do; but whether for feare of the greatnes of the danger, or for that he ſecretly thought how firſt to circumuent *Libadarius*, of whom he ſtood moſt in doubt, is vncertaine. The report of all which his doings and deſignes were in ſhort time carried firſt vnto *Libadarius*, as the neereſt, & ſo in poſt vnto the Emperor: who were therewith not a little both diſquieted. And had *Alexius* (as ſome perſuaded him) at the firſt ſet vpon *Libadarius*, then vnprouided, no doubt but hee had done much: but God, by whom all princes raign, and whoſe power confoundeth the deuices of the proud, turned him from *Libadarius*, by whom he was to be oppreſſed, to follow after *Theodorus* the Emperors brother, of whom he was to haue feared no harm. This *Theodorus*, the firſt man that *Alexius* ſhot at, warned by his brother *Conſtantines* harmes, liued a pleaſant priuat life in Lydia, far from the ambition of the court, and therefore ſo much the more beloued of the emperor: but *Alexius* fearing leſt in that hurle many ſhould reſort vnto him, as vnto the Emperours brother, and ſo hinder his proceedings, thought beſt firſt to make him ſure, and afterward to oppreſſe *Libadarius* not aware, that in ſtead of the bodie, hee followed but after the ſhadow. But *Libadarius*, as a man of great experience, taking the benefit of this his ouerſight, and knowing money to be the ſinewes of warre, gathered together all the coyne he poſſibly could, both of his owne and his friends, ſending alſo for the Emperours Treaſures to Philadelphia, and with all ſpeed raiſed the greateſt power he poſſibly he could out of Ionia, which hee furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, promiſing vnto his ſoldiers great matters, and filling them with greater hopes, and that within ten dayes hee would with a great armie meet the Rebell in the heart of Lydia, and there dare him battell. But withall conſidering that the Cretenſians, men

but

Alexius Philanthropenus aſpireth.

Libadarius oppoſeth himſelfe againſt the proceedings of Philanthropenus.

A but of a mercenarie faith, had always the gard of *Alexius* his perſon, he thought good to make proofe if they might with gold be woon to betray him: and ſo well wrought the matter by great ſummes of mony preſently giuen, & promiſes of greater preferments with the emperor, that they (ſomwhat before diſcontented with *Alexius* his ſlacknes, and now doubting alſo his ſucceſſe) yeelded vnto his deſire, promiſing in the beginning of the battell to deliuer him into his hands; which they ſhortly after in the very ioyning of the battel accordingly performed, deliuering him faſt bound vnto *Libadarius* his enemie. Who not a little proud thereof, vſed him with great inſolencie, and within three dayes after put out his eyes, for feare the emperor according to his curteous nature ſhould haue giuen his pardon; and ſo kept him in priſon vntill the Emperors pleaſure were further known. Thus through falſe ſuſpect and ambition were B the greateſt champions of the Greeke empire brought to confuſion.

Now after this rebellion of *Philanthropenus*, *Andronicus* became ſo iealous of his owne people, as that he wiſt not whom to truſt, repoſing greater confidence in ſtrangers, than in his own ſubiects, to the great hurt of his eſtate. At the ſame time it fortuned, that the Meſſagets (commonly called *Alani*) which then dwelt beyond Iſter, being Chriſtians, but oppreſſed by the European Tartars, wearie of their ſlauerie, ſent ſecretly vnto the Greeke Emperor *Andronicus*, offring that if he would aſſigne vnto them a conuenient place for them to dwell in, they would come ouer vnto him with ten thouſand of their families, and faithfully ſerue him in his wars againſt the Turks (who then grieuouſly waſted his countries in Aſia, deſtitute of good captains and commanders:) which their offer he gladly accepted, as ſtanding then in need of aid, & not C greatly truſting his own people. But when theſe Maſſagets, in number aboue 10000, comming ouer with their wiues & children, were to be furniſhed with all things, and eſpecially the men with horſes, armor, and pay, (all which the emperor could not of himſelfe doe) the ſubiects were therewith hardly charged, and Commiſſion ſent out into euery countrey and prouince, for the taking vp of horſes and armor; euery citie, euery countrey towne and village, euerie gentlemans houſe and poore mans cottage, was ſearched and ranſacked, and all things taken from them, that was there found fit for ſeruice, to their great diſcontentment, euery man murmuring and grudging to haue his armes taken from him, and giuen to ſtrangers: but when they were alſo to be contributers vnto their pay, they then openly curſed and banned them euen vnto their faces. Yet at length (though with mnch adoo) theſe ſtrangers well furniſhed with D all things neceſſarie, were with ſome other forces alſo, ſhipped ouer into Aſia, vnder the leading of *Michael Paleologus* the Emperours eldeſt ſonne, and then his companion in the Empire. Who marching alongſt the country, came and incamped about Magneſia. Where the Turkes at the firſt, after their woonted manner retyred themſelues into the high mountains and thick woods, that from thence they might more ſafely learn what ſtrength their new come enemies were of, and what diſcipline of war they kept: for they knew, that vpon the comming of great armies many falſe reports did run, & that things were made far greater than indeed they were, as did of theſe alſo, as of a people inuincible: and therefore they thought it beſt ſo to protract the time, vntill they might ſee in what ſort beſt to deale with them. But ſo houering ouer their heads, and perceiuing them oftentimes without order to roame abroad into the country E ſeeking after prey, (for why, they after the manner of mercenarie men ſpoiled their friends no leſſe than if they had been their enemies) they came downe in good order from the mountaines, from whence at the firſt they aduentured but a little; but afterwards they came on further, and with greater confidence, in ſuch ſort, as that it ſeemed they would ere long aſſault the yong Emperor in his campe. Wherewith he with the reſt diſcouraged, without any ſtroke giuen retyred; the Turks ſtill following him at the heeles. For neither he, neither the reſt, any thing conſidered the ſmall number of their enemies: but as drunken men, whoſe heads filled with groſſe vapors, are deceiued in the greatneſſe of the obiect that they ſee, and oftentimes thinke one thing to be two; ſo were they alſo in like manner with their owne feare blinded. Beſide that, moſt commonly it falleth out, that the army which inſolencie and iniury forerun- F neth, is appointed to deſtruction, and by the fearefulneſſe of it ſelfe ouerthrowne before the enemie ſet vpon it, they themſelues becomming enemies to themſelues and Gods iuſt vengeance appointing vnto them ſuch an end as their deeds haue deſerued: neither was it like that they ſhould doe any great good, that at their firſt ſetting forth, in ſtead of prouiſion, carried out with them the bitter curſes and execrations of their friends. *Michael* the Emperor ſeeing

Andronicus the Greeke emperor repoſing more truſt in forrein aid, than in his owne Subiects, greatly hurteth his ſtate.

the Maſſagets flie, and not daring with thoſe few hee had left, to oppoſe himſelfe againſt his enemies, retyred himſelfe into the ſtrong caſtle of Magneſia, there to expect what would become of theſe miſchiefes. But the Maſſagets ſpoyling the countrey of the poore Chriſtians as they went, marched directly vnto the ſtrait of Heleſpontus, and there againe paſſed oner into Europe, as if they had been therefore onely ſent for ouer the riuer Iſter, to ſhew the Turks the ſooner the way vnto the ſea in Aſia. For it was not many dayes after, but that ***Michael*** the Emperor being returned to Conſtantinople, the Turkes comming down, with a great power, ſubdued all the Countries, euen vnto the coaſt of Lesbos, to the great ruine and weakening of the Greeke Empire.

Ronzerius what he was.

It was not long after theſe great ſtirs made by the Maſſagets, but that one ***Ronzerius*** (ſometime a notable pirat, but as then a moſt famous Captaine) hearing of the great entertainment that the Greeke Emperor gaue vnto ſtrangers, by meſſengers ſent for that purpoſe offred vnto him his ſeruice in his wars againſt the Turks, as had before the Maſſagets. This ***Ronzerius*** of whom we ſpeake, had out of Catalonia a prouince of Spaine, and out of that part of France which is called Narbonenſis, and ſome other places alſo, gathred together a great number of baſe needie naked men, yet luſtie able bodies, and fit for ſeruice either by ſea or land; with whom hee manned foure tall gallies, and ſo as a notable pirat long time robbed, not onely the merchants trading to and fro in the Mediterranean, but landing his men oftentimes in the rich Iſlands, carried away thence much rich ſpoyle alſo; vntill at length by the miſchiefe hee did being become famous, and great wars then ariſing betwixt *Charles* King of Naples, and *Theodorus* King of Sicilia, he was by *Theodorus* ſent for and requeſted of aid: which hee (liuing of the ſpoyle) eaſily granted, and ſo came vnto him with a thouſand horſe and as many foot, all old expert ſoldiers, whoſe good ſeruice ſtood the King in thoſe wars in great ſtead. But as the end of war is peace, ſo at length vpon the euil ſucceſſe of *Charles*, a peace being concluded betwixt the two Kings, and confirmed by a marriage betwixt their children; ***Ronzerius*** liuing altogether by his fortunes, was to ſeeke for new entertainment, both for himſelfe and his men, as hauing neither houſe nor certain dwelling place to repaire to; but being as needy men met together, ſome out of one place, ſome out of another, in hope of bootie as their fortune led them. In which caſe ***Ronzerius*** their Generall thought it beſt to offer his ſeruice to the Greeke Emperor in his wars againſt the Turks; whereof he gladly accepted, and ſo ſent for him: vnto whom he ſhortly after came with two thouſand good ſoldiers, called (after the proud Spaniſh manner) by the name of Catalonians, for that they were for the moſt part Spaniards of the country of Catalonia. Of whoſe comming the Emperor reioycing more than he had cauſe (as afterward by proofe it fell out) in token of his great fauor, honored him with the name of the Great Captaine, and afterwards gaue him his neece ***Marie*** in marriage. But within a while after, when as one ***Tenſa*** another Catalonian captain ſent for by ***Ronzerius***, was come thither alſo with more aid, the Emperor to gratifie them both, gaue vnto ***Ronzerius*** the name of ***Cæſar***, and vnto the other the name of the Great Captaine. But when theſe new captains with their followers were to be tranſported into Aſia, it is not to be ſpoken what harm they did by the way vnto the countrey people, and in the villages alongſt the ſea coaſt; abuſing the men and women as their ſlaues, and ſpending their ſubſtance at their pleaſure, for which they had many a bitter curſe: and this was their firſt yeares entertainment. The next Spring they ſet forward to relieue the great Citie of Philadelphia, being as then long beſieged by the Turks, and hardly beſtead without with the enemie; and within, with extreame penurie and famine: which good ſeruice they moſt valiantly performed, and raiſed the ſiege. For the Turkes beholding the good order of theſe Latine ſouldiers, their bright armour, and couragious comming on, roſe preſently and departed, not only from the citie, but quite out of the Emperours territorie. Beſides that, in this armie were ioyned vnto theſe Catalonians great numbers of the beſt ſouldiers of the Greeks, and all the power of the Maſſagets: ſo that had not the Emperor expreſſely before commaunded, not to purſue them too farre, it was by many thought, all thoſe cities and countries might then againe haue beene in ſhort time recouered from the Turkes, which they had before taken from him. But in Kingdomes appoynted vnto ruine, faire occaſions helpe not for the ſtay thereof; yea the greateſt helpes prouided by the worldly wiſe, by a ſecret commaunding power aboue, beeing oftentimes conuerted to the deſtruction of that they were prouided for the ſafegard of; as it now fell out with the

A Emperour and theſe Spaniſh ſouldiers: for this ſeruice done, the Greekes returned home, as
did the Maſſagets alſo. But theſe Catalonians with *Ronzerius* their Generall, roaming vp and
downe the Emperours territories in Aſia, did there great harme, turning their forces (as enemies)
vpon them whom they were ſent for to relieue: alleadging that they had not their pay
according to the Emperors promiſe, and that therfore they muſt liue vpon them that had ſent
for them and deceiued them. So were the poore people in euery place ſpoiled, their wiues
and daughters rauiſhed, their Prieſts and aged fathers tortured to confeſſe ſuch ſecret ſtore as
they had: all was ſubiect vnto theſe diſſolute ſoldiers rage and luſt; yea many of them that
had nothing to redeeme themſelues, vpon the greedie ſouldiers imagination, hauing their
hands or feet, or ſome other part of their bodies cut off, lay by the high waies ſide begging an
B halfepenie or a peece of bread, hauing nothing left to comfort themſelues with, more than
their miſerable voice and fountaines of teares: with which their wrongs and miſeries, worſe
than thoſe they had ſuſtained by the Turks, the Emperour much grieued, and well the more,
for that they were done by him whom he had entertained to relieue them: but what remedy,
his coffers were ſo bare as that he was not able to doe any thing for the redreſſe thereof. *Ronzerius*
hauing thus ſpoiled the Emperours countrey in Aſia, and left nothing that pleaſed
either him or his, with all his power paſſed ouer into Europe: and leauing all the reſt of his armie
at Calipolis, with two hundred of his men went vnto the yong Emperor *Michael* (then lying
with a ſmall power at Oreſtias in Thracia) to demand of him his pay, or if neede were to
extort it from him with threats: with whoſe inſolency at his comming, the Emperor more offended
than before, his ſouldiers there preſent perceiuing the ſame, with their drawne ſwords
C compaſſing him in, faſt by the court, ſlew him, with certaine of his followers, the reſt fled in al
haſte to Calipolis to certifie their fellowes what had happened.

Ronzerius for want of pay ſpoileth the Emperors ſubiects.

Ronzerius ſlain.

Thus by the death of *Ronzerius*, the young Emperor had thought to haue diſcouraged the
Catalonians and abated their pride, as like enough it was to haue done; yet in proofe it fell not
out ſo, but was the cauſe of far greater euils. So when God proſpers not mens actions, the beſt
falleth out vnto the worſt, & their wiſeſt deuices turn to meere follies: for the Catalonians at
Calipolis hearing of the death of *Ronzerius* their Generall, firſt ſlew al the citizens in the city,
and notably fortifying the ſame, tooke that as their refuge. Then diuiding their ſoldiers into
two parts, with the one part of them manned out eight gallies, which vnder the leading of the
D great captaine *Tenza*, robbed and ſpoiled all the merchants ſhips, paſſing the ſtraits of Helleſpontus,
to or from Conſtantinople: the other part left in the citie, in the mean time forraging
the countrey all about them. But *Tenza* ſhortly after encountering with a fleet of the Genowaies,
wel prouided for him, was by them ouerthrowne, & moſt of his Gallies ſunk, and himſelfe
taken; but yet afterwards redeemed by his fellows, and ſo again inlarged. Now the Catalonians
at Calipolis ſomwhat diſcouraged with the loſſe of their fleet and ſo many of their
men, for certain dais kept themſelues quiet in within their wals, not knowing wel what courſe
to take, for they feared both the Maſſagets and Thracians: them for that they had vpon light
cauſes abuſed them, & ſlain diuers of them in the late Aſian war; and theſe, for that they had
but euen the other day burnt their houſes & ſpoiled their labors in the country there by: for
E which and other their outrages, they vtterly deſpaired of the Emperors fauor, whom they had
ſo highly offended. But that which moſt of al terrified them, was, for that they looked for euery
day, when *Michael* the yong Emperor, who as then lay not far off, ſhould with a great power
come to aſſault them: for feare of whom they caſt a deepe ditch about the city, with a ſtrong
counterſcarfe; ſo preparing themſelues, as if they ſhould haue beene euen preſently beſieged.
But the time ſo paſſing, and the Emperor delaying his comming, they began to think of other
matters: for being brought to that ſtrait, that they could not wel tel which way to turn them,
but that they were on euery ſide beſet with danger, they vpon a malicious reſolution, and vnto
the Greekes moſt fatall, by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, craued aid of the Turks that dwelt on
the other ſide of the ſtrait ouer againſt them, in Aſia; who preſently ſent them fiue hundred
F good ſoldiers, after whom followed alſo many other fugitiues and looſe companions, in hope
of ſpoile; with whom the Catalonians for the preſent ſtrengthned, & being themſelues three
thouſand ſtrong, iſſued out of the city, and forraged the country therabouts, bringing in with
them great heards & flocks of ſheep and other cattel, together with their keepers: wherewith
both the Emperors & their ſubiects incenſed, prepared themſelues for reuenge. This was the

firſt

The Turks firſt called into Europe by the Catalonians.

firſt calling in of the Turkes into Europe (that I read of) and the beginning of thoſe endleſſe miſeries wherewith the Chriſtian commonweale hath beene euer ſince moſt grieuouſly afflicted, and a great part thereof ouerwhelmed; few or none greeuing thereat, but ſuch as themſelues feele the heauineſſe thereof, whom God in his mercie comfort.

The Turcopuli.

The vnfortunat battel of Michael the Emperor againſt the Catalonians and Turks.

The Catalonians and Turkes now lying about Cypſella and Apri in Thrace, *Michael* the Emperour with his Macedonian and Thracian ſouldiers, the Maſſagets and the Turcopuli, encamped at Apri. Theſe Turcopuli were Turks, alſo in number about a thouſand (who as is in the former part of this Hiſtorie declared) beeing fled with their Sultan *Iathatines* vnto the Greeke Emperour, and left behind him at ſuch time as he was by the Europian Tartars deliuered, had forſaken their Mahometane ſuperſtition, and ſo being become Chriſtians, were inrolled amongſt the Greeke ſouldiers. Shortly after the Emperour (aduertiſed by his ſcouts of the approch of his enemies) commanded euery man to be in a readineſſe, and his captaines to put his armie in order of battell: who ſeeing the enemies battell diuided into three parts, put theirs alſo in like order, placing the Turcopuli and Maſſagets in the left wing, the Macedonian and Thracian choice horſemen in the right wing, and the reſt with the footmen in the maine battell. At which time the Emperour himſelfe riding from place to place, with comfortable ſpeeches encouraged his men to fight valiantly againſt their enemies. The Sun riſing, the enemies battell began to come on, in number much inferiour vnto the Emperours, yet in like order; the Turks being placed in both wings, and the Catalonians wel armed in the midſt. But the ſignall of battell being giuen on both ſides, the Maſſagets, whether it were by agreement ſo before made with the enemie, or vpon a ſudden conceiued treaſon, preſently withdrew themſelues aloofe off, and ſo ſtood as idle beholders, giuing aid neither to the one nor to the other, as did alſo the Turcopuli their companions; which greatly diſmaied the Grecians, and encouraged their enemies: for the Greekes diſmaied with that ſudden defection of their fellowes, were euen in the ioyning of the battell diſcouraged. Which the Emperour perceiuing, with great inſtancie intreated the captaines and commanders of his armie, calling them oftentimes by name, not to bee ſo ſuddenly diſcouraged: but they in ſo great a danger little regarding his words, and ſtil ſhrinking from him, when as the greateſt part of his footmen were troden vnderfoot and ſlaine, turning himſelfe vnto them that were left, which were but few, hee ſaid, *Now worthy men is the time wherein death is better than life, and life more beter than death.* And hauing ſo ſaid, valiantly charged the enemie: in which charge his horſe was ſlain vnder him, and he in dauger to haue bin taken, had not one of his faithful followers remounted him vpon his owne horſe, and ſo ſaued his life with the loſſe of his own. The Emperor flying to Dydimotichum, where *Andronichus* his father then lay, was of him ioyfully receiued, but ſharply reproued for aduenturing his perſon ſo far. The enemies purſuing the chace, ſlew ſome, tooke others, vntill that by the comming on of the night, & weary with the long fight, they retired: and the next day diuiding the ſpoile, afterwards at their pleaſures forraged the country. The renegat Turks, called Turcopuli, within a few daies after reuolting to the Catalonians, were of them ioyfully entertained, and inrolled into the regiment of *Chalel*, the Turks Generall.

Shortly after this victorie, the Catalonians began to mutinie among themſelues, the great captaine *Tenza*, and *Pharenza* his companion, diſdained to be commanded by *Recafort* their General: in which tumult, the matter comming to blowes *Tenza* was ſlaine, and *Pharenza* for ſafegard of his life glad to flie vnto the Emperor *Andronichus*; of whom he was, contrary to his expectation, right honorably entertained. About this time alſo the Maſſagets hauing done the Greekes more harme, than the Turkes againſt whom they were entertained, and enriched themſelues with the ſpoile of their friends both in Aſia and Europe, were about with their wiues and children, and wealth, to returne againe vnto their old dwellings beyond Iſter. Which the Turcopuli, with the Catalonians vnderſtanding, and bearing vnto them a ſecret grudge, for that they (as the weaker) had by them oftentimes bin wronged in the diuiſion of the ſpoile of the Greekes, lay now ſecretly in wait for them, as they ſhould paſſe the ſtraits of the great mountain Hemus, which bounded the Greek empire frō the Bulgarians: where ſetting vpon them, fearing no ſuch danger, they ſlew them almoſt al; and with the ſpoile of them, recompenced themſelues for all the wrongs they had from them before receiued.

The Catalonians proud of their victorie at Apri, and well ſtrengthened by the reuolt of the Turcopuli with continuall rodes ſpoiled not onely all alongſt the Sea coaſt of Thracia, but al the inland country alſo, as farre as Maronea, Rhodope, and Bizia, laying al waſte before them. And hauing forraged moſt part of Thracia, brake into Macedonia, and there wintred about Caſſandria, ſometime a famous citie, but as then all deſolate and ruinous. But the Spring being come, they remoued thence, with purpoſe to haue ſpoiled the cities of Macedonia, and eſpecially the rich citie of Theſſalonica, where the empreſſe *Irene* then lay: wherein they were by the Emperors good care and foreſight preuented; who doubting ſuch a matter, had fortified his cities in that countrey, and furniſhed them with ſtrong garriſons, and all other things needull for their defence: which they quickly perceiuing, and finding the country al deſolate and forſaken by the inhabitants, were about to haue againe returned into Thracia: but as they were therupon reſoluing, they were informed by one that was with them captiue, how that the Emperor by a mightie ſtrong wall built at a place called Chriſtopolis, from the ſea ſide euen vnto the top of the mountaines, had ſo ſhut vp the paſſage, as that it was not poſſible for them that way to enter. With which vnexpected news they were at the firſt exceedingly troubled, as foreſeeing, That if they ſhould there long ſtay in that ſpoiled country, they ſhould in ſhort time be driuen to exceeding wants (for they were now in number aboue eight 1000 fighting men) and afraid alſo by a general conſpiracie of the people about them, to be oppreſſed. Thus beſet, and not well knowing what to doe, or which way to turne themſelues, they deſperately reſolued, no longer there to ſtay, but forthwith to ſet forward, and to breake into Theſſalie, with the plentifulneſſe thereof to relieue their wants, or into ſome other country further off, towards Peloponeſus, and there to ſeat themſelues, and to end their long trauels: or at leaſtwiſe, if they could not ſo do, to enter into league with ſome that dwelt vpon the ſea coaſt, and ſo returne againe into their owne countrey. Wherefore leauing Theſſalonica, and deliuering the Emperour of a great feare, they in three dayes came to the Theſſalian mountaines, Olympus, Oſſa, and Pelius; where they at the foot of them found ſuch plentie of all things neceſſarie for their reliefe, that they there wintred. But Winter paſt, and the Spring being come, they paſſed ouer thoſe high mountaines and the pleaſant vallies called Tempe, and ſo at laſt came downe into the fruitfull plaines of Theſſalie, where they ſpent that yeare at their pleaſure without reſiſtance, deuouring the labours of the poore country people, and making hauocke of whatſoeuer thing came in their way: for as then the ſtate of that countrey was but weake, the Prince thereof being but yong, and withall very ſicke and like to die, and the ſucceſſion ſo ending in him, as that it was feared, who after his death ſhould lay hand thereon, and euery man therefore more carefull of his own priuat than of the common good. Yet to auert theſe forraine enemies, who like a conſuming fire deuoured the country before them, the nobilitie thought it good, with great gifts to ouercome their captains and commanders, and then to offer them guides to conduct them into Achaia and Bœtia, countries more pleaſant and fruitfull than was theirs, and more commodious for them to dwell in: promiſing alſo to giue them aid for the ſeating of them there, if they ſhould ſo need. Of which their offers the Catalonians accepted, as thinking it better with their hands ful of gold ſo eaſily gotten, to go ſeeke their better fortunes, with their power yet whole and ſtrong, and helpe alſo if need were, than to hazard al vpon the ſucceſſe of a doubtfull victorie, and ſo fooliſhly to preferre an vncertain hope before a moſt certain benefit. So making peace with the Theſſalians, and the Spring being come, receiuing of them their promiſed rewards, and guids to conduct them, paſſing ouer the Mountaines beyond Theſſalie, and the ſtraits of Thermopile, they encamped neere vnto Locris and the riuer Cephiſus: which riſing out of the mountain Pernaſſus, and running towards the Eaſt, hath on the North ſide of them Locris and Opus; and on the South the inland countrey of Achaia and Bœtia: and beeing a great riuer vntill it come to Lebadia and Haliartes, is there diuided into two riuers; the one called Æſopus, and the other Iſmenus; whereof the former runneth thorow the countrey of Attica, vntill it come into the Sea; and the other neere vnto Aulis (where the noble Grecians, as they ſay, beeing about to goe vnto Troy, met, and there ſtayed) falleth into the Euboean Sea. But the Duke of Thebes and Athens, and of all that countrey, hearing of their comming, and (as hee thought well) prouided alſo for them (as hauing all the Winter and Spring time before put his forces in readineſſe) with great pride and contempt denied them paſſage thorow his countrey, at ſuch time as they asked the ſame, making no more reckoning of them, than as of a ſort of looſe wandering rogues that could find no place to reſt or thriue in: wherewith they inraged, reſolued

Caſſandria.

The Catalonians ſhut out of Macedonia.

among themſelues,either there to ſeat themſelues in his country, or to die therefore. And ſo paſſing the riuer into Beotia, not far from the ſame encamped themſelues, beeing in number about 3500 horſe,and 4000 foot. But ſo lying and expecting the comming of their enemies, they cauſed all the plaine ground about where they lay and meant to fight, to be plowed vp, which they with certaine ſmall cuts out of the riuer ſo watered,as that it differed but a little from a deepe mariſh or bog. Hither about the middle of the Spring commeth the Prince of the countrey, with a gallant armie raiſed out of Athens, Thebes, Platea, Locris, Phocis, and Megara, in number about 6400 horſe, and 4000 foot, an armie too ſtrong he thought for ſo contemptible an enemie. But the weakeſt enemie not feared, doth oftentimes the greateſt harme, as here by proofe was to be ſeene: for the Prince comming vnto the aforeſaid plaine, now growne greene with graſſe,and caſting no perill,encouraging his men, came brauely on with all his horſemen to haue charged his enemies: who ſtood faſt vpon the firme ground, a little without their trenches,as readie to encounter him. But before he was come to the middle of the plaine,his horſes ſinking deepe into the rotten and new ploughed ground, and there intangled as in a mariſh,lay for the moſt part tumbling in the mire, together with their riders; or elſe plunging in the deepe, and hauing caſt them, ran vp and downe the plaine, as fortune led them; otherſome ſticking faſt, ſtood with their riders vpon their backs,as if they had bin very images,not able for to moue. Which the Catalonians beholding, and therewith encouraged,ouerwhelmed them with all manner of ſhot,and ſlew them at their pleaſure,vntill they had almoſt made an end of them: and with their horſemen ſo ſpeedily purſued the reſt in chace,euen vnto the cities of Thebes and Athens, that they without more adoe euen at that inſtant ſurpriſed them both,with all that was in them. So the Catalonians hauing as it were at a caſt at dice won a moſt goodly countrey,garniſhed with faire townes and cities, which they neuer built; and ſtored with all manner of wealth, which they neuer ſweat for, there ended their long trauels,and ſeated themſelues: not ceaſing (as ſaith *Nicephorus Gregorias*, the reporter of this hiſtorie,ſpeaking of the time wherein theſe things were done, and wherin he himſelfe liued in Conſtantinople) vnto this preſent day, by little and little to extend the boundes of their territorie. Where leauing them,with whom we happily haue too long ſtrayed from our purpoſe,let vs againe returne vnto the Turks and Turcopuli their companions.

A notable ſtratagem of the Catalonians.

In the armie of the Catalonians, at ſuch time as they were about to haue beſieged Theſſalonica, were three thouſand Turks,of whom eleuen hundred were of them(as we ſaid)which remained with *Melech* at Ænum,after the flight of *Iathatines* their Sultan vnto the Tartars,and renouncing their ſuperſtition, became Chriſtians; and ſo beeing baptized,and hauing wiues and children,were enrolled among the Emperors ſouldiers; but at the battell of Apri reuolted vnto the Catalonians,and were commonly knowne by the name of Turcopuli: the other being the greater part, were ſuch Turks,as with *Chalel* their captaine came out of Aſia, beeing ſent for by the Catalonians. Now all theſe Turks,as well the one as the other,at ſuch time as the Catalonians were about to inuade Theſſalia, and to ſeeke their new fortunes in the countries more weſtward, and ſo farther off from Aſia: partly diſtruſting the ſocietie of them,as dangerous vnto them; and loath alſo further to follow their vncertaine fortunes into countries further off,amongſt people to them vnknowne, began to riſe in mutinie, and to refuſe to goe. Whereupon their captaines *Melech* and *Chalel* requeſted of the Generall of the Catalonians to giue them leaue with quietneſſe to returne: which their requeſt he eaſily granted,(as now not greatly needing their helpe, after that he was departing out of the Emperors dominion) and ſo they gladly departed; proportionally diuiding all the captiues and ſpoiles they had taken in that long warre, according to the number of both parts.

The Turks diuided into two factions.

Theſe Turks after their departure from the Catalonians,diuided themſelues into two parts, the Turcopuli or renegat Turks following *Melech*, & the reſt *Chalel* their General. But *Melech* being before becom a Chriſtian,as were his followers alſo;& after that hauing receiued moſt honorable entertainment at the Emperors hands, and yet againe moſt ſhamefully breaking his faith before giuen, and violating his religion, had reuolted to his enemies; deſpairing of the Emperors further friendſhip, which he had ſo euill deſerued,made choice rather to goe vnto *Crales* Prince of Seruia,by whom he was ſent for,than to come againe into the ſight of *Andronicus* the Greeke Emperour. And ſo going vnto him with a thouſand horſe, and fiue hundred foot,was there of him well entertained himſelfe: but his ſoldiers all commanded to deliuer

A vnto the Prince both their horſes and armour, and to fall to other trades; and not to beare armes but at ſuch time, and ſo many of them as ſhould ſeeme good vnto the Prince, that had receiued them into his countrey.

But *Chalel* with the Turkes his followers, in number about 1300 horſe and eight hundred foot, ſtaying at Macedonia, offered vnto the Greeke Emperour quietly to depart his country, ſo that he would giue him paſſage by the ſtraits of Chriſtopolis by him fortified; and in ſafetie tranſport him and his ſouldiers with all their ſubſtance, ouer the ſtrait of Heleſpontus into Aſia: vnto which his requeſt, the Emperour conſidering the great harme done in his prouinces, and deſirous alſo to be diſcharged of ſo great a burthen, eaſily granted; and ſo ſent *Sennacherib*, one of his moſt valiant captaines, to conduct them out of Macedonia into Thracia, vnto
B the ſtraits of Heleſpontus. Where the Greeke captaines and ſouldiers ſeeing the great multitude of horſes, and aboundance of money and other ſpoiles, which they hauing taken from the Greekes, were now about to carrie away with them into Aſia; they thought it a great indignitie to ſuffer them ſo to doe: and allured alſo with the hope of ſo rich a prey, as had bin of long in gathering, they entred into a deuice far different from that which was vnto the Turks before promiſed, neither prouiding them of ſhipping, neither careful of their ſafety but purpoſing vpon the ſudden by night deſtroy them. Whereof the Turks hauing got vnderſtanding, ſuddenly riſing, ſurpriſed a caſtle in the country there by, which they notably fortified for the defence of themſelues, to the great aſtoniſhment of them that had purpoſed their deſtruction; who now not able to force them, were glad to get them farther off, and to
C certifie the Emperor what had happened: who (after I wot not what receiued cuſtome of the Greek Emperors his predeceſſors) ſlowly diſpatching things requiring greateſt haſt, careleſly delaid the time, to the great trouble of his ſtate, and aduantage of his enemies. For they wiſely conſidering the danger and diſtreſſe they were in, by ſpeedy meſſengers ſent ouer the ſtrait, craued aid of the Turks their countrymen in Aſia, which they preſently ſent them; wherwith they not a little both encouraged and ſtrengthned, with their often & ſudden incurſions grieuouſly waſted the country round about them, to the great diſcontentment of the Greeke captains, not able without greater help to remedy the ſame. Who thereof certified the yong Emperour *Michael Paleologus*, requeſting him with all the power hee could make, to come and beſiege the caſtle, and to ſuppreſſe theſe ſo dangerous enemies. For the performance whereof
D not only the captains with their ſoldiers, but the country people in generall with their ſpades and mattocks came flocking vnto the Emperor; not as if they would haue beſieged the caſtle, but haue digged it downe and ouerthrowne it together with the Turks their enemies.

The vnfortnate battel of the Emperour Michael Paleologus with the Turks in Cherſoneſus.

Now the Emperor with his captains and ſouldiers, and a multitude of thoſe countrey people, being come thither, who all gladly followed him, moſt part of them fooliſh, thinking of nothing, but of the ſpoile of their enemies, not conſidering with what danger the ſame was to be gained: ſo that the more the enemies prouided for the neceſſary defence of themſelues, as in number but few, & ſhut vp in their enemies country, the more careleſly & neglegently, and without al order, the Greeks proceeded in their ſiege, for that they were in number far more, and better prouided of al things than their enemies: not reputing with themſelues, nothing in
E this world to be firm and ſure, and al wordly things (as ſaith the diuine Philoſopher) to be but the mockerie of God, and to be haſtily turned vp ſide downe, and with moſt vncertain courſe this and that way to wander. But their enemies, who before feared euen the very fame of their comming, accounting themſelues rather among the dead than the liuing, ſeeing their confuſed and diſordered raſhneſſe; therewith much more than before encouraged, beſtowed all their wealth, their women, and other things vnneceſſarie for battel, in good ſaftie within their trenches: but themſelues, with eight hundred choſen horſemen only, and they very well armed, ſallied out, euen to the place where the imperial enſigne ſtood, being neither of any great ſafety, neither guarded with any ſuch ſtrength or carefulnes as beſeemed: with which ſudden and deſperat eruption of the enemies, the Grecians terrified, eſpecially that ruſtical and vplandiſh
F company, began to flie: after whom by little and little others followed, vntil at length all the reſt without further reſiſtance fled alſo: which the Emperor ſeeing, did what he might to haue ſtaid their flight: but in ſo generall a confuſion and feare, when euery man was to ſhift for one, who regarded him: wherefore wearied and ſeeing no other remedie, he was glad to take the ſame courſe & to flie with the leſt, yet many of the more expert captains, aſhamed of ſo foule

a flight,made diuers ſtands : and ſo ſtaied the barbarous enemie from further purſuit of the Emperor and the other flying Greeks. In which doing, many of them incloſed by the Turks, were of them taken priſoners : vnto whom all the Emperours treaſure became a prey alſo,and whatſoeuer honorable enſignes of the empire elſe that were found in the Emperors tent ; yea the imperiall Crowne it ſelfe, richly ſet with pearle and precious ſtones, was there taken alſo, which (they ſay) *Chalel* putting vpon his head, pleaſantly ſcoffed at the Greeke Emperor that but late before wore it.

Thracia ſpoiled by the Turks.

Philes Paleologus requeſteth of the Emperor that he might goe againſt the Turks.

After this victorie, the Turks with great pride ſpoiled almoſt all Thracia , in ſuch ſort as that the people for two yeres together durſt ſcarcely go out of their ſtrong walled townes to plough and ſow their land; which exceedingly grieued both the emperors, the father and the ſon : for in their own power they had no great confidence, God hauing(as it were) taken from their people, both their hearts and courage, ſo that all their hope was to entertaine forraine aid (the miſerable ſhift of the great diſtreſſed ones) wherin alſo they found many difficulties and lets, whilſt they conſidered the greatnes of their charge, their coffers being then, if euer, empty by reaſon their territories were ſo long and grieuouſly by their enemies waſted : yet need admitting no law, *Andronicus* the old Emperour was glad to ſend to *Crales* Prince of Seruia, his ſon in law, to pray his aid. But in the meane time he making no haſt (as men in relieuing others commonly doe) and the miſerie more and more increaſing, it pleaſed God to ſtir vp the heart of one *Philes Paleologus* the Emperours neere kinſman, to vndertake the protection and deliuerance of his Prince and countrey ; and was afterward for his great valour by the Emperour worthily made Lord great martial of the empire. This *Philes* of whom we now ſpeake, had all his life time bin brought vp in the court, and was for his vpright dealing and integritie of life beloued of al men, but ſpecially of the old Emperor his kinſman, whom he with like affection honored; but was a man altogether vnskilful of the wars, as being by nature of a weake conſtitution of body, and ſo very ſickly; and withal more giuen to deuotion and the ſeruice of God than the affaires of the world , oftentimes ſpending moſt part of the day at his prayers in the church. He now grieued to ſee the perplexed Emperor, and the miſerie of his country, requeſted of him that he might with ſome ſmall power, and ſome few captains of his owne choice, goe out againſt theſe proud Turks: hoping (as he ſaid) by Gods grace to reuenge the wronge by them done, and to returne to him againe with victory. Vnto which his reqneſt, the Emperor eaſily yeelded; ſaying, that God was iuſt, which delighted not in many legs, neither in the greatnes of any mans ſtrength, but in a contrite heart and humble mind : not ſo giuing his help vnto *Michael* the Emperour, his ſon, for the offences of his parents : as happily he might vnto this ſo vpright and deuout a man, regarding more his integritie of life, than his skill in armes: for turning me about, I haue ſeen in this world (ſaid he) I haue ſeene, the ſwift not to gaine the prize, neither the valiant the victorie ; wiſe men to want bread , and men of vnderſtanding, wealth ; the ſimple to gain fauor, and the ſubtill to fall into diſgrace : ſuch alteration wordly things in time find. So the Emperor (as is aforeſaid) yeelding to his requeſt, furniſhed him with mony, horſes, and armor, and ſuch a conuenient power, as he himſelfe deſired. Which he hauing receiued, firſt of al incouraged his captains and ſoldiers with all manner of courteſie and kindnes, giuing vnto them mony, horſes, armour, iewels; yea ſometime hee gaue vnto one his purſe, vnto another his cloke, his rapier, or ſome other ſuch thing, as he had about him, to encourage them in their forwardnes: after that, he perſuaded them to an honeſt temperate courſe of life, & valiantly to play the men, promiſing according to their deſerts to reward euery one of them, the war once happily ended: & before his ſetting forth, vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that *Chalel* with a thouſand foot & two hundred horſe was forraging the country about Bizia, he haſted his departure, that ſo he might by the way encounter them, laded with the ſpoil of the country : and ſo ſetting forward, came the third day to a little riuer, which the inhabitants call Xerogipſum, & there in a great plain neere vnto the ſame, encamped. Where after he had ſet al things in order fit for battel, he with cheereful ſpeeches as a great commander, encouraged his captains and ſouldiers; leauing nothing vnſaid or vndone, that might ſerue for the animating of them to fight. But he had not ſo lien two daies, but that his ſcouts about midnight comming in, brought him tidings, that the enemy laden with ſpoile, was euen faſt by at hand: who by the riſing of the Sun were come within ſight, and had themſelues a far off alſo diſcouered the Chriſtian army, al gliſtering in bright armor. Wherefore ſtaying a while to prepare

them

A themſelues for battell: and firſt of all, compaſſing themſelues round with their waggons and other carriages, they beſtowed in them all their captiues faſt bound together, with the bootie they had taken: and afterwards as the manner was, caſting duſt vpon their heads, & their hands vp towards heauen, they came on. And now the Christian armie came on forward alſo, *Philes* ſtill encouraging both the horſemen and footmen, and right wel conducting them, as the time and place required. So it fortuned, that he that had the leading of the right wing of the army, gaue the firſt charge vpon a ſquadron of the enemies, and at the firſt onſet vnhorſed one of the enemies, and by and by after him another: But hauing his horſe ſore wounded vnder him, hee haſtily retyred out of the battell; which ſomewhat troubled the Chriſtians, and encouraged the Turks, who now with a barbarous outcrie began moſt fiercely to preſſe vpon the retyring B Chriſtians. *Philes* in the mean time with many cheerefull words and comfortable perſuaſions ſtill encouraging them to play the men; and with his eyes oftentimes caſt vp to heauen, with teares running down his face, moſt heartily beſought God, the giuer of all victorie, no longer to ſuffer thoſe his enemies, and the miniſters of his wrath, to triumph ouer his people: as did alſo the poore captiues that lay bound, doubtfully betwixt feare & hope expecting the euent of the battell. The Chriſtian footmen at the ſame time encountering hand to hand with the Barbarians, aſſailed them, and were aſſailed, ſlew of them, and were themſelues of them ſlaine; ſo that there was a cruell fight made on both ſides. But *Philes* with the multitude of his men hauing almoſt incompaſſed the Barbarian horſemen, with a companie of his moſt valiant ſoldiers broke in vpon the ſide of the enemies battell, and ſo made way thorow the midſt of it; C and ſo troubled the Turks, as that they well knew not how to ſtay, or what to do. So being on euery ſide circumuented and hardly charged, moſt of them there fell, excepting ſome few horſemen, whom the Greeke horſemen purſued vnto the entrance of Cherſoneſus, with purpoſe there to ſhut them vp. *Philes* comming thither alſo, there vpon thoſe ſtraits encamped: at which time the Emperor preſently ſent out fiue gallies to keepe the ſtraits of Helleſpont, ſo that no aid might be brought vnto thoſe Turks out of Aſia. Whileſt theſe things thus went, two thouſand choice horſemen came to the aid of *Philes* out of Seruia, and the Poteſtate of Pera came by ſea alſo with eight gallies moe into Heleſpontus, to the aid of the Chriſtians: wherefore when the Grecians and the Seruians had thus on the one ſide ſhut them vp by land, D and they that were in the gallies on the other by ſea, *Philes* with all his power came and incamped about the towne and the trenches wherein the Turks lay, planting his batterie againſt the caſtle, wherewith he greatly ſhooke the ſame, and made great ſlaughter of the Turkes and of their horſes, and that not only by day, but by night alſo. But the Turks ſeeing death now preſent before their eyes, and no way left for them to eſcape, for that they were ſo on euery ſide both by ſea and land incloſed, thought good thus to aduenture their liues, reſoluing by night to ſet vpon the Grecians rather than vpon the Seruians, whom they had hitherto accuſtomed to ouercome, and whom they had with often ſlaughters terrified; that ſo the reſt by them alſo happily diſcouraged, they might ſo delay the aſſault: but in attempting the ſame they perceiued themſelues much deceiued, finding them euen at their firſt ſallying out readie in armes to receiue them: wherefore hauing in vaine giuen the attempt (as againſt a ſtrong fortreſſe) they E were ſhamefully enforced to retyre. Yet were they not therewith ſo diſcouraged, but that the ſtrait ſiege ſtill continuing, they gaue the like attempt vpon the Seruians; but beeing alſo by them in a like manner with loſſe repulſed, they began now vtterly to deſpaire. Wherefore the next day about midnight caſting away their armes, they with their boſomes and pockets ful of coyne ran downe vnto the ſea ſide, towards the gallies, with purpoſe to yeeld themſelues vnto the Genowaies that were therein; as fearing of them leſſe harme, as of men whom they had neuer hurt. But the night being darke and miſtie, and the Moone giuing no light, many of them vnawares came vnto the Greeke gallies, and there flying the ſmoke, fell into the fire: for being lightned of their mony, they were by them forthwith without any pittie ſlain alſo. But the Genowaies ſlew not all their priſoners, but only ſuch as had brought with them the moſt F coyne; leſt afterwards bewraying the ſame, it ſhould haue been ſought after by the Greekes: the reſt they caſt into bonds, of whom ſome they ſent vnto the emperor, otherſome they kept to themſelues as their owne priſoners. Thus by the valour and good conduct of this worthie deuout captaine, the Turks were for that time againe chaſed out of Europe, and the country of Thracia deliuered of a great feare.

The battell betwixt Philes & the Turks.

The Turks ouerthrowne.

The cauſes of the decay of the Greeke Empire.

Now by that we haue alreadie written, is eaſily to be ſeene the chiefe cauſes of the decay and ruin of the Greek empire, to haue bin, Firſt, the innouation & change of their antient Religion and ceremonies, by *Michael Paleologus*, whereof enſued a world of woe; then, by Couetouſnes, couered with the name of good husbandry, the vtter deſtruction of the chief ſtrength of the empire; next vnto that, by Enuy, the ruin of the Great; falſe Suſpect, the loſer of friends; Ambition, honors ouerthrow; Diſtruſt, the great minds torment; & Forrein aid, the empires faithleſſe porter, opening the gate euen vnto the enemy himſelf: wherunto foule Diſcord joyned (as ſhall be forthwith declared) what wanted that the barbarous enemy could deſire, for the helping of them in the ſupplanting of ſo great an empire? But againe to our purpoſe, *Michael* companion with his father *Andronicus* in the empire, had by his wife *Mary* two ſons, *Andronicus* who was afterward Emperor, and *Manuel* ſyrnamed the Deſpot; and two daughters, *Anne* married vnto *Thomas* Prince of Epirus, and *Theodora* married to the Prince of Bulgaria: of all theſe, the old Emperour *Andronicus* their grandfather ſo entirely loued *Andronicus* his nephew, as that in compariſon of him hee ſeemed little to regard either his owne children, or the reſt of his nephews, wiſhing them all rather to periſh than him: which many ſuppoſed him to do, as purpoſing by him the better to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of the empire in his houſe; as alſo for his excellencie of wit, and comlineſſe of perſon; the likeneſſe of name alſo happily furthering his kind affection. For which reaſons, he cauſed him to be honorably brought vp in his court, as not willing to ſpare him out of his ſight either day or night. But when hee was out of his childehood, and growne to be a luſtie youth (at which time mens hot deſires are commonly moſt vehement) he began to contemne all chaſtiſement and gouernment; eſpecially in ſo high a calling, and in the prime of his youth. Beſides that, his companions became vnto him the miniſters and perſuaders of all thoſe vaine delights which vnſtayed youth moſt deſireth: and at the firſt began to lead him forth to walke the ſtreets, to hawke, to hunt, and to haunt plays, and afterwards to night walkes alſo, not well beſeeming his ſtate: which riotous courſe of life, when as it required great expence, and his aged grandfather gaue him but a certaine ſpare allowance for his conuenient maintenance; he acquainted himſelfe with the rich merchants of Genoway which dwelt at Pera. Heereof aroſe hard taking vp of money, great debt, fine deuices how to come by coyne, with ſecret conſultations and purpoſes of flight. For when he ſaw his grandfather old *Andronicus* long to liue, & his father *Michael* like to ſucceed him, he had no hope of aſpiring vnto the empire; wherupon his ambitious thoughts and impotent deſires long time tormenting his haughty heart, ſuggeſted vnto him ſuch purpoſes. For when as he would not obey his grandfather as his tutor, nor follow other mens councels, as a child, he ſought after the Imperiall libertie, and abundance of wealth, that he might haue that was ſufficient for himſelfe, and wherwith to reward others, as the followers of an Emperour. Which ſeeing he could not do, his grandfather yet liuing, and his father raigning; hee ſought after the ſoueraignty of other principalities and countries: one while after Armenia, as belonging vnto him in the right of his mother the King of Armenia's daughter; another while after Peloponeſus, and ſometime hee dreamed of Lesbos and Lemnus, and other the fruitfull Iſlands of the Ægean ſea: which when it was ſecretly told, ſomtime to his father, and ſomtime to his grandfather, he was now croſſed and reproued of the one, and afterwards of the other. And to paſſe ouer many other his youthfull prancks, he vſed in his night walks ſecretly to repaire vnto a certaine gentlewomans houſe, more honourably borne, than honeſtly qualified: which woman, a certain gallant (and another *Adonis*) no leſſe affected than himſelfe: wherwith hee highly offended, as with his Riuall, appointed certaine ruffians and fencers to watch her houſe. But vpon a certaine time about midnight, *Manuel* the Deſpot (his younger brother) ſeeking after him, chanced to paſſe that way where theſe watchmen lay: who ſeeing him haſten by, and not knowing him in the darke, and ſuppoſing him to haue beene the man they looked for, (the gentlewomans beſt beloued) ſet vpon him, and ſo wounded him, that he fell downe for dead from his horſe: but being by and by after knowne by others comming in, he was taken vp, and halfe dead carried vnto the Court. Which outrage in the morning being knowne vnto the Emperour, caſt him into a great heauineſſe, as beholding not the time preſent onely, but wiſely conſidering what was like to enſue in the time to come alſo. But *Manuel* the Deſpot being dead of the wounds there receiued, and the report thereof brought vnto *Michael* the young Emperour his father, then lying at Theſſalonica, ſtrooke him to the heart with ſo great a griefe, that falling ſicke with the conceit thereof, he ſhortly after died.

Andronicus the vnſtayed Youth neuertheleſſe holding on his woonted courſe, with a ſecret purpoſe to haue fled, became thereby ſtill more and more ſuſpicious to his aged grandfather, not a little carefull vnto what end thoſe his violent paſſions would at length tend. And therefore appointed one *Syrgiannes* (a man of great credit and authoritie in the court, in whom, as in a reconciled enemie, hee had moſt vnaduiſedly repoſed too much truſt) to inſinuate himſelfe into the youthful princes acquaintance and fauor; that ſo ſounding him & his ſecret deſignes, he ſhould not poſſibly be able without his knowledge to ſtep aſide; which of all things the old Emperor feared moſt, as the beginning of greater troubles. This *Syrgiannes* being a man of great place, and of a ſubtill wit, was ſomtime himſelfe ſuſpected of aſpiring, and therefore as vpon the miſpriſion of treaſon, was by the old Emperor impriſoned: but afterwards by him againe inlarged and receiued into fauor, was now put in truſt warily to obſerue the doings of the yong prince. But he not vnmindfull of the wrong before done vnto him, and in hope by troubling the ſtate either to aſpire vnto the empire himſelf, or at leaſtwiſe to ſome good part thereof; thought now a fit occaſion to be miniſtred vnto him for him to worke vpon, both for the one and the other, by ſetting the old Emperor and his ambitious nephew together by the eares: which opportunity he not minding to let ſlip, taking the yong prince one day aſide, diſcouered vnto him all his grandfathers deuice, in briefe, as followeth:

Syrgiannes his crafty ſeditious ſpeech vnto yõg Andronicus.

Your grandfather, noble Prince (ſaid he) *hath ſet me as a watch ouer your actions, or more truly to ſay, as a bloud-hound, to ſeeke after not your doings onely, but if it were poſſible, euen after your moſt ſecret thoughts alſo: and ſo whileſt hee maliciouſly prepareth for you ſnares and fetters, you not aware thereof, fooliſhly follow your ſhallow and childiſh conceits. For what ſhall it auaile you ſecretly to flie away? whereas, if the beſt chance, yet muſt you (as the common ſaying is) put your feet vnder another mans table, and liue of his charge; if it fall not out worſe, that you be ſlaine or made away by them you flie vnto for reliefe, or elſe fall into the ſnares by your grandfather layd for you. But if ſo be that caſting behind you theſe your fond deuices, you will hearken vnto my councell, I will ſhew you a readie way, how you ſhall in ſhort time, and without any danger, aſpire vnto the Imperiall Seat and dignitie; the onely way whereunto is this, if you leauing the Citie of Conſtantinople, ſhall flie out into the Cities and Prouinces of Thracia. For ſeeing men are moſt commonly by nature deſirous of change, and the miſerable Thracians are with often exactions grieuouſly vexed; if you ſhall but once proclaime a redreſſe of their grieuances, with immunitie for euer, they will all with one accord follow you whetherſoeuer you will, your grandfathers long and heauie yoke beeing caſt off, as if it were* Siſiphus *his heauie ſtone, which they had long rolled, and neuer the neere. If you like of this aduice, I will be vnto you both the author and the leader of this exployt, and will eaſily bring to good effect the whole matter: ſo that you againe on the other ſide promiſe vnto me vpon your faith, to reward this my trauell according to my deſert therein. But what rewards ſhall theſe be? Honorable preferments, large poſſeſsions, great reuenues, the firſt place in your fauor, and that no great matter be done or concluded without my conſent & knowledge. For you ſee how willingly I make my ſelfe partaker of your calamitie, and companion of your dangers, no neceſsitie enforcing me thereunto; forgetting euen my very faith, in compariſon of the loue and zeale I beare towards you; wherein if any miſhap ſhall by the mutabilitie of fortune betide me, I haue ſet downe my ſelfe with patience to endure it. All which conſidered, you need not to grudge to yeeld vnto my requeſts, if you tender your owne ſafetie. And foraſmuch as the ſhortneſſe of the time will ſuffer no long conſultations, and that delay bringeth extream danger, let vs without longer ſtay impart the matter vnto ſuch others, as for the hatred of the Emperor are like to keepe our councell, and may yet much further our deſignes.*

The yong Prince mooued with this ſpeech as if it had bin with a charme, eaſily granted to his deſire, confirming the ſame by his oath conceiued in writing: at which time were preſent ſuch as were eſpecially to be acquainted with the plot of the conſpiracie, namely *John Catacuzene*, and *Theodorus Synadenus* (both men of great honour, and the old Emperors antient ſuppoſed friends, and of him beloued, much of like age vnto himſelfe) and *Alexius Apocaucus* the third (not of like honor with the other, yet a man of great place, and of a moſt ſubtill and deepe wit:) who all vnderſtanding the matter, ſhewed themſelues not as miniſters, but as ringleaders and captains of the intended rebellion. This conſpiracie with moſt ſolemne oaths and promiſes on euery part confirmed, they began right cunningly to attempt the matter: and to begin withall, *Syrgiannes* & *Catacuzenus*, by corrupting diuers of the great and moſt gracious courtiers, procured to themſelues the gouernment of ſuch cities and prouinces in Thracia, as they thought fitteſt for them to begin their rebellion in. *Syrgiannes* hauing the gouernment of the ſea coaſt, & the inland country euen from the ſea ſide to the top of mount Rhodope; and *Catacuzenus* the gouernment of the country about Oreſtias. In all which places they muſtred ſoldiers, prouided armor, entertaining alſo ſtrangers, and other vagrant and maſterleſſe men, as for ſome great war: beſides that, in the cities for the gouernment therof, they placed their truſtieſt friends, remouing ſuch others as they had in ſuſpect. All which they colored by rumors falſly raiſed, one while of the comming of the European Tartars from Danubius, and another while by the comming of the Turks out of Aſia: againſt whoſe inuaſions theſe preparations were giuen out to be made, for auoiding of ſuſpition; and the traitors for their prouident care highly commended euen by the Emperor himſelfe, againſt whom they were intended. All which things *Syrgiannes* notably diſſembled, oftentimes withall certifying the young Prince what he had done, and what was likewiſe of him to be performed.

But the old Emperor ſeeing his youthfull nephew not to hearken to his graue aduice, but ſtill to proceed in his diſſolute kind of life, was about ſolemnly to haue reprooued him before the Patriarch & ſome others of the chiefe nobilitie: if happily ſuch open reproof might haue wrought in him ſome change of manners; if not, then to haue committed him to priſon, & like enough he was to haue ſo done, had he not bin otherwiſe perſuaded by *Theodorus Mitochita*, (who of all others was able to do moſt with him) by reaſon of the liberty of the time; for then it was almoſt Shrouetide, when as the people diſtempred with exceſſe of meat & drinke, were of all other times moſt fit, vpon any light occaſion to be drawne into a tumult or vprore: for feare whereof, he was contented for that time to let him alone. But Shrouetide paſt, & a good part of Lent alſo, the old Emperor ſeeing no amendment in his nephew, calling vnto him *Geraſimus* the Patriarch, and the reſt of the reuerend Biſhops then preſent in the citie, ſent for his nephew, openly before them all to chide him, and to ſchoole him for his diſordred life; but eſpecially for his purpoſed flight; that aſhamed of ſuch open reproofe before ſuch reuerend fathers, he might either amend his life, or at leaſtwiſe of all men be thought iuſtly puniſht for the ſame, if he ſhould ſtil proceed therein. So the yong prince being ſent for, came, accompanied with many of his fauorits & followers, moſt of them being ſecretly armed, and hee himſelfe not altogether vnprouided: for it was agreed amongſt them, that if the Emperour ſhould vſe gentle and fatherly admonition towards him, that then they ſhould be quiet, without any ſhew of inſolencie or diſcontentment; but if he ſhould in anger reprooue him, or threaten to puniſh him, then vpon a ſigne giuen, forcibly with their ſwords drawn to breake in vpon him, and to kill him in the imperial ſeat, & without more ado to place yong *Andronicus* his nephew in his ſtead. But comming in, and (as his manner was) taking his place next vnto his aged grandfather, his diſperat followers attending without, he was indeed of him grieuouſly blamed and reproued for his former follies and euil courſe of life; yet with ſuch moderation & grauity, as that all ſeemed (as it did) to come of a moſt fatherly care and regard: ſo that at that time no ſuch outrage was committed, as was by diuers his followers wiſhed, but the aſſembly quietly diſmiſſed, & a ſolemne oath taken on both ſides: of the grandfather, That hee ſhould not appoint any but his nephew to ſucceed him in the empire: & of the yong prince, That he ſhould neuer go about to attempt any thing to the ſhortning or hurt of his grandfathers life or Empire. But the conſpirators thronging about him at his comming out, fretted & fumed at him, as if he had broken his faith & oath before giuen them; ſaying, *What greater wrong couldſt thou do vs, than being by vs made ſtrong, and become dreadfull vnto thine enemies, to diſpoſe of thine affairs at thy pleaſure to thine owne ſafetie, and to leaue vs thy moſt faithfull friends and ſeruants in the diuels mouth to be deuoured?* For now they both doubted and feared, leſt their conſpiracie was diſcouered. With which ſpeeches he both diſcouraged and aſhamed, ſent for *Theodorus Metochita* his grandfathers chiefe Councellour, requeſting him to deale with his grandfather, for the pardoning of all his followers, as hee had done for himſelfe: of which motion hee diſliking, told him, That he was to giue God thanks, that he had himſelfe eſcaped ſo great a danger; and to him alſo, as a meane for the ſafegard of his life, although he treated not for ſuch

Yong Andronicus commeth ſecretly armed to his grandfather

traiterous

A traiterous perſons, with whom, if he were well aduiſed, he would haue nothing to doe, either thinke that they would euer be faithful vnto him, that reſpecting neither God nor man, had ſo fouly broken their faith before giuen vnto the Emperor his grandfather. With which vnexpected anſwer of ſo great and graue a Councellor, the prince not a little troubled, and withall diſcontented, ſtood a while as in a muſe all ſilent, reaſoning as it were with his owne paſſions: but afterwards commanding him without further replie to depart, and the old companions of his follies reſorting vnto him, hee by their perſuaſion entertained againe his former diſloyall thoughts & deſignements: which his grandfather vehemently ſuſpecting, and therewith not a little grieued, would (as if it had been by inſpiration) oftentimes in his heauines ſay vnto them that were about him, ***In our time is loſt the maieſty of our Empire, and the deuotion of the Church.*** Yet B to preuent the worſt, he thought it good betime to lay hands vpon his ſuſpected nephew, and ſo to detain him in ſafe keeping: acquainting none therewith but *Geraſimus* the Patriark & his ghoſtly father; who preſently acquainted the Prince therwith, & was the cauſe that he haſtned his flight, flying himſelfe before. For he now certainly vnderſtanding the danger he was in, the night before he ſhould haue been apprehended, with all the reſt of the conſpirators his complices, in the dead time of the night fled out of the City, by the gate called Gyrolimnia; which gate (all the reſt being ſhut) was ſtil at his command, for that he vſed commonly therby at his pleaſure very early to go out on hunting, as he now pretended to doe; but the next day after came to *Syrgiannes* and *Catacuzenus* campe, who then both lay with a great power at Hadrianople, expecting his comming. The old Emperor, before the riſing of the Sun aduertiſed C of the flight of his nephew, the ſame day commanded him to be proclaimed traitor, and proſcribed, with all his conſpirators, and whoſoeuer elſe ſhould take his part. And for the more ſuretie, euery man in the city was ſworne to be loyall and faithfull vnto the old Emperour, and enemies vnto his nephew and his adherents. But he on the other ſide, proclaiming liberty and immunitie abroad in all the cities and villages in Thracia, ſo woon the hearts of the countrey people in generall, that they reſorted vnto him from all places in great numbers, readie armed to do whatſoeuer he ſhould command them. And to begin withall, they firſt laid hands vpon the collectors of the Emperors mony (then abroad in the countrey) whom they ill intreated, taking from them their mony. After that, and yet ſeuen days not expired, almoſt an incredible number of horſemen, footmen, archers, and others, departed from Hadrianople toward Conſtantinople, D vnder the leading of *Syrgiannes*, in good hope at their firſt comming to take the citie, being at diſcord in it ſelfe, and moſt part of the meaner ſort, in hope of gaine, fauouring their rebellious proceedings, ſuch as the ſeditious find in ſuch rebellious tumults. So hauing marched foure days, they came and incamped at Selyrbia: but as they were about to haue gon on farther, the old Emperor doubting leſt the citiſens, ſeeing ſo great an army before the city, ſhould therein raiſe ſome tumult or ſtirre, to the indangering thereof; thought good before to ſend Embaſſadors vnto his nephew, to proue if happily theſe ſo dangerous troubles, might by their means in ſome good ſort be appeaſed. The chiefe of theſe Embaſſadors was one *Theoleptus* Biſhop of Philadelphia, a man no leſſe famous for his vertue than his wiſedome, and yet for both of all men honored; and with him alſo was ſent *Syrgiannes* his mother, as of all E others moſt fit to appeaſe her ſon, and to perſuade him not to approch the city, for that thereof might enſue much bloudſhed, and the deſtruction of the city, or at leaſtwiſe the vtter vndoing of many; whereof if he ſhould be the author, how could he euer after liue in conſcience quiet, but that the torment thereof would follow him euen into his graue; and therefore to requeſt him to retyre a little, and ſo to come to talke, and to demand what he pleaſed. *Syrgiannes* moued as well with the preſence of the reuerend Biſhop, as the prayers of his mother, retyred to the young Prince, which lay then about Oreſtias; whither the Emperors Embaſſadors came alſo: with whom (after long debating) it was agreed, That the young prince ſhould in all royall manner hold all Thracia, from Criſtopolis vnto Rhegium, and the Suburbes of Conſtantinople: and withall, That ſuch lands as the young Prince had already F giuen vnto his followers, in Macedonia, ſhould ſtill remaine vnto them (which were ſuch as yeerely yeelded vnto them a right great reuenue:) And that the old Emperour ſhould hold vnto himſelfe the imperiall Citie, with all the Cities and Prouinces of Macedonia beyond Criſtopolis: and that hee alone ſhould haue the honour to heare the Embaſſadors ſent from forreine Princes, and to giue them their diſpatch; for that the young Prince tooke no plea-

Thracia reuolteth vnto Andronicus.

Articles of agreement betwixt the old Emperor and his nephew.

The Greeke empire in Europe diuided.

whileſt the Grecians are at diſcord amongſt themſelues, Othoman layeth the foundation of the Turkes Empire, & the other Turks incroch vpō them alſo.

The Iſland of the Rhodes was by the knights hoſpitalers recouered from the Turkes in the yeare 1308.

ſure in thoſe waightie affaires, as by nature more delighted in hawking, hunting, & his other G
youthfull pleaſures. Vpon which conditions a peace was concluded, better liked of the young
Prince than of the old Emperor; who although he was deſirous otherwiſe to haue redreſt ſo
great wrongs, yet wanting power, was glad to yeeld to what his nephew would requeſt. Thus
was the Greeke empire in Europe (as then all or the moſt part incloſed within the bounds of
Macedonia and Thracia) now diuided betwixt the grandfather and his nephew: Aſia in the
meane time (wherein the Greeke Emperors their predeceſſors ſomtime held great kingdoms)
being left for a prey to the greedie Turks. *Othoman* on the one ſide euen in the heat of theſe
troubles laying the foundation of his empire in Phrygia & Bythinia; and the other the Turks
Princes the ſucceſſors of Sultan *Aladin*, encroching as faſt vpon the emperours territories and
countries on this ſide the riuer Meander. And not ſo contented, at the ſame time alſo built H
great ſtore of gallies, wherewith they robbed the Chriſtian Merchants trading to Conſtantinople,
and ſpoiled the coaſts of Macedonia and Thracia, and the Iſlands of the Ægeum, and
among others tooke the famous Iſland of the Rhodes; which they held not long before they
were againe driuen out of the ſame by the Knights Hoſpitallers, vnder the conduct of *William
Willaret*, aided by the Genowaies and the King of Sicilia, which they from that time held (to
the great honor and benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale) by the ſpace of 214 yeres, known
by the name of the Knights of the Rhodes: vntill that in the memorie of our fathers it was
(I ſay no more, but grieue therefore) ſhamefully loſt vnto the Turke, for want of reliefe; neuer
place being more honourably defended, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall appeare:
euer ſince which time thoſe honorable men (the flower of Chiualrie) haue ſeated themſelues I
in the Iſle of Malta, which they to their immortall glorie, and the comfort of all good Chriſtians,
haue moſt notably defended againſt the mightie Sultan *Solyman*, and all the furie of the
Turks, as ſhall be alſo in due place declared.

But to returne again vnto the troubled eſtate of the Greeke empire. *Syrgiannes* the Greeke
captain, & author of all the aforeſaid ſtirs betwixt the old Emperor and his nephew, had euen
from the beginning thought, as a companion to the yong Prince, to haue ruled all with him at
his pleaſure, and that nothing either great or little ſhould haue bin done without him: but ſeeing
it now to fall out far otherwiſe than he had before expected, and the Prince to be wholly
ruled by *Catacuzenus*, and himſelfe of all others leaſt regarded, & not ſo much as called to any
councel; inwardly tormented with griefe and enuie, he began ſecretly with himſelfe to deuiſe K
how he might be reuenged of the vngratefull Prince, which vnmindful of his former promiſes,
had ſo vnthankfully caſt him off. Wherefore he reſolued again to reuolt to the old Emperor,
not doubting but ſo in ſhort time to ouerthrow all the councels and deuices of the young
Prince, together with his ſtate alſo, by himſelfe before raiſed. For he, as worldly wiſe, excluding
God from his councels, had ſuch an opinion of himſelfe, that which way ſoeuer he went,
thither muſt all things follow alſo. Wherefore by one of his truſtieſt friends he ſecretly made
the old emperor acquainted with his purpoſed reuolt, and how all things ſtood: for the greater
credit thereof alledging, That he could not abide the ſight of him that ſought to corrupt
his wife, meaning the yong Prince. This news from *Syrgiannes* was vnto the old emperor moſt
welcome: for it grieued him (as an old man of a great ſpirit) to ſee himſelfe ſo contemned and L
deluded by his nephew, his empire rent, and his old ſeruitors of all ſorts, by him ſpoyled of
their lands and poſſeſſions in Macedonia and Thracia. So a ſolemne oath in ſecret paſſed from
the one to the other, *Syrgiannes* without longer ſtay ſecretly fled to Conſtantinople: which
there bruted abroad, reioyced many, now well hoping the whole gouernment would againe
come vnto the old emperour, and that ſo they ſhould againe recouer their poſſeſſions wrongfully
taken from them by his nephew. But God not ſeeing it ſo good, all this hope was but in
vaine, as ere long it appeared: for the yong prince, who of long knew how much he was beloued
of the Conſtantinopolitans, and by them ſecretly ſent for; taking occaſion vpon the flight
of *Syrgiannes*, with all the power he could make, marched towards the city: and being come
within ſight thereof, encamped, laying ambuſhes vpon euery way and paſſage thereabout, for M
to haue intercepted *Syrgiannes*; who was then at Perinthus, and the third night after, with
three hundred ſelect ſouldiers, deceiuing them that lay in waight for him as if they had bin all
aſleepe, before the riſing of the Sun came to Conſtantinople: and if the old Emperour would
haue giuen him leaue, he had ſuddenly charged them that did lie in wait for him, before they

were

A were aware of his comming. But as ſoone as it was day, the Prince hearing of the eſcape of *Syrgiannes*, and no ſuch tumult in the citie as he had expected, preſently without more adoe retired with his armie the ſame way he came, backe againe into Thracia.

By and by after, *Conſtantine* the Deſpot was by the old Emperor his brother ſent by ſea to Theſſalonica, to take vpon him the gouernment of Macedonia, and by the way to apprehend *Xene* the Empreſſe, the young Princes mother; and after with all the power he could make to inuade the yong Prince in Thracia: that ſo ſetting on him on the one ſide out of Macedonia, and *Syrgiannes* with the Turkes (for the Emperour in this ciuill diſcord was glad to vſe their helpe alſo) and the Bythinian ſoldiers on the other, they might ſo ſhut him vp betwixt them and take him. According to which reſolution, the Deſpot comming to Theſſalonica, there B tooke the Empreſſe, whom with all her familie he thruſt into a gallie, and ſo ſent her to Conſtantinople, where ſhee was in the palace kept cloſe, as too much fauouring the proceedings of the Prince. And afterward raiſing all the power hee could in Macedonia, inuaded the Prince in Thracia, breaking by force thorow the wall of Criſtopolis.

The yong Prince ſeeing himſelfe by this means, now like to be driuen to a great ſtrait, ſent *Synadenus* with his Thracian armie, to defend the frontiers of his empire towards Conſtantinople, againſt *Syrgiannes* with his Turks and Bythinians: in hope himſelfe by many ſubtle deuices & ſlights, to be able to encounter his vncle the Deſpot. And firſt he cauſed diuers edicts and proſcriptions to be written in haſt, wherin great rewards and preferments were with great ſolemnity of words promiſed to whomſoeuer could bring vnto him the Deſpot either quick C or dead: which were of purpoſe giuen to the country people paſſing to & fro, to be diſperſed abroad in the high waies, and about in the country neere vnto the Deſpots campe. And after that, he cauſed the death of the Emperor his grandfather to be euery where proclaimed, and how that he was by the Conſtantinopolitans in a tumult ſlaine: which the deuiſers thereof, in euery place reported. Yea ſome there were, that ſwore they were themſelues preſent at his wofull death, and ſaw it with their eies: otherſome, more certainly to perſuade the matter, ſhewed long white goats haire, or ſuch like gathered out of white wooll, as if they had bin by the furious people pluckt from the old Emperors head or beard, at ſuch time as he was ſlaine. Which things being commonly reported in euery town and village, but eſpecially in the Deſpots campe, wonderfully filled mens heads with diuers ſtrange and doubtfull thoughts; then D diuers alſo of the diſperſed edicts being found, and brought to the Deſpot, ſtruck him (and not without cauſe) into a great feare; inſomuch, that by the perſuaſion of his beſt friends, he without longer ſtay retired in haſt to Theſſalonica. Whither ſhortly after came a gallie from Conſtantinople, with ſecret letters from the Emperor to the Deſpot, for the apprehenſion of fiue and twentie of the chiefe citizens, vehemently ſuſpected for the ſtirring vp of the people to rebellion, and ſo to haue deliuered the citie to the Prince: al whom the Deſpot ſhould haue ſent bound in that gallie to Conſtantinople: but they in good time perceiuing the danger they were in, ſecretly ſtirring vp the people, and by and by after ringing out the bels (the ſignal appointed for the beginning of the rebellion) had in a very ſhort time raiſed a wonderful tumult in the citie; inſomuch, that all the citizens were vp in armes, who running headlong vnto the E houſe of the Deſpot, found not him (for hee forewarned of their comming, was fled into the caſtle) but ſlew al they met of his, or elſe robbing them, caſt them in priſon. As for the Deſpots houſe, they took what they found therin, and afterwards pulled it down to the ground. Then comming to the caſtle, they fired the gates: which the Deſpot ſeeing, & not able to defend the place, tooke horſe and fled to a monaſterie not far off, where being taken by them that purſued him, he ful ſore againſt his wil, for the ſafegard of his life, took vpon him the habit of a Monk: neuertheles, he was from thence caried priſoner to the yong Prince his nephew, who ſhewed himſelfe much more courteous to him, than al the reſt of his nobilitie & waiters; for they, as if they would haue eaten him vp, were euen forthwith ready to haue torn him in pieces, had not the Prince embracing him in his armes, ſaued his life. Yet the next day after, by the perſuaſion F of his counſell, he ſent him to Didimotichum, where he was caſt into a moſt lothſome priſon, being very deepe and ſtrait, in manner of a well, no bodie to attend vpon him but one boy, where he lay in miſerable darknes and ſtinke; they which drew vp his ordure from him and the boy, whether by chance or of purpoſe, pouring it oftentimes vpon his head. Where after he had lyen a great while in moſt extreame miſerie, wiſhing to die and could not, he was at length by the Princes commandement(entreated thereunto by certaine religious men)remoued into a more eaſie priſon, where we will for euer leaue him.

Andronicus the old Empeour ſeeketh for counſell of the Pſalter, as of an heauenly Oracle, and ſo ſeeketh to make peace with his nephew. Pſal. 68. verſ. 14.

Things falling out croſſe with the old Emperor, and although they were neuer ſo well deuiſed, ſtill ſorting out vnto the worſt, he became very penſiue and doubtfull what to do. So it fortuned, that one day in his Melancholie mood, hauing a Pſalter in his hand, to reſolue his doubtfull minde, he opened the ſame, as if it were of that heauenly Oracle to aske counſell: wherein the firſt verſe that he light vpon was, *Dum cæleſtis diſſociat Reges, niue conſpergentur in Salmon: When the Almightie ſcatered Kings (for their ſakes) then were they as white as ſnow in Salmon.* Which he applying to himſelfe, as it all thoſe troubles, and whatſoeuer elſe had happened in them, proceeded from the will of God, although for cauſes to him vnknowne: hee by and by ſought to reconcile himſelfe vnto his nephew; contrary to the mind of *Syrgiannes*, deſiring nothing but trouble. For (as we haue before ſaid)the young Prince although he was deſirous of the power and libertie of an Emperor, yet he left the ornaments and care thereof vnto his grandfather: and had he not oftentimes and earneſtly beene egged forward by his companions to affect the whole empire, happily could and would haue contented himſelfe with the former pacification: for being now ſent for, hee came firſt to Rhegium, and there viſited his mother (now ſet at liberty, and ſent thither for the furtherance of the deſired pacification) where hee with her and by her counſel did whatſoeuer was there done. So within a few dayes the matter was brought into ſo good tearmes, that an attonement was made, and he himſelfe went and met the Emperour his grandfather before the gates of the citie: the old Emperour ſitting then vpon his horſe, and the Prince lighting from his, a good furlong before he came at him: and although his grandfather was very vnwilling, and forbad him ſo to doe, yet hee came to him on foot, and kiſſed his hand and foot as he ſate on horſebacke; and afterward taking horſe, embraced him, and there kiſſed one another, to the great contentment of the beholders: and ſo hauing talked ſome few words, departed; the old man into the citie, and the young man into his campe, which then lay neere vnto Pega: where ſtaying certaine dayes, he came diuers times into Conſtantinople, and ſo went out againe; for as then his mother, partly for her health, partly for the loue of her ſonne, lay at Pega.

But *Syrgiannes* nothing glad of the agreement made betwixt the Emperor and his nephew, walked vp and downe ſicke in mind, with a heauie countenance, eſpecially for that in time of peace his buſie head ſtood the common weale in no ſtead. Wherefore in al meetings & aſſemblies, he wilingly conuerſed with them which moſt diſliked of the preſent ſtate, & ſpake hardly as wel of the Emperor as of his nephew, wronged as he thought by them both; whereas in the time of their greateſt diſtreſſe he had (as he ſaid)ſtood them in good ſtead. But ſeeing one *Aſanes Andronicus* walking melancholie vp and downe, as a man with heauineſſe oppreſſed; who hauing done good ſeruice for the young Prince, & not of him regarded, had fled to the old Emperor, and there found no ſuch thing as he expected for the eaſe of his griefe, although he were a man honorably born, and otherwaies endued with many good parts: with him *Syrgiannes* acquainted himſelfe, as grieued with the like griefe that he himſelfe was; with whom as with his friend, without any diſſimulation hee plainly diſcourſed of all ſuch things as his griefe deſired. But *Aſanes* handling him with great wiſedome, did himſelfe with like words ſpeak hardly both of the Emperor & his nephew; but yet curiouſly noted whatſoeuer *Syrgiannes* ſaid, for he had before hated him for his ambition, & as then, took it in diſpleaſure, that he was enemy vnto *Catacuzanus*, his ſon in law, who was all in all with the yong Prince, and did oftentimes comfort him. But the ſong being throughly ſet, *Aſanes* came ſecretly vnto the old Emperor, and told him the whole matter; and in fine, that except he betime laid hold on *Syrgiannes*, affecting the empire, he ſhould in ſhort time be by him brought to his end. Wherupon *Syrgiannes* was forthwith clapt faſt in priſon: whoſe houſe with all his wealth, the common people took the ſpoile of; and not contented to haue raſed it down to the ground, conuerted the ſite thereof, together with the pleaſant vineyards adioining vnto the ſame, into a place to feed goats and ſheep in: a worthy reward for his manifold trecheries. The yong Prince ſhortly after going to Conſtantinople, was there crowned Emperour, as fellow in the empire with his grandfather: vnto which ſolemnity in the great temple of *Sophia*, both the Emperours riding, it fortuned the old Emperor by the ſtumbling of his horſe to be ouerthrown, & fouley beraied in the mire, the ſtreets being then very foule by reaſon of much rain but a little before

A fallen: which many tooke as ominous, and portending the euill fortune which ſhortly after befell him. During the time of this peace, it fortuned that as the yong Prince was a hunting in Cherſoneſus, ſeuentie Turks aduenturers, were by force of weather driuen on ſhore: who before they would yeeld themſelues priſoners, made a great fight with the Emperors men, and ſlew diuers of them; in which conflict the young Emperour himſelfe was wounded in the foot, wherewith he was a great while after exceedingly tormented.

Andronicus the late Prince, and now fellow in the empire with his aged grandfather, held not himſelf elong ſo contented, but after the manner of ambitious men (and continually prickt forward by his aſpiring fauourites) longed to haue the whole gouernment to himſelfe, which hardly brooketh any partner: and therefore wearie to ſee his grandfather liue ſo long, B reſolued no longer to expect his naturall death, (although it could not by courſe of nature be far off) but by one deuice or other to thruſt him from the gouernment; or if that might not be wrought, at once to diſpatch him both of life and ſtate together. And the ſurer to lay the plot whereon ſo foule and horrible a treaſon was to be built, he by the councell of his mother and others, by whom he was moſt directed, ſent for *Michael* the Prince of Bulgaria, his brother in law (though before to him vnknown, as was his wife his ſiſter alſo) to make with him a firme league, to the intent by him to prouide, that if the Prince of Seruia (who had but lately married the old Emperors nigh kinſwoman, and ſo to him much deuoted) ſhould take part with him, he ſhould by the Bulgarian his neighbour be intangled. Who ſo ſent for, with his wife, the old Emperors daughter, came to Dydymotichum, where they were many dayes moſt C honourably entertained both by the yong Emperor and his mother: for why, this meeting plotted vpon great treaſon, was finely coloured, with the deſire the yong Emperor had to ſee his ſiſter and her husband, as before vnto him vnknowne; and the Empreſſe her daughter, whom ſhe had not ſeene in three and twentie yeares before. But the ſecret concluſion betwixt them was, that the Bulgarian Prince ſhould to the vttermoſt of his power aid the young Emperour againſt his grandfather, and he likewiſe him againſt the Seruian, as he ſhould haue need; and further, that if his grandfather beeing depoſed, he ſhould recouer the whole empire, then to giue him a great ſum of mony, with certaine ſpecial cities and prouinces confining vpon him, as in dowrie to his kind brother in law, and companion in his labours. So *Michael* the Bulgarian Prince honorably entertained by the yong Emperor and the old Empreſſe his mother in D law, loaded with rewards, and promiſes of greater, returned home into his countrey.

A treacherous meeting.

This matter thus diſpatched, the yong Emperor therewith encouraged, & knowing alſo the Conſtantinopolitans, beſides the other cities of Thracia, exceedingly to fauour him and his proceedings, by whom alſo he was ſecretly inuited to haſten his comming thither (as wearie of the long life and lazines, as he termed it, of his grandfather) thought it beſt cunningly to go about the matter; that ſo his grandfather beeing with as little ſtirre as might be depoſed, he himſelfe might alone inioy the empire. But needing mony for the effecting of ſo great matters he by force tooke all the money from the collectors, whom the old Emperour had ſent into Thracia for the taking vp of mony there, telling them that he was an Emperor alſo, and in need of money, and that the common charge was likewiſe by the common purſe to be diſcharged. E After that he tooke his way towards Conſtantinople, pretending that vpon ſpeciall cauſes he had occaſion to ſend embaſſadours vnto the Sultan of Ægypt: for the tranſporting of whom he was there to take order for the ſetting forth of a great ſhip, and other things neceſſarie for the iourney. Neither went he ſlenderly appointed, but with a great power; and the cities of Thracia before well aſſured vnto him, ſuch as he ſuſpected being thruſt out of office, & others more aſſured vnto him placed in their ſteads. But whileſt he thus beſtirreth himſelfe, one of thoſe that were moſt inward with him, deteſting ſo foule a treaſon, ſecretly fled from him vnto his grandfather, from point to point diſcouering vnto him all the intended trecheries; and withall, how that his nephew had determined to depoſe him from his empire, or otherwiſe to bereaue him of his life if he ſhould ſtand vpon his guard: but if in the attempt he ſhould find eaſie ſucceſſe, then to ſpare his life; and depriuing him of the imperiall dignitie, to thruſt him as a Monke into a monaſterie: and therefore aduiſed him to beware how he ſuffred him after his wonted manner to come into the citie, for feare of a generall reuolt, but rather by force to keepe him out. Which the Emperour hearing, and comparing with other things which hee had heard of others, yet ſounding in his eares, deeming it to be true, ſtood vp, and in the an-

guiſh of his ſoule thus complained vnto God : *Reuenge my quarrell ô God, vpon them that doe* G
me wrong, and let them be aſhamed that riſe vp againſt me : and preſerue thou vnto me the imperiall
power, which by thee giuen vnto me, he commeth to take from me whom I my ſelfe begot and aduanced.
After, he began to conſider what courſe to take for the aſſurance of himſelfe and his ſtate in ſo
great a danger. And firſt he ſent vnto his nephew (come halfe way) to forbid him from entring
the citie, and to tell him, that it was a great follie for him, being ſo manifeſt a traitor, both vnto
his grandfather and the ſtate, to thinke his traiterous purpoſes to be vnknown vnto the world.
And beſide in way of reproofe to rehearſe vnto him, how many occaſions he had giuen for the
breaking of the league with his grandfather : firſt in taking away the mony from the collectors,
whereof the ſtate neuer ſtood in more need, by reaſon of the diuiſion of the empire,
which required double charge ; then in that he had in the citie euery where diſplaced ſuch H
gouernors and magiſtrats as his grandfather had ſent thither, and placed others at his pleaſure,
with many other like facts, declaring his trecherous aſpiring mind, for which he was not without
cauſe by his grandfather forbidden to enter the citie. After that, the old Emperor by ſecret
letters craued aid of *Crales* Prince of Seruia, and *Demetrius* the Deſpot his ſon, who was
then gouernor of Theſſalonica and the countries adioining ; commanding him with *Andronicus*
and *Michael* his nephews (gouernors of Macedonia) with all the forces they were able to
raiſe, and ſuch aid as ſhould be ſent vnto them out of Syria, with all ſpeed to ioyne together
and to go againſt the yong Emperor. But theſe letters thus written vnto the Prince of Seruia,
the Deſpot, and others, (as is before ſaid) were for the moſt part intercepted, by ſuch as the
young Emperour had for that purpoſe placed vpon the ſtraits of Criſtopolis, and the other I
paſſages ; eſpecially ſuch as were written in paper, yet ſome others in fine white linnin cloth,
and ſecretly ſowed in the garments of ſuch as carried them, eſcaped for all their ſtrait ſearch,
and ſo were deliuered. And in truth nothing was done, or about to be done in Conſtantinople,
but that the yong Emperor was by one or other aduertiſed thereof : whereas the old Emperor
on the other ſide, vnderſtood nothing what his nephew did abroad, or intended. For all
men of their own accord inclined to him, ſome openly both bodie and ſoule (as they ſay) and
ſuch as could not bee with him in perſon, yet in minde and good will were euen preſent with
him ; and that not onely the common ſort of the citizens of Conſtantinople, but the chiefe
Senatours, the great courtiers, yea and many other of the Emperors neereſt kinſmen alſo : who K
curiouſly obſeruing whatſoeuer was done in the citie, forthwith certified him thereof. Amongſt
whom was alſo *Theodorus* the Marqueſſe, one of the old Emperours owne ſons : who
many yeres before by the Empreſſe his mother ſent into Italy, and there honourbly married,
was by his prodigall courſe of life there, growne far in debt ; ſo that leauing his wife and children
behind him, he was glad after the deceaſe of his mother, to flie vnto his father at Conſtantinople,
and there now liued ; who be ſide that he moſt honourably maintained him in
the court, and beſtowed many great things vpon him, paid alſo al his debts, which were very
great. Al which fatherly kindnes he forgetting, went about moſt *Iudas* like to haue betraied
his aged father. For he alſo dreaming after the empire, & for many cauſes (but epecially
for that he was in mind, religion, maners, and habit, become a Latin) by him reiected, thought L
he could not do him a greater diſpight than by reuolting vnto the yong Emperor : ſo that
the neerer he was in bloud, the more he was his fathers vnnatural enemy. Shortly after, *Demetrius*
the Deſpot, hauing receiued the Emperours letters at Theſſalonica, called vnto him
Andronicus and *Michael* his nephewes, the gouernors of Macedonia ; with whom ioyning all
his forces, & daily expecting more aid out of Sernia, he firſt ſpoiled the young Emperours
friends and fauourits in Macedonia, giuing the ſpoile of them in all the cities and townes of
Macedonia, vnto their ſoldiers, who made hauock of whatſoeuer they light vpon : and whoſoeuer
ſeemed any way to withſtand them or diſlike of their proceedings, their goods and
lands they confiſcated, and draue the men themſelues into exile. Neither was the yong Emperor
Andronicus in the meane time idle, but ſecretly ſent out his edicts, into all parts of the M
empire, yea into the very cities of Conſtantinople and Theſſalonica, and ouer al Macedonia :
whereby hee proclaimed vnto the people in generall, a releaſement of them from all tributes,
impoſitions, and paiments ; and franckly promiſed vnto the ſoldiers and men of war,
the augmenting of their penſions and pay : which were no ſooner bruited, but that moſt men
were therewith moued, both in word and deed to fauour his proceedings, doing what they

The young Emperour ſendeth Embaſſadours vnto his grandfather.

they could to further the ſame, and by ſecret letters inuiting him to haſten his comming into the citie; who thereupon comming to Rhegium, by his embaſſadours ſent from thence, requeſted the old Emperor, either to giue him leaue according to the league betwixt them, to come into the citie, or elſe to ſend him certaine of the chiefe of the nobilitie and clergie, with ſome of the better and more vnderſtanding ſort of the Burgers and citizens alſo, vnto whome he might frankly ſpeake his mind, for them fathfully to deliuer the ſame againe vnto the Emperor his grandfather, and the people. Which requeſts the old Emperor perceiuing to be full of deceit and trecherie, for a good ſpace anſwered thereunto nothing at al, but ſtood al ſilent, as doubting which to grant: for, to ſuffer his nephew to come into the city, he ſaw was dangerous, the citizens (as he well knew) being for the moſt part inclined to reuolt to him ſo ſoone as they ſhould once ſee him within the gates; and to ſend any forth vnto him, as hee deſired, might be (as he feared) an occaſion of ſome tumult to be after raiſed in the citie: for he knew that his nephewes drift therein was, openly by faire words, and ſecretly with great gifts and large promiſes, firſt to gaine them, and by them the reſt of the citizens. Both which things being dangerous, hee made choice of the eaſier, and ſent forth vnto him two of the moſt Noble Senators, two of the moſt reuerend Biſhops, two other graue Prelates, and foure of the chiefe Burgeſſes of the citie: vnto whom at their comming vnto him, hee in the open hearing of all men deliuered this premeditated and craftie ſpeech:

The ſpeech of the young Emperour vnto his grandfathers embaſſadours.

It is not vnknowne vnto the world, you my ſubiects, to haue alwaies beene vnto mee more deare than I haue beene vnto my ſelfe: and how that I haue not vpon any ambitious conceit, or deſire of the ſole gouernment, againſt my grandfathers good will, gone out. For you ſee how that I neither ſpare mine owne life, or attend my pleaſure, for the care I haue of you: I come not vnto you compaſſed about with a guard of armed men, as is the manner not of Kings onely, for the enuie of their high place, but of others alſo of farre meaner calling, whom diſaſter fortune, baniſhed from their parents and kinred, hath enforced to wander heere and there, with death alſo before their eyes. Let any man tell mee how I came by theſe wounds which I yet beare in my bodie, but in fight with the enemies of my countrey which paſſe ouer out of Aſia into Thracia; or elſe dwelling neere vnto Iſter, doe with their incurſions from thence miſerably waſte that ſide of Thracia which is next vnto them? For I (to tell you the very truth) ſeeing the old Emperour by reaſon of his great yeares to become ſlothfull and blockiſh, and not poſſible to bee awaked out of his drowſie ſleepe, neither any whit to grieue, when as the poore Chriſtians his ſubiects were both by day and night, ſome as ſacrifices ſlaine by the barbarous enemies, ſome carried away into moſt miſerable captiuitie, and the reſt poore and naked to bee driuen out of their houſes and cities; not to ſpeake in the meane time of the greater miſchiefes in Aſia, and how many cities haue beene there loſt through the old Emperours ſloth and negligence: when I ſaw theſe things (I ſay) ſtrucken with a piercing griefe, which my heart could not indure, I went out for two cauſes, either by ſome kinde of honourable death to end my griefe together with my life, or elſe to the vttermoſt of my power to ſtand my countrey in ſome ſtead. For by no meanes it can come to paſſe, but that a man, and he that hath of long time raigned, muſt at length become loathſome vnto his ſubiects, and incurre their deadly hatred. For why, God hath made nothing in this life immutable and firme: whereby it commeth to paſſe, as we ſee, that all worldly things ioy and delight in change. But if a man will as it were force fortune to his deſire, and ſtriue to bind things vnto a certaine firme and conſtant courſe, hee ſhall but loſe his labour, and in vaine ſtriue againſt nature. But whatſoeuer is contrary vnto nature, or exceedeth the iuſt bounds thereof, hath in it neither comfort nor delight. This was it that cauſed the wiſe men to ſay, and to leaue to vs as rules, Not to dwel too long vpon any thing; and a meaſure to be the faireſt vertue. For you ſee how that my grandfather being growne to great yeares, and hauing raigned ſo long (I may almoſt ſay) as neuer did any but hee, is become hatefull vnto all his people; and yet regardeth not either how to diſcharge himſelfe of ſo great a burthen, or how to releeue the declining ſtate of the empire, or ſo much as grieueth to ſee the ſucceſſours of the empire to die before him: For my father is dead without any fruit of the empire, except the bare title onely; and others alſo neereſt to him of bloud, and farre younger than he, are dead likewiſe: and happily I my ſelfe may die alſo before I ſhall receiue any profit thereof: for what can more eaſily happen, eſpecially vnto a man that ſhunneth no danger, and regardeth not his life? But ſome perhaps will ſuſpect me of ambition, for departing from the Emperour my grandfather, and for refuſing to be ruled by him. Which thing I neither flatly denie, or altogether confeſſe: For might I ſee the Empire increaſe, and the *bounds thereof inlarged, I could willingly content my ſelfe, and at my eaſe take my reſt; cheering my ſelfe vp with ſuch hope as doe they that beare with their cookes, making them to ſtay long for their dinner, in hope thereby to fare the better. But ſeeing the ſtate of the empire dayly to decline from euill to worſe, and the miſerable people carried away captiues, or ſlaine by their enemies euen at the gates and vnder the wals of the imperiall Citie: what deeme you mee then to thinke? For moſt men eaſe their preſent griefe, with the hope of future good, although the ſame be but vaine: But vnto mee is not left euen ſuch vaine hope vnto my falſe comfort. And can you maruell at the impotent affection of the Great* Alexander *of Macedon, grieued and diſpleaſed to ſee his father to heape victorie vpon victorie, and to cut off all the hope of his ſonnes glorie, by leauing him ſo few occaſions of warre; and not thinke mee (to whom you ſee the quite contrarie is chanced, and from whom not onely the hope of the empire is cut off, for the waſting thereof, but euen the courſe of a quiet life) to fret and grieue thereat? Mooued herewith, and not able longer to indure it, at length I riſe vp, and requeſted of the Emperour my Grandfather, but a thouſaud men at armes, promiſing him by the power of God with them to preſerue the Cities in Bythinia, and to driue his enemies further off, (before that hauing them), they ſhould paſſe ouer the ſtrait, and beſiege the imperiall Citie of Conſtantinople: which ſo ſmall a requeſt hee not onely denyed mee, but hath euer ſince taken mee for his mortall enemie. But this and many other things elſe let paſſe: I huae now another requeſt vnto him by you, which is, That hee would giue mee eight thouſand duckats to content my ſouldiers withall, who of long haue from plac to place roamed vp and downe with mee, following mine vncertaine fortune: Which granted, I will no more bee vnto my Grandfather troubleſome, but diſmiſſing my forces, hold my ſelfe right well contented.*

Hauing thus ſaid, hee roſe out of his ſeat, and taking them a part one after another, courteouſly diſcourſed with them, and ſo filling them with great hopes, ſent them away: who departing from him and comming into the citie, became as it were the open proclaimers of his praiſes, enflaming the people with a greater deſire of him than before. Which the old Emperour hearing, and perceiuing almoſt all his friends in the citie to bee in heart reuolted from him; and withall fearing to bee of them in ſome ſudden concourſe ſlaine, was therewith exceedingly vexed. Yet hee thought it beſt before any ſuch thing ſhould happen, to proue their mindes, and to heare the counſell of the Patriarch, and *Aſanes*, and the other Biſhops alſo: vnto whome; being by one of the Senators called together, he declared his mind, as followeth:

The ſpeech of the old Emperour vnto the Patriarch and the reſt of the Biſhops and Nobilitie, concerning the young Empeour his nephew.

Were I aſſured, that hauing depoſed my ſelfe of the imperiall dignitie, I ſhould my ſelfe liue in ſafetie, and ſee my people wel gouerned, I would I ſhould neuer be of the companie of the faithful, if I did not by much prefer a pleaſant quiet contented life before an Empire. For if a man would ſeeke for the pleaſure of the mind, what can be mor pleaſant, than to be disburdened of all cares, & free from ſuch dangers as attend high eſtates? But if for my ſinne and the ſinnes of my people, as alſo for the ſinne of mine anceſtors, the vengeance of God in manner of a violent tempeſt raging againſt vs, ſubuerteth our empire: and I yet but a youth, by the helpe of God reformed and quieted the ſtate of the Empire, grieuouſly troubled with diſcord in the Church, and the often inuaſion of the enemie; and taught by long experience know not how in ſo great hurle and tempeſt which way to turne my ſelfe: How can I with ſafetie commit vnto my nephew ſo great a charge, who as yet is both an vnſtayed youth, and ſo careleſſe of his owne good, as that hee knoweth not how well to gouerne his owne priuate affaires? For giuing ouer his power to young vnskilfull men, and hauing flung away his imperiall poſſeſſions amongſt them, hee himſelfe liueth in penurie and want; neither regardeth any thing more than his dogges and kites, of whome hee keepeth few leſſe than a thouſand currres, and as many hawkes, and not much fewer men to looke vnto them. Wherefore vnto ſuch a man, how may I ſafely commit eyther my life, or the adminiſtration of mine Empire, by God committed vnto mee? But I will neuer witting and willingly caſt away either my ſubiects or my ſelfe. For my nephew I haue loued, not onely more than my wife and children, but (to ſay the truth) more than my ſelfe alſo; as you well know how tenderly I haue brought him vp, how carefully I haue inſtructed and adniſed him, as purpoſing to haue left him the heire and ſucceſſour both of my wiſedome and mine Empire, that ſo hee might the better pleaſe both God and man. But hee, contemning my good counſell, hath ſpent whole nights in banquetting, and riot, and brothelhouſes; wherein hee hath alſo ſlaine his owne brother: and to bee breefe, hee hath riſen and lifted vp his hand againſt mee his grandfather, and a grandfather that

A *had of him ſo well deſerued, attempting ſuch a villanie as the Sunne neuer ſaw. Wherefore you ought*
alſo to hate and deteſt his wickedneſſe, and to riſe vp to reſtraine his impudent diſloyaltie, and by your
Eccleſiaſticall cenſure to denounce him vnworthie of the Empire and the communion of the faithful, as
one ſeperated from God; that ſo aſhamed and corrected, he may louingly thither returne from whence
he is ſhamefully departed, and againe be made heire both of myne empire and ſtaidneſſe: for there is no
man aliue whom I had rather haue promoted vnto the Empire, ſo that he would heare my precepts, and
obey my councell. As for the concluſion he vſed in his former ſpeech, it was altogether feigned, craftie,
and malicious: for you haue heard how many reproches he hath giuen me in all that Speech, wherewith
his concluſion agreeth not; but the more to ſtirre vp the hearers thereof againſt mee, did of purpoſe ſo
conclude his Speech.

B Vpon this, moſt of the foreſaid graue and learned Biſhops agreed, that the young Emperor
ſhould no more be named in the prayers of the Church, vntill he had better conformed him-
ſelfe. Howbeit the Patriarch and ſome others ſecretly fauoring both him & his proceedings,
liked not thereof, and therefore ſaying nothing therunto, returned home vnto their own hou-
ſes. But meeting once or twice afterwards in the Patriarchs houſe, they there conſpired toge-
ther againſt the old Emperor; with whom alſo diuers of the nobilitie conſented: and thereup-
on an oath was conceiued in writing, whereby they bound themſelues to continue conſtant
in that their wicked reſolution. Whereupon, about three days after, the Patriarch cauſing the
bels to be rung, and a great number of the common people flocking together, pronounced the
ſentence of excommunication againſt al ſuch as ſhould in their publike prayers omit the name
C of the yong Emperor, or refuſe to do him all honour due vnto an Emperor. Which thing not
a little grieued the old Emperor, as appeared by his ſpeech, in ſaying, *If the Doctor of peace be*
ſo mad againſt vs, in hope of reward promiſed by my nephew, that caſting off all ſhame and grauitie, hee
doubts not to be the author of ſedition; who ſhall repreſſe the raſh attempts of the vulgar people againſt
vs, if we reſpect but mans helpe? for the Patriarch ſo much as in him lieth is, I ſee, the murderer of vs.
So the Biſhops of the contrary faction, moued with the notable impudencie of the Patriarch,
excommunicated him likewiſe, as he had done them, with his mad followers, as the authors of
ſedition and faction, and incited with bribes to the troubling of the ſtate: for which cauſe alſo
he was by the Emperors commandment committed vnto ſafe keeping in the Monaſterie cal-
D led Manganium. But about two dayes after, the young Emperour came to the walls of Con-
ſtantinople, to know how his grandfather had accepted the meſſengers ſent vnto him; earneſt-
ly requeſting, that it might be lawfull for him alone to enter into the city, to do his duty to his
granbdfather. But neither hee, neither his words were any whit at all regarded, but was by
ſuch as ſtood vpon the wals himſelfe with ſtones driuen away; who could not abide to heare
him ſpeake, but ſhamefully railed at him, ſaying all his talke to be nothing elſe but deceit and
fraud: and ſo for that time he retyred a little from the wals. But night being come, certain bu-
ſie heads among the common people (and they not a few) ſecretly meeting together gaue him
knowledge, that about midnight, when as all the citiſens were aſleepe, and the watchmen in
ſecuritie, he ſhould come vnto the walls, where they would be readie with ropes to draw him
vp vnto the top of the bulwarks; which done, the matter (as they ſaid) were as good as diſpat-
ched: for that they were perſuaded, that the citiſens ſo ſoone as they ſhould once ſee him in
the midſt of the city amongſt them, would forthwith all reuolt vnto him. So he according to
this appointment, about midnight approching the wals, found there no ſuch matter as he had
well hoped, for the receiuing of him into the city; But contrariwiſe the watchmen carefully
watching all alongſt the wall, and calling one vnto another. Wherefore finding there no
hope, he with *Catacuzenus* and *Synadenus*, his chiefe councellors, leauing the South ſide of the
city, in a little boat rowed ſoftly all along the wal that is toward the ſea, if happily they might
there finde their friends, and ſo be receiued in: but there the watchmen alſo deſcrying them
from the walls, and calling vnto them, but receiuing no anſwere, began to caſt ſtones at them,
and to make a noyſe: ſo that deceiued of their purpoſe, and out of hope, they were glad to get
them further off, and to depart as they came.

The Patriarch with diuers of the Biſhops conſpire againſt the Emperor.

But the euil ſucceſſe of this exploit was ſhortly after with his better fortune recompenced:
for by and by after, ſecret letters were ſent vnto him from Theſſalonica, requeſting him with
all ſpeed to come thither, aſſuring him in the name of the Biſhop, with diuers of the Nobili-

Theſſalonica yeelded vnto the yong Emperour.

tle,and the good liking of the people in general,at his comming to open the gates of the city vnto him: wherupon he leauing a great part of his army with *Synadenus*,to keep ſhort the Conſtantinopolitans, hee himſelfe with the reſt of his power ſet forward towards Theſſalonica, where he in the habit of a plain country man entred the city vnſuſpected: but being got within the gate,and there caſting off that ſimple attire wherewith he had couered his rich & royal garments,and preſently known to be the yong emperor,the people came flocking about him, and with many ioyfull acclamations receiued him as their Lord and Soueraigne: yet ſome few,more fauoring the old Emperour,fled into the caſtle,and there ſtood vpon their guard: which after they had for a ſpace notably defended,was at length taken from them. G

Theſſalonica thus yeelded, *Demetrius*, *Andronicus*,and *Aſan Michael*,the old Emperors chiefe captains,then lying with his armie not far off,and not well truſting one another, fled; moſt of whoſe ſoldiers preſently went ouer vnto the yong Emperor: who departing from Theſſalonica,came to Serre,which by compoſition was deliuered vnto him alſo,but not the caſtle: for that was by *Baſilicus Nicephorus*(the captain thereof) ſtill holden for the old Emperor. This *Baſilicus* was a man honorably diſcended,but of no great capacity or wit,as the finer ſort ſuppoſed,and therefore not of them much regarded,or thought fit for the taking in hand of any great matter: whom yet the old Emperor for his plain ſinceritie,more than for any thing elſe, had made captain of that caſtle,and gouernor of the country thereabouts; which he yet ſtill held, and in theſe moſt troubleſome times ſhewed himſelfe wiſer than them all that had ſo thought of him: of whom ſome died in diſpaire,ſome fled,ſome were taken priſoners,and ſo ſuffred a thouſand euils; the reſt with the loſſe of their honor,traiterouſly reuolting from the old Emperor to the yong: whereas he alone, looking but euen forward vpon his allegeance, with his truſt in God,ſo long as the old Emperour liued oppoſed himſelfe againſt theſe troubles,and ſtood faſt for him,and was not to be moued with any faire promiſes or cruell threats of the yong aſpiring Emperor,whereof he lacked none. But hauing ſtrongly fortified the Caſtle committed to his charge,there kept himſelfe, vntill that hearing of the death of the old emperor,he then reconciling himſelfe to the young,as vnto his right Soueraigne,deliuered vp vnto him the caſtle: who in reward of his fidelitie,gaue it him again to hold for him,in as ample manner as he had before held it for his grandfather. For wiſe men honour vertue euen in their enemies,as did king *Philip* in *Demoſthenes*,when as he ſaid, *If any Athenian liuing in Athen, doth ſay that he preferreth me before his countrey, him verily would I buy with much money; but not thinke him worthy my friendſhip: but if any for his countries ſake ſhall hate mee,him will I impugne a a caſtle,a ſtrong wall,or a bulwarke; and yet admire his vertue,and reckon the city happy in hauing ſuch a man.* And ſo in few words to conclude a long diſcourſe, the yong Emperor in ſhort time hauing romed thorow all Macedonia,and without reſiſtance taken all the ſtrong towns & cities therein,he there tooke alſo *Demetrius* the Deſpots wife and children,with all his treaſure,as alſo the wiues of *Andronicus* & *Aſanes*,and of al the Senators that followed them: after whom the great commanders their husbands were alſo for the moſt part taken & caſt in priſon,ſome at Theſſalonica,ſome at Didimotichum,ſome of the reſt afterward moſt miſerably periſhing in exile. Wherewith the old Emperor diſcouraged,was about to haue ſent his Embaſſadors vnto his nephew for peace, whileſt hee was yet thus buſied in Macedonia: and had indeed ſo done, had not another hope ariſing in the meane time, quite altered that his better purpoſe. It fortuned at the ſame time,whileſt the old Emperour was thus thinking of peace, that *Michael* the Bulgarian Prince, in hope of great profit thereof to ariſe, ſecretly offered his ayd vnto him againſt the yong emperor his nephew: of which his offer the old Emperour gladly accepted,and Embaſſadors were ſent to and fro,about the full concluſion of the matter, no man beeing acquainted therewith, more than two or three of the Emperour his moſt ſecret friends and truſtie Councellours. Yet in the meane time diſdaining to be ſo coupt vp as he was,by *Synadenus* one of his Nephewes Captaines, euen in the Imperiall Citie; ſent out one *Conſtantinus Aſſan*, with the greateſt part of his ſtrength againſt him: who encountering him at the Riuer Maurus,was there by him in plaine battell ouerthrowne and taken priſoner, the reſt of his diſcomfited Armie flying headlong backe againe to Conſtantinople. All things thus proſperouſly proceeding with the young Emperour, and the Countreys of Macedonia and Thracia now almoſt all at his command, he returned in haſte with all his Power vnto Conſtantinople, to preuent the comming of the Bulgarians thither: as fearing

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A leſt that they finding the city weakely manned, ſhould treacherouſly kill the old Emperour,
with ſuch as were about him,and ſo ſeiſe vpon the citie themſelues : or at leaſtwiſe giue him
ſuch aid as might keep him out,and ſo cut off all his hope for obtaining of the ſame. At which
time alſo there was great want of victuall in the city, he with his armie hauing ſhut it vp on
the one ſide by land,and the Venetians with their galleys on the other ſide by ſea: who then
at odds with the Genowais dwelling at Pera, kept all that ſtrait ſea betwixt Europe and Aſia,
in ſuch ſort, as that neither victuals nor merchandiſe could be brought that way, either to
Conſtantinople or Pera. The yong Emperor comming to Conſtantinople, attempted at his
firſt comming to haue entred the city,in hope without any great reſiſtance to haue been recei-
ued; but repulſed by the defendants, was glad to get him further off. About this time came
B alſo vnto the citie three thouſand horſemen, the appointed aid of the Bulgarian Prince, vnto
the old Emperor: who although he wanted men,and was right glad of their comming,yet re-
membring the harms he had before receiued by forrein aid, and not now daring to truſt them
too far,ſuffered not them to come into the city,more than their General and ſome few others
of their commanders with him. Now the yong Emperor vpon the comming of this aid, leſt
ſome great harme might betide either the old Emperor or himſelfe,to the vtter ſubuerſion of
their ſtate; ſecretly ſent vnto his grandfather,requeſting him to be well aduiſed how hee tru-
ſted thoſe forrein people too far; offering himſelfe to do whatſoeuer he ſhould command,ra-
ther than ſo great a harme ſhould happen vnto either of them,as was from them to be feared.
But the truſt the old Emperour had conceiued of this Bulgarian aid, had ſo confirmed his
C mind,as that he little liſtned vnto his nephews requeſt: beſides that,how could hee well truſt
him that had ſo oftentimes deceiued him? Wherewith the young Emperor much grieued,
and now againe almoſt diſpairing of his further ſucceſſe,diſlodged, and drew neere vnto the
place where theſe Bulgarian horſemen lay encamped: from whence he ſent certaine Embaſſa-
dors with great gifts and Preſents vnto the Generall,and the reſt of the chiefe commanders:
promiſing them far greater,if they would without further troubling themſelues return home
againe: whereunto they willingly granted, and ſo were of him honourably feaſted, and the
next day after conducted vpon their way homewards.

Conſtantinople betrayed vnto the yong Emperour.

It fortuned,that the yong Emperor returning backe again from the Bulgarians,and incam-
ped in the ſame place where he before lay; two of the watchmen of the city, the one called
D *Camaris*,& the other *Caſtellanus*,both ſmiths,fled ſecretly vnto him: who admitted to his pre-
ſence,and all others commanded to depart,excepting *Catacuzenus*,offered to betray the Citie
vnto him,ſo that he would vnder his hand writing aſſure them of ſuch a ſumme of mony,and
ſuch poſſeſſions as they required: which he eaſily granting, and the houre & manner of per-
forming of the ſame,being by them declared and agreed vpon,they by & by without longer
ſtay,for feare of ſuſpition,returned again into the city.But the Emperor ſtaying foure days in
the ſame place,cauſed certain ladders to made of great ropes, ſuch as they vſe in great ſhips:
But the appointed night being come,the two traitors hauing before prouided great ſtore of
good wine,liberally gaue the ſame by way of curteſie vnto the watchmen their companions
neere vnto them: who dranke ſo plentifully thereof,that not able any longer to hold vp their
E heads,they fel into ſo ſound a ſleep,as that but for breathing they diffred not much from dead
men.About midnight came certain ſoldiers of the yong Emperors,with the foreſaid ladders;
which the traitors by and by drawing vnto them by a rope caſt downe, and making them faſt
vnto the top of the wall,receiued by the ſame eighteene armed men: who being got into the
city,without more ado brake open the Roman gate,whereby the yong Emperor with his Ar-
mie preſently entred,no man letting him. But it is worth marking, how things appointed to
befal vs,are by no means to be auoided,although we be thereof before neuer ſo plainly fore-
warned: For the ſame night the city was ſurpriſed,immediatly after the ſetting of the Sunne,
the gates being ſhut,a certain country man came running in all haſt from out of a village there
by,and knocking hard at the gate called Girolimna,required to ſpeake with ſome of the ſoul-
F diers; who being come,he told them,how that a little before he had ſeen, a great number of
the young Emperours men marching towards the citie, by the way that leadeth vnto the Ro-
man gate: which being told vnto the old Emperor, did not a little trouble him. And there-
fore thought it good to ſend out certain ſcouts, to ſee if al were cleere along the wals toward
the land,from ſea to ſea: which his purpoſe *Metochita* his chiefe Councellor letted, ſaying,

it not to beſeeme a couragious mind to be vpon ſo light an occaſion ſo much moued; for that G either the rumor was falſe, or the endeuour of ſo few vaine, the wals and gates of the citie being ſo filled with armed men: which happily he ſaid not ſo much vpon ignorance of martiall affaires, as blinded by a certaine commanding power, that the ſupernall decree giuen by God himſelfe againſt the old Emperor, might at length take place. And again, the third part of that night yet ſcant paſt, diuers other countrymen came running vnto the ſaid gate Gyrolimna, and told the watchmen vpon the wals, that a great number of men were met together at the Roman gate: whereof the Emperor hearing, was therewith much more troubled than before; inſomuch that ſharply rebuking *Metochita*, he ſaid vnto him, Thou ſeemſt to be ſtrangely metamorphoſed into a man of yron, which art become ſo ſecure, as not to haue any feeling of the danger wherwith we are incloſed: Seeſt thou not that the matter requireth, not that we ſhould H thus ſit ſtill and take our reſt? For the noiſe of my nephew ſoundeth in mine eares as the ſound of a great drum, and diſquieteth my minde. I feele a ſea of calamitie broken out againſt mee, which ouerwhelmeth and drowneth my heart and courage. Neuertheles he, firme in his former opinion, made no reckoning of thoſe reports: and therefore roſe to go to bed, to ſhew indeed that he accounted nothing of them, but as falſe alarmes. But the Emperor left alone, and no bodie with him vnto whom he might breake his griefe, laid him downe vpon a pallet, not putting off his clothes; but as if he had together with them put on extreame deſperation, lay tumbling too and fro as a man in mind troubled with diuers many and heauy thoughts. In the mean time he heard a great noiſe at the court gate, and the report of the entring of the young Emperor his nephew, with a great clattering of armour; for there were aboue eight hundred I ſoldiers entred with him, and withal they of the city on euery ſide ſaluted him with moſt ioifull acclamations. But the old Emperour hearing the great tumult and outcrie, roſe from his pallet, exceedingly troubled; and deſtitute of all the helpe of his captaines and ſouldiers, (for why, his palace was altogether deſolate, except of ſuch as were his ordinarie waiters) betooke himſelfe vnto his praiers, beſeeching God not to forſake him in ſo great a danger, but in his mercie to defend him from the fury of thoſe wicked men. Who preſently heard him, & ſent him preſent reliefe: for whilſt he was thus praying in the palace, the yong Emperor without, calling together all his captaines and lieutenants, ſtraitly charged them vpon paine of death, neither by word nor deed to violate the maieſtie of the old Emperor his grandfather, nor any other about him: for this victorie (ſaid he) God hath giuen vs, and not we our ſelues; his wil K ordereth all things, whereunto all things obey; the ſtars, the aire, the ſea, the earth, men, flouds, tempeſts, plagues, earthquakes, ſhoures, dearth, and ſuch like, ſometimes to our bliſſe, & ſometime to our correction and deſtruction: wherefore vſing vs as the inſtruments of his chaſtiſement, he hath giuen vnto vs this preſent victorie, which peraduenture tomorrow he wil giue to others to vſe againſt vs, and then as we hnue been vnto them we haue ouercome, ſuch will they alſo ſhew themſelues vnto vs again: wherefore if neither nighnes of bloud, neither that we be all of one country, may moue vs, yet in reſpect of our ſelues let vs vſe mercie, that wee feele not the hand of God vpon vs in like caſe. In the meane time a courtier opened a wicket vnto the young Emperour, with this meſſage from his grandfather.

L

The pitifull ſupplication of the old Emperour to his nephew.

Foraſmuch as God this day (my ſonne) hath giuen vnto thee the imperiall ſcepter, taken from mee, I requeſt of thee this one good turne, for many which I haue euen from my birth beſtowed vpon thee, (for in this my hard eſtate I let paſſe, that I next vnto God haue beene the authour of thy natiuitie and increaſe) giue mee my life, ſpare thy fathers head, and with violent weapon ſpill not that bloud from which thou thy ſelfe haſt taken the fountaine of life. Man truly beholdeth heauen and earth, and heauen and earth behold mens actions: wherefore make not the heauens and the earth beholders of ſo wicked an outrage as neuer man euer committed. If brothers bloud long agoe cryed out vnto the Lord againſt Cain, *how much louder ſhall the fathers bloud crie vnto the Lord, and declare ſo great a wickedneſſe vnto the earth, the ſunne, and ſtars, and make it abhorred of all the Princes of the world? Regard my miſerable old age, which of it ſelfe promiſeth vnto mee ſhortly death, but vnto thee a reſt after* M *long cares. Reuerence the hands which haue oftentimes moſt louingly embraced thee, yet crying in thy ſwathing clouts. Reuerence thoſe lips which haue oftentimes moſt louingly kiſſed thee, and called thee my other ſoule: Haue pittie vpon a bruiſed reed, caſt down by fortune, and doe not thou again tread vpon it. And ſeeing thou art thy ſelfe a man, be not too proud of thy preſent fortune, but conſider the vn-*

A *certaintie and varietie of worldly things,taking by me example: ſee in me the end of long life,and meruaile,how one night hauing receiued me an Emperor of many yeares, leaueth me now ſubiect vnto another mans power for euer.*

The yong Emperor *Andronicus* moued with this ſpeech,and taking great care of his grandfathers ſafetie, ſcarce abſtaining from teares, entred the palace, and comming to his grandfather,humbly ſaluted him,embraced him,and with chereefull words comforted him. Straitway after he went vnto the Monaſtery Manganium,where(as is aforeſaid)the Patriarke *Eſaias* was by the old emperors commandment kept in ſafe keeping; whom the yong emperor now tooke from thence,and carrying him away in one of the emperours richeſt chariots, reſtored B him again vnto his Patriarchal dignitie; wherein he afterwards ſpared not to reuenge himſelf to the full,and moſt cruelly to perſecute the old emperors friends. That day from morning vnto night,a man might haue ſeene all the riches and wealth of ſuch noblemen as had taken part with the old emperor,carried away,and their goodly houſes ouerthrown and made the ſcorn of the baſe common people: but eſpecially the houſe & wealth of *Theodorus Metochita*,a man but the day before in greateſt fauor with his Prince,and of all others next vnto the Emperour himſelf,of greateſt authoritie and credit,whoſe whole wealth(not that only which was found in his houſe,but that alſo which he had laid vp in truſt with his friends, diſcouered by Notes found in his ſtudie)became moſt part a prey vnto the common people, & the reſt confiſcated vnto the Prince. Thus he which earſt of all others next vnto the Emperor was accounted moſt C fortunate,was now vpon the ſudden,with his wife and children brought vnto extream beggerie; and after many yeares felicity, in one day caſt into the bottome of deſpaire and miſerie: where a man might haue heard many complaining, ſay, All that wealth and treaſure to haue bin the bloud and teares of the poore oppreſſed ſubiects, brought vnto him by them whome he had made rulers and gouernors of the prouinces & cities of the empire; to the intent that when they had dealt cruelly with the people,as with their ſlaues,he might ſtop them for comming to complaine of their griefes vnto the emperour: and that the eye of the Reuenger had not always ſlept,but was now at length awaked,& had of him yet ſcarcely taken ſufficient puniſhment: which euery where to heare,increaſed not a little his griefe. As for himſelfe,he was confined vnto Didymotichum, as the place of his exile and baniſhment; where after he had a D certain time poorely liued, he was ſent for backe again to Conſtantinople: where hauing nothing left to relieue himſelfe (for his houſe at the comming of the yong emperour, was in the furie of the people pluckt down to the ground,and the very pauement thereof digged vp) he went vnto the monaſterie of Chora there by,which long before built by the Emperor *Iuſtinian*,and become ruinous,he in the time of his proſperitie had with great charge repaired,and therein now (hauing made ſhipwracke of all that he had) quietly ſhrouded himſelfe, to the great comfort both of his bodie and afflicted mind,where he not long after died.

Niphon inten-ſeth the young emperor againſt his grandfather

But to return again vnto the old Emperor,as yet in doubt what ſhould become of himſelf: it fortuned that the ſame day that the city was taken, the yong emperor at night returning to the palace,by the way met with *Niphon* ſometime Patriarch,who asked him how they meant E to deale with his grandfather. Wherunto the yong emperour anſwering,That he would deale with him honorably and emperor like; he was by him therefore blamed and reproued. For this *Niphon* being of a craftie ſubtill wit and malicious nature, beſides that hee ſecretly hated all them vpon whom fortune greatly either fauned or frowned,bare an eſpecial grudge againſt the old Emperor: Firſt, for that at ſuch time as he was right worthily for his ſhamefull couetouſneſſe & extortion, by the reſt of the Biſhops and clergy thruſt out of the Patriarkſhip, hee was not by him(as he looked for)defended: & ſecondly, for that dreaming again after the Patriarchal dignity,he thought it one good ſtep thereunto,to haue him(as his greateſt enemy)taken out of the way. Wherefore he ſaid now vnto the young Emperour, *If thou deſire to raigne without feare, giue not thyne honor vnto another; but taking all the ornaments of the Empire from the* F *old man, caſt haire-cloath vpon him, and ſo clap him faſt in priſon, or thruſt him out into exile.* This miſchieuous councel this wicked man gaue againſt the poore old diſtreſſed Emperour,not remembring how vnworthily he had by him been before preferred vnto the higheſt degrees both of honour and wealth,if he could there haue kept himſelfe: vnto which vngracious councell,diuers others of the nobilitie alſo conſenting,ſo wrought the matter amongſt them,

that

that although they could not quite draw the yong Emperors mind from his grandfather, yet they much changed the ſame, ſo that he could no longer indure to take him for his companion in the empire. Whereupon after many meetings and conſultations had, it was decreed, That the old man ſhould ſtill retaine the name and ornaments of an Emperour, as before, but not to meddle in any matters, nor to come abroad, but to ſit ſtill quietly in his Chamber, with the yerely maintenance of 10000 duckats, for the maintenance of himſelfe and ſuch as tended vpon him; to be raiſed of the fiſhing before the city of Conſtantinople: a poore penſion for the maintenance of ſo great an Emperor. Of which ſo ſhameful a decree, *Eſaias* the Patriarke was alſo a furtherer: who ſeeing an Emperor that had raigned ſo long, caſt downe, and ſhut vp as it were in priſon, was ſo far from grieuing thereat, that fooliſhly reioycing, hee in token thereof abſurdly wreſted this Text of Scripture, ſaying in his merriment, *Latabitur juſtus, cum viderit vltionem*; The juſt ſhall reioyce when he ſeeth the reuenge: calling himſelf, Iuſt, and the emperor, Reuenge. But the old Emperor thus ſhut vp in his chamber (differing in nothing but in name, from a priſon) not long after, the ſtate of his bodie ouerthrown with griefe and corrupt humors diſtilling out of his head, firſt loſt one of his eyes, and ſhortly after the other alſo: and ſo oppreſſed with eternall darknes, mingled (as ſaith the Scripture) his drinke with teares, and ate the the bread of ſorrow, being oftentimes (to his great griefe) moſt bitterly mocked and derided, not of them only which were by his enemies ſet to gard him, but of his own ſeruants alſo. Not long after, the young Emperour falling ſicke, in ſuch ſort as that it was thought hee would not recouer, *Catacuzenus*, and the reſt of his greateſt fauorits and followers carefull of their own eſtate, and yet doubtful of the old blind Emperor, deuiſed many things againſt him, but all tending to one purpoſe, for the ſhortning of his days. But in the end all other deuices ſet apart, they put him to his choice, either to put on the habit of a religious, and ſo for euer to bid the world farewell, or elſe to take what ſhould otherwiſe enſue; the beſt whereof was either death, exile, or perpetuall impriſonment in the loathſome caſtle of forgetfulneſſe: For the putting whereof in execution, *Synadenus* (of all others to him moſt hatefull) was appointed. At which hard choice, the old Emperour as with a world of woes ſuddenly oppreſſed, lay a great while vpon his bed as a man ſpeechleſſe: for what could he do elſe, except he had an heart of ſteele or adamant? beeing then compaſſed about with many barbarous and mercileſſe ſoldiers, and his domeſticall ſeruants kept from him, and no man left that would vouchſafe to direct him (being blind) whither to go, or where to ſtand. But to make the matter ſhort, would he, would he not, they made choice for him themſelues, polling and ſhauing him, and caſting a Monks habit vpon him, changed his name, after the name of the religious, and called him by the name of *Anthonie* the Monke. Glad was *Eſaias* the falſe Patriarch, of this the hard eſtate of the old Emperor: for that now that he was profeſſed a religious, there was left no hope for him to recouer againe the empire, either cauſe for himſelfe to feare. Yet he thought it good to be aduiſed, in what ſort remembrance ſhould be made of him in the church prayers, if any were at all from thenceforth to be made. Whereof to be by the old Emperor himſelfe reſolued, hee (ſeeming to be very ſorie for that which was done, but purpoſing indeed therein to deride him) ſent vnto him two Biſhops, to know what his pleaſure was to haue done therein. Vnto which their demand, he oppreſſed with heauineſſe, and fetching a deepe ſigh euen from the bottome of his heart, anſwered:

The old Emperor becommeth blinde.

Andronicus the old Emperor againſt his will made a Monke, and called Anthonie.

The notable anſwer of the old Emperor, to the catching queſtion of the proud Patriarch.

As in poore Lazarus *appeared a double miracle, that being dead, he roſe; and being bound, walked: euen ſo was it to be done in me, though in quite contrary manner: for lo, being aliue, I am dead, as ouerwhelmed with the waues of calamity and woe; and being looſe, I am bound, not my hands and feet only, but my tongue alſo; wherewith vnable to doe any thing elſe, I might yet at leaſt bewaile my woes and wrongs vnto the aire, and ſuch as by chance ſhould heare me, and vnto this moſt wofull darknes wherein I muſt for euer ſit. But ſhame hoth cloſed my mouth, my brethren abhor me, and my mothers ſons account me for a ſtranger vnto them, and the very light of myne eys is not with him, my friends & neighbors ſtood vp againſt me, and all that ſaw me, laughed me to ſcorne: my feet had almoſt ſlipped, and my footſteps were almoſt ouerthrown: for I fretted againſt the wicked, when I ſaw the peace of the vngodly. The Emperors long ago gaue great priuiledges vnto the Church, euen thoſe which it at this day inioyeth: and the Church gaue to them again power, to chuſe whom they would to be Patriarks. Now concerning him that ſent you, I not only nominated him vnto the Patriarkeſhip, but I my ſelfe made choice of him,*

and

A *and preferred him before many other right worthy and moſt famous men, being himſelfe a man growne*
old in a more priuat life, neuer before preferred, or for any other thing famous : I will not ſay how often
I haue holpen him and done him good. But now when he ſhould againe haue relieued me in my calamity;
he ioyneth hands with mine enemies againſt me, more cruel vpon me than any other bloudie handed exe-
cutioner; not aſhamed to aske me how I would be remembred in the Church : faigning himſelfe to be ig-
norant and ſorrie for mine eſtate, much like vnto the Ægyptian crocodile of Nile, which hauing killed
ſome liuing beaſt, lieth vpon the dead bodie and waſheth the head thereof with her warme teares, which
ſhe afterwards deuoureth together with the bodie. But what to anſwere him vnto this his catching que-
ſtion, I know not : for if I ſhall ſay, As an Emperour, I ſhall forthwith be ſlaine by them which for that
purpoſe haue me in hold : but if I ſay, As Anthonie *the Monke, it ſhall be taken as the franke confeſſion*
B *of mine eſtate, by them which haue craftily contriued mine ouerthrow ; as if I had not by hompulſion, but*
euen of mine owne free will put on this monaſticall habit, which God knoweth was neuer in my thought.

Hauing thus ſaid, he ſent them away without any other anſwer vnto their demand : but ſit-
ting downe vpon his bed ſide, ſaid, ***My ſoule return againe into thy reſt, for the Lord hath dealt wel***
with thee: neither ſpoke any one word more in declaration of his griefe, his tongue there ſtaid
by his ſingular wiſedome, or elſe with the greatnes of his griefe; & ſo againſt his wil in ſilence
paſſing ouer his ſorrow, his mind with the greatnes of his woes ouercome, and as it were aſto-
niſhed, before the humors gathered into the brain could be diſſolued into tears: for as the Sun
ſending forth his moderat beames, draweth vnto it many exhalations and vapours, but caſting
C the ſame forth more plentifully, doth with his immoderat heat conſume the ſame before they
can be drawne vp, ſo the moderat affections of the mind may haue their griefes by words and
tears expreſſed; but ſuch as exceed all meaſure, & with their vehemency as it were ouerthrow
the mind, commonly make men to ſtand ſtill mute and ſilent, or if they ſpeake at all to ſpeake
idly, & nothing to the purpoſe, as men beſide themſelues, or in an extaſie: but for the reſoluti-
on of the queſtion by the Biſhops demaunded, the deuout Patriarch decreed, That in the
church-praiers he ſhould be remembred before the Emperor his nephew, by the name of the
moſt religious & zealous Monke ***Anthonie:*** which was done (God wot) for no good zeale to
the poore blind man, but the better to colour the matter with the common people, as if hee
weary of the world, had voluntarily taken vpon him that ſilly profeſſion. Neuertheles, within
D foure daies after, ***Synadenus***, vnderſtanding them in euery place to whiſper among themſelues,
& ſecretly to mutter againſt the hard dealing with the old Emperour, who had long raigned
ouer them, & ſo by right was again to do, if his nephew ſhould chance to die, and that the Ec-
cleſiaſticall laws enforced no man againſt his wil to enter into religious orders; he therewith
enraged, ſent to him certain of his own confederacy, to exact of him an oath in writing, That
he ſhould neuer more after that time, ſeek after the empire, or yet accept of the ſame if it were
offred him, neither to ſubſtitute any other: which if he refuſed to do, to put him in feare of his
life: and the more to terrifie him, ſet a guard of inſolent barbarous ſoldiers ouer him; for feare
of whom, he yeelded to do whatſoeuer they required; and ſo his oath being ſolemnly concei-
ued into writing) another man leading his hand, becauſe he was blind) he ſigned the ſame with
E a red croſſe aboue, & a blacke croſſe beneath, after the maner of the religious. Hauing thus li-
ued in darknes diſgraced, ſhut vp in his chamber as a man forſaken of the world, with an vnſure
guard euer to attend him, by the ſpace of two yeares, it fortuned that the 12. of February to-
wards night (a day in the Greek church dedicated to the vigill of S. ***Anthony***, whoſe name they
had geuin him certain of his friends that were ſuffred to haue acceſſe vnto him, going as their
manner was, once in three or foure days to viſit him (among whom was his daughter, ſomtime
the Prince of Seruia his wife, but as then a widow, & ***Nicephorus Gregoras***, author of this Hi-
ſtory) he entred with them, as with his friends, into a familiar diſcourſe of many matters, wher-
in he ſo deceiued the time, that it was paſt midnight before they perceiud how the time paſ-
ſed. But the cocks crowing, he brake of the talke, & bidding them farewel, gaue them leaue to
F depart, pleaſantly ſaying, that tomorrow they would make an end of their diſcourſe; who all
thereupon took their leaue and departed, no ſigne of any ſicknes as then appearing vpon him:
and after they were gon, called for meat & did eat: the meat he eat, was certain ſhel-fiſh, for it
was with them a faſting day, & he had not eat any thing: after which, when as he ſhould haue
drunk a cup of wine, for the comforting of his old ſtomack, & diſgeſting of that ſo hard meat,

The death of the old Emperour.

hee

he drunke could water, as his manner was, when he felt any inward heat, to drink the ſame immoderatly G: which hurtfull manner of diet he then vſing alſo, began by and by to feele a great paine in his ſtomack, and ſo preſently after became very ſicke, falling withall into a great looſneſſe of bodie, ſo that in the ſpace of one quarter of an houre he was glad oftentimes to ariſe, and to goe vnto an homely houſe of office in an inner chamber thereby to diſcharge natures burden; where after many euacations, ſitting downe vpon an homely bed faſt by, and not able to recouer his owne bed, hauing as then none to helpe him, there before it was day, died, aſ he had raigned 43 yeares. His death was by many ſtrange ſignes and accidents as it were foretold: firſt a great eclipſe of the Sunne appeared, iuſt ſo many daies before his death as he had liued yeares: and after that, another eclipſe of the Moone; and with it an earthquake, the day before he died at night, being S. *Anthonie* his euen, whoſe name his enemies had thruſt vpon H him: at which time alſo, the ſea with a great tempeſt riſing aboue the wonted bounds, made diuers breaches in the wals of the citie towards the ſea, as if it had been ſome violent enemie, and ouerflowed alſo diuers houſes in the citie. Many croſſes and pinacles were then alſo from the tops of churches and other high buildings ouerthrown; and with them a great pillar, ſomtime one of the ornaments of the city, ſtanding before the church, commonly called *the church of the fortie martyrs*; which being very high, and below burnt and worne away with time, had put many in feare as they paſſed by it, leſt it ſhould haue fallen vpon them; inſomuch that the Emperor vpon a time paſſing that way, was requeſted by ſome of the nobilitie there preſent, to ride farther off from it, for feare of falling vpon him: who ſmiling at their vaine feare, by chance anſwered, *ô would to God I might liue ſo long as this pillar will ſtand:* which now falling I out according to his ſpeech gaue many of them that had heard him ſo ſay, occaſion to maruel. His dead bodie was honorably buried in the monaſterie of Libe, which his mother *Theodora* the Empreſſe had not long before new built, and his obſequies there (after the manner of that time) yearely ſolemnly kept by the ſpace of nine dayes.

The Turks kingdome founded by Othoman in Aſia, at ſuch time as the Greeke Emperors were at variance betwixt themſelues in Europe.

Thus at length hauing paſſed through the troubled ſtate of the Greeke empire, during the long raigne of the old Emperor *Andronicus*, the conſiderat Reader may eaſily ſee the cauſes of the declining and ruine alſo of this famous empire; and how that the Greeke Emperors, troubled with their tempeſtuous affaires neerer home in Europe, yea in the very imperiall citie it ſelfe, and in their owne palaces, were not at leaſure to looke ouer the ſtrait into Aſia, but glad to leaue their territories there vnto the weak defence of themſelues. At which time, and euen K in the middeſt of the aforeſaid trouble, *Othoman* on the one ſide, with great induſtrie laid the foundation of his Empire in Phrygia and Bythinia, now the greateſt terror of the world: and then did thoſe things which we now haue of him written. The other Princes of the Turks alſo, the ſucceſſours of Sultan *Aladin*, at the ſame time on the other ſide, alongſt the Riuer Meander encroaching on as faſt: vntill that at laſt amongſt them they had thruſt the Greeke Emperours quite out of Aſia, and in fine became themſelues, together with the Greeke empire, a prey vnto the *Othoman* Kings, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall more at large appeare.

Pruſa yeelded vnto the Turkes.

But againe to returne vnto *Othoman* himſelfe, who all this while (that old *Andronicus* the Greeke Emperor was thus troubled) had with his ſonne *Orchanes* ſought by all means on euery L ſide to inlarge his kingdome: the garriſons by him left in the two late built caſtles neere vnto the great citie of Pruſa, vnder the charge of the two valiant captains *Actemur* and *Balabanzuck* (as is before declared) hauing now continued there certaine yeres, had by ſhutting vp the paſſages, and ſpoiling of the countrie, brought the city into ſuch diſtreſſe and penurie, that many of the citizens and other the poore Chriſtians fled into the citie, there died of famine. The reſt now out of all hope to be relieued by the Greeke Emperour, not then able to relieue himſelfe, came to compoſition with *Orchanes* (for *Othoman* was then ſicke of his old diſeaſe the gout) couenanting with him, that they might in ſafetie with life and libertie depart, and ſo much of their goods as they themſelues could carrie: and ſo yeelded to him the citie. Which conditions (as moſt write) were on the Turks behalfe well and faithfully performed: yet ſome M there be that report them to haue bin in moſt part by *Orchanes* broken. Thus was Pruſa, one of the greateſt cities of that part of Aſia, yeelded vnto the Turks, in the yere of our Lord 1327: and was afterwards by *Orchanes* made the royall ſeat of the *Othoman* Kings.

About this time, or very ſhortly after, *Othoman* in the eight & twentieth yere of his raigne

dyed,

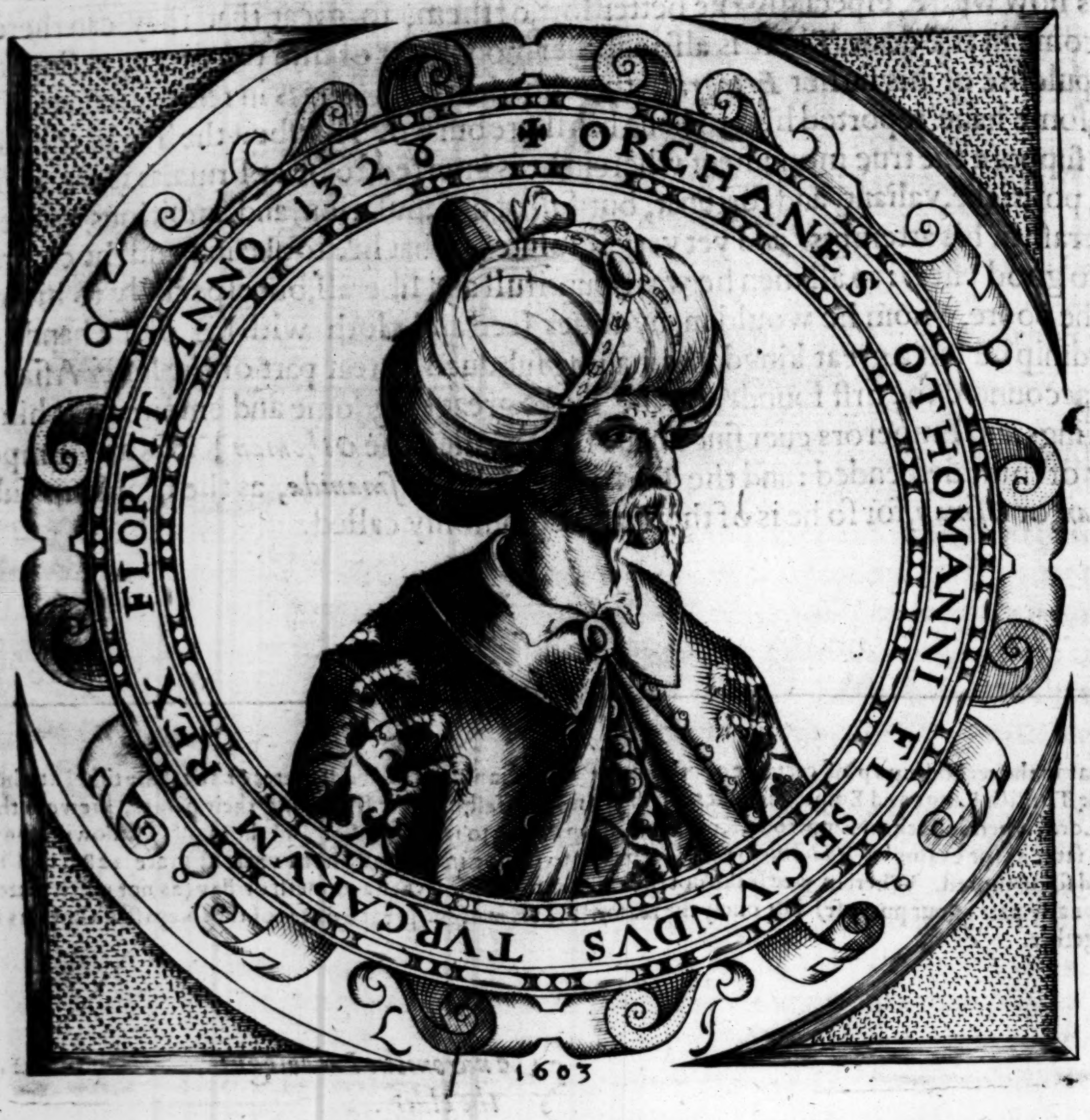
The death of Othoman. Othoman buried at Pruſa.

A died, at the age of *69*, in the yeare of our Lord 1328, and lyeth buried at Pruſa, where his tombe is yet at this day to bee ſeene, in a certaine chappell of an old monaſterie in the caſtle, ſtanding in the midſt of the citie ; couered with a mantle of greene chamlet, and a little Tulipant or Turkiſh hat (ſuch as he vſed to wear) lying ouer his head, differing from thoſe which he Turkes now weare, eſpecially the better ſort of them, ſo great that they can therewith ſcarcely come in at a door. There is alſo another monument of him to be ſeene at Suguta, faſt by the Sepulchre of his father *Ertogrul*, there made by his ſonnes in remembrance of him ; whereof ſome haue reported him to haue bin there buried. Howbeit the Turks themſelues generally ſuppoſe the true monument wherein he is interred, to be at Pruſa, as is aforeſaid. He was wiſe, politicke, valiant, and fortunat, but full of diſſimulation, and ambitious aboue meaſure ; B not raſh in his attempts, and yet very reſolute ; what hee tooke in hand, he commonly brought to good effect : to all men he was bountifull and liberall, but eſpecially to his men of war, and the poore, whom he would many times feed and cloth with his owne hands. Of a poore lordſhip he left a great kingdome, hauing ſubdued a great part of the leſſer Aſia : and is worthily accounted the firſt founder of the Turks great kingdome and empire. Of him, the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors euer ſince haue beene called the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors, as lineally of him deſcended : and the Turks themſelues *Oſmanidæ*, as the people or ſubiects of *Othoman*, or *Oſman*, for ſo he is of the Turks commonly called.

NOte, that in the reckoning vp of certaine of the great Chriſtian Princes and Prelates of the ſame time, at the end of euery the Turkiſh Kings and Emperours liues, the firſt and greateſt number following their names, ſheweth the yeare of our Lord, wherein ſuch an Emperour, King, or Biſhop began to raigne, or ſit : and the number following, how long hee raigned or ſate : as for example, *Andronicus* the elder began to raigne in the Eaſt, in the yeare of grace 1282, and raigned 43 yeares : and ſo of the reſt. Wherein wee ſeeke not the exact computation vnto a moneth or day (as not much materiall to our Hiſtorie, or any part of our purpoſe) but onely the reaſonable view of the great Princes of the forepaſſed times, as they liued in ages together.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with with Othoman.	*Emperours*	*Of the Eaſt*	*Andronicus Palæologus the elder.*	1282.	43.
			Andronicus Palæologus the younger.	1325.	29.
		Of the Weſt	*Albertus of Auſtria.*	1298.	10.
			Henrie of Lucelbourg.	1308.	6.
			Lewis the fourth, of Bauaria.	1314.	32.
	Kings,	*Of England*	*Edward the firſt.*	1272.	34.
			Edward the ſecond.	1307.	20.
			Edward the third.	2327.	50.
		Of France	*Philip the faire.*	1286.	28.
			Lewis.	1314.	2.
			Philip the long.	1316.	5.
			Charles the faire.	1321.	7.
		Of Scotland	*Iohn Baliol.*	1292.	
			Robert Bruce.	1306.	24.
	Biſhops of Rome,		*Boniface the VIII.*	1295.	8.
			Benedict the XI.	1304.	2.
			Clement the V.	1306.	11.
			Iohn the XXII.	1317.	18.

ORCHANES.


FLORVIT ANNO 1328 ✠ ORCHANES OTHOMANNI FI SECVNDVS TVRCARVM REX
1603

Suſcipit Orchanes *defuncti ſceptra parentis:*
Maior vt ingenio, ſic magis arte valens.
Bithynos, Phrygiamque domat, Pruſamque ſuperbam:
Et populos late (Marte fauente) premit.
Sic latus tantis Aſiam turbaſſe ruinis;
Tranſit in Europam, Callipolimque capit.
Rident interea Græci ſua damna: ſed ecce,
Dum ſua contemnunt, in ſua fata ruunt.

Rich. Knollevs.

His father dead, *Orchanes* takes his ſcepter vp in hand;
As one of deeper wit and reach his foes for to withſtand.
The Phrygians and Bythinians he by force of armes brought low;
Proud Pruſa, with faire Nicomede, and many cities moe.
And glad in Aſia to haue made ſuch hauocke and ſuch ſpoyle;
His forces into Europe ſends, the Grecians there to foyle.
Who meane while laughing at their loſſe, did make thereof a game;
Not thinking what a world of woe was to enſue the ſame.

THE LIFE OF ORCHANES, OR VRCHAN, SECOND KING OF THE TVRKES.

AFTER the death of *Othoman*, his two ſonnes, *Orchanes* (whom the Turks call *Vrchan*) and *Aladin* his brother, hauing with great ſolemnitie enterred their father at Pruſa, immediatly ſummoned a Parliament, whereunto both the brethren came accompanied with the chiefe of their nobilitie. This Parliament was called eſpecially, for the eſtabliſhing of the ſucceſſion in this new Kingdome, and for the diuiſion of *Othomans* treaſure and goods, betwixt them two, his ſonnes. But vpon view taken, there was no money, plate, or iewels found in the Kings coffers, for that he had in his life time moſt bountifully beſtowed it vpon his men of warre; ſo that all the wealth he left vnto them his ſonnes, was, the honourable remembrance of his life for them to imitate, large dominions for their poſſeſſions, ſtore of ready horſes and armour fit for ſeruice, with great heards of beaſts and cattel for houſhold prouiſion. Whereupon *Orchanes* demanded of his brother *Aladin*, what order he thought was beſt to be taken with thoſe things by their father ſo left? To whom *Aladin* anſwered, That it was moſt requiſit, firſt to eſtabliſh a King in their fathers kingdome, which like a good ſheepheard might gouerne and defend his ſubiects, rule and maintaine his men of warre, prouiding all things meet for defence of his kingdome: And that vnto him of right belonged all theſe other things by their father left, as the patrimonie of his ſucceſſour, for the common good and maintenance of his eſtate. As for mine owne part (ſaid *Aladin*) I claime no intereſt therein, you being my elder brother, and ſo vnto me in ſtead of a father: by whom alſo you haue bin theſe two yeares, as it were alreadie put in poſſeſſion of the kingdome, all things being committed to your gouernment, during the time of his late ſickneſſe. This modeſty of *Aladin* was greatly commended of all the antient counſellors, by meanes whereof, the kingdome in all peaceable manner deſcended to *Orchanes*. In regard of which courteſie, *Orchanes* would gladly haue made *Aladin* his brother Preſident of his counſell: which honor he would in no wiſe accept, but requeſted rather that hee would giue him the lordſhip of Fodore in *Tekences* countrey; waich *Orchanes* frankly granted. In which lordſhip of Fodore, *Aladin* moſt part liued a priuate and quiet life, and afterwards built two Mahometan churches, and an Abbey at Pruſa, there yet at this day to be ſeene.

The wealth that Othoman left vnto his two ſons, Orchanes and Aladine

Some Latine Hiſtoriographers otherwiſe report this beginning of *Orchanes* his raigne; as that *Othoman* ſhould haue three ſonnes, and that *Orchanes* the yongeſt obtained the kingdome by murthering of his other brethren. A practiſe of late much vſed amongſt the Turkiſh Princes, but not before the time of *BaiaZet* the firſt of that name, who firſt of the Turkiſh Monarchs embrued his hands with his brothers bloud: where before, they vſed all brotherly loue one to another, as the moſt probable hiſtories collected out of the Turks owne Chronicles affirme.

When that barbarous manner of murthering their brethren firſt began among the Turkiſh Sultans.

The citie of Nice with diuers other caſtles recouered from the Turks after the death of Othoman.

The Chriſtian Princes and captains, preſently vpon the death of *Othoman* recouered the citie of Nice, with diuers other caſtles and forts, out of the hands of the Turks: as it commonly chanceth, that dominions lately woon with great perill, are ſoone againe loſt, the conqueror dying before there be a firme gouernment eſtabliſhed. Amongſt other forts by the Chriſtians repoſſeſſed, the caſtle of Tzuprichiſer, ſcituate vpon the paſſages of the riuer Sangarius, moſt grieued the Turks, for thereby their paſſage into that part of Bythinia was much impeached. Wherefore *Orchanes* deſirous to recouer this caſtle, diſguiſed himſelfe with a few other of his beſt ſouldiers, in the apparell of Chriſtian marchants, and came to the caſtle, crauing leaue to paſſe as marchants: the warders of the caſtle verily ſuppoſing them by their attire to be marchants, opened the gates, and let them into the caſtle: who preſently drew their ſwords, ſlew the warders, and ſo by force poſſeſſed the caſtle, to the great benefit of the Turks, and the hurt of the poore Chriſtians yet left in the countrey of Bythinia. For they now hauing opened a way ouer the riuer Sangarius, and as it were broken down the ſtrongeſt defence of that ſide of the Greek empire, at their pleaſure forraged the countrey in ſuch ſort, as that the great city of Nice (for want of victuals to relieue ſo great a multitude as for feare of the Turks was fled out of the country into it) was brought to great extremitie and want. For the reliefe whereof, and for the repulſing againe of the Turks, *Andronicus* the young Emperor, who then all commanded, with ſuch an armb as he was then able to raiſe, paſſed himſelfe in perſon ouer the ſtrait of Conſtantinople, into Aſia: the greateſt ſtrength of his army conſiſting in two thouſand choice horſemen; the reſt as well horſe as foot, being for the moſt part artificers taken vp in the city, men altogether vnaquainted with armes (who in token of their cowardiſe, and that they were more mindful of flight than of fight, carried ouer with them almoſt as many long boats and ſuch other ſmall veſſels, as they were men, to be readie to receiue them at ſuch time as they ſhould flie) or elſe abiect raſcals, taken vp here and there, men of whom no great thing was to be expected, & of all others moſt vnfit for ſo great a prince (as was the Emperour) to commit the defence of his perſon and honor vnto. But *Orchanes* heating of his comming, ſent certain of his moſt expert captaines, to forelay the ſtrait paſſages of the country whereby the Emperor was to paſſe; following alſo himſelfe after with his army, of purpoſe to encounter the Emperor. Who in thre daies march after his landing in Aſia, being come to Philochrene, a little towne in Bythinia, and vnderſtanding that *Orchanes* hauing before taken the ſtraits, lay not far off encamped with his army; he there at Philochrene pitched his tents, and ſtaied that night alſo. But the next morning, the Sun as yet ſcarcely riſen, he ſeeing diuers companies of the Turks comming down from the mountains faſt by, put his armie into order of battell, and ſo ſet forward to meet them: where to begin the fight, the Turks archers freely beſtowd their piercing ſhot amongſt the Chriſtians, ſtill keeping themſelues aloofe off, ſo to doe the more harm. Which the Emperor miſtaking, and ſuppoſing that their keeping off to haue proceeded of feare, encouraged therwith, commanded certain looſe companies diſorderly to march forward, & to skirmiſh with them: which his more expert captains not liking, would haue otherwiſe perſuaded him, as to haue kept his ſtrength together againſt the danger of the battel. Neuertheles, ſuch was his youthfull heat, as that he could by no means be otherwiſe intreated, but that forward needs they muſt. But al the forenoon ſpent in this light and tumultuarie kind of skirmiſhing, and the Sun at the higheſt now ſhining very hot, *Orchanes* from the top of the mountains perceiuing the Chriſtians wel wearied with the heat of the day and long skirmiſhing, came down from the hils with a world of men following him; who with a moſt hideous cry, charged the Chriſtians on euery ſide, ſome a far off with their arrowes, and ſome hand to hand with their ſwords & other weapons: whoſe aſſault the Chriſtians at the firſt moſt valiantly receiued, and a great while right worthily defended themſelues, hauing wounded and ſlain a number of their enemies. Which hard fight was on both ſides couragiouſly maintained, vntil the approching of the night, with great ſlaughter on both ſides: at which time, the Chriſtians weary of the long fight, & oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies, diſorderly retiring toward their trenches, & hardly purſued by the Turks, receiued there a great loſſe, as wel of their horſmen, as of their foot: but by the comming on of the night, the battel was at length ended with vncertain victory. Among others there hurt, the Emperor himſelfe was wounded in the foot with an arrow. That night hapned a wofull miſhap, and a manifeſt token of God his wrath: for *Orchanes* hauing to his coſt made proofe of the ſtrength and valor of the Chri-

The Emperour wounded.

ſtians,

A ſtians, & doubting they would the next day come on further into the country, left three hundred horſemen as ſcouts, to attend the enemies remouing: and himſelfe with his army retired before hand to take aduantage of ſuch places as the Chriſtians were to paſſe by. But the Emperor in the euening leauing his campe, and going to Philocrene, a little town faſt by, the better to haue his wound dreſſed; the reſt of the armie vnderſtanding of his departure, and ſuppoſing him to haue fled for feare (as if *Orchanes* with a great armie would that night haue ſlain them all) fled themſelues alſo out of the campe, euery mothers ſon; ſome to their long boats and other little veſſels they had for that purpoſe brought ouer the ſtrait; ſome haſting toward the town gates, were by the multitude of others running headlong after them, ouerborne and trodden to death; other ſome hanging one at anothers taile, like a chain, got ſome part of them B vp to the top of the rampiers of the towne; other ſome drawne backe by them that hung vpon them, falling down together by heaps, and trod vpon by others, there periſhed; ſome (as is reported) died there for verie feare, no man either chaſing or hurting them, ſo weake is mans courage, when God withdraweth from him his ſtrength. But in the morning the Sun ariſing, the three hundred Turks left for ſcouts, perceiuing the flight of the Chriſtians, entred the forſaken campe, where they found horſes, armor, and emptie tents, yea the Emperours owne furniture, and his horſes ready ſadled: of all which, two hundred of theſe Turks tooke the ſpoile at their pleaſure, and the other hundred purſuing the diſperſed Chriſtians, like heartleſſe men wandring here and there, ſlew a great number of them. The Emperor himſelf ſeeing his armie thus (as it were by the hand of God) ouerthrown and diſperſed, tooke ſhipping alſo, and ſo returned to Conſtantinople. After whoſe departure, the Turkes ſeiſing vpon many ſea townes C alongſt the coaſt of Bythinia, & there ſeating themſelues, layd heauy tributes vpon the other country townes and villages; for the benefit whereof they ſpared to deſtroy them, together with the inhabitants, which they might at their pleaſure full eaſily haue done.

Now lay the great city of Nice in the ſuds, the enemie commanding all the country about it, liuing as ſicke men doe by hope, and holding out onely vpon hope of a thouſand horſemen which the Emperour (notwithſtanding his late diſcomfiture) had promiſed forthwith to ſend, there to lie in garriſon for the ſuppreſſing of the Turks. Of which aid ſo promiſed *Orchanes* vnderſtanding, furniſhed eight hundred of his horſemen after the manner of the Chriſtians; & fetching a great compaſſe about, came at length into the high way that leadeth from Con- D ſtantinople to Nice, and ſo trouped directly towards the city, as if they had come from Conſtantinople. At the ſame time he ſent 300 of his other horſemen in the habit of Turks, to forrage and ſpoyle the country as much as they could within the view of the city, now for want of victuals brought into great extremitie; which whileſt they were a doing, the other eight hundred horſemen in the attire of Chriſtians, following vpon them, as if it had bin by chance, charged them, and in the ſight of the citiſens put them to flight: which done, theſe counterfeit horſemen returned directly again towards Nice. The citiſens, which with great pleaſure had in the mean time from the wals ſeen the moſt part of the skirmiſh, and how they had put the Turks to flight, ſuppoſing them to be the Conſtantinopolitan horſemen, whom they dayly expected, with great ioy opened the gates of the city to receiue them as their friends. But E they being entred the gates, preſently ſet vpon the Chriſtians, fearing no ſuch matter: & being ſeconded with the other three hundred, which in diſſembling manner had fled before, & were now ſpeedily returned, bringing alſo with them other companies of Turkes, before laid in ſecret ambuſh not far off, they woon the great and famous city of Nice, which they haue euer ſince vntill this day poſſeſſed: the ſpoyle whereof was giuen vnto the ſouldiers for a prey, and the citiſens all lead away into miſerable captiuitie & thraldome. Whileſt *Orchanes* was thus buſied, his other captains did with great courage & ſucceſſe inlarge his dominions on al ſides, dayly incroching vpon their weake neighbors the Chriſtians. *Cunger-Alpes* one of his valiant captains, ſubdued the country of Mudurn, or Modrin, in Phrygia; and Bolli in Paphlagonia: appointing one *Abdurachman* a man of great valour, to gouerne the country. And at the ſame F time another of his old captaines called *Accecozza*, brought Candara in Paphlagonia, and Ermeni, a country neere vnto the mountain Horminius, into the Turkiſh ſubiection, placing garriſons in all the Caſtles and forts which he had woon, of whom ſome part of thoſe Countries was after his name called *Cozza Ilini*, that is to ſay, The old mans country. So that *Orchanes* his kingdom grew dayly greater & greater, as wel by the induſtry of his chieftains, as of himſelf.

The citie of Nice ſurpriſed by the Turks.

Abydus beſieged by the Turks.

About this time it fortuned, the captains ſonne of Scamandria (a town not far from the ruines of the antient city of Troy, & about a days journy from the renowned caſtle of Abydus) to depart out of this world: vnto whoſe funerals, being kept in the country, whileſt his woful father the captaine with his friends out of Scamandria reſorted, the old craftie Turke *Accecozza* lying always in wait, as a fox for his prey, ſuddenly ſet vpon thoſe heauie Chriſtians, wherof he ſlew the moſt part, and tooke the reſt priſoners. Amongſt whom he alſo tooke the Captain of Scamandria, with his caſtle and countrey: whom he afterwards led priſoner vnto the caſtle of Abydus, which is one of the moſt famous caſtles ſcituate vpon the ſea coaſt of Aſia, ouer againſt Seſtus in Europe; where the ſea of Helleſpontus by the narrow ſtrait falleth into the ſea of Ægeum: two caſtles much renowned by reaſon of their nigh ſcituation, and yet placed in diuers parts of the world, eterniſed alſo by the euer liuing wits of Poets, for the aduenturous paſſage of *Leander* ouer that fret of the ſea, to his loue *Hero*: which caſtles are now called Dardanelly. *Accecozza* hauing brought the captiue captaine of Scamandria (lately a man of great account in that country) ſo neere as he could vnto the caſtle of Abydus, offred to ſet him at libertie if they would ſurrender their Caſtle, otherwiſe they ſhould ſee him cruelly ſlain before their faces. Theſe Turkiſh threats nothing moued them of Abydus, more than to ſay, That they might if they would cut off his head, ſeeth him and eat him, but the caſtle they intended not to deliuer. The ſame captaine was afterward by the commandment of *Orchanes* profered to the Emperor of Conſtantinople to be redeemed, which he refuſed: yet at the laſt he was ranſomed by the gouernor of Nicomedia, and againe ſet at liberty. *Accecozza* of long time held the caſtle of Scamandria; yet ſo continually moleſted with the gariſon of Abydus, and men of war ſent from Conſtantinople, that he with his followers were glad for the moſt part to liue on horſebacke, to be always in more readines againſt the attempt of their enemies. The captain of the caſtle of Abydus had at that time a faire yong gentlewoman to his daughter, who (as ſhe ſaid) chanced to dream (what ſhe had happily waking for the moſt part wiſhed) That being fallen into a deep myrie ditch, out of which ſhe could by no means help her ſelfe, a luſtie yong gallant comming by, did not only help her out, but alſo in friendly manner made her cleane, and afterwards apparelled her in rich and coſtly attyre. The danger of this dreame much troubled the tender gentlewoman, but the image of the young gentleman was ſo well phantaſied in her brain, that waking, ſhe thought ſhe ſtill ſaw him, and ſleeping longed ſore for what ſhe ſaw not. Thus whileſt this yong gentlewoman with great deuotion entertained this imaginarie man, the old gray headed Turke *Accecozza* came, and with a ſtrong companie beſieged her fathers caſtle of Abydus. During which ſiege, this gentlewoman oftentimes went vp into the high turret of the caſtle, from whence ſhe might at pleaſure ſee the martiall deeds on both ſides, and take full view of all the enemies campe. But ſee the chance, as *Abdurachman* with great courage & no leſſe brauerie, approched neere to the ſiege of the caſtle, ſhe thought (vpon the firſt ſight of him) that he was the verie man whom ſhe had before dreamed of, and whoſe Idea was in her heart ſo deepely imprinted: wherefore ſhe fully reſolued to performe what ſhe had without witneſſe with her ſelfe determined. And waiting another time when *Abdurachman* approched the caſtle, ſhe caſt downe to his feet a letter written in Greeke, and made faſt vnto a ſtone: which letter he taking vp, deliuered the ſame to the general *Accecozza*. Wherein after ſhe had diſcouered her paſſionate affection, ſhee promiſed to deliuer the caſtle into *Abdurachmans* power, if the Turkes would raiſe their ſiege, and *Abdurachman* himſelfe with ſome few would ſecretly returne to the caſtle in the dead time of the night, and then follow her direction. *Accecozza* like an old foxe, which is ſeldome taken in the trap, gaue ſmall credit to theſe louing lines, for feare of treaſon; yet for ſo much as you are the man (ſaid hee to *Abdurachman*) whom ſhe vpon ſpeciall liking hath made choice of for the purpoſe, wil you aduenture your perſon? And he armed with a manly courage, a ſurer defence than any armor of proofe, incited alſo with hope of honour, riches, and beautie, all worthie prizes for martiall minds, ſaid he would vndertake the atchieuement of that exployt, if it were his pleaſure ſo. Whereupon *Accecozza*, becauſe nothing ſhould be ſuſpected by his ſudden departure, gaue a ſharpe aſſault to the caſtle, as if hee would haue taken it by fine force, yet in the end retyred, and preſently brake vp his ſiege, as deſpairing of the winning thereof. The Defendants of the Caſtle thinking themſelues deliuered of a great danger, greatly reioyced: and as in the like caſe it oftentimes falleth out, in their great jolitie ſurcharged themſelues that night with

exceſſe

A exceſſe both of meat and drink. But *Abdurachman* at the time in the letter appointed,put him-
ſelfe vpon the way with certaine ſelect ſouldiers, and about midnight came to the appointed
place of the caſtle,where the yong gentlewoman was attending his comming: and hee by her
means was conueyed into the caſtle, and ſo by her directed to the porters lodge; where hee
ſlew the porter being faſt aſleepe,and opening the gates, let in his followers; which went di-
rectly to the captains lodging,and there took him priſoner,being before their comming ouer-
taken with wine,and faſt aſleepe. Thus was the caſtle of Abydus ſurpriſed by the Turks,from
whence they had a faire proſpect out of Aſia into Europe. The captaine with his faire daugh-
ter,and the greateſt part of the rich ſpoyle of the caſtle,was deliuered to *Abdurachman*, to be
preſented to *Orchanes* at his court,then lying at Neapolis. Who wonderfull glad of ſo good
B news,gaue the faire gentlewoman,with the greateſt part of the prey to *Abdurachman*. The po-
ſteritie of this man (as they ſay) yet remaine among the Turkes. Amongſt others of the war-
like captaines there was alſo one *Cararachman*,whoſe name was ſo dreadfull to them of Con-
ſtantinople,that when their children cried,they would terrifie them to make them hold their
peace,by ſaying,*Cararachman* comes. Not long after,the two valiant aforenamed worthy cap-
tains,*Cunger-Alpes* and *Accecozza* died. After whoſe death,*Orchanes* made his ſons,*Solyman* &
Amurath,lords and gouernors of thoſe countries and prouinces. And intending(by the perſua-
ſion of *Abdurachman*)to beſiege Nicomedia,he leuied a great armie,wherewith he tooke di-
uers ſmall caſtles and forts as he marched towards the citie. Nicomedia was at that time go-
uerned by an honorable ladie, kinſwoman vnto *Andronicus* the Emperor of Conſtantinople:
C but ſhe ſeeing her citie beſieged by the Turks,and doubting her own forces not to be able to
hold out the ſiege, by a truſtie meſſenger offered to yeeld the city vnto *Orchanes*, vpon condi-
tion,That ſhe with ſo many citiſens as would,might in ſafetie depart with their liues,liberty,
and goods: which being granted,ſhe with ſo many as would follow her, departed out of the
citie by night,taking ſhipping for Conſtantinople.

Nicomedia yeelded vnto Orchanes.

Orchanes hauing taken Nicomedia,made his ſon *Solyman* gouernor of the ſame. The chur-
ches of the Chriſtians he conuerted vnto Turkiſh Meſchitas or temples. The greateſt church
(being of wonderfull beauty) he couerted into a colledge or ſchoole, for the learned profeſ-
ſors and ſtudents of *Mahomets* law,which is yet called in Nicomedia,*Orchanes* his ſchoole or
colledge. And becauſe the Countrey neere vnto Nicomedia,lying vpon the ſea,was euer in
D danger to be ſpoyled by the gallies of Conſtantinople,he placed in thoſe countries diuers of
his moſt experienced ſoldiers to defend the ſame,appointing to euery of them poſſeſſions &
penſions,according to their degrees and merit. After this,*Orchanes* by the councel of his bro-
ther *Aladin*,commanded all his men of war to weare white caps, thereby to be knowne from
others,which commonly wore red. Such manner of caps the Ianizaries vſe at this day. The
Turks alſo in *Orchanes* raigne,and long time after,vſed not to cut or ſhaue their beards,but did
weare them long: ſo that if the King would diſgrace any man, hee would in his diſpleaſure
command his beard to be cut or ſhauen. The maner of cutting and ſhauing their beards which
they now vſe, they learned of the Italians; of whom they haue alſo borrowed many other
faſhions,not only differing,but quite contrary to their antient manners & cuſtomes. *Orchanes*
E about this time remoued his court to Nice,where hee lay a long time after. There he built a
ſumptuous church,appointing a Preacher to preach to the people euery Friday: he erected in
Nice alſo two faire abbies,in the one of which,he with his own hands ſerued the ſtrangers &
poore the firſt dinner. He was the firſt that builded abbies or monaſteries among the Turks;
whoſe example moſt of his ſucceſſors haue imitated,and is amongſt them vſed vnto this day.

Orchanes remoueth his Court to Nice.

The gouernment of Nicomedia *Orchanes* committed to his eldeſt ſon *Solyman* (as is before
ſaid) a prince of great towardlineſſe; giuing him in great charge to haue a vigilant eye to the
towns of Taraxa,Gouinuca,and Mudurne,which were nigh vnto Nicomedia,yet in poſſeſſion
of the Chriſtians: all which townes, with the countries adioyning, *Solyman* in ſhort time got
without force,by compoſition. This *Solyman* was of a princely diſpoſition,ſo tempring juſtice
with clemencie in his gouernment,that many Chriſtians allured with his vertues, became of
his religion,& gladly put themſelues vnder his ſubiection: the politicke lawes of the country
he neither abrogated nor changed,but maintained as they had beene of antient time accuſto-
med,whereby he greatly woon the hearts of the people. *Amurath* his younger ſonne, *Or-
chanes* made lord and gouernour of Pruſa,after he had remooued his court to Nice. And the

caſtle of Chara-chiſar, with the ſeigniorie thereto belonging, he gaue to his couſin *Artemure*, G the ſonne of his vncle *Iundus*.

Orchanes inuadeth the Countrey of Caraſina

There was at this time in *Orchanes* court a noble yong gentleman called *Turſon-beg*, the ſon of *Dharaſis* King of Charaſia; by whoſe perſuaſion *Orchanes* in perſon himſelfe with a ſtrong armie, made an expedition into that country: for that his fathers ſubiects after the death of the King his father, denied their obedience to his elder brother, wiſhing rather to haue *Turſon* for their ſoueraign. In whoſe behalfe *Orchanes* taking that journy, ſurpriſed by the way many caſtles and townes to his own vſe. *Orchanes* was no ſooner entred the countrey of Charaſia, but *Turſons* elder brother fled to Pergamum, whither the Turks ſhortly purſued him: where *Turſon* deſirous to ſpeake with his brother, vnwarily approching the city, was wounded with an arrow ſhot from the walls, and there ſlaine. With whoſe death *Orchanes* was ſo greatly offended, H that he threatned to deſtroy the whole country with fire and ſword, if they did not by a day prefixed, generally ſubmit themſelues to his mercie. The people terrified with this proclamation of ſo great a Prince alreadie in armes, yeelded themſelues vnto his ſubiection. The Kings ſonne alſo that was fled into Pergamum, vpon reaſonable conditions yeelded himſelfe vnto *Orchanes*, who ſent him to Pruſa, where after he had there liued two yeres, he died of the plague: after whoſe death *Orchanes* made his ſon *Solyman* Prince of Caraſina. Neither is this taking in of the country of Caraſina to be accounted a ſmal conqueſt; one of the greateſt houſes of the Turks the ſucceſſors of the Iconian Sultan *Aladin*, now thereby taking end, & their dominions (which were not ſmall, as containing almoſt Lydia, with ſome good parts of Miſia, Troas, and the leſſer Phrygia) now vnited vnto the *Othoman* kingdome. *Orchanes* vpon his returne, I for the good ſucceſſe of this journy, built a Church and Monaſterie at Pruſa, placing therein religious men, with all diligence ſought for out of all his kingdome: of which religious the Turks write many fables, better worth the ſmiling at, than the ſerious reporting. Hitherto the kingdome of *Othoman* and *Orchanes* his ſon, was contained within the bounds of the leſſer Aſia, which the Turks call Anatolia.

The countrey of Caraſina yeelded vnto Orchanes.

Now it reſteth to be ſhewed, vpon what occaſion *Orchanes*, or rather his ſon *Solyman Baſſa*, as it were fatally, with a ſmall power firſt paſſed ouer Helleſpontus into Europe; where they and their ſucceſſours haue by little and little ſo enlarged their dominions, that they haue now long ago quite ouerthrown the Grecian empire, with many other great kingdomes, and are at this preſent a terror to all Chriſtian Princes bordering vpon them: to the perpetuall infamie K of the Greekes, who for want of courage, and buſied with ciuil diſcord, neuer ſought in time to impeach their greatneſſe.

Orchanes hauing now ſo augmented his kingdome, that he might from many parts therof out of Aſia take view of the pleaſant borders of Europ, from whence he was excluded only by the narrow ſea of Helleſpontus; and continually incited with the inſatiable & reſtles deſire of ſoueraigntie, began to deuiſe how he might poſſibly paſſe that ſtrait ſea, and ſet foot into Europ another part of the world. Which his conceit one day he imparted to his ſon *Solyman*: who preſently anſwered his father, That if it would pleaſe him to giue him leaue, hee would not doubt to paſſe the ſtrait of Helleſpontus, & in time to plant the Mahometan religion in thoſe countries of Europe poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians. Which anſwer of *Solyman* much pleaſed his L father, who gaue him leaue to depart into his country, and in that matter to proceed further, as he thought beſt, & as occaſion ſhould beſt ſerue. *Solyman* taking leaue of his father, tooke his journy into Caraſina, where riding vp & down the country, as it had bin for his pleaſure only, he made his way to the place where it is thought the famous citie of Troy ſometime ſtood; where yet (as the Turks and ſome others ſay) are to be ſeen the wonderful ruins of that vnfortunate citie by the ſea ſide. In this place *Solyman* ſtood ſtill a great while, as it were in a ſtudie, forecaſting (as it ſeemed) ſome great matter, without ſpeaking one word to any of his followers. When one of his chieftains called *Ezes-beg*, to put him out of his deepe thoughts, boldly ſaid vnto him, My lord and great ſoueraign, what ſtrange thing is this, that you are ſo deepely drowned in theſe your melancholy thoughts? vndoubtedly it is ſome great matter that you M are ſtudying vpon. Truth it is, (ſaid *Solyman*) for I was thinking how it were poſſible to paſſe ouer this ſea of Helleſpontus into the borders of Europ, and to take view of that country, and ſo to returne vndiſcouered. If this be the matter, (ſaid *Ezes-beg*, ioyning vnto him one *Fazil-beg*, a man of no leſſe valour than himſelfe) wee two will by the power of God performe vnto you this enterpriſe. Then was *Solyman* deſirous to know of them, about what place they would paſſe ouer: which they well knowing the ſea coaſt, ſhewed him not far off. Wherefore *Solyman* giuing them leaue, they departed: and ſhortly after making a little boat, or rather as ſome ſuppoſe a raffe, paſſed ouer Helleſpontus by night, and arriued in Europe ſide, neere vnto a caſtle of the Turks, called Zemenic or Zembenic, but of the Greeks *Coiridocaſtron*, that is to ſay, The hogs caſtle, not farre from Seſtus: where going aſhore, they tooke priſoner a Greeke in a vineyard neere vnto the caſtle, whom they finding to be a good ſenſible fellow, without delay put him into their boat or raffe, and returning backe againe, preſented him to *Solyman*. This Chriſtian captiue *Solyman* entertained courteouſly, giuing him great gifts, & rich apparel, to diſcouer vnto him the eſtate of his countrey: and in fine, learned of him a means to take the caſtle Zembenic, before the Chriſtians ſhould thereof be aware. For atchieuement wherof, certaine boats were ſpeedily made ready by *Solymans* commandement, and he with eightie choſen ſoldiers eaſily paſſed ouer in them by night, with theit Chriſtian guid the Greeke: for in that place, the ſtrait betwixt Aſia and Europe, is not paſt an Italian mile ouer. This guid brought *Solyman* directly to the aforeſaid caſtle, where was a great dunghil, ſo high, that from the top thereof *Solyman* with his ſouldiers eaſily got into the caſtle, which they woon without any great reſiſtance; for it was then harueſt time, and moſt part of the people were in the vineyards, or treading out of their corne al night, as the vſe of thoſe countries is. *Solyman* thus poſſeſſed of the caſtle of Zembenic, vſed no extremity againſt the inhabitants therof, ſeeking rather by courteſie to gaine their good wils, than by extremitie to force them to his: yet ſuch gentlemen as he took, with ſome others alſo of the better ſort, he ſent by ſhipping into Aſia, and by the ſame ſhips returned ſouldiers as faſt as he could into Europe: ſo that he had in one day two hundred ſouldiers more brought ouer vnto him: and manning ſuch ſmal veſſels as he had left about the caſtle, ſent *Ezes-beg* alongſt the coaſt on Europe ſide, to burne ſuch ſhipping or veſſels as hee could find, leaſt the Chriſtians ſhould by them hinder his paſſage vpon the ſtrait of Helleſpontus. So in a few dayes *Solyman* had tranſported into Europe two thouſand good ſouldiers of the Turks, whom he ſo gouerned, that they did not in any violent ſort iniurie the vulgar Chriſtians, by reaſon whereof the common people began to like reaſonable well of the Turks, and to conuerſe with them without feare. This was the firſt comming ouer of the Turks into Europe, with purpoſe there to conquer and inhabit, vnder the fortune of the *Othoman* kings. For albeit that ſome of that nation had at ſundry times before come ouer, as men ſeeking after ſpoile, or otherwiſe ſent for, yea ſometimes by the Greek Emperors themſelues; yet neuer ſtaied they long, but hauing done what they came for, or els loſt themſelues, returned backe againe into Aſia; vntil that now conducted by *Solyman*, and poſſeſſed of the little caſtle of Zembenic (as is aforeſaid) they there tooke ſo faſt footing, as that they and their poſteritie after them, were neuer thence to be ſince that time remoued; but ſtil more and more encroching vpon the Chriſtians, haue vnto their Aſian kingdome ioyned a great part of Europe alſo, to the terrour of the reſt that yet remaineth, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall (if God will) at large appeare.

About two miles from Zembenic in Cherſoneſſus was another caſtle called Maito, or more truly Maditus, which *Solyman* alſo tooke: ſo that now hee had gotten two caſtles in Europe, both which he ſtrongly manned. After which time, the Turkes in great numbers came out of Aſia into Europe ouer that narrow ſtrait of Helleſpontus, to dwell in Cherſoneſſus: and *Solyman* inſtead of them, to make roome for his Turkes, ſent Chriſtians out of Europe to bee placed amongſt the Turkes in Aſia. The report of this comming ouer of the Turkes into Cherſoneſſus, and of the taking of the caſtle of Zembenic, carried in poſt to Conſtantinople, was ſufficient to haue ſtirred vp any prouident or carefull men, preſently to haue taken vp armes for the recouerie of the loſt caſtle, and the driuing out againe of the barbarous enemies out of Europe, before they had gathered any greater ſtrength, or ſetled themſelues in thoſe places: but ſuch was the careleſſe negligence and great ſecuritie of the proud Greekes, that inſtead thereof, they to extenuate the greatneſſe of the loſſe, commonly ſaid, That there was but a hogſtie loſt; alluding vnto the name of the caſtle: and vainely (as ſaid a graue father of their owne) ieaſting at that was not to be ieaſted at, and laughing at that was not to be laughed at but lamented for, as in few yeres it proued; their fooliſh laughter beeing not without good cauſe conuerted into moſt bitter teares.

The caſtle of Maditus taken by the Turks.

Callipolis taken by the Turks.

Solymans ſtrength ſo ſtil increaſing by the daily comming ouer of the Turks, he proceeded further to ſpoyle the country of Cherſoneſus, almoſt as far as Calipolis, diſtant from the caſtle Zembenic about two and twentie miles: after which pleaſant citie the proud Turk began now to long. Which the gouernor thereof perceiuing by the Turks continuall incroaching vpon him, raiſed what power he was able to make, and ſo went out againſt them; all the reſt of the Greeks in the mean time lying ſtill, as if they had bin aſleepe, or that the matter had not concerned them: but meeting the Turks, he was by them (after a great conflict) ouerthrown, and for ſafegard of his life glad to flie into his city: after whom the Turks following, ſpoiled the country round about, and in their returne, by plain force tooke the city, together with the caſtle alſo: which hapned in the yere of our Lord 1358. Where the madneſſe of the Greeks was againe more than before to be wondred at; for the newes of the loſſe of Callipolis beeing brought to Conſtantinople, the people there made ſmall account thereof, although it was indeed a right great loſſe, and much concerned the ſtate: but to extenuate the matter, when they had any talke therof, in jeſting wiſe commonly ſaid, That the Turks had but taken from them a pottle of wine. But by taking of ſuch hogſtyues and pottles of wine (as they termed it) the Turks in a few yeres after had gone ſo far in Thracia, that *Amurath* (the ſame *Solymans* nephew which now tooke from the Greeks the city of Callipolis) euen in the heart as it were of the Greeke Empire, placed his royall ſeat at Hadrianople: and immediately after him, *Baiazet* his ſonne (hauing ſubdued all the countrey euen to the walls of Conſtantinople) for certaine yeares layd hard ſiege vnto the Imperiall citie it ſelfe; and had no doubt then carried it, had not the great expedition of the mightie Tartar Prince *Tamerlane* (vnto *Baiazet* fatall) in the meane time happened: whereby (God ſo appointing it) the proſperous ſucceedings of the Turkes were for a ſpace well ſtayed, that they ſhould not before the time by him prefined, deuoure the reliques of the Greeke Empire. And it were to be wiſhed, that the Chriſtians of our time alſo (by their example warned) would at length awake out of their dead ſleepe: who of late hath loſt vnto the ſame enemie, not the caſtle of Zembenic, or the city of Callipolis, but whole kingdomes, as Hungarie and Cyprus, and are ſtill faire in the way: I ſay no more for griefe, and foreboding of euill fortune. But againe to our purpoſe: *Solyman* hauing made this proſperous entrance into Europe, and there got ſtrong footing, by ſpeedie meſſengers certified his father what he had done, and that it was expedient for him with all ſpeede to ſend vnto him a great ſupplie of men of warre, as well for the ſure defence and keeping of thoſe caſtles and forts by him alreadie gotten, as for the further inuaſion of the Countrey. This meſſage was wonderfull welcome vnto *Orchanes*, and whereas many families of the Saraſins at that preſent were come into the countrey of Caraſina, to poſſeſſe the dwellings and places of them, which in hope to better their eſtate were before gone ouer into Europe; all theſe Saraſins hee commaunded to paſſe ouer into Europe likewiſe: which they did accordingly, ſeating themſelues for a time in the country neere to Callipolis. In the meane time *Solyman* omitted no opportunitie to enter further into the country, winning ſmall forts and Holds, and ſtill peopling the ſame with his Turks. And on the other ſide, they of Caraſina paſſed ouer into Europe, placing themſelues as it were in a new world. For which cauſe, and for the great deſire they had to extend the Turkiſh Dominion and Religion, they refuſed no paines of warre: ſo that all things at that time proſpered with the Turks, and went backward with the Chriſtians.

In the time of theſe wars, not far from Callipolis was a little caſtle called Congere, the captain whereof was by a Greeke name called *Calo Ioannes*, a valiant and painfull man: this captain continually moleſted and troubled the Turkes which lay on that ſide of Callipolis, vnder the leading of *Ezes-beg*, many of whom he ſlew and tooke priſoners, as he could find them at any aduantage. *Solyman* much angred herewith, by craftie and ſecret eſpials learned a certaine time when he was gone out of his caſtle to do ſome exployt vpon the Turks. Whereupon he preſently ſo beſet the Caſtle with ſouldiers, that he could by no means returne thither, but he muſt firſt fall into their hands; and for more aſſurance placed others alſo in by-wayes, leſt he ſhould by any way eſcape. The Captaine ignorant of all this, proſecuted his enterpriſe, and hauing taken a Turke priſoner, thinking to returne to his caſtle, was haſtily purſued by *Fazil-beg*; for which cauſe making the more haſte, hee ſuddenly fell into the danger of the Turks layd in ambuſh: where his men were all ſlaine, and himſelfe taken and brought before his own caſtle, and had there his head preſently ſtrucke off: whereupon the caſtle was forthwith by them that were therein (hauing now loſt their captaine) ſurrendred, and *Chazi Ili Beg*, a valiant captaine of the Turks, placed therein: who from thence neuer ceaſed to trouble the country, euen to the walls of Didymotichum, as did *Solyman* alſo out of Callipolis.

Thus in the ſpace of one yere the Turks got ſtrong footing in Europe, poſſeſſing diuers Caſtles and towns, with the country about them, which *Solyman* gaue in reward vnto his captains and ſoldiers, as appeareth by the graues and tombes of *Ezes-beg* and *Fazil-beg*, the two which firſt came ouer into Europe, which are there yet well knowne.

The death of Solyman Baſſa, Orchanes his eldeſt ſonne.

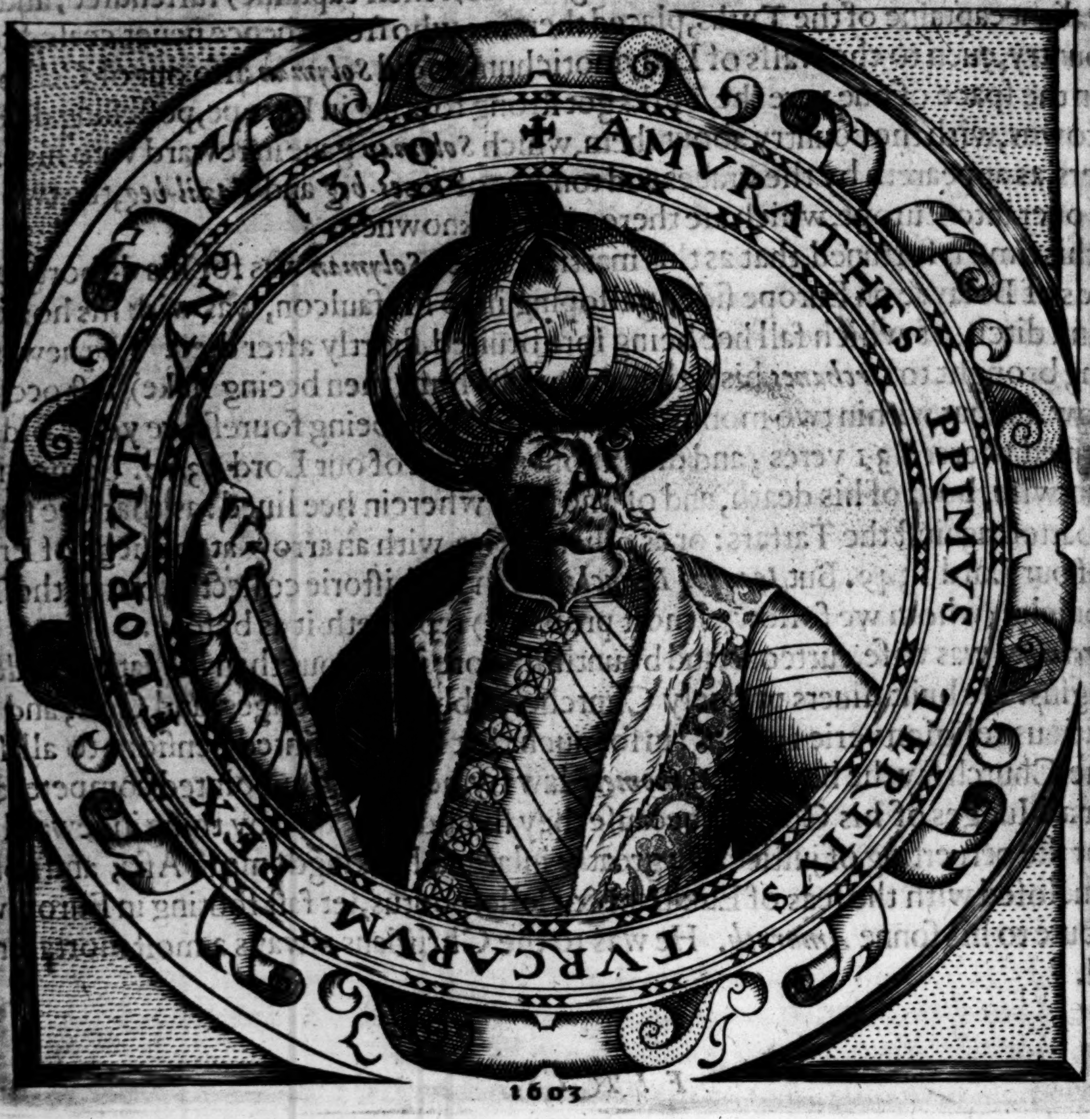
The death of Orchanes.

About this time it fortuned, that as this martial Prince *Solyman* was for his diſport hawking in the fields of Bolayre on Europe ſide, galloping in to his faulcon, was with his horſe ouerthrowne in a ditch, of which fall hee being ſore bruiſed, ſhortly after died. The newes of his death being brought to *Orchanes* his father, gaue vnto him (then beeing ſicke) iuſt occaſion of great ſorrow: ſo that within two months after he died alſo, being foureſcore yeres old, when he had raigned thereof 31 yeres, and died about the yere of our Lord 1359. Some hiſtories report otherwiſe, both of his death, and of the time wherein hee liued: as that hee ſhould be ſlaine in a battell againſt the Tartars: or as others write, with an arrow at the ſiege of Pruſa, in the yere of our Lord 1349. But *Ioannes Leunclauius* in his hiſtorie collected out of the Turkes owne chronicles (whom we follow as moſt probable) reporteth it as before.

This *Orchanes* was wiſe, curteous, and bountiful, more ingenious than his father in deuiſing warlike engins. He built diuers princely Churches, Abbies, Colledges, and Cels, and was in his ſuperſtitious religion verie zealous: in ſo much that hee appointed penſions to all ſuch as could in the Church ſay the book of *Mahomets* law by heart: and appointed competent maintenance for all Iudges of his Courts, becauſe they ſhould not take any thing in reward of his ſubiects, for the peruerting of iuſtice. He greatly inlarged his kingdome in Aſia, and not content to be incloſed with the ſeas of Euxinum & Helleſpontus, ſet faſt footing in Europ, which ſome attribute to his ſonne *Amurath*. He was to the Chriſtians always a moſt mortal enemy, and ſo died.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Orchanes.	*Emperours*	*Of the Eaſt*	*Andronicus Palæologus the younger.*	1325.	29.
			Iohn Palæologus.	1354.	30
		Of the Weſt	*Lewis the fourth, of Bauaria.*	1314.	32.
			Charles the fourth, ſonne to Iohn King of Bohemia.	1346.	10.
	Kings,	*Of England*	*Edward the third.*	1327.	50.
		Of France	*Philip Valois.*	1328.	22.
			Iohn Valois.	1350.	14.
		Of Scotland	*Robert Bruce.*	1306.	24.
			Dauid Bruce.	1341.	
	Biſhops of Rome,		*Iohn the XXII.*	1317.	18.
			Benedict the XII.	1335.	7.
			Clement the VI.	1342.	12.
			Innocent the VI.	1354.	10,


1350 ✠ AMVRATHES PRIMVS TERTIVS TVRCARVM REX FLORVIT AN
1603

Scæuus Amurathes, animo dum maxima verſat:
Diſcordes Græcos ſternere Marte parat.
Totus & intentus fines extendere regni:
Europam penetrans, obuia quæque rapit.
Atoniti trepidant, nimia formidine Thraces:
In medio quorum, ſceptra ſuperba locat.
Hinc Mæſos premit ille feros, miſerumque Dynaſten*
Coſſoni in campis, obruit atque necat.
Sed non longa fuit ſceleris tam dira voluptas:
A ſeruo cæſus, concidit enſe ferox.

**Lazarum Seruiæ principem.*

Rich. Knollivs.

Whileſt *Amurath* in his deepe thoughts, of greatneſſe plots the ground:
The wrangling Greekes by force of armes he ſeekes how to confound.
And wholly bent for to extend his kingdome, with his power,
Piercing the confines of Europe, doth what he meets deuoure.
As men diſmaid, the Thracians quake, to ſee their foule diſgrace:
Amiddeſt whom, the tyrant ſtout his ſcepter proud doth place.
The fierce Bulgarians he did meet, and in the field ſubdue:
And in Coſſou'as fatall plaines, the wofull Deſpot ſlue.
But long is not the wickeds ioy, which they in miſchiefe take:
Stab'd by a ſlaue, the wretch his end in that ſame place did make.

Lazarus Deſpot of Seruia.

THE LIFE OF AMVRATH, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THIRD KING OF THE TVRKS, AND THE GREAT AVGMENTOR OF THEIR KINGDOME.

Amurath ſucceedeth his father Orchanes in the Turkiſh kingdome.

AMurath the younger ſonne of *Orchanes* ſucceeded his father in the Turkiſh kingdome, his elder brother *Solyman* being dead a little before his father. This *Amurath* with greater zeale than any one of the Turkiſh Kings aduanced the Mahometan religion, and had therein wonderfull ſucceſſe. In the beginning of his raigne, he gathered a great armie out of all parts of his kingdome, to Pruſa; purpoſing to paſſe ouer Helleſpontus, to inuade the Chriſtians in Thracia. But vnderſtanding, that the other Mahometan Princes in Aſia had combined themſelues againſt him, he was thereby inforced to leaue his former determination for Europe, and to turne his forces vpon them. In which warres hee mightily preuailed againſt them, and returned with victorie to Pruſa. But hauing ſo ſubdued thoſe confederate Princes, hee the next yeare after proſecuted his warres before intended againſt the Chriſtians in Europe. For which purpoſe hauing leuied a ſtrong armie in Aſia, he paſſed ouer to Callipolis, accompanied with his tutor, whom the Turkes call *Lala Schahin*: whoſe graue aduice and counſell hee moſt followed in all his waightie affaires, beeing at that time one of his chiefe counſellors. From Callipolis hee marched to the caſtle of Benutum, which was by compoſition yeelded vnto him. From thence he went to Tzurulus, where the Chriſtians gaue him a ſharpe encounter: but in the end he woon the towne, and carried away the victorie. And ſo proceeding farther, tooke diuers other ſmall caſtles and townes in that part of Thracia, which of the antient Romane colonies was then called Romania, and now of the Turkes Rumilia, namely Meſine, Burgos, and others; whereof ſome he vtterly raſed, and into the reſt put ſtrong garriſons. At this time alſo, *Chaſi-Ilbeg* and *Eurenoſes*, two of his moſt valiant captaines, tooke certaine forts ſtanding vpon the Riuer Meritza, in antient time called Hebrus: whereby they much troubled the inhabitants of the countrey thereabouts. Wherewith the captaine of Didymotichum offended, gathered his ſouldiers together, intending to haue intercepted the great captaine *Chaſi-Ilbeg*: in which attempt he loſt moſt of his followers, and was himſelfe there taken priſoner. For whoſe ranſome and certaine other conditions, the citizens of Didymotichum yeelded the citie vnto the Turkes.

Didymoticum yeelded vnto the Turks.

Shortly after, *Amurath* ſent his tutor *Lala Schahin* to beſiege Hadrianople, now called Andrianople, but in ancient time Oreſtias: of whoſe comming the Chriſtians hearing, encountred him vpon the way, and fought with him a great battell, wherein many were on both ſides loſt: but in the end the Chriſtians being put to the worſt, retired againe to the citie. Of this victorie *Schahin* ſent news vnto *Amurath*, with certaine of the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians: who therupon ſending *Chaſis* and *Eurenoſes* before, he himſelfe with a great army followed after to the ſiege of Hadrianople: of whoſe comming, the gouernor of Hadrianople vnderſtanding, fled ſecretly out of the citie by night to Ænus. The citizens ſeeing themſelues ſo forſaken of their gouernour, yeelded their citie vnto *Amurath*, in the yeare of our Lord 1362.

Hadrianople yeelded vnto the Turks.

The taking of theſe ſtrong cities in Thracia, eſpecially of Didymotichum and Hadrianople, is (by ſome of the Turks owne Hiſtories) otherwiſe reported: which, becauſe it is neither improbable nor diſagreeing from the ſubtil dealings of the Truks, & of themſelues alſo receiued, I haue thought good to ſet downe as their owne Hiſtoriographers report the ſame.

The Turkiſh King *Amurath* had (as they ſay, and as truth was) in the beginning of his raigne concluded a peace with the Chriſtians of Thracia: during which peace, the gouernor of Didymotichum intending to fortifie his city with new and ſtronger fortifications againſt the aſſaults of the Turks, entertained all the maſons, carpenters, and other workemen he could by any meanes get: which *Amurath* vnderſtanding, ſecretly cauſed two hundred good and luſtie workemen and labourers to come out of Aſia, to offer their ſeruice vnto the gouernour, who gladly entertained them, vſing their help in that his great and haſtie worke. Which thing ſome of the wiſer ſort of the citizens diſliking, wiſhed the gouernor to beware of thoſe Aſian workmen, as by them ſuſpected. But he preſuming vpon the peace made with *Amurath*, and conſidering they were but baſe workemen and no ſoldiers, had the leſſe care of them: neuertheles (vſing their worke all day) he commanded them to lodge without the wals of the citie euery night. *Amurath* vnderſtanding that theſe workemen were thus by the gouernor entertained, ſent for the valiant captaine *Chaſis-Ilbeg*, and requeſted him with thirtie other good ſouldiers diſguiſed as poore labourers, to goe to Didymotichum to ſeeke for worke, and in doing therof to eſpie if any opportunitie might be fonnd for the ſurpriſing of the citie. *Chaſis* with theſe thirtie according to *Amurath* his direction, comming as poore men lacking worke, found entertainment at Didymotichum, where they carried ſtones, morter, and ſuch like things, euer ſhewing themſelues very diligent in their worke: *Chaſis* with vigilent eye ſtill awaiting what might beſt ſerue his turne for the ſurpriſing of the citie. When night was come, the Turkiſh workemen and labourers after their accuſtomed manner, and as they were by the gouernour appointed, went out of the citie into the ſuburbs to their lodgings: from whence *Chaſis* ſecretly departing in the night, came to *Amurath* and ſhewed him how one of the gates of the citie might vpon the ſudden be taken, if it would pleaſe him to place a ſufficient number of Turks in ambuſh neere vnto the citie, to ioyne with him and the other Turkiſh labourers when occaſion ſhould ſerue. Which being reſolued vpon, *Amurath* ſent him backe againe to put this his deuice in execution: So *Chaſis* returning to Didymotichum, brake the matter to ſo many of the Aſian workemen as he thought conuenient, fully inſtructing them what was to bee done. The next day (according to his appointment) the Chriſtians being then at dinner, theſe Turkiſh workemen and labourers fell at words among themſelues, and from words to fained blowes: in which counterfeit brawle and tumult, they ſuddenly ran to one of the gates of the citie faſt by (as was before appointed) and there laying hands vpon the warders weapons, as if it had beene to defend themſelues againſt their fellowes, ſuddenly ſet vpon thoſe warders, being in number but few, and then at dinner alſo, and ſo preſently ſlew them: which done, they opened the gate of the citie, and let in the other Turks which lay in wait not farre off: who with great celeritie entring the citie, preſently tooke the ſame, and there put the chiefeſt of their citizens to the ſword, ſparing the reſt of the meaner ſort.

Rhodeſtum ſurpriſed by the Turks.

The citie of Rhodeſtum (of the old writers called Rhœdeſtum) was by *Amurath* his commandement, in this time of peace, by ſudden aſſault giuen in the night by the Lord *Eurenoſes*, taken alſo.

With this foule dealing & breach of league, yet in force, the Chriſtians hardly charged *Amurath*; who turned it ouer to the vnrulines of his captains and men of war, whom he threatned with great ſeuerity to puniſh: & to giue the better color that it was done without his priuity, he had fained himſelf ſick al the while theſe things were in doing: but being requeſted to reſtore thoſe cities ſo wrongfuly taken from the Chriſtians, he vtterly refuſed ſo to do, ſaying That it was againſt the law of his great Prophet *Mahomet*, to deliuer againe to the Chriſtians, any towne or citie wherein the Mahometan religion had bin once openly taught. Whereupon wars began again to ariſe on freſh betwixt the Chriſtians and him, wherein ſometime the one preuailed, and ſometime the other: in ſuch ſort, as that thoſe warres at length became vnto them both very tedious. Wherefore *Amurath* made peace againe with the Chriſtians of Hadrianople, Selybria, and Conſtantinople: yet deſiring nothing more in heart, than to take the citie of Hadrianople: which the better to bring to paſſe, hee cauſed *Chaſis-Ilbeg* as a diſcontented captaine to flie to Hadrianople, pretendiug himſelfe to haue beene hardly vſed by the tyrant his maſter: where hauing in his company other ſuch diſſembling fugitiues as was himſelfe, he oftentimes iſſued out of the citie and valiantly skirmiſhed with the Turks, which ſo greatly pleaſed the gouernour of Hadrianople, that he thereby grew into his great fauour. Many other Turkes alſo vnder pretence of like diſcontentment, reſorted vnto *Chaſis*: wherewith finding himſelfe well ſtrengthned, he writ letters ſecretly vnto *Amurath*, That he would deliuer one of the gates of Hadrianople vnto him at a certaine appointed time, if hee would againſt the ſame time be readie to ſend him preſent ſuccors. Al things being agreed vpon, *Chaſis* at the appointed time came in the dawning of the day to one of the gates of the city, accompanied but with ten of his followers, as if he would haue gone forth to hunt, as he had before accuſtomed. But ſo ſoone as the gates were opened, he with the other ten well appointed for the purpoſe, furiouſly ſet vpon the warders, whom they ſlew; and being aided by the reſt of the fugitiue Turks (which with all ſpeed by appointment before made, reſorted vnto them) they poſſeſſed the gate; vntill a great power of the Turks, whom *Amurath* the night before had placed in ambuſh neere vnto the city, hauing knowledge what was done, and hearing the alarme, ſpeedily came on, and by that gate entred the citie: where was fought a cruell fight all that day, euen from morning vntill night. But in the end the Turks preuailing, tooke the citie, which they haue euer ſince poſſeſſed vnto this day.

These great cities of Thracia thus taken, or otherwiſe as aforeſaid (for that I leaue for the Reader to thinke of as he pleaſeth) *Amurath* appointed the ſeat of his royall court at Hadrianople, as a place of all others moſt fit for the further inuaſion of the Chriſtians, and inlarging of his kingdome in Europe: from whence ſuch a world of miſchiefs and woe hath ſince that time ouerflowed a great part of Chriſtendome, & drowned ſo many goodly kingdoms in Europe, as that both they, and moſt part of the reſt that yet remain (daily in dread of like deſtruction) might iuſtly accurſe and deteſt the wofull careleſneſſe and degenerate cowardiſe of the Greeks, were not they themſelues together with the glorie of their church and empire, ſwallowed vp in the ſame gulfe of calamity & wo, and ſo become of al others moſt miſerable: but what auail vain complaints, but to increaſe old griefs? wherfore again to that we haue in hand

Hadrianople the royal ſeat of the Turkiſh kings in Europe

The proud Sultan *Amurath* (hauing to his great content thus ſeated himſelfe at Hadrianople, in the middeſt of Thracia) preſently ſent out his tutor *Lala Schahin* with a great power to inuade the countrey about Philippopolis with the countrey of Zagora, which lyeth towards the great mountain Hœmus, where the beſt Turkiſh Scimitars were made; giuing like charge vnto *Eurenoſes*, for the ſubduing of the territorie of Ipſala; who both notably performed what he had commanded, and in ſhort time brought all thoſe countries vnder his ſubiection, wherein he ſhortly after placed diuers ſanzacks or gouernours, for the better aſſurance thereof, being ſo lately gained.

About this time (by the ſuggeſtion of *Cara Ruſtemes* a doctor of the Mahometan law) *Zinderlu Chelil*, then Cadeleſher or chiefe Iuſtice among the Turks, but afterwards better knowne by the name of *Catradin Baſſa*, by the commandement of *Amurath*, took order, hat euery fifth captiue of the Chriſtians, being aboue ſifteen yeres old, ſhould be taken vp for the King, as by law due vnto him: and if the number were vnder fiue, then to pay to the King for euery head 25 aſpers, by way of tribute: apointing officers for collecting both of ſuch captiues and tribute mony, of whom the aforeſaid *Cara Ruſtemes* himſelf was chief, as firſt deuiſer of the matter. By which means great numbers of Chriſtiā youths were brought to the court as the kings captiues, which by the counſell of the ſame *Zinderlu Chelil*, were diſtributed among the Turkiſh husbandmen in Aſia, there to learn the Turkiſh language, religion, & maners: where after they had bin brought vp in all painfull labour and trauell by the ſpace of two or three yeares, they were called vnto the court, & choice made of the better ſort of them to attend vpon the perſon of the prince, or to ſerue him in his wars: where they daily practiſing all feats of actiuity, are called by the name of Ianizars (that is to ſay, new ſoldiers.) This was the firſt beginning of the Ianizars vnder this Sultan *Amurath* the firſt, but had great increaſe vnder *Amurath* the ſecond, inſomuch that *Iouius* with ſome other Hiſtoriographers, attribute the beginning of this order to him: which neuertheles (as appeareth by the Turks own hiſtories) had the beginning as is aforeſaid; & hath euer ſince bin continued by the Turkiſh kings & emperors, by the ſame and ſome other greater means; ſo that in proceſſe of time they be grown to that greatnes as that they are oftentimes right dreadful to the great Turke himſelfe: after whoſe death they haue ſomtimes preferred to the empire ſuch of the Emperors ſons as they beſt liked, without reſpect of prerogatiue of age, contrary to the wil of the great Sultan himſelf; & are at this day the greateſt ſtrength of the Turkiſh empire, and not vnlike in time to be the greateſt cauſe of the ruin thereof: the finger of the Higheſt oftentimes (as wee haue before ſaid) turning euen thoſe helps which were by mans wiſedome prouided for the eſtabliſhing of kingdomes, vnto their more ſpeedie deſtruction: and eſpecially theſe continuall garriſons of martiall men, no leſſe to be feared than truſted, as in the courſe of this Hiſtorie may appeare.

When *Amurath* had thus a great while continued at Hadrianople, determining now to returne vnto Aſia, hee made *Schahin* his tutor *Beg-Lerbeg* or viceroy of Romania; and *Eurenoſes* lord gouernor of the marches; *Zinderlu Chelil* he made Vezir Azemes or lord preſident of his counſell, and changing his name, called him *Cairadin Baſſa*, that is to ſay, The *Baſſa* that had wel deſerued, his name witneſſing his good deſert. After this he returned into Aſia, where he ſpent that winter at Pruſa. Theſe two great men *Cairadin Baſſa* and *Cara Ruſtemes* before named, ſometimes two doctors of the Mahometan law, were (as the Turkiſh Hiſtories report) the firſt that corrupted the Turkiſh court with couetouſneſſe and briberie, and are therefore of them euen yet much blamed.

Whileſt *Amurath* thus wintred in Aſia, news was brought vnto him, That the Chriſtians of Seruia and Bulgaria had gathered a great armie for the beſieging of Hadrianople: which cauſed him to prepare great forces in Aſia, to aid his captaines in Europe. But in returning out of Aſia, he by the way tooke the towne of Boga; where he put to ſword all the Chriſtians that were therein able to beare armes, leading the reſt into captiuitie, and with the ſpoile rewarded his ſouldiers. This ſtrong towne was not long after againe recouered by the Chriſtians, who requited the Turkes with like meaſure, and doubting the keeping thereof, raſed it downe to the ground: yet was it afterwards reedified by the Turks, as it is at this preſent to be ſeene: which was done in the yeare of our Lord 1365.

Boga taken by Amurath and recouered again and raſed by the Chriſtians.

Boga new built by the Turks.

In the meane time, the Chriſtian armie of Seruia and Bulgaria, in number betwixt fortie and fiftie thouſand, marching towards Hadrianople, and now come very neere the ſame, fel in mutinie among themſelues. Whereof the Turks by their eſpials hauing intelligence, ſuddenly in the night ſet vpon them: who blinded with inward hatred, and no leſſe fearing one another, than their enemies, neglected to ioyne their forces againſt them, but were readie to turn their weapons one vpon another; and ſo by their owne diſcord, more than by the enemies force, were made a prey to the Turkes, by whom they were put to flight, and ſlaine with ſo great a ſlaughter, that the place wherein they fell, not far from Germia, is thereof at this day called *Zirf-Zindugi*, that is to ſay, the place wherein the Seruians were ouerthrown. The news of this ſo notable a victorie, with the fift part of the ſpoile, & a great number of the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians, were (after the barbarous manner of the Turks) ſent to *Amurath* into Aſia, being now readie with a great power to haue come ouer to Callipolis: who ioyful therof, and glad to ſee ſuch a preſent, the aſſured witneſſe of the victorie, returned againe to Pruſa. This was done in the yeare 1366. In which yeare alſo *Amurath* with wonderfull triumph circumciſed his two ſons, *BaiaZet*, & *Iacup*. At which time he alſo built a temple, with a monaſtery & a colledge, at Bilezuga: & another faire church at Neapolis: at Pruſa he alſo built a ſtatly pallace in the caſtle, with a great church at the gates thereof: in which citie he alſo founded an abbey and a colledge. *Germean Ogli*, a great Mahometan prince in Aſia (whoſe territorie for the moſt part lay in the greater Phrygia, and the countries thereabout, bordering vpon the *Othoman* kingdome) hauing alwaies enuied at the riſing of the *Othoman* kings (as did al the reſt of the Mahometan princes of the *SelZuccian* familie) and fearing that their greatnes might after his death grow dangerous to his ſon *Iacup*, being now himſelfe very aged, thought good for the more ſafetie of his ſtate to ioyn in alliance with *Amurath*. And for that purpoſe ſent *Iſaac* (a learned doctor of the Mahometan law) embaſſador to him, with many rich preſents, & to offer his daughter, the Lady *Hatun*, in marriage vnto his ſon *Baiazet*: promiſing with her in dowrie diuers great cities and townes, with their territories in Phrygia and Bythinia, adioyning vpon the *Othoman* kingdom; namely Cutaie, Simau, Egregios, Tauſanle, & others. Neither was this a ſmall dowrie, but well beſeeming ſo great a prince: the citie of Cutaie being at this day the place whereat the Turkiſh emperors great lieutenant or viceroy in Aſia is alwaies reſiant, as in the heart of his kingdome in the leſſer Aſia. Of which match ſo offered, *Amurath* liking well, contracted his ſon *Baiazet* vnto the ſaid ladie: and for ſolemniation of the mariage, prepared al things with great magnificence, ſending his embaſſadors to moſt of the Mahometanc kings and princes both far and neere,to inuite them thereunto:commanding alſo moſt of the nobilitie of his kingdome,to honor the ſame with their preſence. The time of this marriage drawing neere,Embaſſadors came to ***Amuraths*** court,from all the Princes before inuited: amongſt whom,the Embaſſador from the Ægyptian Sultan had the higheſt place. Theſe Embaſſadors brought with them many great and rich gifts,ſuch as well beſeemed the great princes their maſters,which they with all reuerence preſented vnto ***Amurath***. At length amongſt the reſt of his own nobilitie came the lord ***Eurenoſes***, whom he had before left gonernour of the frontiers of his kingdome in Europe: who beſides many other rich gifts not eaſily to be valued,preſented vnto ***Amurath*** a hundred goodly boyes, with as many beautifull yong maidens,all Chriſtian captiues,ſutably attired in garments richly embroidred with gold & ſiluer, euery one of them carrying a cup of gold in the one hand,and a cup of ſiluer in the other; the cups of gold hauing in them diuers precious ſtones of great value,and the cups of ſiluer being filled with gold. The richnes of this preſent was ſo great,that all the embaſſadors of the forrein princes much wondred thereat. All which rich gift ***Amurath*** moſt bountifully beſtowed vpon the ſtrange Embaſſadors; and the Preſents which were ſent vnto him from other princes,he liberally gaue to ***Eurenoſes***. The learned and religious which came to that marriage he ſo bountifully rewarded alſo,that none came to the ſame poore, but hee went away rich. He had before ſent diuers of his nobilitie, with an hundred ladies and gentlemen, and a guard of three thouſand horſemen,to attend the comming of the bride. On the other ſide,the old prince ***Germean-Ogli*** meeting this honorable companie vpon the way,ſaluted euery man of account according to his degree: and bringing them to one of his cities, in moſt royall manner feaſted them, beſtowing vpon them many rich and princely gifts: all which things with great ſolemnitie performed,he deliuered his daughter the bride to two of the moſt antient ladies,wherof the one had bin ***Baiazets*** nurſe; and ſo taking leaue of his daughter,ſent her away,accompanied with his wife ***Ienſes***,and other of his courtiers: who conueying her to Pruſa, ſhe was there in moſt royal manner married to ***Baiazet***. The cities and townes promiſed in dowrie,were accordingly deliuered into the poſſeſſion of ***Amurath***,who ſhortly after tooke poſſeſſion of the ſame,and furniſhed them with his own garriſons.

At this marriage ***Chuſen-Beg*** prince of Amiſum in Galatia,by his Embaſſador ſold his territorie of Amiſum vnto ***Amurath***,with many faire cities & towns; doubting,as it was thought, how to be able to keepe them,now that ***Amurath*** was come ſo neere him,whom hee ſaw not to let ſlip any occaſion offered vnto him for the inlarging of his kingdome. When ***Amurath*** had in this ſort ſpent great time in Aſia,he gathered a ſtrong armie to returne into Europe: but before his departure,he committed the gouernment of his kingdom in Aſia (which the Turks call Anatolia) vnto his ſonne ***BaiaZet***, ioyning with him ***Temurtaſes*** a valiant man of great experience: and hauing ſet all things in order in Aſia, paſſed ouer Helleſpontus, to Callipolis; from whence he marched towards Hadrianople: and becauſe he would take ſomething in his way,he beſieged Magalgara,which he in ſhort time woon: where ***Lala Schabin*** and ***Eurenoſes*** with all their forces came to him; which two captaines hee ſent to beſiege the citie Pherœ, which was by them after a few days ſiege taken. But he himſelfe to be reuenged vpon ***Lazarus*** the Deſpot,led his armie into Seruia: where after he had without reſiſtance forraged the countrey fourteene days,vnderſtanding by his captaines, That the ſtrong citie of Niſſa,being the metropoliticall citie of Seruia,was as it were the key of that kingdome,he preſently marched thither,and layd ſiege to the ſame; and by the aduice of ***Iaxis-Beg*** the ſonne of ***Temurtaſes***,in ſhort time woon it. Which thing ſo daunted ***Lazarus*** Deſpot or Lord of Seruia,that he diſpairing in his own forces,hauing ſo ſoon loſt one of his ſtrongeſt cities,forthwith ſent Embaſſadours to ***Amurath*** to intreat a peace; offering to pay him a yearely tribute of fifty thouſand pounds,and to aid him with a thouſand men in his warres,whenſoeuer he ſhould require: vpon which conditions ***Amurath*** granted him peace, and ſo departed out of Seruia. In this expedition hee alſo with much adoo woon the great Citie of Appolonia, neere vnto the mount Athos,and gaue leaue vnto moſt of the Chriſtians, with their wiues and childeren to depart, and ſuch part of their goods as was not in the taking thereof ſpoyled by the ſoldiers. This done,he returned backe to Hadrianople, leauing ***Eurenoſes*** vpon the marches, who ſhortly after tooke Berrhea, with diuers other towns. At which time alſo ***Lala Schabin*** woon Zichne and Seres,in the confines of Macedonia, with many other ſtrong towns vpon the frontiers

Amurath inuadeth Seruia.

Niſſa taken by the Turks.

Appolonia won by the Turks.

of Theſſalia and Thrace. In the Citie Seres *Eurenoſes* made his abode, as in a chiefe frontier town: and becauſe the Chriſtians for feare of the Turks were all fled out of the country about Seres, great numbers of people were ſent for out of Aſia, to inhabit that country by the Chriſtians forſaken in the confines of Macedonia. *Amurath* had not long continued at Hadrianople, but that he was aduertiſed out of Aſia, That *Aladin* his ſon in law king of Caramania, did with fire and ſword inuade his dominions in Aſia: with which news he was exceedingly troubled. And for that cauſe ſending for his councellors and nobility to the court, told them, how that *Aladin* forgetting all the bonds of religion, faith, peace, and alliance, with all hoſtility inuaded his prouinces in Aſia, whileſt he with great danger of his perſon, and greater terrour of his enemies, ſought with honour to increaſe the Mahometan ſincere religon (as he termed it) in Europe: from which godly war (ſaid he) I am againſt my will enforced to turn my ſword, in iuſt defence of my ſelfe, againſt men ioyned with vs both in religion and alliance. And hauing thus declared his mind, he appointed *Chairadin Baſſa* his lieutenant generall in Europ, and alſo made his ſonne *Alis Baſſa* one of his Councell, although hee were by ſome thought too yong for ſo great a place. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order according to his minde in Europe, tooke paſſage from Callipolis into Aſia, and ſo to his court at Pruſa, where he ſpent that Winter. In which time Embaſſadors came vnto him from the Sultan of Ægypt, for the renewing of their former amitie and friendſhip; which *Amurath* tooke verie thankefully, and ſent them backe againe loden with kind letters and princely rewards.

Amurath and Aladin prepare themſelues for warre.

When the Spring was come, in the yere 1387, he leuied a mightie armie to make war vpon the Caramanian king his ſon in law. Whereof *Aladin* certainly informed, prepared no leſſe power to meet him, aſſociating vnto him all the leſſe Mahometan Princes of Aſia, which were not vnder *Amuraths* obeiſance, to whom the *Othoman* kings were now grown terrible; which princes brought with them great ſupplies to ioyne with *Aladin*.

Aladin thus aided by his friends, thinking himſelfe now ſtrong enough for *Amurath* his father in law, ſent an Embaſſador vnto him, certifying him, That he was nothing in power inferior to him, & therfore nothing feared him: yet if it pleaſed him to haue peace, that he could for his part be content to hearken vnto the ſame vpon reaſonable conditions: but if he had rather haue war, he ſhould find him readie to dare him battel in the field, whenſoeuer he ſhould come. For anſwere of which embaſſage, *Amurath* willed the Embaſſadour to tell the periured King his maſter, That he had of late, contrarie to his faith before giuen, in moſt cruell manner inuaded his dominions, whileſt he was buſied in moſt godly wars (as he termed it) againſt the misbeleeuing Chriſtians: from proſecuting whereof, he was by his violence (as he ſaid) withdrawn, contrarie to the law of their great Prophet: for which outrages and wrongs he would ſhortly come and take of him ſharpe reuenge; and that therefore he was to expect nothing at his hands but war, for which he willed him ſo to prouide, as that at his comming he might not find him wanting to himſelfe. *Aladin* by his Embaſſadour hauing receiued this anſwer from *Amurath*, aſſembled all the confederat Princes his allies, with great perſuaſions & greater promiſes encouraging them to this war: and they againe kiſſing the ground at his feet, as the manner of that nation is before great princes, promiſed with ſolemne oathes neuer to forſake him, but to do all things which Princes deſirous of honour or fame, ought by their oath to doe for their Soueraigne, to whom they ought homage and dutie.

The death of Chairadin Baſſa

In this great preparation for wars in Aſia, *Charaidin Baſſa* general gouernor in Europe died: which *Amurath* vnderſtanding, appointed *Alis Baſſa* his ſonne to go into Europe, there to be gouernor in his fathers ſtead. But hee was ſtayed in his journey by vrgent occaſions; which *Amurath* vnderſtanding, ſent for him backe againe in poſt.

Aladin forecaſting the great dangers like to enſue of this war, ſent another Embaſſadour to *Amurath*, with reaſonable conditions of peace: to whom *Amurath* anſwered, That if *Aladin* had made that offer one month before, he would perhaps haue accepted thereof: but for ſo much as he had done him great wrong, and that he had now to his infinite charge drawn him into the field ſo far from home, he would not make any other end than ſuch as the chance of war ſhould appoint: And wheras he in diſgrace had called me a heardſman or ſhepheard (ſaid he) if he be not ſuch a one himſelf, as he ſaith me to be, let him meet me in the field & there try his valor. Hereunto the Embaſſador replied, ſaying, That the King his maſter made this offer of peace not for any feare, but to ſaue the effuſion of innocent bloud; which conſideration ſet apart, he ſhould find him not inferior to himſelfe, either in number of moſt expert ſoldiers, or other warlike prouiſion: and that therefore if he reiected this offer of peace, hee needed not to doubt but to meet with men of courage, which would beare themſelues ſo valiantly in the field againſt his Turks, as that he ſhould haue no great cauſe to reioyce of his comming thither. Which words of the Embaſſador ſo netled *Amurath*, that in great rage hee commanded him to depart, & to wil his maſter, if he were a man of ſuch courage & valor as he ſaid, to ſhew himſelfe in the field with all his forces, there to make an end of all quarrels; where he doubted not but in ſhort time to chaſtice him according to his due deſerts. So after the Embaſſador was departed, marching forward three days, *Alis Beg* came vnto him: of whoſe comming he not a little reioyced: for why, he loued him deerly, and although he was yet of yeares but yong, relied much vpon his councell.

The Embaſſador returning, recounted vnto *Aladin* all that *Amurath* had ſaid, not onmitting his hard ſpeeches and proud threats, and how that he hoped ſhortly to take from him Iconium and Larenda (the principall cities of Caramania) with many things more, leauing nothing vntold. Which *Aladin* hearing, ſaid vnto the confederate Princes that were with him, Verily *Amurath* threatneth to take from vs the cities of Iconium and Larenda; but let him take heed that we take not from him his faire citie of Pruſa. Then demanding of the Embaſſadour, of what ſtrength *Amurath* might be; it was anſwered by him, that hee deemed him to be about ſeuentie thouſand ſtrong. Whereat *Aladin* not a little reioycing, ſaid, Aſſuredly when hee ſhall ſee our armie, he will not dare to giue vs battell; or if he do, he ſhal fight vpon great diſaduantage, his men being both fewer in number than we, and ſore wearied with long and painfull trauell.

In the mean time *Amurath* held on his way towards Caramania, dayly encouraging his ſoldiers with perſuaſions and gifts bountifully beſtowed vpon them, filling their heads with promiſes of greater, the wars once happily ended. At length he came to the great plaines in Caramania, called the French plains, becauſe in former time the Chriſtians (whom the Turks for moſt part cal Franks) in thoſe places incamped their great armies, as they went to the winning of Ieruſalem (as in the former part of this Hiſtorie is declared.) Into theſe plaines alſo came *Aladin* with his armie, and was now incamped within one days march of *Amurath*, and ſo reſted that night.

The next morning *Amurath* put his armie in order of battell, appointing the leading of the right wing to his youngeſt ſonne *Iacup*, with whom he ioyned *Cutluzes Beg*, *Ein Beg Subbaſſa*, *Egridum Subbaſſa*, *Seraze*, and *Cuſtendil*, two Chriſtian Princes, all captains of great experience. The left wing was led by *Baiazet* his eldeſt ſon, with *Ferize* and *Hozze* both valiant captains: in which wings were alſo placed the Chriſtian ſoldiers ſent by *Lazarus* out of Seruia, according to the late conuention of peace: in the maine battell hee ſtood himſelfe; the vauntgard was conducted by *Temurtaſes*; and the rereward by the Subbaſſa of Oxyllithus (called alſo *Temurtaſes*) and *Achmetes*. *Aladin* on the other ſide, with no leſſe care and diligence ſet his men likewiſe in order of battell, placing himſelfe in the maine battell, as did *Amurath*; and the Princes his allies, with his other expert captaines, ſome in the right wing, and ſome in the left, as he thought moſt conuenient: in ſuch ſort, as that in all mens iudgment he was in force nothing inferior to his father in law.

The great battel in the plaines of Caramania, betwixt Amurath & Aladin.

Theſe great enemies thus ranged, with enſignes diſplaid came on couragiouſly, one directly vpon the other: where approching together, the confuſed noiſe of trumpets, drums, fifes, with other inſtruments of warre, the neighing of horſes, and clattering of armour, was ſo great, that whileſt warlike minds thereat reioiced, cowards thought heauen fel. But the ſigne of battel on both ſides giuen, *Samagazes* one of the confederat Princes, with exceeding courage firſt charged *Temurtaſes* in the vantgard, and broke his ranks: at which time *Teberruſes* a Tartar Prince, and *Varſacides* another of the confederats, deliuered their arrows alſo vpon the vantgard, as if it had been a ſhoure of haile. Which *Baiazet* ſeeing, and how hardly *Temurtaſes* was charged, hauing before obtained leaue of his father, brake in vpon the enemie with ſuch violence, as if it had been the lightning; whereof he was euer after ſyrnamed *Gilderun*, which is to ſay, The lightening. *Ferizes* and *Hozza*, with the other valiant Captaines in that wing, following *Baiazet*, with inuincible courage entred the battell; where for a great ſpace was made a moſt dreadfull and doubtfull fight. A man would haue thought two rough ſeas had met together, ſwaying one againſt the other, doubtfull which way the current would at length fall. In this conflict many thouſands were on both ſides ſlain, ſo that the field lay couered with the dead bodies of worthy men and valiant ſouldiers: yet at length theſe confederate Princes, finding themſelues ouermatched by ***Baiazet*** and his ſoldiers, reſeruing themſelues to their better fortunes, turned their backes and fled; when ***Aladin*** ſeeing a great part of his armie thus ouerthrowne, and himſelfe now ready to be charged with ***Amurath*** his whole power, deſpairing of victorie, ſped himſelfe in all haſt to Iconium, his ſtrong citie. The ſpoile which ***Amurath*** got in this battel was great, moſt part whereof he gaue in reward to ***Temurtaſes*** and his ſouldiers, which had indured the greateſt furie of the battell. ***Amurath*** after this victorie with all ſpeed marched to Iconium, and there beſieged ***Aladin*** the Caramanian King, in his ſtrongeſt citie, giuing out proclamation in the meane time, That none of his ſouldiers vpon paine of death ſhould vſe any violence to any of the countrey people, or take any thing from them: to the intent it might appeare vnto the world, that he made that warre againſt that Mahometane King, rather to propulſe iniurie and wrong, than for deſire of ſoueraigntie or ſpoile. Which his ſo ſtrait a proclamation, the Chriſtians ſent by ***Lazerus***, amongſt others, tranſgreſſed; and therefore by his commandement ſuffered (many of them) exemplarie puniſhment; which was the cauſe of the Seruian warre which not long after enſued, fatall both vnto ***Amurath*** and ***Lazarus*** the Deſpot, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

Aladin flieth to Iconium.

Iconium beſieged by Amurath.

Aladin now on euery ſide beſieged in Iconium, and without all hope of eſcape, ſent to the Queene his wife, ***Amuraths*** daughter, bewailing vnto her his deſperate eſtate, and requeſting her by all the loue that ſo honourable a minded Ladie might beare vnto her miſerable husband, to aduenture her ſelfe to goe to her angrie father, and to craue pardon for his great treſpaſſe & offence. The Queen forthwith attiring her ſelfe, as was fitteſt for her husbands preſent eſtate, came to her father: where falling downe at his feet vpon her knees, with words wiſely placed, and teares diſtilling down her faire cheeks from her fairer eies, as if it had bin from two fountains, in moſt ſorrowful manner, craued her husbands pardon, imputing to the heat of youth whatſoeuer he had done: and would not be comforted or taken vp, vntil ſhe had obtained grace. ***Amurath*** moſt entirely loued this his daughter, and therefore for her ſake not only granted vnto her, her husbands life (which in ſhort time was like to haue bin in his power to haue ſpilt) but alſo his kingdom, which he as a victorious conqueror might by law of armes haue of right detained. She now aſſured of her fathers promiſe, ſent vnto her husband ***Aladin***, wiſhing him the next day without feare to come out of the citie, & in humble ſort to acknowledge his fault before her father. Who the next morning accordingly came out, and proſtrating himſelfe before ***Amurath***, acknowledged his vndutifulnes: of whom (for his wiues ſake) he obtained pardon, and reſtitution to his kinkdome, with many other great gifts, contrary to his euell deſert. The Latine hiſtories miſtaking the man, report this Caramanian war, to haue bin fought againſt the king of Caramania, ***Amurath*** his own grandfather by the mother ſide; and that hee was by ***Amurath*** then ſpoiled of a great part of his kingdome: but it agreeth not with the Turkiſh hiſtories, which make ***Amurath*** to be the ſonne of ***Orchanes*** and ***Luluſer***, the daughter of the gouernour of the caſtle of Iarchiſer, as is before declared in the life of ***Othoman***; which ***Luluſer*** lieth buried by her husband ***Orchanes*** in Pruſa.

This great victorie gotten by ***Amurath*** againſt the Caramanian King, and the other confederat Princes, was the true beginning of the greatneſſe of the ***Othoman*** kingdom in Aſia: wherwith the other Mahometan Princes of the ***Selzuccian*** family were ſo diſcouraged, that they were glad to ſubmit themſelues thus firſt vnto ***Amurath***, and after that vnto his ſonne ***Baiazet***: vntill that ***Tamberlaine*** the great Tartarian Prince, ſome few yeares after, taking ***Baiazet*** priſoner in a great battell at mount Stella, abated the ***Othoman*** pride, and reſtored the other oppreſſed Mahometane Princes to their old poſſeſſions and kingdomes.

Amurath returning homewards, by the way tooke the city of Deſpotopolis, and comming to Cutaie brake vp his armie, and ſo in triumph returned to his court at Pruſa.

Lazarus, Deſpot of Seruia (in old time called Myſia) had ſent a thouſand armed men to ***Amurath*** in this the late Caramanian warre, according to the conuention of the peace not long before made betwixt them: ſome of which ſouldiers, were with great ſeueritie (to the terror of others) executed in Caramania, for tranſgreſſing ***Amurath*** his commandement. This great war being ended, and the army broken vp at Cutaie, they with others were licenſed to depart into their owne country. Whoſe General (whom they call the Vayuod) returning home, reported vnto *Lazarus* the Deſpot, the ſucceſſe of that war, and withall in what cruell and tyrannicall manner the men he had ſent were in that ſeruice vſed by the commandment of *Amurath*. With whom (ſaid this Generall) you without cauſe haue made a moſt diſhonourable peace: firſt, by giuing your faith to ſuch a miſcreant, and then in ſending your loyall ſubiects, in recompence of their good ſeruice, to be ſo butchered at his pleaſure; beſide the ſhamefull tribute which you yerely pay vnto him. Whereas if it would pleaſe you in the depth of your wiſedome but to know your owne ſtrength, you ſhould find your ſelfe in warlike force and power nothing inferiour to the tyrant: for we your ſeruants beeing in number but a handfull, were in theſe his late wars a terror vnto his enemies, and by our valor, and not his own, he got the victorie ouer them. What cauſe is there then, that you ſhould ſubiect your ſelf vnto your inferiour? I know hee cannot of himſelfe bring into the field aboue fiftie thouſand fighting men: but admit he were able to bring a hundred thouſand, are not you (if you ſo pleaſe) able to leauie a far greater power? and for all other warlike prouiſion you are ten fold better prouided than he. Beſides that, the mightie Chriſtian Princes wil ſend you ſuch aid againſt this hatefull and common enemie, that being vnited with yours, his Barbarian forces will be nothing in compariſon of thoſe which you ſhall then be able to bring into the field againſt him: which no doubt the Chriſtian Princes will the rather do, as men deſirous to quench this deuouring fire in another mans houſe, rather than in their owne.

Lazarus the deſpot by his Embaſſadour craueth aid of the king of Boſna.

Theſe words of the Vayuod ſo much moued *Lazarus*, that hee determined in himſelfe to breake that ſeruile league which he before had made with *Amurath*. And for that cauſe ſent his Embaſſador with ſecret inſtructions to the King of Boſna (in time paſt called Illyria) his neighbour: whereof the chiefe point was, to craue his aid againſt the Turke their common enemie. By whom the King of Boſna returned this anſwere, That it had beene much better ſuch conſideration had bin thought vpon before the foule contract (full of diſgrace both to himſelfe and all other Chriſtian Princes) was vpon a vaine feare by him raſhly made with the Turkiſh tyrant: yet for ſo much as things done could not be vndone, letting that paſſe which was remedileſſe, he promiſed to ioyne with him his whole forces againſt ſo dangerous an enemie. And therupon appointing a place for an interuiew, met accordingly, and there fully concluded all the articles of their confederation.

There was in the confines of Boſna a caſtle called Alexandria, the captaine whereof being a Chriſtian, was yet tributarie vnto the Turk; wiſhing vnto him ſuch good, as men oppreſſed vſe to do to them by whom they are ſo wronged. This captain vnder the colour of friendſhip went to *Amurath*, & in great ſecrecy opened to him the whole ſtate of the kingdom of Boſna, and withall, that the King thereof intended ſome great matter againſt him: for the preuenting whereof he offered his owne ſeruice, and ſhewed ſome probable meanes how that kingdome might be brought into his ſubiection, if hee would but ſend ſome worthie Generall with a conuenient power for the vndertaking thereof. This wonderfully pleaſed the ambitious old tyrant, who therefore commanded a rich garment to be caſt vpon the captain (which amongſt the Turks is taken for a ſure token of the kings great fauor) and forthwith appointed his tutor *Lala Schahin*, according to this captains direction, to inuade the kingdome of Boſna. Who ioining himſelfe with this deceitfull captaine of Alexandria, with an armie of twentie thouſand men entred into Boſna; where ouerrunning a ſide of the country, he without reſiſtance tooke great booties: and ſeeing no apparant cauſe of feare, to doe the more harme, by the aduice of the ſame captain diuided his armie, which he ſent into diuers parts of the country, the more to burne and ſpoyle the ſame. Of all whoſe proceedings the King of Boſna by ſecret meſſengers from the captain aduertiſed, had in conuenient places layd ſtrong ambuſhes for the intercepting of his enemies. So that as *Schahin* was returning homeward with a rich bootie, hauing then with him but a thouſand men, ſuddenly appeared in his way thirtie thouſand Chriſtians well armed: which *Schahin* ſeeing, thinking it follie to oppoſe ſo few againſt ſo many, would haue preſently fled; but the reſt of the gallants that were with him, preſuming of their good fortune, and loth to loſe their rich prey, would needs firſt skirmiſh with the Chriſtians: in which deſperat conflict they were almoſt all ſlaine, and the ſpoyle they had taken, all recouered by the Chriſtians. As for *Schahin*, he was glad by ſhameful flight to ſaue himſelfe. The like miſhap befell the other Turkes in the other parts of Boſna, who for the moſt part were likewiſe intercepted and ſlaine: ſo that of twenty thouſand, ſcarce fiue thouſand returned home.

Amurath marrieth the Emperor of Conſtantinoples daughter.

Whileſt theſe things were doing in Europe, *Amurath* in great triumph at Neapolis married the Emperor of Conſtantinople his daughter: whoſe two ſiſters were alſo giuen in marriage to his two ſons: at which time he with great ſolemnity circumciſed three of *Baiazets* ſons. At this time alſo returned *Iazigi Ogli*, whom he had before ſent Embaſſador to the Sultan of Ægypt, in requitall of the honorable embaſſage before to him ſent from the ſaid Sultan. Now *Amurath* vnderſtanding of the loſſe of his men in Boſna, with the reuolt of *Lazarus* Deſpot of Seruia, was therewith much diſquieted. Wherefore he commanded *Alis Baſſa* his chiefe councellor, with all ſpeed to ſend forth commiſſions into all parts of his kingdome, for the leuying of a royall armie: which was done in ſuch poſt haſt, that it was thought he would haue taken the field before the beginning of the Spring. At which time alſo the other Mahometan Kings and Princes of Aſia, *Caraman Ogli*, *Teke Ogli*, and the reſt, bound vnto him by homage, with diuers others of ſmaller power, were ſent for, to aid him in this warre: who partly for feare, and partly mooued with the zeale of their Mahometane ſuperſtition, brought their forces with great deuotion. Vnto this war againſt the Chriſtians, came alſo great numbers of the Mahometans from far countries, as voluntarie ſoldiers. *Baiazet* his ſonne alſo, then gouernor of Cutaie, with a great part of Galatia, gathring all his forces, came to aid his father in this religious war (as it was by them termed.) The Chriſtian tributarie Princes were not then forgotten; of whom two came, namely *Cuſtendil* and *Seratzil*: other two forſaking *Amurath*, came not, which was *Saſmenos* Prince of Bulgaria, and the Prince of Varna and Dobritza; with whom *Amurath* was highly offended. In the time of this ſo great preparation, old *Lala Shahin*, *Amuraths* tutor and faithfull ſeruitor, died, being a man of great yeres: and *Temurtaſes* was appointed gouernor in his place.

The reuolting of the two Chriſtian Princes, *Saſmenos* and the Prince of Varna, much grieued *Amurath*: Wherefore he commanded *Alis Baſſa*, with an armie of thirtie thouſand to inuade and ſpoyle *Saſmenos* his countrey, now called Bulgaria, and in antient time the lower Myſia. *Alis Baſſa* according to that was giuen him in charge, calling vnto him *Iaxis Beg* the ſon of *Temurtaſes*, *Vlu Beg*, *Suratze Baſſa*, with other captaines and commanders of the Turkes prouinces in Europe, aſſembled an armie of thirtie thouſand for the inuaſion of Bulgaria. With this armie the Baſſa tooke many ſtrong townes and caſtles in Bulgaria, as Pirauade, Venuzina, Madra, Suni, and others.

In the mean time, whileſt *Alis Baſſa* had thus begun the wars againſt the Chriſtians in Bulgaria, *Amurath* hauing gathered a great Armie in Aſia, determined in the beginning of the Spring to paſſe ouer with the ſame into Europe: commending the gouernment of his Countries in Aſia, to *Temurtaſes Baſſa*, *Ferices Beg*, *Temurtaſes Subbaſſa*, *Cutlu Beg*, & *Haza Beg*: and ſo all things ſet in order in Aſia, he drew downe his Aſian forces toward Helleſpontus, where he was a while ſtayed with contrarie winds, but was afterwards tranſported to Callipolis, by *Ienitze Beg* Sanzack there. This was the third time that *Amurath* brought his armie out of Aſia into Europe. But whileſt he ſtayed at Callipolis, *Baiazet* his ſon with a great power came vnto him thither: *Alis* Baſſa alſo vnderſtanding of *Amuraths* arriuall in Europe, retyred out of Bulgaria, and came to him at Alcide, recounting vnto him the whole ſucceſſe of his expedition into Bulgaria.

Saſmenos Prince of Bulgaria, ſeeing his countrey ſpoyled, his ſtrong cities and caſtles taken by the Turks, and withal hearing of their great preparations for war; by the aduice of his nobilitie thought it beſt betimes againe to ſubmit himſelfe vnto *Amurath*: wherefore tying a winding ſheet about his necke, in token that he had deſerued death (after the manner of the Barbarians) he came to *Amurath* at Calcide, where falling flat vpon the ground, at the horſes feet whereon *Amurath* ſate, he in moſt humble wiſe craued pardon; offring by a certain day to deliuer Siliſtria the chiefe city of his dominion, into *Amuraths* poſſeſſion, as a pledge of his fidelitie: who thereupon granted him pardon, and to aſſure him of his fauor, commanded a rich garment to be caſt vpon him, after the manner of the Turkes, ſending *Alis Baſſa* at the time appointed, to take poſſeſſion of Siliſtria. But *Saſmenos* repenting himſelf of that he had ſo largely promiſed, would not deliuer his citie, but in ſtrongeſt manner hee could preſently fortified the ſame. Wherewith *Amurath* more offended than before, commanded the Baſſa with fire and ſword againe to ſpoyle and waſt his Countrey: who according to his commaundement entred againe into Bulgaria, and ſtrucke ſuch a terrour of his comming into the hearts of the people, that many ſtrong places were voluntarily yeelded into his power, namely Diritze, Coſſoua, with the citie Ternoua, the ſeat of the Princes court; Tzerneui, Nouakeſtri, Ziſtoua, with diuers others; and proceeding farther, he layed ſiege to Nicopolis, the ſtrongeſt city of Bulgaria, vpon the ſide of the great riuer Danubius, whether *Saſmenos* was for feare himſelfe fled. Who finding himſelfe vnable to hold out the ſiege, once againe (with ſhame enough) tying a winding ſheet about his necke, as he had done before, and taking his ſonne with him, went out of the citie, and in moſt abiect manner falling downe at the Baſſa his feet, craued pardon: which the Baſſa, moued with compaſſion to ſee the miſerie of ſo great a man, and hauing alreadie taken from him the greateſt part of his dominion, and now out of feare of further reſiſtance, eaſily granted. And hauing thus ended the Bulgarian warre, returned to *Amurath*, of whom he was right ioyfully receiued.

Amurath had now made great preparation for the inuading of Seruia, for which purpoſe hee had drawne ouer into Europe the greateſt forces he poſſibly could out of Aſia: ſending alſo for his yongeſt ſonne *Iacup*, gouernor of Caraſia, who vnderſtanding his fathers pleaſure, repaired vnto him with all the power he could make. This army by *Amurath* thus aſſembled, was the greateſt that euer was before that, brought by the Turkes into Europe. *Lazerus* not ignorant of this great preparation made by *Amurath*, had drawne into the ſociety of this war, the King of Boſna (as is aforeſaid) with *Vulcus* Prince of Macedonia, his ſonne in law, who both brought vnto him great ayd; he had alſo by his embaſſadours procured great ſupplies from other Chriſtian Kings and Princes, out of Valachia, Hungaria, Croatia, Sclauonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Italie, beſides great numbers of other voluntarie deuout Chriſtians, which all aſſembled and met together, did in number farre exceed the great armie of the Turkes.

With this army *Lazarus* the Deſpot encamped vpon the ſide of the riuer Morouа the greater, not farre from whence ſtood the ſtrong caſtle of Sarkiue, which *Alis Baſſa* had of late taken from *Saſmenos* the Bulgarian Prince, ſtanding as it were betwixt Bulgaria and Seruia: this caſtle being now poſſeſſed of the Turkes, was thought by *Lazarus* dangerous to his country, who therefore ſent one *Demetrius*, a right valiant captaine, with certaine companies of ſelect men to take in the ſame. The name of this captaine *Demetrius*, was a generall terrour vnto the Turks, for the harme he had done them: ſo that they in the caſtle hearing that he was come, without further reſiſtance yeelded the ſame vnto him. Whereof *Amurath* vnderſtanding, ſent *Eine*, and *Sarutze* Baſſa to recouer the ſame: but *Lazarus* doubting that the caſtle would hardly bee kept in that dangerous warre, ſent *Vulcus* his ſonne in law with twentie thouſand men, to bring away all that was therein, and in the citie neere vnto it, leſt it ſhould become a prey vnto the greedie Turks; which he accordingly did, and at the ſame time raſed both the caſtle and the city, before the comming of *Iaxis Beg*, ſent from *Amurath* to haue done the ſame exploit; which he comming thither, found alreadie done to his hand by *Vulcus*.

The caſtle of Sarkiue with the city ioyning vnto it, taken by the Chriſtians and raſed.

As *Amurath* was marching towards Seruia, *Seratze* and *Cuſtendyl*, two Chriſtian Princes his tributaries, met him with their forces, whom hee cauſed to march before him, as his guides: and paſſing thorow *Cuſtendyl* his countrey, was there refreſhed with plenty of all things neceſſarie: vntill at length paſſing the riuer of Moroua the leſſe, he drew ſo neere to the plaines of Coſſoua (where the Chriſtian armie lay) that he with his ſonne *Baiazet* from a little hil tooke full view of the Chriſtian campe, which was ſo great, that it couered all thoſe large plaines from ſide to ſide, and ſo daunted *Amurath*, as that returning to his armie, he preſently entered into a great conſultation with his greateſt captaines and commaunders, what courſe to take againſt ſuch a puiſſant enemie.

Theſe great armies being now come ſo nigh together, as that they might the one wel deſcry the other, *Amurath* had purpoſed the ſame day to haue giuen the Chriſtians battel: but being diſſuaded by *Eurenoſes*, both for that it was extream hot, & his ſoldiers wearied with trauell, he reſted that night. The next morning as ſoone as it was day, he put his armie in order of battell, placing his ſonne *Baiazet* with *Eurenoſes* and *Eine Beg Subbaſſa*, in the right wing; his youngeſt ſon *Iacup*, with *Sarutze Baſſa* in the left wing; the maine battel he led himſelfe. *Lazarus* in the meane time had alſo ſet his army in good order: giuing the charge of the right wing to *Vulcus* his ſon in law; the left wing was led by the King of Boſna, and his ſons; in the maine battell ſtood *Lazerus* himſelfe; the Italians, Valachians, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Bulgarians, he placed in both wings. It is thought, greater armies than thoſe two had ſeldom before met in Europe. *Lazarus* as the Turkiſh Hiſtories report (but how truly I know not) hauing in his armie fiue hundred thouſand men; and *Amurath* ſcarce halfe ſo many.

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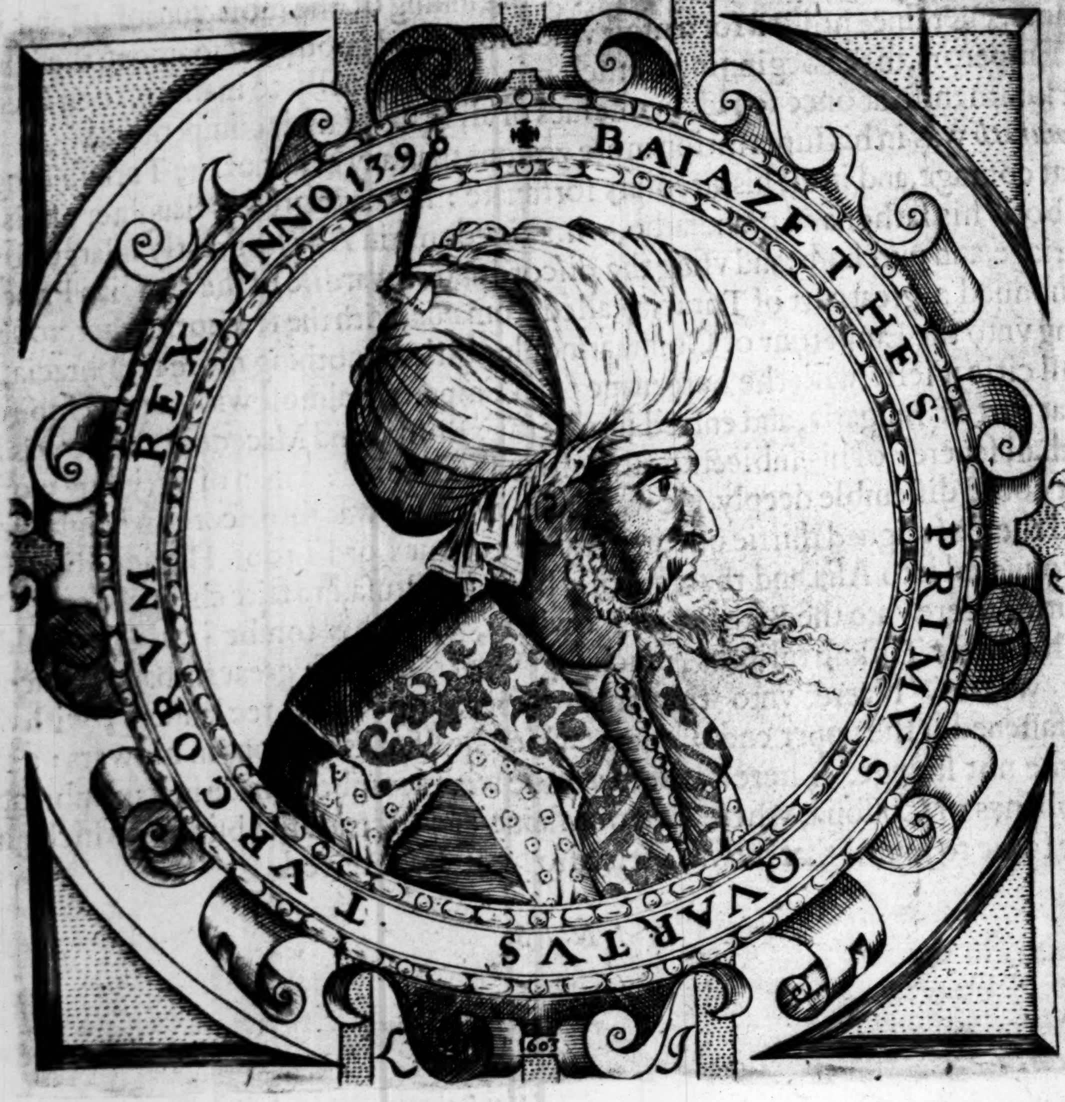
BAIAZET. I.


BAIAZETHES PRIMVS QVARTVS TVRCORVM REX, ANNO 1398
1603

Phi. Lonicer. Hiſt. Tur. li. 1.

Fulminis in morem celeri rapit agmina motu
Baiazethes, *fidei pacis & impatiens.*
Regni Hadrianopolim ſedes ſibi legit vt eſſet,
Poſſet vt Europæ iungere regna ſuis.
Conſtantinopolim gemina obſidione fatigat:
Iam Græcas vana ſpe ſibi ſpondet opes.
Cum Tamburlano *præbet ſua terga, catenis*
Vinctus, & in cauea probra pudenda ſubit.

Proud *Baiazet* moſt falſe of faith, and loathing bleſſed peace,
His warlike troupes like lightning, to ſhake he doth not ceaſe.
Of Hadrianople he makes choice for his imperiall ſeat,
That Europes kingdome he might ioyne vnto his Empire great.
Conſtantinople he diſtreſt twice with ſtrait ſiege and long:
And vainly thought to haue poſſeſt the Grecians wealth by wrong.
But ouercome by *Tamberlane*, faſt bound in fetters ſure,
Trod vnder foot, and cloas'd in cage, great ſhame did there endure.

THE LIFE OF BAIAZET, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE FOVRTH AND MOST VNFORTVNATE KING OF THE TVRKES.

Baiazet, or as the Turks call him, *Baiaſit*, of his violent and fierce nature ſyrnamed *Gilderun*, or lightning, ſucceeded his father *Amurath* in the Turkiſh kingdome, his younger brother *Iacup* being ſtrangled immediatly after his fathers death, as is before declared. He in the firſt yeare of his raigne inuaded Seruia, and there beſieged Cratoua, a citie of the Deſpots: whereunto the ſiluer mines of Seruia (not the leaſt cauſe of that warre) belonged. Which city was yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, That the Chriſtian inhabitants might with life and libertie depart. Who were no ſooner gone out of the city, but that by his commandement they were all moſt cruelly ſlaine by his men of war, for that purpoſe ſent out after them. At this time he alſo woon Vſcupia, with diuers other caſtles in the countrey neere vnto Cratoua.

Baiazet inuadeth Seruia.

Sigiſmund at the ſame time king of Hungarie (a young Prince of great hope, and brother to *Wenceſlaus*, then Emperour of the Weſt) aduertiſed from the Seruians his allies and confederates, of theſe proud proceedings of *Baiazet*; by his embaſſadours ſent of purpoſe, requeſted him, That as he was a iuſt Prince, and wiſhed to liue in quiet with his owne, to deſiſt from doing of ſuch open wrong, and from inuading of ſuch countries of his friends and confederates, as he had no right in. Which Embaſſadours ſo ſent, *Baiazet* detained without anſwere, vntill ſuch time as hee had ouerrun a great part of the Deſpot his countrey, and therein done what he thought good. Then calling the ſaid Embaſſadours vnto him into one of the ſtrong towns which he had in euery corner filled with his owne ſouldiers, told them that they might there ſee, that his right both vnto that towne and the reſt by him taken, was good enough, for as much as the very wals acknowledged the ſame: And ſo giuing them leaue to depart, willed them ſo to tell their maſter. Which his proud anſwer, by the ſame embaſſadours reported vnto the young King, no leſſe troubled him, than if open warre had by them beene denounced vnto him, ſeeing the tyrant (as it ſhould ſeeme) pretended right vnto whatſoeuer he could by force get: neuertheles, being himſelfe not yet wel ſetled in his kingdom, and in doubt of the contrary faction (that altogether liked not of his election into Hungarie for their King) hee was glad at that time to put it vp, and ſo to hold himſelfe content.

The next yeare, *Baiazet* by *Feriſes Beg*, tooke the citie of Vidina, with many other ſtrong townes and caſtles in Seruia, and afterwards returned to Hadrianople. But whileſt that hee thus raged in Europe, the Caramanian King inuaded and ſpoiled the frontiers of his countries in Aſia: which although hee was not then at leiſure, hee forgot not afterwards to reuenge to the full. At the ſame time *Eurenoſes*, Lord gouernour of the marches of his kingdome in Europe towards Grecia, departing from Seres (where hee then lay) tooke the Citie of Sitros in Theſſalia. And *Feriſes Beg*, not content to haue taken Vidina (as is aforeſaide) paſſed ouer the great Riuer of Danubius, and grieuouſly ſpoiled Valachia: From whence hee returned loaden with a great prey. This was the firſt time (that I read of) that the Turks euer paſ-

Seruia the ſecond time inuaded by Baiazet.

ſed ouer the Riuer Danubius. At this time alſo *Iegides Baſſa* entred the kingdome of Boſna, G from whence he carried a great number of captiues to Hadrianople, where *Baiazet* ſpent that Winter.

Philadelphia beſieged by Baiazet.

In the beginning of the next Spring *Baiazet* paſſed ouer Helleſpontus to Pruſa, where hee built a faire Mahometan temple, with a colledge, and an almes-houſe: which works finiſhed, he returned againe into Europe, and built a monaſterie at Hadrianople: and ſo returned againe into Aſia, leauing *Temurtaſes, Begler-Beg* (or his viceroy) in Hadrianople. After he was come into Aſia, he laid ſiege to the ſtrong city of Philadelphia in Lydia, which was at that time the onely citie in the leſſer Aſia, yet holden by the Chriſtians in the middeſt of the Mahometane Princes: for now was the Greeke Emperour by the *Othoman* Kings & the other Turks quite driuen out of the leſſer Aſia. In the beginning of this ſiege, *Baiazet* gaue ſtraight commandement H to his ſouldiers, That they ſhall not ſpoile or hurt any thing in the countrey belonging to the citizens: hoping by ſuch faigned courteſie to make them the more willing to yeeld themſelues vnto his obedience. But diſappointed of his expectation, and finding them reſolued to hold it out vnto the laſt, he forthwith gaue out contrarie commandement, not to ſpare any thing they could waſte or deſtroy: which was accordingly by his greedie ſouldiers performed. After long ſiege, the citizens ſeeing the country about them vtterly waſted, & themſelues vnable longer to indure, and out of all hope of reliefe, yeelded their citie vnto the pleaſure of *Baiazet*. It is written by ſome, that this famous citie was not beſieged without the conſent of the Emperor of Conſtantinople: and that the Greeks themſelues, moued with enuie to ſee that citie ſo long hold out, did helpe the Turkes in the winning thereof. I

In time of this ſiege *Aidin Ogli* Prince of Caria, a Mahometane, came to *Baiazet*, and yeelded himſelfe into his power as his vaſſale: vnto whom *Baiazet* reſtored certain places which he had in this expedition a little before taken from him: yet vpon ſuch condition, as that hee ſhould not from that time coine any mony in his own name, either be remembred in publick praiers as a prince in their Mahometan temples, as he had before bin: but that all ſuch things ſhould be done in the name of *Baiazet*, as his dread Lord & Soueraigne. With which diſgrace the poore Prince was glad to content himſelfe, and to liue as his vaſſale. From Philadelphia he led his armie into the country of Saruchania, in ancient time called Ionia Maritima, which he ſubdued vnto himſelfe vpon like conditions. After that, he paſſed farther to Menteſia, or Mentz, ſometime called Myndos in Caria; the Prince whereof for feare fled to *Cutrun Baiazet*, K Prince of Caſtamona and part of Pontus, leauing his countrey to the pleaſure of the Tyrant. And foraſmuch as the young King of Caramania had inuaded his countries whileſt he was buſied in Europe, *Baiazet* in reuenge thereof entred with his armie into Caramania, and tooke Ceſaria, with diuers other places there: ſo that the young King diſcouraged with the loſſe of his townes, and fearing *Baiazet* his greatneſſe, was glad to hold himſelfe content with his loſſe, and to make peace with him as it pleaſed him to grant it. As *Baiazet* was making this expedition into Caramania, another young Mahometan Prince, the ſonne of Prince *Germian*, came vnto him with one of his chiefe counſellors, and were both by him ſent priſoners ouer the ſtrait to the caſtle of Ipſala, where they lay in durance many yeares after. Thus *Baiazet* hauing oppreſſed & wronged moſt of the Mahometan Princes, the ſucceſſors of Sultan *Aladin* in L the leſſer Aſia, at laſt returned againe himſelfe in triumph to Pruſa.

The Prince of Menteſia, who for feare of *Baiazet* was fled out of his countrey, as is aforeſaid, had now incited *Cutrun Baiazet*, Prince of Caſtamona, with a great power to inuade that ſide of *Baiazet* his kingdome which bordered vpon him. Which *Baiazet* vnderſtanding, gathered a great armie to goe againſt this Mahometane Prince. At which very time the Vayuod of Valachia, hearing of *Baiazet* his troubles in Aſia, with a ſtrong armie paſſed ouer Danubius into thoſe parts of Seruia and Bulgaria that were by the Turks as then poſſeſſed; where he ſpoyled the countrey, and ſlew great numbers of the Turkes, making Mahometan Saints and martyrs by heapes: for ſo the Turkes account all them whom the Chriſtians kill in their warre: which done, hee retired backe againe into Valachia, carrying with him alſo many of M the Turkes priſoners. *Baiazet* thus at once inuaded both in Aſia and Europe, deferred his warres purpoſed againſt the Prince of Pontus, vntill a more conuenient time, conuerting his forces againſt the Valachians. Wherefore paſſing ouer the ſtraite to Hadrianople, hee ſent his armie from thence to Nicopolis, and there paſſing the Riuer of Danubius, entered into Valachia, burning and ſpoiling the countrey before him as he went. Where the Vayuod to repreſſe his furie, met him in the field and gaue him battell, but was therein ouerthrowne, and many of his people ſlaine; ſo that at laſt he was glad to ſue for peace, which he obtained, by ſubmitting himſelfe to *Baiazet*, and yeelding to pay him a yearely tribute.

Whileſt *Baiazet* was thus buſied in Valachia, news was brought vnto him, That the Chriſtians of the Weſt with a fleet of Gallies did great harme alongſt the coaſts of his dominions in Aſia. In reuenge whereof, he entred with his armie into Theſſalie, deſtroying all the countrey vnto Theſſalonica: in which expedition he tooke the Citie of Neapolis in Greece, and Ioannina in Ætolia, and after that returned into Aſia, where he ſpent that Winter.

Theſſalia inuaded by Baiazet.

In the beginning of the next Spring, he with a great power paſſed the ſtrait of Callipolis to Hadrianople, intending to haue inuaded Hungarie. But as he was vpon the way, it chanced that a Conſtantinopolitan ſpie was by the Turks intercepted, with letters from the Greeke Emperor to the King of Hungarie, giuing him warning both of the Turks preparation & comming. By which ſpie *Baiazet* alſo vnderſtood of another meſſenger before ſent into Hungarie for like purpoſe. Whereupon *Temurtaſes* (then his great lieutenant in Europe) perſuaded him to deſiſt from his intended wars in Hungarie, and to beſiege the imperial city of Conſtantinople, as a thing of more honour, and leſſe danger; the city being alreadie (as he ſaid, and as in truth it was) ſurrounded with the Turkiſh prouinces: bringing in Philadelphia (but a few yeres before woon) for example of the like exploit. Of whoſe councell *Baiazet* liking well, returned with his armie, and ſhortly aftet came & ſate downe therewith before Conſtantinople, laying hard ſiege thereunto, firſt by land, and after by ſea, with his gallies ſent from Callipolis. Which hard ſiege continued (as moſt hiſtories report) the ſpace of eight yeres: in which long time he draue the Emperor *Emanuel Palæologus* to that ſtrait, that he was glad to leaue his city, & himſelfe in perſon to craue aid of *Wenceſlaus* the Germane Emperour, and *Charles* the ſixth the French King, and other Chriſtian Princes alſo. At which time the Citiſens were at length brought to ſuch extremitie, that they were euen at the point to haue yeelded vp the city; and happely had ſo done, had not *Sigiſmund* King of Hungarie (aſſiſted with a great armie of the French, & other voluntarie Chriſtians almoſt out of euery patt of Chriſtendome, to the number of an hundred and thirty thouſand, vnder the leading of *Iohn* Countie of Niuers, and after Duke of Burgondie) for the reliefe of the beſieged Emperour, paſſed ouer Danubius into the Turkiſh dominions; and there hauing recouered Vidina, with certaine other ſtrong Holds in Bulgaria, layd ſiege to Nicopolis: out of which citie the Turkes oftentimes ſallied, and gaue him many an hot skirmiſh. It is reported, That the yong King *Sigiſmund* beholding the greatneſſe of his armie, in his great jollitie hearing of the comming of the Turkes Armie, ſhould proudly ſay, *What need we to feare the Turke, who need not at all to feare the falling of the heauens; which if they ſhould fall, yet were we able with our ſpeares and halberts to hold them vp for falling vpon vs.* But *Baiazet* vnderſtanding what ſpoyle the Hungarian King had made in his late gained Countries, and of the ſiege of Nicopolis; commanded the ladders and other great prouiſion now in readineſſe for the ſcaling and aſſaulting of the citie of Conſtantinople, to be burnt, becauſe they ſhould not come into the hands of the Chriſtians; & ſo raiſing his ſiege, marched with a right puiſſant armie to Nicopolis, ſending *Eurenoſes* before, of purpoſe to intercept ſome of the Chriſtians, thereby to learne the ſtate of their campe and armie. But they hearing of his comming, ſo well looked to themſelues, that he with ſhame returned to his maſter as he came, without any one priſoner taken. Which thing much troubled *Baiazet*, as fearing he ſhould haue to doe with a warie enemie. *Sigiſmund* vnderſtanding of the approch of *Baiazet*, leauing a ſufficient power for the continuing of the ſiege, roſe himſelfe, and with the reſt of his Armie went to meet his proud enemie. Of whoſe comming and approch *Baiazet* vnderſtanding, diuided his Armie into two parts; and being now come within the ſight of the Chriſtian Armie, made ſhew but of the one halfe, keeping himſelfe cloſe in ſecret ambuſh not farre off with the other. The Chriſtians deeming themſelues (as they were) fat more in number than the Turkes which they ſaw, diuided their Armie alſo into two parts, purpoſing betwixt them to haue incloſed the Turks. Of all the Chriſtians that were there preſent, the French deſired to haue the honour of the firſt charge to be giuen vpon the Turks, and in their heat vpon good hope ſet forward (the Hungarians, with a great part of the Armie, not yet ſet in order) and ſo began the battell: where betwixt them and the Turkes was fought a right

Conſtantinople eight yeares beſieged by Baiazet.

cruell fight, and in a little time many thouſands ſlaine. But this fight had not long endured, when *Baiazet* with the other halfe of his armie ſuddenly ariſing, came on with ſuch violence, as well became his ſyrname of *Gilderun* or lightning; and ſo hardly charged the French, that they amaſed at the ſuddenneſſe of the danger, and oppreſſed with the furie and multitude of the vnexpected enemy, ſtood at the firſt as men diſmaid; but ſeeing no remedie, encouraging one another, valiantly fought it out vntill they were almoſt all either ſlaine or taken priſoners; ſtill in hope to haue been relieued by the Hungarians and the reſt. In this hard conflict diuers of the French horſemen hauing forſaken their horſes, fought on foot, as their manner was: which horſes running backe without their riders, vpon the Hungarians, cauſed them to doubt that the French were quite ouerthrowne; wherewith diſmayed, they without further comming on, all turned their backs and fled, in ſo great haſt, as that it booted not the King or any other great commander to goe about to ſtay their flight. The French thus by their too much haſt ouerthrowne, the Turks purſuing the Hungarians and the reſt of the Chriſtians, made of them a great ſlaughter: of whom alſo many were drowned in the great riuer Danubius. At which time alſo the Turks tooke ſo many priſoners, that it was thought euery ſeuerall Turke had his priſoner. King *Sigiſmund* himſelfe, who but a little before had deſpiſed euen the falling of the heauens, had then alſo vndoubtedly fallen into his enemies hands, had he not in a little boat by good hap got ouer Danubius: not vnlike another *Xerxes*, who hauing couered the ſeas with his ſhips, & with a world of men paſſed ouer into Grecia, was afterwards by the ſtrange change of fortune, himſelf alone in a ſmal fiſher boat glad to get back again into Aſia. *Sigiſmund* beeing thus got ouer Danubius, and fearing the violence of the Hungarians for the loſſe of the battell, fled by ſea into Thracia vnto Conſtantinople, from whence he ſailed vnto the Iſland of the Rhodes; and from thence ſailing thorow the Ægean and Ionian ſea, landed at length at Dalmatia; and ſo hauing wandred from place to place, toſſed with many fortunes, after eighteene moneths long and painefull trauell returned againe into Hungary. Where hee found the ſtate of his kingdome in his abſence much troubled, the contrarie faction in the meane time hauing made choice of *Ladiſlaus* King of Naples for their King; who was euen then with a great armie going to haue taken poſſeſſion of the kingdome, had not *Sigiſmund* in good time, by the helpe of certaine of the chiefe of the Hungarian nobilitie preuented him. In this battell, called the battell of Nicopolis, were of the Chriſtians twentie thouſand ſlain, and of the Turks three ſcore thouſand. The Countie of Niuiers the French Kings neere kinſman, was there taken priſoner, with three hundred great commanders more: where after hee had endured great contumelie and reproch in the preſence of *Baiazet*, he was commanded to make choice of fiue other of the captaines, ſuch as he liked beſt, all the reſt beeing cut in pieces before his face, and hee with the other fiue left aliue, ſent priſoners to Pruſa, from whence they were afterwards ranſomed for two hundred thouſand Duckats. This bloudie battell of Nicopolis was fought in the yere of our Lord 1396.

Conſtantinople the ſecond time beſieged by Baiazet.

Baiazet after this great victorie, hauing worthily relieued his beſieged citie, returned againe to the ſiege of Conſtantinople, laying more hardly vnto it than before, building forts and bulwarks againſt it on the one ſide towards the land; and paſſing ouer the ſtraight of Boſphorus, built a ſtrong caſtle vpon that ſtrait ouer againſt Conſtantinople, to impeach ſo much as was poſſible, all paſſage thereunto by ſea. This ſtreight ſiege (as moſt write) continued alſo two yeres, which I ſuppoſe by the circumſtance of the hiſtorie, to haue been part of the aforeſaid eight yeres. *Emanuel* the beſieged Emperor wearied with theſe long wars, ſent an embaſſador to *Baiazet* to intreat with him a peace: which *Baiazet* was the more willing to hearken vnto, for that he heard newes, that *Tamerlane* the great Tartarian Prince intended ſhortly to warre vpon him. Yet could this peace not be obtained, but vpon condition, that the emperor ſhould grant free libertie for the Turks to dwell together in one ſtreet of Conſtantinople, with free exerciſe of their owne religion and lawes, vnder a judge of their owne nation; and further, to pay vnto the Turkiſh King a yeerely tribute of ten thouſand duckats. Which diſhonourable conditions the diſtreſſed Emperor was glad to accept of. So was this long ſiege broken vp, and preſently a great ſort of Turks with their families were ſent out of Bithynia, to dwell in Conſtantinople, and a church there built for them: which not long after was by the Emperor pulled downe to the ground, and the Turks againe driuen out of the citie, at ſuch time as *Baiazet* was by the mightie *Tamerlane* ouerthrowne and taken priſoner.

Baiazet in the beginning of his raigne, preſently after the death of *Lazarus* the Deſpot, ſlain in the battell of Coſſoua, woon part of Seruia, (as is aforeſaid) the other part beeing ſtill holden by *Lazarus* his ſon, called *Stephen* the Deſpot; who about this time ſent an honorable embaſſador to *Baiazet* with louing letters, and royall Preſents: by which embaſſador alſo the old Princeſſe *Lazarus* his widow, offred her faire daughter *Deſpina*, *Stephens* ſiſter, a lady of incomparable beauty, in mariage to him, if it ſhould pleaſe him to vouchſafe his handmaid (as ſhe termed her) ſo high a place. This lady was long before promiſed him, whileſt his father *Amurath* yet liued. Of this embaſſador *Baiazet* was verie glad, but eſpecially for the faire ladies ſake: which being known to the Princes her mother, & the Deſpot her brother, ſhe was forthwith honorably ſent to *Baiazet*, and ſo to him with great ſolemnitie and triumph ſhortly after maried. Of all his wiues he held her deereſt, and for her ſake reſtored to her brother *Stephen* the citie & caſtle of Semendre (otherwiſe called S. *Andrew*) and Columbarium in Seruia: ſhe allured him to drink wine, forbidden the Turks by their law; and cauſed him to delight in ſumptuous banquets, which his predeceſſors, *Othoman*, *Orchanes*, and *Amurath*, neuer vſed.

Baiazet marrieth Deſpina the faire daughter of Lazarus the Deſpot.

As the Turkiſh kingdome grew in greatneſſe, ſo corruption, the canker of great ſtates and commonweales, increaſed likewiſe; but eſpecially in the men of law, and judges of his courts. Wherewith *Baiazet* grieuouſly offended, commanded diuers of the ſame judges to be apprehended, determinig (to the terror of others) to haue executed them; whoſe dangerous eſtate was much pittied, and alſo fauoured of *Alis Baſſa*, and other the Kings great Councellors: yet for ſo much as *Baiazet* was of a furious nature, and in his anger dangerous to be ſpoken vnto, none of them durſt aduenture to intreat him in their behalfe; no not *Alis Baſſa*, *Charadyn Baſſa* his ſonne, ſometime Iudge of Pruſa, although he were a man in ſuch ſpeciall fauour with him, that he was therefore of the common people not onely reuerenced, but as the King himſelfe honoured.

There was at that time in the court an Æthiopian jeaſter, who vnder ſome couert pleaſant jeaſt, would many times bolt out that to the king in his greateſt heat, which his graueſt councellors durſt not once ſpeake to him of in ſecret: this jeſter, *Alis Baſſa* requeſted to deuiſe ſome means to intreat with the angrie King in the behalfe of theſe Iudges; promiſing to giue him what he would reaſonably deſire, if he could appeaſe the Kings diſpleaſure. The Æthyopian without feare vndertooke the matter, & preſently putting vpon his head a rich hat al wrought ouer with gold, after the manner of the Turks embaſſadors, and fitting himſelfe with other apparell better beſeeming an embaſſador than a jeaſter; thus attired preſented himſelfe before the King, with a great counterfeit grauitie. Whereat *Baiazet* maruelling, asked him the cauſe why he was ſo gay. I haue a requeſt vnto your Maieſty (ſaid he) and wiſh to find fauor in your ſight. *Baiazet* more deſirous than before to know the matter, asked what his requeſt was. If it ſtand with your pleaſure (ſaid the jeaſter) I would faine go as your embaſſador to the emperor of Conſtantinople, in hope whereof I haue put my ſelfe in this readineſſe. To what purpoſe wouldſt thou go? (ſaid *Baiazet*) To craue of the Emperor (ſaid he) ſome forty or fifty of his old graue Monks and Friers to bring with me hither to the court. And what ſhould they doe here? (ſaid *Baiazet*) I would haue them placed (ſaid the jeaſter) in the roomes of the old doting judges, whom you intend (as I heare) to put to death. Why (ſaid *Baiazet*) I can place others of my own people in their roomes. True (ſaid the Æthyopian) for grauitie of look and countenance, and ſo would the old Monks and Friers ſerue as well; but not ſo learned in your laws and cuſtomes of your kingdome, as are thoſe in your diſpleaſure. If they be learned (ſaid *Baiazet*) why do they then contrary to their learning, peruert juſtice, and take bribes? There is a good reaſon for that too (ſaid the jeaſter.) What reaſon? (ſaid the King.) That can hee that there ſtandeth by tell better than I, (ſaid the jeaſter, pointing to *Alis Baſſa*:) who forthwith commanded by *Baiazet* to giue the reaſon; with great reuerence before done, ſhewed, That thoſe Iudges ſo in diſpleaſure, were not conueniently prouided for, and were therefore inforced many times for their neceſſarie maintenance to take rewards, to the ſtaying of the due courſe of juſtice. Which *Baiazet* vnderſtanding to be true, commanded *Alis Baſſa* to appoint them conuenient ſtipends for their maintenance, and forthwith granted their pardon. Wherevpon the Baſſa ſet downe order, That of euerie matter in ſuit exceeding one thouſand Aſpers, the Iudge ſhould haue twentie Aſpers fee for judgment; and for euery writing and inſtrument out of the court, twelue Aſpers: which fees they yet take in thoſe courts at this day.

Not long after, ***Baiazet*** in his furie ſent for certain of his captaines and commanders of his men of war, with whom he was for ſome ſmall occaſion grieuouſly offended, intending in his rage to haue put them all to death, which was with him no great matter. Theſe captains being brought before him, the councellors ſeeing him al in choler, ſat looking on the ground, hanging down their heads, as the manner of the Turks is, not daring to looke him in the face, nor to ſpeak a good word for them. When ſuddenly the aforeſaid Æthiopian jeaſter ſtept forth, earneſtly requeſting the king, not to ſhew them any fauour, but to execute them preſently, as villains & traitors; railing vpon them, as if he had known ſome great fault by them. ***Baiazet*** thinking he could haue accuſed them of ſome great crime, becauſe of his earneſtneſſe, asked what reaſon he had ſo to exclaime againſt them. Reaſon, (quoth the jeaſter) becauſe the knaues be good for nothing; and they ſay that ***Tamerlane*** is with a great army comming againſt vs: if you wil but take vp an enſigne in your hand, and I go before you with a drum, I wil ſtrike vp ſuch a terrible march, and you make ſuch a dreadfull ſhew, that we ſhall need none of theſe bad fellows or their ſoldiers in the field to get the victory ouer our enemies. This conceit of the jeaſter ſtruck ſuch a melancholie imagination into ***Baiazet*** his head, that hee ſtood muſing a great while as it were in a deepe ſtudie: at laſt hauing well conſidered the drift of the jeſters ſpeech, and his furie now ſomewhat aſſuaged, granted them pardon, which they looked not for.

This Æthyopian jeaſter, ***Baiazet*** vpon a time ſent vnto the old Queene his mother, to bring her newes of the good ſucceſſe of his wars againſt the Chriſtians, for that ſhe had ſo deſired: who comming vnto her, of by her commanded to ſit down, ſhe began to demand of him, how the King her ſonne did, and of the ſucceſſe of his wars. Whereunto he anſwered, That hee did very wel, and had woon from the Chriſtians a great countrey, and greatly inriched his ſoldiers. But after a little more talke, the Queene mother deſirous to heare againe the good newes, (or elſe after the manner of ſome, which thinke nothing ſufficiently told, except it be told an hundred times) asked him againe, how the King her ſonne did, and how he ſped in his wars. Whereunto he anſwered euery word as before: but asking him the third time the verie ſame queſtion, how her ſon did? Do'ſt thou aske me ſo often (ſaid the Æthyopian) how hee doth? ***Bre Cachpe*** (ô whore, ſaid he) thou haſt brought forth a ſon like a diuell, who roaming vp and downe, doth nothing but burne and deſtroy the world where hee commeth. Whereat the Queen crying out, vp ſtart the Æthiopian, and betaking himſelfe to his heeles, was neuer more afterwards ſeene.

***Temurtaſes**, **Baiazet** his great Lieutenant in Aſia, taken priſoner by **Aladin** the young King of Caramania.*

In the wars which ***Baiazet*** had againſt ***Sigiſmund***, the Vayuod of Valachia had giuen aid vnto the Hungarian king; wherwith ***Baiazet*** being offended, determined now at length to be reuenged: and therefore intending to make war vpon the Valachian prince, left ***Temurtaſes*** his great lieutenant at Ancyra in Aſia, and ſo paſſed ouer Helleſpontus himſelfe againſt the Valachian. Vpon whoſe departure, ***Aladin*** his ſiſters ſonne the yong king of Caramania, with a great power came ſuddenly in the night to Ancyra, and tooke ***Temurtaſes*** priſoner: who then feared nothing leſſe, than in time of peace to be ſo ſurpriſed, and carried away in bonds into Caramania. But when he vnderſtood that ***Baiazet*** had ended his wars in Valachia, and was with victorie returned to Pruſa, he fearing his heauy indignarion for ſo great an outrage, preſently releaſed ***Temurtaſes*** out of priſon, apparelled him richly after the manner of that nation, craued pardon for the wrong he had done him, and ſet him at libertie to go whither he would, & withal ſent one of his noblemen with great gifts and Preſents to ***Baiazet***, to make his excuſe in beſt manner he could: vnto which embaſſador ***Baiazet*** (yet in choler) would not giue audience, or ſuffer him to come in his ſight: but at the ſame time leuied a great armie to inuade Caramania. Which ***Aladin*** vnderſtanding, and now out of all hope to appeaſe this mightie enemie, leuied all the forces he could in his own kingdome, and withall entertained all the mercenarie ſoldiers he could get, intending to trie his fortune in the field, as a man of valour, rather than to be thruſt out of his kingdome like a coward: and ſo in readines, hearing of the comming of ***Baiazet***, met him vpon the way, & at a place called Aczac gaue him battel: but being too weak, he was ouercome & put to flight; in which flight his horſe ſtumbling, & he falling to the ground, was there before he could recouer himſelf, taken by his enemies which had him in chaſe, and ſo brought bound to ***Baiazet***: his two ſons ***Muhamet Beg*** & ***Alis Beg***, being taken in that battell alſo, were ſent priſoners to Pruſa. ***Aladin*** himſelfe was by ***Baiazets*** command deliuered to his enemy ***Temurtaſes***: who in reuenge of the wrong hee had before done him, preſently cauſed him to be hanged: which when *Baiazet* vnderſtood, he ſeemed verie ſorie that he had ſo put him to death, for that he was his owne ſiſters ſon. *Baiazet* following the courſe of his victorie, woon Iconium, Larenda, Nigde, with all the reſt of *Aladin* his kingdome. About this time alſo, Amaſia the great metropoliticall city of Capadocia, was by the prince thereof deliuered vnto *Baiazet*, being too weake himſelfe to defend the ſame againſt the force of *Caſi-Burchanidin*, Prince of the great and ſtrong citie of Sebaſtia, his enemie, now growne to be a man of great power in that part of Aſia, and had ſolicited the Sultan of Ægypt to aid him againſt *Baiazet*. Whereupon *Baiazet* returning from the conqueſt of Caramania, led his armie towards Sebaſtia, where the Citiſens had a little before depriued *Caſi-Burchanidin* of his gouernment, for his crueltie, and placed his ſonne in his ſtead: but in ſhort time no leſſe wearie of the ſon, than before of the father, they with like inconſtancie ſent word to *Baiazet*, That if he would come that way, they would yeeld vnto him the citie: vpon whoſe approch, *Caſis* (his ſon) for feare fled out of the citie, to Prince *Naſradin* his brother in law. After whoſe departure, the citiſens according to their promiſe, deliuered the citie vnto *Baiazet* at his comming, wherein he left *Solyman* his eldeſt ſonne gouernor. And ſo hauing in this notable expedition conquered the kingdome of Caramania, and taken the great cities of Amaſia and Sebaſtia, with moſt part of Capadocia, and all that part of Aſia which the Turks call Rumilia Aſiatica, hee returned to Pruſa and there wintred.

Amaſia yeelded vnto Baiazet.

Sebaſtia deliuered to Baiazet.

The next Spring, *Baiazet* hearing that his old enemy *Cutrun Baiazet* prince of Caſtamona & Pontus, was dead, came to Caſtamona with a great armie: which *Iſſendiar* (*Cutrun Baiazets* ſonne, and then Prince of that countrey) hearing, fled out of the citie of Synope, a little Citie vpon the coaſt of the Euxine: from whence he ſent an Embaſſador to *Baiazet*, humbly requeſting him, to ſuffer him to haue that little citie, as his ſeruant to liue in, (which he was ſure he would otherwiſe beſtow vpon ſome other of his ſeruants) and not to ſeeke the innocent bloud of the ſonne for the fathers offence. Which his requeſt *Baiazet*, mooued with pittie, eaſily granted: yet neuertheleſſe tooke from him Caſtamona, with the greateſt part of his dominion in Pontus, which he gaue to his ſonne *Solyman*. At the ſame time hee violently oppreſſed the prince *Germean*, and tooke from him the cities of Deſpotopolis and Hierapolis, with all the reſt of his dominion.

Baiazet inuadeth Iſſendiar Prince of Caſtamona.

The Prince of Menteſia long before driuen out of his countrie by *Baiazet*, (as is before declared) and hauing all this while made his abode at Caſtamona, doubting now of his owne ſafetie, after the death of his good friend *Cutrun Baiazet*, in the habit of an hermit fled to the great Tartarian Prince *Tamerlane*.

Baiazet returning to Pruſa, there built a magnificent Mahometane Temple; during which worke he with great ſuperſtition forbore drinking of wine, repoſing himſelfe with the companie of graue and learned men, and the adminiſtration of iuſtice: whereby hee greatly woon the hearts of his ſubiects, and had now ſo inlarged his kingdome, that all Kings and Princes bordring vpon him ſtood in great feare of him.

It fortuned about this time, that *Achmetes* King of Bagdat (or new Babylon) and Eiracum, with *Ioſephus Niger* King of Colchis, inforced with the violent incurſions of *Tamerlane* & his Tartars, for ſafegard of their liues were glad to flie into Syria: where they being diſcouered, were both caſt in priſon by the commandment of the Ægyptian Sultan, who then commanded ouer Syria: from whence they afterwards hardly eſcaping, fled to *Baiazets* court. Where after *Achmetes* had ſtayd two moneths, he by the aid of *Baiazet* recouered the poſſeſſion of Eiracum part of his own inheritance. *Ioſephus* the other Mahometane King hauing tarried in *Baiazets* court eight moneths, at length procured him to inuade the dominions of the Ægyptian Sultan: in which expedition he mightily preuailed, and hauing ſlaine the Ægyptian Sultans General, and diſcomfited his forces, tooke the citie of Malatie or Meletine in Armenia, with Diorige, Derende, and Bexene, taken from the Turcomans, and ſpoyled all the country thereabouts. From thence marching with his armie towards Erznitzane, the Prince thereof called *Tachretin* met him vpon the way, yeelding his citie and country into his power; which *Baiazet* preſently gaue to *Ioſephus Niger*: who after he had ſix days enioyed this new gouernment, finding the people vnwilling to be gouerned by him a ſtranger, ſurrendered the ſame againe into the hands of him that gaue it. Whereupon the Citiſens of Erznitzane humbly requeſted of *Baiazet*, That they might be againe gouerned by their old Prince *Tachretin*, now his

vaſſall: Which thing he at their earneſt requeſt granted : but taking his wife and children as a G
pledge of his loyalty, ſent them away to Pruſa, where they were all not long after made away.

The Mahometan princes of Aſia oppreſſed by Baiazet, diſguiſed flie vnto Tamerlane for ayd.

When *Baiazet* had now many yeres thus mightily preuailed againſt the Chriſtian Princes
in Romania, Bulgaria, Boſna, Theſſalia, Valachia, & other places of Europe, as is before decla-
red, and inflamed with inſatiable ambition, had in worſe manner oppreſſed the Mahometane
Kings and Princes of Aſia (of whom ſome were by him ſlaine, ſome driuen into exile , ſome
impriſoned , and otherſome brought into ſuch ſubiection , that they liued as it were but at
his deuotion) and was now growne to that greatneſſe, that in the pride of his heart he ſtood in
feare of no man, but was (as he thought) a terror vnto the world, hauing vnder his obeyſance
great and large dominions in Europe, but farre greater in Aſia: it fortuned that diuers of theſe
miſerable & diſcontented Mahometane Princes, by great fortune, as if it had bin by appoint- H
ment, to meet together at the Court of the great Tartarian Prince *Tamerlane* , whether they
were fled for reliefe and ſuccor. The Prince *Germian Ogli*, after long impriſonment in the ca-
ſtle of Ipſala in Europe, brake priſon, and with *Hiſſar-beg* his great councellour and priſon fel-
low, conſorted themſelues with a companie of loytring companions, roaming from place to
place, delighting the countrey people with their apiſh toyes : in which companie hee paſſed
Helleſpontus, as a Beareward, and at length with much ado came to *Tamerlane* his court: whe-
ther the Prince of Menteſia was come before in the habit of an hermit (as is aforeſaid) with his
head and beard ſhauen : *Aidin Ogli* paſſing thorow the countrey as a pedlar, with a packe at his
backe, came thither alſo: the Prince *Tachretin* as a ſeruingman, came attending vpon the prince
Iſſendiar ; who came alſo, but in ſome better faſhion than the reſt, as an Embaſſador from ſome I
other prince. All theſe poore princes, with diuers others in like miſerie, in ſhort time arriued
at Samarcand (great *Tamerlane* his court;) euery one particularly complaining of his own pri-
uat griefe, and all together earneſtly requeſting that mighty prince, to take vpon him their de-
fence, and to reuenge the wrong done vnto them by the Turkiſh tyrant *Baiazet*. Whoſe pit-
tifull complaints much mooued the noble Tartarian ; but eſpecially the long and wrongfull
impriſonment of *Germian Ogli* ; and the pittifull complaint and moane of *Tachretin*, who had
of late loſt his wife and children by the crueltie of *Baiazet*. Yet in this matter of ſo great and
important conſequence, *Tamerlane* made no great ſhew of his forwardneſſe, (although he was
by nature in nothing more delighted, than in the relieuing of the diſtreſſed, and chaſtiſing of
the proud) but coldly anſwered theſe Princes, That hee could not tell whither all were ſo as I
they had reported of *Baiazet*, or not, but that hee well knew him to be a very zealous King in
ſetting forth of the Mahometan religion ; and that he had therefore made great warres vpon
the Chriſtians, in which godly cauſe (he ſaid) perhaps they had refuſed to aſſiſt him, or elſe
had giuen him ſome other greater occaſion of offence, to him vnknown : For I can hardly be-
leeue (ſaid he) that ſo great and religious a prince as he, would without iuſt and ſufficient cauſe,
offer ſuch violence as you complaine of, eſpecially vnto you his neighbour princes, and of the
ſame religion with himſelfe: neuertheleſſe, whatſoeuer I intend concerning your requeſt (ſaid
Tamerlane) I will ſend firſt an Embaſſadour vnto him, to vnderſtand more of him and his pro-
ceedings, before I reſolue vpon any thing : with which anſwer he willed them vntill then to
hold themſelues contented. But as *Tamerlane* was about to haue diſpatched his Embaſſador to L
Baiazet, he was aduertiſed, that *Achmetes* late King of new Babylon, and *Ioſephus* King of Col-
chis, both by him driuen out of their Kingdomes, hauing broken out of priſon from the Sul-
tan of Ægypt, were now come to *Baiazet* his court, to craue his aid and aſſiſtance: wherefore he
deferred to ſend his Embaſſadour, ſuſpecting that *Baiazet* incited by theſe two exiled Kings,
would firſt in their quarrell begin to make war vpon him. But not long after , vnderſtanding
that they were both again departed from his court, as is before declared ; he then diſpatched
his embaſſador to *Baiazet*, with many rich gifts and Preſents ; curteouſly requeſting him, the
rather for his ſake, to deale kindly with theſe poore Mahometan princes, his friends ; as alſo
with the Greeke Emperor *Emanuel* his allye, for whom he was now become an interceſſour
vnto him. Some report alſo, that he beſides this, requeſted to haue the two aforeſaid Maho- M
metan Kings of Bagdat and Colchis deliuered vnto him ; and withal ſeemed not a little to diſ-
like of *Baiazet* his proceedings againſt the Turcomans his friends. But *Baiazet* being a prince
of a great and haughtie ſpirit, and vnaccuſtomed to heare of any thing which fitted not his
humor, highly offended with this embaſſage, in great ſcorne reiected the Preſents by *Tamer-*

lane

A *lane* ſent to him, and ſpecially certain garments which *Tamberlane* after the manner of thoſe
Eaſterne nations, had in kindnes amongſt other things ſent him: willing the embaſſador to bid
his maſter meddle with his owne matters, and to preſcribe lawes vnto his owne ſubiects, and
not vnto him, with whom he had nought to do; & to ſend his raggs for preſents vnto his inferiours,
and not vnto Princes of greater power and ſtate than himſelfe. Adding thereunto many
other words full of deſpight and diſdain, affording him no better ſtile than the plain name
of *Tamberlane*: calling him the husband of a whore, if he met him not in the field; and wiſhing
vnto himſelfe againe, to take vnto him his thrice diuorced wife, after ſhe had bin polluted
by another man (as the greateſt diſhonor that might be) if he failed to meet him whereſoeuer
he durſt to dare him battel. Which proud anſwere of the Turke, by the embaſſador reported
B vnto *Tamberlane*, and aggrauated by *Axalla* (a Chriſtian of the race of the Genowaies, born at
Capha, and then one of the greateſt counſellors about him, and the Greeke Emperours great
friend) was ſo euill taken by him, that all other things ſet apart, he reſolued to go againſt the
Turke, and to take in hand that war, as of all other the fitteſt for the increaſe of his honor and
glorie. Beſides that, he thought it not in reaſon fit for the greatnes of the Tartarian empire, to
ſuffer ſuch an vnquiet neighbor to grow great; as ſtill enchroching vpon other the weak Princes
confining to him, and adding conqueſts vnto conqueſts; and yet neuer the more contented,
might in the end proue dangerous vnto his owne eſtate and ſoueraigntie: a common care
to ſuch as be themſelues great, & mounted vp vnto the higheſt degrees of worldly honour, to
haue in iealouſie and diſtruſt the ſudden riſing of others neer or farther off; as perillous or diſgracefull
C to themſelues, or their eſtate: whoſe growing greatnes they therefore ſeeke by all
meanes to hinder; as did now the mightie *Tamberlane* the proceedings and increaſing of the
great *Othoman* king, *Baiazet*: and the rather being continually prickt forward ſo to do, by the
ſolicitation of the Greek Emperor *Emanuel*, the other oppreſſed Mahometan Princes, and by
the great captain *Axalla* (as is aforeſaid) a Chriſtian: of whom for all that *Tamberlane* himſelf,
a Mahometan, for the great fidelitie, valor and vertue he found in him, made no ſmal reckoning,
but was contented euen in his greateſt and moſt waightie affaires to be by him aduiſed;
diſliking of no man for his religion whatſoeuer, ſo as he did worſhip but one only God, creator
of heauen & earth, and of al that therin is: being himſelfe of opinion, That God in eſſence
one, & in himſelfe imutable, without change or diuerſity; yet for the manifeſting of his omnipotencie
D & power, as he had created in the world ſundry kinds of people, much diffring both
in nature, manners, & condition, and yet al framed to the image of himſelf: ſo was he alſo contented
to be of them diuerſly ſerued, according to the diuerſity of their natures & manners: ſo
that they worſhipt none other ſtrange gods, but him alone, the maker and creator of all things:
which was the cauſe that he ſuffered the vſe of al religions within the countries ſubiect to his
obedience, were they not meere Atheiſts, Idolaters, or worſhippers of ſtrange and vain gods.

Tamberlane his opinion concerning the diuerſity of religions

Neither was proud *Baiazet* as one ignorant of the power or purpoſe of *Tamberlane*, in the
meane time idle, but ſtil proſecuted his good fortune for the inlarging of his empire, and increaſing
of his ſtrength: wiſely deeming (as the truth was) whatſoeuer meſſages were ſent to
him from *Tamberlane*, to be no other than meere threatnings & forewarnings of his more dangerous
E purpoſes and deſignes againſt him and his ſtate: which he was ſo far from fearing, as
that to prouoke him the more, hee ſpared no intemperate ſpeech, which might mooue him to
wrath; wiſhing (as ſhould ſeeme) for nothing more, than to meet him in the field, there to try
the fortune of a battell with him. So weake is our foreſight of our fortunes to come, and the
reach of our vnderſtanding for the apprehenſion or declining of the fatal doom euen preſently
hanging ouer our heads; as that we oftentimes through ignorance moſt deſirouſly wiſh for
thoſe things which are vnto vs the chiefe occaſions of our vtter ruine and ouerthrow.

But here before we enter into farther diſcourſe of the mortal war betwixt theſe two ſo puiſſant
Princes, it ſhall not be much from our purpoſe to ſtep a little out of the way, to ſee what
this mighty *Tamberlane* (of whom ſo many Princes craued aid) was, who liuing, held the Eaſt
F in ſuch awe, as that he was commonly called, *The wrath of God*, and *Terror of the world*, which he
then filled with the glorie of his name. Moſt Hiſtoriographers report him to haue bin poorly
borne, of baſe and obſcure parents: and ſo himſelfe alſo in his youth to haue liued as a poore
ſhepheard or heardſman in the mountains; where conſorting himſelfe with other ſturdy companions
of like qualitie and diſpoſition, ſuch as there liued by robbing of marchants & other

The baſe opinion ſome haue, concerning the birth & riſing of Tamberlane paſſengers, he became a maſterfull theefe amongſt them: vnto whom other ſuch leaud mates daily ſtill more and more reſorting, he in ſhort time grew (as they ſay) to that greatnes, that he is reported to haue been of ſuch power, as neuer man but he euer yet came vnto. A matter alſo moſt incredible: for albeit that the Roman empire, yea and this great empire of the Turks alſo, with ſome others, had their beginnings not much better or greater, the one vnder *Romulus*, and the other vnder *Othoman*; yet grew they not as on the ſudden, in their times to any great luſtre (neither was it poſſible for them of ſo ſmall beginnings ſo to do) but by many degrees, and that in long time; euery of the ſucceeding Princes, according to their fortunes, adding ſomething to their ſtate, before it could be made great: wheras he (by their report) contrary to the courſe of things both naturall & ciuill (which from their ſmall beginnings grow to no notable perfection or greatnes, but by degrees, and that in the long reuolution of time) taking his beginning of nothing, grew vpon the ſudden to be a burthen & terror vnto the world. Wherin our late hiſtoriographers ſeem too much to haue followed the report of the Turks, who by him brought low, and their kingdom almoſt in one battel ſubuerted, report nothing ſimply of him; but in what they may, detracting from his worthy praiſes, wrongfully charge him with many vntruths, not concerning his parentage only, but euen in the courſe of his whole life alſo making him (as they would haue the world to beleeue) firſt to haue bin a very abiect among men; & then for his inhumane crueltie a very monſter in nature, or (as it was long before, but more truly ſaid of another great one much like himſelf) a lump of earth tempered with bloud. Which incredible reports concerning ſo great a monarch, I liſt not to follow, as to ful of diſhonor; eſpecially wheras others of no leſſe credit than they, with far more modeſtie & greater probability report of him the greateſt honor that may be. He was (as they & the others alſo ſay) borne at Samarcand, the chiefe citie of the *Zagataian* Tartars, pleaſantly ſcituated vpon the riuer Iaxartes: his father was called *Zain Cham*, or as ſome others wil, *Og*, Prince of the *Zagataian* Tartars, and of the country of Sachetay (ſometime part of the famous kingdom of Parthia) third in deſcent from *Zingis*, the great and fortunate leader of the Tartars, before in the former part of this hiſtorie remembred. Which *Og*, as a Prince of a peaceable nature (accounting it no leſſe honor quietly to keep the countries left him by his father, than with much trouble and no leſſe danger to ſeeke how to inlarge the ſame) long liued in moſt happie reſt with his ſubiects no leſſe happy than himſelfe: not ſo much ſeeking after the hoording vp of gold and ſiluer (things of that nation not regarded) as contenting himſelf with the increaſe and profit of his flocks of ſheep, and heards of cattell; then, and yet alſo, the principal reuenues of the Tartar Kings and Princes: which happily gaue occaſion to ſome, ignorant of the manner and cuſtome of thoſe Northern nations and countries, to account them al for ſheepheards and heardſmen; and ſo alſo to haue reported of this mightie Prince, as of a ſheepheards ſonne, or heardſman himſelfe: vainly meaſuring his nobility by the homely manner of his people and ſubiects, & not by the honor of his houſe, & heroical vertues, ſuch as were hardly to be found greater in any Prince of that or other former ages. His peaceable father now well ſtricken in yeres and weary of the world, deliuered vp vnto him (not yet paſt fifteene yeres old) the gouernment of his kingdom, ioyning vnto him two of his moſt faithful counſellors, *Odmar* and *Aly*, to aſſiſt him in the gouernment of his ſtate (retiring himſelfe vnto a ſolitarie life, the more at quiet to ſerue God, and ſo to end his days in peace:) which two his truſty ſeruants and graue counſellors he dearely loued whilſt they liued, and much honored the remembrance of them being dead. The firſt proofe of his fortune & valour, was againſt the Muſcouit, for ſpoiling of a citie which had put it ſelfe vnder his protection; and for entering of his countrey; and for proclaiming of war againſt him: whom he in a great battell ouerthrew, hauing ſlaine fiue and twentie thouſand of the Muſcouits footmen, and between fifteen and ſixteen thouſand horſemen, with the loſſe of ſcarce eight thouſand horſmen & foure thouſand footmen of his owne. After which battel he beholding ſo many thouſands of men there dead vpon the ground, was ſo far from reioicing thereat, that turning himſelf to one of his familiars, he lamented the condition of ſuch as commanded ouer great armies, commending his fathers quiet courſe of life; accounting him happy in ſeeking for reſt, & the other moſt vnhappy, which by the deſtruction of their own kind, ſought to procure their owne glory; proteſting himſelfe euen from his heart to be grieued to ſee ſuch ſad tokens of his victorie. With this ouerthrow the Muſcouit diſcouraged, ſent embaſſadors to him for peace, which vpon ſuch honourable conditions as pleaſed

Tamberlane honourably deſcended.

The cauſe why ſome haue reported him to haue beene a ſheepheard or heardſman.

A pleaſed him to ſet downe, was by him granted, and ſo the peace concluded. Now the great
Cham of Tartaria(his fathers brother)being grown old,and out of hope of any moe children,
moued with the fame of his nephew, after this victorie ſent him diuers preſents,and withall
offering him his onely daughter in mariage,and with her to proclaime him heire apparant vnto
his empire; as in right he was,being his brothers ſonne,and the daughters not at al ſucceeding
in thoſe empires.Which ſo great an offer *Tamberlane* gladly accepted,and ſo the mariage
was afterwards with great triumph at the old Emperors court ſolemnized;and he proclaimed
heire apparant vnto that great empire. Thus was *Tamberlane* indeed made great,being euer after
this mariage by the old Emperor his vncle, and now his father in law, ſo long as he liued,
notably ſupported,and after his death ſucceeding him alſo in that ſo mighty an empire. Yet in
B the meane time wanted not this worthy Prince the enuious competitors of theſe his ſo great
honors: inſomuch,that whilſt by the aduice and perſuaſion of the old Emperor,he was taking
in hand to make warre againſt the great King of China (who had as then gone far beyond his
bounds)and ſo was now wel onwards on his way,he was by the conſpiracie of *Calix*(a man of
greateſt power & authority in the great Cham his court)almoſt thruſt out of his new empire:
Calix with a right puiſſant armie hauing alreadie ſeized vpon the great citie of Cambalu, and
the citizens alſo generally fauouring thoſe his traiterous proceedings, as diſdaining to be gouerned
by the *Zagatian* Tartar. For redreſſe wherof, *Tamberlane* was enforced with the greateſt
part of his armie to return,& meeting with the rebel(who then had in his armie fourſcore
thouſand horſe,and an hundred thouſand foot)in a great and mortall battell (wherein of the
C one ſide and of the other were more than fiftie thouſand men ſlaine) ouerthrew him(though
not without the great danger of his own perſon, as being there himſelfe beaten downe to the
ground)tooke him priſoner,and afterwards beheaded him. Which ſo dangerous a rebellion,
with the death of the traitour,and the chiefe of the conſpirators repreſſed, and his ſtate in the
newneſſe therof by this victorie well confirmed,he proceeded in his intended war againſt the
great King of China; brake down the ſtrong wall,which the Chinoies had made foure hundred
leagues long betwixt the mountains, for the repreſſing of the incurſions of the Tartars,
entred their countrey, and meeting with the King, leading after him three hundred and fifty
thouſand men (whereof there were an hundred and fiftie thouſand horſemen,and the reſt on
foot)in a great and dreadfull battell, with the ſlaughter of 60000 of his men,ouercame him,
D and tooke him priſoner: whom for all that he (in the courſe of ſo great a victorie wiſely moderating
his fortune) ſhortly after ſet again at liberty,yet ſo,as that hauing before taken from
him the one halfe of his kingdom,and therin left *Odmar* his truſtie lieutenant,with a ſufficient
power for the reſtraining of the proud king, if he ſhould again begin to raiſe any new ſtirres;
and withal impoſed ſuch other conditions as pleaſed himſelf,with the yerely tribute of three
hundred thouſand crowns,he well prouided for the aſſuring of thoſe his new conqueſts: and
ſo in triumph returned with victorie vnto the old Emperor his father in law at Cambalu,not a
little glad to ſee both him and his daughter,who had in al thoſe wars ſtill accompanied him.
But leauing him,now thus by birth great,by his fortune greater,but by his vertue greateſt of
all, (as able now to draw after him almoſt the whole power of the Eaſt)let vs againe returne
E thither from whence we haue for the better knowledge of him, thus with him digreſſed.

Tamerlane marrieth the daughter and heire of the great Cham of Tartarie.

The war againſt the Turkiſh Sultan *Baiazet*(as is aforeſaid)by *Tamberlane* reſolued vpon,he
ſent *Axalla* the great captaine to his country of Sachetay(called of ſome Zagatay)to giue beginning
to the aſſembling of his forces from al parts;to the end,that with the firſt of the ſpring
he might ſet forward for the releefe of ſo many diſtreſſed princes,& the abating of the pride
of ſo great and mighty a tyrant as was *Baiazet*.Now had *Tamberlane* procured from the great
Tartarian Emperor,his vncle and father in law,an hundred thouſand footmen,and foureſcore
thouſand horſemen,hoping to haue as many moe from Sachetay his owne countrey, beſides
the lords that for his honors ſake would accompany him in thathis ſo honorable an expedition,
from whom he made account alſo of fiftie thouſand men more which they would bring
vnto him,& diuers other great ſupplies which he expected from other places alſo; wherwith
he doubted not well to performe what he had ſo honourably determined to take in hand,for
the abating of the *Othoman* pride:for which & other ſuch like,he was(as he would oftentimes
ſay)by God himſelfe appointed:ſo taking his leaue of the old Emperor his father in law,and
of the princeſſe his wife(then left behind him for the comfort of her aged father)he departed

from Cambalu towards Samarcand, the place of his birth and ſeat of his empire; leauing behind him the forces brought from the great Emperor his vncle, to come after him to Ozara, where he had appointed the general meeting of his army. At which time amongſt other Princes that thither brought or ſent their ſupplies, the great Muſcouite being requeſted ſo to do, promiſed to ſend him fifteen thouſand horſe, with a certain ſum of mony, and leaue for his armie to paſſe thorow ſo much of his territories as ſhould be neceſſary: al which he afterwards performed vnto *Tamberlane*, being glad that he did ſet vpon others, rather than on himſelfe; and that ſo great a preparation ſhould fall vpon them, whoſe greatnes was as dreadfull & dangerous vnto him as to any other. All the earth almoſt at that time being aſtoniſhed at the ſudden greatnes of this *Othoman* king, and the happy ſucceſſe he had in all his wars: not the leaſt cauſe that moued *Tamberlane* to oppoſe himſelfe againſt him, deeming it much better to goe and ſet vpon him in his new conqueſts, than to ſtay vntil he therin ſetled, were come neerer to him, and ſo ſhould debate the quarrell within his owne empire, to his dammage. A good and ſound reſolution: firſt in that it tended to the deſtruction of the enemies country; & then, that if any thing ſhould fal out otherwiſe with him than wel, his country ſhould not therby receiue any ſuch aſtoniſhment as if the danger were neerer or within the bowels of the ſame. Now in the mean time that *Tamberlane* lay at Samarchand, *Axalla* the great captaine & *Tamberlane* his lieutenant generall, had aſſembled all the army at Ozara. Whereof *Tamberlane* vnderſtanding, ſent for him to Samarcand, to confer with him about the ſetting forward of his army. For although he were ſtill accompanied with great renowned Princes, yet were they no body in compariſon of *Axalla*, whoſe ſound counſel had won him ſuch credit with his Lord & maſter, as by his aduice he did al things, and without him nothing: which his ſo great authority and fauor with his Prince, wanted not the enuie of the court, but that his great vertues, and rare ſound courteſie (in ſo great fortune) together with ſo many worthy ſeruices as he had done, ſupported him againſt the malice of the ſame. He by the commandement of *Tamberlane*, leauing the charge of the army at Ozara, with the prince of Thanais, another of *Tamberlains* great captains, came himſelfe to Samarcand, & there at large diſcourſed with him, about the eſtate and order of his army. And ſhortly after, departing with *Axalla* and the reſt from Samarcand, for to goe to Ozara the place where all his army met: being come thither, entred into a great conſultation with his moſt expert captaines, about the taking of his iourney, & conducting of his army: as whether it were better to lead the ſame by the coaſts of the Muſcouit directly towards Capha, or elſe on the other ſide of the Caſpian ſea by the skirts of Perſia: where after long diſcourſe and ſundry opinions with their reaſons deliuered, it was reſolued (although the way were the longer) to paſſe by the Muſcouit, ſo to come to the Georgians, & to Trebizonda, and from thence to enter into the *Othoman* King his country. And ſo ſetting forward from Ozara, he came at length to Maranis, where he ſtaied three dayes looking for the forces which Prince *Odmar* ſhould ſend him from China, not long before by him conquered: wherof he there receiued news, & there cauſed his army to be paid, and a general muſter therof to be taken. He had alſo there newes of the aid the Muſcouit did ſend him: and cauſed an infinite quantity of victuals, and moſt part of his furniture to be conueied by the Caſpian ſea, being a great commodity & eaſe to his army, which marching by land, was of neceſſity to paſſe ſome twenty leagues thorow places deſtitute both of victuals & water. *Tamberlane* al the way coaſting along the ſea ſhore, paſſed the time in hunting, his army not comming neere him by ten leagues; which was ſo great, that it extended it ſelfe ful twenty leagues. Comming to the riuer of Edel, he ſtaid at Zarazich whilſt his army paſſed the riuer at Mechet, and two other bridges which he had cauſed to be made for that purpoſe. Now the Circaſſians, & Georgians, hearing of the approch of *Tamberlane* with his huge army, by their embaſſadors offred him al the help and aſſiſtance they could, in his iourney as he paſſed that way. Theſe Georgians were and yet are Chriſtians, a great and warlike people, of long time tributaries vnto the Greek Emperors: and afterwards ſomtimes tributaries, & ſometimes confederats vnto the Perſians: but alwaies enemies vnto the Turks, by whom of late (and in our remembrance) but eſpeciall by *Amurath* the third, they together with ſome part of the Perſian kingdome, haue bin grieuouſly oppreſſed, as in the proceſſe of this hiſtorie may appeare. Of theſe warlike people, glad of *Tamberlane* his comming for the repreſſing of the Turk, *Axalla* drew great numbers vnto the ſeruice of his Prince: who not a little eſteemed of them, being al tall men, very beautifull, of great ſtrength

Prince Axalla in great credit with Tamberlane.

and

A and courage, and withall moſt expert ſoldiers; as hauing oftentimes reſiſted the power of the *Othoman* Kings, by reaſon of the aduantage their countrey affordeth them, being very rough and hard to come into. By theſe kind people, *Tamberlane* was in euery place honorably entertained, and his great army with all neceſſaries plentifully relieued. In paſſing thorow which country and the reſt as he marched, he took ſuch order with his ſoldiers, that none of the people whereby he paſſed, were any thing by them iniuried; inſomuch that if a ſoldier had taken but an apple, or other thing of like value from any man, hee died therefore, ſo ſeuere were his commands. It is reported that one of his ſoldiers, hauing taken a little milke from a countrey woman, and ſhe thereof complaining, he cauſed the ſaid ſoldier to be preſently killed, and his ſtomacke to be ript; where the milke that he had of late drunk being found, he contented the B woman, and ſo ſent her away; who had otherwiſe vndoubtedly died for her falſe accuſation, had it not ſo appeared. Which his ſo great ſeueritie, and in other like caſes, was of many accounted for extream crueltie: yet was it indeed the wholſom preſeruation of his army, being ſo great, as that it was thought almoſt impoſſible to haue found ſufficient victuals for the reliefe thereof: whereof for all that, there was no want, either of any thing elſe neceſſarie for the vſe of man, his camp being ſtil as a moſt populous and wel gouerned citie, ſtored with al manner of things: wherunto both artificers and marchants, from far countries reſorted with their commodities & marchandiſe, as to ſome famous mart; and the country people, without feare from euery place brought in their country commodities, for which they receiued preſent mony, and ſo in ſafety again departed. So marching on, he at length came to Bachichich where he C ſtaid to refreſh his army eight daies, and there againe took a generall muſter thereof, wherein were found (as moſt write) foure hundred thouſand horſe, & ſix hundred thouſand foot; or as ſome others that were there preſent affirme, three hundred thouſand horſmen, and fiue hundred thouſand foot of al nations. Vnto whom he there gaue a generall pay, and as his manner was, made vnto them an oration, informing them of ſuch orders as he would haue kept, to the end they might the better obſerue the ſame: with much other militarie diſcipline, whereof he was very curious with his captains. At which time alſo, it was lawfull for euery common ſoldier to behold him with more boldnes than on other daies, foraſmuch as he did for that time, and ſuch like, lay aſide his imperial maieſtie, and ſhew himſelfe more familiar vnto them.

The number of Tamberlane his great armie.

Now could he hardly be perſuaded, that *Baiazet* hauing ſubdued the moſt part of Grecia, D diſtreſſed the Greeke Emperour, and ſo great means to recouer whatſoeuer he ſhould loſe in Aſia, would be ſo aduenturous as to come ouer the ſtraits out of Europe, to trie the fortune of a battell with him; but rather warily protract the time, to wearie him at length with wants, that in a ſtrange countrey drew ſuch a world of people after him. Wherein hee found himſelfe much deceiued: for hauing paſſed the Georgian country, and being come to Buyſabuich *Axalla* (whom he had not ſeen in eight dais before, becauſe he led the head of the armie) came vnto him with ſuch newes as hee knew would be right welcome vnto him: which was, that *Baiazet* had raiſed his ſiege of Conſtantinople (as indeed he had) for to come and defend his new conqueſts in Aſia: and that he was certainely reſolued, to come to a day of battell, not ſo much truſting vnto the multitude of his army, as to the valour and experience of his ſoldiers, E beeing all men of long well trained vp in the wars. At which vnexpected newes, *Tamberlane* greatly reioiced: yet without inſolencie or vaunting, but rather with the countenance of ſuch a one as iudged the euents of battels to be (as they are) alwaies doubtfull: ſaying ſometimes, that a ſmal number wel conducted, did oftentimes carrie away the victorie from the confuſed multitude. Three dayes he ſtaied at Buyſabuich, and cauſed his ſouldiers continually to march forward, which at Garga and Chiuſerig paſſed ouer the riuer Euphrates: which he did the rather to maintaine his armie vpon the ſpoile of the enemie, in attending his comming, than vpon himſelfe, or his allies. All the cities that yeelded vnto him by the way as he marched, hee fauorably receiued; the other that refuſed to ſubmit themſelues vnto his obedience, hee vſed with all extremitie: ſpecially the great and ſtrong citie of Sebaſtia, where certaine of the forerunners of his army were by the Turks there in garriſon cut off and ſlaine, & the gates of the city as it were in contempt of him, ſet wide open: wherwith *Tamberlane* offended, ſent out certain of his Tartarian horſmen, commanding them on pain of his diſpleaſure, ſo to beare themſelues againſt their enemies, as that he might at his comming either find the citie taken, or the gates thereof ſhut againſt him: for hee had his men at ſo great commaund, that no danger was

Sebaſtia beſieged by Tamberlane.

Sebaſtia yeelded to Tamberlane.

vnto them more dreadfull than his diſpleaſure, neither did he puniſh any thing ſo ſeuerely as G cowardiſe:inſomuch,that if in his diſport of hunting the wild beaſt,any did for feare giue way to the Lyon or Beare, and ſlew him not, was ſure to die therefore himſelfe: and to turne his backe vpon the enemie, was no leſſe danger than to run vpon his owne death. Now the Turks in garriſon at Sebaſtia, ſeeing theſe Tartarian horſemen marching towards the citie, making little account of them, for that they were not in number many, iſſued out for to meet them; where they were ſo furiouſly charged by theſe few horſemen, that they were glad to retire, and for haſte to ſhut part of their owne men out of the citie, leaſt the enemie following them at their heeles, ſhould haue entred the gates together with them. Which Turkes ſo ſhut out, were by the Tartarians ſlaine at the gates of the citie. Shortly after came *Tamberlane* with all his armie,and ſate downe before the citie,where he lay ſtill ſeuen dayes, not making ſhew H of any violence at all; the defendants becauſe the citie was of great ſtrength, all that while thinking that hee had intended by long ſiege to diſtreſſe the ſame, and the more,becauſe of his long lying ſtill. But about the eight day, the walls and towers of the citie in many places vndermined, were ſuddenly ouerthrowne, leauing large breaches for the enemie to enter. Wherewith the Turkes in the citie diſmayed, foorthwith yeelded the citie to *Tamberlan*, in hope ſo to haue ſaued their liues: but hee (as the Turkes report) beeing entred the citie, commaunded a great number of deepe pits to be digged, and all the people of the citie, without reſpect of age,ſex, or condition,to be throwne into the ſame,and there buried quicke. Which done,the citie was by his commandement vtterly raſed alſo. After that,calling vnto him *Malcozzius*,the gouernour of the citie, whom he had for that purpoſe onely ſpared, he comman- I ded him to goe and tell his Maſter what was happened to his ſtrong Citie of Sebaſtia,and what hee had there himſelfe ſeene. Of which tragicall action, *Malcozzius* hauing made true relation vnto *Baiazet*,was by him demanded,whether of the two armies he thought bigger or ſtronger: for now *Baiazet* had aſſembled a mightie armie of three hundred thouſand men, or as ſome report of three hundred thouſand horſmen,and two hundred thouſand foot. Whereunto *Malcozzius* hauing before craued pardon, anſwered, That it could not be, but that *Tamberlane* might in reaſon haue the greater number, for that he was a commander of farre greater countries. Wherewith proud *Baiazet* offended, in great choller replied, Out of doubt, the ſight of the Tartarian hath made this coward ſo affraid, that he thinketh euery enemie to be two. K

A ſheepheard more happie than Baiazet.

Moſt of the Latine hiſtories report,that when *Tamberlane* had taken Sebaſtia,hee put all the men to the ſword, & bringing the women and children into the fields without the city,there ouer-ran them with his horſemen, excepting ſome few which were reſerued for priſoners. As alſo that *Baiazet* there loſt his eldeſt ſon *Erthogrul* (of ſome called *Orthobules*) whoſe death with the loſſe of the citie,ſo much grieued him(as it is reported)that marching with his great army againſt *Tamberlane*,& by the way hearing a country ſheepheard merily repoſing himſelf with his homely pipe, as he ſate vpon the ſide of a mountaine feeding his poore flocke; ſtanding ſtill a great while liſtening vnto him, to the great admiration of many, at laſt fetching a deep ſigh, brake foorth into theſe wordes: O happie ſheepheard, which haddeſt neither *Orthobules* nor Sebaſtia to looſe: bewraying therein his owne diſcontentment; and yet with- L all ſhewing, That worldly bliſſe conſiſteth not ſo much in poſſeſſing of much, ſubiect vnto danger, as inioying in a little, contentment deuoide of feare. Howbeit the Turkes themſelues reporting the taking of Sebaſtia, ſpeake not of *Orthobules* at all, but giue him loſt ſix yeares before,in the warres againſt *Caſi Burchaniden*, and lyeth buried by his father at Pruſa. In this citie of Sebaſtia was loſt twelue thouſand Turkes, men women, and children, as their Hiſtories report. The reſt of the cities all the way as *Tamberlane* marched, warned by the deſtruction of Sebaſtia, yeelded themſelues for feare of like danger: the citizens whereof he courteouſly vſed,ſpecially the Chriſtians,whom he ſet at libertie,in reſpect of *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperour, whome hee ſeemed wholly therein to gratifie. But hee had not gone farre into the Turkes dominion, but that hee was certainly aduertized,how that M *Baiazet*,with a great armie was comming againſt him, and now within thirtie leagues of him: which cauſed him after that time,to march with his armie more cloſely. *Axalla* leading the Vantgard ſent foorth *Chianſon* Prince of Ciarchan, with foure thouſand Parthian horſemen, to get knowledge of the Turkes armie, and where *Baiazet* lay, as alſo what countrey that

A was beyond Sennas; and if he could learne any thing thereof, to make relation of it vnto him. This Prince of Ciarcan was *Tamerlanes* neere kinſman, a man of great reputation, & next vnto *Axalla*, in whoſe abſence he had the commanding of the auantgard, his charge; who alſo ſent before him another Parthian captaine with 500 horſemen. So he had not ridden ten leagues but that he heard news of *Baiazets* comming, & hauing ſurpriſed Sennas, vnderſtood there the certain eſtate of the Turks army, which was then at Tataia, and ſo marching forward. Whereof *Tamerlane* certified, commanded him not to retire from that place, vntill he did ſee the arriual of the enemie, and thereof to giue him aduertiſement euery houre; being himſelfe reſolued to paſſe on no further, as come to a faire large plain, & a country of aduantage for the order of his battel: for he knew that his army was far greater than *Baiazets*, & therfore he made choice B of thoſe great plains. Yet for that his armie conſiſted of diuers nations, and withal conſidering that he was not to fight againſt the Chinois, a ſoft effeminat people, (as of late) but againſt the Turks a moſt warlike nation, & wel acquainted with all maner of fights & martial ſtratagems, he thought it good to be wel aduiſed how he proceeded againſt them. Wherefore he preſently ſent for *Axalla*, with him to view the ſaid place, and to haue his opinion, Whether it would be for his aduantage or not, there to ſtay: who not miſliking of the choice of the place, yet aduiſed him alſo to keepe Sennas ſo long as he poſſibly could: and ſo ſent word vnto them that were therein, vpon the approch of the enemie to ſet fire vpon the ſame, and ſo to withdraw themſelues from thence, to the end that the enemie ſhould not haue any deſire to incampe there, but come ſtil forward neere to thoſe plains where *Tamerlane* deſired to fight, eſpecially C for that he was ſtronger in horſe than *Baiazet*. Thus the Turks ſtill marching on, thought to haue ſurpriſed ſome of their enemies in Sennas; who as ſoon as they drew neere, retired al excepting ſome hundred left of purpoſe to fire the town: who hauing performed the ſame, retired of purpoſe in great diſorder. Now the Prince of Ciarcan had diuided his forces into two parts, & giuen commandment to the firſt, that as ſoon as they perceiued the enemies to purſue the hundred horſe that ſo diſorderly of purpoſe fled, they ſhould receiue them, and ſo retyre all together. He in the mean time with the reſt of his power ſtood cloſe in a valley, neere to a wood ſide, vnſeen at all. Where hauing ſuffred 2000 of the enemies horſe (the vantcurriers of the Turks army) to paſſe by him, he following them in the taile, charg'd them home, the other which before retired, now turning vpon them alſo: ſo that the Turks ſeeing themſelues thus D beſet, & hardly laid vnto both before & behind, as men diſcouraged fled: in which flight moſt of them were ſlain, and the reſt taken priſoners. This was the firſt incounter betwixt the Turks and the Parthians: all the priſoners there taken, were by the prince as a preſent ſent to *Tamerlane*, & among the reſt the Baſſa of Natolia who led theſe troups: of whom *Tamerlane* earneſtly demanded, what cauſed *Baiazet* ſo little to eſteeme of him, as to ſhew ſo great contempt of his armie, which he ſhould find ſtrong enough to abate his pride. Wherunto the Baſſa anſwered, That his lord was the Sun vpon earth, which could not endure any equall; and that he rather was aſtonied to ſee, how he from ſo far had enterpriſed ſo dangerous a journy, to hinder the fortune of his lord, in whoſe fauor the heauens (as he ſaid) did bend themſelues to further his greatnes, and vnto whom all the world ſubiected it ſelfe; and that he committed great fol- E lie in going about to reſiſt the ſame. Vnto which ſo proud a ſpeech *Tamerlane* replied, That he was ſent from heauen to puniſh his raſhneſſe, & to teach him, that the proud are hated of God, whoſe promiſe is to plucke down the mightie, and raiſe vp the lowly. As for thy ſelf (ſaid he) thou haſt alreadie felt (although I pitty thy miſhap) what the valour of my Parthian horſe is againſt thy Turkiſh: and thy maſter I haue already cauſed to raiſe his ſiege of Conſtantinople, and to looke to his own things here in Aſia. Furthermore, *Tamerlane* changing his ſpeech demanded, If his maſter did come reſolued to bid him battell: Aſſure your ſelf (ſaid he) there is nothing he more deſireth; and would to God I might acknowlege your greatneſſe, in giuing me leaue to aſſiſt my Lord at that battell. Good leaue haue thou, (ſaid *Tamerlane*) go thy ways and tell thy lord that thou haſt ſeen me, and that he ſhall in the battell find me on horſebacke, where he ſhall ſee a greene enſigne diſplayd. The Baſſa thanking him, ſwore, that next vnto his lord he vowed vnto him his ſeruice. And ſo returning, declared vnto *Baiazet*, how that he had ſeene *Tamerlane*, and truly reported vnto him all that he had willed him to ſay; not forgetting ouer all, to publiſh his courteſie and bountie: who beſides that he had franckely ſet him at libertie, had alſo giuen him a verie faire horſe well furniſhed, although hee well knew hee was

The Prince of Ciarcan dealeth politickely with the forerunners of the Turkes Armie.

to ſerue againſt himſelfe. Whereunto *Baiazet* anſwered no more, but that hee would ſhortly make triall of him,& that he well hoped before the march were ended,to make him acknowledge his own folly. The next day the two armies drew neere together,and incamped within a league the one of the other: where all the night long you might haue heard ſuch noyſe of horſes,as that it ſeemed the heauens were full of voyces,the aire did ſo reſound,& euery man thought the night long,to come to the triall of his valour,and the gaining of his deſires. The Scythians(a people no leſſe greedie than needie) talked of nothing but the ſpoyle; the proud Parthians,of their honor; & the poore Chriſtians,of their deliuerance,all to be gained by the next days victorie:euery man during the night time ſpeaking according to his owne humour. All which *Tamerlane* walking this night vp & down in his campe heard,and much reioiced to ſee the hope that his ſoldiers had alreadie in general conceiued of the victorie. Who after the ſecond watch returning vnto his pauilion,& there caſting himſelf vpon a carpet,had thought to haue ſlept a while: but his cares not ſuffring him ſo to do,he then,as his manner was,called for a booke,wherein was contained the liues of his fathers and anceſtors, and of other valiant worthies,the which he vſed ordinarily to read,as he then did:not as therwith vainly to deceiue the time,but to make vſe thereof,by the imitation of that which was by them worthily done, & declining of ſuch dangers as they by their raſhnes or ouerſight fel into. And afterwards hauing a little ſlumbred,he commanded *Axalla* to be ſent for,who forthwith came to him, with diuers other great lords & captaines the chiefe commanders of his army: with whom after he had a while conſulted of the order of the battell, he mounted on horſebacke himſelfe,& ſent euery one of them to their own charges,to put the ſame in readines. At which very inſtant he receiued news,that the enemy marched forward, and came to take his ground for the battell: whoſe order of march *Tamerlane* was deſirous to ſee,that ſo accordingly he might marſhal his own. And hauing cauſed 3000 horſemen to aduance forward, with charge to begin the skirmiſh, himſelfe followed after to lodge euery part of his forces in ſuch places as hee had foreſeen to be fitteſt for his aduantage. Now ſeeing the Ianizaries march in a ſquare battell in the midſt,and vpon the two fronts two great ſquadrons of horſemen, which ſeemed to be thirtie thouſand horſe; and another which aduanced and couered the battalion of the Ianizaries: he thought this their order to be very good,and hard to be broken;and thereupon turning himſelfe to *Axalla*, who was neere vnto him, ſaid, I had thought this day to haue fought on foot, but I ſee that it behooueth me now to fight on horſebacke,to giue courage vnto my ſoldiers, to open the great battalion of our enemies. And my will is,that my men come forward vnto me as ſoone as they may, for I will aduance forward with an hundred thouſand footmen, fiftie thouſand vpon each of my two wings,and in the middeſt of them fortie thouſand of my beſt horſeman. My pleaſure is,that after they haue tried the force of theſe men,that they come vnto my avauntgard,of whom I wil diſpoſe,& fifty thouſand horſe more in three bodies,whom thou ſhalt command: which I will aſſiſt with 80000 horſe,wherein ſhal be mine own perſon; hauing 100000 footmen behind me,who ſhal march in two ſquadrons:and for my arereward I appoint 40000 horſe,and fiftie thouſand footmen,who ſhall not march but to my aid. And I wil make choice of 10000 of my beſt horſe, whom I wil ſend into euery place where I ſhal thinke needfull within my Armie, for to impart my commands. Ouer the firſt fortie thouſand horſe the Prince *Ciarcan* commanded: ouer the formoſt footmen was the lord *Synopes* a Genouois,kinſman to *Axalla*,and his lieutenant ouer the footmen,a captaine of great eſtimation: the Prince *Axalla* his owne charge conſiſted of fiue ſquadrons of horſemen. *Baiazet* his armie being alſo both faire and great, came brauely ſtill on forwards towards their enemies, who ſtirred not one whit from the place they had taken for the battell: except certaine light horſemen, Scythians, Parthians, and Muſcouits, who ſent out as looſe men, hotly skirmiſhed betwixt the two armies. Now was *Tamerlane* by an eſpie aduertiſed, that *Baiazet* hauing before giuen order for the diſpoſing of his armie,was on foot in the midſt of thirtie thouſand Ianizaries,his principall men of war,and greateſt ſtrength,wherein he meant that day to fight,and in whom he had repoſed his greateſt hope. His battell of horſe was very faire, amounting to the number of a hundred and fortie thouſand horſe,all old ſoldiers. The Sultan of Ægipt hauing alſo ſent vnto his aid thirtie thouſand Mamalukes, all very good horſemen, with thirtie thouſand foot. So that his armie marching all in one front, in forme of an halfe-Moone (but not ſo well knit together as was *Tamerlanes*, whoſe ſquadrons directly followed one another)

The great and mortall battell betwixt Baiazet and Tamerlane.

ſeemed

A ſeemed almoſt as great as his: and ſo with infinite numbers of moſt horrible outcries ſtill aduanced forward; *Tamerlane* his ſouldiers all the while ſtanding faſt, with great ſilence.

There was not poſſible to be ſeen a more furious charge, than was by the Turks giuen vpon the prince of Ciarcan, who had commandment not to fight before the enemy came vnto him: neither could haue bin choſen a fairer plaine, and where the skilfull choice of the place was of leſſe aduantage for the one or the other; but that *Tamerlane* had the riuer on the left hand of his armie, ſeruing him to ſome ſmall aduantage. Now this young prince of Ciarcan with his 40000 horſe, was in this firſt encounter almoſt wholly ouerthrowne: yet hauing fought right valiantly, and entred euen into the midſt of the Ianizaries, (where the perſon of *Baiazet* was) putting them in diſorder, was himſelfe there ſlaine. About which time *Axalla* ſet vpon them

The Prince of Ciarcan ſlaine.

B with the avauntgard, but not with like danger: for hauing ouerthrowne one of the enemies wings, & cut it al to pieces, and his footmen comming to ioine with him, as they had bin commanded, he faced the battalion of the Ianizaries, who right valiantly behaued themſelues for the ſafetie of their Prince. This hard fight continued one hower, and yet you could not haue ſeene any ſcattered, but the one ſtill reſolutely fighting againſt the other. You might there haue ſeene the horſemen like mountaines ruſh together, and infinit numbers of men die, cry, lament, & threaten all at one inſtant. *Tamerlane* had patience all this while, to ſee the euent of this ſo mortall a fight: but perceiuing his men at length to giue ground, he ſent ten thouſand of his horſe to ioyne again with the ten thouſand appointed for the arereward, and commanded them to aſſiſt him at ſuch time as he ſhould haue need of them; and at the very ſame time

C charged himſelfe, and made them to giue him roome; cauſing the footmen to charge alſo, ouer whome the prince of Thanais commanded, who gaue a furious onſet vpon the battalion of the Ianizaries, wherein was yet the perſon of *Baiazet*, who had ſuſtained a great burden. Now *Baiazet* had in his armie a great number of mercenary Tartars, called *Deſtenſes*, with manie thouſands of other ſouldiers taken vp in the countries of the poore exiled Mahometane princes; in whoſe iuſt quarrel, & the Greeke emperors, *Tamerlane* had chiefly vndertaken that war: theſe Tartarians and other ſouldiers, ſeeing ſome their friends, and otherſome their naturall and louing princes in the armie of *Tamerlane*; ſtricken with the terror of diſloialtie, and abhorring the crueltie of the proud tyrant, in the heat of the battell reuolted from *Baiazet* to their owne princes; which their reuolt much weakened *Baiazets* forces. Who neuertheleſſe

D with his owne men of warre, eſpecially the Ianizaries, and the helpe of the Chriſtian ſoldiers brought to his aid from Seruia and other places of Europe, with great courage maintained the fight: but the multitude, & not true valor, preuailed; for, as much as might be done by valiant and couragious men, was by the Ianizaries & the reſt performed, both for the preſeruation of the perſon of their prince, and the gaining of the victorie. But in the end, the horſemen with whom *Tamerlane* himſelfe was, giuing a freſh charge, and his avantgard wholly knit again vnto him, re-inforcing the charge, he with much adoo obtained the victorie. *Baiazet* himſelfe wounded, and now mounted on horſebacke, thinking to haue eſcaped by flight, fell into the hands of *Axalla*: vnto whom he yeelded himſelfe, thinking it had bin *Tamerlane*: who for a ſpace knew him not, but took him for ſome other great commander of the Turks. *Muſa* (ſirna-

The Turkes ouerthrown.

Baiazet and his ſon Muſa taken priſoners.

E med *Zelebi*, or, the Noble) one of *Baiazet* his ſons, with diuers others of *Baiazet* his great captaines, were there taken alſo: and amongſt the reſt, *George* the Deſpot of Seruia, who notwithſtanding this misfortune, had that day gained vnto himſelfe the reputation of a great and worthie captain; inſomuch that *Tamerlane* euen in the very heat of the battel maruelling to ſee him and the Seruians, with the other Chriſtians which he had brought to the aid of *Baiazet*, ſo valiantly to fight, ſaid vnto ſome of the captaines that were neere vnto him, See how couragiſly yonder Religious fight: ſuppoſing them by their ſtrange attire to haue beene ſome of the Turkes ſuperſtitious votaries. But being now taken, and afterwards brought to *Tamerlane*, he was by him courteouſly welcomed; but yet withall reproued, for that he had fought for *Baiazet* againſt him, who was come in fauor of the Chriſtian emperor, & the other poore oppreſſed Princes, ſuch as the Deſpot himſelfe was. Who thereunto boldly anſwered, That indeed it was not according to his dutie, but according to the proſperitie of *Baiazet*, vnto whome it ſeemed that all the world did bend: and that his own ſafetie had cauſed him, though againſt his wil, to take part with him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* held him excuſed, and ſo without more ado gaue him leaue at his owne pleaſure to depart.

Baiazet brought before Tamerlane, with his pride.

Baiazet alſo himſelfe being afterwards brought vnto *Tamerlane* as a priſoner, and by him curteouſly entertained, neuer ſhewed any token of ſubmiſſion at all, but according to his proud nature, without reſpect of his preſent ſtate, preſumptuouſly anſwered him vnto whatſoeuer he demanded. Wherewith *Tamerlane* moued, told him, That it was now in his power to make him to loſe his life. Whereunto he anſwered no more, but, Doe it: for that, that loſſe ſhould be his greateſt happines. *Tamerlane* afterwards demanding of him, What made him ſo proud, as to enterpriſe to bring into his ſubiection ſo noble a Prince as was the Greeke Emperour? he anſwered, Euen the ſame thing that hath mooued thee to inuade me, namely the deſire of glorie and ſoueraigntie. But wherefore then (ſaid *Tamerlane*) do'ſt thou vſe ſo great crueltie towards them thou haſt ouercome, without reſpect of age or ſex? That did I (ſaid he) to giue the greater terror vnto my enemies. And what wouldſt thou haue done with me (ſaid *Tamerlane*) had it bin my fortune to haue fallen into thy hands, as thou art now in mine? I would (ſaid *Baiazet*) haue incloſed thee in a cage of yron, and ſo in triumph haue carried thee vp & down my kingdome. Euen ſo (ſaid *Tamerlane*) ſhalt thou be ſerued. And ſo cauſing him to be taken out of his preſence, turning vnto his followers, ſaid, Behold a proud and cruell man, he deſerueth to be chaſtiſed accordingly, and to be made an example vnto all the proud and cruell of the world, of the iuſt wrath of God againſt them. I acknowledge, that God hath this day deliuered into my hands a great enemie; to whom we muſt therefore giue thanks. Which he performed the ſame day: for the battell was woon at foure of the clocke, and there was yet fiue houres of day light. The next day *Tamerlane* commanded the dead to be buried; where among the reſt they found the bodie of the Prince of Ciarcan, dead in the middeſt of the Ianizaries, where he lay incloſed with their dead bodies, in token he died not vnreuenged: whoſe vntimely death *Tamerlane* for all that greatly lamented, for he was his kinſman, and like enough one day to haue done great ſeruice. Whoſe dead bodie *Tamerlane* cauſed to be imbalmed, and with two thouſand horſe (and diuers of the Turks priſoners chained and tied together) to be conueyed to Samercand, vntill his comming thither. All the other dead bodies were with all honour that might be, buried at Sennas.

This great bloudie battell fought in the yere of our Lord 1397, not farre from the Mount Stella, (where ſomtime the great King *Mithrydates* was by *Pompey* the Great in a great battell ouerthrown) was fought from ſeuen a clocke in the morning, vntill foure in the afternoon: victorie all that while, as it were with doubtfull wings, houering ouer both armies, as vncertain where to light; vntill at length the fortune of *Tamerlane* preuailed. Whoſe wiſedome, next vnto God, gaue that dayes victorie vnto his ſoldiers: for that the politicke tyring of the ſtrong forces of *Baiazet*, was the ſafegard of his own; whereas if he had gone vnto the battell in one front, aſſuredly the multitude finding ſuch ſtrong reſiſtance, had put it ſelfe into confuſion: whereas this ſucceſſiue manner of aiding of his men, made them all vnto him profitable. The number of them that were in this battel ſlaine, is of diuers diuerſly reported: the Turks themſelues reporting, That *Baiazet* there loſt the noble *Muſtapha* his ſon, with two hundred thouſand of his men, and *Tamerlane* not many fewer: and ſome other ſpeaking of a farre leſſe number, as that there ſhould be ſlaine of the Turks about threeſcore thouſand, and of *Tamerlan* his armie not paſt twentie thouſand. But leauing the certaintie of the number vnto the credit of the reporters, like enough it is, that the ſlaughter was exceeding great in ſo long a fight, betwixt two ſuch armies as neuer before (as I ſuppoſe) met in field together.

By this one days euent is plainly to be ſeen the vncertaintie of worldly things, & what ſmall aſſurance euen the greateſt haue in them. Behold, *Baiazet* the terrour of the world, and as hee thought, ſuperior to fortune, in an inſtant with his ſtate in one battel ouerthrown into the bottom of miſerie & deſpaire; and that at ſuch time as he thought leaſt, euen in the middeſt of his greateſt ſtrength. It was three days (as they report) before he could be pacified, but as a deſperat man ſtil ſeeking after death, & calling for it: neither did *Tamerlane* after he had once ſpoken with him, at all afterwards curteouſly vſe him, but as of a proud man cauſed ſmal account to be made of him: And to manifeſt that hee knew how to puniſh the haughtie, made him to be ſhackled in fetters and chaines of gold, and ſo to be ſhut vp in an iron cage made like a grate, in ſuch ſort as that he might on euery ſide be ſeen, and ſo carried him vp and down as he paſſed thorow Aſia, to be of his own people ſcorned & derided. And to his further diſgrace, vpon feſtiual dayes vſed him for a footſtoole to tread vpon, when he mounted to horſe; and at other

Baiazet like a beaſt ſhut vp in an yron cage.

A times ſcornfully fed him like a dog, with crums fallen from his table. A rare example of the vncertaintie of wordly honour, that he vnto whoſe ambitious mind Aſia and Europe, two great parts of the world, were too little, ſhould be now carried vp and downe cooped vp in a little yron cage, like ſome perillous wild beaſt. All which *Tamerlane* did not ſo much for the hatred to the man, as to manifeſt the iuſt iudgement of God againſt the arrogant follie of the Proud. It is reported, That *Tamerlane* being requeſted by one of his Noblemen that might be bold to ſpeake vnto him, to remit ſome part of his ſeueritie againſt the perſon of ſo great a Prince; anſwered, That hee did not vſe that rigor againſt him as a King, but rather did puniſh him as a proud ambitious tyrant, polluted with the bloud of his owne brother.

Now this ſo great an ouerthrow brought ſuch a feare vpon all the Countries poſſeſſed by B *Baiazet* in Aſia, that *Axalla* ſent before by *Tamerlane* with 40000 horſe, and 100000 foot, without carriages, to proſecute the victorie, came without reſiſtance to Pruſa, whither all the remainder of *Baiazet* his armie was retyred, with the Baſſa *Muſtapha*: the countrey as he went ſtill yeelding vnto him. Yea, the great Baſſa with the reſt hearing of his comming, and thinking themſelues not now in any ſafetie in Aſia, fled ouer the ſtrait of Helleſpontus to Callipolis, and ſo to Hadrianople, carrying with them out of the battell, *Solyman*, *Baiazet* his eldeſt ſonne, whom they ſet vp in his fathers place: *Mahomet* his yonger brother preſently vpon the ouerthrow being fled to Amaſia; of whom, and the reſt of *Baiazet* his children, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter. *Axalla* comming to Pruſa, had the citie without reſiſtance yeelded vnto him, which he rifled; and there with other of *Baiazet* his wiues and concubines, tooke priſoner C the faire *Deſpina*, *Baiazet* his beſt beloued wife, to the doubling of his griefe.

Solyman ſet vp in his fathers ſtead.

Pruſa taken by Axalla.

Emanuel the Greeke Emperor now hearing of *Tamerlane* his comming to Pruſa, ſent his embaſſadors (the moſt honorable of his court) thither before to *Axalla*: by whom they were there ſtayd vntil the comming of *Tamerlane*; who receiued them with all the honor that might be, ſhewing vnto them all his magnificence, and the order of his campe, to their great admiration: For it reſembled a moſt populous and well gouerned citie, for the order that was therein, which brought vnto it plentie of all kind of victuals & other merchandiſe, as wel for pleaſure as for vſe. By theſe Embaſſadors the Greeke Emperor ſubmitted all his empire, together with his perſon, vnto *Tamerlane* the great conqueror, as his moſt faithfull ſubiect and vaſſall: which he was bound (as he ſaid) to do, for that he was by him deliuered from the moſt cruel tyrant of D the world: as alſo for that the long iourny he had paſſed, and the diſcommodities he had indured, with the loſſe of his people, and the danger of his perſon, could not be recompenced but by the offer of his own life and his ſubiects; which he did for euer dedicate vnto his ſeruice, with all the fidelitie and loyaltie that ſo great a benefit might deſerue: beſides that, his ſo manie vertues & rare accompliſhments, which made him famous thorow the world, did bind him ſo to do. And that therfore he would attend him in his chiefe citie, to deliuer it into his hands as his own, with all the empire of Greece. Now the Greeke Embaſſadors looked for no leſſe than to fall into bondage to *Tamerlane*; thinking that which they offered to be ſo great and delicate a morſell, as that it would not be refuſed, eſpecially of ſuch a conquering prince as was *Tamerlane*; and that the acceptance thereof in kindneſſe and friendſhip, was the beſt bargaine E they could make therein. But they receiued anſwer from this worthie Prince, farre beyond their expectation: for he with a mild countenance beholding them, anſwered them, That he was not come from ſo far a country, or vndertaken ſo much paines, for the inlargement of his dominions, alreadie large enough, (too baſe a thing for him to put himſelfe into ſo great danger and trauell for) but rather to winne honour, and thereby to make his name famous vnto all poſteritie for euer: And that therefore it ſhould well appeare vnto the world, that he was come to aid him, being requeſted as his friend & allie: & that his vpright meaning therin was the greateſt cauſe, that God from aboue had beheld his power, and thereby bruiſed the head of the greateſt and fierceſt enemie of mankind that was vnder heauen: and now to get him an F immortall name, would make free ſo great and flouriſhing a Citie as was Conſtantinople, gouerned by ſo noble and antient an Houſe as the Emperors: That vnto his courage he had always faith ioyned, ſuch as ſhould neuer ſuffer him to make ſo great a breach in his reputation, as that it ſhould be reported of him, That in the colour of a friend he came to inuade the Dominions of his allies: That he deſired no more, but that the ſeruice he had done for the Greek Emperor, might for euer be ingrauen in the memorie of his poſteritie, to the end they might for euer wiſh well vnto him and his ſucceſſours, by remembring the good he had done them; That long might the noble Emperour liue, happily to gouerne his eſtate: and that before his returne he would ſo well conſider for the eſtabliſhing of the ſame, as that he ſhould not lightly fall againe into the like jeopardie, alwayes aſſuring himſelfe of his good will and fauour towards him. Eaſie it is to iudge what ioy theſe Greeke Embaſſadors receiued, to heare this ſo kind an anſwer from the mouth of *Tamerlane* himſelfe: who rather than hee would ſeeme to breake his faith, refuſed an empire offered vnto him, with one of the moſt ſtately and magnificent cities of the world. Few princes (I ſuppoſe) would performe ſuch a part: but ſo there be likewiſe but few *Tamerlanes* in the world. Theſe Embaſſadors by the commandement of *Tamerlane*, were by *Axalla* royally feaſted, and all the honour done them that might be. One of them being ſent backe to carrie theſe vnexpected news vnto the Greeke Emperor, filled both him and all the citie of Conſtantinople with exceeding ioy and gladneſſe, which both he and his ſubiects in generall ſpared not with bonfires and all other ſignes of ioy and pleaſure to manifeſt. And the more to ſhew his thankfulneſſe, ſhortly after by the aduice of his graue Councellors, paſſed ouer the ſtrait into Aſia, to ſee *Tamerlane* at Pruſa, and in perſon himſelfe to giue him thanks: who hearing of his comming, and very glad thereof, preſently vpon the firſt days journy ſent the prince *Axalla* to meet him, and to certifie him of the ioy that he conceiued, to haue the good hap for to ſee him, as alſo to conduct him to Pruſa: where thoſe two great princes, with the greateſt magnificence that might be, met, and ſo ſpent one whole day together. The Greeke Emperor the next day taking his leaue, was by *Tamerlane* with much honor conducted out of the citie. Now had *Tamerlane* himſelfe conceiued a ſecret deſire to ſee this ſo famous a city as was Conſtantinople, from which he was not now farre, yet would he not goe thither as a conqueror, but as a priuat perſon: which by the meanes of *Axalla* was accompliſhed, and he thereinto by the Greeke Emperor priuatly receiued, and with all familiarity poſſible, entertained; the Emperor ſhewing vnto him all the rare and excellent things that were therein to be ſeen: and the other Greeke Princes deuiſing all the means they could to do him pleaſure, and them which did accompanie him; who were in a manner all apparelled after the Greeke faſhion. At which time the Greeke Emperour himſelfe was curious to ſhew vnto him all the faire gardens alongſt the ſea coaſt, a league or two from Conſtantinople, and ſo priuatly conducting him, ſpent fiue or ſix days with all the mirth that might be poſſible; *Tamerlane* by the way oftentimes ſaying, That he had neuer ſeen a fairer citie: and that it was indeed the city (conſidering the faire and rich ſcituation thereof) of right, worthie to command al the world. He wondred at the coſtly buildings of the temples, the faire ingrauen pillars, the high piramides, & the making of the faire gardens; and oftentimes afterwards ſaid, That he nothing repented him of his ſo long and dangerous a voyage, if it had bin onely but to haue preſerued from fire & ſword ſo noble a citie as that was. In the Greeke Emperor he commended greatly his mild nature and curteſie: who knowing him aboue al things to take pleaſure in faire ſeruiceable horſes, gaue vnto him thirtie of the faireſt, ſtrongeſt, and readieſt, that were poſſible to be gotten, all moſt richly furniſhed; and ſent likewiſe faire Preſents vnto all the Princes and great Commanders of the armie, and bountifully cauſed to be deliuered vnto them all things which he thought to be neceſſarie for the armie. So after many great kindneſſes in ſhort time paſſed, and a ſtrait bond of friendſhip made, and by ſolemne oath confirmed betwixt the two great Princes, *Tamerlane* with great contentment tooke his leaue of the Emperor, and returned againe to his armie at Pruſa. Wherewith he now at his pleaſure without reſiſtance waſted and ſpoyled al *Baiazet* his dominion in Aſia, no man daring to make head againſt him.

Tamerlane goeth to Conſtantinople.

Tamerlan much delighted with the pleaſures of Conſtantinople.

The yere being now wel ſpent, and Winter drawing on, *Tamerlane* diſperſed his armie into diuers of the prouinces of the leſſer Aſia, expecting ſtill when ſome of *Baiazet* his ſonnes or other friends ſhould make ſuit or meanes vnto him for his deliuerance, but none came: ſome fearing *Tamerlane* his heauie indignation, and others no leſſe dreading the fierce nature of *Baiazet* himſelfe, who if he had beene deliuered, was like enongh (as was thought) to haue taken ſharp reuenge vpon all them which forſooke him in the late battel; and therefore neuer made interceſſion for him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* one day paſſing by him, ſaid vnto him, I maruell that none of thy ſons or friends either come to ſee thee, or to intreat for thee, it muſt needs be that thou haſt euill deſerued of them, as thou haſt of others: yet how thinkeſt thou, if I ſhould ſet thee at libertie, would they againe receiue thee as their Lord and Soueraigne, or not? To

whom

A whom *Baiazet* boldly anſwered; Were I at libertie, thou ſhouldeſt well ſee, how that I want neither courage nor means to reuenge all my wrongs and to make thoſe diſobedient and forgetfull, to know their duties better. Which his proud anſwere, made *Tamerlane* to keepe a ſtraighter hand ouer him.

In this great and bloudie war, wherein the *Othoman* empire had almoſt taken end, the Sultan of Ægypt had (as is aforeſaid) giuen aid vnto *Baiazet*: which *Tamerlane* tooke in ſo euill part, as that he reſolued to be therof reuenged: for as he was vnto his friends of al others moſt kind & courteous, ſo was he to his enemies no leſſe terrible and dreadful. Yet thinking it good before his departure out of the leſſer Aſia, to take ſome good order with theſe his new conqueſts: and finding nothing more honorable to reſolue vpon, he reſtored vnto the poore B Mahometan Princes (*Tachretin, Iſfendiar, Germian*, and the reſt before fled vnto him for refuge) al their antient inheritance, with ſomething more; as hee did alſo diuers cities and countries of Natolia vnto the Greeke Emperour, for the yearely tribute of foure hundred thouſand duckats of gold, and eight hundred thouſand franks of ſiluer, which the Emperour promiſed to pay vnto him yerely. And ſo hauing enriched his armie with the ſpoiles of the *Othoman* empire in Aſia, he turned his forces againſt the Ægyptian Sultan, and ſo paſſing thorow Caramania, entered into Syria, then part of the Sultans kingdome: where neere vnto Aleppo (beeing before yeelded vnto him) was fought betwixt them a great & mortal battel, the Sultan hauing in his army an hundred thouſand foot, and ſeuenty foure thouſand horſe: whereof there were thirty thouſand Mamelukes, accounted the beſt horſmen of the world. In which battel, *Axalla* the great captaine, with the avauntgard of *Tamerlane* his armie, was hardly diſtreſſed, and C *Axalla* himſelfe taken: but forthwith againe reſcued by *Tamerlane*: who had he not by his comming on with new forces, ſpeedily reſtored the battell, cunningly protracted by *Axalla*, that day was like enough to haue made an end of his good fortune. But the victory after a long and cruell fight (wherein were foureſcore thouſand men on both ſides ſlaine) inclining to *Tamerlane*, the Sultan fled, *Tamerlane* purſuing him by the ſpace of three leagues. After which victorie, *Tamerlane* diuiding his armie, ſent *Axalla* with fortie thouſand horſe and fiftie thouſand foot to purſue the Sultan alongſt the coaſt of Arabia: who oftentimes ſhewed himſelfe with ſome foure thouſand horſe to haue hindred *Axalla*, who hauing the ſmalleſt forces, followed him the neareſt. *Tamerlane* himſelfe in the mean time, with threeſcore thouſand horſe, and an D hundred thouſand foot, marching alongſt the ſea coaſt, had all the cities as he went yeelded vnto him; as Magata, Aman, otherwiſe called Apamea, Tortoſa, Barruto, and Nephthalin: onely the ſtrong citie of Damaſco refuſed to receiue him, whereinto the Sultan had put the Prince *Zamadzen*, with a ſtrong garriſon, who did what he might to haue defended the ſame: But all in vaine, for *Tamerlane* hauing by batterie ouerthrowne a great part of the wall, by aſſault won the citie, only the caſtle yet remaining, as being of a wonderfull ſtrength, and almoſt impregnable; whereinto ſuch a multitude had at the taking of the citie retired themſelues, as was not poſſible therein long to liue: who in ſhort time pinched with hunger, and many of them dead, the reſt vpon ſafegard of their liues offered to yeeld: whom for all that *Tamerlane* would not receiue to mercie, to make them feele what it was to hold out againſt him: ſo that E moſt of them dying of famine, the reſt yeelded without condition, and were for their obſtinacie almoſt al ſlaine. Which his ſeuerity towards them of Damaſco, cauſed, that thirty leagues off they brought the keyes of their cities vnto him, in token of their ſubmiſſion: whom he no way moleſted, more than in contributing vnto the charge of his army. From Damaſco, hee turned directly towards Ieruſalem, at which time they of the citie had driuen out the Sultans garriſon, as had almoſt all they of Iudea, ſubmitting themſelues vnto *Tamerlane*. At Chorazin the Sultan had left ſix thouſand men in garriſon for the defence of the place, who at the firſt ſeemed to ſtand vpon their guard; but afterwards diſmaied to ſee ſo great an army before it, and that *Tamerlane* hauing approched the wals, was ſet down to haue it, they ſubmitted themſelues and found mercie. In which citie *Tamerlane* left certaine of his men in garriſon, for the better repreſſing of the Mamelukes, who with often incurſions troubled his armie. So marching on, he himſelfe with certain horſemen for his guard, rode to Ieruſalem to viſit the ſepulchre ſo much reuerenced of all nations, and there to make his oblations: where hee was of the inhabitants ioyfully receiued, and hauing ſought out all the antiquities of that ancient citie, would be conducted vnto all the places thereabouts, where Ieſus Chriſt had preached,

A great battell fought betwixt the Sultan of Aegypt and Tamerlane.

Damaſco won by Tamerlane.

Tamerlane commeth to Ieruſalem.

euen as the pilgrimes doe: and comming to the ſepulchre, gaue thereunto, and the deuout G there, many rich and precious gifts, to the great contentment of all men (to ſee him honour thoſe holy places) but of the Iewes only, who greatly blamed him for ſo doing: of whom of al others, *Tamerlane* made no reckoning, but called them the accurſed of God. There had he news that the Sultan had gathered al his forces, and being come into Ægipt, was there fortifiing of his cities, eſpecially the great cities of Alexandria and Caier. *Tamerlane* his armie in the mean time by his commandment came towards Ægipt to Damiata: which ſtrong city he thought not good to leaue behind him, although he was by ſome perſuaded ſo to do, for that it was thought impregnable, as well in reſpect of the caſtle, as of the ſtrong garriſon that the Sultan had put thereinto: but hee, whoſe fortune nothing could hinder, would needs goe thither: and ſo hauing commanded *Axalla* to ſet vpon it, followed himſelfe after with the reſt H of his armie. Now *Axalla* hauing ſummoned the citie, and declared vnto the inhabitants (who were moſt of them Chriſtians) the mildneſſe and courteſie of *Tamerlane*, as alſo who himſelfe was, and what religion he held; cauſing many of the Greeke captains to ſpeake vnto them, and to tell them of the miſerie they indured vnder the Moores and Mamalukes: ſo farre preuailed with them, that they all determined to aduenture their liues, to put the Mamalukes out of the citie, with all them that fauoured the Sultan. And ſo in the night taking vp armes, made themſelues maſters of one quarter of the citie, and deliuered one of the gates to *Axalla*: wherby he entering, put al the Mamalukes to the ſword, or took them priſoners, and ſo gained the citie. Whereof *Tamerlane* hearing, beeing as yet vpon his march, was in good hope of ſo proſperous a beginning, to find an happie end alſo of his deſignes in Ægypt. For I beſides the good fortune thereof, he knew that this hauen of Damiata might ſerue him with victuals out of all the parts of Greece, as the Emperor *Emanuel* had promiſed him, & wherein he nothing failed him. Into which port *Tamerlane* hauing made his entrie, left there in garriſon two thouſand of the Emperour *Emanuel* his ſouldiers, with a gouernour, of whom hee tooke an oath for their obedience. So hauing ſtayed a ſpace at Damiata, hee cauſed his vauntgard to march towards Alexandria: and hauing paſſed ouer the riuer, euen in an inſtant turned directly vnto Caier, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Sultan, who made prouiſion for the defence of Alexandria, as the neereſt vnto danger. But vnderſtanding of theſe newes, vſed ſuch diligence, that he entered into the citie with fortie thouſand horſe, and threeſcore thouſand foot, euen as *Tamerlane* his armie approached, purpoſing in perſon himſelfe to defend it. By K whoſe comming the great citie readie before to haue reuolted, was againe in his obedience confirmed, to the great hinderance of *Tamerlane* his affaires: for to remain long before it, was impoſſible, for want of victuals for ſo great an army in the enemies country. Yet notwithſtanding all this, did not *Tamerlane* forbeare to draw neere vnto it, and with all his army to encamp neere vnto the ſame, hauing cauſed a great trench to be made for to couer his horſemen, and thereby to lodge his armie more ſafely: during which time hee cauſed diuers onſets to be giuen, as well to trie what confidence the enemie had in himſelfe, as to ſee how the people of the citie, eſpecially the ſlaues (which in that populous citie are infinite) were affected towards him: who certainely informed him of the ſtate of the citie, and the armie; as glad to ſee the ſame by him ſhut vp, and the proud Mamalukes ſtill put to the worſt. But thus lying ſtill at L the ſiege, one day hee thought it good to ſhew his armie before the citie, to trie whether the enemie had a deſire to come to a day of battell or not: as alſo to view what forces he had, and ſo indeed to ſeek occaſion to fight: in hope alſo, that if the Sultan did come forth with al his armie into the field, ſome reuolt might happen within the citie, as well by the ſlaues (vnto whom liberty was by him promiſed) as by the citizens themſelues (diſcontented with the inſolencie of the Mamalukes entered of late into the citie with the Sultan) vnto whom he had made it knowne by certaine ſlaues (for that purpoſe fled as fugitiues out of his army into the citie) how that he was not come to hurt them, but only for the deſtruction of the Mamalukes, both his and their enemies. But betimes ſtanding ſo in battell array, no man came foorth, neither was there any tumult or ſtirre raiſed in the citie, as he had expected. For the Sultan M in ſo great a citie well prouided of all things, was reſolued to wearie him out with lying ſtill, and not to put all to the hazard of a battell. Which *Tamerlane* perceiuing, and ſet downe not to depart from thence, but victorious, reſolued likewiſe to force him euen in his greateſt ſtrength, in the heart of his greateſt citie; although it were not to be done, but with great aduen-

Damiata taken by Axalla.

Tamerlane marcheth towards Caier.

Caier beſieged by Tamerlane.

Caier aſſaulted by Tamerlane.

A aduenture: ſuch confidence he had in the ſtrength & multitude of his army. Now his purpoſe was, firſt to take one of the cities (for Caire is diuided into three) & therin incamping himſelf, by little & little to aduance forward as he might, ſtil fighting with the enemy. Vpon which reſolution, he commanded an aſſault to be giuen, and hauing brought his footmen to the place where he would haue them to giue the onſet (for the citie was not walled, but only fortified with ditches & trenches) he commanded the Prince of Thanais with fifty thouſand footmen, to begin the aſſault, euen in the face of the enemie; which he moſt valiantly performed, and there began a moſt terrible and cruel fight. *Axalla* in the mean time, deeming (as the truth was) that the Sultan had drawn his greateſt forces to the place where the Prince of Thanais ſought to enter, as vnto a place of greateſt danger; ſet a compaſſe about, & vpon another quarter of B the city, with ſmall reſiſtance paſſed the trenches; where hee preſently left thirtie thouſand men to fil vp the ditches, and to make way for the horſmen to enter: aduancing forward himſelfe, againſt twentie thouſand ſent by the Sultan to haue ſtopt his further paſſage: the Prince of Thanais being at that ſame time almoſt beaten back by the Mamelukes. But the way being made plain, by them that were for that purpoſe left by *Axalla*, and ten thouſand horſe entred, which charged vpon the backs of the Mamelukes, where the Sultan himſelfe was; and they ſeconded by ten thouſand moe ſent in by *Tamerlane*, following himſelf after, with al his power: the Sultan retired vnto a ſecond ſtrength, which he had made in the next city. The fight indured full the ſpace of ſeuen houres; wherein were ſlain of the Sultan his men aboue ſixteene thouſand; and of *Tamerlanes* betwixt ſeuen and eight thouſand. Who contented to haue diſ- C lodged the enemy, and gained a third part of the citie, cauſed a retrait to bee ſounded, in hope the next day to win all the reſt, as indeed he did. For the Prince of Thanais the next day forcing the enemies trenches in one place, and *Axalla* in another, the Sultan after a great fight finding himſelfe hardly preſſed by the obſtinat enemy, and too weake long to hold out, retired, and ſo forthwith abandoned the citie, & encamped himſelfe along the ſide of the riuer Nilus, with purpoſe to paſſe the ſame, and to flie to Alexandria his ſecond ſtrength & refuge. Which *Tamerlane* ſuſpecting, followed after him with his horſemen (who onely were in order) and ſome few foot, hardly drawn from the citie, which their fellowes were in ſpoiling; ſo as hee was glad to promiſe them eſpecially, to regard and reward their good ſeruice. Againſt whom the Sultan vpon a narrow cauſey, had oppoſed twelue or fifteen thouſand men, whom he cal- D led his ſlaues (to fauor his paſſage) but were indeed his beſt ſouldiers, and ſtood faſt, he place ſeruing greatly for their aduantage: who for all that at length forced by their enemies, ſtil increaſing vpon them, (though not without great loſſe) caſt themſelues into the great riuer, and made a moſt honorable retrait: euery man hauing his weapon in the one hand, and ſwimming with the other to the further bank. The Sultan flying with ſome eighteen thouſand horſe (for the reſt were ſundry waies fled or els drowned) is reported in his flight, to haue comforted his men, by telling of them, that they were not men that had vanquiſhed them, but gods, there appeared in them ſo great wiſedome, force, and valor: diuers of the Mamelukes taken in the late fight, being brought before *Tamerlane*, and by him courteouſly vſed, were of him demanded, if they could be content to ſerue him, now that their maſter was fled and gone? which they al vtterly refuſed: whom notwithſtanding, for their fidelitie, *Tamerlane* ſet at liberty to go again to the Sultan: as no leſſe deſirous to be admired of his enemies for his bounty and courteſie, than feared for his force and valor. The wonderfull wealth of this ſo great and famous a city became a prey vnto his ſoldiers; who for the ſpace of foure and twentie houres had the ſpoile thereof, euery man being then by open proclamation commaunded to repaire to his quarter. The citizens he ſet al at liberty, not ſuffering any of them to be taken priſoners: and ſo leauing ten thouſand good ſoldiers, with a great number of others (wherof he caried a great multitude in his army, planting euery where as he paſſed as it were new colonies) & carrying away with him ſuch of the inhabitants as he thought might hurt him; and taking order for all things neceſſary for the keeping of ſuch a city, hee cauſed his army to paſſe ouer the riuer for to follow the Sultan to Alexandria, to the end not to leaue his victorie vnperfect: *Axalla* haſting before with the avauntgard, for to hinder the Sultan for ioyning his forces againe together; and the reſt of his army conducted by the Prince of Thanais; he himſelfe with an infinite number of boats & ſoldiers to attend vpon him, going by water, taking great pleaſure to behold the faire riuer, & his ſwift courſe ſomtimes, and in an inſtant to become ſo calme as if it ſcarce moued.

The Sultan flieth from Alexandria.

The citizens of Alexandria hearing of his comming, and fearing what might betide them, beſought the Sultan to haue compaſſion of their eſtate, and to withdraw himſelfe into Lybia, whither *Tamerlane* for the barrenneſſe of the country could not with any great power follow him; reſolued for their parts to giue place vnto fortune, and to do as the time required, and no more to reſiſt ſo great a force, whereof they had alreadie made ſufficient triall: promiſing yet to remain in heart ſtil his, and vpon the firſt occaſion offered, to make the ſame to him appeare. Whereupon the Sultan ſeeing all things deſperat, determined for a time to retire, in hope, that time would bring ſome change: as alſo that *Tamerlane* his populous armie would not long remaine there. And ſo departing out of Alexandria with teares ſtanding in his eyes, oftentimes ſaid, That God was angrie with him and his people, and that he muſt of neceſſitie ſuffer the fatal ouerthrow of his eſtate, himſelfe hauing done as much as in him lay, according to his charge, and the expectation the world had of him: and yet that he hoped at length to returne againe, and deliuer his people from the bondage, whereunto they muſt now needes ſubmit themſelues. *Tamerlane* comming to Alexandria (before yeelded to *Axalla*) there ſtaied a great while, ſending *Axalla* to purſue the Sultan, exceedingly grieued that he could not get him into his hands; and therefore ſtill fearing ſome innouation to be by him raiſed, which cauſed him to deale the more hardly with them whom he ſuſpected to fauour him. Now the bruit of theſe victories hauing with *Axalla* paſſed beyond Alexandria into Lybia, had brought ſuch a feare, not onely vpon the people adioyning vnto theſe conqueſts, but alſo vpon all Affrica (they ſuppoſing that *Tamerlane* did follow) that two and twentie of the Moore kings ſent their embaſſadours vnto him, to offer vnto him their obedience: the Sultan as a man forſaken of fortune, ſtill flying before him. Of the neereſt of which Kings, *Tamerlane* tooke hoſtages: as for the other farther off, hee contented himſelfe with their faith giuen, and with the other outward ſignes of their good wils.

Tamerlane deſirous to return into his countrey.

Now after this long trauell and paines taken, was *Tamerlane* more deſirous than he had before vſed, to ſee the pleaſures of his owne natiue country: the rather thereunto moued by the requeſt of his wife, then longing for his returne; and the newes he heard of the ſicknes of the old Tartarian Emperor his father in law; beſides that, age it ſelfe began to bring vnto him a deſire of reſt: with whom alſo, the deſires of his ſouldiers well agreed, as men now wearie to haue run ſo many and diuers fortunes. The onely ſtay was, that he expected the comming of *Calibes*, an old and faithfull ſeruant of his, whom he for his good deſert had of his own accord appointed gouernor of al his new conqueſts in Ægypt and Syria: a great honour no doubt, but not too great for him that had ſo wel deſerued. So mindfull was he of the good deſerts of his faithful ſeruants, as that he needed not by others to be of them put in remembrance, were they neuer ſo farre off, as was now *Calibes*, who at this time was with the third part of his armie making way for him along the great riuer Euphrates, for the conqueſt of Meſopotamia, and Perſia: whoſe comming was now with great deuotion looked for of the whole army, deſirous to returne. Which their expectation he long delayed not, but beeing ſent for, came to Alexandria, whither the whole armie was now by the commandement of *Tamerlane* againe aſſembled. Vpon whoſe comming, *Tamerlane* departed from Alexandria, hauing there left the Prince *Zamalzan* (a man of great reputation) with ſix thouſand horſemen and ten thouſand foot, as gouernour of that place, and lieutenant generall vnder *Calibes*: whom *Tamerlan* (as I haue ſaid) had now appointed to commaund ouer all Ægypt and Syria, together with the countries newly conquered in Lybia and Barbarie: and now conducting him vnto the great citie of Caire, and there taking the beſt order he could for the preſeruation of his new conqueſt, left him with fortie thouſand horſe and fiftie thouſand foot. And ſo hauing ſufficiently inſtructed him how hee would haue thoſe kingdomes gouerned, diſmiſſed him, not like a maſter, but as a companion, ſeeming very ſorry to leaue him deſtitute of his preſence. So ſetting forward with his armie, conducted by the Prince of Thanais, *Tamerlane* himſelfe, with a few to guard him, by the way turned aſide vnto Ieruſalem: Where hee remained eleuen dayes, daylie viſiting the ſepulchre of Chriſt Ieſus (whom he called the God of the Chriſtians) and the ruins of *Salomon* his Temple: much wondering thereat, and at Ieruſalem, the ſeat of *Dauids* Kingdome, and of that great *Salomon*; but grieued that hee could not ſee them fully in their former beautie. He only deſpiſed the Iewes, which had committed ſo cruell a murder againſt him that came to ſaue them. And to ſhew his deuotion towards the holy city commanded it to be free from all ſubſidies and garriſons of men of war; and gaue great gifts vnto the Monaſteries, and honoured them ſo long as hee remained there. Departing from Ieruſalem, he came to Damaſco: which great citie, as well for that it was infected with the opinion of *Iezides* (accounted an arch heriticke among the Mahometans) as alſo euill affected to his proceedings, he cauſed to be raſed, and the bones of *Iezides* the falſe Prophet to be digged vp and burnt, and his graue before much honored, in deſpight to be filled with dung. So marching on, & blaſting the world before him as he went (for long it were and from our purpoſe, to recount all his victories) he paſſed ouer the riuer Euphrates, and hauing conquered Meſopotamia, with the great citie of Babylon, and all the kingdome of Perſia, laded with the ſpoile of the world, and eternized for euer, he returned at length to Samercand, the famous place of his birth, and glorious ſeat of his empire.

The miſerable death of Baiazet.

Now had *Baiazet* (but a little before one of the greateſt princes on earth, and now the ſcorn of fortune, and a byword to the world) with great impatiencie laine two yeres in moſt miſerable thraldom, for moſt part ſhut vp in an yron cage, as ſome dangerous wild beaſt: and hauing no better means to end his loathed life, did violently beat out his braines againſt the barres of the yron grate wherin he was incloſed, and ſo died about the yeare of our Lord 1399. Yet of his death are diuers other reports: ſome ſaying, that he died of an ague, proceeding of ſorrow and griefe: others, that he poyſoned himſelfe: and the Turks affirming, that he was ſet at libertie by *Tamberlane*, being by him beforehand poyſoned, whereof he dyed three daies after hee was inlarged (a report not like to be true:) but howſoeuer it was, his end appeareth to haue bin right miſerable. His dead bodie at the requeſt of his ſon *Mahomet*, was by *Tamberlane* ſent to Aſprapolis, from whence it was afterwards conueied to Pruſa, and there lyeth buried in a Chappell neere vnto the great Mahometan Temple without the citie Eaſtward: where alſo lieth his beloued wife *Deſpina*, with his eldeſt ſonne *Erthogrul*. And faſt by in a little Chappell lieth buried his brother *Iacup*, whom he in the beginning of his raigne murthered.

A compariſon betwixt Baiazet and Tamberlane.

Theſe two great and mighty Princes, *Tamberlane* and *Baiazet*, (both of them whilſt they liued, a burthen to the world) as they took their beginning from the Scyths or Tartars, ſo were they of like honorable progenitors deſcended: *Baiazet* being the fourth in deſcent from the warlike *Othoman*, the raiſer of his family; & *Tamberlan* in like degree from the great *Zingis*, the firſt and moſt fortunat leader of the Tartars (his countrymen) vnto the pleaſures of the Eaſt: both Princes of great power and like ſpirit; wiſe, hardy, painful, reſolute, and moſt skilfull in martial affaires; but ambitious aboue meaſure, the ground of al the former troubles by them raiſed, to the aſtoniſhment of the world. Howbeit, the great vertues and other the honourable qnalities of *Baiazet*, were in him by his cholerick and waiward nature much obſcured: which made him to exceed both in cruelty & pride: being alſo much more handfaſt than were his honorable predeceſſors. For which cauſes he was much feared and leſſe beloued of his ſoldiers and men of war in general, & of them at his moſt need forſaken: He vſed commonly to ſay, That his treaſures were his childrens meat, and not his ſoldiers pay: which by way of reproch was by a common ſoldier caſt in his teeth, when he raged to ſee himſelfe by them forſaken in the great battel againſt *Tamerlane*; telling him as he fled, that he ran not away, but went to ſeek his pay, wherewith to prouide his children bread. Whereas all the aforeſaid vertues in *Tamberlane* were graced with diuers other of like nature, no man being to his freinds more courteous or kinde, either vnto his enemies more dreadfull or terrible. The good ſeruice of his ſeruants he neuer forgot, either left the ſame long vnrewarded: being therof ſo mindful, as that he needed not by them or others in their behalf, to be put in remembrance therof, hauing always by him a catalogue both of their names and good deſerts, which he daily peruſed. Oftentimes ſaying that day to be loſt, wherein hee had not giuen them ſomething: and yet neuer beſtowing his preferments on ſuch as ambitiouſly ſought the ſame (as deeming them in ſo doing vnworthy thereof) but vpon ſuch as whoſe modeſty or deſert he thought worthy thoſe his great fauors; ſo tempering the ſeuerity of his commands with the greatnes of his bounty, as that it is hard to ſay, whither he was of his nobility & men of war, for the one more feared, or for the other beloued: both, the great ſtaies of princes ſtates; feare keeping the obſtinat in obedience; & loue, the dutiful in deuotion. But with *Baiazet* it was not ſo, who deeming all done for him but duty, & by nature chollerick & proud (after the maner of tyrants) deſired aboue al to be of his ſubiects feared, not much regarding how little he was of thē beloued; not the leſt

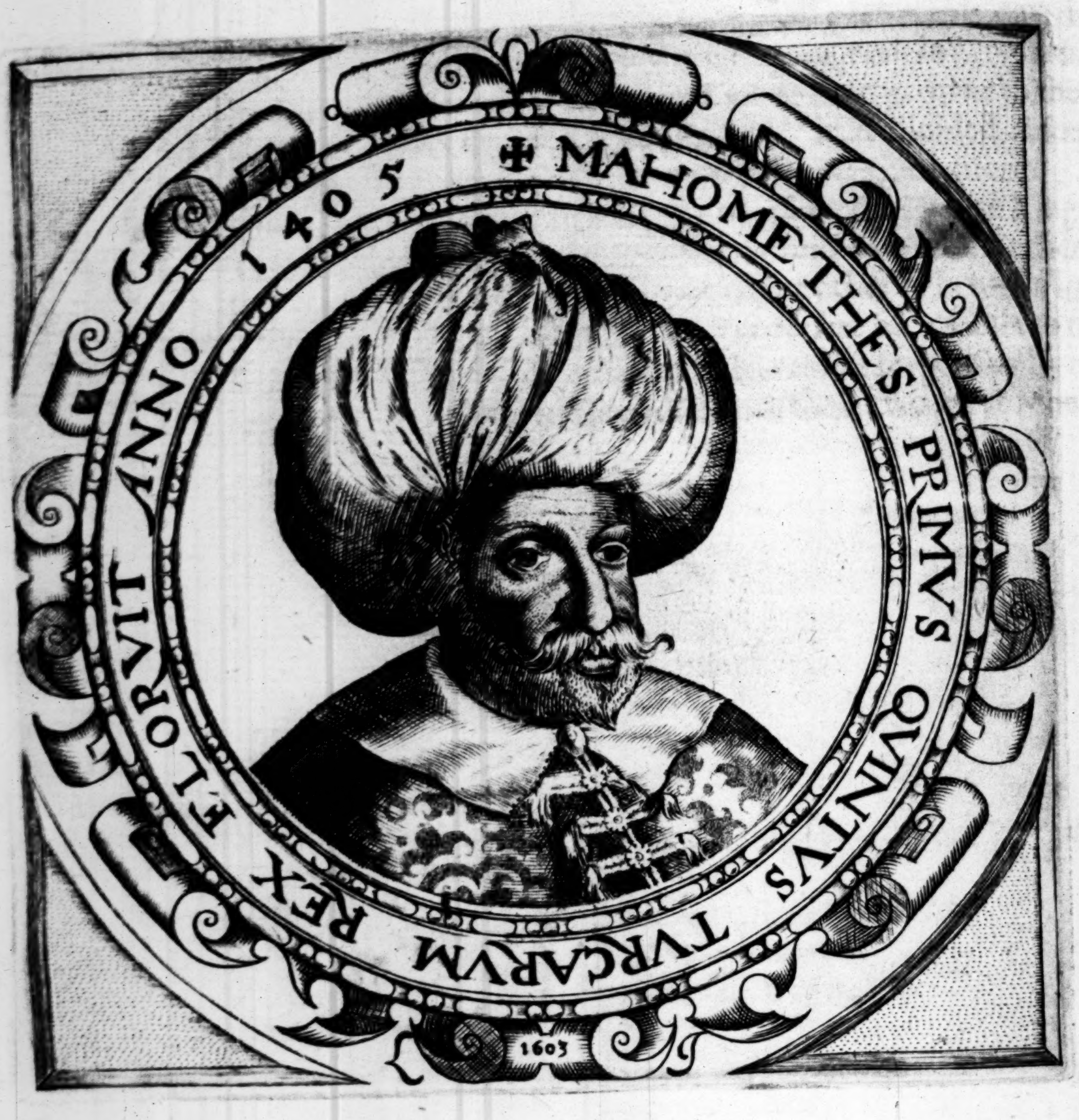
cauſe

Baiazet in his poſteritie more fortunate than Tamberlane.

cauſe of his great fall and miſerie, and that therein hee was of his owne ſo ſmally regarded: G wherein for all that he is to be accounted more fortunate than the other great conqueror his enemie, hauing euer ſince in the lineall deſcent of himſelfe, had one of the greateſt Monarchs of the world to ſucceed ſtil in his kingdome and empire: as he hath euen at this day, the great Sultan *Mahomet*, the third of that name, who now in great maieſty raigneth in Conſtantinople. Whereas the glorie of *Tamberlane* his empire, euen in his owne time growne to the height thereof, and labouring with the greatneſſe of it ſelfe, and by him diuided amongſt his ſonnes, ſhortly after his death decaied, rent in ſunder by ambition and ciuill diſcord; and not long after, together with his poſteritie, rooted out by *Vſun-Caſſanes* the Perſian King, to the worlds wonder, tooke end: nothing of the huge greatneſſe thereof now or ſince then remaining, more than the ſame thereof: as doth alſo the miſerie of the other ſo brought low. But H leauing this mirrour of miſhap (*Baiazet*) vnto his reſt, and *Tamberlane* for a while to triumph in Samarcand; let vs now proceed in the courſe of our hiſtorie, yet not forgetting by the way to remember ſuch Chriſtian Princes as then liued together with theſe two great Monarchs.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Baiazet the firſt.	*Emperours,*	*Of the Eaſt*	*Emanuel Palæologus*	1387:	30.
		Of the Weſt	*Wenceſlaus, ſonne to Charles King of Bohemia.*	1378.	22.
			Rupertus Duke of Bauaria.	1400.	10.
	Kings,	*Of England*	*Richard the ſecond.*	1377.	23.
			Henrie the fourth.	1399.	12.
		Of France	*Charles the ſixt, ſurnamed, The Welbeloued.*	1381.	42.
		Of Scotland	*Iohn Steuart, otherwiſe called Robert the third.*	1390.	16.
	Biſhops of Rome,		*Vrban the VI.*	1380.	11.
			Boniface the IX.	1390.	14


MAHOMETHES PRIMVS QVINTVS TVRCARVM REX FLORVIT ANNO 1405
1603

Phil. Lonicer. Hist. Turc. l. 1.

Vindicibus Mahomet *patrium ſibi vendicat armis*
Imperium, & fractas feruidus auget opes.
Quod patri abſtulerat violentia Tamberlani,
Imperio reddit Marte fauente ſuo.
Ille ſagittiferoſque Dacas, validoſque Triballos
Contudit, & populos Iſter amœne tuos.
Turcica ſic rurſus ſublata potentia ſtragem
Attulit imperio Romule *magne tuo.*

By force of armes ſtout *Mahomet* his fathers kingdome gaines,
And doth the broken ſtate thereof repaire with reſtleſſe paines.
What ſo the force of *Tamerlane* had from his father tane,
He by his fortune and his force reſtor'd the ſame again.
The Dacians he vanquiſhed, and Seruians in field,
And forc'd the people neere to thee faire Iſter, for to yeeld.
So once againe the Turkiſh ſtate (by him rais'd vp on hie)
Hath to thine empire, *Romulus*, brought great calamitie.

THE LIFE OF *MAHOMET*, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, FIFTH KING OF THE TVRKES, AND RESTORER OF THEIR SORE SHAKEN KINGDOME.

Diuers opinions concerning the ſucceſſors of Baiazet.

HOw wonderfully the Turkiſh kingdome was by the violence of *Tamerlane* ſhaken, and the maieſtie thereof defaced, it well appeareth, in that the Hiſtories of that time, as well thoſe of the Greeks, as of the Turks, in nothing more differ, than in the ſucceſſors of *Baiazet*, their late vnfortunat King. Some writing, that he had two ſons, *Orchanes* (otherwiſe called *Calepinus*) and *Mahomet*: and that *Calepinus* in the ſecond yeare of his raigne was ſlaine, and his kingdome poſſeſſed by *Mahomet* his brother. Others reporting, that *Baiazet* had two ſons namely, *Calepinus* and *Muſtapha*: and that *Calepinus* ſucceeding his father in the Turkiſh kingdome, when he had raigned ſix yeres, died, leauing behind him two ſonnes *Orchanes* and *Mahomet*: and that *Orchanes* being young, was ſlaine by his vncle: whom *Mahomet* in reuenge of his brothers death, afterwards ſlew, and poſſeſſed the kingdome himſelfe. Others reckon vp ſeuen ſons of *Baiazet*; *Ioſua*, *Muſulmanes*, *Moſes*, *Calepinus*, *Ioſua* the yonger, *Muſtapha* and *Halis*; with an vncertaine ſucceſſion amongſt them alſo. This diuerſitie of opinions, full of no leſſe vncertaintie; as I mean not to follow in report of this Hiſtorie, ſo wil I not ſpend any time in refuting the ſame, (although much might be ſaid in the matter) but leaue theſe reports, together with the hiſtorie following, to ſuch credit as they ſhall hap to find with the conſiderat readers.

The Greeke Hiſtoriographers (beſt like to know the Turkiſh ſucceſſion, as wel by reaſon of their neereneſſe, as in that they were by them as their bad neighbors, ſo much troubled) make no mention at all either of *Calepinus* or of *Orchanes*: In like manner, *Hiſtoria Muſulmana Turcorum*, diligently gathred out of the Turks own hiſtories by *Io. Leunclauius* (a learned Phyſitian, and himſelfe a great traueller amongſt them, & therefore deſeruing the more credit) do not ſo much as name the ſucceſſion of *Calepinus* or *Orchanes*, after the captiuitie of *Baiazet*, but reiecteth them both as counterfets. But in my opinion (without preiudice to any, that vpon better reaſon may deeme otherwiſe) the great confuſion of the Turkiſh Kingdome, in ſhort time wrought by the mightie *Tamerlane* and his Tartars, with the ciuill diſcord and war afterwards ariſing among the ſons of *BaiaZet*, ſtriuing all as it were at once, for the reſtleſſe room of ſoueraintie, which ſuffereth no partners; and euery one of them, according to his hap or power, laying hand vpon ſome one part or other thereof, and bearing himſelfe therein for a time as a King, in countries ſo far diſtant; neuer leauing, vntill they had like the earth-borne bretheren, wrought one anothers deſtruction; might giue iuſt occaſion of ſuch diuerſitie of reports as is before ſpoken of, concerning the ſucceſſion of that time, in that troubled and rent kingdom: ſome reckoning one, ſome another; and ſome, ſuch as neuer were, to haue ſucceeded in the gouernment, and ſo vntruly augmenting the number of the Turkiſh Kings. Wherefore leauing *Calepinus* & *Orchanes* vnto them that firſt found them, with that little, which without any good ground and leſſe probabilitie is written of their ſuppoſed raigne; I (following the authoritie of the Turkiſh hiſtory) reckon this *Mahomet* one of the yongeſt ſonnes of *Baiazet* (of whom we are now to intreat) fifth king of the Turk: who after great and dangerous wars as well againſt his own brethren, as his forrein enemies, was at length ſolely inueſted in the Turkiſh Kingdome, about ten yeares after the captiuitie of his father **Baiazet**, as ſhall hereafter be declared.

The true poſteritie of Baiazet

Baiazet after the manner of the Turkiſh Kings, hauing layd vp the hope of his poſteritie in the common treaſure houſe of nature, rather than in the bodie of one lawfull wife, had by diuers wiues and concubins ſeuen ſonnes, **Ethogrul**, otherwiſe called **Orthobules**, **Emer-Solyman**, **Muſtapha-Zelebi**, (that is to ſay, the noble) **Iſa-Zelebi**, **Muſa-Zelebi**, **Sultan Mahomet**, and **Caſan-Zelebi**. Of whom **Erthogrul** the eldeſt was loſt in the wars againſt **Caſi Burchaniden**, as is before ſaid in the life of **Baiazet**. **Muſtapha** was ſlaine in the great battell againſt **Tamerlane**, and there buried in the bed of fame. **Cuſan** the yongeſt was a child in **Baiazet** his court, when his father was taken, and afterwards with his ſiſter **Fatime** deliuered as hoſtages, by their brother **Solyman**, vnto **Emanuel** the Emperor of Conſtantinople, where they both happily became Chriſtians, and ſo ſhortly after died.

Solyman was by **Alis Baſſa** Preſident of **Baiazet** his Councel, and other great captaines, conueyed out of the battell againſt **Tamerlane**, into Europe, and ſo by them at Hadrianople ſaluted Sultan. **Mahomet** fled out of the ſame battell to Amaſia in Capadocia, where he was in his fathers time gouernour. **Iſa** hearing of his fathers captiuitie, after the departing of **Tamerlane** with his Tartars, ſeiſed vpon Pruſa a citie of Bithynia, the antient ſeat of the Turkiſh Kings, with the country adioyning, and there raigned as King. **Muſa-Zelebi** was taken priſoner with **Baiazet** his father, and afterwards ſet at libertie by **Tamerlane**. But of their fortunes more ſhal be ſayd in this hiſtory following.

Mahomet gouernor of Amaſia.

Mahomet was but fifteene yeares old when his father **Baiazet** in the vnfortunate battell of mount Stella was taken priſoner, and was at the ſame time by his appointment Gouernour of Amaſia, with a great part of Capadocia adioyning: which places became ſo troubleſome after the great victory of **Tamerlane**, that the Turkes in that country were glad day and night for the ſafegard of themſelues, their wiues, and children, to keepe continuall watch and ward: in ſo much that many of them wearied with thoſe troubles, & deſpairing of better times, went into voluntary exile, becauſe they would not ſee ſo great miſeries: which thing much grieu'd yong **Mahomet**. Wherefore calling vnto him his moſt faithful councellors, to conſult what courſe to take in the midſt of ſo many dangers, it was by generall conſent thought beſt (for ſo much as they could not without apparent danger continue neere vnto **Tamerlanes** forces) to get themſelues further off into places of more ſtrength, & from thence to expect the departure of their enemies, and in the meane time to content themſelues with ſuch aduantages as occaſion and chance of war might miniſter; cutting them ſhort by policy, whom they were not able to meet in the plain field, and ſo by little & little to weaken or wearie their mightie ſtragling enemies. For albeit that **Tamerlane** himſelfe was not neere him, as then lying in Caria; yet did the Captains of his great and victorious army, at their pleaſure ſpoile and forrage the countries far and neere all ouer the leſſer Aſia. Vpon this reſolution he with all his forces departed from Amaſia, to Derby in Paphlagonia: where by the way he incountred with **Cara Iabia** a nigh kinſman to the prince *Iſfendiar* of Caſtamona, his enemie; whom he put to flight with great ſlaughter of his men. This was the beginning of **Mahomets** good fortune. From thence he went to Kereden, and there ſtaying certain dayes, ſent a ſpie into **Tamerlanes** campe, to ſee how all things went there: and afterwards entred again into councel with his captains, concerning his further proceedings.

Mahomet ſendeth Spies into Tamerlane his campe.

In which conſultation ſome were of opinion, That it was beſt for him to withdraw himſelfe into the mountains of the leſſer Aſia, as a place of good ſafetie, vntill the departure of **Tamerlane**, which was ſhortly hoped for: for that it was not to be thought, that **Tamlaine** would with his huge armie purſue him in that mountaine country, flying from hil to hil, and as it were from ſtrength to ſtrength. Others better aduiſed, thought thoſe mountains to be no places to truſt vnto, and therfore that it were more honorable, and as free from danger, for him to return again to Amaſia, and there to liue amongſt his ſubiects, protecting them in ſuch ſort as he might, & not to leaue them for a prey to euery ſtragling companie of the rude Tartarians: which councel he followed, as moſt reaſonable; & being readie to ſet forward, the ſpie before by him ſent into **Tamerlanes** campe, returned, certifying him that he had ſeen his father **Baiazet** in good health in the Tartars Campe, but could not by any means ſpeake with him, by reaſon of the ſtraight Guard ſet ouer him: and that all that part of Aſia was by **Tamerlane**

poſſeſſed,

A poſſeſſed, who then with his army wintred in Caria and Lyſia: whereupon *Mahomet* returned backe againe into Amaſia; where he had not long ſtayed, but that newes was brought vnto him, That one of the Tartarian Princes called *Cara Duletſchach* (that is to ſay, the fortunate blacke King) was with an armie of twentie thouſand comming to ſpoyle his countrey, being giuen him by *Tamerlane*. With which newes hee was exceedingly troubled: wherefore with all ſpeed calling together his forces for the ſafegard of his country, he ſent before a ſpie to diſcouer the enemies doings. This diligent ſpie returning in all haſt, told *Mahomet*, That *Cara Dulet* lay at the towne of Ægiolus in Galatia, in great ſecuritie, hauing about him but a ſmall power; for that he fearing no danger, had at that time diſperſed his armie, to ſeeke after pillage abroad in the couutry. *Mahomet* taking hold of this opportunitie, marched thither with B great celeritie, and ſuddenly ſetting vpon *Cara Dulet*, ouercame him. In which conflict *Cara Dulet* himſelfe was ſhot thorow the head with an arrow and ſlaine, and his armie vtterly diſcomfited. *Mahomet* returning backe to Amaſia with victorie, refreſhed and rewarded his ſoldiers, yet no leſſe carefull for the ſafetie of his kingdome than before.

Cara Dulet ſlaine.

Shortly after, he was aduertiſed that *Cubad Ogli* with a great armie laid hard ſiege to the citie of Cæſaria in Capadocia, & was like in ſhort time to take it, if it were not ſpeedily relieued. By taking of which citie, that Tartar Prince was like to make a great entrance, to the hazarding of the whole country. Wherefore *Mahomet* hauing his army always in readineſſe, marched day and night with ſuch ſpeed to Cæſaria, as that he was vpon *Cubad Ogli* before he was aware of his comming, and there ſlew moſt of his ſoldiers, and put him with the reſt to flight. C ter that, he returned into *Cubad Ogli* his Countrey in Pontus, and grieuouſly ſpoyled and deſtroyed the ſame: at which time he alſo by force woon the ſtrong caſtle Peltæ in the confines of Phrygia.

Immediatly after that, *Inall Ogli* another of *Tamerlanes* Captaines (which at their pleaſure without let forraged all the countries of the leſſer Aſia, during the time that *Tamerlane* made his abode within the Turks dominions) vpon the ſudden entred into Capadocia with an army of twentie thouſand fighting men, killing the inhabitants, & ſpoyling the country before him: ſo that the people for feare left their dwellings, and fled into the woods and mountaines, to hide themſelues from his furie. Whereof *Mahomet* hearing, was therewith exceedingly grieued, and wrote vnto him as followeth:

D

Sultan *Mahomet*, vnto the Prince *Inall Ogli*.

Mahomet his Letters to Inall Ogli the Tartar Prince.

Whereas without any iuſt or lawfull cauſe, or any war proclaimed, you haue inuaded Our Kingdome, and ceaſe not cruelly to kill Our ſubiects, by God committed to Our protection; and to ſpoyle their wealth and labours, to the great diſturbance of the Mahometan commonweale; and make no end of your malice and crueltie: you do therein quite digreſſe from the manners and laws of the true Mahometans, or right beleeuers. For if thou wouldeſt not only be accounted, but indeed be a true Muſul-man, thou ſhouldeſt forthwith depart out of my kingdome with thine armie; thou ſhouldeſt not thus ſhed the innocent bloud, or without cauſe thus wrong my people: but foraſmuch as thou knoweſt not what beſeemeth thee, neither wilt liſten vnto good councell, but wilfully proceed in thy wicked purpoſe, falſly perſuading thy ſelfe, this my Kingdome to be deſtitute of a lawfull inheritor, and therefore doſt ſo great wrong and iniurie vnto the defenders of the true Mahometan religion; I would thou ſhouldeſt know, that I with my ſo often victorious armie will ſhortly by the power of God come againſt thee, and in plaine field according to thy deſerts chaſtiſe thee. Therefore whileſt thou yet maiſt, reclaime thy ſelfe, and proceed not too far in thine obſtinacie: too late repentance did neuer man yet good. Thus much We thought good to aduertiſe thee, that thou ſhouldeſt not be ignorant of Our purpoſe, but mighteſt ſo better conſider and diſpoſe both of thy ſelfe and thine affaires. In the yere after the departure of the great Prophet Mahomet 806.

Vnto which Letters *Inall Ogli* returned this anſwer in writing:

Prince *Inall Ogli*, to *Mahomet*.

Inall Ogli his anſwer to Mahomet.

Why doſt thou Mahomet *with ſuch letters prouoke me? why doſt thou ſo vnciuilly taunt me, being thy ſelfe but a boy, and in truth a very child? It beſeemeth thee not to haue entred into theſe countries, or* *to lay hands thereon, wrongfully gracing thy ſelfe with the title of a Sultan. Neither is there any cauſe why thou ſhouldeſt complaine, that I ſhould lie in wait or ſeeke after thy life, thy kingdome, or any thing that thine is. I challenge vnto my ſelfe this kingdome, but none of thine: out of which it is reaſon for thee, as a wrongfull intruder of thy ſelfe, to depart; whom otherwiſe I will forthwith thruſt out, and ioyne the ſame vnto the reſt of my territories. Wherefore except thou without delay get thee packing, and ceaſe to oppoſe thy ſelfe againſt my deſignes; I denounce vnto thee all the calamities of war, and wiſh thee with ſpeed to prepare thy ſelfe to battell, for that I meane ſhortly to meet with thee. This yeare of our great Prophet* 806.

Inall Ogli ouerthrown by Mahomet.

Shortly after, ***Mahomet*** according to his promiſe meeting with this Tartar Prince, by plaine force ouerthrew him, and had of him a notable victorie.

The like good hap he had alſo not long after, againſt ***Coſter Ogli*** and ***Kinpeck Ogli***, two other Tartarian captaines, at the caſtle of Chara-chizar and the Plaine of Artuck-Oua. And hearing that one *Meſites* a Turke, had fortified himſelfe in the ruins of Sebaſtia, and from thence ſpoiled the country round about, he ſent ***Baiazet*** one of his Baſſa's againſt him; who in ſhort time tooke him, and brought him bound vnto him: by whom he was adiudged to die. But ſeeing in the man an inuincible courage, and contempt of death at ſuch time as he ſhould haue been executed, mooued therewith, hee gaue him his pardon; for which he euer after continued vnto him faithfull, and did him great ſeruice.

Mahomet hauing many times thus vanquiſhed the ſtragling Tartarian Princes, which had ſought the ſpoyle of his countrey, became thereby famous amongſt the great commanders of ***Tamerlane*** his armie; in ſo much that the bruit of his name came at length to ***Tamerlanes*** eare, yet lying in the leſſer Aſia: who as he thought it not worth his greatneſſe and labor, himſelf in perſon to goe againſt ſo great an enemie; ſo hee thought it not good or conuenient quite to neglect him, but by ſome other meanes (if he could) to ouertake him. For which purpoſe he began to ſpeake many times very honourably of him, highly commending his great valor and forwardneſſe in ſo tender yeres. And calling for ***Baiazet***, told him what great commendation he had heard of his ſonne ***Mahomet***, and that he was therefore very deſirous to ſee him: where if he found that true which was reported of his great vertues, hee would beſtow one of his daughters vpon him in marriage, with many other great preferments: and therfore willed ***Baiazet*** to write vnto him, Not to doubt to come vnto him, to the great good both of himſelfe and his father. Which thing ***BaiaZet*** at the firſt doubting the worſt, requeſted ***Tamerlane*** not to beleeue that of his ſon, being yet very yong, and not worthie of ſo great a fauor. Neuertheleſſe partly perſuaded by ***Tamerlane*** his proteſtations, & importuned by him that might now command him; he with an euill will wrot to his ſon ***Mahomet*** to ſuch effect as ***Tamerlane*** required. With which letters, and others of like purport from himſelf, with many rich Preſents, ***Tamerlane*** ſent ***Hozza Mahomet*** (one of his ſecret councellors) embaſſador to ***Mahomet***, of whom he was right honorably receiued, and likewiſe entertained. But hauing read the aforeſaid letters, and thereby vnderſtood the cauſe of his comming, he entred into councel with the great Baſſa's about him, whether he were beſt to go to ***Tamerlane*** or not. Where his Councellors were al cleere of one opinion, that it was not good for him to aduenture his perſon to the danger of ſuch a journey, or the mercie of ſo mightie an enemie, of whoſe faith he had no aſſurance. And if ſo be (ſaid they) he therewith offended, will by force ſeeke to haue you, we at his comming will take the refuge of the woods and mountains, and there ſhroud our ſelues vntil he be departed again: for that he with his huge armie cannot here long ſtay in this bare country, for want of neceſſaries. Neuertheleſſe ***Mahomet*** hoping that his journy might be both for the good of his father, and his owne aduancement; contrarie to the mind of all his councellors reſolued to go: and ſo hauing prepared all things needfull for the honor & ſafety of his journy, ſet forward. But as he was vpon the way in the marches of Pontus, ***Cara Iahia*** whom he had before ouerthrowne, vnderſtanding of his comming that way, thinking now to be reuenged, and hauing got vnto him ſome of the Prince ***Iſfendiars*** forces, ſet vpon him by the way: but with as euill ſucceſſe as before, moſt of his men being there by ***Mahomet*** ſlain, & himſelf glad ſhamefully to flie. So trauelling on further, he vnderſtood that ***Alis Beg***, a great Lord in thoſe countries, went about to intercept him alſo: which cauſed him in ſuch haſt to goe on, that he was vpon ***Alis*** before he was aware of his comming, or well prouided for him: ſo that for feare he was glad to betake himſelf to flight. ***Mahomet*** cōſidering the danger he had eſcaped in that

journey,

iourney, and that the neerer he came to *Tamerlane*, the more like he was to fall into greater, although happily without *Tamerlane* his knowledge: by the aduice of his graue and faithfull counſellours, reſolued to goe no further. Wherefore calling vnto him *Tamerlanes* embaſſador, he thus ſpake vnto him:

Mahomet his ſpeech to Tamerlanes embaſſadour.

You ſee the dangers and iniuries I indure in this my iourny, and my mind forbodeth greater to enſue: for which cauſes I may not goe any further, but here returne. Commend me therefore I pray you vnto the moſt mightie Tamerlane, *with my father, and tel them what dangers haue happened vnto me vpon the way: which conſidered, I hope they will haue me excuſed. For which purpoſe I will alſo ſend in your companie an embaſſadour of mine owne.*

Mahomet at that time had with him a graue, wiſe, and learned man, called *Sophis Baiazet*, ſometime his ſchoolemaſter: whom he ſent embaſſadour to *Tamerlane* and his father, to haue him vnto them both excuſed: and ſo departed, he homewards, leauing the way he came (for feare of further danger) and they towards *Tamerlane*, who honourably receiued *Mahomets* embaſſadour and letters. But taking pleaſure in the man ſent vnto him, gaue him honourable entertainment, but would neuer after ſuffer him to returne againe vnto his maſter.

It was not long after, but that old *Baiazet* died of impatiencie (as is aforeſaid:) whoſe dead bodie *Tamerlane* left at Apropolis with the Prince *Germean*, to bee deliuered vnto his ſonne *Mahomet*; with *Muſa* his elder brother (who all this while had beene kept priſoner with *Tamerlane*) if *Mahomet* ſhould require them. And ſo the mightie Prince *Tamerlane*, after he had long time waſted Phrygia, Caria, Lydia, with the moſt part of the leſſer Aſia; and conquered all Syria, Iudea, Ægypt, and Perſia, with many other great countries and prouinces; returned at laſt into his owne kingdome, vnto the great citie of Samercand, which he wonderfully inlarged, and beautified with the ſpoiles of a great part of the world, before by him waſted: where he afterwards in great peace and glorie raigned, no leſſe honoured than feared of all the Princes of the Eaſt. To the terrour of whom, and for the aſſuring of his eſtate, hee kept alwaies a ſtanding armie of fortie thouſand horſe, and threeſcore thouſand foot readie at all aſſaies: beſide other his great garriſons which he kept in Syria, Ægypt, China, and Cambalu; as alſo againſt the Muſcouite, and Turks; beeing commonly in euery place threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, though not ſtill in field, but as occaſion required. Vntill that at length hearing of the riſing againe of the Turkiſh kingdome, vnder the *Othoman* Princes, the ſons of *Baiazet*, with whom the oppreſſed Mamelukes of Ægypt, and the Greeke Emperour (as doubtfull of his eſtate) had now alſo for feare of him combined themſelues; he by the perſuaſion of *Axalla* (then Generall of his imperiall armie) made great preparation for a ſecond expedition to be made for the vtter rooting out of the *Othoman* familie, & the conqueſt of the Greeke empire. But hauing now all things in readineſſe, and alſo giuen a good beginning vnto theſe his intended conqueſts, (one of the Turkes great Baſſaes beeing by *Axalla* his lieutenant in a great battell ouerthrowne, and thirtie thouſand of the Turks ſlaine) he in the middeſt of theſe his great hopes, as alſo of his greateſt power, died of an ague the 27 day of Ianuary, in the yere of our Lord 1402. A little before whoſe death, appeared a great and terrible blaſing ſtar, portending as it were to the world the death of ſo great a Prince. He was a man of the middle ſtature, ſomewhat narrow in the ſhoulders, otherwiſe wel limmed, and of a great ſtrength. In his eies ſate ſuch a rare maieſtie, as a man could hardly indure to behold them without cloſing of his owne: and many in talking with him, and often beholding of him became dumbe; which cauſed him oftentimes with a comely modeſtie to abſtaine from looking too earneſtly vpon ſuch as ſpake vnto him, or diſcourſed with him. All the reſt of his viſage was amiable & wel proportioned: he had but little haire on his chinne; and ware the haire of his head long and curled, contrary to the manner of the Tartars, who ſhaue their heads, hauing the ſame alwaies couered: whereas he contrariwiſe was for the moſt part bare headed, commanding his ſon alſo to be ſo by his tutors brought vp: his haire was of a dark colour, ſomwhat drawing toward a violet, right beautifull to behold: which his mother comming of the race of *Sampſon* (as hee gaue it out) willed him to nouriſh, in token of his deſcent: the cauſe that made him to be the more reſpected of his men of war; moſt part of them beleeuing that in thoſe haires was ſome rare vertue, or rather ſome fatal deſtiny: an old practiſe of many great commanders of former ages, to fil the heads of their ſoldiers with ſome ſtrange opinion conceiued of them, to be the more of them honored; as if in them had bin ſome one thing or other more than in other men.

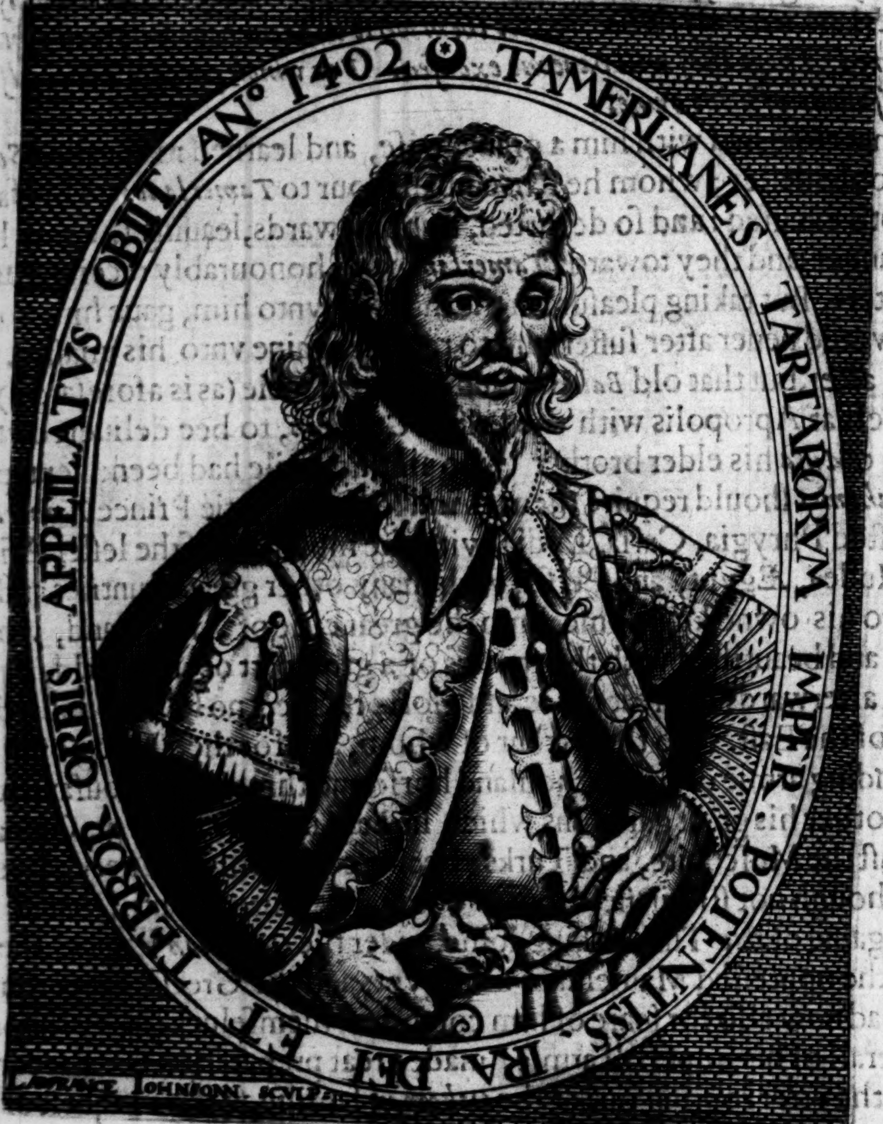
The great power Tamerlane continually kept

The death of Tamerlane.

The deſcription of Tamerlane.

His liuely counterfeit, as I find it expreſſed by them that write the beſt of him, you may here behold, with the teſtimonie of his greatneſſe following.

TAMERLANE.


TAMERLANES TARTARORVM IMPER. POTENTISS. IRA DEI ET TERROR ORBIS APPELLATVS OBIIT ANo 1402
LAURANCE IOHNSONN. SCULP.

Paulus Iouius, Illuſtr. Viror. Elog. li. 2. p. 97.

Ille nouus Xerxes, *orientis victor, & ingens*
Quacunque permearet, horror gentium:
Compleuit totos Scythico qui milite campos,
Hoc ſe ferebat ore trux Tamerlanes.
Cuius in aduentum tutæ altis mœnibus vrbes,
Ipſumque terre contremiſcebat ſolum:
Ipſi adeo montes, ipſa per deuia valles,
Vim Barbarorum non ferebant agminum.
Quare ab Caucaſeis Aſiam conuallibus omnem,
Ad vſque Nili flumina armis ſubdidit:
Eufratem, & Tigrim, & rapidū tranauit Orontem,
Vi, vaſtitate, cæde, cuncta proterens.
Vtque olim fœda cum tempeſtate coorta
Erumpit atra nube fulmen igneum:
Obuia quæque cadens perrumpit, & alta ſonanti
Templa atque ſolidas ſtrage turres diſiicit:
Subſidit vaſto tellus labefacta fragore,
Humiliſque mentes ſternit humanas pauor:

Haud ſecus ille viam ferro molitus, & igni,
Euertit arces, opida aquauit ſolo.
Regem Aſia horribili captum impete Baiazetem
Caueaque clauſum ferrea circumtulit.
Hac agitantem illum, & ſpirantem immania iuſſa.
Qua cunctus vndique orbis expaueſceret;
Exiguo cæca domitum molimine febris
Fatalis vno ſoluit hora triduo.
Deque tot inſanis opibus, de tot modo regnis,
Reliqua vna paruo gleba texit puluere.

In Engliſh thus:

Of *Tamerlane* a *Xerxes* new, which did the Eaſt ſubdue,
And in all places where he came, the nations ouerthrew;
That fild the fields with Scythian troupes, brought from thoſe climats cold,
This was the feature and the ſhape which thou do'ſt here behold.
At whoſe approach, the ſtrongeſt townes could ſmall reſiſtance make,
The earth it ſelfe vnder his feet ſeeming for feare to quake.
The mountaines high, mating the skie, and vncouth vallies low,
Vnable were the force to beare, where he did come or goe.
All Aſia from mount Caucaſus, vnto the bankes of Nile,
With valiant hand he vanquiſhed and made his force to feele.
Euphrates, Tygris, and the ſwift Orantes gaue him way,
With force, waſte, and deſtruction great, on what he liſt to prey.
And as in tempeſts great oft times, when all things goe to wracke,
The fierie lightning flaſhing forth, out of the clouds ſo blacke,
Doth breake downe what it lights vpon, and with a dreadfull fall
Or'ethrowes the Temples, with their Towers, and ſtately buildings all:
So that the earth diſmaid therewith, doth lower downe deſcend,
And feareful wights wrapt vp in woe, are brought to their wits end:
In like ſort he with fire and ſword ſeeking all to confound,
The ſtrongeſt caſtles, towers, and townes, laid equall with the ground.
And like an whirlewind taking vp great *Baiazet* away,
Coupt vp in cage, ſo carried him, for his diſport and play.
But whileſt he rageth thus about, and plotteth in his head
Such hard commands and heauie doomes, as all the world ſhould dread:
A little feauer in three fits, oppreſſed him with woe,
And cloaſing vp his vitall ſprites, did lay his head full low.
So that for all the world of wealth and kingdomes he poſſeſt,
The ſmall remainder of himſelfe in ſimple graue doth reſt.

His great empire by himſelf diuided betwixt his ſons, was by their diſcord, and the ambition of ſome of their diſloyal ſubiects, in ſhort time after brought to great confuſion, & his poſteritie vtterly rooted out by *Vſun-Caſſanes*, the Armenian Prince, as in the proceſſe of this hiſtory may appeare. But to return again to our purpoſe; *Mahomet* deliuered of his greateſt feare, by the departure of *Tamerlane* out of thoſe countries, determined to goe to Pruſa in Bythinia, where his brother *Iſa* as then raigned: but vnderſtanding that *Iſa* had before taken the ſtraits whereby he ſhould paſſe the mount Horminius, he tooke another way about, and came to Palæo-Caſtron, where the valiant captaine *Eine-beg Sub-baſſa* then remained: who with all honour and gladneſſe receiued him, and there for certaine dayes refreſhed both him and his army. Afterwards greater forces ſtill repairing vnto him, he marched thence to Vlabad, called in antient time Lopadium. Of whoſe comming *Iſa* before vnderſtanding, and hauing aſſembled his armie, marched thither alſo, & encamped on the other ſide of the towne towards Pruſa, readie to giue him battell. But *Mahomet* ſeeing his brother ſo forward, conſulted with his

Mahomet goeth againſt his brother.

captaines what were beſt to be done: where *Eine Sub-baſſa* a man of great experience, and of late one of *Baiazet* his great counſellors and captaines, told him, That it was not for their honours being brethren, to pollute their hands one in the others bloud; but to aſſaie if the quarrell might by ſome other good meanes be compoſed, and they made friends. For which purpoſe, *Mahomet* preſently ſent letters vnto his brother *Iſa*, concerning the partition of their fathers kingdome in Aſia betwixt them: offering vnto him the prouinces of Aidinia, Saruchania Germeania, Charaſia, Charamania, with other countries to them belonging: ſo that hee might haue Pruſa with all the other prouinces about the ſame. Which letters, when *Iſa* had read, and ſaw that *Mahomet* offered him but titles for kingdomes, and ſuch countries as were rather ſometimes tributaries vnto their father *Baiazet*, than any part of his kingdom, and now of late by *Tamerlane* againe reſtored vnto their antient libertie and gouernors, ſharing out the beſt and ſtrongeſt part thereof vnto himſelfe, he brake forth into choller and ſaid:

The anſwere of Iſa to Mahomet his offers.

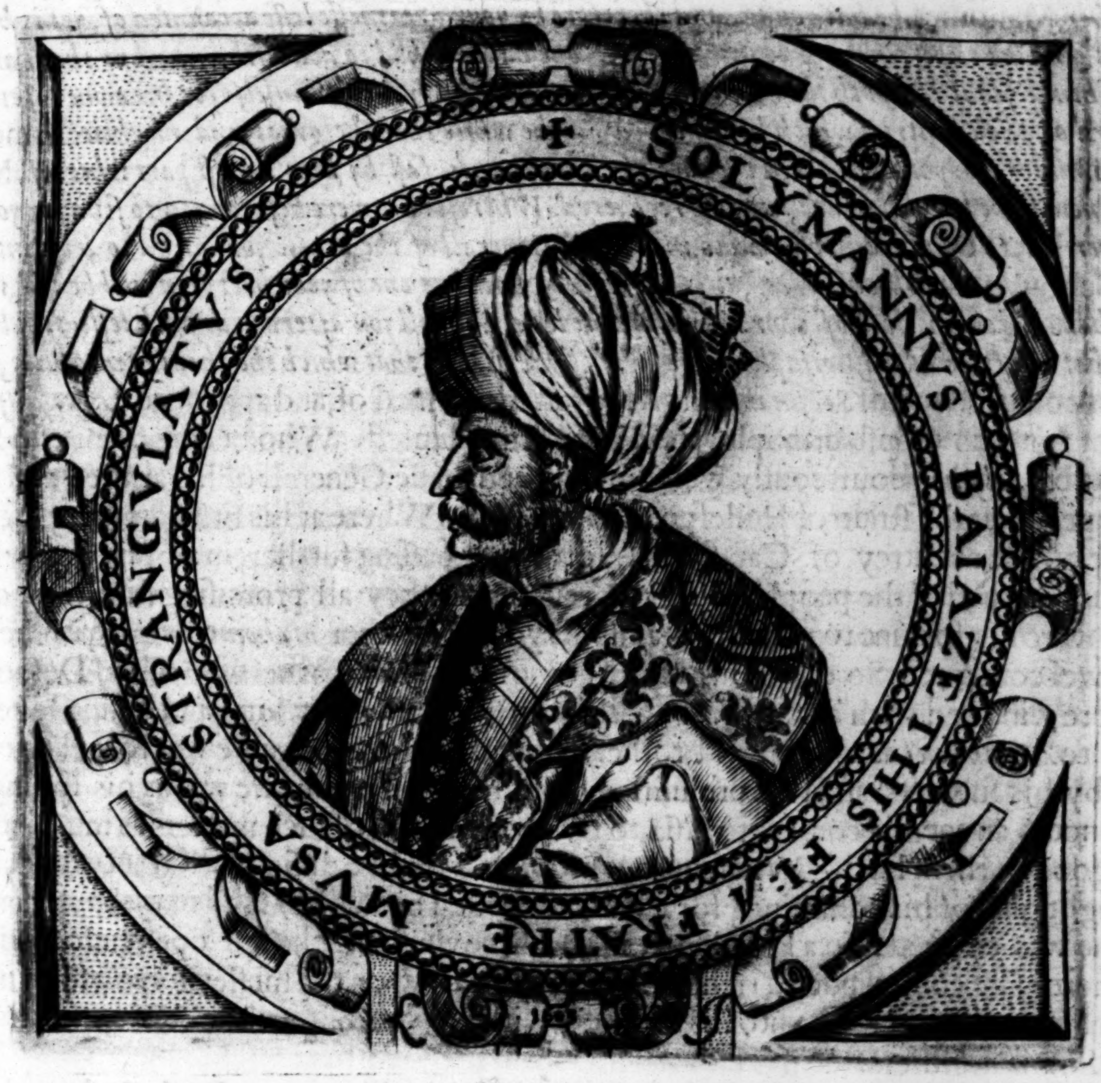
What, doth not my fathers kingdome of right belong vnto me being the elder brother? Mahomet *is yet but a youth, and ſcarce crept out of the ſhell: by what right then can he claime my fathers kingdom as his inheritance? If he can by the ſword win it, let him take it, and ſo hold it.*

Mahomet hauing receiued his anſwere, prepared himſelfe to the field, where his brother as ready as himſelfe, ſtood expecting his comming: and hauing ſet his army in order of battell, gaue the firſt charge: which was the beginning of a moſt cruel and bloudy fight, wherein, as it commonly falleth out in doubtfull battels, many were on both ſides ſlain. At laſt the fortune of *Mahomet* preuailing, *Iſa* his armie began to retire: which he ſeeing, left nothing vndone for the encouraging of his fainting ſoldiers, which belonged to a politicke Generall, or valiant ſoldier to do; but preſſing into the thickeſt of his enemies, there with his owne hand ſlew the antient and valiant captaine *Eine Sub-baſſa*, who had many times beene Generall of the footmen in old *Baiazet* his wars. But what preuaileth courage againſt euil fortune? *Iſa* muſt either flie or die. And therefore hauing done what he could in ſo deſperat a caſe, being himſelfe on euery ſide forſaken, in the end was glad himſelf to flie to the ſea ſide: where finding a ſhip readie bound for Conſtantinople, he paſſed ouer thither in ſafety, and there yeelded himſelfe vnto the protection of the Greeke Emperour *Emanuel*. In this chaſe *Mahomet* his ſouldiers tooke the valiant captaine *Temurtaſes* priſoner, another of *Baiazet* his great commanders, & brought him to *Mahomet*: who in reuenge of the death of *Eine*, commanded his head preſently to bee ſmitten off, and his bodie to bee hanged vpon a tree by the high way ſide. Of this victorie, *Mahomet* certified his brother *Solyman* at Hadrianople, and in token thereof ſent him *Temurtaſes* his head. This battell was much ſpoken of, both for that it was fought betwixt two brethren; and alſo for the death of the two famous and old captaines *Eine* and *Temurtaſes*, who both together as louing friends, had fortunately fought many great battels vnder *Baiazet* his enſignes; and now as it were by deſtinie, and againſt their wils, without any priuate grudge, were both drawne into contrarie factions and ſlaine: both whileſt they liued wiſhing a good peace betwixt the ambitious brethren. But as the Turks vſe to ſay, *What is by God written in a mans fore head before his birth, cannot in his life be auoided.*

After this victorie, *Mahomet* thinking himſelfe now in ſure poſſeſſion of all his fathers dominions in Aſia, led his army to Pruſa, where he was of the citizens ioyfully receiued as their Sultan: and for his great bountie, of all men highly commended and honoured. From thence he went to Nice, and ſo to Neapolis, and there in both places was likewiſe receiued. Thither reſorted vnto him all the garriſons of Caraſina, Saruchania, and Aidinia, with other the inhabitants of thoſe countries, with all loyaltie ſubmitting themſelues vnto him, with ſuch honor and reuerence as belonged to their King.

The bodie of Baiazet honourably buried at Pruſa.

All things thus ſorting according to his deſire in Aſia, he ſent to the Prince *Germean* for the bodie of his father *Baiazet*, and for his brother *Muſa*, which were there left by *Tamerlane*, as is before declared. This bodie was by the ſame Prince at the requeſt of *Mahomet*, with great ſolemnity ſent to Pruſa, and there ſumptuouſly buried, with all the Turkiſh obſequies and ceremonies: the Turkiſh Alcoran or book of their Law, being read ſeuen daies vpon his tomb. All which time great cheere was kept for all commers, and much giuen to the poore (vpon the Turkiſh deuotion) for *Baiazet* his ſoule: but aboue all others, exceeding bounty was extended to the poſterity of their Prophet *Mahomet*, which are knowne from others amongſt the Mahometans, by the colour of their apparell, which is all green, and not lawfull to be worn of any but of them: ſo that they were by the bountie of *Mahomet*, at that time greatly enriched. Hee alſo endowed the abbey which his father had there lately built, with great lands and poſſeſſions for the maintenance thereof. All which things done, and the ſolemnitie paſt, he went in progreſſe to all parts of his kingdome, and was in euery place ioyfully receiued; and ſo afterward returned ro Amaſia; and there in great pleaſure ſpent that ſummer. Where we will for a while leaue him, to ſee what *Solyman* his eldeſt brother in the meane time doth at Hadrianople: whoſe liuely countenance is by the skilfull workmans hand thus expreſſed.


SOLYMANNVS BAIAZETHIS FI. A FRATRE MVSA STRANGVLATVS

Non malus es niſi te eneruet male ſuada voluptas,
Quaque minus bello conuenit ingluuies.
Hoſpitio Mirxi *fruitur iam* Muſa *Valachi:*
Ille tuum vigilat pronus in exitium.

IAC. BOISARDVS.

Euill art thou not, except leaud luſt doe haſten on thy fall:
Or riot, which beſeemeth not a martiall man at all.
Thy brother *Muſa* entertain'd by *Marke* to thine annoy,
Doth take no reſt, but waiteth ſtill how he may thee deſtroy.

Solyman

Good counſell.

Iſa with a great armie ſent by his brother Solyman into Aſia againſt Mahomet.

Solyman the eldeſt ſonne of ***Baiazet*** (who kept his court at Hadrianople, there peaceably raigning all this while ouer the countries which his father ***Baiazet*** ſometime poſſeſſed in Europe) hearing what his brother ***Mahomet*** had done, and how violently againſt all right hee had driuen *Iſa* out of Pruſa, and made him glad to flie to Conſtantinople: was with this his outragious dealing much offended, and thereupon calling vnto him his Baſſaes and faithfull counſellors, declared vnto them the vnnaturall proceedings of ***Mahomet*** againſt his brother *Iſa. Wherein* (ſaid he) *hee doth mee alſo great wrong in taking vpon him the ſoueraigntie ouer thoſe great dominions and countries in Aſia, which of right belong to mee his elder brother, and not to him the youngeſt of ſix. In reuenge of which iniurie and wrong, I intend in mine owne right, to paſſe ouer into Aſia with a ſtrong armie, and by force of armes to recouer mine inheritance there, if I may not otherwiſe come by it.* Vnto which ſpeech one of his graue counſellors replied, *That in his opinion it was not the beſt courſe for himſelfe to goe in perſon into thoſe warres. For although* (ſaid hee) *your brother* Mahomet *be but young, and therefore by your greatneſſe leſſe accounted of, yet is his fortune great, and his experience aboue his yeares. None haue yet had to doe with him, but they haue had enough of him: yea it is worth the noting, how politickly he hath borne himſelfe for his owne ſafetie, and the ſafegard of the countries which he gouerned all the while that the great and mightie* Tamerlane *with his innumerable forces couered the face of the countries faſt by him: moſt part whereof,* Mahomet *hath now ſince his departure, againe recouered. Wherefore it were beſt for you to ſend for your angrie brother* Iſa, *to Conſtantinople, and to make him Generall of the armie you intend to ſend into Aſia againſt* Mahomet. *In which warres, it is not vnlike, but that one of your brethren will be loſt, wherby you ſhall haue one competitor of your kingdome the leſſe. So ſhall you afterwards with leſſe trouble ſubdue him that is left, or at leaſtwiſe pleaſe him with ſome part of that which they haue ſo mightily ſtriuen for.* This counſell was of ***Solyman*** and all the reſt well liked of, and approued. So was *Iſa* preſently ſent for vnto Conſtantinople, and a great armie leuied. Who beeing come to Hadrianople, was by ***Solyman*** courteouſly welcommed, and made Generall of his armie: and therewith ſhipped ouer the ſtrait of Helleſpontus into Aſia. Where at his firſt comming, hee poſſeſſed the whole countrey of Caraſia or Lydia: and paſſing further, in all places where hee came, was receiued of the people with great reuerence, they all promiſing him their obedience, if it were his fortune to preuaile againſt his yonger brother ***Mahomet***: wherwith he held himſelf wel contented. So comming to the city of Beg-Bazer, otherwiſe called Deſpotopolis, he there wintered with his armie. In which time, he with many kind and louing letters ſtil directed to ***Mahomet*** as his yonger brother, ſeemed to be glad that he was ſo wel obeied & liked of by his ſubiects: and that preſuming of his loue and fauour, he was as his louing brother, and not as an enemie come into Aſia, to intreat with him of ſuch matters as much concerned the good of them both. Whereunto ***Mahomet*** with like diſſimulation anſwered, That he was right glad of his comming; for which he needed not (as he) ſayd to make any excuſe, for that he was entered into a kingdome, in part his owne, and the reſt open before him: in token whereof he commanded a rich garment to be caſt vpon the meſſenger as a fauour, ſending alſo diuers rich preſents vnto his brother, with great prouiſion of victuals, and other neceſſaries for his ſouldiers.

Pruſa burnt by Iſa.

But Winter paſt, and the Spring come, *Iſa* marched with his army to Pruſa, & there ſhewed vnto the citizens the louing letters he had at ſundrie times before receiued from ***Mahomet***: and telling them that he was in good hope that they ſhould in ſhort time right well agree; requeſted to haue the caſtle deliuered vnto him, ſometime their ſoueraigne: whereinto the better ſort of the citizens had retired themſelues, & made faſt the gates againſt him: but when he ſaw that he could by no faire words or policie gaine the poſſeſſion of the caſtle, enraged with that repulſe, he ſet fire vpon that goodly citie, and burnt it downe to the ground. ***Mahomet*** not ignorant how his brother *Iſa* roamed vp and downe his kingdome, vſing all kindnes to ſuch as yeelded vnto him; and exerciſing no leſſe crueltie vpon ſuch as refuſed his obedience: and how that he had raſed the royal citie of Pruſa: hauing gathered a ſtrong army, marched in ten dayes from Amaſia to Pruſa, and by the way meeting with his brother *Iſa*, in a great battell ouerthrew him with all his forces. *Iſa* himſelfe accompanied with no more but ten perſons, fled vnto Caſtamona, Prince ***Iſfendiar*** his citie: who hearing of his arriuall there, entertained him with al the honor he could, in recompence of the great friendſhip he had before found at his hands, at what time he was an humble ſuter in his father ***Baiazet*** his court.

Mahomet comming to Pruſa, grieued exceedingly to ſee that faire city ſo deſtroyed: yet to comfort the poore citiſens, he gaue exceeding ſummes of money to be beſtowed amongſt them, and tooke order for the new building of the citie, and there continued certain days himſelfe to ſee the worke begun.

Iſa in the mean time hauing incited the Prince *Iſfendiar* in his quarrel to inuade his brother *Mahomet*, and going thither himſelfe in perſon, was by him now the third time ouerthrowne and put to flight. Neuertheleſſe he with ſome ſmall forces twice afterwards entred into *Mahomets* dominion, but finding few or none willing to follow his euil fortune, was glad at laſt to flie to the prince of Smyrna, by whom he was both honorably entertained, and comforted.

This prince of Smyrna mooued with *Iſa* his pittifull complaints in ſo manifeſt a wrong, did not only promiſe him what helpe he could of himſelfe, but alſo by his embaſſadors ſolicited the Princes of Aidinia, Saruchania, and Menteſia, to giue him aid in ſo iuſt a quarrell, for the reliefe of *Iſa*, againſt his vſurping brother. Theſe Princes pittying the caſe of the diſtreſſed Prince, and moued with the requeſt of the Prince of Smyrna, and fearing alſo the ambitious ſpirit of *Mahomet*; amongſt them ſent ſuch aid, that being all aſſembled together, *Iſa* had now twentie thouſand men in armes. *Mahomet* vnderſtanding of this great preparation made againſt him, and hauing raiſed a ſtrong armie, thought it not beſt to expect his brothers comming into his countrie (where perhaps many might ioyne themſelues vnto him, being ſo ſtrong in field) but entred the Prince of Smyrna his countrey, with ſuch ſpeed, that he was vpon him and the reſt of his enemies before he was looked for; where after a great and bloudie fight he obtained of them a notable victorie. *Iſa* hauing loſt the battel, and therewith his hope alſo, fled into Caramania, and there in ſuch obſcuritie ended his dayes, that no man can tell where nor how he died. This was the end of this noble Prince, always of greater courage than fortune. The Prince of Smyrna the chiefe author of this war, humbling himſelfe to *Mahomet*, obtained his fauor. The other confederat Princes which gaue aid to *Iſa*, were ſhortly after by *Mahomet* for moſt part ſpoiled of their dominions. Which done, he returned with victorie to the building of Pruſa, hoping now to liue at more quiet.

Iſa flieth into Caramania, and the there dieth in obſcuritie.

But whileſt *Mahomet* after this victorie dreading no danger, was in the midſt of his pleaſures at Pruſa, he was certainly aduertiſed, That his brother *Solyman* had raiſed a great armie in Europe, to inuade him in Aſia. Vpon which aduertiſement he furniſhed the caſtle of Pruſa with a ſtrong garriſon, and all things needfull for the induring of a long ſiege, and placed *Iacup-Beg* the ſonne of *Firoſes*, captaine therein; and afterwards departed himſelfe, becauſe that city (lately before burnt by *Iſa*) was not as yet to be defended, much leſſe to be accounted of as a place to retyre vnto if need ſhould ſo require. From Pruſa he came to Ancyra, & from thence directed commiſſions for the taking vp of ſoldiers in all parts of his kingdom. At which time he wrot letters alſo to *Doioran* a Tartar Prince (whom he had many times greatly pleaſured) for aid: who preſently came vnto him with certaine troups of braue horſe, promiſing him his faithfull ſeruice.

Not long after, hearing that his brother *Solyman* was with a puiſſant armie now come ouer Helleſpontus, he conſulted with his beſt leaders, what courſe firſt to take; being himſelf of opinion, without delay to meet his brother in the field, deeming it great ſhame, not to offer him preſent battel. But he was by his more expert captains aduiſed, to conſider that he was to fight againſt his eldeſt brother, of whoſe good or bad fortune he had as yet no experience: and that many ſecretly fauored his quarrel and claime, as the eldeſt ſonne and right heire of his father *Baiazet*: and therefore it were better for him to retyre further off into the ſtrength of his kingdome, and ſo temporizing, to await all good opportunities that might chance, as it doth in nothing more than in martiall affaires; rather than to commit all to the hazard of one battell, wherein if fortune failed him, all were then vtterly loſt. Vpon which reſolution he retyred from Ancyra towards Amaſia. At which time *Doioran* the falſe Tartarian, marching out at the other ſide of the Citie, fell to robbing and ſpoyling of *Mahomets* ſubiects as an enemie, burning the countrey villages as they went: which thing when *Mahomet* vnderſtood, he with his horſemen purſued him, and ouertaking him before he was looked for, ſlew moſt part of his men, and recouered all the ſpoyle which he had before taken; all which *Mahomet* gaue to his ſoldiers: *Doioran* himſelfe hardly eſcaping by flight. And ſo *Mahomet* hauing reuenged himſelfe vpon his diſſembling friend, held on his way towards Amaſia.

The caſtle of Pruſa beſieged by Solyman.

Solyman being come into Aſia, led his armie towards Pruſa ; where the citiſens vnderſtanding of his comming, went out of the citie to meet him, and hauing done vnto him ſuch honor and reuerence as belonged to their Sultan, brought him peaceably into the citie. But *Iacup-Beg* ſtood vpon his guard, and would by no means deliuer vnto him the caſtle, which was before by *Mahamet* committed to his charge: for which cauſe *Solyman* laid hard ſiege vnto it, and gaue thereunto diuers ſharpe aſſaults, whereby the defendants were greatly weakned, manie of them being ſlain, &the reſt for the moſt part wounded. Wherupon *Iacup* by letters ſent by one *Eine Hozze*, certified *Mahomet* how things ſtood, and that the caſtle could not long be holden againſt the furious aſſaults of *Solyman*, except it were with ſpeed relieued; vpon which news he in all haſt made towards Pruſa, returning the ſame meſſenger before him, with letters to the captain of the caſtle, if happily hee could find means to deliuer the ſame : wherein hee highly commended him for his fathfull ſeruice, and promiſed him ſpeedie reliefe. This meſſenger with his letters chanced by *Solyman* his ſoldiers to be intercepted, and brought to *Alis Baſſa*, *Solyman* his chiefe Councellour, a man of a ſharpe conceit, who of nothing could make ſomething, but hauing any thing to worke vpon could do wonders : he hauing ſtraitly examined the meſſenger, and peruſed the letters, ſuppreſſed the ſame, and preſently writ others in the name of *Mahomet*, commending the captaine for that he had already done in his ſeruice; but yet foraſmuch as he could not poſſibly in time relieue him, he willed him therefore to deliuer vp the caſtle, and to prouide for the ſafeguard of himſelfe and his garriſon, by ſuch conditions as he could beſt obtaine. Theſe counterfeit letters *Alis Baſſa* found means to be as cunningly deliuered vnto the captaine, as they were craftily indited : who hauing read the ſame, and now out of all hope of reliefe, expecting alſo euery houre to be aſſaulted by the furious enemie ; vpon reaſonable conditions yeelded the caſtle to *Solyman*. The news whereof being brought vnto *Mahomet*, now come within one days march of Pruſa, exceedingly grieued him: but ſeeing no remedie, he returned backe againe to Amaſia ; whither *Solyman* (now poſſeſſed of the city and caſtle of Pruſa, and hauing thereby got a great name in Aſia) ſhortly after came with his armie, and hardly beſieged his brother in Amaſia : but ſeeing no hope to win the Citie, he retyred backe againe to Pruſa, and there after his woonted manner ſpent his time *in riot* and exceſſe, whereunto he was exceedingly giuen. *Iacup-Beg* for yeelding of the caſtle, was afterward by *Mahomet* ſtraitly impriſoned, and in danger to haue been put to death, had not the great Baſſa's become earneſt interceſſors for him.

Mahomet lying at Amaſia, was by his ſecret eſpials aduertiſed , That his brother *Solyman* hauing diſperſed his armie, lay in great ſecuritie at Pruſa, guarded but with a ſmall power, paſſing his time in all voluptuous pleaſure, his common exerciſe. Whereupon he in all haſt marched with his armie thitherwards, to haue ſurpriſed him before hee ſhould be able to call together his diſperſed forces. But when he was come to the riuer Sangarius, he was diſcouered by *Solyman Subbaſſa* a great captain, whom Sultan *Solyman* had ſent for the taking vp of men in that ſide of the country. Who returning in all haſt, gaue *Solyman* knowledge of his brothers comming: with which ſudden newes he was ſo diſmaied, being now of ſmall ſtrength, that for the auoiding of the imminent danger, he would preſently haue fled into Europe, had not *Alis Baſſa* otherwiſe perſuaded him; telling him, That if he ſhould ſo cowardly flie away, it would not only blemiſh and defame his honour, but diſcourage his friends alſo in Aſia, & incourage his enemies to purſue him perhaps vnto the gates of Hadrianople : and that therefore it were better with ſuch forces as he had to take the ſtraights of Neapolis, and ſo to ſtay his brothers further paſſage into that countrey, vntill ſuch time as he might aſſemble the reſt of his armie. According to which good councell, hee firſt tooke the beforenamed ſtraights and paſſages, whereby *Mahomet* was of neceſſitie to paſſe, and there ſtrongly fortified himſelfe. *Mahomet* comming thither, with great force entered thoſe ſtraights, but was ſtill valiantly by *Solyman* repulſed. The like attempt he many times valiantly gaue, for that hee knew himſelfe to be at that time too ſtrong for his brother : but *Solyman* hauing the aduantage of the place, with little danger or loſſe fruſtrated thoſe his brothers braue attempts, although he were then a great deale the weaker. *Alis Baſſa*, whoſe wilie head, fraught with long experience, could (with nothing) effect great matters , in the meane time was not idle, but (making *Solyman* before acquainted with his doings) ſent a ſecret meſſenger (one of his owne truſtie ſeruants) to *Mahomet* with letters ; certifying him, That moſt of his nobilitie and great captaines had ſecretly conſpired to betray him into the hands of his elder brother *Solyman,* as the vndoubted heire of his father *Baiazet*; & ſo with the price of his head, to make their own peace & attonement with him: and that for the performance thereof they had bound themſelues firſt vnto *Solyman,* and afterwards one to another, by ſolemne oath. Which treaſon he diſcouered vnto him, with great proteſtation of his loue and good will, as he that had a long time eaten bread and ſalt (as the Turks vſe to ſay) in his fathers court, and therefore could not but wiſh well vnto him, being one of his lord and maſters ſonnes. Theſe letters ſomething troubled *Mahomet,* breeding in his head many a jealous conceit: for all that, hee ceaſed not for ſix or ſeuen dayes ſpace, to giue many a hot ſkirmiſh for the gaining of thoſe ſtrait paſſages, but all in vaine. In which time it chanced, one of his ſeruants neere about his perſon, to flie vnto the enemie; which cauſed him the more to ſuſpect all that to be true, whereof *Alis Baſſa* had forewarned him. Which conſidered, and that by lying there he preuailed nothing, but loſt and wearied his men, (for it was all that while exceeding foule weather) and withall doubting to be betrayed, returned as he came, to Amaſia. And *Solyman* glad alſo of his departure, retired to Pruſa, giuing order into all parts of his kingdome, for the aſſembling of a great armie: but vnderſtanding that the king of Caramania had made a league with his brother *Mahomet*, and that they were agreed to ioyne their forces againſt him, for the driuing of him out of Aſia, hee forthwith drew all his forces to Ancyra, as a place of more ſafetie.

Whileſt *Solyman* thus lay at Ancyra, it fortuned that *Muſa* (which had all this while remained with his brother *Mahomet*, ſince he was ſet at libertie by *Tamerlane*, though not altogether well pleaſed with his owne eſtate) one day by way of talke, thus ſpake vnto his brother; *You ſee* (ſaid he) *how our elder brother* Solyman *ceaſeth not to vex and moleſt vs dayly, and is not vnlike in the end to preuaile againſt vs, to our vtter deſtruction: Now if it might pleaſe you to giue me leaue, I would go to* Iſfendiar *Prince of Caſtamona and Pontus, our brothers enemie, and of him procure ſhipping to paſſe ouer the Euxine ſea, into Europe; where I doubt not to find opportunitie to make ſome great innouation in that kingdome, now in my brothers abſence: by reaſon whereof* Solyman *ſhall of neceſſity be driuen to leaue Aſia, to be againe by you ſolely poſſeſſed: or elſe be brought in danger there to loſe his kingdome in Europe. Which if it ſhall be my good hap to gaine out of his hands by your ſupportation, I promiſe you faithfully to hold the ſame of you as of my Lord and Soueraigne.* This greatly pleaſed *Mahomet*, and thereupon not long after they concluded betwixt themſelues, one to ſtand faſt vnto another, and the one to helpe the other in what they could, during life; confirming the ſame with great ſolemnitie of their Turkiſh faith giuen and taken. Whereupon *Mahomet* furniſhed his brother *Muſa* with great ſummes of money and other needfull things for the taking in hand of ſo great an enterpriſe.

Muſa thus furniſhed, taking his leaue of his brother, ſet forwards towards the Prince *Iſfendiar*: who hearing of his comming, met him on the way, and entertained him as a great prince. But after that *Muſa* had made him acquainted with his purpoſe for paſſing into Europe, and had obtained grant of his helpe therein, he tooke his leaue of him for a time, and went to viſit the King of Caramania; who alſo moſt honorably entertained him, and the rather in deſpight of *Solyman.* But whileſt *Muſa* was thus paſſing the time in Caramania, it fortuned that *Mark* (of ſome called *Merxes*) Prince of Valachia, hauing his countrey much ſpoyled by *Solyman* his garriſons; and hearing that *Muſa* one of *Baiazet* his ſonnes was with the Prince *Iſfendiar*, he writ vnto him, promiſing to beſtow his daughter & heire in mariage vpon *Muſa*, if he would come ouer into Europe, and reuenge the wrong done vnto him by *Solyman.* Whereof *Muſa* aduertiſed by the Prince *Iſfendiar*, gladly returned out of Caramania, and was by him tranſported ouer the Euxine or blacke ſea, into Europe: where the Prince of Valachia glad of his comming, receiued him with great honor, and according to his promiſe gaue him his daughter in marriage.

Muſa marrieth the Prince of Valachia his daughter.

The fame of *Muſa* his comming into Europe, and of his marriage, was in ſhort time bruted thorow all *Solyman* his Kingdome in Europe, and wrought ſuch effect in the minds of the mutable vulgar people (always deſirous of noueltie) that they all as it were with one conſent ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, as vnto their Lord and Soueraign: in ſo much that comming to the royal citie of Hadrianople, in the abſence of his brother *Solyman* he was there receiued as their King.

Muſa in the abſence of Solyman receiued at Hadrianople as King.

Solyman now lying at Ancira in Aſia, vnderſtanding of theſe proceedings of *Muſa* in Europe, *The caſtle of Pruſa beſieged by Solyman.*

Solyman being come into Aſia, led his armie towards Pruſa; where the citiſens vnderſtanding of his comming, went out of the citie to meet him, and hauing done vnto him ſuch honor and reuerence as belonged to their Sultan, brought him peaceably into the citie. But ***Iacup-Beg*** ſtood vpon his guard, and would by no means deliuer vnto him the caſtle, which was before by ***Mahamet*** committed to his charge: for which cauſe ***Solyman*** laid hard ſiege vnto it, and gaue thereunto diuers ſharpe aſſaults, whereby the defendants were greatly weakned, manie of them being ſlain, & the reſt for the moſt part wounded. Wherupon ***Iacup*** by letters ſent by one ***Eine Hozze***, certified ***Mahomet*** how things ſtood, and that the caſtle could not long be holden againſt the furious aſſaults of ***Solyman***, except it were with ſpeed relieued; vpon which news he in all haſt made towards Pruſa, returning the ſame meſſenger before him, with letters to the captain of the caſtle, if happily hee could find means to deliuer the ſame: wherein hee highly commended him for his fathfull ſeruice, and promiſed him ſpeedie reliefe. This meſſenger with his letters chanced by ***Solyman*** his ſoldiers to be intercepted, and brought to ***Alis Baſſa***, ***Solyman*** his chiefe Councellour, a man of a ſharpe conceit, who of nothing could make ſomething, but hauing any thing to worke vpon could do wonders: he hauing ſtraitly examined the meſſenger, and peruſed the letters, ſuppreſſed the ſame, and preſently writ others in the name of ***Mahomet***, commending the captaine for that he had already done in his ſeruice; but yet foraſmuch as he could not poſſibly in time relieue him, he willed him therefore to deliuer vp the caſtle, and to prouide for the ſafeguard of himſelfe and his garriſon, by ſuch conditions as he could beſt obtaine. Theſe counterfeit letters ***Alis Baſſa*** found means to be as cunningly deliuered vnto the captaine, as they were craftily indited: who hauing read the ſame, and now out of all hope of reliefe, expecting alſo euery houre to be aſſaulted by the furious enemie; vpon reaſonable conditions yeelded the caſtle to ***Solyman***. The news whereof being brought vnto ***Mahomet***, now come within one days march of Pruſa, exceedingly grieued him: but ſeeing no remedie, he returned backe againe to Amaſia; whither ***Solyman*** (now poſſeſſed of the city and caſtle of Pruſa, and hauing thereby got a great name in Aſia) ſhortly after came with his armie, and hardly beſieged his brother in Amaſia: but ſeeing no hope to win the Citie, he retyred backe againe to Pruſa, and there after his woonted manner ſpent his time in riot and exceſſe, whereunto he was exceedingly giuen. ***Iacup-Beg*** for yeelding of the caſtle, was afterward by ***Mahomet*** ſtraitly impriſoned, and in danger to haue been put to death, had not the great Baſſa's become earneſt interceſſors for him.

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A conſpired to betray him into the hands of his elder brother *Solyman,* as the vndoubted heire of his father *Baiazet*; & ſo with the price of his head, to make their own peace & attonement with him: and that for the performance thereof they had bound themſelues firſt vnto *Solyman*, and afterwards one to another, by ſolemne oath. Which treaſon he diſcouered vnto him, with great proteſtation of his loue and good will, as he that had a long time eaten bread and ſalt (as the Turks vſe to ſay) in his fathers court, and therefore could not but wiſh well vnto him, being one of his lord and maſters ſonnes. Theſe letters ſomething troubled *Mahomet*, breeding in his head many a jealous conceit: for all that, hee ceaſed not for ſix or ſeuen dayes ſpace, to giue many a hot skirmiſh for the gaining of thoſe ſtrait paſſages, but all in vaine. In which time it chanced, one of his ſeruants neere about his perſon, to flie vnto the enemie; which cauſed B him the more to ſuſpect all that to be true, whereof *Alis Baſſa* had forewarned him. Which conſidered, and that by lying there he preuailed nothing, but loſt and wearied his men, (for it was all that while exceeding foule weather) and withall doubting to be betrayed, returned as he came, to Amaſia. And *Solyman* glad alſo of his departure, retired to Pruſa, giuing order into all parts of his kingdome, for the aſſembling of a great armie: but vnderſtanding that the king of Caramania had made a league with his brother *Mahomet*, and that they were agreed to ioyne their forces againſt him, for the driuing of him out of Aſia, hee forthwith drew all his forces to Ancyra, as a place of more ſafetie.

Whileſt *Solyman* thus lay at Ancyra, it fortuned that *Muſa* (which had all this while remained with his brother *Mahomet*, ſince he was ſet at libertie by *Tamerlane*, though not altogether C well pleaſed with his owne eſtate) one day by way of talke, thus ſpake vnto his brother; *You ſee* (ſaid he) *how our elder brother* Solyman *ceaſeth not to vex and moleſt vs dayly, and is not vnlike in the end to preuaile againſt vs, to our vtter deſtruction: Now if it might pleaſe you to giue me leaue, I would go to* Iſfendiar *Prince of Caſtamona and Pontus, our brothers enemie, and of him procure ſhipping to paſſe ouer the Euxine ſea, into Europe; where I doubt not to find opportunitie to make ſome great innouation in that kingdome, now in my brothers abſence: by reaſon whereof* Solyman *ſhall of neceſsity be driuen to leaue Aſia, to be againe by you ſolely poſſeſſed: or elſe be brought in danger there to loſe his kingdome in Europe. Which if it ſhall be my good hap to gaine out of his hands by your ſupportation, I promiſe you faithfully to hold the ſame of you as of my Lord and Soueraigne.* This greatly pleaſed *Mahomet*, and thereupon not long after they concluded betwixt themſelues, one to ſtand faſt D vnto another, and the one to helpe the other in what they could, during life; confirming the ſame with great ſolemnitie of their Turkiſh faith giuen and taken. Whereupon *Mahomet* furniſhed his brother *Muſa* with great ſummes of money and other needfull things for the taking in hand of ſo great an enterpriſe.

Muſa thus furniſhed, taking his leaue of his brother, ſet forwards towards the Prince *Iſfendiar*: who hearing of his comming, met him on the way, and entertained him as a great prince. But after that *Muſa* had made him acquainted with his purpoſe for paſſing into Europe, and had obtained grant of his helpe therein, he tooke his leaue of him for a time, and went to viſit the King of Caramania; who alſo moſt honorably entertained him, and the rather in deſpight of *Solyman*. But whileſt *Muſa* was thus paſſing the time in Caramania, it fortuned that *Mark* (of E ſome called *Merxes*) Prince of Valachia, hauing his countrey much ſpoyled by *Solyman* his garriſons; and hearing that *Muſa* one of *Baiazet* his ſonnes was with the Prince *Iſfendiar*, he writ vnto him, promiſing to beſtow his daughter & heire in mariage vpon *Muſa*, if he would come ouer into Europe, and reuenge the wrong done vnto him by *Solyman*. Whereof *Muſa* aduertiſed by the Prince *Iſfendiar*, gladly returned out of Caramania, and was by him tranſported ouer the Euxine or blacke ſea, into Europe: where the Prince of Valachia glad of his comming, receiued him with great honor, and according to his promiſe gaue him his daughter in marriage.

Muſa marrieth the Prince of Valachia his daughter.

The fame of *Muſa* his comming into Europe, and of his marriage, was in ſhort time bruted thorow all *Solyman* his Kingdome in Europe, and wrought ſuch effect in the minds of the mutable vulgar people (always deſirous of noueltie) that they all as it were with one conſent ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, as vnto their Lord and Soueraign: in ſo much that comming to the royal citie of Hadrianople, in the abſence of his brother *Solyman* he was there receiued as their King.

Muſa in the abſence of Solyman receiued at Hadrianople as King.

Solyman now lying at Ancira in Aſia, vnderſtanding of theſe proceedings of *Muſa* in Europe, and that he was poſſeſſed of a great part of his kingdome there, was therewith exceedingly troubled. Wherefore leauing his deputie in Ancyra, hee with all his army came to the ſtrait of Boſphorus, and there of *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperor obtained paſſage, promiſing for the ſame to reſtore vnto him certaine places before taken from him in Aſia: for *Muſa* had ſo prouided, that he could haue no helpe of the Turkiſh ſhipping, which was by his commandment all before brought ouer vnto Europe ſide. *Muſa* hearing of *Solyman* his arriuall in Europe, made towards him with a great power: but after that both their armies were come the one within view of the other, and now readie to ioyne battell, many of *Muſa* his captains forſooke him, and fled to *Solyman* the elder brother, and their vndoubted king: which *Muſa* beholding, was glad to flie, and to take the ſafegard of the woods and mountaines for his refuge. After which victorie, *Solyman* returning to Hadrianople, tooke againe poſſeſſion of his Kingdome, and there without meaſure gaue himſelfe to riot and exceſſe, according to his woonted manner.

After the departure of *Solyman* out of Aſia *Iacup-Beg* (but lately before againe receiued into *Mahomet* his fauour, and now left as *Solyman* his deputie) deliuered Ancyra, with the caſtle of Pruſa, and all the reſt that *Solyman* had gained in Aſia, to *Mahomet*; who ſhortly after led his armie thorow the countries of Caraſia, Aydinia, Sarucania, Tekenſis, and Germeania, reducing them once againe vnto his obeyſance: and afterwards returned to Pruſa, where hee now the ſecond time tooke poſſeſſion of his fathers kingdome in Aſia.

Muſa goeth againſt Solyman.

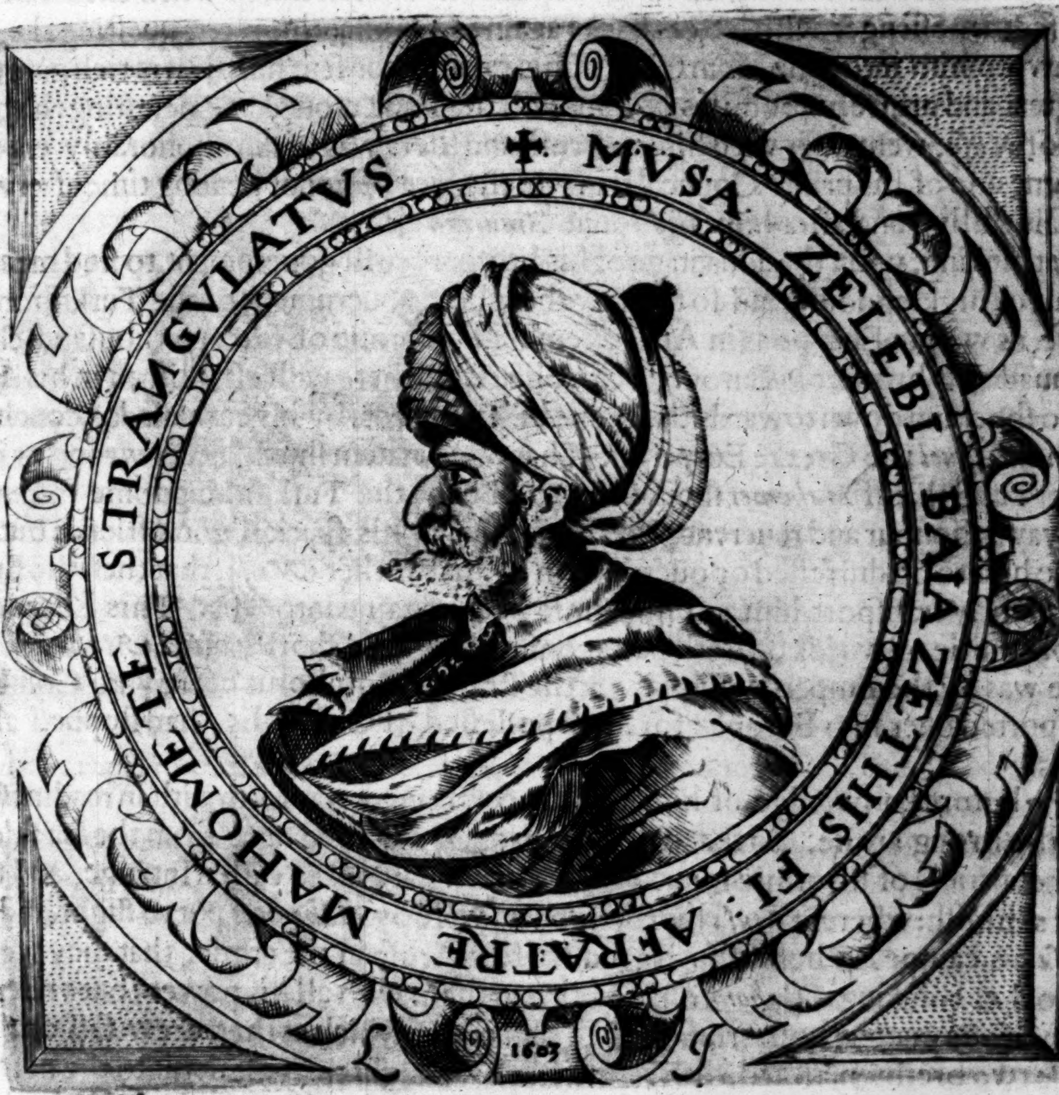
Muſa ſtil aided by the Valachian Prince his father in law, gaue many great attempts againſt his brother *Solyman*, but was ſtill put to the worſe. At length hauing gathered ſome good ſtrength, and diligently attending the leaſt ſmile of better fortune, drew neere vnto the place where *Solyman* lay; who at that time was (as his manner was) banqueting with great pleaſure in his campe, and ful of wine. Inſomuch that when news was brought vnto him, that his brother *Muſa* was at hand with a great power, he in his drunkennes cauſed the meſſenger that brought the news to be beaten: and when he had with greater earneſtnes than was to his liking, affirmed that his report to be true, he commanded him to be ſlain for troubling his mirth. But Shortly after, *Muſa* was come ſo neere, that the vantcourrours of his armie did skirmiſh with ſome of *Solyman* his ſoldiers: when as *Chaſis Eurenoſes* one of his fathers old captaines, preſſing in, told him that *Muſa* was at hand, and had skirmiſhed with part of his armie. Whereof *Solyman* (now far in wine) had no regard, but ſaid, *Good Tutor do not trouble me no more; my brother* Muſa *dares not come ſo nigh me; if I do but hold vp my cap, he is gone.* With which anſwer the old Captaine going out diſcontented, ſent in *Chaſan*, Aga of the Ianizaries: who boldly comming vnto him, told him plainly of the imminent danger, and ſharply reprooued him for his intemperance and ſecuritie. With whoſe free ſpeech *Solyman* moued, in great rage commanded his beard to be cut off, then no ſmall diſgrace amongſt the Turkes. *Chaſan* preſently comming forth thus diſgraced, ſaid to them that ſtood waiting without, *This is the honor wherewith Sultan* Solyman *in his exceſſe rewards his moſt faithfull ſeruants. Wherefore be it known to you all, I will from henceforth (and not without cauſe) ſerue* Muſa, *a Prince of greater temperance and diſcretion: who ſo will follow me, come and welcome.* So mounting to horſe, and accompanied with a number of his Ianizaries (of whom he was greatly beloued) went ouer to *Muſa*; as did many other great captaines alſo with their companies, mooued by his example ſo to doe. But when *Solyman* vnderſtood that *Chaſan* with moſt part of the Ianizaries, and many other worthie captaines, with the greateſt ſtrength of his armie, were reuolted to *Muſa*, then faſt by, and readie to ſet vpon him; it then repented him too late of his diſſolute folly: and finding no other remedie now to eſcape, hid himſelfe vntil it was darke night; then taking horſe, accompanied only with *Caratze-Beg* and *Cara Muchil*, two of his noblemen, and one country Turke whom they had retained for their guide, thought to haue fled to Conſtantinople. This malicious clown hauing of purpoſe led them by vnknowne wayes all that night too and fro, as it were in a maze, (oftentimes miſnaming vnto them the places they paſſed by, as if they had been in the right way) brought them in the morning to a village not far from the place from whence they departed the euening before: and there riding a little before them of purpoſe, gaue warning to a ſturdie peaſant or two of his acquaintance, that *Solyman* was comming after; willing them to make ſtay of him. Theſe rude country churles, with ſome others of like breed, running out with bats and ſtaues, and ſuch other homely tooles as firſt came to hand, ſlew *Caratze* and *Cara Muchill*, which

Solyman flieth.

would not yeeld vnto them, but ſtood vpon their guard, and tooke *Solyman* aliue: where, as it commonly falleth out in the vulgar peoples furie, ſome cried out to kill him, and ſo to end the warres; ſome likewiſe to burne him; and ſome to hang him; and ſome few to ſaue him: euery one as his rude affection lead him. In the heat of this countrey vprore came *Muſa*; who glad to his brother *Solyman* ſo hardly beſet, cauſed him preſently to be there ſtrangled, when he had raigned in Hadrianople ſix yeares and ten moneths.

Solyman ſtrangled by his brother Muſa.
This Solyman is that ſame whō ſome call Celebinus, and other ſome, Calepinus, and reckon him for the fift king of the Turks.

This was the miſerable end of *Solyman*, the eldeſt ſonne that *Baiazet* left aliue. A man much giuen to exceſſe, otherwiſe indued with many great vertues, being both of great valor, and exceeding bountifull. In his time liued the learned Doctor *Achmetes*, which wrot the hiſtorie of *Alexander* the Great in Turkiſh Verſe, and publiſhed it in the name of *Solyman* himſelfe: for which he was by him bounteouſly rewarded. The dead bodie of *Solyman* himſelfe, was by the commandement of *Muſa* conueyed to Pruſa, and there lieth buried faſt by the bodie of his grandfather *Amurath*. So now of theſe *Cadmeian* brethren remained none but *Mahomet* and *Muſa*, the one raigning in Aſia, and the other in Europe, diuers parts of the world, and well bounded with the ſureſt bounds of nature: yet not ſufficient to content or containe their ambitious minds, vntill that the yonger had moſt vnnaturally deuoured the elder: whoſe liuely counterfeit, as it is by the ſkilfull workeman expreſſed, you may here behold:


MVSA ZELEBI BAIAZETHIS FI: A FRATRE MAHOMETE STRANGVLATVS
1603

Quid properas inſane tuum peſſundare fratrem?
  Nam ſceleris tanti, præmia digna feres.
Quicquid enim fratri maleféceris, hoc tibi frater
  Mox referet, nimis hac in tua fata ruis?

Rich. Knolles.

What haſteſt thou, mad foole, thy brother to confound?
  The guerdon of ſuch villanie ſhall to thy ſelfe redound.
For looke what miſchiefe thou haſt wrought, ſhall turne to thee againe:
  Why do'ſt thou therefore, fooliſh man, ſo haſten on thy paine?

Muſa preſently after the death of his brother ***Solyman*** tooke vpon him the Turkiſh Kingdome in Europe: who in the beginning of his raigne diſplaced moſt of them which had borne great offices before in the time of his brother ***Solyman***, and had now of late reuolted to him; fearing to be by them betrayed or forſaken, as his brother was; and in their roomes placed other his owne creatures. And not ſo content, proceeded further, vpon ſmall cauſes moſt vnkindly to impriſon and put to death many of them who had of him well deſerued. Which cruell dealing ſo alienated the minds of his Nobility, that many of them kept themſelues out of the way, doubtfully expecting the euent of ſuch his tyrannicall gouernment: ***Chaſis Eurenoſes*** that old and renowned captaine, to eſcape his hands, was glad to feigne himſelfe blind, ſo to abſent himſelfe from court. At this time he alſo by his Embaſſadors demanded of diuers Christian Princes his neighbours, ſuch tribute as they had in times paſt either payed or promiſed to pay vnto his father ***Baiazet***: and in that quarrell inuaded many of them, namely the Princes of Seruia and Bulgaria. Amongſt other he ſent ***Ibrahim Baſſa*** (a learned man of great experience, and ſometimes one of his fathers graue councellors) vnto ***Emanuel Palæologus*** the Emperor of Conſtantinople, to demand the like tribute of him. Who ſo ſoone as he was come to Conſtantinople, from thence by letters aduertiſed ***Mahomet*** of the vndiſcreet gouernment of his brother ***Muſa*** in his new gotten kingdome; and what vntimely ſtirres he began to make before he was therein well ſetled, loſing the loue both of his ſubiects and neighbor Princes: with much other matter concerning his miſgouernment. Which things when ***Mahomet*** vnderſtood, he ſent a meſſenger with letters backe again to Conſtantinople, requeſting the Baſſa to come ouer vnto him into Aſia, & in token of his great fauor ſent him diuers rich garments, with many great and princely promiſes: wherewith the Baſſa moued, and deteſting the cruell gouernment of ***Muſa***, went ouer vnto him to Pruſa, and there was of him honorably entertained, and ſworne one of his priuie Councell: in which place of honor he long time afterwards ſerued him faithfully; and after him, his ſonne ***Amurath*** alſo.

Mahomet thinking, vpon the aduantage of his brothers euill gouernment, to find means to thruſt him out of his kingdome, and ſo to draw the whole gouernment of the Turkiſh empire vnto himſelfe, as well in Europe as in Aſia; aſſembled an armie of fifteene thouſand choice ſoldiers to inuade his brother in Europe, before hee were there well eſtabliſhed in his Kingdome. And ſo ſhocking down towards the ſtraits of Boſphorus, by his embaſſador concluded a league with ***Emanuel*** the Greeke Emperor, That one of them ſhould neuer wrong or damnifie the other: and that if ***Mahomet*** ſhould hap to obtaine the Turkiſh kingdome in Europe, he ſhould alwayes honour and reuerence the Emperour as his ſpeciall good friend: but if it ſhould chance him to be diſtreſſed or ouerthrown by his brother ***Muſa***, that then the Emperor ſhould preſently tranſport him and his armie backe againe into Aſia. This League was with great ſolemnitie of words on both parts confirmed. And ſhortly after, ***Mahomet*** with all his Armie was by the Emperors ſhipping at the ſtrait of Boſphorus neere vnto Conſtantinople, tranſported ouer into Europe: for ***Muſa*** poſſeſſed of Callipolis, had ſtopped all the other paſſages.

The battell betwixt the two bretheren, Mahomet & Muſa

Muſa hauing before knowledge of his brothers comming, was forthwith in readineſſe to meet him with a ſtrong armie. So that ***Mahomet*** had not marched farre from the ſea ſide, but that the vauntcourriers of his armie met with his brothers, at a place called Intzuge, and there began a light skirmiſh: wherein ***Muſa*** his forerunners were by ***Mahomets*** put to flight, and chaſed vnto ***Muſa*** his campe. Whereof ſuch a ſudden feare aroſe in the armie, that they were almoſt readie to flie, thinking ***Mahomet*** had bin vpon them with all his power: but vnderſtanding the truth of the matter, both armies reſted that night, which as then drew faſt on. The next day theſe two brethren, armed with equall hope, brought their armies into the field, and gaue the ſignal of the battel, whereupon began a mortall and bloudie fight: in the furie whereof ***Michael Ogli*** Baſſa of Romania, and certaine other of ***Muſa's*** great captaines, vpon ſecret diſcontentment reuolted to ***Mahomet***: wherewith many of ***Muſa*** his ſoldiers diſcouraged, fled. Which ***Mahomet*** his ſoldiers ſeeing, purſued the chaſe with ſuch earneſtneſſe and furie, that few were left with himſelfe: yet with ſuch as were left, in hope of good hap, he ſet vpon his brother: who although he was halfe diſcomfited with the flight of the greater part of his armie, whom the enemies had yet in chace, yet ſtood he faſt himſelfe with 7000 Ianizaries, his beſt ſoldiers; ſo taking the vnexpected good hap, preſented vnto him by his brothers forwardneſſe,

neſſe, valiantly receiued his charge. But *Mahomet* finding there a greater ſtrength than he had before ſuppoſed, and himſelfe too weak to withſtand the furie of the Ianizaries, becauſe moſt of his men alſo were following the chaſe, was now for ſafegard of his life glad to flie himſelf to Conſtantinople: whither he came accompanied ſcarcely with two hundred men; and was from thence, according to the agreement before made betwixt him and the Emperor, ſpeedily ſhipped ouer into Aſia. *Muſa* hauing thus put his brother to flight, with great ſlaughter of his men, preſently tooke his tents with all that was therein, and there encamped himſelfe. They of *Mahomets* armie, which followed the chace of ſuch as had fled in the beginning of the battell, not knowing what had happened to *Mahomet*, returning to the campe, doubting no perill, and finding it at their returne poſſeſſed by their enemies, ſtood as men amazed, and vtterly diſcouraged: at which time *Muſa* would not ſuffer his ſouldiers to put them to the ſword, as they would faine haue done, but commanded them to bee diſpoiled of their armes and ſuch other things as they had, and ſo with life ſuffered them to depart.

After this ouerthrow, whileſt *Mahomet* lay ſtill at Pruſa, the Prince of Smyrna forcibly entered into Aidinia, purpoſing to paſſe thorow into Sarucania: which thing *Mahomet* hearing, gathered a great armie, and entering into the Princes countrey, made ſuch ſpoile as hee went, and ſo diſtreſſed the Prince himſelfe, that he was glad to ſubmit himſelfe vnto him; and from thenceforth to hold his dominion of him, as of his Lord and Soueraigne, and ſo returned vnto Amaſia.

Mahomet could not well diſgeſt the loſſe he had ſo lately receiued in Europ, and therefore leuied an armie of choice ſouldiers out of all parts of his kingdome, once againe to trie his fortune againſt his elder brother *Muſa*. For the better ſucceſſe wherein, he by his letters craued aid of the Prince *Dulgader Ogli*, written to this effect:

Sultan *Mahomet* vnto the Prince *Dulgader Ogli*, his father in law.

My purpoſe is to lead mine armie into Romania in Europe, and there againe to trie my quarrell with my brother Muſa. *My hope is, that you will not with your aid be wanting vnto me your ſonne in law, in my ſo great affaires, neither for want of good will to hinder this my purpoſe. Fare you well. In the yeare of our great Prophet* Mahomet 814. *From Amaſia.*

Mahomet his letters vnto the Prince Dulgader Ogli his father in law.

Whereunto the Prince returned this kind anſwere:

Prince *Dulgader Ogli* vnto the great Sultan *Mahomet*.

I doubt not moſt mightie Monarch, but that whitherſoeuer your deſires ſhall draw you for the vndertaking of any great exploit, he that ruleth aboue in heauen, wil be alwaies your aid, proſper your attempts, miniſter vnto you fit occaſions, and bring all your actions vnto moſt happie end, with moſt aſſured victorie. Wherefore ſeeing (God ſo diſpoſing our affaires) I cannot my ſelfe in perſon come vnto you with my power, and giue you my truſtie helpe in this your intended warre: yet will I in no caſe faile with all ſpeed to ſend my ſonne your ſeruant, to aid you with our forces, in this warre. Fare you well. This ſame yeare of our Prophet 814.

The anſwere of prince Dulgader Ogli to Mahomet.

And ſo ſhortly after, the Prince ſent vnto him his ſon, according to his promiſe, with a companie of braue ſouldiers, excellently furniſhed: for the welcomming of whom, *Mahomet* his brother in law made a great and royall feaſt: and there in his mirth gaue vnto the yong Prince the rich apparrel he wore himſelfe, with the horſe he rode vpon, and all the rich plate of gold and ſiluer wherin they were ſerued at that feaſt, a matter of great value. And to euery one of his noblemen he gaue a rich garment, made for that purpoſe, with ſome other gift, as a fauor: and afterwards gaue them al to vnderſtand, That he intended forthwith to paſſe ouer into Europe, & there to recouer all his fathers kingdom, or els there to end his daies: as for the ſpoile and prey (ſaid he) it ſhall be theirs that can win it: one horſe, one ſword, one horſemans mace ſhal content my ſelfe. So hauing furniſhed his army with all things needful for ſo great an enterpriſe, he ſet forward & came to the ſtrait of Boſphorus; & from thence gaue knowledge of his comming to the Emperour of Conſtantinople: who glad thereof (for the diſpleaſure hee bare to *Muſa*) tranſported him and all his armie ouer that ſtrait into Europe, and there in one of his countrey palaces royally feaſted him. At which time **Mahomet** requeſted the Emperour to ioyne with him in that war againſt their common enemie: but he excuſed himſelfe by reaſon of his great age; yet neuertheleſſe, aſſiſted him with certaine companies of valiant Chriſtians, whoſe ſeruice afterward ſtood the Turke in great ſtead.

So **Mahomet** taking his leaue of the Emperor, marched with his armie to the riuer Wyzen in Thracia, where by the way he receiued letters from the antient captaine *Chaſis Eurenoſes*, aduiſing him to be very circumſpect in his marching, and not to make too much haſt to ioyn battell with his brother: counſelling him alſo (if he could by any means) to allure *Iegides Baſſa*, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, to forſake his brother, and to follow his enſignes; for that in thoſe men conſiſted *Muſa* his greateſt ſtrength: and promiſed in good time to come vnto him himſelfe alſo, if he were not too haſtie. This meſſenger that brought this newes, *Mahomet* bountifully rewarded, and ſo ſent him away. Shortly after, as hee was marching towards Hadrianople, part of the enemies armie began to ſhew it ſelfe vnder the leading of *Cara Calile*, and was preſently charged by *Michael Ogli*, and put to flight. So holding on his way to Hadrianople, he laid ſiege to the citie: where the citizens ſent out to him certaine of their graueſt and moſt ſubſtantiall burgeſſes, to certifie him, That by reaſon of the garriſon there left by *Muſa*, they could not as then deliuer the citie vnto him; but if it ſhould pleaſe him to go & try his fortune in the field againſt his brother, who ſhould be the commander thereof, he ſhould find them readie to follow his good fortune, and to yeeld themſelues, the citie, and all therein, to his pleaſure, if it were his good hap to carrie away the victorie. With which anſwere *Mahomet* contenting himſelfe, raiſed his ſiege, and took the way towards Zagora. In that place *Muſa* is reported to haue come ſecretly diſguiſed into *Mahomet* his campe, and to haue taken full view thereof; but perceiuing himſelfe too weake to encounter his brother, withdrew his army into the ſafegard of the great woods & ſtrong places: & ſo from thence retired with his army towards Philippopolis, and ſo marched along the riuer Meritze, called in antient time, Hebrus: where *Iegides Baſſa*, with *Hamza Beg*, and *Iſmir Ogli* (three of *Muſa* his great captains) ſet vpon the rereward of *Mahomets* armie, and were by *Michael Ogli* repulſed. *Mahomet* holding on his way, came to Sophia: whereas he went, *Muſa* diuers times from the mountaines made ſhew of his armie, but durſt not come downe into the plaine to giue him battell. *Mahomet* hauing refreſhed his army at Sophia, marched to Sarkiue, where he receiued letters from *Iegides Baſſa*, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, all ſecretly perſuaded by old *Eurenoſes* to reuolt vnto him: the tenor whereof in briefe was this:

Hadrianople beſieged by Mahomet.

Iegides Baſſa, Barac Beg, and *Sinan Beg*, vnto the great Sultan *Mahomet*.

We are three young men (moſt mightie Monarch) and haue with vs three thouſand choice ſouldiers, men of incomparable valour, ſuch as the world hath ſcarce the like: draw your forces neere vnto with as much ſpeed as you can, and you ſhall find vs readie to come ouer vnto you. Fare you well.

Muſa his chiefe captains reuolt to Mahomet.

Whereupon he marched all the next night after, vntill hee came to the riuer Moraua, and there encamped: where the three aforenamed captaines, according to their promiſe ioyned themſelues vnto him with all their ſoldiers. Thither came alſo old *Eurenoſes*, of all others the moſt famous captain amongſt the Turks, and now no longer blind, bringing with him a great company of moſt expert ſoldiers. *Marke* the Deſpot of Seruia (for the diſpleaſure he bare vnto *Muſa*) ſent him aid thither alſo. By which ſupplies, *Mahomets* armie was greatly increaſed: who after hee had courteouſly welcommed all theſe new come captaines, he began againe to march farther vntil he came to Coſſoua, the vnfortunat plain; where *Hamza Beg* the Prince of Smyrna his ſonne, hauing forſaken *Muſa*, came vnto him with fiue hundred horſe, certifying him, that al the nobility had forſaken his father: ſo, as he marcht from place to place, his forces ſtill increaſed, by the reuolt of his brothers. *Muſa* ſeeing his ſoldiers thus daily fall from him, inſomuch that he had almoſt none now left, but the ſouldiers of the court (which were indeed his beſt men of war, and alwaies vnto him faithfull, becauſe he had bin euer vnto them exceeding

ding bountifull) thought it beſt to attempt ſomething, before he were left himſelfe alone. Wherefore hauing yet with him ſeuen thouſand of thoſe expert ſouldiers, he drew neerer vnto his brother, ſeeking to haue taken him at ſome aduantage. But *Mahomet* hauing knowledge of his purpoſe, & contented to be aduiſed by his old expert captaines, had euer a vigilant eye vnto him. Yet at laſt, whether it were vpon good hope, or elſe prickt forward with deſpaire, *Muſa* vpon the ſudden, valiantly ſet vpon his brothers army: but his ſouldiers oppreſſed with multitude, rather than ouercome with true valour, after a hard and bloudie fight were put to the worſt: which he ſeeing, deſperatly brake into the midſt of his enemies, ſeeking there for death among the thickeſt of them. But being knowne by *Baiazet Baſſa*, *Mahomet* his lieutenant general, deſirous to take him aliue, he was beſet on euery ſide: where ſeeing himſelfe in more danger to be taken than ſlaine, hee with great courage brake from amongſt the midſt of them, and fled. In which flight his horſe falling into a deepe muddie ditch (or as ſome others ſay, hoxed by *Sarutzes* his owne ſeruant, and himſelfe wounded) ouerthrew him, and there before he could againe recouer himſelfe was taken by *Baiazet Baſſa* (the great lieutenant) *Michael Ogli* and *Barac Beg*, which had hardly purſued him out of the battell; and ſo with his hands bound, by them brought through the middeſt of the armie. Which pitifull ſight, greeued not a little the hearts of many; to ſee him but euen now ſo great a King, and one of the ſonnes of great *Baiazet*, by the ſtrange change of fortune, bound like a captiue ſlaue led forth to execution: yet were moſt part glad thereof, hoping this long ciuill wars would now in him take end. Shortly after came vnto him a nobleman called *Balta Ogli*, ſent (as they thought) from *Mahomet* himſelfe: who after he had in few words bitterly reprooued him, for the crueltie by him before ſhewed vnto his brother *Solyman*, in like caſe, cauſed him preſently to be ſtrangled with a bowſtring. His dead bodie was by and by after preſented to his brother *Mahomet*: who ſeeing it, ſhed a few Crocadils teares ouer it. He raigned three yeres and ſeuen moneths and was afterwards conueyed to Pruſa, and there lieth buried by the bodie of his brother *Solyman*, in the ſame Chappell with his grandfather *Amurath*.

Muſa taken.

Muſa ſtrangled

Mahomet after the death of *Muſa*, now free from all competitors, tooke vpon him the ſole gouernment of the Turkiſh kingdome, as well in Europe as in Aſia. And here the Turkiſh Hiſtories begin the raign of this *Mahomet* fifth King of the Turks: accounting the troubleſome time from the captiuitie of *Baiazet*, vnto the death of *Muſa*, as a time of vacancy or Anarchie, wherein the Turkiſh kingdom was not at any time wholly poſſeſſed by any one of *Baiazet* his ſons; *Iſa* poſſeſſing one part, whereof he was by *Mahomet* diſpoſſeſſed: who afterwards vſurped all that part of the Turkiſh kingdom in Aſia, being the right of his elder brother *Solyman*: who at that time raigning in Europe, was depoſed and ſtrangled by his brother *Muſa*; who was in like manner ſerued by his yongeſt brother *Mahomet*, the onely ſon of *Baiazet* then left, as is before declared. Which diuers mutations, and interrupted ſucceſſions, was the cauſe that the Hiſtoriographers do ſo greatly diſſent vpon the ſucceſſor of *Baiazet*: ſome reckoning one, ſome another; and ſome more, ſome fewer; and ſome, ſuch as neuer were. But foraſmuch as *Mahomet* held all or moſt part of the Turkiſh kingdome in Aſia, during his troubleſome time, and in the end poſſeſſed the other part thereof in Europe alſo, I reckon him for the fifth King of the Turks, and ſucceſſor to his father *Baiazet*: including alſo in this hiſtory of his life, all that inteſtine and ſerpentine-like Tragedie, wherein he himſelfe was the principall actor.

1415

Pruſa burnt by the Caramanian King.

Whileſt *Mahomet* was (as is aforeſaid) thus buſied in his wars in Europe, againſt his brother *Muſa*, the King of Caramania taking the aduantage of his troubles there, with a great army inuaded his kingdom ioyning vpon him in Aſia, burning and ſpoiling al before him as he went: *Eiuaſes Baſſa*, *Mahomet* his lieutenant, then lying at Pruſa, not able to withſtand him; and fearing his comming thither, becauſe it was the ſeat of the *Othoman* Kings in Aſia, cauſed the citizens to bring the greateſt part of their wealth into the caſtle: whereinto hee alſo receiued ſo many of the citizens as hee conueniently could, willing the reſt to ſhift for themſelues as they might, in ſuch caſe of extremitie. Shortly after, the King of Caramania (according to his expectation) came to Pruſa, and without reſiſtance tooke the citie, not as yet fully fortified; which he without delay cauſed the ſecond time to be burnt downe to the ground: and afterwards laid ſiege to the caſtle, giuing many great aſſaults therto by the ſpace of thirty days, but was alwaies valiantly repulſed by *Eiuaſes* the Baſſa, who ceaſed not continually to encourage his ſoldiers, ſtill putting them in comfort, that *Mahomet* hauing now ouercome his enemies in

Europe, would in few dayes vndoubtedly come to their reliefe. It chanced at the ſame time, G that the dead bodie of *Muſa*, ſent to Pruſa to bee buried, was honourably conueyed vpon the way, with much people following it. The Caramanian King hearing of the comming of ſuch a multitude, & fearing it to haue bin *Mahomet* with his power, raiſed his ſiege, and with ſpeed departed: whereat the Turks long time after jeaſted, ſaying, If the Caramanian King run away for feare of the dead bodie of the *Othoman* King, what would he doe if he had come againſt him aliue? But the truth was, he feared *Mahomet* and his power.

Orchanes the ſonne of *Solyman* (yet a boy) hauing liued at Conſtantinople euer ſince the death of his father, about this time departed thence, becauſe of the league but lately made betweene the Emperour and his vncle *Mahomet*, purpoſing to haue gone into Valachia: but by the way as he was trauelling, the Turkiſh voluntarie ſouldiers vnderſtanding that he was the H ſon of their late King *Solyman*, reſorted vnto him in great numbers, offering in his quarrell to ſpend their liues. Of which inſurrection *Mahomet* hearing, marched thither in all haſte, with a great power to ſuppreſſe the ſame: of whoſe comming the ſouldiers with *Orchanes* vnderſtanding, deſperſed themſelues & fled. As for *Orchanes* himſelfe, he was by his vnlawful tutor *Zaganos* betrayed vnto his vncle *Mahomet*: who preſently cauſed his eyes to be put out, and ſo ſent him to Pruſa; allowing him great reuenewes to liue vpon, and euer after vſed him with great honour. The ſiſter of this *Orchanes* hee gaue in marriage to one of his noblemen, with a great dowrie. This is that *Orchanes*, whom ſome Hiſtoriographers reckon vp among the Turkiſh Kings, as one of the ſucceſſors of *Baiazet*; and that he was betrayed to his vncle *Moſes*: erring as I ſuppoſe, both in ſucceſſion and the name, miſtaking *Moſes* for *Mahomet*.

1416

Mahomet inuadeth the Caramanian King.

Now *Mahomet* calling to remembrance the iniury which the Caramanian king had done to him in his abſence, returning to Pruſa, aſſembled a great armie to reuenge himſelfe of that wrong. At which time, he ſent to the Prince *Isfendiar* for aid, who ſent him his ſon *Caſſumes*. Hee commanded alſo the Prince *Germean Ogli*, to make prouiſion for the victualling of his campe, as he ſhould paſſe by his countrey: which was accordingly done. And ſo prouided of all things neceſſarie, he with his army entred into the Caramanian countrey: where he tooke the cities Aſpropolis, Deſpotopolis, Hierapolis, and beſieged Iconium; but by reaſon of the immoderat raine which at that time fel, he was glad to make peace with the Caramanian king, called alſo *Mahomet*. And ſo raſing his ſiege: departed towards Pontus; where he had not long ſtaied, but that news was brought vnto him, That the Caramanian king renouncing his league, was againe vp in armes. Wherefore returning into Caramania, and ſo to Iconium, hee there ouerthrew the King in battell, and tooke both him and his ſonne *Muſtapha* priſoners: who redeemed themſelues by deliuering many of their ſtrong cities and caſtles into his hands: and afterward concluded a peace, they receiuing from him an enſigne (as the Turkiſh manner is) in token they were now become his vaſſals.

1417

Valachia tributarie to the Turke.

The Caramanian war thus happily ended, he went ouer into Europe, and paſſing ouer Danubius, foraged the country of Valachia, Tranſalpina, making there great ſpoile: for redreſſe whereof, the Valachian Prince by his Embaſſadours ſent him ſuch tribute as hee demanded, and his ſonne alſo to ſerue him in his court. About which time hapned a great earthquake in Pruſa, and other places of Aſia, whereby many houſes and townes were ouerthrowne; after which, enſued great troubles in moſt parts of Aſia: howbeit *Mahomet* going thither, by his preſence kept all his dominions in peace and quietneſſe.

Isfendiar prince of Caſtamona and part of Pontus, reſeruing vnto himſelfe Caſtamona, with a little part more of his dominion, gaue the reſt vnto *Mahomet*, vpon condition, that he ſhould reſtore no part thereof againe vnto his ſonne *Caſſumes*; who hauing long time ſerued in *Mahomet* his court and warres, could not be perſuaded to returne againe vnto his father; and therefore was by him thus diſinherited. Which great gift, *Mahomet* thankefully accepted, and in lieu thereof aſſigned vnto *Caſſumes* other great and large poſſeſſions within his owne kingdome.

Mahomet, after the death of his brother *Muſa*, had ſent *Scheiches Beiredin* (his brothers Cadeleſcher) to Nice in Aſia, as vnto a place of exile, allowing him neuertheleſſe a great penſion wheron to liue. This *Bedredin* had in his houſe one *Burgluzes*, *Muſtapha* his ſteward: theſe two conſulted together, how to raiſe ſome tumult or rebellion to trouble the peaceable gouernement of *Mahomet*. For which purpoſe, *Burgluzes* (according to the plot by them laid) tooke his

way

A way into Aydinia (ſometime called Caria) and there pretending great zeale of reformed religion, with a wonderfull grauitie began to broach diuers new and ſtrange opinions, far differing from the Turkiſh antient ſuperſtition, yet very plauſible and wel fitting the humor of the vulgar people. By which means he was in ſhort time reputed for a famous learned deuout man and had many followers, drawing after him much people, fit to begin ſome great innouation. *Bedredin* glad of his mans ſucceſſe, fled from Nice into the Prince *Isfendiar* his countrey, from whence he tooke ſhipping ouer the Euxine into Valachia, and there withdrawing himſelfe into a great forreſt, as if he had beene ſome deuout and religious man, allured vnto him a great number of outlaws and theeues which there liued. Whom when he had ſufficiently inſtructed and framed to his purpoſe, he ſent them in the habit of religious men into the country of Zagora, and other places in the frontires of *Mahomet* his dominions, neere vnto him, as his B diſciples: who with great boldnes and confideney, publiſhed *Bedredin* his doctrine and authority; and how that he was by God appointed to be the King of Iuſtice, and commander of all the world: whoſe doctrine and maner of gouernment was (as they ſaid) alreadie receiued (as they gaue it out) in Aſia, being ſet forth but by one of his ſcholers, *Burgluzes*; whoſe fame was now diſperſed throughout all the Turks dominion: and that therefore if any were deſirous of preferment, they ſhould repaire to *Bedredin*, who would in ſhort time ſhew himſelfe to the world, and promote his followers according to their deſerts. Many of the country people deluded with this phantaſie and practiſe of theſe ſeditious ſeed-men, reſorted to *Bedredin* in hope of preferment, and with them ſome of good calling alſo. At laſt, out of the forreſt commeth this C great Prophet with banner diſplaied, attended vpon with a great multitude of the ſeditious vulgar people, which daily reſorted vnto him more and more. *Mahomet* for the repreſſing of theſe dangerous tumults, ſent his ſon *Amurath*, and *Baiazet* the great Baſſa, with two thouſand men to apprehend *Burgluzes* in Aydinia: but when they came thither, they found him guarded with three thouſand men well appointed, readie to aduenture their liues in defence of their fooliſh Prophet. Neuertheleſſe, *Amurath* & *Baiazet* not diſmaied with the multitude of thoſe vplandiſh people, ſet vpon them: where was fought a right bloudy battell, for the number, & many ſlaine on both ſides; yet at laſt the rebels fled: in which flight *Burgluſes* himſelfe was ſlain, and hewen al to peeces. After which victorie *Baiazet* from thence haſted to Magneſia, and there executed *Torlac Kemal*, another ſeditious Turkiſh Monke, which with two thouſand, by him ſeduced, did much harm in the country thereabout. D At the ſame time alſo, *Mahomet* ſent another power againſt *Bedredin*: but moſt of his followers ſeeing in him no ſuch matter, as was by his diſciples and himſelfe promiſed, and as they hoped for, were alreadie fallen from him, ſo that of that great multitude which before followed him, few or none were left with him, wherby he was eaſily apprehended by them that *Mahomet* had ſent againſt him: and ſo being brought to *Mahomet* to Serras, was there in the market place before a tauerne doore, faire hanged, without any further harme.

Burgluzes ſlaine.

Bedredin hanged.

Mahomet in the ſhort time of his raigne finiſhed the great Mahometan Temple at Hadrianople, before begun by his brethren *Solyman* and *Muſa*. Where hee alſo built a Princely Pallace, the ſeat of the Turkiſh Kings in Europe, vntil the taking of Conſtantinople. He alſo built E another Temple, with a moſt ſumptuous Abbey, and a publick ſchoole thereto adioyning; endowing the ſame with great reuenewes, ſuch as had by him and thoſe his brethren of late bin taken from the Chriſtians. He gaue alſo great ſummes of mony, yerely to be paid at Medina and Mecha, for the releefe of poore Pilgrims trauelling from far to the ſepulchre of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, at Medina, or his Temple at Mecha.

Shortly after *Mahomet* fel ſick at Hadrianople, and perceiuing himſelfe in danger of death, by his laſt will appointed his eldeſt ſonne *Amurath* to ſucceed him in his kingdome, and ſent *Eluan-beg* (a man in great fauor with him) in poſt to Amaſia, to will him with all ſpeed to repaire to the court at Hadrianople. But feeling death to approch, and that he could not poſſibly liue vntill the comming of his ſonne, hee ſtraightly charged his Baſſaes with all ſecrecie to conceale his death, vntill his comming, for feare leſt any trouble ſhould riſe vpon the bruit thereof, before his comming thither: and ſo hauing ſet all things in order, he departed out of this world vnto his Prophet *Mahomet*, about the yere of our ſauior Chriſt 1422, when he had raigned ſeuenteen yeares: accounting in his raigne that rroubleſome ten yeares next after the captiuitie of *Baiazet*, in which time the Turks kingdome was by his ambitious ſonnes rent in

Mahomet dieth at Hadrianople

ſunder(as is aforeſaid)vntil it was at length again by this ***Mahomet*** reſtored to the former integrity,about 7 years before his death,which the Turks account for the whol time of his raign; & the other troubleſome 10 yeres as a vacancy or anarchy of their kingdome,as is aforeſaid.

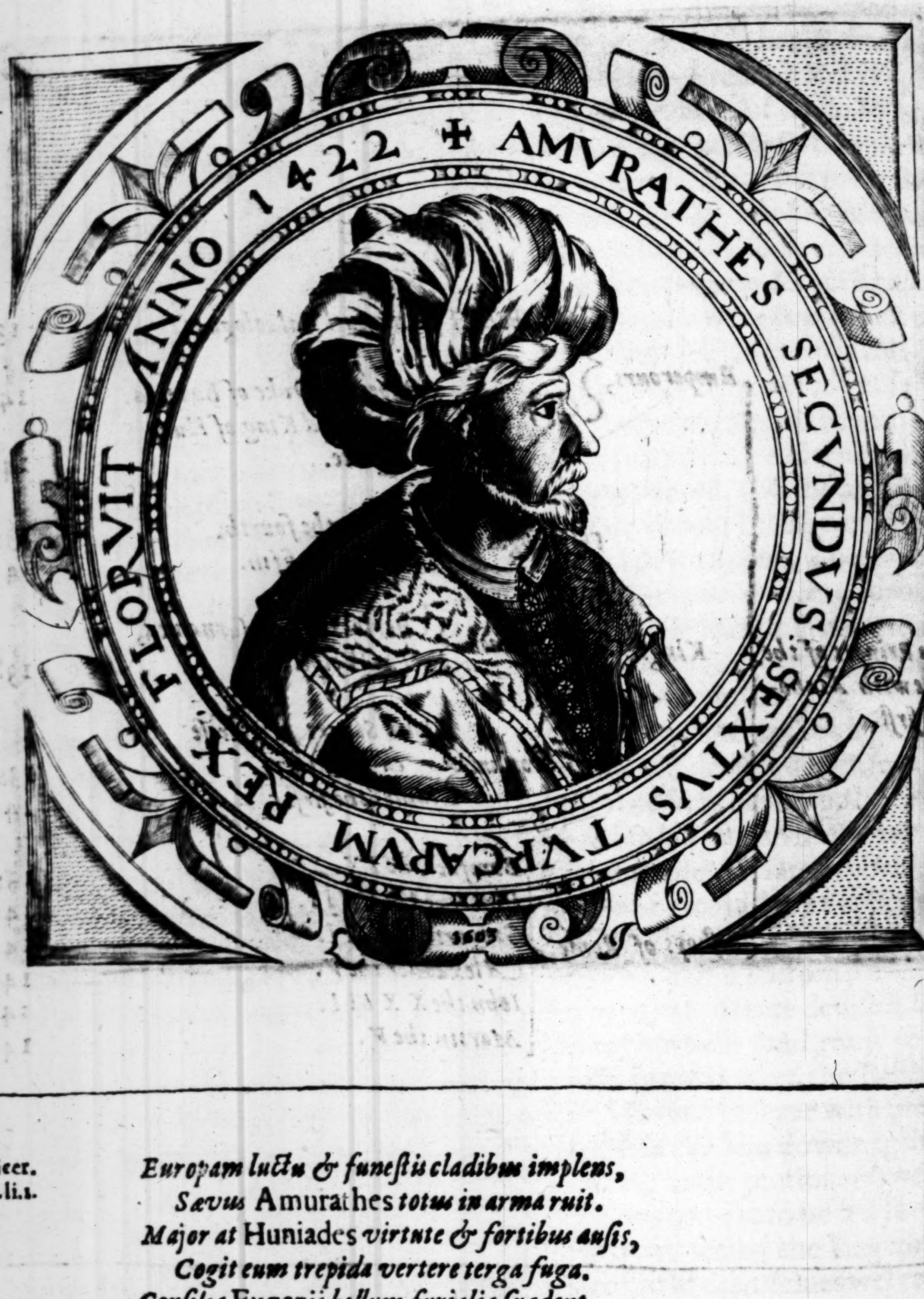
The death of Mahomet cunningly conceald from the Ianizaries,by the three great Baſſaes.

Mahomet being dead,the three great Baſſaes, ***Eiuaſes***,***Baiazet***,and ***Ibrahim***(to rid themſelues of the feare they had of the Ianizaries,& other ſoldiers of the court)called a Diuano or counſel for the wars, as if the King had bin aliue : wherein it was pretended,That ***Mahomet*** had determined to make war vpon the prince of Smirna:and that for that ſeruice,it was his pleaſure, That the Ianizaries ſhould forthwith paſſe ouer into Aſia, to the caſtle of Baga. Whereupon preſſe mony was preſently giuen them, & they ſent ouer with letters directed to the viceroy of Anatolia,for the aſſembling of an armie for Baga. In the meane time, the great Baſſaes of the court ſat daily in counſell, placing and diſplacing,promoting and diſgracing whom they thought good, as if the king had ſo commanded:the kings phyſicians alſo,to countenance the matter,were commanded continually to go to and fro with their potions & receits,after their wonted manner,as if they had had the king ſtill in cure: and letters were ſent in poſt to ***Eluan Beg***,for ſpeedy diſpatch of the buſines for which he was ſent into Aſia. Yet for al this cunning diſſimulation,the pentioners and other ſouldiers of the court,wont to be neere vnto the kings perſon, and ſome of them alwayes of the priuie chamber, began to ſuſpect the matter : and comming to the Baſſaes,ſaid they maruelled that the king in ſo long time did neuer ſhew himſelfe, as he had alwaies before done. Wherunto the Baſſaes anſwered,That he had bin dangerouſly ſick,& was as yet but a little recouered,& that therfore the phyſitians would not ſuffer him to looke abroad,or take the aire,for feare of caſting him down againe. Then will we our ſelues,ſaid the pentioners,go and ſee his Maieſtie;and with that were readie to force in vpon the Baſſaes. ***Eiuaſes*** ſeeing their importunitie, deſired them to hold themſelues contented,and not as then to trouble the king,for that he had that day,as he ſaid,taken phyſick ; but tomorrow (ſaid he) we will requeſt his Maieſtie,if he ſo pleaſe to ſhew himſelfe, that you may ſee him:wherwith they for that time held themſelues content. Now among the kings phyſitians there was one ***Geordiron***,a Perſian,a man of a quick ſpirit & ſubtill deuice,which found means to deceiue the pentioners:he deuiſed,that the dead body of the king being apparelled in royall large robes,ſhould be brought betwixt two,as if he had bin led into an high open gallery; and being there ſet,to haue a boy ſo neatly placed behind him vnder his large robes,as that he vnperceiued,might moue the kings hand vp to his head,as if he ſhould ſtrok his face or beard, as his manner was. The next day the dead king being accordingly brought forth by the Baſſaes in his rich robes, & wrapped with clothes about his head, as if it had bin for feare of the aire,or of taking cold, & ſo placed in an high open gallerie, as was before deuiſed, ſuddenly the phyſitian came running in,fuming and raging as if he had bin halfe mad,ready to teare his cloths for anger;& in great choller caſtnig his cap againſt the ground,asked the Baſſaes if they meant to kill the king,by bringing him into the open aire? We(ſaid he)haue with great pains, in long time,a little recouered him, and will you thus fooliſhly caſt him downe againe? Pardon vs good doctor(ſaid ***Eiuaſes***)for theſe gentlemen(pointing to the pentioners) were ſo importunat to ſee his maieſtie,that to ſatisfie their deſires,he was content to be led forth of his chamber;wherof we hope ſhall enſue no harme. The pentioners ſeeing the king many times mouing his hand to his face,and as it were ſtroking his beard,held themſelues wel contented, ſuppoſing him to haue bin aliue,although but weake,and therefore not willing to ſpeake vnto them. The phyſitians taking him vp amongſt them,carried him into his lodging again,which was but faſt by, making as if they had carried a extreame ſicke man. Thus was his death cunningly concealed one and fortie daies, vntill the comming of ***Amurath*** his ſonne.

This ***Mahomet*** was both wiſe and valiant, and withall exceeding bountifull, but ambitious aboue meaſure : and may of right be accounted the reſtorer of the Turks kingdom;for he recouered againe all thoſe countries in Aſia,which ***Tamerlane*** had taken away and giuen vnto other Mahometan princes,after the ouerthrow of ***BaiaZet***. And when as the kingdome of the Turks was rent in pieces and almoſt brought to nought by ciuile wars, and the ambition of himſelf and his brethren;he at length got poſſeſſion of the whole, & ſo left it to his ſon ***Amurath*** an entire kingdome, in the former greatneſſe, although not ſo much by him augmented. His bodie lieth buried in a faire tombe made of artificiall ſtone, very beautifull to behold,in a chappell at the Eaſt ſide of Pruſa,where we leaue him at his reſt.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the ſame time with Mahomet the firſt.	*Emperours,*	*Of the Eaſt*	*Emanuel Palæologus.*	1387.	30.
		Of the Weſt	*Rupertus Duke of Bauaria.*	1400.	10.
			Sigiſmund King of Hungarie.	1411.	28.
	Kings,	*Of England*	*Henrie the fourth.*	1399.	13.
			Henrie the fifth.	1413.	9.
		Of France	*Charles the ſixt, ſurnamed, The Welbeloued.*	1381.	42.
		Of Scotland	*Iohn Stuart, otherwiſe called Robert.*	1390.	16.
			Iames the firſt.	1424.	13.
	Biſhops of Rome,		*Boniface the IX.*	1391.	14.
			Innocent the VIII.	1405.	2.
			Gregorie the XII.	1407.	2.
			Alexander the V.	1410.	1.
			Iohn the XXIII.	1411.	5.
			Martin the V.	1417.	13.


ANNO 1422 ✠ AMVRATHES SECVNDVS SEXTVS TVRCARVM REX FLORVIT
1603

Phil. Lonicer. Hiſt. Turc. li. 1.

Europam luctu & funeſtis cladibus implens,
Sævus Amurathes *totus in arma ruit.*
Major at Huniades *virtute & fortibus auſis,*
Cogit eum trepida vertere terga fuga.
Conſilia Eugenij *bellum furialia ſuadent,*
Sacrorum antiſtes Martia ad arma ruit:
(Arma viri tractent, curet ſua templa ſacerdos)
Europæ exitium res tulit iſta graue.

Fierce *Amurath* doth Europe fill with bloud and wofull cries:
And wholly giv'n to martiall deeds, doth whole in armes ariſe.
But yet *Huniades* (than he, of greater ſtrength and might)
Enforced him right fearefully to turne his backe in flight.
Eugenius his infernall ſpels ſtirres vp a fatall jarre:
Who hauing charge of ſacred Rites, runnes headlong into warre.
(Leaue martiall deeds to martiall men, and let the Prieſt go pray)
Such diueliſh councell, worſe receiu'd, wrought Europes great decay.

THE LIFE OF *AMVRATH*, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, SIXT KING OF THE TVRKS, AND THE GREAT ESTABLISHER OF THEIR KINGDOME.

Murat is the ſame that wee call Deſiderius.

AFter that the death of *Mahomet* had beene politiquely concealed one and fortie days, by the three great Baſſa's *Baiazet*, *Eiuaſes*, and *Ibrahim*, *Amurath*, or *Murat* (as the Turks call him) his eldeſt ſonne, at that time comming to Pruſa, was by them placed in his fathers ſeat, and the death of *Mahomet* at the ſame time publiſhed: whereupon great troubles began on euery ſide to ariſe.

Muſtapha the ſuppoſed ſon of Baiazet raiſeth rebelliō againſt Amurath.

The Princes of Smyrna and Menteſia roſe vp in armes: and at Theſſaſalonica, an obſcure fellow crept as it were out of a chimneys corner, tooke vpon him the name and perſon of *Muſtapha* the ſonne of *Baiazet*, which was ſlaine many yeres before, in the great battell againſt *Tamerlane* at mount Stella, as is before declared in the life of the vnfortunate Sultan *Baiazet*. This counterfeit *Muſtapha* animated by the Grecian Princes, and going from Theſſalonica to Vardarium, ſet ſo good a countenance vpon the matter, with ſuch a grace and majeſtie, that not onely the countrey people (apt to beleeue any thing) but men of greater place and calling alſo, as *Tzunites Beg* the Prince of Smyrna his ſonne, with the ſons of old *Eurenoſes Baſſa*, perſuaded that he was the very ſonne of the great *Baiazet*, repaired vnto him, as vnto their naturall Prince and Soueraigne. From Vardarium he went to Serræ, and from thence to Hadrianople, (*Amurath* being as then at Pruſa) where he was receiued as if it had been that noble Prince *Muſtapha*, whom he feigned himſelfe to be: ſo that in ſhort time he was honored as a King in all parts of the Turkiſh Kingdome in Europe.

Amurath to repreſſe this ſo great and dangerous a rebellion, ſent *Baiazet Baſſa* a man of great authoritie in his court, with a ſtrong armie into Europe. This great Baſſa paſſing ouer Helleſpontus, found all the countrey reuolted vnto their new found King *Muſtapha*: but marching towards Hadrianople, with purpoſe to haue giuen him battell, hee was firſt forſaken of the Europeian ſouldiers which he brought out of Aſia, and afterwards of all the reſt alſo: and being left poſt alone, with his brother *Hamze Beg*, was for ſafegatd of his life glad to yeeld himſelfe to *Muſtapha*; of whom he was graciouſly entertained, and vpon promiſe of his loyaltie, ſworne one of his priuie Councell.

Muſtapha thus now poſſeſſed of the Turkiſh kingdome in Europe, and entertaining great thoughts, the better to maintain his credit, leuied a great armie to make war vpon *Amurath* in Aſia. And as he was vpon his way, at a place which the Turks call Saſlidere, or the place of willowes, his other councellors repining at the great honour he gaue to *Baiazet Baſſa*, aduiſed him to beware that he truſted him not too far, of whoſe ſmal faith he had ſufficient trial alreadie, & was like enough when occaſion ſhould ſerue, to reuolt from him to *Amurath*, & to draw after him ſome great part of his armie, to the great peril both of himſelfe & all them his faithfull ſeruants & followers. Vpon which jealous conceit, this great Baſſa *Baiazet* was there forthwith as a traitor apprehended, and without further triall executed: at which time his brother *Hamze* was with much ado ſpared. This done, *Muſtapha* proceeded on his journey, and paſſed ouer with his army at Callipolis into Aſia. *Amurath* vnderſtanding of the proceedings of *Muſtapha* in Europe, and of his preparation made for his inuaſion of Aſia, created three new Baſſa's, *Omer*, *Vruge*, and *Alis*, all three the ſonnes of *Temurtaſes*; theſe he ioined with his old Baſſa's *Ibrahim* and *Eiuaſes*. All theſe fiue he vſed as councellors for the wars; by whoſe aduice he ſent for *Mahomet Beg*, ſyrnamed *Michael Ogli*, who in the time that *Muſa* raigned was Viceroy in Europe, and therefore a man well knowne to moſt principall men in *Muſtapha* his armie, but had been kept priſoner in the caſtle of Amaſia, from the time that *Muſa* was depoſed and put to death by his brother *Mahomet*, vntil now that he was after eight yeares impriſonment, for this ſpeciall purpoſe inlarged and receiued into fauour.

About the ſame time that *Muſtapha* ſet footing in Aſia, *Amurath* hauing gathered his army, ſet forward from Pruſa to meet him; yet with ſuch diſtruſt in his forces, which were thought to be much inferior to the European ſoldiers that followed *Muſtapha*, that he was glad vpon a ſuperſtitious opinion or zeale, to proſtrat himſelfe at the feet of an Emir (one of the falſe prophet *Mahomets* poſteritie) to receiue at his hypocritical hands a graceles bleſſing for his better ſpeed: by whom he was made to beleeue, that after two repulſes, he had with much ado at the third time obtained grant of the great Prophet *Mahomet*, that he ſhould preuaile in that war: and thereupon had his ſword girt vnto him with the Emir his holy hands, with many other vaine and ſuperſtitious ceremonies. Yet for all theſe charmes, he marched on with his armie in feare enough, vntill he came to the riuer of Vlibad (otherwiſe called Rindacus:) where hauing intelligence of the approch of *Muſtapha*, hee for feare cauſed the bridge ouer the riuer there to be broken downe, and incamped himſelfe on that ſide the riuer. Not long after came *Muſtapha*, and finding the bridge broken, incamped at the foot thereof on the other ſide: ſo that nothing parted the two armies, but the bredth of the riuer onely. Whileſt they lay thus neere incamped together, that the ſoldiers might on both ſides take the full view one of another, and alſo talke together; *Mahomet Beg*, ſyrnamed *Michael Ogli*, but lately deliuered out of his long impriſonment (as is aforeſaid) came to the riuer ſide, and with a loud voyce called by name vpon the great captaines and old ſoldiers that were in *Muſtapha* his armie; asking by name for many of his old friends and acquaintance: many of them being there preſent, reioycing to ſee that honorable man (whom they ſuppoſed to haue been dead in priſon many yeres before) came gladly to the ſide of the riuer, to heare what he could ſay.

Then with a loud voyce he began to perſuade them, that the man whom they followed was not the honourable *Muſtapha*, but ſome baſe high minded fellow ſet vp by the Grecians, abuſing the obſcuritie of his birth, as the vaile vnder the couert wherof he went craftily about to intrude himſelfe into the honorable diſcent of *Baiazet*; and ſo masking in the counterfeit titles of ſtolne honor, had miſ-led them from their dutie to their natural King and Soueraign, to follow him a meere deceiuer. And further aſſured them, that *Muſtapha*, *Baiazet* his ſon, was dead and buried in the bed of fame 22 yeres before; honorably ending his days in defence of his country, in the great battel of mount Stella againſt *Tamerlane*: wherefore they ſhould doe well to forſake that ſuppoſed *Muſtapha*, and again to yeeld their dutifull obedience vnto their vndoubted Soueraigne *Amurath*. Theſe words deliuered vnto them by *Mahomet*, whom they generally both reuerenced and truſted, wrought ſuch effect in their minds, that ſome preſently aduentured to ſwim ouer the riuer, and ioyned themſelues vnto him; and many others that ſtayed ſtill, began now to doubt leſt they had worſhipped a wrong Saint. At the ſame time alſo, *Eiuaſes Baſſa*, to terrifie *Muſtapha*, ſent vnto him letters as in great ſecret, aduertiſing him, that *Amurath* had the next night purpoſed with his armie to paſſe ouer the riuer aboue the broken bridge; at which time the chiefe captaines of his armie being (as he ſaid) corrupted, had promiſed to deliuer *Muſtapha* into his hands, and with his head to pay the ranſom of them all. This he coloured with ſuch faire gloſſes, that *Muſtapha* partly beleeued the ſame. So when the dead time of the night was come, *Eiuaſes* with certain troups of horſemen paſſed ouer the riuer, at the verie ſame place he had in his letters named; and that with ſuch a noyſe and tumult, as *Amurath* with his whole armie had beene comming. *Muſtapha* ſeeing things begin thus to worke according as *Eiuaſes Baſſa* had before written; and with this, doubting alſo to be preſently betrayd, and carrying about him a guiltie conſcience (the mother of feare & diſtruſt) *Muſtapha flieth* tooke horſe, (ſlenderly accompanied but with ten perſons of his whole armie) and fled in haſt, no man purſuing them, vntill he came to the riuer of Boga, and there with a great ſumme of money obtained paſſage, by corrupting the captaine that dwelt in the caſtle vpon the paſſage of the riuer: and the third day after paſſing ouer the ſtrait of Helleſpontus, landed at Callipolis. The flight of *Muſtapha* once knowne in his armie, they all yeelded themſelues vnto *Eiuaſes Baſſa*: who taking poſſeſſion of *Muſtapha* his tent, cauſed the broken bridge to be repaired; whereby *Amurath* paſſing with his armie, ioyned himſelfe with *Eiuaſes*. The other Baſſa *Ibrahim*, councelled *Amurath* to put to ſword all thoſe rebels that had followed *Muſtapha*: but by the mediation of *Eiuaſes* (to whom they had yeelded themſelues) they were generally pardoned.

Amurath departing from Vlibad or Lopadium, came to Boga, and there hanged vp the captaine that had giuen *Muſtapha* paſſage. From thence he held on his way to Lampſacum, intending to purſue *Muſtapha* into Europe: but being come to the ſea ſide he could find no paſſage, for that *Muſtapha* had cauſed all the ſhipping on that ſide, to be brought ouer into Europe. Yet at laſt *Amurath* by good fortune chanced vpon a great Genoway ſhip, which he hired for foure thouſand duckats to tranſport his Armie, and ſo with much adoo at length landed in Europe. *Muſtapha* ſeeing that *Amurath* was now come ouer, fled to Hadrianople, where he found ſuch cold entertainment, that fearing to be betrayed, he was glad to ſpeed himſelfe thence, thinking all the world too little to hide himſelfe in; and ſo came to an obſcure place in the countrey of the Turks, called Kiſul-Agatze-Genitze: where the ſoldiers ſent to purſue him, ouertook him, and brought him bound to *Amurath*, then being at Hadrianople: by whoſe commandement he was ſhamefully hanged from the battlements of one of the higheſt towers of the citie, and there left to the worlds wonder.

Muſtapha hanged.

This *Muſtapha* is of ſome writers reported to haue been in deed the ſon of the great Sultan *Baiazet*, and that he was kept in priſon all that long time, and thus at length ſet vp by the Greeks to trouble the ſtate of the Turkiſh kingdome: but the Turkiſh Hiſtories report as before, calling him *Duſme* or counterfeit *Muſtapha*. And it is verie likely, that if hee had been one of the ſons of *Baiazet*, he would haue found ſome means to haue made ſome great ſtirre long before that, as all the reſt of the vnquiet brood of *Baiazet* did, which neuer reſted vntil they had, like the earth-borne bretheen, one deſtroyed the other: beſides that, their bloudie natures conſidered, it is very like, that *Mahomet* his younger brother, who raigned in Hadrianople almoſt eight yeres, and was in league all that time with the Emperour of Conſtantinople, would for his more ſafetie haue got him into his owne power, if hee had been in priſon with the Emperour; or elſe haue diſpatched him, if he had been in priſon with himſelfe. All which I am the rather perſuaded to thinke, for that *Orchanes* a child, the ſonne of *Solyman*, could find no ſafe place of abode at Conſtantinople in the raigne of *Mahomet*, but flying, was apprehended, and his eyes put out, as is before declared in the life of *Mahomet*: much leſſe is it like, that *Muſtapha*, being a warlike prince, and his elder brother, could haue been ſo long preſerued and kept in priſon from his furie.

It fortuned in theſe late broyles (as oftentimes it doth with others in like caſe) diuers of the rebels Aſapi, or common ſoldiers (whom he for his greater countenance had apparelled & armed like Ianizaries) to fall into the hands of the true Ianizaries, *Amurath* his faithfull guard; whoſe liues indeed they ſpared, but vſing them with all the deſpight and indignities poſſible. Amongſt the reſt, one of the Ianizaries being an hungred, brought two of theſe Aſapi his priſoners vnto a cookes ſhop, offering to ſell them vnto him for a little victuall: which the cooke refuſed to giue him, as hauing no vſe for ſuch vnneceſſarie ſeruants. Wherewith the proud Ianizary inraged, ſwore many a great oath, preſently to cut off their heads, and to giue them him for nought, if he would not for a thing of nought redeeme them. And like enough hee was to haue ſo done, had not the cooke, moued with pittie, offered him for them both a ſheepes head: which the Ianizarie tooke for them, ſwearing that the cooke had giuen for them more than indeed they were worth. Which diſgrace ſo long ſince done vnto theſe Aſapi, is yet oftentimes by way of reproch in great contempt, by the maſterfull and inſolent Ianizaries, obiected vnto the whole bodie of the Aſapi, the greateſt part of the Turks huge armies, of whom for all that the proud Ianizaries make ſmall reckoning, accounting them ſcarcely for men, and in their rage oftentimes telling them, That two of them are not worth a ſodden ſheeps head.

Two Aſapi ſold by a Ianizarie for a Sheepes head.

Amurath hauing at length with much adoo thus pacified the dangerous rebellion raiſed by the counterfeit *Muſtapha* both in Europe and Aſia, was yet not a little grieued, to thinke

Conſtantinople in vaine beſieged by Amurath.

how the ſame had, to the great hazard of his eſtate, bin firſt plotted by the Greekes, and afterwards countenanced by the Greeke Emperor, of whom he thought now to be reuenged. And therefore ſending before him *Michael Ogli*, his lieutenant generall in Europe, with his Europeian ſoldiers to inuade the country about Conſtantinople, followed himſelfe after with the Ianizaries and his Aſian forces: and incamping before the Citie, filled all that necke of land which lieth before it, from ſea to ſea. And ſo incamped, began right furiouſly to batter the wals, in hope ſo to haue made a breach, & by the ſame to haue entred the city: but finding the wals of greater ſtrength than he had before ſuppoſed, & the defendants ſtill repairing whatſoeuer the furie of his artillery had beaten down or ſhaken, he ceaſed his batterie, & comming on with all his forces, deſperatly attempted by aſſault to haue gained the citie: wherin his fortune was not anſwerable to his deſire; for approching the city, with arrowes as ſhoures falling vpon the defendants, and ſcaling ladders in the mean time clapt vp to the walls, & the Ianizaries with other of his beſt ſoldiers valiantly mounting the ſame, they were by the defendants notably repulſed & beaten down, loſing ſome their hands, ſome their arms, ſome their heads, but moſt their liues, no ſhot falling in vain from the wals. Which *Amurath* beholding, & grieued to ſee (though vnwilling) commanded a retrait to be ſounded, and the aſſault giuen ouer: and ſhortly after ſeeing no hope to preuaile, in great rage raiſed his ſieged & departed. Vnto whom for all that the Greek Emperor not long after ſent his Embaſſadors to intreat with him for peace; whereof he would by no means heare, but proudly threatned to be ere long of all his wrongs reuenged: which cauſed the Greek emperor to deuiſe what he might for the troubling of his eſtate, ſo to keepe him otherwiſe buſied: as he did ſhortly after with the Caramanian king, by countenancing another *Muſtapha* (ſyrnamed *Cutzug* or the Little) *Amuraths* yonger brother, againſt him, to the raiſing of new ſtirres, and *Amurath* his no ſmall trouble.

Mahomet the late King had fiue ſons and ſeuen daughters, whereof *Amurath* was the eldeſt, and ſucceeded in his fathers kingdom; *Muſtapha* the ſecond, ſirnamed the Little; *Achmetes* the third, who died before his father: the other two, *Ioſephus* and *Machmutes*, both died of the plague, being but children, after the death of their father. Three of their ſiſters were married to the three ſonnes of the King of Caramania, *Ibrahim*, *Aladin*, & *Iſa*: other two were beſtowed vpon the ſonnes of the Prince *Iſfendiar*, *Ibrahim* and *Caſimes*: the ſixt was giuen in mariage to *Cozza-Beg* Viceroy of Anatolia: and the ſeuenth, to the ſonne of *Ibrahim Baſſa*, who died at Mecha, whither ſhe went vpon ſuperſtitious deuotion on pilgrimage.

At ſuch time as *Amurath* was buſied in his warres in Europe, againſt *Muſtapha* the ſuppoſed ſon of *Baiazet*; the yonger ſon of *Mahomet* (called alſo *Muſtapha*) being but thirteen yeres old, and *Amurath* his brother indeed was ſet vp to raiſe new troubles, by the King of Caramania and other Princes, as well Mahometans, as the Chriſtian Princes of Grecia; who thought it good policie, by that means to impeach the greatneſſe of *Amurath*. This yong prince *Muſtapha* ſtrengthned with the forces of his friends, entred into his brothers dominions in Aſia, and beſieged Nice, which was at length yeelded vnto him. *Amurath* aduertiſed of this new rebellion, by great gifts and large promiſes corrupted *Ilias Beg*, the young Princes tutor, to betray the Prince into his hands. Whereupon *Amurath* with great celeritie ſet forward with his Armie from Hadrianople, & in nine days came to Nice, where he entred the citie with ſmal reſiſtance, as was to him before promiſed, where *Muſtapha* was by his falſ tutor to him preſented: who becauſe he would not ſpill one drop of the ſacred *Othoman* bloud, (as the Turkes call it) commanded the executioner preſently to ſtrangle him with a bow ſtring; which was done accordingly, and his bodie afterwards buried by his father at Pruſa.

Muſtapha betrayed & ſtrangled.

Amurath hauing ſuppreſſed theſe two rebellions, and now out of all feare of any competitor, thought his fiue councellors too many by three, and therefore remoued the three Baſſa's, *Omure*, *VrutZi*, and *Alis* (the ſons of *Temurtaſes*) into honorable places, retaining of his Councell, only the two old Baſſa's, *Ibrahim* and *Eiuaſes*. But ſhortly after, *Eiuaſes* was ſecretly accuſed to *Amurath*, that he ſought by his fauorits the ſoldiers of the court, to aſpire vnto the kingdome himſelfe, and to depoſe the King; and that intending ſome ſuch matter, he did vſually weare a priuie coat. This ſuſpicious report troubled the jealous tyrant: wherefore on a time as he rid accompanied with *Eiuaſes*, he caſt his arme about him, as if it had been in kindneſſe: but finding him ſecretly armed, would needs know the cauſe thereof: whereunto *Eiuaſes* anſwered, That it was for feare of ſome enemies he had in the court: but this excuſe could by no means ſerue his turne: wherefore he was forthwith apprehended by the commandement of *Amurath*, and both his eyes burnt out with a hot ſteele glaſſe.

Eiuaſes Baſſa his eyes put out.

Whilſt *Amurath* was thus buſied in ſubduing rebellions at home, *Muhamethes* the Caramanian King beſieged Attalia, a great citie in Pamphilia, by the ſpace of ſix moneths, which was valiantly defended by *Hamza-beg*, *Amurath* his lieutenant there: at which ſiege the vnfortunate King himſelfe, as he was taking view of the citie, was ſlaine with a great ſhot out of the citie: whereupon *Ibrahim*, which ſucceeded him in the kingdome, brake vp the ſiege, and returned home to burie his father. At this time alſo, *Dracula* Prince of Velachia, paſſing ouer Danubius, did the Turkes much harme about Siliſtra, but was afterwards enforced to ſubmit himſelfe to *Amurath*, and become his tributarie.

The king of Caramania ſlaine.

About this time alſo *Tzunites*, the Prince of Smyrna, which had before aided the rebell *Muſtapha*, did by al means he could vex and moleſt *Iaxis-beg*, (*Amurath* his lieutenant in Aidinia) and hauing by chance taken his brother priſoner, put him to death. This prince of Smirna was deſcended of the antient Princes of Aidinia, and therefore pretended an intereſt in that ſeigniorie: which his claime the people of the country ſecretly fauoured, ſo far as they durſt for feare of the Turks. *Amurath* hearing of the harmes that this Prince of Smyrna did, commanded *Hamze-beg*, viceroy of Anatolia, with all his power to make war vpon him. The viceroy without delay aſſembled a great armie, and inuaded the Princes countrey: and the Prince being well prouided for his comming, meeting him vpon the way, gaue him battell; wherein *Haſan* the Princes ſon, leading a great part of his fathers army, had put one part of the Turks army to flight: and purſuing them with too much furie, left his father at the ſame time ſo hardly beſet by the viceroy, that he was glad to flie to his caſtle of Hipſily faſt by. *Haſan* returning from the chace of the enemie, not knowing what had happened to his father, was by the Turks in his returne ouercome and taken priſoner. After which victorie the viceroy preſently laid ſiege to the caſtle wherein the prince was. This ſiege continued a great while: at length the prince brought to extremity, was content to yeeld himſelfe vnto the viceroy, vpon condition he ſhould vſe no violence againſt the perſon of himſelf or his ſon, but to ſend them priſoners vnto *Amurath*: which thing the viceroy by ſolemne oath promiſed, whereupon the Prince came out of the caſtle, and yeelded himſelfe priſoner to the viceroy. *Iaxis-beg*, whoſe brother the Prince had before put to death, attended the going of *Hamze* the viceroy to his tent, where finding *Haſan* the princes ſon ſitting vpon the ground, as the manner of the Turks is, took him by the choller with great fury, & drawing him along to the feet of the prince his father, there moſt cruelly ſtrucke off his head: and in the ſame rage laying his bloudie hands vpon the aged prince, ſtrucke off his head alſo, to the great diſhonor of the viceroy, who had before giuen his faith for their ſafety. The heads of the Prince and his ſon were ſet vpon two launces, within the ſight of the caſtle; which the defendants ſeeing, and now diſparing of all reſcue, yeelded themſelues with the caſtle. This infortunate *Tzunites* was the laſt Prince of Smyrna, after whoſe death all his territorie was vnited to the *Othoman* kingdome. After all theſe troubles, *Amurath* with great triumph married the daughter of the Prince *Iſfendiar*.

Amurath hauing laid vp in the depth of his thoughts the remembrance of that the Grecian Princes had done, in giuing aid to the rebels aforeſaid, thought it now high time to take reuenge of that wrong: and for that purpoſe gathered a great army, wherewith he ranged at his pleaſure thorow Macedonia, vntill he came to Theſſalonica, ſurpriſing by the way diuers cities and caſtles, at that time belonging to the Conſtantinopolitan empire. This famous citie of Theſſalonica, now called Salonichi, for beautie and wealth ſometime not inferiour to any of the greateſt and moſt renowned cities of Grecia, is ſituate vpon the borders of Macedonia, cloſe vnto a bay of the Archipelago or the ſea Ægeum: which bay was in antient time called Thermaicus-Sinus, and now the bay of Salonichi. To the Chriſtian congregation there dwelling, S. *Paul* wrote two Epiſtles, in the latter whereof, he forewarneth them of a great defection to come before the latter day. Before this Chriſtian citie, then in the protection of the Venetians, *Amurath* encamped his great armie of misbeleeuing Turks; and laid hard ſiege to it with moſt terrible batterie: at which time he by ſecret means corrupted certaine of the wicked citizens, to haue betraid the citie by a ſecret mine, and to haue let him in, which treaſon was by the Venetian gouernours perceiued, and the plotters thereof for ſafegard of their liues glad to leape ouer the wals, and to flie into the Turks campe.

Theſſalonica beſieged.

Amurath hauing greatly battered the wals of the citie, the more to encourage his ſoldiers, G promiſed to giue them all the ſpoile therof, if they could by force win it. The greedy deſire of this rich prey, wherin euery common ſoldier promiſed vnto himſelfe whatſoeuer his fooliſh fancie or vnbrideled affection could deſire, ſo inflamed the minds of theſe barbarous ſoldiers, and eſpecially of the Ianizaries, that giuing a moſt terrible aſſault to the city, they by force entred the ſame, and wan it. The Venetian ſoldiers fled to their gallies, lying at ancor in the hauen, & ſo got to ſea: but the infinit miſeries which the poore Chriſtian citizens endured in the furie of that barbarous nation, no tongue is able to expreſſe, or pen deſcribe: death was leſſe pain than the ignominious outrages and vnſpeakable villanies which many good Chriſtians there ſuffered, heartily wiſhing to die, and could not; and yet the furious enemies ſword deuoured all the people, without reſpect of age or ſex, except ſuch as for ſtrength of body, or H comlines of perſon, were reſerued for painfull labor or beaſtly luſt; which poore ſoules were afterwards diſperſed into moſt miſerable ſeruitude and ſlauerie, thorow all parts of the Turkiſh kingdom. The infinit riches of that famous city, became a ſpoile vnto the barbarous ſoldiers; the goodly houſes were left deſolate, void of inhabitants. Thus the beautifull citie of Theſſalonica, ſomtime one of the moſt glorious ornaments of Græcia, the late pleaſant dwelling place of many rich Chriſtians, was by the tyrant giuen for an habitation to ſuch baſe Turkes, as at their pleaſure repaired thither to ſeat themſelues, and ſo is by them at this day poſſeſſed. This calamitie happened to Theſſalonica in the yeare of our Lord 1432.

Theſſalonica taken by Amurath.

Theſſalonica beeing thus taken, *Amurath* rerurned to Hadrianople himſelfe, and at the ſame time ſent *Caratze* with the greateſt part of his armie into Ætolia. *Charles* prince of that countrey dying a little before the comming of *Amurath* to Theſſalonica, and hauing no lawfull iſſue, had diuided the countrey of Acharnania amongſt his three baſe ſons, *Memnon*, *Turnus*, and *Hercules*, leauing all the reſt of his dominion to his brothers ſonne, called alſo *Charles*. But ſhortly after, ſuch diſcord fell among theſe bretheren, that *Amurath* ſending his Turks to aid one of them againſt the other, as he was by them requeſted, in fine brought all that countrey of Ætolia into ſubiection to himſelfe, leauing nothing for the fooliſh brethren to ſtriue for, more than the bare titles of imaginatiue honour. The other Grecian princes of Athens, Phocis, Boetia, and al the reſt of Græcia, vnto the ſtrait of Corinth, terrified by their neighbours harmes, were glad to ſubmit themſelues to the barbarian yoke, and to become tributaries vnto the Turkiſh tyrant; vnder which ſlauerie they of long time moſt miſerably liued, I if intollerable ſlauery ioyned with infidelitie may be accounted a life. Thus the Grecians loſt their libertie, which their anceſtors had many times before, to their immortall praiſe, worthily defended againſt the greateſt Monarchs of the world, and are now ſo degenerate, by the meanes of the Turkiſh oppreſſion, that in all Græcia is hardly to be found any ſmall remembrance of the antient glorie thereof: inſomuch that whereas they were wont to account all other nations barbarous in compariſon of themſelues, they are now become no leſſe barbarous, than thoſe rude nations whom they before ſcornd. Which miſery with a thouſand more, they may iuſtly impute to their owne ambition and diſcord.

At this time, among the diſtreſſed Princes of Macedonia and Græcia, one *Iohn Caſtriot* raigned in Epirus: who ſeeing how mightily the Turke preuailed againſt the princes his neighbors, and conſidering that he was not able by any means to withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemie; to obtaine peace, he was glad to deliuer into *Amurath* his poſſeſſion, his foure ſons, *Staniſius*, *Reposius*, *Conſtantine*, and *George*, for hoſtages: whom *Amurath* faithfully promiſed, well and honorably to intreat. But aſſoone as he had got them within his reach, he falſified his faith, and cauſed them to be circumciſed after the Turkiſh maner, and to be inſtructed in the Turkiſh ſuperſtition, to the great griefe of their Chriſtian parents: and afterwards, when he vnderſtood of the death of *Iohn Caſtriot* their father, he poiſoned all the three elder brethren: and by *Sebaly* (one of his great captains) ſeiſed vpon Croia, his chiefe citie, and all the reſt of his territories, as if they had by good right deuolued vnto him. But *George* the yongeſt, whom the Turks named *Scander-beg*, or lord *Alexander*, for his excellent feature, and pregnant wit, he alwaies entirely loued, and as ſome thought, more paſſionatly than he ſhould haue loued a boy. Him he cauſed to be diligently inſtructed in all kind of actiuitie and feats of war, wherein he excelled al other his equals in *Amurath* his court; & riſing by many degrees of honor, came at laſt (being yet but very young) to be a great Sanzack or gouernor of a prouince, and was many times appointed by ***Amurath*** to be General of his armies; in which ſeruice he ſo behaued himſelfe, that he got the loue of all that knew him, and increaſed his credit with ***Amurath***: vntil at laſt he found opportunitie by great policie and courage, to deliuer both himſelfe and his natiue countrey from the horrible ſlauerie of the Turkiſh tyrannie, as ſhall be afterwards declared.

Shortly after that ***Amurath*** had thus danted the Princes of Grecia, he turned his forces into Seruia: but the Prince of Seruia vnable to withſtand ſo mightie an enemie, to procure his fauour, ſent embaſſadors, offering to pay him a yerely tribute, and to do further what he ſhould reaſonably demand. ***Amurath*** beſide the yerely tribute, required to haue ***Marie*** (this Princes faire daughter) in marriage; and that he ſhould not ſuffer the Hungarians to paſſe through his countrey to inuade him; and further, not at any time to denie paſſage vnto the Turkiſh armie, when he ſhould ſend forth the ſame for the inuaſion of the kingdome of Boſna. All which vnreaſonable conditions the Prince was glad to agree vnto, and ſent his faire daughter by ***Saratze***, who was afterwards married to ***Amurath***.

Plague among the Turkes.

About this time, ***Ioſephus*** and ***Machmutes***, ***Amurath*** his brethren, and ***Orchanes*** the ſonne of ***Solyman***, who had his eyes put out by his vncle ***Mahomet***, with many other men of great account among the Turks, died of the plague at Pruſa.

Whileſt ***Amurath*** was thus buſied in his wars in Europe, the king of Caramania his brother in law, inuaded his dominions in Aſia: for ſo it was agreed betweene the Chriſtian Princes of Europe, and the Mahometan princes of Aſia, to whom the greatnes of the ***Othoman*** kingdome was now become dreadful, That whenſoeuer he inuaded the Chriſtians in Europe, the Mahometan princes ſhould inuade his countries in Aſia; and that whenſoeuer he ſhould turn his forces into Aſia, the Chriſtian princes ſhould ſpoile his countries in Europ. Againſt this Caramanian king, ***Amurath*** tranſported his army into Aſia; & as he went, ſeiſed vpon the countries of Sarucania, Menteſia, and other prouinces, which were before but tributaries vnto him, driuing out the poore princes before him; & ſo entred into Caramania, and inforced the King ſo far, that he was glad to agree to ſuch conditions of peace as it pleaſed him to propound vnto him, & to ſend his ſon to wait at his court. And at the ſame time picking a quarrel with ***Iſfendiar*** prince of Caſtamona, cauſed him to become his tributarie, & to ſend his ſon to his court alſo. By which means the name of ***Amurath*** became terrible to all the Mahometan princes.

Hungarie ſpoiled by Amurath

When ***Amurath*** had thus quieted all his troubles in Aſia, he returned to Hadrianople: and vnderſtanding that the Hungarians paſſing ouer Danubius, had in his abſence made diuers incurſions into his dominions, he was therewith greatly offended; and in reuenge thereof firſt ſent ***Alis Baſſa*** the ſon of ***Eurenoſes***, with an armie to inuade Hungaria; which he performed accordingly by the ſpace of a moneth, and returned from thence with rich bootie. Not long after, he himſelfe in perſon made another road into Hungary, commanding the prince of Seruia his father in law, to giue his armie free paſſage through his country; and charging ***Dracula*** prince of Valachia to aid him with his forces in that expedition: which his commandement both the Chriſtian princes (more for feare, than of good will) diligently performed. So ***Amurath*** hauing inriched his ſouldiers with the ſpoile taken in Hungarie, returned home and wintred at his court at Hadrianople.

The ſecret confederation betweene the Hungarians and the Mahometan King of Caramania, was not vnſuſpected of ***Amurath***, which hee was the rather induced to beleeue, for that whenſoeuer he inuaded the one, he was preſently ſet vpon by the other, either in Europe or in Aſia: of which plot hee doubted not but that ***George*** prince of Seruia (his father in law) was chiefe author, although in ſhew he was therein the leaſt actor. Wherfore ***Amurath*** intending to ſpill the play, ſent for the prince his father in law to come to the court at Hadrianople: but he doubting ſome Tnrkiſh tragedie, pretended great occaſions that he could not come; and fearing that which afterwards fel out, fortified and manned all his ſtrong cities and caſtles by all means he could poſſibly, eſpecially his chiefe citie Semendre (otherwiſe called Spenderouia) and left therein his ſon ***Gregorie*** (or as ſome call him, ***George***) as gouernor; for his other ſon ***Stephan*** was long before in ***Amurath*** his court, with the Queene his ſiſter. The prince of Seruia himſelfe went into Hungarie to procure from thence ſome aid, hauing there alſo himſelfe certaine territories, which he had in exchange of ***Sigiſmundus*** (late Emperor and King of Hungarie) for the citie of Belgrade. It was not long after, but ***Amurath*** forgetting both the affinitie and league hee had with the Prince his father in law, entered with a great armie into

Amurath contrary to his faith inuadeth Seruia and ſubdueth it.

Seruia, deſtroying all before him, and hardly beſieged Semendre: where, after long ſiege the young gouernour (the Princes ſon) doubting to fall into his enemies hands by ſudden aſſault, yeelded himſelfe, with the citie: which thing ſo diſcouraged the reſt of the Seruians, that in ſhort time, Sophia, Nouomont, with all the reſt of the cities of Seruia, were yeelded into the power of ***Amurath***. After which conqueſt hee returned to Hadrianople, and hearing that the Prince of Seruia with the Hungarians, were making head againſt him, and that the two young Seruian Princes, ***Gregorie*** and ***Stephen***, his wiues brethren, had intelligence with their father, he commanded them both to be caſt in priſon ar Dydimoticum, & their eyes cruelly to be burnt out with a braſen baſon made red hot, a common vnmercifull practiſe among the Turks.

About this time, ***Albertus*** duke of Auſtria, hauing before maried ***Elizabeth*** the only daughter of ***Sigiſmund*** the Emperour, and ſucceeding his father in law both in the empire and kingdome of Hungarie (vnto which type of higheſt honour nothing more furthered him than the remembrance of ***Sigiſmund***) in the ſecond yeare of his raigne, before hee was well ſetled in thoſe new atchieued honors, died of the flix, as he was making great preparation againſt ***Amurath*** the Turkiſh King: who hauing lately driuen ***George*** Prince of Seruia and Raſcia out of his dominions, had now extended the Turkiſh kingdom euen vnto the borders of Hungarie. This ***Albertus*** dying, left his wife great with childe. The Hungarians, in whoſe minds the remembrance of ***Sigiſmuna*** was yet freſh, could haue bin contented to haue liued vnder the gouernment of the Queene his daughter, the widow of ***Albertus*** (then great with child;) but that the Turkiſh King was now grown ſo great, & come ſo nigh, that it was thought more than needfull by ***Iohn Huniades***, and other of the Hungarian nobilitie, for the defence of that kingdome, not wholly to reſt vpon the deuotion of the people toward the Queene, and the expectation of her iſſue, whereby they ſhould be nothing ſtrengthned: but to make choice of ſome great Prince, by whoſe power they might the better defend themſelues and the kingdome againſt their dangerous enemies. Whereupon with conſent of the Queene, it was reſolued vpon, to make choice of ***Vladiſlaus***, the yong King of Polonia, then a Prince of great power, but of farre greater fame and expectation: and by Embaſſadours to offer vnto him the marriage of the Queene, and with her, the kingdome alſo. This embaſſage being ſent vnto ***Vladiſlaus***, the matter was to and fro debated in the Polonian Court, whether it were to be accepted of or not? Some began to ſpeake of the inequalitie of the match, conſidering that the King was but in the prime of his youth, and the Queen well ſtept into yeares; vrging farther, that nothing was offered in that match but wars; and that the Hungarians therein ſought for nothing more, than by the Polonian forces to defend themſelues againſt the Turkes. Others of the contrarie opinion, ſaid, that the vniting of thoſe two mightie kingdomes would be to the great good of them both, and to the great honour of the king, whoſe very name would thereby become terrible vnto the Turkes: and that it were greater pollicie, by the forces of both the Kingdomes, to keepe the Turkiſh king from entring into Hungarie, than to leaue that kingdome to him land for a prey, & afterward be inforſt to fight with the ſame enemie in the heart of Polonia: and as for inequalitie of yeres betwixt the King and the Queene, it was not ſo great matter, that in regard therof ſo honorable & commodious alliance ſhould be reiected; for as much as Princes do more regard the vertues of their choice, with the increaſe of their honor & wealth of their kingdoms than the ſummer fruit of youth & beauty, which of it ſelf in ſhort time doth rot & periſh, although it be neuer ſo carefully kept and preſerued: and that for as much as there can be but one king in a kingdom, ſuch choice was to be preferred of Kings as had not therin the greateſt hope of many children. After long deliberation, ***Vladiſlaus*** gaue anſwer to the embaſſadors, That he would accept of the offers by them made: wherupon ſome of them returned to make relation to the Queene, and ſome of them ſtaied behind to haſten the king forward. But whilſt theſe things were a doing, the Queen in the mean time was deliuered of a faire ſonne, whom ſhe cauſed to be baptized & named ***Ladiſlaus***. After the birth of this child, the Queen moued with a motherly affection, began to repent her ſelfe, that ſhe had giuen her conſent for the calling in of the Polonian king, to the preiudice of her ſon. And being animated by ſome of the Hungarian nobilitie (who preſuming of the good grace they were in with the Queen, hoped to grow great themſelues, if they might firſt draw the gouernment of that kingdom to the Queen & her yong ſon) determined now by all means to exclude the Polonian King: but the greater part of the nobilitie better conſidering what was moſt expedient

Vladiſlaus accepteth of the kingdome offered.

for the preſent eſtate,and that they could neither with honour or ſafetie flie from that which was before(for the common good) by the Embaſſadors concluded, continued firme in their former reſolution for the bringing in of *Vladiſlaus*: ſo that by this meanes, ſome taking part with the Queene and her young ſonne,and others ſtanding faſt for *Vladiſlaus*,the kingdome of Hungarie was diuided into two factions,and as it were rent in pieces, & ſo grew to ciuil wars. The Queene with ſuch as fauored her claime, the more to gaine the minds of the common people, (which are many times no leſſe carried away with ſhews than matter) cauſed her ſon *Ladiſlaus* (being then but three moneths old) ſolemnly to be crowned King at Alba-Regalis, the vſuall place for the coronation of the Hungarian Kings. But after that the Polonian King had entred into Hungarie with a goodly armie, and ioyned his forces with his friends, moſt part of them which before followed the Queene and her ſonne,reuolted vnto *Vladiſlaus*. So that when ſhe had done what ſhe could, ſhee was glad at laſt to commit the tuition of her ſon, together with the crowne of Hungarie, vnto *Fredericke* the third,then Emperour: neuer ceaſing for all that, to the vttermoſt of her power, to trouble the gouernment of *Vladiſlaus*, continually ſtirring vp great warres againſt him both at home and abroad,vntill that at the laſt by her death her quarrell tooke end,together with her life.

In the midſt of theſe ciuill wars, *Amurath* thought a faire opportunitie preſented vnto him, to make an entrance vnto the conqueſt of Hungarie,which kingdome he had in his ambitious mind alreadie deuoured. And therefore gathering a great armie, he marched along the riuer Danubius,vntil he came to the ſtrong citie of Belgrade,called in antient time Taurunum,and of ſome Alba Græca,but now commonly Grecis Weiſenburg. This citie is inuironed on the Eaſt ſide with the famous riuer Danubius, and on the South with the great riuer of Saus or Sawe,which there falleth into Danubius;and on the other two ſides is defended with ſtrong walls, with deep and large ditches; and was then accounted the gate or entrance into Hungarie. Vnto this citie *Amurath* at his firſt comming gaue two terrible aſſaults, and was in good hope ſo to haue woon the ſame,but yet was both times valiantly repulſed,with great ſlaughter of his men. Wherefore finding it to be a matter of more difficultie than was by him at the firſt ſuppoſed,he began to raiſe mounts againſt the Citie, and high towers of wood to annoy the defendants,and furiouſly battered the walls. At this time alſo he cauſed great numbers of gallies and ſmall pinnaces to be brought into both the riuers of Danubius and Sawe,to aſſault the citie on thoſe parts where was leaſt feared,and by that meanes alſo to keepe them of the citie from all ſuccors to be ſent that way out of Hungarie. Yet for all he could do or deuiſe, the citie was ſtill valiantly defended by the Chriſtian ſoldiers, which vnder the leading and conduct of *Ioannes Vranus* a Florentine,gouernor thereof,with often ſallies and continual ſhot ſlew great numbers of the Turks. At the time of this ſiege,*Vladiſlaus* King of Polonia,& lately elect King of Hungarie,was ſore troubled by the Queene & her faction in Hungarie:which thing the Turkiſh King knew right wel,and therupon continued his ſiege, although famin began greatly to increaſe in his campe; hoping in nothing more, than that the defendants deſpairing of helpe from the King,would in ſhort time yeeld vp the citie. *Vladiſlaus* being ſo intangled with ciuill wars,as is aforeſaid,that he could not poſſibly prepare ſuch force as might reſcue the beſieged citie: yet foraſmuch as the Turkiſh king had not long before by his Embaſſador required to ioyn with him in league & amitie,he thought good now to aſſay if he could raiſe the ſiege,by ſending vnto him the like embaſſage. Wherupon he ſent *Dobrogoſius*, *Oſtrogenus*,and *Lucas Gorſenſis*,three of the Polonian nobilitie,embaſſadors vnto *Amurath*; declaring vnto him, That for ſo much as he had offered by his embaſſadors,to ioyne with him in league before he came out of Polonia,the remembrance thereof had taken ſuch deep impreſſion in his mind,that he would not take vp armes againſt him,although it were in his own iuſt defence,before he had offered him reaſonable conditions of peace: wherefore if hee would deſiſt from inuading of Hungarie(whereof *Vladiſlaus* was now by God his permiſſion,& conſent of the people,choſen King) and ſo raiſe his ſiege, that then they ſhould afterwards eaſily agree vpon the deſired peace: in concluding whereof, he ſhould not find *Vladiſlaus* inferior to himſelfe in any manner of princely courteſie: but if hee had rather proceed in armes, and to make proofe of his ſtrength,he would then do the beſt that he could,to make him know that he was of ſufficient power,in ſo iuſt a quarrel to withſtand his greateſt forces,& to reuenge the wrongs to him done. When *Amurath* had receiued this embaſſage, he appointed the Embaſ-

Belgrade beſieged of the Turks

Belgrade in vaine aſſaulted.

ſadours to withdraw themſelues for a while to Synderouia (a citie of Seruia, not farre off, vntill he might better conſider of their demands; pretending, that he did it for their ſafetie: but as appeared afterward, ſecretly reſoluing with himſelfe, preſently to do his vttermoſt deuoire, for the gaining of the city, & vpon the ſucceſſe therof to ſhape them anſwer accordingly. Wherfore ſo ſoon as the embaſſadors were departed to Synderouia, he firſt by his meſſengers aſſaied the minds of the citizens and ſoldiers with magnifical promiſes of large liberties, and infinit rewards and preferments, if they would yeeld vp the citie: and many arrowes with letters made faſt vnto them, full of like promiſes, were at the ſame time ſhot into the citie. But when he ſaw no hope to preuaile by that means, he called together the captains and commanders of his armie, and there in the preſence of them all, ſpake vnto them as followeth:

The notable ſpeech of Amurath to encourage his ſouldiers to the aſſault of Belgrade.

Although I know it is in mine owne power, to grant, or not to grant, the peace whereof our enemies haue made a motion: yet it is my pleaſure (worthie ſouldiers) to know your minds alſo. For ſo much as wee haue that warre in hand, wherein with worldly felicitie, (whereof amongſt you I hold the chiefe place) is alſo endangered in our religion, and puritie of life; the defence and care whereof equally belongeth vnto vs all: for although we differ much one from another in the manner of our vocation, and liuing here, yet after death we all hope for one and the ſelfe ſame felicitie. And therefore I would haue you to vnderſtand all that I ſhall ſay, as proceeding not of any regard of mine owne priuate, but vpon the conſideration of the common good of you all. For as concerning mine owne eſtate, I poſſeſſe ſo large countries in Aſia, ſuch great dominions in Europe, that either part thereof (in good time bee it ſayd) might ſeeme a ſufficient kingdome: ſo that perhaps it might better ſtand with my eſtate, to take more care, for keeping of that I haue, than to trauell for the gaining of more: but you are to conſider with your ſelues, whether you haue euery man ſufficient to ſuffice himſelfe or not, and how long you thinke your ſelues aſſured of the ſame; and moreouer, that together with theſe worldly things, wee ſhall be driuen at length to forſake our profeſſion and religion, if wee ſhall now lay downe armes. For our enemies require, that wee ſhould firſt ceaſe from warre, and then afterwards they thinke it meete to talke of peace. I will not ſpeake of the indignitie, that men beſieged, and in euill plight, ſhould propound conditions of peace to them that beſiege them, and are well furniſhed of all things; that feeble and cowardly men ſhould promiſe peace vnto couragious and expert ſouldiers: I omit what labour and paines we haue taken in laying our ſiege, in raiſing of mounts, in making of ſhipping; all which, our enemies command vs to forſake, as if they had vs alreadie bound or couped vp in hold, as wee haue them. All Bulgaria, *and the greater part of Raſcia is now by vs conquered, and moſt part of Seruia is at our command: all which places are by vs either to bee kept, or elſe all the reſt of that wee poſſeſſe in Europe, is with them to bee quite loſt and forſaken. Whoſoeuer ſhall haue in their power this Citie which wee beſiege (and that our enemies know right well) ſhall haue not onely as it were a fortreſſe and bulwarke of defence for his owne, but alſo a Caſtle and entrance for the ſubduing of others. The Kingdome of Hungarie is now diuided in it ſelfe, and full of domiſticall ſedition: neither is it ſo much ſtrengthened by the vniting of the kingdome of Polonia, as it is by ciuill diſſention weakened. And in this motion of peace nothing is ſought for, but to gaine time for the pacifying of their priuate quarrels, that they may afterward with their double forces ſet vpon vs. For if wee ſhall breake vp our ſiege before wee haue woon the citie, they will eaſily finde delayes ſo long to protract the concluſion of peace, vntill that either* Vladiſlaus *his good fortune, or elſe the Hungarians beeing of themſelues better aduiſed, ſhall make an end of their ciuill warres What manner & conditions of peace wil they then require of vs, when they are at vnitie amongſt themſelues, and in armes againſt vs; ſeeing that now beeing in danger with mutuall diſcord, and almoſt by vs vanquiſhed, they thinke it reaſonable (as if they had woon the field) that wee ſhould firſt raiſe our ſiege, and then intreat of peace? Their proud demaunds for the reſtitution of Bulgaria and Raſcia, with other countries and cities woon by our trauell and danger, alreadie ſound in mine eares: which if wee ſhall refuſe to grant, not onely the Hungarians being then at vnitie among themſelues, but alſo the Polonians, ioyned vnto them, will bring theſe warres home to our doores, which wee now at great aduantage make vpon them, troubled with diſcord and ciuill broiles. And if for deſire of peace we could bee content to yeeld vnto ſuch ſhamefull and miſerable conditions, and reſtore vnto them all they ſhould or in reaſon could deſire: doe you thinke the Prince of Seruia would reſt contented with his owne, whoſe haughtie minde (I am ſure) beeing inflate with the combining of two ſuch mightie kingdomes, thinketh not onely of the recouerie of that hee hath loſt, but euen now gapeth at all that is ours in Europe. He will not thinke himſelfe ſatisfied, before hee (*

uing

ing brought the Hungarian and Polonian Forces againſt vs) ſhal ſee the ſame hauocke and ſpoile made in our kingdome with fire and ſword, which he hath before ſeene made by vs in his owne. Where if his fortune ſhould anſwer his deſignes (which God forbid, but yet it may chance) beſide all the miſerable and intolerable outrages, which are to be feared of an angrie Conquerour, it is accounted with them for a godly and religious worke, to vſe all cruell and vnſpeakeable villanies againſt our nation, except we wil forſake the faith and religion deliuered vnto vs by our anceſtours, and follow their new and incredible ceremonies. Neither doe they thinke they can more eaſily and effectually procure the fauor of God with any kind of ſacrifice or ſeruice, than by ouerthrowing and prophaning our Temples, by ſcoffing at our moſt ſacred and ſecret Rites and ceremonies, by ſcorning our Religion and Prieſts: and that you may know all the furie wherewith they rage againſt vs and our Religion, they account all them for holie Saints which die in fight againſt vs. There is no cauſe (valiant ſouldiers) that vpon the vaine hope of peace, we ſhould expect whileſt the enemie doth gather and vnite his forces and armes againſt vs, eſpecially ſuch an enemie as propoundeth not ſpoyle and worldly honours, but immortalitie it ſelfe, as a reward of his victorie. We haue alreadie taken much more labour than we haue to take, we haue filled the ditches with reſtleſſe labour, we haue caſt vp bulwarkes equall with the walls, and part of the walls we haue beaten euen with the ground, ſo that you ſee the towne halfe opened: and that towne, by gaining whereof, all that ours is, may be made ſafe and quiet; and that which our enemie poſſeſſeth, ſubiect to our ſpoyle and prey. If you will but a little enforce your ſelues, as men mindful of our good fortune and forwardneſſe, you ſhall find our temples, our ſacrifices, our religion, all worldly and heauenly felicitie to be then aſſured vnto vs, when as you ſhall to morrow ouerthrow the verie foundation of the enemies wal. Then (couragious ſouldiers) we may crie, Victorie, not for the preſent, but for euer. If this war ſhould bring vnto vs nothing elſe but an aſſured ſecuritie of our eſtate, it were ſufficient reward; for which we ought cherefully to aduenture our ſelues to all dangers, and to challenge in combat euen death it ſelfe. But as this victorie doth defend all our things as with a deepe trench, or ſure wall, ſo doth it lay open and expoſe all our enemies dominions vnto danger and ſpoyle. Hitherto we haue ſtriuen with nature her ſelfe in the rough and abrupt mountaines of Bulgaria and Raſcia, where we were to ſtriue with hunger, thirſt, labour, and deſperation: all them we haue ouercome, allured with no other reward, but that at length we might attaine vnto the wealth of fruitfull Hungarie, from whence we muſt fetch the guerdon of our victorie, and the ground of our glorie. We are come to the gates, which being layd open, we are not to paſſe ouer inacceſſible rockes, or vncoth deſarts, but we ſhall goe thorow moſt pleaſant places, decked both by Nature her ſelfe, and the induſtrie of man; where the temperateneſſe of the aire, and liuely Springs, with the fruitfulneſſe of the ſoile, doth euery where yeeld plentie of all manner of food both for man and beaſt, not only to ſerue for natures neceſſitie, but euen to glut our wanton deſires. What thing ſoeuer curious endeauor hardly bringeth forth in other places, that the fertilitie of the ſoile yeeldeth plentifully of it ſelfe: ſo that it is to be thought, that nature adorned Hungary with a certain extraordinarie care, when as ſhe would ſet forth a patterne of good husbandrie for other countries to imitate. Neither hath ſhe in any place bin more bountifull in beſtowing her rich gifts: for gold, which other men moſt painfully dig vp, and that in few places, the Hungarians gather at their eaſe, as if it were a growing plant. It is in your power (worthie ſoldiers) whether you will to morrow open a way to all theſe good things for your ſelues for euer, or elſe leaue the way open for your enemies vnto all that you hold. I would that you would remember when you go vnto the breach, that all the ſtore of happie fortune is laid open vnto you for a prey, without any other defence, without any other garriſon, without any other keeper; and that behind you are your wiues, children, your houſes, your temples, and religion, together with the rewards of all your former victories: ouer whom, except you win this citie, the furie and inſolencie of the victorious enemie will muſt cruelly and ſhamefully inſult. I, according as I ſhall ſee you fight at the breach to morrow, ſhall eaſily perceiue how you are ſet downe to command as Conquerors, or elſe as ſlaues to be commanded; and alſo what ta anſwer to the moſt inſolent demands of the proud Embaſſadors. In the meane time make much of your ſelues, and together with your armor haue all things in readineſſe, that to morrow with the dawning of the day we may aſſault the breach.

The Turkiſh captains for that time joyfully departed, as if they had been alreadie aſſured of the victorie, & of all thoſe good things which *Amurath* had ſo liuely ſet before their eys. The next morning verie early, *Amurath* commanded the aſſault to be giuen to a great breach which he had made in the wall with continuall batterie: the ſoldiers with great courage aſſailed the breach, eſpecially the Ianizaries, who vnder the leading of *Haly Baſſa* valiantly woon

Belgrade notably defended by the Chriſtians.

the ſame, and were entring the citie with aſſured hope of victorie. The Chriſtians ſeeing all in danger to be loſt, running to the breach from all parts of the citie, ſo forcibly charged the proud Ianizaries on euery ſide, that they were glad to retyre with more haſt than they before entred: in which retrait many of them were ſlaine, and the reſt flying out at the breach, were either ſlain, or burnt to death in the town ditch with wild fire; whereof the defendants had caſt great ſtore vpon the Turks at the breach, which hauing taken hold vpon the fagots, hurdles, and other light matter, wherewith the Turks had vpon the ſudden made their way ouer the town ditch, did ſo terribly burne, that the Ianizaries which had entred the breach, being again repulſed, were in that fierie lake conſumed, or elſe with ſmoke ſtrangled. In this aſſault *Amurath* is reported to haue loſt 8000 of his beſt men, beſide 7000 others ouerwhelmed or ſtrangled in the mines, by the countermines of the Chriſtians. The other part of the Turks, which at the ſame time aſſaulted the citie by water, out of their gallies and ſmall ſhips, had as euill or rather worſe ſucceſſe: many of them were ſunke with great ſhot, & ſome burnt by the fire caſt from the walls, and ſo fired one another; and diuers of them in that ſudden feare, for auoyding of that preſent danger, ran a ground vpon the ſhelfs in the riuer, and ſo ſplit. *Amurath* wonderfully diſcouraged with the ſlaughter of his men, and ſhamefully beaten from the aſſault, returned to his campe with his Turks, much like men which had lately eſcaped from ſome great ſhipwracke. And thus partly by famin, and partly by the defendants force, hauing loſt the greateſt part of his army, he determined now after ſeuen months ſiege to return home. Yet becauſe he would not encourage his enemies by ſhewing his feare, he ſent for the Embaſſadors into the campe, and with ſterne countenance anſwered them in this ſort:

Amurath his anſwer to the Embaſſadors.

We will (ſaid he) *then talke of peace, when* Vladiſlaus *ſhall deliuer vnto vs all that part of Raſcia which he yet holdeth, and alſo this citie of Belgrade as a pledge of the league. And for this time I will raiſe my ſiege, to giue* Vladiſlaus *time to aduiſe himſelfe: yet I would wiſh him rather to accept of my friendſhip vpon theſe conditions, than by denying that little which is demanded, to hazard the ſtate of both his kingdomes. I aske but that which is myne owne by Law of Armes, before* Vladiſlaus *was called into Hungarie: and the Hungarians cannot transferre vnto him that right which they had not themſelues. Wherefore if he will proceed rather to ſtriue for that which is other mens, than quietly to poſſeſſe his owne, I will in good time repaire hither againe, with my God the beholder and reuenger of wrong.*

With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors, and forthwith roſe with his armie, forerepenting his comming thither: yet becauſe he would take ſomething in his way, he left his nephew *Iſa-Beg* with certaine troupes of horſemen at Scopia in Seruia, who ſo troubled the King of Boſna, that he was glad to require peace of *Amurath*, and to promiſe vnto him a yeerely tribute of fiue and twentie thouſand ducats.

Vladiſlaus newly elected King of Hungarie, ſeeing that part of his kingdome which is called Tranſyluania or Pannodacia, to be much ſuibect to the incurſion of the Turks; (who hauing got into their poſſeſſion all the countrey of Moldauia, and grown inſolent by continuall victories, ceaſed not to inuade and ſpoyle the countrey of Tranſyluania) for remedie of that dayly miſchief, created *Iohn Huniades* Vayuod, or his Vice-gerent in Traſyluania. This *Huniades* (as ſome write) was Earle of Biſtrice, borne in Valachia: others ſay, that he was borne but of meane parents, and called *Huniades* of the village wherein he was borne, and grew to be great by his vertue and proweſſe. Whatſoeuer his parents were, he himſelfe was a politque, valiant, fortunate, and famous captaine, his victories ſo great, as the like was neuer before by any Chriſtian Prince obtained againſt the Turks: ſo that his name became vnto them ſo dreadfull, that they vſed the ſame to feare their crying children withall. This worthie captain, according to the truſt repoſed in him, began to keepe the Turks ſhort, by cutting them off, whereſoeuer they preſumed to enter into his countrey; and alſo by ſhutting vp the paſſages whereby they were woont to forrage the countrey of Tranſyluania: and when he had put his own charge into good ſafetie, he entred into Moldauia, and neuer reſted vntill he had woon it quite out of the Turks hands. And not contented with this, paſſed many times ouer Danubius into the Turks dominions, making hauocke of the Turks, and carrying away with him great bootie, with many captiues.

Now

A Now were two great and worthie captains met together, in places nigh one to another; *Huniades* in Tranſyluania and the next part of Hungarie, and *Iſa* in Raſcia & the vpper part of Seruia; the one lying at Temeſwar, and the other at Sinderouia; both men of great ſpirit, and deſirous of honour. Of theſe two, *Iſa* in great fauour with *Amurath*, and by him highly preferred, to increaſe his credit with the Sultan his vncle, and to inlarge the bounds of the Turkiſh kingdome committed to his charge, continually forraged the country about Belgrade, to the intent that hauing wearied the inhabitants with the harmes he dayly did them, & brought the citie into great wants, he might ſo at length gaine the ſame, for the moſt part abandoned then of citizens, which *Amurath* could not by force obtaine, and ſo to open a way into Hungarie. Thus was the country by him ſpoyled, the villages rifled and burnt, and great numbers both of men and cattell dayly carried away: yea ſomtimes not contented to haue ſpoiled the B open country, he aſſailed the verie ſuburbs of the citie, and was thence hardly repulſed: and finding *Huniades* the only man that hindred his further proceedings, to requite him, and prouoke him the more, brake ſomtimes into his country, laying in euery corner as he went, ſtrong ambuſhes, ſo to haue circumuented that warie captain, if it had bin poſſible. But he grieued to ſee the countrey thus ſpoyled, and purpoſing thereof to be reuenged, ſecretly raiſed a ſtrong power both of horſe and foot, & with his companion *Nicholas Vilach* a right valiant captaine, paſſing ouer Danubius, came and incamped betwixt Belgrade and Sinderouia, being about 20 miles diſtant. Of whoſe comming *Iſa-Beg* vnderſtanding, forthwith ſet forward with a great armie againſt him, leſt he ſhould by longer delay ſeeme to ſtand in doubt of his enemy, whom he had by many iniuries ſo often prouoked. So marching on with his armie ranged in C order of battell, he found *Huniades* as readie for battell as himſelfe; who in both wings had placed his light horſemen, and behinde them his men at armes, with certaine companies of croſſebows on horſebacke: in the midſt ſtood his armed men, with his archers, and other ſoldiers more lightly armed, readie at all aſſayes, all ſtrongly garded with men at armes: after whom in the rereward followed alſo a ſtrong ſquadron of valiant footmen. The ſignal of battell being giuen, there began a great and cruell fight, as amongſt men deſirous either to ouercome, or there honourably to end their days. At the firſt incounter, the wings of *Huniades* his battell were by the Turks inforced to retire; but comming to the men at armes, their furie was there ſtayd, & a cruel battel fought, wherein many fel on both ſides, but of the Turks mo, who truſting to their agilitie and nimblenes of bodie, were not able long to endure the ſhocke D and ſtrength of the men at armes, but were there by heapes ouerthrowne, and moſt miſerably ſlain. Which *Iſa-Beg* beholding, and perceiuing the Hungarians couragiouſly to fight, as men almoſt in poſſeſſion of an aſſured victorie, to ſaue himſelfe, turned his backe and fled to Sinderouia. The reſt beholding the flight of their Generall, betook themſelues to flight alſo: after whom the Hungarians fiercely followed, eſpecially *Huniades* himſelfe, who by his example to animate the reſt, left not the chaſe vntil he was come almoſt to the ſuburbs of Sinderouia: few of the Turks eſcaped, the reſt being either taken or ſlain. *Huniades* after ſo great a victory, with a rich prey and a multitude of priſoners returned to Belgrade; hauing now ſufficiently reuenged himſelfe of the wrongs he had before receiued. After which time *Iſa* the Turke was more quiet, as hauing ſufficient proofe of his valor. The fame of this victorie increaſed not a little the fame of *Huniades*, the report whereof comming to Buda, filled the citie with joy and gladnes; but moſt of all King *Vladiſlaus*, who thereupon cauſed publique prayers, with thankſgiuing to be made in euery Church; and by his letters gratulatorie, with many rich Preſents incouraged *Huniades* to the proſecution of the religious warre; wherein was propounded vnto him not only the increaſe of his wealth (a baſe regard in the honorable) but the immortalitie of his name, and hope of eternall bliſſe. 1440.

Not long after this victorie, *Huniades* obtained a far greater in Tranſyluania. For *Amurath* much grieued with the loſſe he had firſt by himſelfe, and after by his lieutenant *Iſa*, receiued at Belgrade, and in the countrie therabout; leſt he ſhould ſeem to yeeld vnto the Hungarians, E repaired his broken forces with new ſupplies, with purpoſe againe to renew his wars in Valachia. And ſo hauing put all things in a readines, ſent one of his Baſſa's called *Meſites* (his Viceroy in Aſia, a man of great wiſdome, experience, and valor) with a puiſſant armie vpon the ſudden by the way of Valachia Tranſalpina, to inuade Tranſyluania. This worthie captain according to his charge departing out of Seruia, and paſſing from Danubius, ſuddenly entred into

Tranſiluania inuaded and ſpoiled by Meſites Baſſa.

Huniades flieth

Huniades and the Biſhop of Alba Iula entrapped by the Turks.

Huniades his country, burning and ſpoyling whatſoeuer came in his way, and killing al that he light vpon, man, woman, & child, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition, filling al the countrey as he went with tumult and terror. Whereof *Huniades* (but lately come into the country) vnderſtanding, and hauing as then no ſufficient forces to oppoſe againſt the furie of ſo puiſſant an enemie, either means to raiſe any in ſo great a confuſion and feare; was wonderfully grieued thereat, and perplexed in mind, as not well knowing which way to turne himſelfe. At length he tooke his flight into Alba Iula, vnto his old friend *George Lepe* Biſhop of that citie, a man of great vertue and grauitie: but whileſt he there ſtayeth with his friend, about the raiſing of a tumultuarie armie, the enemie was now come neere vnto him; who hauing ouerrun the greateſt part of the country, had ſcraped together ſuch a bootie, and taken ſuch a multitude of priſoners, that ſurcharged as it were with the ſpoyle, he was glad to march ſoftlier; yet ſtill burning the country before him. Which *Huniades* and the good Biſhop beholding out of the city, ſo much grieued thereat, that albeit that they both well knew themſelues, with an handful of men taken vp in haſt hand ouer head, too weake to encounter with their enemies; yet thought it better, with ſuch power as they had to go out, and ſo in defence of their country honorably to die, than longer to behold the moſt miſerable deſtruction of the ſame. But whileſt they vpon this reſolution (carried forth with too hot a deſire of reuenge) march vnaduiſedly forward, without any ſcouts or eſpials ſent out before them, they fell before they were aware into ſuch ambuſhes both of horſe & foot, as the crafty enemie had in the ſecret woods & vallies whereby they were to paſſe, laid of purpoſe to intercept them: which now with great force and horrible outcries breaking out vpon them on euery ſide, diſmaied them with a great feare. *Huniades* and the Biſhop ſeeing themſelues ſo intrapped and beſet with the multitude of their enemies, as that they muſt needs periſh if they ſhould longer ſtay, fled incontinently backe again, after whom followed all the reſt of their armie, and at their heeles the eager Turks, who ſpared none of the flying Chriſtians they could ouertake, but put them all to the ſword: neuertheleſſe moſt part of them eſcaped backe again to Alba Iula. The Biſhop thinking to haue ſaued himſelfe by the ſwiftnes of his horſe, comming to a riuer, in taking the ſame was ouerthrown, and there by the enemie ſlain. With whoſe death the Baſſa incouraged, as alſo with the preſent victorie, began now more at libertie to range abroad, and at his pleaſure with fire & ſword to waſt that part of the country which yet remained vnſpoiled: leauing in the meane time (as a man out of feare) the rich prey he had taken, together with his baggage & carriages, to be carried all together, as a notable teſtimonie of his victorie, vnto his great lord & maſter. *Huniades* in the mean time with wonderfull celeritie running about the borders of his country, and out of euery town & village taking ſuch ſoldiers as he could, perſuaded alſo the Sicilians (or people commonly called Siculi) in defence of their wiues and children to take vp arms: who also in reſpect of the preſent neceſſitie, cheerfully did whatſoeuer he commanded. With this tumultuarie armie he followed the Baſſa (who then in great pride was returning, laded with the ſpoile of the whole country) with purpoſe to ſet vpon him as time or place ſhould giue him occaſion. In the mean time *Meſites* being told, that *Huniades* with a great power was comming after him, and now euen at hand, is reported to haue made no reckoning thereof, but to haue proudly anſwered vnto him that brought the news, ***Let him come, and with the ſpoyle of himſelfe inrich our victorie.*** There was preſent when he thus ſaid, one *Iohn* one of *Huniades* his eſpials; who diſcouered vnto him many of the Turks deſignes concerning the joyning of battel with him; but eſpecially, that the Baſſa had commanded thorow his armie, That aboue all things, they ſhould in the beginning of the battell aſſaile the perſon of *Huniades* himſelfe, for that he being once ſlain, the reſt would eaſily be put to flight, as all depending on his direction: & that for the performance thereof, he had appointed certain companies of his beſt ſoldiers, giuing them certain tokens wherby they might know both him and his horſe. There was then in the armie one *Simon Kemene*, a right valiant and couragious gentleman, not much vnlike to *Huniades*, with whom he changed both his horſe and armor, appointing vnto him a ſtrong troupe of his choice horſemen to attend vpon him: neither was this counterfeit *Huniades* vnwilling to expoſe himſelfe vnto the danger, accounting it honour enough, if by his death he might ſaue the life of his friend, and preſerue ſo worthie a defender of the commonweale. *Huniades* following faſt after the Baſſa marching before him, ſought by light skirmiſhes, ſomtimes on the one ſide, ſometimes on the other, and ſometimes in the rereward, to ſtay him, and at ſome aduantage,

uantage,if any ſuch were giuen,to fight with him before he ſhould get out of the country.At length finding ſuch an opportunitie as he thought good to lay hold vpon, he with all his forces,as if it had been a violent tempeſt, came vpon the Turks ſo ſuddenly, as that they had not time to put themſelues in order of battell,but were glad confuſedly to fight as they might,& without order:in which diſordred fight many fel on both ſides,but far more of the Turks.But whileſt both armies with like obſtinacy incounter together,certain troups of the moſt valiant Turks deſcrying *Simon* the counterfeit *Huniades*,& by the ſignes before deliuered vnto them, both of his horſe and armor,ſuppoſing him to haue bin *Huniades* indeed ; with al their power made towards him, to haue ſlain him, according as they had in charge : where meeting with right valiant men, of no leſſe courage than themſelues, there was fought a moſt terrible and bloudie battell,in ſuch ſort, as if in that verie place ſhould haue been tried the whole fortune of the day. But the Turks ſtill bending their forces more and more thither, for the killing of him of whom they ſtood in more dread than of all the reſt ; at length by plaine ſorce made a way vnto him,& hauing ſlain them that were about him, though not without their own great loſſe,furiouſly aſſailing him,ſlew him,vainly ſuppoſing it to haue bin the very Generall himſelf: who had he there periſhed (as like enough it was he ſhould,had he not bin before warned of the Baſſa's purpoſe)no doubt but that the whole country had bin with him,or ſhortly after quite loſt. But *Huniades* in the mean time riding to and fro in the armie, encouraged his ſoldiers not to forſake the victorie they were now as it were in poſſeſſion of,nor leaue vnreuenged ſo many ſlaughters and harms ſo lately committed by their enemies,but to remember as they were fighting,that they carried in their hands their wiues and children, and were in that one battell to reuenge the wrong by them done both to God and man.Somtime he with new ſupplies encouraged ſuch as were ouercharged , and euen now readie to flie ; otherſome he with cheerfull words ſtayd,that had alreadie turned their backs;performing in euery place all the parts both of a worthie commander and valiant ſoldier, as the neceſſitie of the time and place required. In the heat of this battel (fortune yet fauoring neither part, but both fighting with all their power) the Tranſiluanian priſoners that in great number were kept in the camp,wiſhing rather to die,than to be carried away into captiuitie, and thinking it now or neuer,time for them to attempt their deliuerance;with one conſent brake aſunder their bonds,and with ſuch weapons as firſt came to hand, ſet vpon their keepers,of whō they ſlew a great number,& ſo deſperatly iſſuing out into the battell,incouraged their countrimen,& diſcouraged their enemies. Yet was the battell hardly fought,though not altogether with like courage,or for like cauſe: for why,the Tranſyluanians fought for their country,their wiues, their children, their liues, their libertie,their religion,and alters : but the Turks,for the rich prey they had before taken,& that they were by victorie in hope of. But at length the Turks by the breaking out of the priſoners (who laid about them like deſperat men) out of hope of the victorie, began by little and little to retyre;and the other on the contrarie part by this vnexpected aid encouraged,and quickly finding the enemies fainting,fought more fiercely than before.*Meſites* ſeeing his armie thus in euery part wauering,was therewith exceedingly troubled : but preſently after, beholding ſome of his men retyring as if they had fled, and other ſome flying outright, and no meanes to ſtay them, for ſafegard of his life turned his horſe and fled alſo : after whom the Hungarians followed with moſt terrible execution,as men deſirous of the bloud of them that had done them ſo great harme. In this chaſe *Meſites* himſelf with his ſon were both ſlain: the repoort of whoſe death in the purſuit, added ſwiftnes vnto the Hungarians, to the encreaſing of the ſlaughter of the Turks,whom for the deſire of reuenge they ceaſed not for certain days to purſue,vnto the top of the Alps. In this battel were ſlaine of the Turks 20000,and of the Hungarians about 3000.*Huniades* with this victorie recouered all the prey the Turks had taken of the ſpoile of the country,together with their tents and baggage:vnto whom at his return into the campe,a wonderfull number of the poore captiues came, and falling at his feet, and kiſſing them, gaue God thanks for their deliuerance by him ; ſome called him the father, ſome the defender of his country ; the ſoldiers,their inuincible Generall ; the captiues , their deliuerer ; the women,their protector ; the yong men and children, their moſt louing father. In all which joyfull acclamations,no honorable additions was heard, which in the iudgement of all men,worthily agreed not with his deſerts.He again with tears ſtanding in his eys,courteouſly embraced them , rejoycing at the publique good ; and himſelfe giuing moſt heartie

A great battell betwixt Meſites and Huniades.

Great reioycing for the victorie.

thanks vnto God, commanded the like to be done in all churches of that Prouince. Somtime he commended the ſoldiers valor, and in generall, the peoples loyalty. The nobilitie & worthie captains he extolled by name, according as their deſerts had bin in that notable battell, not detracting any thing from any mans worthie prayſes: part of the ſpoyle of the Turkes he appointed vnto deuout vſes, and the other part he diuided amongſt the ſoldiers: and willing as it were with the firſt fruits thereof to gratifie King *Vladiſlaus* and the Deſpot of Seruia, then preſent with him, he ſent a great waggon, with 10 horſes which could ſcarce draw, laded with the Turks enſignes and the chief of their heads, where the heads of the Baſſa and his ſon ſtood formoſt, and aboue them was placed an old Turke, ſomtime wel known vnto the Deſpot: who in this order preſented vnto them, is ſayd to haue thus deliuered his meſſage, as followeth:

The ſpeech of an old Turk, in deliuering the Preſent vnto the King.

Huniades *your Maieſties moſt humble ſeruant, and the moſt honourable Deſpots ſonne, ſendeth vnto you this part of the ſpoyle gained by this late victorie, leſt he ſhould ſeeme to defraud you of the honour of the battell, happily fought vnder your good fortune. Theſe heads of the Aſian Nobilitie he ſendeth you for a Preſent, that you ſhould not want the aſſured teſtimonie of ſo notable a victorie: theſe are two princes heads, the one of* Meſites Baſſa *the Generall, and the other of his ſon; the reſt are the heads of the other great commanders and Sanzacks. All theſe witneſſe the greatneſſe of the late ſlaughter, and exhort you to greater atchieuements. What your royal Maieſtie for the natural inſtinct of pietie and religion ingrafted into you, may hope for; and what an occaſion of immortalitie and glorie is offred vnto you,* Huniades *wiſheth you hereby to conſider: and humbly requeſteth, that generall ſupplications may be commanded, and a great armie prouided, foraſmuch as all men ſuppoſe, that the Turke will gage his whole forces, and leaue nothing vnattempted, in reuenge of ſo great a ſlaughter of his people.*

Hauing ended his ſpeech, he ſhewed vnto them the griſely mortified heads: which the nobilitie and others there preſent, earneſtly beheld, and wondred at, eſpecially the King & the Deſpot; who by letters further vnderſtanding the whole proceeding of the war, and fortune of the battel, highly commended the diſcreet valour of ***Huniades***, together with the glorious victorie, worthie (as they ſaid) of a Roman triumph: for which, ***Vladiſlaus*** commanded publike ſupplications to be made in all churches thorow Hungarie, and by honorable meſſengers ſent of purpoſe to ***Huniades***, gaue him great thanks, according to his deſerts, with many rich Preſents alſo, commending his faithfull and worthie ſeruice: and requeſting him, with like courage and care, to proſecute the war, ſo happily begun; promiſing him, That he ſhould neither want men nor mony, or any thing elſe needfull thereunto. Vpon this victorie, the countries of Moldauia and Valachia, before tributaries vnto the Turks, now reuolted again vnto the Hungarians, to the great griefe of ***Amurath***: and the fame of ***Huniades*** was in ſhort time diſperſed thorow all Europe, and a generall hope conceiued of him, as of one moſt like to be one of the greateſt champions of the Chriſtian commonweale, as in his time vndoubtedly he was.

The report of this late ouerthrow, with the death of the Baſſa *Meſites*, and the loſſe of his Armie, being brought to Hadrianople, much troubled the Turkiſh Tyrant; but moſt of all, the reuolt of the two Countreys, Moldauia and Valachia. So that full of wrathfull indignation, and deſire of reuenge, he commaunded a great armie to be raiſed againſt the next Spring, with intent to haue gone therewith himſelfe: but afterward vpon better aduice changing his purpoſe, he committed the leading thereof vnto one ***Schech Abedin Baſſa*** (corruptly called ***Sciabedin Baſſa***) an Eunuch, and yet neuertheleſſe a right valiant and expert captaine, and his Viceroy in Europe; with charge firſt to enter into Valachia, and there hauing done what harme he could with fire and ſword, to doe the like in Moldauia: and after that, with all his power to breake into Tranſyluania, there to reuenge vnto the full, the loſſes before receiued, and with the ſlaughter of the Hungarians to ſacrifice vnto the ghoſts of their dead friends and companions. The Baſſa according to his charge, departing out of Macedonia, and marching thorow Myſia, and ſo paſſing ouer Danubius, with an armie of foureſcore thouſand fighting men, whereof foure thouſand were of the beſt Ianizaries, entred into Valachia, filling the country with feare and tumult; the Valachians now altogether in deſpaire to be able to defend themſelues againſt the furie of the Turkes, and ſore repenting them of their reuolt from them, vnto the Hungarians. Whom for all that, ***Huniades*** comforted with cheereful words, willing them betime to retyre themſelues vnto the ſafeſt places of the Countrey, and not to expoſe themſelues with their too weake forces againſt the furie of the Barbarians; promiſing

Valachia grieuouſly ſpoyled by the Turks.

miſing in goodtime to come himſelfe to their reliefe, not doubting by the power of Ieſus Chriſt, to dare them battel in the plain field, and to haue of them a glorious victory, although they were in number far moe than they were reported to be. The Baſſa diuiding his armie into two parts, forraged the countrey far and neere, burning the countrey townes and villages before them, ſpoiling whatſoeuer came in their way, and killing whoſoeuer they light vpon, men, women, or children, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition. But the Valachians for the moſt part had retired themſelues, ſome into the mountains, ſome into the ſtrong townes, and ſome into places further off; ſo that few fell into the enemies hands, but ſuch as were not able to flie, or not regarding the danger, had negligently ſtaid the enemies comming, and ſo periſhed. Valachia thus ſpoiled, the Turks paſſing ouer the mountaines, deſcended into Tranſyluania, as *Amurath* had commanded, with purpoſe there to haue don the like or greater harm, if poſſible it had been to haue ſo done: but there was ***Huniades*** with 15000 choſen ſouldiers readie to encounter them. A ſmall power indeed, in compariſon of the multitude the Baſſa led: but al men of great experience & reſolution, in valor counteruailing the great number of their enemies, men reſolued rather to die than to flie. Of whoſe approch the Baſſa (vnto whom the name & fortune of the man was dreadful) by his eſpials vnderſtanding, ſtaied his intended furie, and as one well aware with whom he had to doe, without farther proceeding, encamped himſelfe with his armie, to ſee what power and courage the enemie had. But certainly informed by his ſcouts, for that purpoſe ſent out, That he was not in number a quarter ſo many as the Turks, but lay ſtrongly encamped with his waggons & carriages, as in a ſure fort, in ſuch order, as that he could not without great danger be aſſailed, & yet might at his pleaſure come forth, and ſo if need were retire again, as into a ſtrong hold: he wondered at his courage and ſkilfull manner of encamping; yet preſuming of his own multitude and ſtrength, he doubted not to march forward, and to offer him battel. Being come within halfe a mile the one of the other, although they were on neither ſide vnwilling to fight, yet hoping both for a great victorie, they thought it not beſt to attempt any thing raſhly, but betooke themſelues both vnto the higheſt of their wits, as willing in ſo great a conflict, as wel to ſhew the vtmoſt of their policie and skil, as of their courage & valor. The Turk thought it beſt not to ioyn battel with his enemies in one front, for feare of confounding ſo great a multitude, but to diuide his army into certain battalions, & ſo to fight by degrees and in good order, whereby to make al his men profitable: or if he could not do ſo, then with his multitude to encloſe the Chriſtians round, & ſo to ouerwhelme them. On the other ſide, ***Huniades*** charged his ſoldiers, aboue all things to keep their order, and in no caſe to ſuffer themſelues to be diuided by their enemies. The next day, being come vnto a place which they call Vaſcape, both the armies by the breake of day began to diſlodge; at which time the Baſſa ſpent a good ſpace in the martialling of his great army, as did alſo *Huniades*, ſeeking by prouident foreſight and policie to match the multitude of his enemies. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order, calling vnto him the chiefe captaines and commanders of his armie, with cheerefull countenance encouraged them as followeth:

The moſt Chriſtian ſpeech of Huniades to encourage his ſoldiers againſt the Turks.

No courage (beleeue me) worthie companions, and fellowes in arms, could haue induced me to encoun r ſo great a multitude, did not neceſsity it ſelfe enforce me, your approued valour perſuade me, and the ſured hope I haue in Chriſt Ieſus aboue all things confirme me: hauing made choice of vs to fight this s ſacred battell, and by our right hands to reuenge the diſhonour of his holy name. In which his eſpe ll choice wee are to conſider how much hee hath beloued vs: and for the ſame to praiſe his infinite odneſſe and mercie. Three ſuch commodities hath God thereby euen this day propounded vnto vs, if will be the ſame men we haue beene in times paſt, as that the leaſt thereof were ſufficient to encou ge men of worth, for the ſame to lay downe their liues, held they them neuer ſo deare. Firſt, you are fight for the health and welfare of your children, wiues, and countrey, ioyned with your whole eſtate: en, for eternall glorie and renowne in this world: and laſt of all, for immortalitie and a crowne that ll neuer be taken from you, in the world to come. How many miſeries and calamities we haue in for r times, and of late receiued from the Turks, would to God you had rather heard thereof by report, n ſeene the ſame with your eyes, and indured them in your ſelues. You had long ſince beene bereft our beloued wiues and children, whome moſt miſerable ſeruitude had ouerwhelmed; you had had ither houſe nor Church, wherein to dwell or to ſerue God, had not the diuine power of God, and your re proweſſe beene at hand for preſent reſcue: your countrey, your goods, your honour, your liberty, you could not haue kept, had not your valour, confirmed by an aſſured confidence in the higheſt, preſerued all theſe things vnto your ſelues: The horrible furie of the Turke had now brought all theſe things into the power of it ſelfe, had they not beene by your armes defended, and hee by ſo many bloudie ouerthrowes repreſſed. He could not before be ſtayed; the Grecians, the Macedonians (both ſometimes the greateſt commanders) the old Thracians, the ſtrong Bulgarians, the valiant Epirots, & Dalmatians, could not abide their force: The Athenians, the Thebans, the Lacedemonians, authors & maſters of the antient diſciplin of warre, willingly gaue place vnto theſe. Vnto vs, is the praiſe and great glorie of this victorie by God aſsigned, who oftentimes with a ſmall power, yea and that ſometime againſt all hope, haue with a notable ſlaughter ouerthrowne them, vanquiſhed them, and put them to flight. Neither is there any men in the world whom they more feare and ſtand in dread of, than you, whom though in number but few, they haue by their daily ſlaughter and loſſes, learned no leſſe to feare, than if you were many. And now to trie the vttermoſt of their power, they are come with their innumerable legions: but are not for that of you any thing the more to bee feared than before; ſeeing that wee all beare armes vnder the conduct of the moſt mightie God; and are by daily victorie, long experience, and approoued valour taught, what wee are to dare: beſides that the greateſt part of their armie is of common ſoldiers, ſlaues, or rude countrey peſants, or men by force by them compelled; more than the Ianizaries, are no good ſoldiers among them, the reſt as men enforced, ſerue them for feare, and againſt their wils, and they by their cowardiſe brought into that bondage and ſlauerie. What Greekes, Macedonians, or Sclauonians ſoeuer are ſent to their aid, for aſmuch as they are not yet reuolted from the Chriſtian faith, deeme them not to ſtand for them, but for vs: they long for vs the reuengers of their wrongs, and for you as victorious conquerors: in this warre they haue giuen vnto the Turks their names, but vnto vs their hearts and power; and pray heartily for our victorie: wherefore you ought ſo much the more valiantly and couragiouſly to fight, by how much greater you ſee the victory, the honor, the prey before your eyes. We are not to fight for other mens houſes and altars, but for our owne; ſo our preſent neceſsity requireth, in ſuch ſort, that if we our ſelues deliuer not our ſelues, and beare our ſelues vpon our wonted hope and valour, we ſhall this day be enforced to endure the greateſt miſerie that men may poſsibly. Firſt, the loſſe of our goods and ſubſtance, the captiuity of our children, the deflouring of our daughters, the rauiſhing of our wiues, the ſlaughter of our parents, the burning of our houſes and churches; and that which worſe is than all this, the ſcorne of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus, and his Saints; whoſe images you ſhall ſee in deſpight broken, or dragged in the durt, or moulten and conuerted into other prophane vſes; all Religion tredden downe, and God himſelfe (if it were poſsible) with violence and deſpaire driuen out of our hearts, if we ſtand not manfully vnto it as becommeth worthie champions. God is able with his little finger, if he ſo will, forthwith, to deſtroy all the Turks in the world; but ſeeing he hath committed vnto our right hands the defence of his name, he firſt maketh proofe of our courage and valour, that finding the ſame faithfull and readie, he may ſtrengthen and defend it with his owne right hand. He neuer yet forſooke any faithfull or deuout man, neither will our Sauiour Chriſt be wanting vnto you, if you be not wanting to your ſelues: in the power of his name which is aboue al names, he ſhal tread down his rebellions enemies, and exalt the righteous that put their truſt in him. Moreouer, the cauſes that they and we combat for, are diuers, and our hopes much ſtronger. They fight for their Prophet, a moſt prophane man, author of all impietie, for ſpoile and prey, for the deſtruction of nations & cuontries, for other mens kingdoms, for the inlarging of their dominions, and territories, for worldly praiſe and glorie: But wee contrariwiſe beare armes for the Sauior of the world, for our faith and religion, for the Chriſtian common wealth, for our natiue countrey, for our wiues and children, for our fortune and ſtate; than which nothing can be more excellent, more commendable, or honorable. What reward is laid vp for them in heauen which haue worthily protected or deliuered their countrey, or laid downe their liues in defence of their faith and religion? Neither, hauing often proued, are we ignorant, that God wil neuer forſake them that honor, feare, and ſerue him. Wherby (fellow ſoldiers) you may plainly perceiue, how far your hopes are beyond theirs. Beleeue our Sauior, promiſing vnto you an eternal reward: and ſhew your fidelitie and valor vnto God and your countrey together. Wherefore, ſeeing without the power of God we can do nothing, before the ſignal of battel be giuen, I beſeech you colonels, captains, and lieutenants, by your effectuall & Chriſtian exhortations in your regiments & companies, to encourage your ſoldiers, valiantly to fight the Lords battel; & for the preſent, euery man by taking a little earth in his mouth, to prepare himſelf according to the neceſsitie of the time, as it were to the receiuing of the Lords Supper: ſo hauing cleanſed your ſoules, embrace you one another, plight your mutual faith with your right hand & a kiſſe; & make a perpetual couenant among your ſelues, none of you to forſake one another in this holy battel, but for your religion & country valiantly to fight it out, euen to

the

A *the laſt man. And a little refreſhing your ſelues with a ſhort repaſt as you ſtand, vpon the ſignall giuen, thrice calling aloud vpon the mightie name of Chriſt Ieſus, fight with the like valour and courage ſo neere as you can, that he in the agonie of death fought for your redemption and libertie: which that you wil willingly do, I requeſt and charge you this for our Sauiors ſake, for the loue of our country, & for the faith you owe both to God and man. I alſo pray and beſeech you, ſo to fight, as men reſolued either to gaine a moſt glorious victorie, (whereof I doubt not) or elſe if it ſhould otherwiſe chance, this day to purchaſe vnto your ſelues a bleſſed life in the kingdome of heauen: not to ſup in hel with the Turkes, but with the bleſſed wights in heauen: for Chriſt Ieſus our Sauiour will be alwaies preſent with vs, who (beleeue me, and ſo hope) wil this day not only deliuer vs out of the hands of the Turks, but to our immortal glory lode vs with the rich ſpoiles of our enemies, and ſo in ſafetie bring al home again with much ioy & triumph.*

B The Baſſa on the other ſide likewiſe encouraged his ſoldiers, putting them in remembrance of their former victories, exhorting them not to degenerat from their worthie anceſtors and themſelues, by whoſe great valor the glory and empire of the Turks had bin ſo mightily increaſed, and vnto whom their great prophet *Mahomet*, the interpreter of the gods, had foretold the empire of the whole world to be by al the gods allotted, & had by diuine inſpiration prophecied, that antient and ſtately nation in time to become the terror of the world, the ſcourge of the wicked, and commander of all nations. He farther declared vnto them, what an increaſe of kingdomes they had got in that ſhort time, ſince which they firſt paſſed ouer into Europe: and filled them with the hope of a great ſpoile; promiſing vnto them that ſhould in the battell valiantly behaue themſelues, not onely the ſpoile and prey, but whole villages,
C towns, and cities, and other great preferments, according as they ſhould deſerue. As for the victorie, conſidering the weake power of their enemies, and the great number of themſelues, he aſſured them thereof, if they would but a while valiantly fight it out like men. In concluſion, he told them, that hauing ouercome *Huniades* (whom only, as he confeſſed, he had found to be the moſt valiant and skilfull captaine of the Chriſtians) nothing ſhould afterward be able to ſtand in their way, or to hinder their further conqueſts: and that if this day they ſhould vtterly ouerthrow him, they ſhould gain the moſt honorable victorie that was euer yet got in Europe. Wherefore he willed them aboue all things, in the battell to ſeeke after him, promiſing vnto him that ſhould kill him, a great reward, with moſt honourable preferments. Hauing thus
D ſufficiently, as he thought, encouraged his Turks, he ſet forward with his armie in order of battell. His horſmen and footmen he diuided into two great wings, betwixt which marched the Ianizaries in a ſquare battell, all men of approued valour: after whom followed the rereward: vnto the wings he had alſo ioyned certaine looſe companies of light horſemen to begin the battell, and to flie about the enemies, and ſo as occaſion ſhould ſerue, either to charge or retire. *Huniades* likewiſe had placed in both wings two ſquare battalions of men at armes, and with them certaine horſemen with croſſe bowes: before theſe wings he had alſo placed certaine troupes of light horſemen, to encounter the enemies: in the midſt ſtood two ſquare battels of men at armes: and betwixt them a ſtrong ſquadron of armed men, guarded behind with a conuenient number of pikemen and archers: both the wings hee had compaſſed
E about with a multitude of carts and waggons, and they alſo well manned. So marching forward, and both armies being come within a quarter of a mile together, the ſignall of battell was on both ſides giuen, and the battell begun. *Huniades* ſeeing the multitude of his enemies, caſt his firſt battel into the forme of a wedge, the more eaſily to diuide them: and they on the other ſide in form of a paire of ſheeres, were readie to receiue him: where on both ſides they encountred together with ſuch furie and outcrie, as neuer was thing more terrible to be heard or ſeen. The Turks truſting vnto the multitude of their nimble light horſemen, firſt with their light ſtaues, and afterward with their crooked Scimaters fiercely aſſailed the Chriſtians light horſemen, in which firſt incounter many fell on both ſides. But the wedge battel of the Chriſtians could not of the Turks be broken, as conſiſting all of valiant expert ſouldiers, and they alſo ſtrongly armed; who, doe the Turks what they could, with a great ſlaughter cut their ar-
F mie in ſunder, but not without a great fight, and ſome loſſe alſo vnto themſelues. In the wings alſo the light horſemen for a while fought couragiouſly and with like hope: but the Turkes with that kind of fight better acquainted than the Chriſtians, & better appointed for that purpoſe, and exceeding in number alſo, put the Chriſtian light horſemen to the worſt, and enforced

A cruell battell betwixt Huniades and Abedin Baſſa.

ced them to retire to the men at armes. Here began the fortune of the Turkes to ſtay, where both parts deſperatly aſſailing the one the other, was made a moſt terrible fight, wherein moſt part of the Turks light horſemen were ſlain: for why, they were not able to abide the force of the men at arms, although in compariſon of them, but few; but were with their lances and arming ſwords ouerthrowne and ſlain, no otherwiſe than if they had bin naked men: ſo that in both wings the Turks began now to faint. But the battell in both the wings yet wauering, and the victory doubtful, in the maine battaile was fought a moſt cruell fight: the Ianizaries with a ſtrong power of men at arms, & certain troups of light horſmen, compaſſed about the men at armes that ſtood (as wee ſaid) in the maine battel of the Chriſtians, were the old Ianizaries with their crooked Scimitaries, with great courage cut in ſunder the legs of the horſes of the men at arms; of whom many fel down, & lying along vpon the ground, were made ſhorter by the head: as likewiſe on the other ſide, the Ianizaries whileſt they ſeek the deſtruction of the men at arms, were themſelues ouerborn & troden vnder foot. Wherupon ſuch a ſlaughter was made, that the bloud ran like riuers, whileſt they deſperatly fight with furious rage both on the one ſide & the other. In this cruel fight moſt part of the Ianizaries were ſlain, and many of the Chriſtian men at arms alſo. The Baſſa now perceiuing the Hungarians to haue the better, both in the wings and in the main battell, & yet in hope that with long fight they would faint (although he ſaw great ſlaughter of his men in euery place) came on with the rereward, & a number of other freſh ſoldiers which he had left for the guarding of his baggage, al yet ſound men, in good hope ſo to ouerwhelme the wearied Hungarians. It was now foure houres that this cruell fight had endured, when as the Baſſa beganne it afreſh: neither was this by him don without reaſon; for why, he was afraid leſt if his men ſhould turn their backs and flie, the whole armie ſhould follow after: and therefore to make vſe of all the men he had, he brought on his rereward, in hope that his enemies, now ſpent with long fight, would not longer endure a freſh charge. And the more to encourage his men, he commanded them to compaſſe in the Hungarians round, and to diſpatch their wearied enemies, vainly boaſting, That it would be the laſt battel that euer the Hungarians would fight. On the other ſide, ***Hunaides*** perceiuing the enemies purpoſe, ſuffered his men to be in part enuironed, and by and by cauſed the waggoners with the armed carts & waggons to thruſt in behind them, and ſo to compaſſe them in, diuided in part from the reſt, & afterward with freſh ſupplies renewed the battel with the enemy. The fight was great, and in euery place right terrible: and albeit that the ſlaughter of the Turkes was in many places great, yet by reaſon of their multitude they felt it not much, but fought yet ſtill moſt deſperatly: vntil that they in the right wing ſeeing themſelues compaſſed in behind with the waggons, & ſo from them charged with ſhot, darts, & other ſuch miſſiue weapons; ſtanding in doubt which way to turn themſelues, & beſet with danger on euery ſide, began to faint, and fearing the danger behind them, ſhrunke from the fight. On the other ſide, the Hungarians, now in good hope of victorie, with great & cheerful outcries, as men inſpired with freſh ſpirits, more furiouſly aſſailed their fainting enemies afront, than before; encouraging them alſo that aſſailed them behind in the waggons, to approch them neerer: with which double danger the turks hardly beſet, fought diſorderly, & doubting to be all incloſed round, firſt retired, & preſently after betooke themſelues to plain flight. But they which were already ſhut in betwixt the waggons & them that fought before them, periſhed euery mothers ſon. They which fought in the left wing alſo, diſcouraged with the flight of their fellows, fled likewiſe: after whom the Hungarians fiercely followed. The Baſſa himſelfe ſeeing both the wings of his battel put to flight, & his own battel ſore broken alſo, ſtruken with deſpaire fled, with certain companies of the Ianizaries, which he had ſtil kept about him againſt all euents, for the ſafegard of his perſon: after whom followed alſo ſo many other of the Turks as could; the reſt diſperſedly flying thorow the woods, foreſts, & mountains, either there periſhed with hunger, or falling into the hands of the Valachians, were by them ſlaine. Of ſo great an armie as the Baſſa brought into Tranſiluania, ſcarce the one halfe returned again ouer Danubius. It is reported by ſome that were in that battell, that if ***Hunaides*** hauing them in chace, had purſued them to Danubius, ſcarcely one of them had eſcaped ouer the riuer. But he contented with ſo great a victory, & to haue driuen his enemies out of the field, purſued them not far: but entring into their camp, with the ſpoile therof greatly inricht both himſelf & his ſoldiers. Beſide the great multitude of the Turks here ſlain, 5000 more were taken priſoners, & 100 of their enſignes.

The Turks flie.

ſignes. Long it were to rehearſe and reckon vp the rich ſpoile there taken, the guilt armor, and goodly furniture, both of men and horſes, beſide the rich pauilions and tents there ſtanding. In briefe, the wealth there found, was ſo great, as that there was no man in *Huniades* armie, which was not thereby for euer inriched. *Huniades* for this ſo great a victory, & for his country, deliuered from ſo great a feare, cauſed general praiers with thankſgiuing, for the ſpace of three dayes, to be made in all churches of thoſe three prouinces, vnto whom that danger was threatned; and at Vaſcape, where the battel was fought, hanged vp certaine of the Turkes enſignes, as trophies of the victorie there gotten. This was the famous battle of Vaſcape, wherein *Huniades* got the greateſt victory that euer any Chriſtian Prince before that time obtained againſt the Turkiſh Kings. The fields thereabouts lay couered with the dead bodies of the ſlain Turks, whoſe carrion carkaſſes ſo infected the aire, that many of the better ſort of the inhabitants of the country were glad for a ſeaſon to leaue their dwellings, & to get them further off, for feare of infection. Afterwards he in great triumph came to Buda, & there preſented to King *Vladiſlaus* the enemies enſignes, with ſuch a part of the ſpoile, as might both wel declare the greatneſſe of the victorie, and beſeeme the greatneſſe of ſo great a Prince; which the king thankefully receiued, highly commending his great valour, the fame whereof had in ſhort time filled euery corner of Europe.

Amurath, a little before this great ouerthrow of his army in Tranſyluania, aſſuring himſelf of the victory, had ſent a proud embaſſage to King *Vladiſlaus* into Hungarie, offring him peace vpon condition, That he ſhould deliuer vnto him the ſtrong city of Belgrade, or elſe yeeld to pay him a yerely tribute: to which, vpon the firſt report of the victorie, anſwer was giuen by the king, anſwerable to the proud demand, That according to the iſſue of matters in Tranſiluania, he would ſhortly in perſon himſelfe come & giue him farther anſwer. With which ſhort anſwer, the proud embaſſadours were diſmiſſed and gone, a little before the comming of *Huniades* to Buda.

How much this late ouerthrow grieued the great king *Amurath*, *Vladiſlaus* was not ignorant; either of his power and deſire of reuenge, as ſufficiently warned thereof by the worthie *Huniades*: for the withſtanding wherof, he thought it good not to be vnprouided. Wherfore calling together the ſtates of his kingdome, and with them *Iulian* the Cardinall of S. *Angel*, the Popes Legat; at ſuch time as they were all aſſembled, he propounded vnto them the greatneſſe of the danger threatned by the angrie Turke, leauing vnto their graue conſideration, to determine how the ſame were by ſtrong hand and plaine force, or otherwiſe to be auerted. In which moſt honorably aſſemblie, *Iulian* the Cardinall, of purpoſe ſent thither by Pope *Vrban* to ſtir vp the Hungarians againſt the Turks, being requeſted by the King to deliuer his opinion firſt, ſpake vnto them as followeth:

The effectuall ſpeech of Iulian the Popes Legat in the parlament to perſuade the war.

Since the time that the Turkiſh peſtilence began to rage in Europe, no newes was euer more welcome vnto the great Biſhop, vnto the Apoſtolicall Senate, and other Princes of Italie (moſt mightie King, and you other moſt worthie Princes) than when it was told them, That Vladiſlaus, *King of Polonia, was by you alſo choſen King of Hungarie. For a fitter gouernour of the Hungarian ſtate, and leader of their power, could not the Hungarians any where haue found: As he in whome Iuſtice, religion, wiſedome, valour, and martiall skill, doth ſo abound, that he ſeemeth rather for the good of this kingdome by God ſent from heauen, than here in earth choſen by men. By this happie & fortunat choice, the minds alſo of all the Italians, which before lay heauie and diſcouraged, were lightned and reuiued: and therefore that this choice might be vnto the Chriſtian common-weale both glorious and fortunate, they made their ſolemne vowes and praiers. At ſuch time as the moſt holy Senate vnderſtood of the ciuill diſcord of this kingdome, and the danger of the Turks faſt by, it ſent mee hither to deale with you for the appeaſing of thoſe troubles, and repreſſing of that miſchiefe (as you haue oftentimes heard mee ſay.) The kingdome is by your force and valour, by my mediation, and the death of the Queene, wel pacified: but yet the other remaineth full of honour, full of profit, full of ſafetie, glorie, and immortalitie, beſt fitting* Vladiſlaus *conduct and fortune, and the valour of the Hungarians. The Turkiſh tyrannie and their proud command (worthie Princes) is to bee repreſſed: yea their ſeruile yoke, hanging euen now ouer our necks, is to be ſhaken off, and to be driuen away. What you are to dare to doe, the valour and fortune of* Huniades, *foretelleth you: the fortune ſaid I of* Huniades, *nay the fortune of the Chriſtian common-weale, and preſent mercie of our bleſſed Sauiour, which ſuffereth his people to be vp and downe toſſed, but not quite drowned. If ſo great an armie of the enemies was vanquiſhed and put* *to flight by the power of one of thy captaines, and that but ſmall: what is to be hoped of thee (moſt mightie King) if thou ſhalt lead forth thine armies thy ſelfe in perſon, vnder thine owne conduct, and the protection of Christ Ieſus? The eyes of all Chriſtian Princes are caſt vpon thee, vpon the Hungarian and Polonian forces; vpon thee haue they repoſed all their hopes, they all expect that thou ſhoulaſt be the reuenger of the Barbarian crueltie, the defender of the faith, and protector of Europe: and that is it, for which the Pope doth with his letters daily ſolicite and importune you. And albeit, that the common cauſe and quarrell of the Chriſtian religion require it, yet doth the neceſſitie of Hungarie and Polonia no leſſe enforce it: of which, the one is moſt miſerably and daily vexed with the Turks forces and furie out of Seruia and Dalmatia; and the other out of Moldania and Valachia. Now if any there be, whom neither the zeale of religion, the neceſſitie of the cauſe, the hope of immortall fame and glorie, can moue, let their owne ſafetie, the preſent ſeruitude of their wiues and children, the ſafegard of their wealth and ſubſtance, the lawful reuenge of the wrongs don them, ſtir them vp to take in hand this ſacred expedition. So fit an opportunitie is now giuen vnto you, that at one and the ſelfeſame time you may ſet your bodies in perpetuall ſafetie and happineſſe; your ſoules in quietneſſe and reſt, and vnto both giue eternall glory and happineſſe. You lacke not (worthy captaines) money, the ſinewes of the warre, which ſhall be brought vnto you from all parts of the Chriſtian common-wealth, not luſtie and couragious ſouldiers; not policie, not fortune, not the propitious heauenly powers, which haue made choice of you for the defence of the true faith and religion: you want nothing (worthie Princes) but Will. It is an expedition neceſſarie, religious, profitable, and honourable: wherein are propounded moſt ample rewards both in this life, and in the life to come. Wherefore (moſt mightie Prince, and your right worthy Princes all) I pray and beſeech you by the faith of Chriſt Ieſus, by the loue of your children, by the health of your kingdome, and deliuerance from your preſent deſtruction, with valiant courage & one conſent to take this ſacred war in hand, and ſo thereby to enroll your names in the eternall booke of Fame. And ſith that you are to goe, not ſo much to a worldly as a ſpirituall warre; againſt the enemies of Chriſt and his truth, take vp your armes with ſuch zeale, courage, and cheerfulneſſe, as the expectation and hope of men, as your valor, the preſent danger, and the mercies of God towards you ſeeme of right to require.*

The pitifull complaint of the Deſpot, of the crueltie of the Turks, perſuading the Hungarians to take the war againſt them in hand.

The Legate hauing made an end, forthwith enſued the miſerable ſupplication and teares of the Deſpot; perſuading them, of the neceſſitie of that expedition to be taken in hand, declaring vnto them the crueltie of the Turks, their torments and ſtrange tortures, his ſonnes depriued of their ſight, and ſpoiled of their genitoires, many halfe mangled, and moe cut in ſunder with ſawes; ſome flaine quicke, and others buried aliue, with many other ſtrange kindes of death, ſuch as would abhorre any Chriſtian eares to heare. And warning the Hungarians, by his example to beware how much they had need to looke to themſelues, told them, That they were but by the riuer Savus diuided from the Turks; which in ſummer was oftentimes to be waded ouer, and in Winter hard frozen, & ſo to be paſſed: that the country beyond Danubius lay all open vpon them; and that hee, ſometime the rich King of Seruia, was now driuen into exile by the power of the Turke, depriued of his kingdom, of his children, ſhamefully diſgraced, ſpoiled of his wealth and fortune, glad to flie from place to place, and yet not able to finde any ſafe place to reſt in. Firſt he fled (as hee ſaid) to Raguſium, where by and by he was ſought after, and endangered by the Turks: then into Hungarie, which was alſo forthwith by them on euery ſide infeſted: and whereof the Barbarian King now asked tribute, to haue ſome colour for the inuaſion thereof: which dreadfull enemy was not farre off from it, but ſtill houered euen ouer it: as well witneſſed Valachia and Tranſyluania, two of the greateſt and richeſt prouinces of the Hungarian kingdome: which had not the valour of *Hunides*, the fortune of the common-weale, and aboue all, the mercy of God, deliuered out of the hands of this filthie Nation, the ſtate of Hungarie had now beene vtterly forlorne. The euents of warre (hee ſaid) were diuers, fortune vncertaine, and that God would not euery day bee tempted. Wherefore with many teares abundantly running downe his aged face, he beſought King *Vladiſlaus* and the reſt, not to let ſlip this faire occaſion, neither by cowardiſe or negligence to breake off the courſe of their good fortune and victorie: but to make choice rather to become reuengers of other mens harmes, than of their owne, and to ſatisfie the good opinion the world had conceiued of them. He was (as he ſaid) a ſufficient example to al men. Beſides that, he offered a great ſumme of money himſelfe towards the defraying of the charges of the war, aſſuring them alſo of great ſupplies both of men and mony from diuers other

A Chriſtian Princes. Which opinion of the Legat and Deſpots being generally liked & approued, a decree was made by a whole court of Parlament there aſſembled, That the king ſhould himſelfe in perſon, with al ſpeed poſſible entertain that honorable war. So that though it were now vpon the approch of winter, yet were men taken vp in euery place, and embaſſadors ſent vnto the Emperour and the other neighbour Princes, to pray of them aid againſt the common enemie. Who for the moſt part excuſed themſelues by their own particular affaires, but ſent no aid at all. Neuertheleſſe many deuout Chriſtians both out of France and Germanie, for the zeale they bare vnto Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion, forſaking wife and children, and whatſoeuer they had elſe, came and worthily ſerued vpon their owne charge. The Spring being come, and ſupplications made in all places, for the proſperous ſucceſſe of this religious war, King *Vladiſlaus* the firſt of May ſet forward from Buda; where paſſing the riuer Danubius, and B marching faire and ſoftly, & comming to the riuer Tibiſcus, he there ſtayed three days for the comming of his armie. Departing thence, and marching on alongſt the ſide of Danubius, vntil he came within the ſight of Bulgaria, he there at a place called Cobis, ouer againſt Sinderouia, paſſed ouer Danubius with his army, which was now grown very great: and ſo marched directly to Sophia, ſcituate about ſix dayes march from Danubius, in the frontiers of Bulgaria, ſo called of a moſt ſumptuous and magnificent temple there built by *Iuſtinian* the great emperor. Which citie being then old and ruinous, & but badly fortified, was eaſily taken; and afterward for that it was not well to be holden, was by the Kings commandement burnt, as were all the other country towns and villages thereabouts, to the terror of the reſt. Marching thence, he came vnto the riuer Moraua, and there incamped: where the plain country eaſily riſeth & falC leth in manner of the ſea, when it is moued with a little wind. Here 500 horſemen being ſent ouer the riuer, not ſo much to ſeeke after prey, as to view the countrey, which way the armie might moſt ſafely and eaſily paſſe, hapned vpon the Turks ſcouts, of whom they tooke foure: and vnderſtanding by them, that 2000 of the Turks were comming at hand, knowing themſelues too weake to encounter them, they retyred backe again with all ſpeed they could, vnto the riuer; where many of them for feare leapt headlong from the high and broken banks, and ſo periſhed in the deepe; the reſt terrified with the misfortune of their fellowes, ſtood ſtill, doubtfully expecting what ſhould become of themſelues. Beyond the riuer was another hil, vpon the top whereof the King with a great number of horſemen were hunting: whome the Turks a far off deſcrying, and doubtful to fall into ſome ambuſh, of purpoſe layd for them beD twixt them & the riuer, without comming on further, retyred. Which they that before fearefully ſtayd on the further ſide of the riuer, perceiuing, and now encouraged by the comming of the King downe to the riuer, followed a while after, ſo to increaſe their feare; and ſo hauing well feared one another, retired on both ſides worſe affraid than hurt. The next day the King paſſed ouer the riuer, ſending out his ſcouts to ſee if all were cleere before him: by whom he was aduertiſed, that the Turks were at hand, hauing placed certain ambuſhes faſt by, expecting but a fit time to ſet vpon him. Whereupon entring into councell with his beſt and moſt expert captains, what were beſt to be done, it was reſolued vpon, That *Huniades* the next ght with 10000 choice horſemen, ſhould vpon the ſudden ſet vpon the enemie, then fea- g nothing leſſe. Who conducted by the eſpials, was in the firſt watch of the night brought rie neere vnto them. The Moone by chance, as fauouring his great attempt, did then ſhine t, ſo that he might wil diſcerne how the enemie lay incamped, & which way for to charge m for his beſt aduantage; which was by the ſame way they were moſt like to flie, if they uld be put to the worſt: vnto which place he led his men, and there with a moſt hideous crie entred the campe, as then for the moſt part buried in ſleepe and ſecuritie: when as Turks awaked with the ſudden noyſe, as it were out of a dead ſleepe, and diſmayed with horror of the crie, began to betake them ſome to their weapons, ſome to their heeles. Of hom ſuch as fled, lighting vpon the enemies troups ſtanding in their way, ranne as faſt backe ain: the other ſcarce yet well awake, and ouercome with feare, & now ſcarcely themſelues, d much adoo to make themſelues readie to fight. *Huniades* in the mean time riding vp and wne amongſt his men, cheered them vp, ſtill crying out and calling vpon them, couragiou- to aſſaile their ſleepie, naked, and fearefull enemies, and not to let ſlip ſo faire an occaſion, d ſo notable a victorie now alreadie in their hands. At the firſt encounter the Turkes raer made a ſtirre, than fought; but after that they heard that *Huniades* was there, as men diſ-

Sophia taken.

Huniades with ten thouſand horſemen aſſaileth the Turks by night.

maied with his name, they turned their backs and fled, finding, which way ſoeuer they tooke, their fellows halfe dead or wounded: yea, ſuch a confuſion was raiſed amongſt them with the greatneſſe of the ſudden feare, that thruſting together, with an inconſiderate deſire of flight, they trod one another vnder foot, & thruſt themſelues one vpon anothers weapons: the greateſt part of them driuen headlong into the thickets and other ſtraits, & not able in time to get out thence, were there by the victorious enemie, fiercely purſuing of them, ſlain. Al that night the fearefull Turks were with great ſlaughter held in chace: but as ſoon as it was day, the reſt that remained of them, ran alſo the ſame fortune with their fellowes. A far greater ſlaughter was there made, than a man would thinke that ſo few men could haue made, when as but with 10000 horſe, 30000 Turks were in one night ſlain, and 4000 taken, with a number of their enſignes. Of *Huniades* his men were not many loſt, for the greatneſſe of the ſlaughter: moſt report not aboue 500, for few of them found any enemie to reſiſt them. There was taken all the ſpoile of a moſt rich campe, the enemie hauing carried with them nothing out of it. *Huniades* hauing in ſo ſhort time gained ſo notable a victorie, and inriched his army, returned to the king in great triumph: neither was that day more joyfull vnto theſe victorious ſouldiers, than vnto the reſt of the armie, who moſt joyfully expected their returne. The King and the Deſpot hearing of the approch of *Huniades* from the ſlaughter of the Turks, with the great applauſe and joyful acclamation of the other legions, went to meet him three miles: and at ſuch time as at their firſt meeting *Huniades* was about to haue lighted to haue done him honour, he would in no caſe ſuffer him ſo to do, but taking him by the right hand, joyed with him for the victory, thanking God in the hearing of the whole armie, that he of his mercie had giuen him ſuch a Captaine, as, without enuie, in all mens iudgments was worthie to rule the Roman empire. In briefe, he ſhewed how much his country, his kingdome, yea the Chriſtian commonweale, was bound and indebted vnto him, gaue him his due praiſes, exhorting all others to imitate his glorie: the like honour did alſo all the reſt of the nobilitie vnto him. As for the common ſoldiers, they could not be ſatisfied with beholding of him, but imbracing one another, as if they would haue died one in anothers arms, welcommed their victorious friends. So with joy joyning their forces together, & ſending the rich ſpoile of the enemy, with the priſoners chained together in long ranks before them; the King and *Huniades* in great triumph returned into the campe, where they cauſed generall prayers, with thankſgiuing vnto almighty God for ſo great a victorie, to be made thorowout the armie.

The meeting of Vladiſlaus and Huniades after the victorie.

The Legat *Iulian*, Generall of the voluntarie Chriſtians, which for deuotion ſake ſerued of their own charge, after ſo great a victorie moſt earneſtly perſuaded the King and the reſt of the great commanders of the armie, to proſecute their good fortune, and in God his ſo great fauor not to loiter, but daily to march forward, and to take in the reſt of Bulgaria. Now had *Huniades* by his eſpials learned, that from Sophia it was but three days journey to Philippopolis, a great citie of Thracia; and the like diſtance from thence to Hadrianople, the chiefe ſeat of the Turkiſh tyrant; and as much more to Conſtantinople. The onely difficultie was, how to paſſe the great and rough mountain Hemus; which running a maruellous way in length, euen vnto the Euxine ſea, and mating almoſt the skie, diuideth the countries of Bulgaria and Seruia, from Macedonia and Thrace: and for the great height and roughneſſe therof, is not to be paſſed ouer but in two places; the one made by the great Emperor *Traian* & the Romans, where as yet is to be ſeen a mightie ſtrong gate built of great ſquare ſtone, whereby the paſſage that way was opened or ſhut at the pleaſure of them that had the keeping thereof: the other neere vnto a little riuer, which the Bulgarians now call Saltiza. By either of theſe ways, if he ſhould find them open, *Huniades*, vnto whom the King had committed both the leading and the conduct of the armie, purpoſed to enter. Wherefore marching forward, they tooke al ſuch towns of Bulgaria as ſtood in their way; ſome by force, ſome by compoſition: wherein was no ſmall helpe, the conformitie of the Chriſtian religion, the horrible crueltie of the Turks, the great affinitie of language, the moſt effectuall means to win the loue of ſtrangers: for the Polonians and the Bulgarians both diſcended of the Sclauonians, and vſing the ſame language, the Polonian horſemen came to no town, but it preſently yeelded. But being come vnto the mountain Hemus, to haue entred into Thracia, the Winter weather being now verie cold; they learned by their eſpials, that the aforeſaid paſſages were both faſt ſhut vp with great ſtones, timber, and ſuch other like matter, ſo ſtrongly, as that they were verie hardly to be forced. Wherfore *Huniades*

niades leauing the ſtraiter way made by the hand of man (which beſide the former fortification at the great gate, the Turks had in many places, with abundance of water poured downe the ſteep hil in the night, and hard frozen with the coldneſſe of the weather, made ſo ſlippery, as that it was not poſſible either for man or beaſt there to ſtand, or to get vp that way) vpon Chriſtmas euen came to the other, by which the riuer Saltiza runnes, the which he found likewiſe ſhut. Here they met with many inconueniences: firſt, the difficultie of the paſſage, which old *Amurath* had (not without great reaſon) ſhut vp, & there placed ſtrong garriſons, ſo at eaſe, and without danger of battel (ſo often by his Baſſa's vnfortunatly proued) to defend his kingdome in Macedonia and Thracia, from the inuaſion of the Hungarians, who now of all nations he moſt dreaded. Beſide that, in the armie was ſuch want of all things, as that the ſoldiers were readie to forſake their enſignes, and to riſe vp in a general mutinie: for the country neere vnto the mountain Hemus, riſing high, with broken rocks, and inacceſſible places, was altogether barren; and victuals failing in the camp, they were glad to liue with a little wheat & fleſh boiled together, and that ſo ſparingly, as that the ſouldiers began now generally to grow weake and faint. Beſides that, the Winter was exceeding cold, and the froſt ſo great, that many times they could not go out of their tents to ſeeke for forrage or water. So that the armie enforced with hunger and cold, and the difficultie of the paſſage, began to retire, and had vndoubtedly bin diſſolued, had it not bin for the often and earneſt perſuaſions of *Huniades*: for he daily told them, that the greateſt difficulties were paſt, that that which remained, was with their wonted valour and courage to be indured, whereunto nothing was high or difficult: that they ſhould forthwith come into the borders of Thracia, where they ſhould find plentie of all things: that they were now come ſo far, that if they would go back again, they ſhould in thoſe waſt countries through which they were to paſſe, find greater difficulties & dangers, than in going forward: that theſe ſtraits once opened, remained no more trauell, but cheerefully to fal to the ſpoile of a moſt rich and pleaſant country. They were not (as he ſaid) to ſtay in the midſt of their fortunes, for that it was not always permanent, and for that the contempt of Gods fauors cauſed them to be oftentimes taken from vs: al that was yet done (he ſaid) was nothing, if they proceeded not further: for that whatſoeuer they had already woon, was eaſily by the enemy to be recouered, except that thoſe which yet remained (for that moſt part of them, as he ſaid, were ſlain, with their houſes burnt ouer their heads) were driuen out of Thracia and Macedonia, and ſo quite out of Europe. So whileſt the ſoldiers heard *Huniades* ſpeake, euery man was wel incouraged; but when they remembred the miſeries wherwith they were inuironed, they curſed all the raſh attempts of ambitious princes. In the mean time news was brought by the ſcouts, that the Turks were comming after them: but then began they to rejoyce, as deeming it much more honor, manfully to die in battell, than to ſtarue with hunger and cold. Againſt theſe Turks was *Huniades* ſent with certain troups of horſemen: who incountring with them, eaſily inforced them with loſſe to retire. Eight times he incountred them (as the ſoldiers there preſent reported) & as often put them to flight. In retiring back from the impregnable mountain, the king with the greateſt part of the armie went before; after whom followed *Huniades* and the Deſpot, a good days march: when the Turks that kept the paſſage vpon the mountain, vnderſtanding of their return, followed them down the hill, in good hope to be of them well reuenged, before they ſhould get out of Bulgaria. *Carambey* the Baſſa of Romania, & brother to *Caly-Baſſa* (a man of all others in greateſt fauor with *Amurath*, and his brother in law, as hauing married his ſiſter) was General of this army, & by him appointed for the keeping of theſe ſtraits; with expreſſe charge, vpon no occaſion whatſoeuer, although it made ſhew of neuer ſo aſſured a victorie, to fight with the enemie: for he thought it victorie enough, without any loſſe to haue kept his enemies out of Thracia. Which the old Kings command, *Carambey* for all that neglected, in good hope by a notable victory eaſily to anſwer the contempt of that he was commanded. The Chriſtian armie deſcending down the broken mountains, was come to great mountain, which the Bulgarians call Cunobiza, and part of the mountain Hemus: at whoſe heeles followed *Carambey*, with his Turks, ſtill houering ouer their heads, to take them ſome aduantage: whom the Chriſtians beholding, could not by their captains be ſtayd, but that they would many times by companies flie forth vpon them, and deſperately fight with them in places of great aduantage, ſaying, That they had rather die in fight like men, than to ſtarue with hunger and cold. Here *Carambey*, being himſelfe a man of great courage, and deſi-

The Hungarians inforced with the difficultie of the paſſage of the mountaine Hemus, retyre.

A great battell betwixt Huniades and the Baſſa Carambey.

The Turks ouerthrowne, & Carambey taken priſoner.

rous of honor, and by the raſhneſſe of his enemies allured to fight; and withall, beſide the aduantage of the ground, perceiuing himſelfe to exceed his enemies both in ſtrength & number of men, could not be ſtayd, but would needs giue battell, with ſuch a deſire, as if he had bin already aſſured of the victorie. *Huniades* and the Deſpot had before perceiued, that the Turks, prouoked with the brauing of their men, would aſſuredly fall vpon them, and were therefore much troubled with the abſence of the King, who (as is before ſaid) was gone a days march before they ſaw they could neither ſhun battel, neither if they could haue ſo done, would their deſperat ſouldiers be ſtayed, for the deſire they had to fight. Yet ſeeing *Carambey* comming down vpon them, they put themſelues (though vnwillingly) in beſt order they could to receiue him, perſuading their ſoldiers not raſhly in furie to run vpon their enemies, as deſperate men prodigall of their liues, but to keepe their rankes, and orderly to fight, and ſo like valiant men to carrie away the victorie, or to leaue vnto their enemies a bloudy remembrance thereof. Now had *Carambey* ſent his horſmen down the hil, and the battel was begun, where both the armies met together with great furie, and a cruel fight was made both at the foot of the hil, and amongſt the hils and vallies alſo: in which hard incounter many were ſlain, as well on the one ſide as the other. The Polonian men at arms (whom the king but a little before had left with *Huniades* againſt all euents) with the Hungarian light horſemen (of whom the Deſpot had the leading) fought ſo that day, as if they had fought for nothing more, but how honourably to die; & the Turks for a ſpace ſtood hard to it, ſo that many were there ſlain: yet at length finding themſelues hardly layd to, as by deſperat men, reſolued to ſel their liues deere, they began to faint & to giue ground: when as *Carambey* comming in behind them with new ſupplies, rated the cowardly, ſtayd them that were flying, and ſomtime with rough ſpeeches, ſometime with faire perſuaſion, incouraged the wauering, and reſtored the battell, before almoſt quite loſt. Neither did *Huniades* and the Deſpot leſſe beſtir them, but as ſoon as they perceiued the enemie a little to faint, by and by cried out, Victorie; with cheerful ſpeech incouraging their men, ſtil calling vpon them, To keepe their ranks ſtrong, and to vrge their preſent good fortune, aſſuring themſelues, that they fought againſt thoſe infidels vnder the fauor & protection of the Almighty: and forthwith ſent certain companies of footmen, who climbing vp the hil among the buſhes, with their halfe pikes & boare-ſpears panched the Turks horſes as they paſſed by them. Theſe looſe companies did the Turks horſemen much harm, and here began their battel to decline; they which were comming down, for feare of the danger retyring back again vnto them that were left aboue for the keeping of the ſtraits: and the bolder ſort of them, which were come down into the vallies, compaſſed about with the men at armes, hardly recouered the riſing of the hill. *Carambey* in the mean time crying out behind them, one while called back them that fled, another while relieued them that fainted, and to the vttermoſt of his power reſtoring the battell, performed all the parts both of a valiant ſouldier & worthy captaine, couragiouſly fighting himſelfe in the thickeſt of his enemies, and by his own valor ſtaied for a time the loſt battel. At length performing his laſt indeauor, deceiued by the ſnow, he fel into a bog, where ſticking faſt with his horſe, and not able to helpe himſelfe, he was taken priſoner by a common ſoldier. The reſt that eſcaped out of this bloudie battel, retired themſelues vnto them that were left aboue vpon the mountain, for the defence of the paſſage. After whom the Chriſtians followed, through the vntract and rough places, vntill that hindered of their further purſuit by the approch of the night, and the abruptneſſe of the way, they were glad to ſound a retrait, and ſo retyred vnto the campe. Many other great men were taken beſide *Carambey*, but many moe ſlaine in the battell, and moſt of all in the flight; few eſcaped, but ſuch as fled backe againe vp into the mountaines. In the retrait, *Huniades* ſeeing ſo gallant a man as was *Carambey* (though to him altogether vnknown) vnworthily bound, and led priſoner by a common ſoldier, asked the ſouldier, if he would ſell his priſoner? who ſayd, he would; and asked for him ten duckats, (a poore price for ſo great a man:) vnto whom *Huniades* commanded to be giuen foure hundred, and ſo ſent him vnto his tent, comforting of him vp with cheerefull words, and willing that he ſhould be well vſed. The Deſpot the ſame night comming to *Huniades* his tent, to confer with him about the remainder of the war, and ſeeing ſo braue a man ſtanding among the reſt by the fire ſide, began to talke with him in the Turkiſh language, whereof he had ſome knowledge, by reaſon of the neereneſſe of the Nation, and ſuch matters as he had ſometime to do with them; and hauing ſome geſſe by his talke, what he was,and pittying his eſtate,asked *Huniades*,how he would ranſome him? who ſaid,that he coſt him foure hundred duckats,but that he valued him at forty thouſand; which the Deſpot offered to pay him. Thus by the ſtrange change of fortune, was *Carambey*, of late ſo great a commander,and ſo neere allied vnto the great Turke,valued & prized twice in one day by his enemies,as a mirror of the vncertaintie of worldly bliſſe and felicitie. The Polonians report ſomewhat otherwiſe of this battell; as that *Vladiſlaus* ſhould himſelfe therein be preſent,and the chiefe that therein commanded: howbeit the Hungarian writers,whoſe credit herein we follow,report it as before,not to haue been fought vnder the good fortune of the King then abſent,but vnder the leading of *Huniades* and the Deſpot.

Scanderbeg reuolteth from the Turks.

Out of this bettell (or as ſome others report,a little before, out of the battell of Moraua) fled the great captaine *George Caſtriot*, otherwiſe of the Turks called *Scanderbeg*, now ſeeking to deliuer both himſelfe,and his natiue country of Epirus,out of the thraldome of the Turks, as preſently after he did: whoſe vnwoonted flight not a little terrified the reſt of the Turkes armie,and much furthered the Chriſtians victorie,whoſe proceedings he alwayes ſecretly fauored; hauing (as it was thought) ſecret intelligence with the great captaine *Huniades*, who not without inſtructions from him (as ſome ſay) gaue that great ouerthrow vnto the Turks at Morau. But of him and his worthie acts done for the deliuerance and defence of his countrey, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

Shortly after this great ouerthrow and diſcomfiture of the Turks, the two great captains, *Huniades* & the Deſpot,together with the King,conſulted for the remouing of the Turks gariſons,left aboue for the keeping of the ſtrait paſſages of the mountain, & the proſecution of the war. Which *Vladiſlaus*(conſidering the difficultie of the matter,and his ſoldiers neceſſitie) thought it not good further to proſecute,but forthwith to return. But *Huniades* & the Deſpot, the one thirſting after honour,and the other in no leſſe hope,by the good ſucceſſe of this war, to recouer again his loſt kingdome,ſaid, That the Turks were in any caſe to be remoued, the paſſage opened,& the ſparks that yet remained,for feare of raiſing a greater fire,extinguiſhed: oppoſing againſt the difficultie by the king alledged, the inuincible courage of his ſouldiers, whereunto(they ſaid)nothing was impoſſible or difficult. To which opinion the king alſo(leſt he ſhould ſeem to diſtruſt the valor of his captains or ſoldiers) eaſily yeelded, & ſo commanded on Gods name to ſet forward. The firſt that mounted the hil was the kings battel,which by the roughneſſe and abruptneſſe of the mountain hindered, oftentimes ſtayd. But *Huniades* ſtill carried with an earneſt deſire to proſecute the victorie, and leauing nothing vnattempted, in ſearching about found a crooked turning way,whereby he with his men,more eaſily & readily got vp to the top of the mountain,euen with their enemies, vndeſcried or moleſted, by reaſon of the broken couert of the place: from whence they were in good hope eaſily to haue come vnto their enemies. But being come vp to the place they deſired,they found ſuch a deep and wide gaping of the rocke betwixt them and the enemie,as was neither to be paſſed, or filled vp: yet being come verie neere,they attempted by croſſebow ſhot,& great ſtones caſt out of ſlings, and other ſuch engins, to haue remooued the Turkes from their places: who were therewith,and with their vnexpected approch,at the firſt ſo greatly both annoyed and diſcomfited,that they were almoſt at the point to haue forſaken the paſſage, had not *Alis Beg* (but the night before choſen for their General inſtead of *Carambey*) incouraged them and taught them how by ſhrouding themſelues vnder the broken rocks,& parapets with tumultuary labor caſt vp,to ſaue themſelues from the ſhot of their enemies. In the mean time alſo *Huniades*,by another more high & ſteep way,whereby the enemie was alſo to be approched,had ſent vp other companies of ſoldiers,who fighting at too much diſaduantage, were by the Turks eaſily rejected. So at length,ſeeing the vain attempt giuen by himſelfe vpon the top of the hil; and the deſperat danger of the others in climebing the inacceſſible mountain, where one might keep down an hundred,deſpairing to inforce the enemy,he by the Kings command cauſed a retrait to be ſounded,and ſo againe retired down the mountain, to the great rejoycing of the Turks. The next day the winter cold raging,and wants in the armie ſtill more and more increaſing,the King with the reſt of the great commanders entred into conſultation for the haſtning of their returne out of that rough and barren countrey, into places of greater plentie, before the armie were brought into any greater extremitie. Whereunto *Huniades* (giuing place vnto neceſſitie, which always ſuffreth not to be regarded that is ſeemly)now eaſily yeelded: only the Deſpot

Vladiſlaus ſeeketh in vaine to open the paſſage of the mountain Hemus.

ſpake againſt it, blaming them, that hauing taken the Generall, and put their enemies to flight, and victorie now as it were in their hands, they would not proſecute the ſmall remainder of the war, but cowardly turn their backs vnto their vanquiſhed enemies: promiſing that he himſelfe would find mony enough for the prouiding of all things needful for the reliefe of the armie. So ſaid the Popes Legat alſo. But foraſmuch as the wants in the army were great, and the ſoldiers preſently pinched with hunger and cold, they could with no hope of any profit, were it neuer ſo great, be perſuaded to ſtay; openly crying out, that it was not their captaines and lieutenants, which wanted nothing, but them the poore ſoldiers that ſtarued for hunger: as for the Deſpot, that he in hope of recouering his kingdome, perſuaded things impoſſible, and no way to be performed; neither to be any thing mooued with the death of their men or cattel. Need (they ſaid) could not be vanquiſhed: but that when Winter was paſt, they would willingly returne again vnto the ſacred war. In the mean time, Winter raging, and hunger commanding, let vs giue ouer (ſaid they) and depart into more fruitfull places, there to refreſh our bodies, ſpent with labor, cold, and hunger. For which reaſons, the King ſending before his baggage, retyred again by the ſame way he came. Which the Turks from aboue beholding, and ſtrengthned with new ſupplies, followed after them, as after men that had fled: oftentimes aſſailing them in the rereward, and ſetting vpon them ſometimes on the one ſide, ſometimes on the other, with often ſkirmiſhes both did and receiued much harme. Whoſe manner of fight was, to retire when they were themſelues charged, and preſently by great troupes to charge again their enemies, their backs once turned to them; & ſo troubled the army, that it was conſtrained oftentimes to ſtay; beſides that, loded with the rich ſpoile of the enemie, and much baggage, it could not of it ſelfe make any great haſt. Now was it by the way come into a great thicke wood, full of deep bogs and water-courſes, hard to be paſſed thorow: where the reſt of the army going before, in the rereward, at the entrance of the wood were left certaine ſtrong companies of men at arms, as a wall againſt the purſuing enemie: whom the Turks with their readie light horſemen fiercely charged; where betwixt them, in the wood was fought a great fight, and a great tumult raiſed: vnto the noiſe wherof, they which marched before haſtily returning, in ſkirmiſhing, many of them fell into thoſe deepe bogs and queachie places, out of which they could hardly rid themſelues againe. Beſides that, there were many crooked and troubleſome turnings and windings, with ſudden deſcents, ſo ſteepe, as that in going down the ſame, their horſes came tumbling heeles ouer head, and there lay ouerthrown together with their riders: in ſuch ſort, as that to auoyd theſe difficulties, they were oftentimes inforced to fight on foot. In which troubleſome ſkirmiſh about foureſcore of the men at arms were loſt; but of the Turks, beſide them which were ſlain, were taken an hundred and ſeuenty, al whom *Huniades* cauſed to be preſently ſlaine. In this wood the Chriſtians were more troubled with the difficulties of the place, than the enemies aſſaults. Wherefore wants dayly more and more increaſing in the army, which by reaſon of the multitude of their carriages, abundance of their baggage, and often aſſaults of the Turks, was able to make no way; the King for feare his Armie ſhould in ſo long & ſlow a march thorow thoſe troubleſome & barren countries, be conſumed with hunger and other wants, cauſed all the carriages & baggage to be brought into the midſt of the army, and of it, all ſuch things as ſerued rather for burthen than vſe, to be there burnt; and the arms as wel of ſuch ſoldiers as he had there loſt, as of the enemy, to be buried in the ground; and all the weake beaſts that ſerued for burthen, to be killed. So the armie well diſcharged of ſuch vnprofitable burdens, marched much more ſpeedily, neither was ſo much ſubiect vnto the aſſaults of the Turks, as before. And ſo at length by long journies, *Vladiſlaus* with his army arriued at Belgrade, where he was of his ſubiects honorably receiued. And hauing there ſtayd certain days, & well refreſhed his armie, departing thence, & paſſing the riuer Sauus, came to the royal city Buda, where he was of al his ſubjects joyfully receiued alſo: the Legat and *Huniades* going on his right hand, and the Deſpot on the left: after whom followed other colonels, captains, and lieutenants, with their companies; who at the firſt meeting with the citiſens, more than a mile out of the citie, in token of their mutual joy, gaue together ſuch joyfull acclamations & outcries, as that the heauens ſeemed to reſound, and the earth to ſhake with the noyſe thereof. Before the King, at his comming vnto the Citie, went a long companie of the notable Turks Captiues; and next before him, *Carambey*, bound in chaines; vpon whom all mens eyes were fixed. With them were alſo carried the enemies enſignes, and ſuch

The Hungarians much troubled in paſſing a thicke wood.

Vladiſlaus honourably receiued at Buda.

A ſpoiles as had bin ſaued. Behind the King came ***Huniades*** in a triumphant robe, in the midſt betwixt the Legate on the right hand, and the Deſpot on the left, as he that next vnto the King had beſt deſerued the honor of the triumph. Next vnto them followed the deuout Chriſtians, that for the zeale of religion had moſt honorably of their owne charges voluntarie ſerued in thoſe wars: and on both ſides of them the ciuill magiſtrates and beſt of the citizens: behind them came the reſt of the legions, and about them both vpon the right hand and the left, the promiſcuous common people, doubling and redoubling the praiſes of the king, and ***Huniades***. Before all theſe went the prelats and prieſts in ſolemne proceſſion, ſinging hymnes and pſalmes of thankſgiuing vnto almightie God. ***Vladiſlaus*** comming to the gate of the citie, acknowledging God to haue bin the author of ſo great a victorie, alighting from his horſe, on B foot went firſt vnto the cathedral church of our Lady; & there giuing moſt heartie thanks vnto almightie God, hanged vp the enemies enſignes, & part of the ſpoile, in perpetual remembrance of ſo notable a victory: which he afterward cauſed to bee moſt liuely depainted in a faire table of moſt curious worke, & there in the ſame church to be hanged vp; as were alſo the arms of al the notable Chriſtians that ſerued in that moſt famous expedition, which there long time after remained. Which ſolemnities ended, he went to his pallace in his caſtle, and there hauing giuen to euery man, but eſpecially to ***Huniades***, his due commendation, gaue them leaue to depart. Thus the Hungarians, with whom alſo the Polonians in moſt part agree, report of this notable expedition of their king ***Vladiſlaus***: howbeit the Turks (notable diſſemblers of their own loſſes) confeſſing the great ouerthrow, call the Baſſa ſo ouerthrowne, not by C the name of ***Carambey***, but of ***Caſſanes***; and the noble priſoner that was taken, by the name of ***Mechmet Beg***, Sanzacke of Ancyra, ***Amurath*** his ſon in law, and brother to ***Cali-Baſſa***, ***Amurath*** his great councellour, of ſome called ***Carambey*** after the name of his father.

Out of this late ſlaughter of the Turks, where ***Carambey*** was taken, ſcaped that valiant prince and famous warriour ***George Caſtriot*** (of the Turkes called ***Scanderbeg***) as is before declared: whoſe noble minde had long time deſired to breake out of the golden fetters of the Turkiſh thraldom, & to be reuenged of the intollerable iniurie by ***Amurath*** don to his country, his parents, his brethren, & himſelf. Although he had always moſt warily diſſembled the ſame, for feare of the old tirant: being oftentimes ſolicited and animated therunto by ſecret letters and meſſengers from his friends in Epirus, knowing right wel that the leaſt fortune therof had bin vnto him preſent death. But finding no fit means for the accompliſhment thereof, wiſely diſ- D ſembled the ſame, with al the ſhews of loue and loyaltie to ***Amurath*** that might be: vntill that now in this great ouerthrow of the Turks army, vnder the leading of ***Carambey***, and in ſo great a confuſion, he tooke occaſion to put in practiſe what he had long before in his deepe conceit plotted, for the deliuery both of himſelf & his country from the Turkiſh bondage and ſlauery. At which time ***Scanderbeg*** (for ſo from henceforth we cal him) hauing a little before imparted the matter vnto ſome of his truſtie friends and countrymen, no leſſe deſirous of libertie than himſelfe, but eſpecially vnto his nephew ***Ameſa***, the ſon of his brother ***Repoſius***, a yong man of great courage (in great confuſion of the Turkiſh armie, when euery man was glad to ſhift for himſelfe) had euer in his flight a vigilant eye vpon the Baſſaes principal ſecretarie; whom ac- E companied with a few Turks, he with his nephew ***Ameſa***, & other of his faithful friends cloſely followed, as he fled from the ſlaughter: but when he had got the ſecretary with his few followers in place moſt conuenient for his purpoſe, he ſet vpon the Turks and ſlew them euerie one: and carrying the ſecretary away with him faſt bound, when he had brought him whither he thought good, with great threats compelled him (ſore againſt his will) to write counterfeit leters, as from the Baſſa his maſter, vnto the gouernor of Croia, commanding him in ***Amuraths*** name, Forthwith to deliuer vnto ***Scanderbeg***, the new choſen Gouernor, the charge of the city with the garriſon there: cunningly enterlacing many other things in the ſame letters, wherby the matter might ſeem more probable. Which letters ſo extorted, he preſently ſlew the ſecretary, & as many more of the Turks as came in his way, of purpoſe that his doings might be F the longer kept from the knowledge of ***Amurath***, who not hearing what was become of him, might reaſonably coniecture that he was ſlain by the Hungarians among the reſt of the Turks.

Scanderbeg wiſely diſſembleth his deſire for the deliuery of himſelfe and his country

Whileſt the fame of this great ouerthrow is going to Hadrianople, and there filleth the Turks court with ſorrow and heauineſſe, in the mean time ***Scanderbeg*** hauing with him three thouſand Epirot ſouldiers which followed him out of the battell, as men deſirous rather to

ſight for the libertie of themſelues and of their country, than in the quarrell of the Turk, was G
with incredible celeritie come into the vpper countrey of Dibra, in the borders of Epirus,
about ſeuentie miles from Croia: into which country he was moſt ioyfully receiued, where
he ſtaied but one day, and choſe a few of thoſe three hundred which he brought with him, to
wait vpon him when hee went to Croia, as if they had bin his domeſticall ſeruants: the reſt,
with other three hundred luſty ſoldiers, which were then come vnto him out of Dibra, he appointed
to be led by ſecret by-waies thorow the woods and mountaines by perfect guides,
vntill they came ſo nigh Croia as was poſſible for them to come, vnperceiued; and there to
ſtay vntil he might find opportunity to conuey them into the city to oppreſſe the Turkiſh garriſon.
So he with a ſmal company of his followers, as if they had bin his priuat retinew, tooke
the way towards Croia. But when he began to draw neere to the citie, he ſent *Ameſa* before H
with two Seruitors attending vpon him, as if he had bin his Secretarie, to certifie the Gouernor
of his comming. This yong gentleman, as he was of a moſt ſharpe wit, and well ſpoken,
ſo had hee framed his countenance and attire, that he ſeemed to be a naturall Turke: who aſſoon
as he was come into the citie, he went vnto the Gouernor, whom after he had ſaluted according
to the Turkiſh manner, he deliuered his meſſage as from *Scanderbeg* his maſter, with
ſo good grace, & words ſo wel placed, that al he ſaid was verily beleeued for truth. But when
Scanrerbeg himſelfe came, and had deliuered the great commanders letters, the Gouernour
made no further queſtion of the matter, but preſently deliuered vnto him the gouernment of
the citie, and the next day departed out of Croia with all his houſhould towards Hadrianople.
Scanderbeg hauing by this policie got the gouernment of the chiefe citie of Epirus; the I
night following found means in the dead time of the night, to receiue into the city the ſoldiers
of Dibra, who were by this time come, according as he had before appointed: moſt part
of them he placed in moſt conuenient places of the city, and for the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of the
Turkiſh garriſon, he with the reſt, firſt ſet vpon the Turks which kept the watch vpon the wal,
and ſlew them; and afterwards breaking into their priuat houſes, ſlew many of them in their
beds: the Chriſtian citizens alſo taking vp arms at the ſame time, helped to increaſe the ſlaughter
of the Turkes, ſo that in the ſpace of a few houres, there was none of the Turkiſh garriſon
left aliue, except ſome few, which were content to forſake their Mahometan ſuperſtition, and
to become Chriſtians. Many of the Turks might ſo haue ſaued their liues, and would not, chuſing
rather to die, and (as it is reported) alſo to kill themſelues, than to forſake their damnable K
ſuperſtition: ſo ſmall is the regard of life vnto reſolute minds, in what quarrell ſoeuer.

The citie of Croia being thus happily by *Scanderbeg* recouered, wherin appeared both the
greateſt difficulty, & hope of his good or bad ſucceſſe in ſo great an attempt, he preſently ſent
Ameſa backe againe into Dibra, and other ſpeedie meſſengers likewiſe into all the parts of
Epirus, to diſperſe the news, and to ſtir vp the people to take vp arms for the recouerie of their
loſt libertie: but flying Fame, the ſpeedie poſt, had preuented the meſſengers by him ſent, and
alreadie filled euery corner of Epirus with report of *Scanderbeg* his comming, and of all that
was done at Croia. And the oppreſſed Epirots which had long wiſhed to ſee that happie day,
were now vp in arms in euery place, wanting nothing but leaders, whoſe comming although
they greatly deſired, yet they ſtaied not therupon, but running together by heaps (as the manner L
of the common people is in all great tumults) they ſet vpon the Turkes garriſons which
lay abroad in the countrey, and ſlew moſt part of them: whereby it came to paſſe, that no
Turke could ſtirre in the country, but that he was ſnatched vp and ſlaine, ſo that in few dayes
there was not a Turke to be found in Epirus, but ſuch as lay in garriſons in ſtrong townes. In
this furie of the people, the gouernor of Croia, with all his retinue, was by the countrey people
by the way as he went ſet vpon and ſlaine, and all his goods taken as a prey.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus recouered Croia, and ſcoured the countrey, yet to remooue the
garriſons, which *Amurath* had put in euery ſtrong citie; was thought to be a matter of great
importance, and more difficultie. For which purpoſe he commanded thoſe whom he had appointed
for captaines, ſpeedily to repaire vnto Croia with all the power they could make. At M
which time alſo, diuers noble men his nigh kinſmen, reſorted to him with their followers: ſo
that within a few dayes, he had together at Croia twelue thouſand ſouldiers well appointed.
With this armie hee marched from Croia to Petrella, a ſtrong Citie 25 miles diſtant from
Croia, and encamped before it. This citie is ſtrongly ſcituate vpon the top of a ſteepe rockie
mountaine,

Scanderbeg commeth with his armie to Petrella.

A mountaine, as all the reſt of the cities of Epirus be, and was by the Turks well furniſhed with
men, munition, and other things needfull; yet *Scanderbeg* was in good hope that the Turkiſh
garriſon there, terrified with the fortune of the garriſon of Croia, and the ſlaughter of the
Turkes in the countery round about, would be glad to hearken vnto reaſonable conditions.
Which to make prooſe of, aſſoone as he was encamped, he ſent one of thoſe ſouldiers which
had followed him out of Hungarie (a faithful and wiſe fellow) vnto Petrella, to offer vnto the
ſoldiers, That if they would yeeld vp the citie, it ſhould be at their choice, either to continue
in ſeruice with *Scanderbeg*, with whom they ſhould find moſt bountifull entertainment, or elſe
to depart in ſafety with bagge and baggage at their pleaſure, with an honorable reward to be
diuided among them. The ſubtil meſſenger comming thither, and framing his tale according
B to the preſent occaſion, and neceſſitie of the time, firſt declared vnto them, how that *Amurath*
of late vanquiſhed by the Hungarians in a great battel, & looking euery day to be ſet vpon by
diuers other Chriſtian princes, was ſo buſied that he had no leiſure to looke into Epirus, or to
ſend them any reliefe; after that, he in the name of *Scanderbeg* offered them the conditions before
rehearſed, ſetting the ſame forth with many great words; willing them oftentimes by the
way, to conſider the dreadfull miſerie that but the other day befell to the garriſon at Croia,
and other their fellows abroad in the country, whoſe dead bodies as then lay in euery corner
of Epirus for a prey to the hungrie dogs and gredie wolues: which thing was eaſily beleeued
of them of the garriſon, for that diuers of the Turks lately fled out of the country into the citie,
had themſelues ſeene the ſame to be true. The Gouernor hauing a little conſidered of the
matter, was content to giue vp the city, vpon condition that he with the ſoldiers might in ſafetie
C depart with ſuch things as they had; not couenanting vpon any further reward, becauſe it
ſhould not be ſaid that he had ſould the city. Which when *Scanderbeg* had faithfully promiſed
to perform, the Turkiſh Gouernor comming forth with all his garriſon, yeelded vp the city:
and *Scanderbeg* mindfull of his promiſe, gaue vnto them both meat and mony, and ſent them
with a ſufficient conuoy of horſemen in ſafetie out of Epirus.

Petrella yeelded vnto Scanderbeg.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus gained Petrella, he placed therein a conuenient garriſon, and ſet
all things in order as he thought good; but ſuffered none to enter into the city, more than the
appointed garriſon, although it was then very cold and froſtie weather. This done, he preſently
raiſed his campe, & following his good fortune, marched towards Petra-Alba in ſuch haſt,
as if the citie had beene running away from him; well knowing, that though Time be euermore
D precious, yet neuer more than in martiall affairs, wherein the leaſt moment is oftentimes
of ſuch power as to effect or fruſtrat mens greateſt deſignes. Petra-Alba is a citie in the countrey
of Æmathia, diſtant from Petrella three miles, ſtrongly ſcituat vpon the top of a mountaine,
neere vnto the riuer Æmathus. *Scanderbeg* had ſcarcely well encamped himſelfe before
this citie, but that the Gouernour thereof, terrified with the fortune of Croia, and Petrella, offered
to deliuer vp the citie, on the ſame conditions that were granted at Petrella: which beeing
agreed vpon, the citie was forthwith deliuered, and the conditions by *Scanderbeg* faithfully
performed.

Petra-Alba yeelded.

Petra-Alba being thus taken, and all things ſet in order, *Scanderbeg* carried with the courſe
E of his victorie, without delay came to Stelluſa, which is alſo a ſtrong citie of Æmathia, fiftie
miles diſtant from Croia, pleaſantly (as it were of purpoſe) built vpon the top of an high hill,
ſtanding in the midſt of a pleaſant & fruitfull vallie, with great plaines round about it. There
Scanderbeg encamped a little before the going downe of the Sun, and reſted that night. In the
morning he ſent a meſſenger to the citie, with like conditions as were accepted at Petrella and
Petra-Alba: which moſt part of the garriſon ſouldiers of the Turkes would gladly haue accepted,
but that *Deſdrot* the Gouernor of the citie, with ſome few others earneſtly withſtood
the reſt; whereupon a great contention aroſe amongſt the garriſon ſouldiers. But the greater
part deſirous to yeeld vp the citie, when they could by no means perſuade the Gouernor and
thoſe few which took his part, to yeeld to their deſires, they violently ſet vpon him, & deliuered
him with the reſt to *Scanderbeg*, faſt bound, and ſo yeelded vp the city. For which fact, fearing
F to returne to *Amurath*, ſome of them remained with *Scanderbeg*, and afterwards became
Chriſtians: the reſt were either honeſtly prouided for, or elſe wel rewarded & ſuffered to depart
whether they would. All the other weaker places of Epirus wherein any of the Turkiſh
garriſons lay, hearing that the ſtrongeſt cities were already deliuered vnto *Scanderbeg*, in ſhort

Stelluſa yeelded by the garriſon.

time yeelded themſelues vpon like conditions: onely Sfetigrade (otherwiſe called the holy citie) remained in the poſſeſſion of the Turks: which citie is placed in the vpper countrey of Dibra, in the frontiers of Epirus, vpon the top of an high and ſteepe hill, as if it were an Eagles neſt. Vnto this citie came *Scanderbeg* with all his armie: and hauing placed his tents, he began firſt to aſſay if he could gaine it by compoſition, as he had done the reſt: and the rather to moue them by the examples of others, he cauſed his embaſſadors to declare vnto them al that had happened at Croia, Petrella, Petra-Alba, and Stelluſa, ſpecially how he had vſed the garriſon of Stelluſa, which yeelded vnto him, with all bountie and courteſie; and how that on the contrary part hee had the gouernour in bands, with all his wilfull partakers, whome they ſhould preſently ſee executed before their faces, if they forthwith deliuered not the citie. This meſſage troubled the minds of al the garriſon, but eſpecially of the gouernor, ſeeing before his eyes in the wofull example of another man, what might by and by happen vnto himſelfe. Wherefore fearing to deliuer his own opinion and to giue anſwer vnto the embaſſador, for offending the inconſtant multitude and vnknown minds of the people, he firſt entertained the embaſſadors honourably, and afterwards turning himſelfe vnto the citizens and ſoldiers, ſaid vnto them, *Worthie men and moſt faithfull ſouldiers, what is your pleaſure, or what ſhall we anſwer to theſe our enemies demands?* Then one of the ſouldiers that ſtood by (a rough bold ſpirited fellow) vnwilling for his owne part to giue vp the citie, and deeming the gouernor to be of the ſame mind, in that hee had tearmed them worthie and faithfull, and *Scanderbeg* by the name of an enemy, drawing out his ſword, & with his right hand ſhaking it on high, anſwered:

A notable ſpeech of a common ſouldier to the reſt of his fellowes for the holding out of the citie againſt Scanderbeg.

Moſt valiant gouernor, this ſame and the like, ſhal make anſwer for vs. Nothing was to leſſe purpoſe, than with premeditated words to ſeeke to terrifie valiant minds, firſt with the diuers fortune of Croia, and then of Stelluſa: for as the faces and countenances of men are diuers, ſo alſo are their mindes and diſpoſitions. Euery man wiſely directeth his owne actions, according to his own proper humor, & by the ſame plaies the foole or bedlam. We preſcribe no lawes to them of Petrella, nor to them of Stelluſa, neither let them preſcribe any vnto vs. Let neuer ſo baſe examples of cowardly ſlaues euer enter into the thoughts of couragious men: braue mindes diſdaine to imitate other men in their honeſt actions, much leſſe in their cowardiſe. And why? for euery man liueth after his own faſhion. Wherfore let Scanderbeg *proceed, let him kil the gouernor of Stelluſa before our faces, let him ſacrifice our fellow ſoldiers, do you therfore think that we ſhal die in their bodies? ſhal our liuing ſpirits be there extinguiſhed? ſhall our bloud there be ſpilt? But ô happie bodies, O ghoſts of me euer to be reuerenced, which in worthy defence of your libertie & faith haue indifferently contemned gold, ſiluer, death, and torture, and whatſoeuer elſe miſerable worldlings hold deare or diſmall! Wherefore carry thou back again vnto thy maſter this anſwer from a common ſoldier, If he ſeek to impoſe theſe conditions vpon vs, let him once more bare that arm of his, which men of courage feare not ſo much as he thinketh. He may peraduenture inforce vs to theſe conditions of his, if God forſake vs: but aſſuredly perſuade vs vnto them, ſhall he neuer. And yet for al that, your maſter* Scanderbeg *is not the man wee haue long ſince heard him reported to bee, of an honorable mind, eaſie to forgiue, & ſuch a one as wil indifferently iudg betwixt the enemy & himſelf: for why then doth he hold in bonds the gouernor of Stelluſa, for that he freely, iuſtly, and honorably ſtood in defence of his King, his faith and liberty? Why doth he threaten him with death, wheras he hath not deſerned the ſame, although he hath reſolutely offered himſelfe thereunto. for defence of his libertie?*

All they which were preſent, liſtened with great attention to the ſouldiers ſpeech, neither was hee interrupted by any, vntill he had ſaid what he would. Then the ſouldiers thronging about him, and beating their ſwords and targets together, withall gaue a great ſhout, in token that they all approued his ſpeech for anſwere. So the gouernour encouraged with the cheerfulneſſe of his ſouldiers, returned the embaſſadour without other anſwere than that of the common ſouldiers, and preſently appointed euery man to his charge, and with great carefulneſſe ordered all things for the better defence of the citie. But when *Scanderbeg* had heard the anſwer that was ſent him from the citie, deliuered by the mouth of a common ſouldier, hee ſmiled thereat, and ſaid, *Hee is vndoubtedly a valiant ſouldier, if his deeds be anſwerable to his ſpeeches: but if my force faile me not, I will alſo make him happie amongſt the happie ghoſts of them of Stelluſa:* and by and by commanded the gouernour of Stelluſa, with the other captiues, to bee brought before him, and there cauſed ſome of them which were content voluntarily to

Scanderbeg his ſhort anſwer to the ſouldiers ſpeech.

forſake

A forſake their Mahometan ſuperſtition, to be preſently baptized, to the great griefe of the other Turks. *Dſedrot* the gouernor with the reſt, to the terror of the defendants, were in their ſight put to death: wherupon the garriſon ſouldiers with great indignation gaue a great ſhout from the wall, and bitterly railed vpon the Chriſtians.

Deſdrot gouernor of Stelluſa, executed.

Scanderbeg conſidering the ſtrength of the citie, with the time of the yeare, vnfit for ſoldiers to keep the field, for Winter was now grown on, left *Moſes Golemus*, a moſt valiant captain, with a garriſon of three thouſand ſouldiers, to keepe in the Turks garriſon at Sfetigrade, and to defend the borders of Epirus, vntill hee might at more conuenient time himſelfe returne again to the ſiege: and ſo with the reſt of his armie repaired to Croia, when hee had in the ſpace of little more than one month, to his immortall praiſe, recouered his kingdome, and dri- B uen the Turks out of euery corner of Epirus; excepting only Sfetigrade: which citie alſo not long after was by compoſition deliuered vnto him. During all this time, from his firſt comming into Epirus, he neuer ſlept aboue two houres in a night, but with reſtleſſe labor proſecuted his affairs. He euer fought againſt the Turks with his arme bare, and that with ſuch fierceneſſe, that the bloud did oftentimes burſt out of his lips. It is written, that hee with his owne hand ſlew three thouſand Turkes in the time of his warres againſt them. But of his great and worthie victories obtained againſt the two mighty Turkiſh kings, *Amurath*, and *Mahomet* his ſonne, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in due time and place.

After that *Scanderbeg* had thus by great force & policie wrung his inheritance out of *Amuraths* hands, and ſcoured the Turks out of euery corner of Epirus, he proceeded further, and C ouerran part of Macedonia, making ſundrie incurſions into the heart of that countrey, being then in the Turks poſſeſſion, whereby he ſo enriched his ſouldiers, that they deſired of him no better pay. Which was ſo vſuall a thing with this reſtleſſe prince, as that it began to grow into a prouerbe in moſt princes courts, That the ſpoile of *Amurath* his dominions, was *Scanderbegs* reuenewes. Complaint hereof came daily to *Amuraths* court, which the craftie aged ſire (being then troubled with the Hungarian warres) ſeemed at the firſt to make no great account of, but as of that he could eaſily and at his pleaſure remedy; although he was therwith inwardly grieued at the heart. But when the certain report of one miſchiefe as it were in the necke of another, continually ſounded in his eares, and that he ſaw no end to be expected of theſe miſeries, he ſent *Alis Baſſa*, one of his greateſt men of war, with an army of fortie thouſand ſelect D ſouldiers, at once to ſubdue the countrey of Epirus, and to bring it again vnder his obeiſance. The ſetting forth of this great army, vnder the conduct of ſo famous a captain, repleniſhed the minds of the Turkes with ſuch an aſſured hope of victorie, that a man would haue thought *Scanderbeg* had bin already taken, & now brought to execution: yea the common ſoldiers before their ſetting forth, were oftentimes at vain contention for the diuiſion of the ſpoile they were neuer like to haue: *So readie are men to promiſe wonders to themſelues, whileſt they confer but with their own deſires.* And on the other ſide, Fame, the forerunner of great attempts, had filled all the ſmall country of Epirus, with great terror & feare of *Alis Baſſaes* comming. The countrymen with their families fled into the ſtrong cities, & the citizens within their walls fell to fortifying the ſame, and kept continual watch and ward, as if the enemy had euen then lien faſt E by them: the aged men & women commended themſelues and al theirs firſt to God by praiers and then to the courage of the luſtie ſoldiers with tears, as in caſe of extreme peril & danger. Only *Scanderbeg* was nothing moued either with the terrible report of the Baſſaes comming, or the vain feare of his ſubiects; but alwaies kept the ſame cheerfulnes both of countenance & ſpeech, as hee was wont, being well acquainted with the tumult of the Turkiſh wars, and hauing (as was ſuppoſed) certain intelligence before from his ſecret friends in the Turks court, of all *Amuraths* deſignes. So that hauing ſet all things in order for the ſafety of his country, he began to leauie an army at Croia; at which time moſt part of his ſubiects of Epirus, which were able to beare armes, repaired vnto him: the confederat Chriſtian princes alſo, his neigh- F bors, and for moſt part his kinſmen, ſent to him great ſupplies: beſide other deuout and warlike minded Chriſtians, which voluntarily reſorted vnto him from far, in great numbers. Out of which multitude of people he choſe only 8000 horſemen & ſeuen thouſand foot, when as he might haue raiſed a far greater armie: and placing ſome few in garriſons in the frontier cities where hee thought moſt conuenient, al the reſt hee ſent home again to their dwellings. At which his confidencie, his friends, yea and his enemies alſo much maruelled, that when he might

Macedonia ſpoiled by Scanderbeg.

Alis Baſſa with an army of fortie thouſand ſent againſt Scanderbeg.

might haue had ſo many, he would take the field with ſo few: with which ſmal army of fifteen thouſand, he marched from Croia, fourſcore miles to Dybra: where hearing by his eſpials, of the approch of his enemies, after he had with cheerfull ſpeech encouraged his ſoldiers, he encamped with his army in the lower country of Dybra, neere vnto a wood ſide, right in the way where the Baſſa muſt needs paſſe. In which wood, he placed *Gnee Muſachee*, and *Ameſa* in ambuſh with three thouſand men: commanding them to ſtand cloſe, vntill they ſaw hee had throughly ioyned battell with the Baſſa, and then with al their force to breake forth vpon his rereward. The Baſſa marching forward, came and encamped neere vnto *Scanderbeg*, a little before the going downe of the Sun, and there reſted that night, making great ſhew of mirth and ioy, with great fires in euery corner of the campe, as the Turkiſh manner of encamping is. Wheras in *Scanderbegs* campe, all things were ſilent, and no ſhew of any fire at all; for ſo *Scanderbeg* had commanded: which made the Turks the more careleſſe, deeming therby the Chriſtians as good as already diſcouraged. The next morning *Scanderbeg* ranged his army in order of battell, placing *Tanuſius* in the left wing, with fifteen hundred horſmen, and as many foot; and *Moſes* in the right with like number: and leading the main battell himſelfe, the rereward was committed to *Vranacontes* a man renowned in thoſe dayes, both for his grauitie in counſel & for his valour in armes, fit to command or be commanded; but afterwards, amongſt the reſt moſt famous, for the worthie defending of Croia againſt *Amurath*, being then there himſelfe in perſon. *Alis Baſſa* contemning the ſmal number of *Scanderbegs* armie, ſeeing nothing therein to be feared more than the good order thereof, gaue the firſt charge with a ſmall troupe of horſemen: who at the firſt incounter retired, as if they had fled, of purpoſe that the Chriſtians haſtily purſuing their vntimely hope, might diſorder their battel, & ſo giue occaſion to their owne ouerthrow. But by the commandement of *Scanderbeg* (who eaſily perceiued the Baſſaes meaning) their dangerous forwardnes was warily waied, & all with ſafety kept in good order. So both armies comming on, the wings began the battel afreſh, and *Scanderbeg* with great courage bringing on his maine battell in the face of the Baſſa, valiantly charged him. But by that time that the battels were throughly ioyned, *Muſachee* and *Ameſa* ſuddenly iſſued out of the wood, & fiercely ſet vpon the rereward of the Turks army, where they made great ſlaughter, and forced many of the Turks for feare to fly. Thus was the Baſſaes great army driuen to fight both before and behind, being hardly beſet and laid vnto with a ſmall number. The Baſſa had placed his beſt ſouldiers neereſt vnto himſelfe in the main battell, as his moſt aſſured ſtrength and laſt refuge: theſe valiant men ſtood faſt, and renewed the battell, before almoſt loſt. And here *Scanderbegs* fortune was euen at a ſtand: vntill that the well aduiſed and valiant captaine *Vranacontes* hauing receiued the wearied ſoldiers into the rereward, and ſetting al things there in ſafety, accompanied with certain troups of freſh ſoldiers which he brought out of the rereward, brake through the Baſſaes army with ſuch ſlaughter of the Turks, that he made way for *Scanderbeg* and all the reſt of his armie. The Turkes diſcomfited with the inuincible courage of theſe old ſoldiers, & the ſlaughter of their fellows, which lay by heaps wallowing in their own blood, betooke themſelues to flight; whom the Chriſtians fiercely purſued, and ſlew of them two and twenty thouſand: at which time were alſo two thouſand others taken priſoners, with foure and twentie of the Turks enſignes: wheras of the Chriſtians were ſlain not paſt an hundreth & twenty. The enemies tents with all their carriages, were at the ſame time taken alſo. After this great victory, when *Scanderbeg* had made all his ſeuen thouſand footmen, horſmen, by giuing vnto them the horſes of the ſlain Turks, he brake into the enemies country, & entred farre into Macedonia, where he filled the deſires of his ſouldiers with the wealth and ſpoile thereof, ſparing nothing that fire and ſword could deuoure: and ſo with victorie returned to Croia, where he was of his ſubiects ioyfully receiued. *Alis Baſſa* with the remainder of his diſcomfited armie, returned to Hadrianople, and there by *Amurath* was hardly charged of cowardiſe & want of diſcretion, for that he had loſt ſo puiſſant an army to ſo weake an enemy. Whereof when he had cleared himſelfe by the modeſt rehearſal of his former victories, and the teſtimonie of all the other captaines preſent with him in that battel, he was pardoned, and ſo againe receiued into fauour, and that great ouerthrow imputed to the chance of warre.

The battell betwixt Alis Baſſa & Scanderbeg.

A great ſlaughter of the Turks

Amurath in deſpaire.

Amurath hauing receiued two ſo great ouerthrows, firſt from *Huniades* and the Hungarians, and now from *Scanderbeg*, and ſeeing himſelfe elſwhere beſet with ſo many miſchiefs, as that hee could not tell which way to turne himſelfe; tormented with deſpaire, and deſire of re-

uenge,

A uenge, whereof he ſaw ſmall poſſibilitie, fell into ſuch a melancholie paſſion, that ouercome with the darke conceits thereof, he was about to haue become the bloudie executioner of himſelf, had not *Caly Baſſa* by his graue aduice comforted vp his dying ſpirits: by whoſe perſuaſion (contrary to his haughtie nature) he yeelded by his Embaſſadors ſent for the ſame purpoſe, to deſire peace of *Vladiſlaus* King of Hungarie; vſing the exiled Deſpot of Seruia (his father in law) then preſent with the King, as a mean therein. Who at the firſt gaue ſmall credit vnto the Embaſſadors, or vnto ſuch things as they told him, vntil that at length better perſuaded of the true meaning of the Turke, he ſo wrought the matter both with the King and the reſt of the nobilitie, and eſpecially with *Huniades*, that there was an honorable peace concluded. The capitulations whereof were, firſt, That *Amurath* withdrawing all his forces & garB riſons, ſhould clearely depart out of Seruia, and reſtore the ſame vnto the poſſeſſion of *George* the Deſpot, the right lord and owner thereof; deliuering alſo freely vnto him his two ſonnes, *Stephen* and *George*, who bereft of their ſight, he had long time kept in ſtrait priſon. Alſo, That from thenceforth he ſhould make no claime vnto the kingdome of Moldauia, nor to that part of Bulgaria which he had in the laſt wars loſt. And finally, That he ſhould not inuade or moleſt the Hungarians, or any part of their kingdome, during the whole time of that peace: and to pay 40000 duckats for the ranſome of *Carambey*. Vnto which hard conditions, when the Turkiſh tyrant had full ſore againſt his will condiſcended, a peace for ten yeres was forthwith on both parts concluded, and the ſame by ſolemne oath confirmed: King *Vladiſlaus* taking his oath vpon the holy Euangeliſts, and *Amurath* (by his Embaſſadors) vpon their Turkiſh AlcoC ran. This was the moſt honorable peace that euer Chriſtian Prince had before that time made with any of the Turkiſh Kings, and moſt profitable alſo, had it beene with like ſincertie kept, as it was with ſolemnitie confirmed.

Amurath by the perſuaſiō of Calī Baſſa, ſeeketh for peace of king Vladiſlaus

The capitulations of the ten yeres peace concluded betwixt Vladiſlaus and Amurath.

Amurath with this peace deliuered of his greateſt feare, conuerted all his forces againſt the Caramanian king, in reuenge of the iniuries by him done whileſt he was occupied in the Hungarian wars. This King of Caramania knowing himſelfe vnable to withſtand ſo great an enemie, durſt neither meet him in the field, nor truſt himſelfe to the ſtrength of any his cities or ſtrong caſtles, but fled into the mountaines, there fortifying himſelfe more ſure than in any other his ſtrong holds. *Amurath* entring into Caramania, made great ſpoyle in the countrey as he went, and tooke great booties. At laſt comming to Iconium, he layd hard ſiege to the ſame. D The poore King ſeeing his kingdome thus ſpoyled, and his chiefe citie in danger to be loſt, ſent embaſſadors, and with them his wife alſo, which was *Amuraths* ſiſter, to intreat for peace; offering to pay vnto him yerely the double tribute which he before payd, and for the performance thereof to giue his ſonne in hoſtage. Vpon which conditions *Amurath* granted him peace, and ſo returned. In this warre, *Aladin*, *Amuraths* eldeſt ſonne, died, to the great griefe of his aged father, being ſlaine with a fall from his horſe as he was hunting.

Amurath inuadeth Caramania

Old *Amurath* thorowly wearied with continuall warres and other troubles incident vnto reſtleſſe roomes, reſolued now to retire himſelfe to a more priuat and quiet kind of life: and therefore ſent for his ſon *Mahomet*, being then but fifteene yeres old, to whom he voluntarily E reſigned his kingdome, appointing *Caly Baſſa* his tutour, with one *Choſroë* a learned Doctor of their law, to be his truſtie councellors and chiefe directors. And ſo taking with him *Hamze-Beg* one of his noblemen in whom he tooke greateſt pleaſure, departed to Magneſia, and there as a man wearie of the world, gaue himſelfe to a ſolitarie and monaſticall kind of life, in the companie of certaine religious Turkiſh Monks, as they accounted of them.

Many great Kings and Princes, as well Mahometans as Chriſtians, glad before of the Hungarian victorie, were now no leſſe ſorrie to heare of the late concluded peace betwixt King *Vladiſlaus* & the old Sultan *Amurath*: as being of opinion, that the proſecution of this war ſo happily begun, would haue bin the vtter ruin & deſtruction of the Turkiſh kingdom. Wherefore they ſought by all poſſible meanes to induce the young King *Vladiſlaus* to breake the F league he had ſo lately and ſo ſolemnly made with the Turke: eſpecially *Iohn Palæologus* the Emperor of Conſtantinople, did by letters importune the King to remember the confederation he had made with the other Chriſtian princes, for the maintenance of the wars againſt the common enemie of Chriſtianitie: which Princes were now preſt, and readie (as he ſaid) to aſſiſt him with their promiſed aid: adding moreouer, That whereas *Amurath* had diuers times ſought to ioyne with him in amitie and friendſhip, he had vtterly reiected that offer of peace, preferring the vniuerſall profit(like to inſue to al Chriſtendome by that religious war)before his own proper ſecuritie and profit, being for his part in readineſſe to joine his forces with the Kings,if he would preſently enter into armes : which he could neuer doe in better time than now,whileſt *Amurath*,terrified with his late ouerthrow,and ſtil beſet with doubtful war, had drawn his greateſt forces out of Europe into Aſia,in ſuch diſordred haſt, as that it ſhould ſeem he rather fled for feare of his enemies in Europe , than marched to incounter his enemies in Aſia,and now being wearie of all,had betaken himſelfe to a priuat kind of life.To conclude, he requeſted the King,not to leaue him and the other Chriſtian Princes of ſmall power, as a prey to the Turk,who would aſſuredly with all hoſtilitie inuade them,ſo ſoon as he thought himſelfe ſafe from the danger of the Hungarians.At the ſame time alſo, and vpon the departure of the Turks Embaſſadors,for the performance of ſuch things as they had promiſed, letters came from *Francis* the Cardinall of Florence, Generall of the Chriſtian fleet, declaring how that *Amurath* hauing left almoſt none in Europe, was with all the power he could make, gon ouer into Aſia againſt the Caramanian King,leauing a moſt faire occaſion for the Chriſtians,eaſily to recouer whatſoeuer they had before loſt in Europe:& that he was in good time come with his fleet vnto the ſtraits of Helleſpontus,according to promiſe,and there lay ready to imbar the Turks paſſage backe again out of Aſia.Both theſe letters being read in the councell,ſo much moued the King,with all the reſt of the Nobilitie of Hungary there preſent,as that they were neuer more ſorrie or aſhamed for any thing they had done in their liues , than for the league ſo lately with *Amurath* concluded: for why, they ſaw that all the plot they had laid for their immortal glory,was now by this haſty peace that they had made with the Turk, without the good liking and knowledge of their confederats,brought to nought;& that they had thereby moſt ſhamefully deceiued the generall expectation that the Chriſtian commonweale had conceiued of them;& that they,of long time called the protectors of the Chriſtian faith,the defenders of true religion,the reuengers of Chriſts name, & deliuerers of the faithfull nations ; ſhould now be accounted the breakers of the Chriſtian league,men forgetfull of their confederation both with the Latines and the Greeks,contemners of immortality,& louers of their own profit onely.In this doubtfulnes of minds whileſt they ſtood yet thus wauering,*Iulian* the Cardinal & Legat,always an enemie to the peace, and by reaſon of his place,a man in greateſt authoritie next to the King,tooke occaſion to diſſuade the ſame as followeth:

The cunning Speech wherewith Iulian the Cardinall perſuadeth K.Vladiſlaus to break the League hee had before made with Amurath.

If any of you,right Worthie (ſaid he) *ſhall haply maruell that I ſhould ſpeake of breaking the league, and violating our faith, let him firſt vnderſtand, That I at this preſent am to perſuade you to nothing elſe but the faithfull obſeruing both of the one and the other : led with like repentance with you ; repentance,I ſay , not ſorrow , when as I , as from a watch-tower foreſeeing all theſe things which were decreed againſt my will,to ſort alſo contrary to your expectation, am now for the dutie of my legation,and the zeale vnto the Chriſtian religion , inforced with you to doubt : and ſo much the rather, for that at this preſent the queſtion is of the loſſe and hazard of all our honors and credit in common : which except we by common conſent , and woonted valour, endeauour to amend, ô how much is it to be feared,leſt for ſhame neither may you go out of Hungarie, or I returne to Rome, where all things are with moſt deepe judgement cenſured. Conſider, I pray you , into what miſeries this haſtie reſolution hath caſt vs. We haue entred into league with the Turke, an Infidel,to violate our faith with the Chriſtians,and to breake the holy league before made with the great Biſhop and the other Chriſtian Princes our confederats. And that for what, for what profit I ſay? Forſooth, that ſo we might againe recouer Seruia, long before deſtroyed. Verily a ſmall and wofull profit, which may againe in ſhort time be cut off,and depriueth vs of others far greater, and of much longer continuance. For,what can be more fond and inconſiderat,than in our conſultations to haue regard to our priuat profit only,and not to the publicke,without reſpect of religion,honeſtie,or conſcience? It is not demanded of you at this preſent, (right Honourable) what you owe vnto the periured Turke ; but you are by me* Iulian, *the great Biſhops and the confederat Chriſtian Princes Legat,and Agent,before the tribunall ſeat of your owne conſciences, accuſed of breach of faith, breach of league,and breach of promiſe ; and thereof euen by your owne iudgement, rather than by the iudgment of God,or other men, I wil condemne you. Anſwer me, you noble Worthies : After you had happily ſix months made wars againſt the Turks in Bulgaria and the borders of Thracia ; and after that triumphantly returing into Hungarie receiued you not honorable embaſſages from almoſt all Italy,& from the great Emperor, with common rejoycing for your ſo glorious a victorie,and exhortations to continue*

A the warre? We receiued them. Did not you in my preſence, and I the authour thereof, willingly make a
moſt holy league with the Italians and Greeks; That the one ſhould with their aid and power meet you
out of Thracia, and the other with a great fleet ſhould come into the Helleſpontus? We made it. If you
made it, why breaking this, made you another with the Turks? or by what right can you keepe the ſame,
being made? Wherefore if the laſt yeare you made a league with the great Biſhop, (God his Vicar here
on earth) if you be men, if you be in your wits, if you be Chriſtians, this ſecond league is to be broken, leſt
you ſhould violate the firſt, and that a moſt Chriſtian league: which except you do, I feare leſt that as
Iudas betrayed Chriſt, ſo you may ſeeme to betray his Vicar; or that God, whom hitherto you haue alwayes
found preſent, propitious, and fauourable, you ſhall hereafter find him angrie, and an enemie to
your proceedings. And now I pray you tell me, What will you anſwer vnto the Conſtantinopolitan emperor;
B who according to your appointment, hath now with the firſt taken the field, and in ſo great an opportunitie
expecteth but your comming? What will you anſwer the great Biſhop? What the Venetians
and Genowaies, who haue their great fleet readie, as was appointed? What the Burgundians, who for
their zeale vnto the Chriſtian faith and Religion, haue long ſince paſſed the Ocean, and ſo by many dangers
of the ſea now flote in the Helleſpont? Deuiſe (I pray you) if you can, ſome excuſe and colour, that
we may not ſeeme altogether vnlike our ſelues: if out of your hidden skill you can coyne any thing, ſhew
it. You promiſed with the firſt of the Spring, that you would be in the field: and now your ſoldiers both
the Spring and Summer, play; ſo great and ſo wholeſome occaſion paſſing away, thorow your woful ſloth
and negligence. O the great blindneſſe of mens minds! O groſſe cowardiſe! O deteſtable League, made
to the deſtruction of the Commonweale! Some man happ ly will blame me, and aske, why I ſuffered it
with the reſt? I was preſent, I muſt confeſſe; but as much as in me was I intreated it might not be. I diſliked
C it; and (as many of you here preſent can teſtifie) I vtterly condemned it. I was ouercome by the
wiſedome and authoritie of Huniades, and the compaſſion of the Deſpot, leſt (vnhappie man) he ſhould
by my interceſſion ſeeme longer to want his Kingdome: and leſt any man ſhould call me a contemner or
impugner of your good; I, full of ſorrow, and vnwillingly, gaue way: not ignorant, the health of the
Chriſtian Commonweale to be therein weakened, the hope of your immortall glorie extinguiſhed, and
vs all (by your leaue may I ſay it) accounted breakers both of diuine and humane Leagues, forſworne
men, and traitors vnto all good Chriſtians. Wherefore except before the report of our perfidiouſneſſe be
further bruted, we deliuer our ſelues from this infamie, nothing can be greater, or more miſerable, than
our ſhame or villanie. If we will ſo doe, we may not ſo eaſily, as juſtly and religiouſly doe it: Hauing
made reſtitution of Seruia and the captiues, what remaineth elſe for you to doe, (Noble Worthies) but
D to repaire your Armie, to prepare what ſo is needfull for warre, and to keepe your firſt League with
the Chriſtian Princes? And to ſay, That King Vladiſlaus, after his league made with the Greek and Latine
Princes, could not without the conſent of theſe his Confederates and Allies (vnder whoſe good
fortune that Common warre was vndertaken) conclude any thing, eſpecially with the enemies of the
Chriſtian Religion? And that therefore, if any thing were agreed vpon betwixt him and the Turke, it
was fruſtrate, and the firſt league to be ſtood vpon. Who is ſo partiall an eſteemer of mens actions, that
would not eaſily judge, That in caſe faith were giuen to both, it were rather to be kept with a Chriſtian,
than with a Turke; with a Beleeuer, than with an Infidel? Againſt a perfideous enemie it is lawfull (as
they ſay) for a man to vſe all cunning, force, and deceit, deluding craft with craft, and fraud with fraud.
E By craft the Turke firſt paſſed ouer into Europe, by little and little he crept into that kingdome, he neuer
kept faith with any, he grew to this height rather by cunning than by ſtrength: and are you become ſo
blind, as to thinke it better to keepe your promiſe with the Turke, deuoyd of all faith and humanitie, rather
than with the faithfull Chriſtians, and eſpecially the moſt holy Biſhop. All great things are done by
deuice and policie: the Romanes our anceſtors vprightly and religiouſly alwayes kept their leagues with
their confederates, but deluded the deceitfull with their cunning. Cæſar was of opinion, that for ſoueraigntie
the Law was ſometimes to be broken. And Philip (the father and maſter of him that conquered
Aſia) oftentimes vſed cunning and deceit for the deſire of rule: yet were not theſe men called traitors.
It is ſometime lawfull for the commonweale ſake, neither to ſtand to our leagues, neither to keepe
our faith with them that be themſelues faithleſſe. Lawfull it is to breake vnlawfull oathes, and eſpecially
ſuch as are thought to be againſt right, reaſon, and equitie. Was it lawfull for Diomedes, vowing
F for to ſacrifice vnto the gods whomſoeuer he firſt met at his returne into his countrey, to kill his ſonne by
that his vow and oath? Verily it was a great impietie. Wherefore a juſt and lawfull oath is in the judgement
of all men to be religiouſly kept, but ſuch an oath as tendeth not onely vnto priuate, but publique
deſtruction, that ought to be vaine and fruſtrate. Wherefore before our faithleſſe dealing be further

ther ſpread abroad, I beſeech you, worthie men, and thee eſpecially, moſt glorious King, not in any point to G *violate your faith, for the good of the Chriſtian commonweale, giuen vnto the moſt holy Father and the other Chriſtian Princes. The league you haue made with the Greeks and the Latines, faithfully and religiouſly keepe; the expedition by common conſent taken in hand, by the example of your confederates, proſecute; the foundation of immortall glorie by you layd, build vp. Deliuer the Chriſtian Prouinces, oppreſſed with the Turkiſh ſeruitude; ſatisfie the hope conceiued of you, and deceiue not the expectation the world hath now conceiued of you, than which, nothing can be more diſhonorable: make no conſcience of the league you haue made with the Infidell, but thinke it a great impietie and wickedneſſe, to violate the holy league made with the great Biſhop and the other Chriſtian Princes: thinking, that if you ſhould do otherwiſe, God (which he of his mercie forbid) would become of that your falſified faith a moſt ſeuere and ſharpe reuenger: and that you can do nothing more acceptable vnto our Sauior Chriſt, or more glorious* H *to your ſelues, than to deliuer the oppreſſed Chriſtian countries from the cruell ſlauerie & bondage of the Turke. Suffer not this ſo fit an occaſion to ſlip away, than which, a fitter can neuer be giuen. Europe is vnfurniſhed of the Turkes, buſied in the Caramanian warre; their returne is imbarred by the Chriſtians fleet, now in the ſea of Helleſpontus; you need but to go ſee, and as it were to take a view of Thracia, Macedonia, Grecia, and Epirus, there is no enemie there left to oppoſe himſelfe againſt you. Wherefore for God his cauſe, I requeſt you aboue al things to continue the Chriſtian league, and with your happie and victorious forces, to march forward into Macedonia and Thracia, as is before by you with the other Chriſtian Princes your confederates agreed.*

Iulian the Cardinall abſolueth king Vladiſlaus & the reſt, from their oth before giuen to Amurath.

In concluſion, hauing much ſpoken of the authoritie and power of the great Biſhop, he in I his name diſannulled the league whatſoeuer, by the King made with the Turke; and abſolued him, with the reſt whom it might concerne, from the oath they had giuen, and the promiſe they had made. Which ſo well contented both the King and the reſt, that there was now no more queſtion of the oath, or of the lawfulneſſe of the war, but a decree made for the continuation of the league with the other Chriſtian Princes their confederats, and for the proſecution of the wars againſt the Turks, as was with them before agreed: whom, they could now ſay, they were not to forſake, and to leaue them as a prey vnto the Turke their greedy enemy; now for nothing more in danger, than for that, at their requeſt they had taken vp arms in their quarrell. Vnto which vnfortunat Decree, both the Deſpot and ***Huniades*** (the chiefe authors of the late peace betwixt the King and ***Amurath***) eaſily conſented: the Deſpot, induced with K the great hope he had conceiued of the good ſucceſſe of the war; and ***Huniades***, with the deſire of the kingdom of Bulgaria, promiſed vnto him by ***Vladiſlaus***, and by faire Charter alſo (as ſome ſaid) aſſured vnto him.

Of this the Kings reſolution for the breach of the peace with the Turks, notice was with all ſpeed giuen vnto the Conſtantinopolitan Emperour, and ***Francis*** the Florentine Cardinall, then lying with a fleet of ſeuentie gallies at the ſtraits of Helleſpontus: for feare leſt they hearing of the former concluded peace, ſhould alter alſo, or elſe quite deſiſt from their former purpoſes. In the mean time, whileſt theſe things were yet in plotting, the Turke ignorant hereof, according to his promiſe had withdrawne all his garriſons out of Seruia, and other places before agreed vpon in the late concluded peace, reſtoring the ſame vnto the Deſpot & others L the lawfull owners, although it was not done at the verie prefixed day at which it ſhould haue been done. In which time alſo he ſet at libertie great numbers of captiues, and amongſt the reſt, the two blind ſons of the Prince of Seruia; faithfully performing whatſoeuer he had before vpon his religion promiſed in the league with the Chriſtians before concluded, ſo deſirous he was of peace with the Hungarians. Howbeit ***Vladiſlaus***, by the councel of ***Huniades***, detained to his own vſe certain of the ſtrong Holds in Seruia: for which cauſe, ***George*** the Deſpot euer afterwards bore a ſecret grudge againſt ***Huniades***.

Now as King ***Vladiſlaus*** (hauing by the perſuaſion of ***Iulian*** the Cardinall, renounced the league betwixt him & ***Amurath***) was preparing his forces, the fame of the Epirot Prince ***Scanderbeg*** was alſo (by the recouerie of his fathers kingdome of Epirus out of the Turks hands, M and by the late ouerthrow of ***Alis Baſſa***) grown great, euery one ſpeaking of him honour and praiſe. Wherewith ***Vladiſlaus*** moued, & reaſonably perſuaded what a furtherance it would be vnto his haughty deſignes (aiming at no leſſe than the vtter ouerthrow of the Turks kingdome in Europe) if he might vnto his owne great preparations joyne alſo the ſtrength of that ſo fortunate

A tunate a Prince, by the conſent of his Nobilitie, with all ſpeed diſpatched away his Embaſſadors with letters vnto him, certifying him of his honorable purpoſe for the rooting out of the Turks; and in that common cauſe praying his aid againſt ſuch a dangerous and dreadful enemie. The purport whereof here followeth:

Vladiſlaus King of Hungarie and Polonia, vnto the noble *Scanderbeg* Prince of Epirus, greeting.

The Letters of king Vladiſlaus to Scanderbeg.

It may be that ſome good hap hath deferred this our late congratulation vntill this preſent, to the intent we might at this time, together with you, rejoyce in the double ſucceſſe of your proſperitie: firſt, for B *the happie recouerie of your eſtate; and then, for that the ſame hath by your wiſedome and valor, of late been ſo notably defended. Wherefore in this we rejoyce, not only in your behalfe, but in the behalfe of all good Chriſtians, that it hath pleaſed God of his goodneſſe, by your valour to haue giuen ſo great an increaſe and comfort vnto the Chriſtian commonweale: for as much as amongſt others our great euils, the loſſe of the Albanian people hath not bin to be accounted the leaſt, at ſuch time as* Iohn Caſtriot, *a worthie Prince, your father, oppreſſed by* Amurath, *and by the vngrateful Deſtinies taken out of this world, had neither the means to leaue vnto you his kingdome and ſcepter, (as vnto his ſonne, then liuing in his enemies power) either was able yet otherwiſe to prouide for his affaires. And would to God this your father, moſt happie in ſuch a ſonne, might haue till now liued: whoſe felicitie had in that ſurmounted all others, if he might haue ſeene you before his death. For as you ſeeme vnto me aboue all other Princes in the world (without offence be it ſaid) moſt accompliſhed with all the good graces and perfections both of* C *bodie and mind; ſo are you indowed alſo with a certaine diuine and wonderfull fortune: vnder the good conduct whereof, not onely the whole kingdome of Epirus may thinke it ſelfe in ſecuritie, but all the reſt of the other nations alſo, lately by the deteſtable fraud and violence of the* Othoman *Kings diſmembred from the realme of Macedon, may alſo recouer the former beautie of their antient lawes and liberties. For (to ſay nothing of thoſe things which euen from your childhood hauing continually made you enuied, haue heretofore purchaſed vnto you an immortall fame and glorie euen amongſt the Barbarians themſelues) what can be more glorious than this victorie which (as we haue heard, and beleeue) you, to your ſingular admiration, haue obtained, by the ouerthrow and vtter diſcomfiture of* Alis Baſſa, *with his ſo great and mightie a power? But now ô* Scanderbeg *(God ſo appointing it, who in his deepe and ſecret wiſedome hath reſerued you vnto theſe ſo dangerous times, for the Publique good, and comfort* D *of the Chriſtian Commonweale) there offers it ſelfe vnto you an obiect of farre greater glorie, with a faire and fit occaſion for you to reuenge your ſelfe of all the wrongs and iniuries both new and old, by* Amurath *the Turkiſh Sultan done, not in priuate to the perſon of your ſelfe onely, but vnto the whole State and Kingdome of Epirus alſo; and not the domeſticall and ciuile miſeries of your owne Countrey onely, but the publique calamities alſo, and thoſe opprobrious diſgraces done againſt the Chriſtian Faith and Religion in generall, now oppreſſed (I will not ſay extinguiſhed:) and that is, if you with your victorius Forces will ſuccour vs in this extreamitie of our affaires, not yet altogether deſperate. Hereunto doe all the Princes of Hungarie and Polonia, and all other men of courage inuite you;* Iulian *the Cardinall of* S. Angell *intreateth you; with all thoſe deuout and couragious Chriſtians, which long ſince here with vs, and readie in armes, wiſh for nothing more than the preſence of your victorious enſignes. Which ſo faire an occaſion (by God himſelfe now offered) if you refuſe not, will in all mens iudgment be a ſure meane to vanquiſh and ouerthrow our common enemie the Turke, and to driue him quite* E *out of Europe, wrongfully by him of ſo long time poſſeſſed. I need not therefore (as I ſuppoſe) to vſe any kind of perſuaſion vnto you in this cauſe and quarrel, the defence wherof doth purchaſe vnto vs health, light, and libertie: but being neglected, I feare and abhorre to forbode what may enſue thereof. We Chriſtians haue been too too ſlacke and backward in helping one another: the flame hath now wel neere conſumed vs all, whileſt no man thought it would haue come neere himſelfe. What do we ſee of the Greek Empire? What of the Bulgarians and Seruians? yea, myne owne loſſes, and many calamities, alreadie, and yet alſo to be endured, who is able to recount? The braue and moſt valiant Princes, the ſureſt Bulwarkes and defences of the Kingdome of Hungarie, from time to time loſt; and the puiſſant Armies with one and the ſame fatall chance of warre conſumed and brought to nothing, who is able to* F *reckon vp? In ſo much that there is no houſe, wife, nor Matrone, in all Hungarie, which is not in ſome meaſure partaker of this heauineſſe. All this doe the Chriſtian Princes heare of, and yet the miſerable eſtate and condition of their allies can nothing moue any one of them, but ſuffer vs thus as a* *ſacrifice for the reſt,to be on all parts expoſed to the rage and furie of the common and mercileſſe enemie. Only* Eugenius *the moſt holy Biſhop of Rome, and* Philip *Duke of Burgundie,haue not refuſed to beare a part of the burthen of this our afflicted fortune: the one hath ſent hither his Legat* Iulian *the Cardinall,with notable and puiſſant ſuccors; and the other with his fleet at ſea,and come as far as Helleſpontus,ſo much as in him lieth, doth notably hinder the Turks paſſage into Europe. And one other hope there is, not now far from vs, and that is your helpe, whereof we are ſo deſirous: which wee require of you,moued thereunto partly by your valour ſo well knowne,and partly in regard of the imminent peril and common danger of vs all. And albeit we are not ignorant, how euill you may be at leiſure to take ſuch an expedition in hand, for the late troubled eſtate of your affaires, and your new recouered Kingdome,as yet ſcarcely well eſtabliſhed: yet notwithſtanding, let it not with-hold you, or keepe you backe; aſſuring you,that as this expedition cannot be but vnto you moſt honorable, euen ſo this your preſent deſert ſhall not be beſtowed vpon vngratefull and thankleſſe men; but that which you ſhall now firſt begin and vndertake for our preſeruation and dignitie, we will from henceforth and euer continue for your glorie, and for the increaſe of your greatneſſe. Fare you well. From our regall citie of Buda the fourth of Iuly,* 1444.

Of this the Kings motion *Scanderbeg* liking well, and thinking it farre better now in ſo fit a time,with his own forces joined vnto the Hungarians his friends,thorowly to buſie *Amurath*, than in ſhort time after,himſelfe alone to ſuſtaine his whole power; by the general conſent of the Albanian Princes his confederates and allies,yeelded vnto his requeſt; in liberall termes promiſing him by his letters,in good time to be preſent with him with thirtie thouſand good ſoldiers. The copie of which letters I thought it not amiſſe here to ſet downe alſo.

Scanderbeg Prince of the Epirots, vnto *Vladiſlaus* King of Hungarie and Polonia, greeting.

Scanderbeg his anſwere by Letters vnto King Vladiſlaus.

Your Letters, moſt inuincible King, I haue with like joy and contentment receiued: which I in the generall aſſemblie of my Chieftaines hauing cauſed publiquely to be read, there was not any one of them which was not of opinion, but that ſo juſt an occaſion of warre by you offered, was forthwith to be joyfully on our behalfe alſo embraced. And ſo euery man doth both publikely and priuatly affirme, That nothing could haue hapned vnto them more acceptable from God, than that they might by ſome notable ſeruice teſtifie their gratefull minds,and bind vnto them ſo excellent a Prince; as alſo to giue ſo fit ſuccors vnto the Chriſtian Commonweale. In which forwardneſſe of my people I my ſelfe tooke great contentment and pleaſure, both in regard of your ſelfe,and in the behalfe of the publike & common cauſe: ſeeing my men of warre,and all other my ſubjects, of what ſtate or degree ſoeuer (without any perſuaſion vſed on my part) to be ſo cheerefully and couragiouſly minded in defence of the faith,and of the Chriſtian Religion; and ſo well affectioned towards your moſt royall Majeſtie. And to ſay the truth, Who is he (if he be not hatefull vnto God and man) albeit there were no queſtion of Religion,or of the Common danger, that would refuſe ſo juſt and lawfull a war? for ſuch a King, as vnto whom alone we may and ought to attribute, That we Chriſtians do not only raigne, but euen liue, breath, and enjoy the libertie of our ſpeech. Who would not willingly take vp armes, and aduenture himſelfe into moſt manifeſt and certaine danger for the people of Hungarie; by whom in all ages the Chriſtian Commonweale hath with their ſo many trauels, and ſo much of their bloud,beene ſo mightily ſupported and defended? who euen from the verie cradle haue been continuall enemies vnto our enemies, and haue as it were euen vowed themſelues for the honour of the Chriſtian Religion and name. Would God (moſt mightie and redoubted Vladiſlaus*) it had beene in my power to haue brought vnto you ſuch forces to this honourable warre, as were anſwerable vnto my courage and deſire: then happily Europe ſhould not longer lie in this ignominious eſtate, oppreſſed by* Amurath*; neither ſhould the fields of Varna or Baſilia ſo often ſmoke with the bloud of the Hungarians; nor euerie corner of Macedonia with the bloud of the Epirots: both nations being as it were become the expiatorie ſacrifices of others ſinnes and offences; wee all now by turnes periſh, whileſt euerie man thinketh himſelfe borne but for himſelfe alone. But why doe I vnto my ſelfe poure forth theſe vaine complaints. Truly, it neither repenteth mee of my Forces, neither (as I ſuppoſe, if it ſhall pleaſe God that our Forces may once meet and ioyne together in ſo happie a warre) ſhall the Chriſtian Commonweale haue any cauſe to ſorrow or be agrieued with the iſſue and euent of our fortune. For vnto thoſe fifteen thouſand good ſoldiers which late-*

A *ly diſcomfited* Alis Baſſa *on the borders of Macedonia, my purpoſe is to ioyne as many moe vnto them: with all which ſtrength as ſoone as conueniently they may, I wil begin to ſet forward, ready to follow your enſignes to all euents whatſoeuer. And ſo fare you well, from Croia the third of Auguſt* 1444.

Theſe letters being diſpatched away vnto the king, *Scanderbeg* forthwith began to leuy his forces. And firſt of all hee cauſed with new ſupplies to bee made ſtrong, all thoſe companies wherwith hee had ouerthrowne *Alis Baſſa*; not ſuffering any one of them to abſent himſelfe from this expedition. Vnto whom being in number fifteen thouſand, al men of approued valor, he ioyned other fifteen thouſand moe, no leſſe valiant than they: ſuch a power as he neuer either before or after raiſed for the recouerie, or defence of his kingdom. And ſo furniſhed with B all things neceſſarie for ſo honourable a warre, cheerfully ſet forward, accompanied with the vows and hope of all his moſt faithfull and louing ſubiects. But being come to the borders of Seruia, he found the ſtrait and difficult paſſages of that rough country ſhut vp by *George* the Deſpot, (Lord thereof, a man adorned with all the graces of nature, but otherwiſe a wicked damned Atheiſt, and a Chriſtian but in name onely) who but lately before reſtored vnto his kingdom by the helpe of King *Vladiſlaus*, hauing changed his mind, did now mightily cleaue vnto the Turke his ſon in law (by whom he had bin before himſelfe exiled) and in fauour of his querrel, and deſpight of the Hungarians, but ſpecialy of *Huniades*, had ſtopped vp the ways and paſſages wherby *Scanderbeg* was with his armie to paſſe: who by his embaſſador ſent of purpoſe vnto the Deſpot, complained to him of that wrong, putting him in minde of the C periurious dealing of *Amurath* with him, notwithſtanding he had maried his daughter: and of the great pleaſures the Hungarians had done him; of both which he had good proofe: requeſting him if it were but in regard of the common cauſe of Chriſtianity to giue vnto him (as vnto his friend by whom he was neuer in any thing wronged) paſſage; and not to ſtaine himſelfe with the perpetuall note of infamie, That hee being a Chriſtian Prince, and of late ſo mightily oppreſſed by the Turke, ſhould now to the great hinderance of the Chriſtian common weale take part with him, againſt his friends and deliuerers. But what auaileth praiers or requeſts, be they neuer ſo reaſonable, with a man ſet downe to miſchiefe? *Scanderbeg* out of hope by any other meanes to open his way, but by plaine force, reſolued ſo to doe: although it much grieued him to ſpend thoſe forces vpon a Chriſtian Prince, which hee had prepared againſt the D capitall enemie both of himſelfe and all good Chriſtians, old *Amurath* the Turkiſh Sultan.

King Vladiſlaus ſetteth forward againſt the Turkes.

But whileſt hee thus diſcontented, ſpendeth his time with his armie vpon the borders of Seruia, beſet with many difficulties; *Vladiſlaus* prickt forward by the continual ſolicitation of *Iulian* the Cardinall, or elſe drawne on by his owne ineuitable deſtinie, hauing aſſembled a great armie of valiant and couragious ſouldiers out of Hungarie and Polonia (yet in number far inferiour to that he had in the yeare before, for that moſt of the voluntarie ſouldiers were returned home) ſet forward from Segedinum; and in the beginning of Nouember (a time vnfit for warres) paſſed ouer Danubius, and entring into Bulgaria, came to Nicopolis, the Metropoliticall Citie of that kingdome (but then in poſſeſſion of the Turkes) where hee burnt E the ſuburbs thereof, and in that fruitfull countrey thereabouts refreſhed his people three or foure dayes, where hee alſo muſtered his armie, and tooke a view thereof: At which time *Dracula* Vayuod of Valachia, a man of great experience in martiall affaires, being then preſent, and conſidering the ſmall number of the Kings armie, began to perſuade him to retire; ſaying, He had ſufficiently learned by his owne harmes, to deeme aright of the power of the Turkiſh Sultan: who (as hee ſayd) was wont many times to carrie more men with him into the fields into his diſport of hawking and hunting, than was there in the Kings campe: wherefore hee ſhould doe well, not to expoſe thoſe his ſmall forces vnto ſo manifeſt perill, in ſuch vnſeaſonable time of the yeare, but to reſerue them vnto a more fit opportunitie, when hee F might with greater power encounter his puiſſant enemie. This his counſell moſt men of greateſt experience, and not carried away with other priuate reſpects, thought wholeſome: but the Cardinall, author of this fatall warre, extolling with great words the laſt yeares victorie obtained againſt the Turke, with glorious promiſes of great aid, as well by ſea from the Pope, and the Venetians, as by land from the Emperour of Conſtantinople and other Chriſtian Princes; augmenting alſo the great troubles in Aſia, and promiſing an eaſie and happie

ſucceſſe vnto theſe warres in Europe: perſuaded the King that **Dracula** his ſpeech proceeded G
either of ignorance, vpon a ſuperficiall iudgement which hee made of the Kings power there preſent, without regard of further ſtrength from his friends; or elſe of the priuat reſpect of his owne ſecuritie, in regard of a commodious league made a little before betwixt him and the Turke. So that the poore Prince ſeeing his counſell mightily impugned by the Cardinal, and not ſo well taken, as it was meant by him, ſtood in a doubt whether to leaue him to his owne fortune, and himſelfe to his quiet peace, or caſting off the Turkiſh league, to ioyne with the King in this chance of war: but at length reſolued as a martial minded man, preferring the vncertaine glorie of the field before his owne aſſured reſt, ſaid vnto the King:

Seeing that either your princely fortune, which hath euer hitherto fauoured your high attempts; or elſe the hope of friends helpe, which I pray God faile you not at your need; or the ſecret deſignement of H
your deſtinie, vnable to be auoyded, doth draw your maieſtie into a different opinion from me: that your reſolution, which I cannot by reaſonable perſuaſion alter, I will as the ſuddenneſſe of time, and my ſmall abilitie will permit, moſt gladly further.

Dracula aideth Vladiſlaus with his ſonne and 4000 horſe.

And therewith preſented vnto the king, his ſon, with foure thouſand horſemen wel appointed, to ſerue him in thoſe wars; wiſhing vnto him ſuch good ſucceſſe as he himſelfe deſired. Afterward when he was about to take his leaue of the King, he preferred vnto him two luſtie yong men, perfect guides for that conntry, with two horſes of incredible ſwiftneſſe, and with teares ſtanding in his eyes ſaid vnto him:

His laſt farewel vnto the King.

Take this ſmall gift in good part, as a poore refuge to flie vnto, if your fortune hap to faile you, which I tremble to thinke vpon: I pray God they be giuen in vain, and ſo they ſhall if my praiers may preuaile. I
Yet if neceſſitie ſhall inforce you to vſe them, you ſhall find them ſeruiceable at your need.

And ſo taking his laſt farewell of the King, returned into Valachia. *Vladiſlaus* marching on from Nicopolis toward Thracia, tooke many townes and forts by the way, which the Turks for feare yeelded vnto him: at laſt he came to Sumium and Pezechium, where the Turkiſh garriſons truſting as much to the ſtrength of the places, as to their owne valour, ſtood vpon their guard: but the king layed ſiege to both the ſaid places, and took them by aſſault; where he put to ſword fiue thouſand of the Turkes.

The Turks Baſſaes terrified with thoſe vnexpected troubles, aduertiſed *Amurath* thereof, requeſting him to leaue his obſcure life, and to leuie the greateſt power he could in Aſia, for the defence of the Turkiſh kingdome in Europe, which otherwiſe was in ſhort time like to be K
loſt: blaming alſo his diſcretion, for committing the gouernment of ſo great a kingdom to ſo young a Prince as was *Mahomet* his ſonne, vnto whom many of the great captaines did halfe ſcorne to yeeld their due obedience. *Amurath* heerewith awaked, as it had beene out of a dead ſleepe, left his cloiſter, and with great ſpeed gathered a ſtrong armie in Aſia, and came to the ſtraits of Helleſpontus, where hee found the paſſage ſtopped by the Venetian and Popes Gallies, and was therefore at his wits end. But marching alongſt the Sea ſide vnto the ſtraits of Boſphorus, hee there found meanes to conuey ouer his whole armie: vſing therein (as ſome write) the helpe of the Genoway marchants ſhips, paying vnto the Genowayes for the paſſage of euery Turke a ducat, which amounted to the ſumme of an hundred thouſand duckats: or as ſome others affirme, corrupting with great bribes them that were left L
for the defence of this paſſage. And being now got ouer, ioyned his Aſian armie with ſuch other forces as his Baſſaes had in readineſſe in Europe: and ſo marching on ſeuen dayes, encamped within foure miles of Varna, a citie pleaſantly ſtanding vpon the Euxine ſea ſide in Bulgaria, where the Chriſtian armie lay: for *Vladiſlaus* hearing of *Amurath* his comming with ſo great an armie, had retired thither, hauing but a little before taken the ſame Citie of Varna from the Turkes, with Calachrium, Galata, Macropolis, and others vpon the ſea coaſt.

Vpon the firſt report that *Amurath* was with ſuch a mightie armie come ouer the ſtrait of Boſphorus, *Vladiſlaus* who before was in good hope that hee could not poſſibly haue found any paſſage, entered into counſell with the commanders of his armie, what courſe was now M
beſt to take: where many which before had bin moſt forward in that action (preſuming that *Amurath* could by no means haue tranſported his army) was now ſo diſcoraged with the fame of his comming, that they aduiſed the king in time to retire home, & not to oppoſe ſo ſmal an army againſt ſuch a world of people as was reported to follow the Turke. But other captains

A of greater courage, and eſpecially *Huniades*, ſaid, It was not for the Kings honor firſt to inuade
his enemies dominions, and preſently to turn his back vpon the firſt report of their comming;
wiſhing him rather to remember the good fortune of his former warres, and that hee was to
fight againſt the ſame enemie whom he had victoriouſly ouerthrowne the yere before: as for
the multitude of his enemies, he had learned by experience (as he ſaid) not to be moued therewith,
for that it was the manner of the Turkiſh Kings, more to terrifie their enemies with the
ſhew of a huge armie, than with the valour of their ſouldiers, which were nothing to be accounted
of, but as effeminate, in compariſon of the Hungarians. Whereupon the King reſolued
to trie the fortune of the field.

Vladiſlaus vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that *Amurath* the night before encamped within
B foure miles, was now putting his armie in order of battell; committed the ordering of all his
forces vnto the valiant captain *Huniades*: who with great care and induſtrie diſpoſed the ſame,
garding the one ſide of the battell with a fen or mariſh, and the other ſide with cariages, & the
rere ward of his army with a ſteepe hil. Therein politickly prouiding, that the Chriſtian army
being far leſſe than the Turks in number, could not be compaſſed about with the multitude of
their enemies, neither any way charged but afront. The Turks armie approching, began to
ſkirmiſh with the Chriſtians, which manner of fight was long time with great courage maintained
and that with diuers fortune, ſomtime one partie preuailing, and ſometime the other;
but with ſuch ſlaughter on both ſides, that the ground was couered and ſtained with the dead
bodies and bloud of the ſlaine. At length the battell being more cloſely ioyned, the victorie
C began to incline to the Chriſtians, for *Huniades* had moſt valiantly with his Tranſiluanian and
Valachian horſemen, put to flight both the wings of the Turkiſh army, and made great ſlaughter
wherſoeuer he came. Inſomuch that *Amurath* diſmaied with the flight of his ſouldiers,
was about to haue fled himſelfe out of the maine battell, had he not bin ſtaied by a common
ſouldier, who laying hands vpon the raines of his bridle, ſtaied him by force, and ſharpely reproued
him of cowardiſe. The captaines and prelates about the King (whome it had better
beſeemed to haue bin at deuout praiers in their oratories, than in armes at that boudie battell)
encouraged by the proſperous ſucceſſe of *Huniades*, and deſirous to be partakers of that victorie,
fooliſhly left their ſafe ſtations, where they were appointed by him to ſtand faſt, and diſorderedly
purſued the chaſe, leauing that ſide of the battell where they ſtood, open vnto the
D Turks: but they were not gone far, before they were hardly encountred by a great part of the
Turks armie, for ſuch purpoſe placed in a vallie faſt by. In which fight *Leſco* one of the moſt
valiant captaines of the Hungarians was ſlaine; and the Biſhop of Veradium, a better churchman
than ſouldier, and the firſt man that diſordered the battell, ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe by
flight thorow the fenne, was there ſtrangled in the deepe mud, after hee had with his horſe
therein ſtruggled a great while. The Biſhop of Agria, a man of greateſt authoritie with the
King, was at the ſame time alſo loſt, with many other churchmen more. The Cardinall, with
ſome other of the expert captains retiring toward their former ſtandings, were hardly aſſailed
by the Turks, who by the comming in of the king and *Huniades*, were with great ſlaughter forced
to retire, and euen ready to flie. *Amurath* ſeeing the great ſlaughter of his men, and all
E brought into extreme danger, beholding the picture of the crucifix in the diſplaied enſignes
of the voluntarie Chriſtians, pluckt the writing out of his boſome, wherein the late league
was compriſed, and holding it vp in his hand with his eyes caſt vp to heauen, ſaid:

The great battell of Varna, fought between king Vladiſlaus and Amurath.

> *Behold thou crucified Chriſt, this is the league thy Chriſtians in thy name made with me: which they haue without cauſe violated. Now if thou be a God, as they ſay thou art, and as we dreame, reuenge the wrong now done vnto thy name, and mee, and ſhew thy power vpon thy periurious people, who in their deeds denie thee their God.*

Amurath praieth vnto Chriſt.

The King with *Huniades* furiouſly purſued the chaſed Turks, with bloudie execution a great
ſpace: when as the King in his heat hardly perſuaded by *Huniades* to returne againe vnto his
F campe, at his comming thither found the Cardinall *Iulian*, with *Franke*, one of his chiefe captaines,
and others, ouercharged with the Turks, which had againe made head againſt that part
of the Chriſtian armie: and there yet fought couragiouſly, by reaſon of their multitude, being
alſo backt by the Ianizaries, which all this while had ſtood faſt with their old King, as his laſt
and moſt aſſured refuge, but were now come in. There began a moſt cruel and fierce fight: in
the ſucceſſe wherof, the Turks wel ſaw the whole ſtate of their kingdom in Europ to conſiſt,

A cruell fight.

many

Amurath in danger.

King Vladiſlaus ſlaine.

Huniades flieth

many were there ſlain on both ſides: the Turks feeling their loſſe leſſe than indeed it was, by reaſon of their multitude; and the Chriſtians, by reaſon of their courage. A great while the victorie ſtood doubtfull, inſomuch, that at length the Turks began to ſhrinke backe, in that part of the battel where the King and **Huniades** fought. But in the left ſide they preuailed ſo vpon the Chriſtians, that they were euen readie to haue fled. Which when **Huniades** (hauing a vigilant eye vnto euery part of the armie) perceiued, he with ſpeed made thither, and there again with his preſence reſtored the battell almoſt before loſt. Which done, he returned again towards the King, who in the meane time had moſt valiantly repulſed a great number of the Turks, & now was come vnto the Ianizaries, **Amurath** his laſt hope. There was to be ſeene a thouſand manners of death, whilſt both the armies fought more like wild beaſts in their rage and fury, than wary and politick ſoldiers. In this confuſed medly, the yong king **Vladiſlaus** with greater courage than care of himſelfe, brake into the battell of the Ianizaries: at which time, **Amurath** himſelfe was by a valiant Frenchman a Knight of the Roads, firſt wounded with a pike, and after aſſailed with his ſword, and had there ended his days, but that he was ſpeedily reſcued by his guard, by whom this worthy knight after great proofe of his valour was there ſlain in the midſt of his enemies. **Vladiſlaus** being got alſo in among them, valiantly performed al the parts of a worthie ſoldier, till ſuch time as his horſe being ſlain vnder him, he was forthwith oppreſſed by the multitude of his enemies and ſlain: his head being ſtrucke off by **Ferizes**, one of the old Ianizaries, was by him preſented vnto **Amurath**, who commanded it preſently to be put vpon the point of a launce, and proclamation to be made, that it was the head of the Chriſtian king: which was afterwards ſo caried thorow the principal cities of Macedonia, and Grecia, as a trophey of the Turks victorie. **Huniades** after he had in vaine giuen diuers braue attempts, to haue reſcued the Kings bodie, retired with a few Valachian horſemen, and ſeeing no hope of better hap (for all the Chriſtians being diſcouraged with the death of the king, had now taken themſelues to flight) gaue place to neceſſitie, and reſeruing himſelf to his future fortune, fled ouer the mountains, into the thicke woods, from whence with much difficultie he got ouer Danubius into Valachia, and was there (as ſome write) by **Dracula** Prince of that country taken priſoner: In reuenge wherof, after he was inlarged by the Hungarians, he ſo aided **Danus** againſt **Dracula**, that in fine, **Dracula** & his ſon were both ſlaine, and **Danus** placed in his roome. **Iulian** the Cardinall flying out of the battell, was found by that worthie man **Gregorie Sanoſe**, lying in the deſart forreſt by the way ſide, mortally wounded, and halfe ſtripped, by whom he was in few words ſharply reproued, as the wicked author of that perfidious war, and there left giuing vp the ghoſt. Many of the Chriſtians which fled out of that battel, fel into the enemies hands, & ſo were ſlain: but greater was the number of them which were drowned in the fens, or that by hunger and cold periſhed in the woods, or elſe after long and miſerable trauell, finding no paſſage ouer Danubius, fell at length into the Turkiſh ſlauery. This great and mortall battel, as it was with diuers fortune fought, ſo was alſo the preſent report thereof moſt vncertaine: for the Turks that were at the firſt put to flight, reported in the towns there by as they fled, that the battel was loſt: & they which had al the day endured the fight, not altogether aſſured of the victory, & not knowing whether the Hungarians had retired themſelues, whilſt they ſuſpected ſome deceit in the Kings campe, by reaſon of the great ſilence therin, ſtaid two daies before they durſt aduenture to take the ſpoile therof. The number of them that were ſlain in this battell, as wel on the one ſide as the other, was great; as the mounts and little hils, raiſed of the bones & bodies of them that were there buried, do yet at this day declare. Howbeit, the certaine number was not knowne, ſome reporting moe, ſome fewer. Yet in this moſt agree, that of the Chriſtian armie, being not great, ſcarce the third part eſcaped: and that the Turks bought this victorie with a farre greater loſſe, although it was of them leſſe felt, by reaſon of their multitude; made leſſe by that ſlaughter, as they that report leaſt thereof affirme, by thirtie thouſand. Which may well ſeem rather to be ſo, for that **Amurath** after this victorie, neither farther proſecuted the ſame, nor ſhewed any tokens of ioy at al, but became very melancholie & ſad, and being of them about him demanded, Why after ſo great a victory, he was no merrier; anſwered, That he wiſhed not at ſo great price, to gain many ſuch victories. Yet in memoriall thereof he erected a great pillar, in the ſame place where the king was ſlain, with an inſcription of all that was then don: which, as they ſay, is yet there to be ſeen at this day. This bloudie battel was fought neere vnto Varna (in antient time called

Dioniſio-

A Dioniſiopolis (a place fatall vnto many great warriours, and therefore of them euen yet abhorred) the tenth day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord Chriſt 1444.

Some maliciouſly impute the loſſe of the battel of Varna, and the death of the King, to *Huniades*, who (as they ſaid) fled out of this battell with ten thouſand horſemen: but this report agreeth not with the noble diſpoſition of that couragious and valiant captaine, but ſeemeth rather to haue beene deuiſed, to excuſe the foule dealing of the clergie; who as moſt hiſtories beare witneſſe, were the chiefe authors both of the warre, and of the lamentable calamitie enſuing thereof.

From the battell of Varna *Amurath* returned to Hadrianople, hauing loſt the greateſt part of his beſt ſouldiers, and there with great ſolemnitie buried the bodie of *Carazia*, vice-roy of B Europe, ſlaine in that battell: and then calling together all his nobilitie, againe reſigned vp his kingdome vnto his ſonne *Mahomet*, retiring himſelfe vnto Magneſia, where he liued a ſolitarie and priuate life, hauing before vowed ſo to doe, in the great feare he was in, in the battell againſt *Vladiſlaus*: but after he had a ſhort time performed theſe his vowes in that obſcure & melancholie life, he weary thereof, as ſome ſuppoſe, as not a little reuiued with the late victorie, or elſe ſolicited by *Cali Baſſa* and other great counſellors, returned againe to Hadrianople, reſuming vnto himſelfe the gouernment of the kingdome, to the great diſcontentment of his ambitious ſonne *Mahomet*.

Amurath to performe his vow, reſigneth his kingdome to his ſon Mahomet, which he in ſhort time after taketh again vpon him.

Scanderbeg yet ſticking in the borders of Seruia, and hearing what had happened vnto king *Vladiſlaus* with the Hungarians, was therewith exceedingly grieued: and hauing now loſt the hope whereupon hee had vndertaken that ſo great an expedition, reſolued to returne home C againe into Epirus. Neuertheleſſe, to be in ſome part reuenged of the wicked Deſpot, he with his armie forcibly brake into his countrey, and there did exceeding great harme. In his returning homewards, great numbers of Hungarians and Polonians, lately eſcaped from the ſlaughter at Varna, repaired vnto him, whom he (according to the extremitie of their fortune) courteouſly relieued: and furniſhing them with ſuch things as they wanted, prouided them ſhipping to Raguſa, from whence they might in ſafetie returne into their owne countries. Thus by the diſloyaltie and trecherie of the faithleſſe Deſpot of Seruia, was *Scanderbeg* ſtaid from being preſent at the bloudie battell of Varna, to the vnſpeakable loſſe of the Chriſtian common-weale: for it could not be, but that ſo many thouſands of moſt reſolute and expert ſouldiers, vnder the leading of ſo worthie a chiefetaine, muſt needs haue done much for the gai- D ning of the victorie. And what more glorious ſight could a man haue wiſhed for, than to haue ſeene ſo puiſſant an armie in the field againſt the ſworne enemy of Chriſtendome, directed by two ſuch valiant and renowned chiefetaines, as neuer, either before or ſince their time, was ſeene the like in one battell againſt the enemie of Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion? They were both men of inuincible courage, of exceeding ſtrength and agilitie of bodie, wiſe, prudent, and ſubtill; both of long time exerciſed in the Turks warres, the greateſt terror of that nation, and moſt worthie champions of the Chriſtian religion, beeing therein both very zealous. Of the two, *Huniades* was at that time accounted the better commander, and the more politicke, as a man of greater experience in martiall affaires, by reaſon of his greater yeares; which was wel counteruailed by *Scanderbeg* his perpetuall good fortune, ſtill as it were atten- E ding vpon him, and by his experience afterwards gotten, as in the courſe of his Hiſtorie well appeareth.

The compariſon betwixt Huniades and Scanderbeg.

Amurarh aduertiſed of theſe proceedings of *Scanderbeg*, as alſo of the great harmes by him done in Macedonia, and that the frontiers of his dominions bordering vpon Epirus, were by his furie vtterly waſted and ſpoiled, and his people there for moſt part ſlaine, and that the reſt had for feare forſaken their dwellings, and left the country deſolate and vnpeopled: was therwith exceedingly moued. Yet for ſo much as he ſtill ſtood in dread of the Hungarians, and was now himſelfe clogged with yeares, and therefore more deſirous of reſt; conſidering alſo the young yeares of his eldeſt ſonne *Mahomet*, as yet vnfit for the gouernment of ſo great F and troubleſome a kingdome; with the perpetuall good fortune of *Scanderbeg*, and malice of *Huniades*: he thought it not beſt to conuert all his forces vpon him, but to proue if he could cunningly draw him into ſome diſhonourable peace for a time, that ſo he might afterwards at leiſure bee the better reuenged of him. For which cauſe he writ vnto him letters, mixt with grieuous threats, and ſome feigned courteſies, as followeth:

Amurath

Amurath Othoman, King of the Turks, and Emperour of the Eaſt, to the moſt ingratefull *Scanderbeg*, wiſheth neither health nor welfare.

The ſullen and craftie letters of Amurath to Scanderbeg.

I neuer wanted honourable preferments to beſtow vpon thee all the while thou diddeſt liue in my court, of all others moſt vnkind Scanderbeg, *but now I want wordes wherewith to ſpeake vnto thee, thou haſt ſo highly offended my minde, and touched mine honour, that I know not in diſcretion what words to vſe vnto thee, but of late one of my domeſticall ſeruants. For neither will hard ſpeech mollifie the naturall fierceneſſe of thy proud diſpoſition, neither art thou worthie of better, which haſt farre exceeded all hoſtilitie. And becauſe thou wouldeſt omit no occaſion to prouoke mee, haſt of late proceeded to that point of follie, that thou haſt had thine owne affaires, nnd the welfare of thine owne ſubiects, in ſmall regard, by confederating thy ſelfe in armes with the Hungarians againſt mee. It grieueth mee to rehearſe other thy vnkindneſſe, and as it were to touch thoſe ſores, if my minde would euer ſuffer mee to forget the ſame, or that thine ſo manifold and horrible treaſons, and ſtrange examples of a moſt vnthankfull mind, were to be couered with ſilence. Yet I thought good to aduertiſe thee (although perhaps too late) leaſt that thy vnſtaied heat doe vntimely ouerthrow thee, with thy vnluckie kingdom: and then thou wouldeſt make humble confeßion of thy long tranſgreßion, when thou haſt loſt thy ſelfe, and left no hope of refuge in thy deſperate eſtate. Wee haue hitherto ſufficiently ſuffered thy manifold iniuries: thou haſt ſufficiently prouoked the maieſtie of the* Othoman *Empire, with wrong and contumelious deſpight; and I with patience haue born all theſe thy contempts. Thinkeſt thou that my armie by thee betraied vnto the Hungarians ſhall bee vnreuenged? Thinkeſt thou that ſo many cities and townes in Epirus, by thee rent from the bodie of my Empire, with my garriſons there ſlaine, ſhall bee forgotten? Or thinkeſt thou with thy late committed outrages to eſcape my reuenging hands? Remember the deſtruction of mine armie vnder* Alis Baſſa; *the waſting and burning of my dominions; and lately, the Hungarian warres, by thee ſo farre as in thee was, countenanced; with the territories of* George, *the Deſpot of Seruia, my father in law by thee ſpoiled. At length amend thou graceleſſe man, and expect not further, whether my indignation will breake out. Let not theſe trifling allurements of thy good fortune, ſo puffe vp thy fooliſh deſires, and ſharpen thy conceits, that thy miſerable fortunes afterwards may moue euen thy greateſt enemies, or my ſelfe to compaßion. I would thou ſhouldeſt at length remember my courteſies (if any ſparke of humanitie remain in thy ſauage nature) and make me not longer ſorrie, that I haue ſo euill beſtowed the ſame. And although it is not the part of an honorable mind, to rehearſe thoſe things which we haue in bountie beſtowed vpon any man; yet is it the token of a moſt vnthankful nature, ſo eaſily to forget all kindnes paſt, as to need to be put in remembrance thereof: wherfore* Scanderbeg, *I cannot but bewaile thy hap, and lament thine eſtate: For to let paſſe the health of thy ſoule (which thou a very reprobate, eſteemeſt as nothiug) not to ſpeake of the lawes of* Mahomet *by thee deſpiſed, and the holy Prophet by thee contemned, for the zeale thou haſt vnto the Chriſtian ſuperſtition: what haſt thou (which now holdeſt thy poore and baſe kingdome in ſuch price) euer wanted at my hands of all thoſe things which moſt delight the deſires of men? Diddeſt thou euer want armour, horſes, a great traine of followers and ſeruants, mony, or other ſuperfluities, the allurements of al ages? Or diddeſt thou want matter to exerciſe thy valour, for encreaſe of thine honour? Waſt thou euer denied preferments, dignities, and honours of all ſorts fit for thine age, both at home and abroad? Was any man in my court dearer vnto mee, than thy ſelfe? what growing wit, not of ſtrangers only, but of them that were neerſt vnto my ſelfe, was better welcome vnto me than thine? With what carefull inſtruction did I cauſe thee to be brought vp? When thou waſt deliuered vnto mee almoſt a child, I daily cheriſhed and encreaſed thy hoped towardlineſſe, with learning and nurture: I haue at all times honoured thee with rich rewards, magnificall praiſes, and honours of the field (which of all worthie things is moſt glorious) ſo that in all feats of armes no ſouldier was to me better knowne, or captaine of mee more honoured. For all theſe great benefits,* Scanderbeg, *thou now ſheweſt thy ſelfe ſuch an one, that I may be thought not to haue brought vp ſuch a man as I hoped for, but a very ſerpent in mine owne boſome. But the loue of thy countrey did moue thee; which if thou hadſt asked of me, would I haue denied the ſame vnto thee? which (if thou doeſt well remember) I ſo oftentimes voluntarily profered vnto thee? But thou hadeſt rather to gaine the ſame by treacherie, than to receiue it at my hands of courteſie. So thine be it therefore on God his name, and that with my very good will. And verily, according to my accuſtomed clemency towards all them whom I haue once well knowne, and beene familiarly acquainted*

A *with, I now pardon thee all thou haſt offended me; not for any thy preſent deſerts, which are none, but becauſe in this publique enmitie it pleaſeth me to remember my former kindneſſe in priuat towards thee, and thy faithfulneſſe ſometimes in my affaires; eſpecially for that the time was much longer wherein thou ſerued'ſt me, than the time wherein thou haſt offended me. Croia and thy fathers Kingdome (although thou haſt gained the ſame by foule treacherie) I giue vnto thee, vpon condition thou willingly reſtore vnto me the other townes of Epirus, which by no right belong vnto thee, but are myne by Law of Armes, by my ſelfe honourably woon. Whatſoeuer thou haſt taken from my father in law the Prince of Seruia, thou ſhalt forthwith reſtore, and make him an honorable recompence for the other harmes thou haſt done vnto him; and for euer hereafter, thou ſhalt as well forbeare to offer violence to any our friends, as to ayd any our enemies. So ſhalt thou for euer auoyd the diſpleaſure of the Turkes, and ſtand* B *in my good grace and fauour, as thou haſt done before: except thou hadſt rather (being taught by thine owne harmes) then in vaine crie for mercie, when thy furious outrage ſhall haue me in perſon an implacable reuenger. Thou knoweſt thy Forces, thou knoweſt the ſtrength of myne Armes; thou haſt before thyne eyes the freſh example of the Hungarian fortune, ſo that thou needeſt no further admonitions. Yet I would thou ſhouldeſt write at large, what thou intendeſt to do. Thou mayſt alſo confer with* Ayradin *our ſeruant, our truſtie and faithfull meſſenger, of whom thou ſhalt vnderſtand more than are in theſe letters compriſed. Farewell if thou be wiſe. From Hadrianople.*

To theſe letters *Scanderbeg* gaue ſmall credit, and leſſe to the meſſenger, but leaſt of all to the old Fox himſelfe, whome hee well knew to haue written nothing ſimply of good meaning, but onely to gaine a ceſſation from warres, vntill he might at better leiſure ſet vpon C him with all his Forces. Wherefore calling *Ayradin* the meſſenger vnto him, whom he rather held for a craftie Spie, than an honourable Embaſſadour, after he had many times both publiquely and priuately diſcourſed with him, ſo farre forth as was poſſible to ſound the depth of his comming, and had alſo further entertained him with all honourable courteſies, he ſhewed him all his campe, with the ſtrength thereof; which he did, becauſe he would not haue the craftie meſſenger to thinke, that hee was any thing affraid of his Maſters greatneſſe. And at laſt, greatly complaining of *Amurath* his cruell and perfidious dealing againſt his father, his brethren, and himſelfe, he ſent him away with ſuch anſwere in writing, as followeth:

D

The Souldier of Chriſt Ieſus, *George Caſtriot*, ſyrnamed *Scanderbeg*, Prince of Epirus, to *Amurath Othoman* King of the Turks ſendeth greeting.

The reſolute anſwer of Scanderbeg to Amurath his letters.

Thou haſt in times paſt, as thou writeſt, exceeded me in many kinds of courteſies; and at this preſent I will exceed thee in modeſt and temperate ſpeech: for I thinke there is no greater token of a baſe mind, than not to be able to forbeare to giue railing and opprobrious words, euen vnto our moſt mortall enemies. Wherefore we haue with patience receiued and ſeen both thy letters and meſſenger; and to confeſſe a truth, they haue miniſtred vnto me greater occaſion of ſmile, than choler: whileſt at the firſt thou ſhameſt not to accuſe me of much ingratitude and treaſon: and preſently following a wilder paſſion, ſeemeſt E *carefull of my ſoules health, being ignorant of thyne owne eſtate, as a ſtudious defender of a moſt damnable errour. And at laſt, keeping neither law of armes, nor orderly courſe anſwering to our affaires, do'ſt moſt inſolently and vnaduiſedly, as a valiant conqueror to his vanquiſhed enemie, propound many conditions of peace, of ſuch qualitie and condition, that myne eares ſcorne to heare the ſame. Truly* Amurath, *although thy immoderate rayling might moue a man of greateſt patience to intemperate ſpeech; yet I impute the ſame partly to thy great age, and partly to the waiwardneſſe of thy nature, and the reſt, to thy conceiued griefe, which I know thou canſt hardly moderate: and the rather, for that I haue not ſet downe my ſelfe to contend with thee in foule and vnſeemely language, but with armes, and the iuſt furie of war. Yet I pray thee, wherefore do'ſt thou ſo exclaime againſt me before God and man? as though* F *thou hadſt firſt ſuffered wrong and iniurie from me, and that thou hadſt not in truth firſt done the ſame. Do'ſt thou call my neceſſarie departing, a perfidious treacherie? my natiue countrey by my policie and valour recouered; do'ſt thou obiect to me as a villanie? obiect the ſame ſtill and ſpare not; charge me with ſuch crimes for euer, I care not. The long catalogue of thy kindneſſe towards me, which thou rehearſeſt, I could willingly remember, if it drew not with it the wofull remembrance of my greateſt miſeries: which* *if they were to be compared together, the greatneſſe of thy good deſerts would be ouerwhelmed with the multitude of thy greater tyrannies; which I had rather thou ſhouldeſt count with thy ſelfe, than bluſh whileſt I repeat them. Euery man that knoweth them, may maruell how I had power to endure them, or that thou waſt not wearie at laſt of thy crueltie and ſecret hatred. Thou tookeſt away my fathers Kingdome by force; thou diddeſt murther my brethren, and my ſelfe thou didſt moſt wickedly vow to death, when I little feared any ſuch cruelty: & doth it now ſeeme ſtrange to thee, ô* Amurath, *that an inuincible mind, deſirous of libertie, ſhould ſeek to break out of the bonds of ſo great & inſolent ſlauerie? How long at length didſt thou thinke I would endure thy proud bondage? which for all that, I many yeres endured, and refuſed not thy command. I expoſed my ſelfe to publique and priuat dangers, both voluntary, and by thy deſignement: ſpeeches were giuen out dayly by thy ſelfe, and the admonition of my friends concerning thy deepe treacherie, was rife in myne eares: Yet for all that, of long time I ſimply beleeued both thy words and deeds to haue been deuoyd of all fraud, vntill thy cankered malice began too too apparently to ſhew it ſelfe; then began I alſo to gloſe with thee, wholly metamorphoſed into thyne owne conceits, until I found occaſion to recouer my libertie. Wherefore there is no cauſe thou ſhouldeſt now grieue, if thou be wel beaten with thyne owne rod. But theſe are but trifles,* Amurath, *in compariſon of thoſe things which I haue layd vp in hope and reſolution of mind. Therefore hereafter ſurceaſe thyne angrie threats, and tel not vs of the Hungarian fortune: euery man hath his own reſolution, and euery man a particular gouernor of his actions; and ſo will we with patience endure ſuch fortune as it ſhall pleaſe God to appoynt vs. In the meane time, for direction of our affaires we will not requeſt councell of our enemies, nor peace of thee, but victorie by the helpe of God. Farewell. From our Campe.*

When *Amurath* had read theſe letters, and further conferred with *Ayradin*, he was filled with wrath and indignation, wondering at the great reſolution of ſo ſmall a Prince, preſently caſting in his mind (as was thought) the difficultie of that warre. Yet becauſe he would giue no token of feare, oftentimes ſtroking his white beard, as his manner was when he was thorowly angrie, with a diſſembled cheerefulneſſe of countenance ſayd,

Amurath his paſſionat ſpeech in his rage, againſt Scanderbeg.

Thou deſireſt (wicked man) thou deſireſt the title of ſome honorable death: We will giue it thee (beleeue vs.) we will giue it thee; we our ſelues will be preſent at the buriall of our foſter child, and in perſon (though vnbidden) honour the funerall pompe of the great King of Epirus, that thou ſhalt neuer complaine among the damned ghoſts, that thou diddeſt die a baſe or obſcure kind of death.

And for becauſe at that time, by reaſon of many great occurrents, he could not conuert his whole power into Epirus, he ſent *Feriſes* one of his beſt Captaines, with nine thouſand choice horſemen, to keepe *Scanderbeg* in doing, and to ſpoyle his countrey ſo much as he could. Which was with ſuch ſpeed done, as it was thought *Feriſes* would haue bin in the heart of Epirus, before *Scanderbeg* could haue had knowledge of his comming. But for all his haſt, he could not ſo preuent the flying fame, but that *Scanderbeg* hearing thereof, and hauing his men alwayes in readineſſe, placed fifteene hundred good footmen in ambuſh vpon the rough mountaines leading into the valley of Mouea, whereby the Turks muſt needs paſſe into Epirus, placing alſo two thouſand horſemen, as he thought moſt fit and conuenient for his purpoſe. *Feriſes* deſcending from the high mountaines full of woods and buſhes, by the broken and ſtonie wayes leading into the valley, was in that troubleſome and intricate paſſage fiercely ſet vpon by *Scanderbegs* readie footmen, ſuddenly ariſing out of ambuſh, where the Turkes hauing no vſe of their horſes, but rather by them encombered, were ſlaine as Deere encloſed in a toyle. In this conflict ſeuen hundred and ſixtie Turks were taken priſoners, and a great number ſlaine, and *Feriſes* himſelfe, with the reſt, enforced to flie, crying ſtill out as he fled, *Better ſome ſaued, than all loſt.* *Scanderbeg* hauing thus ouerthrowne *Feriſes*, purſued him into Macedonia, and with the ſpoyle there taken, rewarded his ſoldiers, as he had alſo many times before done.

Amurath grieued with the ouerthrow of *Feriſes*, preſently ſent *Muſtapha* a politique and hardie captaine, with a new ſupplie of ſix thouſand ſoldiers, to take the charge from *Feriſes*; commanding him in no caſe, nor vpon any occaſion to enter farre into Epirus: but onely to burn and ſpoyle the frontiers thereof, ſaying, That he would account it for good ſeruice, if he might but vnderſtand, that the trees and fruits of that country had felt the force of his anger.

A *Muſtapha* hauing receiued his charge, when he began to draw neere the borders of Epirus, continually ſent out ſcouts before his armie, to ſee if the paſſages were cleere, & ſo warily entred the vallie of Mocrea, where *Ferizes* not long before was ouerthrowne. In this fruitful vallie, being the frontiers of *Scanderbegs* dominion, *Muſtapha* intrenched his armie, vpon the riſing of a hill, and placed eſpials vpon the top of the high mountains round about, by them to diſcouer the comming of the enemie, and to haue notice thereof by ſignes into the campe: then reſeruing 4000 horſemen with himſelfe, to keepe his campe, he ſent forth the reſt of his armie, about 9000 horſemen, to forrage and ſpoyle the country; giuing charge before, That euerie man vpon pain of death ſhould preſently retyre to the campe, vpon ſigne giuen from thence, as to a place of ſafetie and refuge. The Turkiſh armie ranging ouer that rich and pleaſant vallie, B burnt the villages, cut down trees, ſpoyled the Vineyards, and made hauocke of all things that fire and ſword could deſtroy; in that point executing *Amuraths* command to the ful. At length *Scanderbeg* drawing neere to this vallie with 4000 horſemen and 1000 foot, was aduertiſed of all the enemies doings, by an Epirot ſoldier, who grieuouſly wounded, had hardly eſcaped from the Turks: of him he vnderſtood, what number of Turks were burning and deſtroying the country, of the campe alſo kept by *Muſtapha*, and how eſpials were placed vpon the mountains. *Scanderbeg* hauing well conſidered *Muſtapha* his warie proceedings, and ſeeing no policie to be vſed againſt ſo careful an enemie, reſolued to vanquiſh him by plaine force, by aſſaulting him ſuddenly in his trenches, before his diſperſed ſoldiers could repaire to the campe: and hauing to this purpoſe with effectuall perſuaſions incouraged the minds of his valiant ſoldiers, readie of themſelues to follow him thorow all dangers; when he had ſet C all things in order for the aſſaulting of the enemies campe, ſpeedily entred the vallie, and was preſently diſcouered by the enemies eſpials, from the tops of the high hils, and a ſigne giuen to the camp, from whence alſo the appointed ſigne was giuen for the diſperſed ſoldiers to retire: but moſt of them being ſtrayd from the campe, & buſied in taking the ſpoile of the country, heard not or ſaw not the ſigne giuen. Thoſe which were within the hearing therof, retired to the campe, and at their heeles followed *Scanderbegs* ſouldiers, terrifying them with calling vpon the name of *Scanderbeg*. Many of the Turks were by the Chriſtians ſlain in the entrance of the campe, with their booties in their hands, and preſently the Turks trenches were now by *Scanderbegs* ſouldiers couragiouſly aſſaulted, and the Turks beaten from the top of them. They hauing won the trenches, preuailed ſtil vpon the Turks, filling all their camp with feare D and ſlaughter. There was no vſe of ſhot in that medly, by reaſon of the ſtraitnes of the place, for they were now come to pell mell. *Muſtapha* ſeeing his ſouldiers put to the worſt, and that the campe was not long to be defended, tooke horſe and fled by the port which was furtheſt from the enemie. The reſt of the ſoldiers fled alſo, making ſuch poore ſhift for themſelues as they could. In this battel 5000 Turks were ſlain, and but 300 taken; for the Chriſtians inraged with the ſpoyle of the countrey, reuenged themſelues with the ſlaughter of the Turkes. *Scanderbeg* loſt in this conflict but 20 horſemen and 50 footmen. The reſt of the Turks armie diſperſed in the country, hearing the tumult in the camp, miſdoubting the fortune of their fellows, fled alſo; yet many of them were in that flight purſued and ſlaine.

Scanderbeg his valiant reſolution for the aſſaulting of Muſtapha in his campe.

E After this ouerthrow, *Muſtapha* returning to *Amurath*, the better to excuſe the misfortune of himſelfe and the other captains before ſent, greatly commended the inuincible courage of *Scanderbeg*, and his wonderful skil in feats of arms; perſuading *Amurath*, either to ſend a greater power againſt him, or elſe none at all: ſaying, That to ſend ſuch ſmall armies, was but to miniſter matter to the increaſe of his glorie, and the infamie of the Turks; and to vſe policie againſt him, the maſter of policie, was but meere follie. It grieued *Amurath* to heare the prayſes of his enemie, although he knew the ſame to be true, by the continuall fortune he had always againſt his great captains, *Alis Baſſa*, *Ferizes*, and *Muſtapha*: wherefore he determined for a time not to prouoke him further, but to ſuffer him to liue in peace: yet commanded *Muſtapha* to renew his armie for defence of the borders of his kingdom towards Epirus, againſt the F innouation of *Scanderbeg*; but ſtraitly commanding him, in no caſe to inuade any part of Epirus, neither vpon any occaſion offered, or conceiued hope of victorie, to joyne battell with *Scanderbeg*, for feare of ſuch euill ſucceſſe as before.

At this time alſo the Grecians of Peloponeſus (now called Morea) hauing before fortified the ſtrait of Corinth from ſea to ſea, with a perpetuall wall which they called Hexamylum, and deepe trenches about ſix miles in length, had alſo built fiue ſtrong Caſtles in the ſame wall, of purpoſe to take away all paſſage by land into that rich countrey, and began now not only to denie the yerely tribute they were woont to pay vnto the Turkiſh King, but alſo to inuade ſuch Princes of Achaia their neighbors, as were content to remaine ſtill the Turks tributaries: among whom *Neceus* Prince of Athens, and *Turacan* gouernor of Theſſalia for *Amurath*, ceaſed not by continuall complaints to incenſe him againſt them of Peloponeſus. Who hauing his armie in readineſſe, although it was now Winter, and he himſelfe very aged, ſet forward from Hadrianople, and marching thorow Theſſalia, came into Achaia, where moſt of the Grecians were before fled for feare into Peloponeſus. So paſſing on with his armie, he came to the ſtrait commonly called Iſtmus, where the famous city of Corinth ſomtime ſtood; and there incamped his armie neere vnto the ſtrong wal and caſtles, lately before built, hoping that the Grecians of Peloponeſus, terrified with the multitude of his army, would without reſiſtance ſubmit themſelues: but when he perceiued them to ſtand vpon their guard, and to truſt to their ſtrength, he laid batterie to the wall foure dayes, and hauing made it ſaultable, brake thorow the ſame with his army. The Grecians hauing loſt the wal(their chiefe ſtrength) fled, ſome to one ſtrong hold, and ſome to another, as their fortune led them; the Turkes at their pleaſure ſpoyling and deſtroying that rich and pleaſant country, ſometime the nurſe of worthie wits, and famous captaines: where they found wonderfull riches, and tooke priſoners without number; in ſo much that they were ſould among the Turkes at moſt vile price. There *Amurath* for his pleaſure cruelly ſacrificed ſix hundred Chriſtian captiues, to the helliſh ghoſt of his dead father *Mahomet*: and afterwards impoſing a yerely tribute vpon the Peloponeſians, and other Grecian princes now yeelding againe vnto him, as an induction to their further ſlauerie vnder the Turkiſh tyrannie, he returned, taking in his way the two famous cities of Patras and Sicyone. Thus the rich country of Peloponeſus, and all the reſt of Grecia, ſometime fountaine of all learning and ciuilitie, became tributarie to the barbarous & cruell Turks, in the yeare of our Lord 1445.

Peloponeſus made tributarie vnto the Turke.

Old *Amurath* now clogged with yeares, and wearied with long wars, was content to take his reſt at Hadrianople: during which time, *Bajazet* the ſon of *Mahomet* was borne in the yere 1446; who afterwards of long time with great glorie gouerned the Turkiſh empire at Conſtantinople, as in his place ſhall appeare.

Bajazet borne. 1446.

The Hungarians after the calamitie of Varna (wherein they had together with *Vladiſlaus* their king, loſt moſt part of their nobilitie alſo) in a generall aſſemblie of their States, made choice of *Ladiſlaus* the poſthumos ſon of *Albertus*(and then in keeping of *Frederick* the emperor)for their king. But foraſmuch as he being then but a child of fiue yeres old, & choſen king more for the remembrance of the Emperor *Sigiſmund* his grandfather, and *Albertus* his father, and the good hope conceiued of hm, than for any other thing preſently to be expected from him; it was thought more than neceſſary, to make choice of ſome notable and worthie man, vnto whom they might, during the time of the kings minoritie, commit the gouernment and protection of that ſo great and turbulent a kingdome. Many there were in that honorable aſſemblie well thought of, both of themſelues and others; but ſuch was the glorie and valor of *Huniades*, and ſo great the remembrance of his worthie deſerts, both of the kingdom of Hungarie, & of the Chriſtian commonweale in general, as without his ſeeking, procured vnto him the general fauor and ſuffrages of all; yea ſo far, that euen they which moſt enuied at his honor(as ouerſhadowing their own)were glad to hold their peace, for that without him, it was commonly thought the ſtate of that ſhaken kingdom could not long ſtand: So by the general conſent of al the States there aſſembled, he was with the great applauſe of the people choſen and proclaimed gouernor, as of all others moſt fit for ſo great & heauie a charge: wherein he quietly ſpent ſome few yeres in deciding of ciuil controuerſies, in compoſing the quarrells of the nobilitie; not forgetting in the meane time the indifferent adminiſtration of juſtice to all men, ending many controuerſies far from the place of judgment, and that without all ſuſpition of corruption; vſing therein ſuch expedition & neuerwearied patience in hearing euery mans cauſe, that ſitting, going, ſtanding, riding, he diſpatched many great and waightie matters: alwayes ſhewing himſelfe affable and curteous, as well vnto them of the poorer ſort, as others of greater calling, that had any ſutes vnto him. So that it was of him truly ſaid, That no man was than he vnto his friends more friendly, or vnto his enemies more croſſe and contrarie.

Huniades in the minoritie of the king, choſen gouernor of all the Kingdome of Hungarie.

A In time of peace he was alwayes prouiding for war, heaping vp great treaſure, and ſuch other
things, as without which the wars could not be maintained. But aboue all things, he was care-
full of the good agreement of the Nobilitie, taking great paines in reconciling their diſplea-
ſures conceiued one againſt another, and that with ſuch dexterity, as that he was both of them
and others generally both beloued and feared.

1448.

Huniades goeth againſt the Turkes.

In the meane time, whileſt he was thus buſied in diſpoſing of the ciuill affaires of the com-
monweale, & the adminiſtration of iuſtice, he was aduertiſed by his eſpials, how that the old
Sultan *Amurath* was raiſing great forces both in Aſia & Europe, and that as the common fame
went, for the inuaſion of Hungarie. For the withſtanding whereof, *Huniades* not vnprouided,
as neuer vnmindfull of ſo dangerous an enemie, or of any thing more deſirous, than in ſome
B ſort to be reuenged of the great loſſe receiued at Varna; in the fourth yeare of his gouerne-
ment, and in the yeare of our Lord 1448, accompanied with moſt part of the Nobilitie of
Hungarie, and the Vayuod of Valachia his friend and confederat, ſet forward againſt the Turk
with an army of two and twentie thouſand choice ſoldiers. So hauing paſſed the riuer Tibiſ-
cus, or Teiſe, and trauelling thorow Valachia, a little beneath where the riuer Moraua run-
ning thorow Seruia, falleth into Danubius, he with moſt part of his armie paſſed that great
riuer; the reſt in the mean time taking paſſage ouer at a towne called Seuerin. *Huniades* with
his armie being thus gotten ouer into Seruia, by his Embaſſadors requeſted the Deſpot, as he
had oftentimes before, to put himſelfe into that moſt Chriſtian warre; and remembring the
great benefits he had receiued from the Hungarians, not to ſhew himſelfe therefore vngrate-
full, than which, nothing could be more diſhonorable: and to encourage him the more, certi-
C fied him both of his owne ſtrength, and of the ayd brought vnto him by the Vayuod; & that
for the good ſucceſſe of the warre there wanted nothing but his preſence and direction, with
ſuch troupes of light horſemen as he knew he had alwayes in readineſſe: wherewith hee re-
queſted him with all ſpeed to follow him. But he being a man of no religion, and better af-
fected vnto the Turke than *Huniades*, the more cleanly to withdraw himſelfe from this war,
pretended many excuſes: firſt, The league he had with *Amurath* his ſonne in law, which he
ſaid he might not breake, for feare that if things chanced not wel, he might ſo fall again head-
long into his old miſerie: then, The vnſeaſonableneſſe of the time, Autumne being now paſt;
which difficulties in thoſe cold countries they had to their coſt too much felt in the late war:
D Theſe with many other ſuch like he alledged in excuſe that he came not: but the truth was,
the malice of the man, grieued to ſee *Huniades* preferred before him in the gouernment of the
kingdome, & diſdaining to ſerue vnder his enſignes, being himſelf Deſpot and King of Seruia,
diſcended of the royal race, was the cauſe of his backwardnes: ſo that blinded with enuie, he
could not there rightly judge of himſelf, or what was fit for him in this caſe to haue done. But
Huniades angrie with his vnkinde anſwer, threatned him with his owne hands to be reuenged
vpon him, and to giue away his kingdome to one more worthie thereof than he, if he ſhould
with victorie returne. So paſſing thorow Seruia, as thorow the enemies country, he came into
Bulgaria. After whoſe departure, the falſe Deſpot by ſpeedie meſſengers aduertiſed *Amurath*
both of the comming of the Hungarians, and of their ſtrength; yea he certified him of euerie
days march, and how that *Huniades* was but with a ſmall companie of his owne, and ſome
weake ſupplies of the Vayuods, come ouer Danubius: whom if he ſhould not preſently
meet, but ſuffer him to come on further, and ſo with his armie to get betwixt him and home,
E he might ſo ſhut him in, as that he ſhould be hardly able to ſcape his hands. All which he did,
partly for enuie, partly to gratifie the Turke, and the better to keepe friendſhip with him. So
Amurath not contemning the Deſpots councell, ſuffered *Huniades* without reſiſtance to enter
a great way into his country, and comming two or three days march behind him, ſo ſtopped
the paſſage, as that he could not poſſibly retyre, but that he muſt needs fight. And now they
were both come vnto a great plain in Bulgaria, which the Hungarians call Rigomezu; and the
Raſcians, the Plaine of Coſſoua: through the middeſt whereof the riuer Schichniza riſing
out of the mountaines of Illyria, running, at length falleth into Moroua, and ſo into Danubi-
F us. This Plain is about 20 miles in length, & in bredth fiue, enuironed on each ſide with plea-
ſant mountaines in manner of a Theatre, the riuer and low valleys at the foot of the moun-
taines being garniſhed with many countrey villages and towns. Into this fatall Plaine, when as
the Hungarians firſt, and after them the Turkes, were as into a place of combat deſcended;

The falſe Deſpot giueth Amurath knowledge both of Huniades his comming, and of his ſtrength.

The ominous ſpeech of an old woman.

an old woman dwelling in one of the villages vpon the riuer ſide faſt by, where both armies G
of late paſſed, with a loud voice cried out, *O, how much I now feare the hard fortune of the Hungarians.*
When as their paſſage ouer by the foord troubled the riuer but one day, and the Turks
three; by the ſmall number of their armie, diuining their enſuing ouerthrow. In the midſt
almoſt of this Plain ariſeth a ſmall hill, by the foot whereof the riuer Schichniza runneth, not
far beyond which, toward the head of the Plaine, was a certain tower built like a pyramides,
in memoriall of *Amurath* the firſt of that name, and third king of the Turks, there ſlain: which
tower *Amurath* fearing leſt *Huniades* marching before him, ſhould take, and ſo become vnto
him ominous, (for in ſuch matters the Turks are verie ſuperſtitious) he made haſt, of purpoſe
to joyne battell with him before he ſhould come to the foreſaid tower. *Huniades* being come
vnto the hill, eaſily ariſing in the midſt of the Plaine, there incamped, expecting the comming H
of *Scanderbeg*; who was ſaid (according to appointment made betwixt him and *Huniades*) to
be euery houre comming. Wherefore *Amurath* fearing leſt the tower faſt by ſhould be taken,
and the enemies power ſtrengthned by the comming of the Albanois, prouoked *Huniades* to
battell; who ſtill refuſed the ſame in hope of his friends comming: which made the Turke
more fierce vpon him, ſeeking by all means he could to draw him to battell, but eſpecially by
cutting him off from water and forrage: for why, he much preſumed vpon his multitude, hauing
in his armie about foureſcore thouſand fighting men. At length *Huniades*, for want of water
and other neceſſaries enforced to fight, vpon S. *Lukes* day, being then Thurſeday, commanded
his ſoldiers to make themſelues readie: and diuiding his Armie into two and thirtie
battalions, in ſuch order as he meant to giue battell, the more to encourage them, ſpake vnto I
them as followeth:

The notable ſpeech of Huniades to encourage his ſouldiers againſt the Turks.

At length (valiant ſouldiers, and fellowes in Armes) the day is come, wherein you may reuenge
that diſhonour, or diſgrace, you receiued in the battell of Varna; and recouer your former credit of
conſtancie, and praiſe, if you will play the men. The Enemie oppoſeth againſt you but theſe reliques
of his armies, by you ſo often broken and diſcomfited, who although they be in number more than you,
yet are they in hope, quarrell and ſtrength, farre inferiour. For what can they hope for, which fight
not for their owne, but for another mans Kingdome? and in conquering, procure vnto themſelues nothing
but bondage in this life, and torment in the life to come, and in both, perpetuall and endleſſe miſerie?
Whereas you on the other ſide, howſoeuer the matter fall out, fighting for your owne Kingdome, K
your Children, your Countrey, your Houſes, your Altars, may aſſuredly hope for in both, eternall and
vndoubted bliſſe. You haue alſo farre greater cauſe to fight, as they which if they do not valiantly ouercome
their enemies, are in danger, with themſelues, to loſe alſo all that theirs is. The ſtrength of both is
ſufficiently tried. Once we vnfortunatly joyned battell at Varna, where if we might make exchange of
our fortunes there found, haply the Turke would make choice of our flight, rather than of the great
ſlaughter of his owne men: who being not able to ouertake vs, was there notably beaten, with the loſſe of
a great part of his Armie: whoſe great loſſe there receiued, might counteruaile our diſhonour; although
the loſſe, he ſuffered perforce, but we our flight by choice. But of that our ouerthrow, the angrie
Powers from aboue (willing to reuenge our breach of Faith) were, as I verily beleeue, the cauſe, rather
than our cowardiſe: for euen there, all the authours of that perfideous dealing, euen there I ſay, euerie L
one receiued the juſt guerdon of their treacherie. Whereas we, againſt our wills drawne into that woful
Warre, by the mercie of God yet liue with you, preſerued for the defence of the Chriſtian Commonweale,
and eſpecially of Hungarie, that it ſhould not be ouer-runne with the Turkiſh power and rage.
The number of your enemies is not of you to be feared, when as you with few, haue oftentimes learned to
fight with their multitudes, and carried away from them the victorie. Hitherto we haue rather fought
by the power of God than man, and in the name of Chriſt Ieſus our Sauiour, haue eaſily ouerthrowne
their prophane battels. Which way ſoeuer we haue turned our ſelues in his moſt mightie name, we haue
with our victorious Armes opened our way, for that we fought vnder the leading and conduct of the
Higheſt, whoſe helpe we haue alwayes felt at hand: neither ſhall we thereof this day faile, if we be mindfull
of his forepaſſed loue towards vs, and of our woonted valour. God is always preſent with them that M
in his juſt quarrell fight couragiouſly. Hereunto is joyned the ſafe manner of our fight, by reaſon of our
men at armes, and barbed horſes, who like a ſtrong caſtle cannot eaſily be ouerthrowne. Our battalions
are ſuch as may eaſily be commanded, and yet ſtrong enough againſt our enemies: whereas their great
multitude breedeth but confuſion. We haue many notable and forcible Engines of warre, which they

A *haue not. Beſides that, euery houre we looke for the worthie* Scanderbeg *his comming. The danger is not ſo great, as that we ſhould feare it; or ſo little, as that we ſhould contemne it. Backe againe without victorie we may not goe, for that our armie is hardly by the ſtraits of theſe mountaines to be led: and if the way were neuer ſo eaſie, yet without doing that we came for, and glorie with victorie, we may not retire. Vnto the valiant, all difficulties are propounded. Wherefore ſith this your laſt labour is at hand, wherein the whole ſtrength of the Turks may be for euer cut off, I pray and beſeech you (fellow ſouldiers) by that God vnder whoſe power and protection wee ſerue, and by the loue you beare vnto your countrey, your wiues, your children, and wealth, vpon the ſignall of battell giuen, ſo to ſhew your valour, as men reſolued to be fully reuenged of the iniuries by that filthie and wicked nation done both to God and man: and eſpecially of the loſſe receiued at Varna. Wee loſt there a deuout King, who for our ſafetie, and* B *for the breach of his faith, ſacrificed himſelfe; by which royall ſacrifice, that diuine anger is appeaſed: vnto whoſe ghoſt I beſeech you, in this battel to make an honorable ſacrifice. Not forgetting withal, to reuenge the death of other worthie men in that battell ſlaine. This feare of the Turkes, is at once and euen this day to be cut off; and ſo, as that it ſhould neuer grow againe: and the kingdome of Hungarie, ſo to be deliuered from the danger of moſt cruell ſlauerie, as that it may by this dayes worke gaine perpetuall reſt and glorie, vnto the enioying of the pleaſures both of this life, and of the life to come. Wherefore (worthie ſouldiers) we muſt fight with all our force, for that our honour ſo requireth, our profit ſo perſuadeth, and neceſſitie enforceth. As for our ſelues, howſoeuer the matter fall out, all ſhal be with vs well: If victorie, perpetuall bliſſe and happineſſe ſhall thereby be procured vnto our countrey, and immortall fame vnto our ſelues: but if we ſhall be ouercome, here we ſhall be moſt honourably buried in the bed of fame, to liue in heauen with God and his Saints for euer. Wherefore I beſeech you* C *ſo to fight, as men reſolutely ſet downe to ouercome, or if it ſhould otherwiſe fall out, as men reſolued honourably to die.*

With this the Generals ſpeech, all the minds of the hearers were greatly enflamed, & they all by his words, and their owne hot deſires, ſufficiently encouraged: neither did old *Amurath* on the other ſide with leſſe care or diligence marſhal his army, & incourage his Turks, ſparing neither cheerful ſpeech, glorious promiſes, or ſeuere command: whoſe armie being brought into the plain, & ranged in order of battel, filled the ſame from the one ſide to the other, euen vnto the very mountains, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Chriſtians: and ſo about nine a clock in the morning ſet forward. *Huniades* had from the hill where hee lay, ſent downe both the D wings of his army, & had afront on both ſides before them, ſtretched out certain long troups of light horſemen to begin the ſkirmiſh. In the midſt betwixt both he had placed *Zechel*, his ſiſters ſon, with a ſtrong ſquare battel of men at armes: and ſuch as he had kept aloft vpon the hill for reſcues, he had compaſſed about with his waggons, as with trenches. The ſignal of the battell being giuen, the fierce and courageous ſouldiers on both ſides, with cheerefull minds, began at firſt to ſkirmiſh a far off: but afterwards fortune as it were fawning vpon both ſides, and their courage thereupon increaſing, they began with greater force to fight foot to foot, & hand to hand. Which hot fight continued about three houres: at length the Turks battel was put to the worſt, by *Benedict Loſonicus*, who had the leading of the right wing; and ſo likewiſe E in the left alſo by *Stephen Bamffi*, who with great ſlaughter had notably foyled the great Baſſa of Europe, ſtill preſſing hard & deſperatly vpon him. Which diſcomfiture of his men in both wings *Amurath* beholding, preſently ſent in ſtrong ſupplies, & in both places renewed the battell: wherby the Hungarian and Valachian light horſemen, before wearied, were enforced to retire vnto the men at armes; who ſerred together, and ſtanding as a ſtrong wall, eaſily repulſed the greateſt aſſaults of the Turks. In which maner of fight many were on both ſides ſlain, but far more of the Turks, by reaſon they were neither ſo well horſed nor armed as were the Chriſtians. *Huniades* in the meane time with the artillerie from the hill, did the Turkes great harme: which *Amurath* perceiuing, drew as cloſe vnto the hill as hee could, by that mean ſauing his people (ſo much as was poſſible) out of the danger of the artillerie, mounted on high F aboue them in ſuch ſort, as that it could little or nothing now hurt them: which *Huniades* from the hil beholding, came downe to the releefe of his men, ſending new ſupplies to both wings, ſometime encouraging them with cheerfull ſpeech, and ſometime with his own moſt valiant hand: vnto the wearie he ſent reliefe, the fearful he encouraged, them that were flying he ſtaied, and where he ſaw the enemies faſteſt comming on, there was he himſelfe preſent to meet them:

The great battell of Coſſoua fought betwixt Amurath and Huniades three daies together.

them, omitting nothing that was of a good General or worthy ſoldier to be done. The valiant he commended, the coward he reproued, & as a careful Generall, was himſelfe in euery place preſent. Whereby the battell became ſo fierce and terrible, that in euery place a man might haue ſeen all fouly ſoiled with bloud and the quarrey of the dead. *Amurath* in like manner ſtil ſent in new ſupplies, nothing diſcouraged with the great loſſe of his men, preſuming vpon his multitude, as fully reſolued orderly to fight, & to make vſe of all his forces, in hope at length by continual ſending in of freſh ſupplies, to wearie his enemies, whom he ſaw he could not by force ouercome. Wherin he was not deceiued, for one battalion of the Hungarians was oftentimes enforced to wearie foure or fiue of the Turks before they could be relieued, they came on ſo faſt. That day they dined & ſupt in the battell refreſhing themſelues with ſuch ſhort repaſt as they could eat ſtanding, going, or riding. The Turks armie was that day in euery place put to the worſt, and oftentimes with great ſlaughter enforced by the Hungarians to retire almoſt vnto their trenches; yet was the battell ſtil againe renewed, & ſo fought on both ſides, as well appeared they were reſolued either to ouercome, or there to die. This cruel fight maintained all the day, was by the comming on of the night ended, both the armies retiring into their owne trenches, but with purpoſe the next day to renew the battel, & not to giue ouer or turn their backs, til the victory were by dint of ſword determined. So with little reſt, was that night ſpent, both armies keeping moſt diligent watch, all carefully expecting the next day, as by battel therin to trie whether they ſhould liue or die. It was yet ſcarce faire day, when both the armies in good order ready ranged began again the battel: which at the firſt, was not by the Hungarians fought with ſuch force and courage as before, for there was none of them which had not the day before ſpent their whole ſtrength; wheras there was yet 40000 of the Turks which either had not fought at all, or but lightly skirmiſhed. Yet *Huniades* exhorted his ſouldiers, not by fainthearted cowardiſe to breake off the courſe of the victorie by them the day before ſo wel begun, but couragiouſly to proſecute the ſame; beſeeching them not to be now wanting vnto themſelues & their country, but to remember how they had fought the day before, how many thouſands of their enemies they had ſlain, & not now at laſt to giue ouer, & ſo ſhamefully to fruſtrat all the pains and dangers by them before endured: for that they (as hee ſaid) were to be thought worthy of honor, not which began, but which ended honorable actions. He wiſht them to ſet before their eyes the calamities like to enſue, if they ſhould as cowards be ouercome: firſt, the diuers kinds of death and torture; then, the ſlauerie of their wiues and children; the rauiſhment of their virgins and matrons; and laſt of all, the vtter deſtruction of their kingdom, with the horrible confuſion of all things, as wel ſacred as prophane: al which were by that one daies labor (ſaid he) to be auoided. And therfore he beſought them for the loue both of God and man, with their wonted valor, that day to ſet at liberty for euer, themſelues, their country, their wiues & children, and whatſoeuer els they held deere. In like manner alſo did *Amurath* encourage his ſoldiers, with great promiſes and threats, perſuading them rather to endure any thing, than by that days ouerthrow to be driuen out of Europe. He carefully viewed his army, ordered his battels, & with many great reaſons perſuaded them to play the men. But after that ſome light skirmiſhes being paſt, both the armies were fuly ioined, the battel was fought with no leſſe force & fury than the day before. Of the Chriſtians many then wounded, came now again into the battell, there either by ſpeedy death or ſpeedy victorie to cure their wounds before receiued, & there did right good ſeruice. Great was the ſlaughter in euery place, neither could the force of the Hungarians be withſtood; whoſe furious impreſſion, when the Turks could not by plaine force endure, they began with their freſh horſemen, cunningly to delude their deſperat fiercnes: at ſuch time as the Hungarians began moſt hardly to charge them, they by & by turned their backs, ſuffering them a while to follow after them, far ſcattered & diſperſed: who allured as it were with the hope of preſent victory, eagerly purſued them, & in the purſuit ſlew diuers of them: and they again vpon a ſignall giuen, cloſing together, & turning back vpon the diſperſed troups, well reuenged the death of their fellowes: & with their often charges & retraits, wonderfully wearied the Hungarians, notably deluding their furious attempts with that vncertain kind of fight, al the day long. Many of the Hungarians were ſlaine, and the Turks had that day the better, and ſo both armies being wearied night and wearines ended the fight; both retiring into their trenches, there keeping moſt carefull watch. The next morning by the dawning of the day, the battel was again begun. *Huniades* his bro-

The battell begun againe the ſecond day.

Huniades encourageth his ſouldiers.

A brother, General of the Valachians, with his light horſemen ſetting firſt forward, after whom
in ſeemely order followed the reſt of the nobilitie, with their companies. Where for certaine
houres, the battell was hardly fought with like hope on both ſides, & a great ſlaughter made,
but ſpecially of the Hungarians; who wearied with the long fight, & moſt part of them wounded,
were now al to endure this third daies labour. *Zechel* (*Huniades* his ſiſters ſonne) valiantly
fighting in the front of the battell, was the firſt of the leaders there ſlain in the thickeſt of the
Turks. *Emericus Marzalus* and *Stephen Bamffi*, both great commanders, encloſed by the Turks,
there died alſo. *Amurath* ſeeing the formoſt enſignes of the Chriſtians, which ſtood in *Zechels*
regiment, taken, and his ſouldiers (diſcomfited with the death of their colonell) turning their
backs, preſently commanded al the companies, which were many (yet left in the trenches, for
B freſh ſupplies) to iſſue forth, & at once to ouerwhelm the Chriſtians, being (as he ſaid) but few
and ouerwearied with three dayes continuall fight. Vpon which the Kings command, they
fiercely breaking out, preſently ouerthrew both the wings of the Chriſtians, before wauering;
and in a great battell (wherin moſt of the chiefe commanders were ſlaine, and their enſignes
taken) diſcomfited the reſt, and with a great ſlaughter put them to flight. *Huniades* ſeeing his
brother now ſlaine, the enſignes taken, and the battel quite loſt, betook himſelfe to flight alſo;
leauing behind him his tents and baggage, al which ſhortly after became a prey to the Turks:
who from noon vntill night furiouſly followed the chace, with moſt cruell execution; but at
length, ſtaid by the comming on of the darknes, they returned again vnto their trenches. The
reſt of the Turkes army that followed not the chace, compaſſing in the Hungarian campe,
were there by the wounded ſoldiers, the waggoners, & other drudges of the army, kept out ſo
C long as they had any ſhot left, but yet were in the end euery mothers ſon ſlain, though not altogether
vnreuenged, two or three of the Turks in many places lying dead by the bodie of one
Hungarian. *Amurath* to couer the greatnes of the loſſe he there receiued, commanded the bodies
of his captains there ſlain, to be forthwith buried; and the bodies of his common ſouldiers,
to be for the moſt part caſt into the riuer Schichniza: for which cauſe the inhabitants of
the country there by, of long time after abſtained from eating of any fiſh taken in that riuer.
The plain by this great battell made once againe famous, lay neuertheleſſe many yeares after
couered with dead mens bones, as if it had bin with ſtones: neither could be ploughed by the
countrey people, but that long time after armour and weapons were there ſtill in many places
turned vp and found. Thus albeit that this bloudy victorie fel vnto the Turks, yet was their
D loſſe far greater than the Hungarians; hauing loſt (as was reported by them that ſay leſt) foure
and thirtie thouſand of themſelues, for eight thouſand of their enemies. Howbeit they themſelues
report the loſſe to haue bin on both ſides far greater; as that of the Chriſtians were ſlain
ſeuenteen thouſand, and of themſelues fortie thouſand: which in ſo long and mortal a fight, is
not vnlike to haue bin true. In this vnfortunate battell, fell moſt part of the Hungarian nobilitie:
all men worthie eternall fame & memorie, whoſe names we for breuitie wil paſſe ouer.
Many in the chace taken, and the next day brought to *Amurath*, where by the commandement
of the angry tyrant ſlaine. Such as eſcaped out of the ſlaughter by the way of Illyria, returned
in ſafety: but ſuch as thought to ſaue themſelues by returning back again through Seruia, the
Deſpots countrey, found the ſame ſo troubleſome as that few of them eſcaped, but that they
were by the way either ſlaine, or quite ſtripped of all they had.

The battell againe began the third day.

Huniades flieth.

The number of the Turks and Chriſtians ſlain in the battell of Coſſona.

Neither was the fortune of the noble *Huniades* much better than the fortune of the reſt,
E who hauing on horſeback all alone by vncouth and vntract waies trauelled three daies without
meat or drinke, and the fourth day tyred his horſe and caſt him off, being on foot and diſarmed,
fel into the hands of two notable theeues, who in diſpoiling him of his apparel, finding
a faire crucifix of gold about his neck, fell at ſtrife betwixt themſelues for the ſame; whereby
he tooke occaſion to lay hand vpon one of their ſwords, & with the ſame preſently thruſt him
through; and then ſuddenly aſſailing the other, put him to flight alſo. So deliuered of this danger,
trauelling on, and almoſt ſpent with thirſt and hunger, the next day he light vpon a ſhepheard,
a ſturdie rough knaue, who hearing of the ouerthrow of the Hungarians, was (in hope
F of prey) roaming abroad in that deſolate country: who at the firſt meeting, ſtrucken with the
maieſtie of the man, ſtood at gaze vpon him, as alſo did *Huniades*, fearing in his ſo great weakneſſe
to haue to do with him. Thus a while hauing the one well regarded the other, they began
to enter talke, the ſheepheard bluntly aſking him of his fortune; and he for Gods ſake cra-

Huniades taken priſoner by the Deſpot.

uing of him ſomething to eat. When as the ſhepheard hearing of his hard hap, mooued with his eſtate, and hope of promiſed reward, brought him vnto a poore cottage not far off, cauſing to be ſet before him bread and water, with a few oynions. Who in the pleaſant remembrance of that paſſed miſery, would oftentimes after in his greateſt banquets ſay, That he neuer in his life fared better, or more daintily, than when he ſupped with this ſhepheard. So well can hunger ſeaſon homely cates. Thus refreſhed, he was by the ſhepheard conducted to Sinderouia: whereof the Deſpot hauing intelligence (whoſe country was all layd for the ſtaying of him) cauſed him by the Captain of the caſtle to be apprehended, and impriſoned. But after certain daies ſpent in talke about his deliuerance, it was at length agreed, that all ſuch ſtrong townes in Raſcia and Seruia, as had by the Hungarians bin detained from the Deſpot, at ſuch time as his kingdome was by king *Vladiſlaus* reſtored vnto him, ſhould now be againe to him deliuered; and that *Matthias Huniades* his youngeſt ſonne, ſhould for the confirmaaion of further friendſhip, marrie the Deſpots daughter: with ſome other ſuch condititions as it pleaſed the vngratefull Prince for his owne behoofe to ſet downe. For performance wherof, he required to haue *Ladiſlaus*, *Huniades* his eldeſt ſon, in hoſtage. All which *Huniades* was glad forthwith to yeeld vnto, for feare the falſe Deſpot ſhould haue deliuered him into the hands of *Amurath* his mortall enemie. So the hoſtage being giuen, *Huniades* was again ſet at libertie. Who vpon Chriſtmas day comming to Segedinum, was there by all the nobilitie of Hungarie, and great concourſe of the people, honorably receiued. This ingratitude of the Deſpots no leſſe grieued this worthie man, than the diſhonour receiued from the Turke. Wherefore vpon the ſudden raiſing a great armie, he inuaded the territorie, long before giuen to the Deſpot by the Emperor *Sigiſmund* in Hungarie, in exchange of the ſtrong towne of Belgrade, deſtroying the country before him, and burning the villages, neuer reſting, vntil he had got into his power whatſoeuer the Deſpot had in Hungarie, & not ſo contented, preſently entred into Raſcia, where the Deſpots embaſſadors met him, bringing with them *Ladiſlaus* the hoſtage, honorably rewarded, & humbly crauing peace at his hands; which he, at the requeſt of the nobilitie eaſily granted, with forgiuenes of al former wrongs or iniuries: and ſo hauing with him concluded a peace, returned back again into Hungarie. But fortune neuer ſuffereth long the valiant man to reſt, but ſhill keepeth him buſied, leaſt he ſhould at too much eaſe attaine vnto honors glorie.

1449

The Deſpot inuaded by Amurath, craueth aid of Huniades

The yeare following, *Amurath* certainly informed, That *George* the Deſpot hauing of late *Huniades* in his power, had again ſet him at liberty: was therewith exceeding wroth, blaming him of great ingratitude, That for a kingdom which he had at his hands receiued, he had not deliuered to him his enemy, in ful recompence therof; whom of all others he moſt feared, & therfore likewiſe wiſht to haue had him periſh. In reuenge of which iniurie (as he took it) the melancholie tyrant, ſent *Fritze-beg* and *Ioſe-beg*, two of his moſt expert captaines, with a ſtrong power to inuade Raſcia, the Deſpots country: who accordingly entring therinto, ſtrongly fortified Chryſonicum, a town before ruinated, vpon the ſide of the riuer Moraua, & from thence with fire and ſword deſtroied the country both far and neere. The Deſpot diſmaied with this ſudden and vnexpected inuaſion, wiſt not well which way to turne himſelfe: the angrie Turk he well knew, was not to be appeaſed without yeelding vnto ſome great inconuenience; and to pray aid of *Huniades*, without which he was not able to withſtand the Turkes, hee thought but vaine, for the wrong he had before done him. So that what to do he wiſt not: yet had he rather to endure any thing, than again to ſuffer the heauy bondage of the Turk. In this extremitie he thought beſt to make proofe of *Huniades*, of whom he humbly, & not without great ſhame, craued aid. Which the courteous gouernor, according to his honorable nature, forgetting all former iniuries, eaſily granted: and the rather, for that he deſired nothing more, than to be of the Tutks in ſome part reuenged of the ouerthrow from them of late receiued in the plaines of Coſſoua: as alſo for that he wiſely foreſaw, That the Deſpots country being loſt, he ſhould haue the Turks ſtill brauing him euen as it were in the gates of Hungarie. Wherefore hauing with great ſpeed raiſed a conuenient power, he forthwith in perſon himſelfe ſet forward, and at Synderouia paſſing ouer the riuer Danubius into Raſcia, there ioined his power with the Deſpots, which he found there ready. And ſo marching forward with ſuch expedition, that he preuented the fame of his comming; and the weather alſo at the ſame time as it were fauouring his purpoſe, and couering the country with a thick miſt, he was the fourth day vpon the Turkes before they were aware of him. Who wonderfully diſmayed with

A the ſudden comming of the Chriſtians, and vpon the breaking vp of the miſt, diſcouering alſo
Huniades his enſignes (alwaies vnto them dreadfull) thought now no more of reſiſtance, or of
the ordering of their battel, but as men diſcouraged, betook themſelues to ſpeedie flight. After
whom followed the Hungarian and Seruian light horſemen, with moſt bloudie execution
hauing them in chaſe all that day; *Huniades* with his men at armes following ſtil after in good
order, for feare the Turks ſhould againe make head vpon the light horſemen that had them in
chaſe. And had not the comming on of the night ended the ſlaughter, few of the Turkes had
there eſcaped: but by the approch thereof many of them got into the woods, and ſo ſaued
themſelues. *Fritze-beg* the Generall, with moſt part of the Turkes beſt commanders, were in
that flight taken. *Huniades* after this victory entering into Bulgaria, came to Budina, the metropoliticall
B citie of that countrey, which (as the cauſe oftentimes of great wars) he burnt downe
to the ground. And ſo hauing well reuenged himſelfe, and cleared the countrey of the Turks,
he returned backagaine into Seruia, & there gaue to the Deſpot for a preſent all the priſoners
he had taken; and contenting himſelfe with the honor of the victorie, returned with triumph
to Buda, there to find no leſſe trouble with the Bohemians, and ſome of the diſcontented nobilitie
of Hungarie, than hee had with the Turks, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian common-weale.

All this while that *Amurath* was thus troubled with *Huniades* and the Hungarians, *Muſtapha*
lying ſtill vpon the borders of Macedonia, as *Amurath* had commanded; it chanced that a
great quarrell grew betwixt the Venetians and *Scanderbeg*, about the inheritance of *Lech Zacharie*
C (a noble man of Epirus) then ſhamefully murdered by his vnnaturall kinſman *Lech Duchagne*;
part of whoſe inheritance lying in the frontiers of Epirus, the Venetians claimed, as
belonging to their ſeigniorie: and hauing got poſſeſſion of the city of Dayna, part thereof, by
force held the ſame againſt *Scanderbeg*: vpon which quarrell great wars aroſe betwixt the Venetians
and him, who had before been very great friends: inſomuch that in the end they ioined
in battell at the riuer of Drine, where the Venetians were by him in a great battell ouerthrowne.
Of which troubles *Muſtapha* daily vnderſtood, and how that *Scanderbeg* ſo buſied,
had left but a ſmall garriſon vpon the borders of Epirus. Wherefore being deſirous to redeem
his former diſgrace with ſome better hap; hee would faine haue taken the opportunitie now
preſented, but that his great maſters command lay ſo heauie vpon him, as that hee durſt not
D without his leaue attempt the ſame, knowing that the danger of his euil fortune, if it ſhould ſo
fall out, would far exceed the vncertaine glorie of his better ſucceſſe. Yet ceaſed he not from
time to time to giue *Amurath* intelligence of theſe troubles and warres in Epirus, earneſtly requeſting
him not to let ſlip ſo faire an opportunitie, but to giue him leaue to enter into the
country: in manner, aſſuring him before hand of the victorie. Yet the ſuſpitious old King was
long in reſoluing what to doe, ſtill fearing the fortune of his enemie. At length diſcharged of
the feare of the Hungarians, and commending *Muſtapha* his forwardneſſe, he ſent vnto him a
meſſenger with letters of this purport, anſwerable to his deſire.

The wars thou ſo greatly deſireſt, behold Muſtapha *we grant vnto thee: the glorie thereof (if theſe*
E *things bee true which we heare of the Venetian warre) thine owne valour, and worthy right hand ſhall*
giue thee: yet thou muſt warily deale with that enemie, and not raſhly take vp armes, which thou maieſt
be enforced ſhamefully to caſt away, when thou thinkeſt leaſt. Peraduenture the counterfeit ſhew of war
and faigned falling out among the Chriſtians, do too much allure thee; for the common ſaying is, There
is no quarrell ſooner ended, than betwixt the father and the ſonne: we in perſon abſent, can neither aduiſe
thee as preſent, nor commend a fooliſh forwardneſſe in armes. Thou muſt before thou put on armes,
diſpoſe of all things, and conſider of euery particular; which is to be put in execution when thou art in the
field. Thou haſt a great armie of freſh and luſtie ſouldiers, thine enemies are with continuall wars wearied
and ſpent: in that remaineth, do as thou thinkeſt good; for I forbid thee the doing of nothing, which
F *thou thinkeſt may be for the aduancement of our honour.*

Amurath his graue letters of aduertiſement to Muſtapha, concerning his going againe into Epirus.

Muſtapha hauing thus obtained leaue, and well appointed, with all his forces entered into
Epirus, hoping in one battell to end that warre: which he (preſuming vpon the ſtrength of
his armie) many times offered in the plaine field. News herof was brought to *Scanderbeg* (then
lying at the ſiege of Dayna againſt the Venetians) from his garriſons lying vpon the frontiers
of

of Epirus, to whom hee addreſſed a ſpeedie meſſenger: commanding them in no wiſe to encounter with the enemie, but to keep themſelues within the ſafegard of their ſtrong holds, & to protract the time vntil his comming. Afterwards ſelecting out of his armie 500 horſemen, and 1500 choſen footmen, all old beaten ſoldiers, he with that ſmall number marched to the place where he knew lay his garriſons intrenched, in the vpper country of Dibra: leauing *Ameſa* his nephew at the ſiege of Dayna. *Muſtapha* hauing many times in vaine ſought to draw the garriſon ſoldiers out of their trenches by offring them many faire opportunities of aduantage, & now out of hope that way to circumuent them, began to ſpoile and burne the country round about. But when he vnderſtood by his ſcouts of *Scanderbeg* his comming, hee ſpeedily called together his armie, and encamped within two miles of *Scanderbegs* camp, at a place called Oronoche, in the vpper country of Dibra. *Scanderbeg* had there in his camp, of his garriſon ſoldiers and thoſe he brought with him, fourethouſand horſemen, and two thouſand foot, all old expert ſouldiers, where, after hee had made his trenches ſtrong, he left there in three hundreth of them, and brought the reſt into the field in order of battel. *Muſtapha* on the other ſide likewiſe brought on in good order his armie alſo. But whileſt both armies thus ſtood ranged one within the view of the other, expecting nothing but the ſignall of battell, ſuddenly a man at armes, in gallant & rich furniture, iſſued out of the Turks armie into the midſt of the plaine betwixt both armies, & from thence with a loud voice challenged to fight hand to hand with any one of the Chriſtian armie. This Turke was called *Caraguſa*. At the firſt *Scanderbegs* ſoldiers vpon this challenge ſtood ſtill, one looking vpon another; for as they were all aſhamed to refuſe ſo braue an offer, ſo the danger ſo ſuddenly offered, ſtayd euery mans forwardneſſe for a while: vntill that one *Paul Maneſſi*, accounted the beſt man at armes in *Scanderbeg* his armie (vpon whom euery mans eye was now caſt, as if he had bin the man by name called out by the proud challenger) not able longer to endure the Turks pride, with great courage & cheerfull countenance came to *Scanderbeg*, requeſting him that he might be the man to accept that challenge. Who greatly commended him, and willed him on God his name to ſet forward, firſt to win honour to himſelfe, and then to giue example of his valour for all the reſt of the armie to follow. *Paul* ſtaying a while, vntill he had for that purpoſe moſt brauely armed himſelfe, mounted preſently to horſe, & riding forth into the plain, called aloud vnto the Turke, that he ſhould make himſelfe ready to fight. Whom *Caraguſa* required to ſtay a while, that he might ſpeake vnto him a few words, indifferently concerning them both.

The ſpeech of Caraguſa the Turke, to Maneſſi.

The victorie (ſaid he) *our force and fortune ſhall determine: but the conditions of the victorie, we are now to appoint our ſelues. If the Deſtinies haue aſſigned vnto thee the honour of this day, I refuſe not, but that thou mayeſt by law of armes, when I am ouercome, carry away with thee my rich ſpoiles, and at thy pleaſure diſpoſe of my dead bodie. But if thou ſhalt fall vnder my hand, I require that I may haue the ſame right, and power ouer thy captiue bodie: and that the Generalls will grant that no man ſhall mooue out of either armie, to better the fortune of either of vs in the time of the combat, or after.*

Maneſſi his ſtout anſwere to Caraguſa

Whereunto *Maneſſi* anſwered, *That he agreed to thoſe conditions of the combate, which he vpon a needleſſe feare had ſo required to bee kept: ſaying, That where the fierce ſoule had yeelded, there of good right all the reſt out to be the conquerours; and that therefore he ſhould fight without feare of any more enemies than himſelfe: whom ſo ſoone as hee had depriued of life, he ſhould haue free power to doe with his dead bodie what he would. Which if thou wouldeſt giue* (ſaid he) *vnto the teares of my fellow ſouldiers, yet would not worthie* Scanderbeg *ſuffer the carkaſſe of a vanquiſhed coward to be brought backe againe into his campe.*

Caraguſa maruelled to heare his ſo braue reſolution, & as it was thought, repented him of his challenge. But after that both the Generals had vpon their honors confirmed the laws of the combat before rehearſed, both the champions were left alone in the middeſt of the plaine between both armies, with al mens eys fixed vpon them. Now both the armies betwixt feare & hope, ſtood in great expectation of the euent of the combat, preſaging their owne fortunes in the fortune of their Champions. In which time they both hauing withdrawn themſelues one from the other a conuenient diſtance, for the making of their courſe, & after with great violence running together, *Caraguſa* was by *Maneſſi*, at the firſt encounter ſtruck through the head and ſlain. *Maneſſi* alighting, diſarmed the dead body, & ſtruck off his head: and ſo loaded with the armor and head of the proud challenger, returned with victory to the army, where he was

A joyfully receiued and brought to *Scanderbeg*, of whom he was there preſently honorably both commended and rewarded. *Scanderbeg* ſeeing his men by this good fortune of *Maneſſi*, greatly encouraged, and the Turks as men diſmaied with the death of their Champion, hanging their heads, like an inuincible Captaine, himſelfe ſet firſt forward toward the enemie, as it were in contempt of their multitude: and had charged them as they ſtood; before they had ſet one foot forward, had not *Muſtapha* to incourage his ſoldiers, with certain diſordred troups oppoſed himſelfe againſt him; which the whole armie ſeeing, faintly followed; but as they ſet forward with ſmall courage, ſo were they at the firſt incounter eaſily driuen to retire. Which when *Muſtapha* ſaw, he called earneſtly vpon them to follow him, and the more to encourage them by his own example, put ſpurs to his horſe, and fiercely charged the front of *Scanderbegs* B armie, as one reſolued either to gaine the victorie, or there to die: after whom followed moſt of the principall captains of his armie, which would not for ſhame forſake their General: thus by his valor the battell was for a while renewed. But *Moſes* preuailing with great ſlaughter in one part of the Armie, the Turkes began to flie: in which flight *Muſtapha* the Generall, with twelue others of the chiefe men in that armie, were taken priſoners, but of the common ſoldiers few were ſaued. There was ſlaine of the Turks armie ten thouſand, and fifteen enſignes taken; whereas of the Chriſtians were ſlaine but three hundred. The Turks tents and campe, with all the wealth thereof, became a prey to *Scanderbegs* ſoldiers: wherwith although he had ſatisfied the deſires of them all, yet to keep his old cuſtom, he entred into the confines of Macedonia, and there burnt and ſpoyled all that he could. And afterwards leauing a garriſon of C two thouſand horſemen and a thouſand foot for defence of his frontiers, returned againe with the reſt of his armie to the ſiege of Dayna.

The battell betwixt Scanderbeg and Muſtapha.

Not long after, the Venetians made peace with *Scanderbeg*; and *Amurath* deſirous to redeeme his Captaines, about the ſame time ſent great Preſents vnto *Scanderbeg*, with fiue and twenty thouſand duckats for the ranſome of *Muſtapha* and the other chieftaines; whom *Scanderbeg* ſo honorably vſed, as if there had neuer been any hoſtilitie betwixt him and them: and ſo with a ſafe conuoy ſent them out of his country. The ranſome of *Muſtapha* and the other Turks he diuided amongſt his ſoldiers. When *Scanderbeg* had thus made peace with the Venetians, he forthwith led his armie againe into Macedonia, with the ſpoyle of that country to make his ſoldiers better pay, as his vſuall manner was. And to do the greater harme, he D diuided his armie into three parts, wherwith he ouer-running the country, waſted and deſtroyed all before him, putting to the ſword all the Turks that came in his way. As for the Chriſtians that there liued amongſt them, he ſpared, but left them nothing more than their liues: the buildings of the Countrey he vtterly conſumed with fire, ſo that in all that part of Macedonia which bordereth vpon Epirus, nothing was to be ſeene more than the bare ground, and the ſhews of the ſpoyle by him there made. Which vnmercifull hauocke of all things he made, to the end that the Turks ſhould finde no reliefe in thoſe quarters, whenſoeuer they ſhould come either to lie in garriſon in that country, or to inuade Epirus. The ſpoyle he made was ſo great, that it was thought he left not in all that country, ſo much as might relieue the Turks armie for one day.

Muſtapha ranſomed.

E Of all theſe great harms by *Scanderbeg* done in Macedonia, *Amurath* was with all ſpeed aduertiſed, and therwith exceedingly vexed: howbeit he reſolued with his great counſellors, no more to ſend any of his Baſſa's or captains, but to go himſelfe in perſon, with ſuch a royall armie as ſhould be ſufficient not to conquer Epirus, but if need were, to fil euery corner thereof. Wherefore he commanded Commiſſions to be ſpeedily directed into all parts of his Kingdomes and prouinces, for the leuying of a great armie for Hadrianople: yet whither he intended to imploy the ſame, was not known to any in the Turks court, more than to the Baſſa's of the councel. Which cauſed all the bordering Chriſtian Princes to make the beſt preparation they could for their own aſſurance, euery one fearing leſt that growing tempeſt ſhould break F out againſt himſelf. But *Scanderbeg* of long acquainted with the Turkiſh policie, eaſily perceiued all that great preparation to be made againſt him: which hee was the rather induced to think, by reaſon of the vnaccuſtomed quietnes of *Amurath*, who al that while had neither ſent any armie to reuenge *Muſtapha's* ouerthrow, nor ſo much as a garriſon for defence of the borders of his kingdome, but had let all things negligently paſſe, as if he had bin in a dead ſleepe. Beſides that, it was alſo thought that he had ſecret inteligence from ſome of his old friends &

The lamentable departing of the weake citiſens out of Croia.

acquaintance in *Amuraths* court, who probably ſuſpected the matter. Wherefore *Scanderbeg* G
ſetting all other things apart, gaue himſelf wholly to the preparing of things neceſſary for the
defence of his ſmall kingdome againſt ſo mightie an enemy. Firſt, he by letters & meſſengers
aduertiſed all the Chriſtian Princes his neighbours & friends, of the greatnes of the danger of
that war: wherein *Amurath* (as he ſaid) ſought not only his deſtruction, but the vtter ruine of
them all; exhorting them therefore to conſider, how far the danger of ſo great an armie might
extend, and therefore to ſtand faſt vpon their guard. Then he ſent *Moſes* and other his expert
captains into all parts of Epirus, to take vp ſoldiers, and all the prouiſion of corne and victuals
that was poſſible to be had. Wherin he himſelf alſo buſily trauelled day and night, not reſting
vntill he had left nothing in the country, whereupon the enemie might ſhew his cruelty. Moſt
part of the common people, with their ſubſtance, were receiued into the ſtrong cities; the reſt H
took the refuge of the Venetian and other Chriſtian Princes towns and countries farther off,
vntill this furie were ouerpaſt: all ſuch as were able to beare armes, were commanded to repaire
to Croia; where when they were all aſſembled, they were ynow to haue made a right
puiſſant armie. But out of all this multitude, *Scanderbeg* made choice only of 10000 old expert
ſoldiers, whom he purpoſed to lead himſelfe, to incounter with the Turks great army, as
he ſhould ſee occaſion, and placed 1300 in garriſon in Croia. The Citiſens alſo themſelues
were thorowly furniſhed with all manner of weapons & other prouiſion meet for the defence
of their citie. Then proclamation was made, That all the aged men vnfit for wars, with the
women and children, ſhould depart the citie, and none to be therein left, but the garriſon ſoldiers,
and ſuch citiſens as were willing to tarrie, and able to beare armes. This citie of Croia I
was the chiefe citie of Epirus, and of the fortune thereof ſeemed to depend the ſtate of all the
other ſtrong towns and cities, and ſo conſequently of the whole kingdome: for which cauſe,
Scanderbeg had the greater care for the defence thereof. It was a miſerable ſight, to ſee the lamentable
departure of this weake companie out of Croia; all was ful of weeping & wailing;
no houſe, no ſtreet, no part of the citie was without mourning: but eſpecially in the churches
was to be ſeen the very face of common ſorrow and heauineſſe; where all ſorts of people in
great numbers flocking together, poured forth their deuout prayers, with fountains of tears,
ringing their hands; yea, and ſome in the impatiencie of their grief forgetting themſelues, ſeemed
to expoſtulate their grief with God. But when their ſorrow was with tears aſſuaged, and
their hearts ſomewhat eaſed, the aged mothers kiſſing their ſons, gaue them many a fearefull K
commandment: ſometime rehearſing, how louingly and tenderly they had brought them vp,
and otherſome times ſhewing vnto them their feeble limmes & hoarie hairs, willing them to
be mindfull of them. The wiues preſented their children vnto their husbands, bewailing to
leaue them as childleſſe widowers, & their houſes deſolate. The old men mute with ſorrow,
and careful of their children, durſt neither incourage them, for feare of making them too forward,
neither diſſuade them from aduenturing themſelues, leſt they ſhould ſeem to loue them
more than their natiue country. In the middeſt of theſe paſſions commandement came from
Scanderbeg, that they muſt now depart, that the ſouldiers might take their places and charge.
Then began their ſorrows afreſh, with pittious ſcriching & tears: a man would haue thought
the city had euen then bin preſently taken by the Turks. They could hardly be drawne from L
the imbracing of their friends, all now deſiring to remain ſtil with them in the city, partakers
of their common dangers. But when they ſaw the officers begin to be earneſt vpon them, and
to haſten their departure, then with heauy hearts they took as it were their laſt farewel, & departed
out of the citie, ſetting their feet many times they wiſt not where, for deſire they had to
looke backe again vpon the city. This great multitude was conueyed alſo into the Venetian
cities, & other places free from danger: whither al the country people which were not before
receined into the ſtrong cities, reſorted alſo, with al their ſubiects & cattel, leauing nothing in
all the country of Epirus, but the bare ground for the Turks to prey vpon. After this multitude
was departed, and all wel quieted, & none left in the city but men fit for ſeruice, *Scanderbeg*
thorowly ſtored it with all things needful for the defence thereof, and for the induring of M
a long ſiege: beſides that, he gaue to euery ſoldier conuenient armor, with ſome ſmal reward.
Then he placed *Vranacontes* (a valiant and famous captaine, honorably diſcended) Gouernor
of the citie. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order for the ſafegard thereof, after he had in few
words exhorted them couragiouſly to endure the ſiege, and not to liſten to *Amuraths* flattering

ring and deceitful charms, he departed out of the city vnto his armie, then lying within view, and began preſently to march towards Dybra. But he was not farre gon, before he met with *Moſes* with a gallant troupe of horſmen comming from Sfetigrade, a ſtrong citie of Dybra, ſcituate in the confines of Epirus, bordering vpon Macedonia: which citie was *Scander beg* his ſecond care, for that it was like to be the firſt that ſhould indure the angrie tyrants fury, ſtanding firſt in his way, as it were the fortreſſe of that country. *Moſes* had there ſet all things in like order, as had *Scanderbeg* in Croia, and had there placed one *Peter Perlat* (a graue and politique man) Gouernour, with a ſtrong garriſon of ſoldiers choſen out of all the country of Dybra, which were alwayes accounted the beſt men of war in all Epirus, and was for ſo doing greatly commended of *Scanderbeg*. Who deliuering vnto him all the forces he had prepared for the defence of the other caſtles and cities of Epirus, ſent him with diuers other of his nobilitie and captaines, to take order for the ſafetie of thoſe places, appointing vnto euery man his charge. As for himſelfe, he with a ſmall troupe of horſmen went to Sfetigrade, careful of that citie aboue meaſure, as it were before diuining the inſuing danger. Being come thither, and all the ſoldiers aſſembled by his commandment into the market place, he there in open audience ſpake vnto them as followeth:

Scanderbeg commeth to Sfetigrade.

Almightie God could not this day offer vnto you (worthie ſouldiers of Sfetigrade) better matter, neither could a fairer occaſion be preſented vnto braue minds and ſoldiers deſirous of honour, than that which now hath cauſed you to take vp moſt juſt armes. Wherein you may for euer, by worthie example, make knowne your conſtant faith and worthie valour, both towards me in priuat, and the people of Epirus in generall. Hitherto we haue borne armes for the honour of our kingdome, but now we muſt fight for our liues, our libertie, and the walls of our countrey. You muſt now force your ſelues, that you doe not by reproch and cowardiſe ſtaine the worthie praiſes you haue alreadie deſerued, by the great victories by you obtained vnder my conduct. The greateſt part of the fortune of this war dependeth vpon you: For, the firſt paſſage of Amurath *into Epirus (that I my ſelfe may be vnto you the firſt meſſenger of that danger) will be this way; the firſt furie of the Turks will aſſaile you, that hauing here as it were broken downe the ſtrongeſt fortreſſe of Epirus, he may afterwards breake into the country, more ſubiect to danger. The firſt fruits of this war is yours, you (if you beare the hearts of couragious men, mindful of your libertie) may beat down the proud ſtrength of the haughtie enemie, and diſcouer his high conceits. The* Othoman *King ſhall haue the beginning both of his hope and feare, of you: if he ſhall find you ſo minded, as I now ſee you gallantly mooued, and with joy heare your violent indignation; he will in euery place feare a great force of danger, and thereby learne to abſtaine from the other cities of Epirus. Neither will he lie here long at a vaine ſiege, except the wayward old man will fooliſhly hereupon gage all his whole forces: for ſuch is the ſcituation and ſtrength of this citie, that it may eaſily ſet at nought an angrie enemie. Wherefore reſolue with you ſelues (worthie ſoldiers and citiſens) only by conſtancie and faithfulneſſe, without bloudſhed, to gaine vnto your ſelues an honorable victorie. Of your valour (which I willingly ſpeake of) dependeth for the moſt part the faithfulneſſe of all the reſt; they will looke vpon you, whom they may praiſe or accuſe, and whoſe example they may follow in the fortune of theſe warres. But to what purpoſe ſhould men of worth in their actions pretend the neceſſitie of faith, or chance af fortune? whereas by Reaſon things are both beſt begun and accompliſhed. It ſeldome chanceth, that fortune faileth the ſecond aduice, or is not obedient to vertue: and you haue all things which moſt politique care could prouide for your ſafetie. You want not armor, you want not plentifull prouiſion of victuals, you want not valiant men: the ſuperfluous multitude of vnneceſſary people, the pittifull lamentation of women, and troubleſome crying of children ſhall not withdraw you from your publique charge, from your ſeruice and defence of your countrey; I haue left you alone to your ſelues, for defence of your citie, your Religion, and dwellings, that you might be encouraged only with the prouocations of honour and liberty, with the emulation of aduenture and danger, and the verie ſight one of another; and I my ſelfe will not be far off with my couragious ſoldiers, a ſilent beholder and encourager of your vertue: where although I may not auert from you all the force of the cruell enemie by raſh aduenture, nor trie the whole fortune of this warre in plaine field; yet will I turne a great part of your dangers vpon my ſelfe, and trouble the enemies deſignes with many a hot skirmiſh. For as much as there is no better manner of fight, nor ſafer kind of war for vs, amongſt ſuch a multitude of men, and ſo many thouſands of ſouldiers, than neuer to offer battell vnto the enemie in plaine field, neither to aduenture all vpon the fortune of one conflict, although a man did ſee apparent ſignes of victorie. He will of purpoſe at the firſt giue vs the opportu-*

The effectuall ſpeech of Scanderbeg vnto the ſoldiers and citizens of Sfetigrade, to encourage the againſt the comming of Amurath.

nitie of good hap; he will feed our hardineſſe with the bloud of his baſe ſoldiers, the eaſilier to intrap and oppreſſe our raſhneſſe, allured with the ſweet baits of good fortune: but the craftie deuices of the Othoman King are by great policie and conſideration to be fruſtrated: this mightie enemie is by little & little to be cut off, as time and place ſhall giue occaſion. For truly that victorie ſhould be vnto me lamentable, which I ſhould buy with the bloud of my ſoldiers: and beleeue me, it would be vnto me a more ſorrowfull than pleaſant ſight, to ſee eight or ten thouſand of my enemies ſlaine, with the loſſe of a few of you. I praiſe and honor my ſubiects of Epirus for valiant conquerors, if they ſhall not ſuffer themſelues to be conquered of the Turkiſh King. The reſt I had rather you couragious ſouldiers of Dybra ſhould conſider with your ſelues, than that I ſhould ſeeme to diſtruſt of your aſſured faith, by giuing you a carefull and tedious admonition.

When *Scanderbeg* had with cheerefull perſuaſion thus encouraged the minds of them of Sfetigrade, he departed thence, and viſited diuers other cities of Epirus; where finding all things politiquely ordered by *Moſes* and the other captaines, whom he had put in truſt, he returned to his armie, then lying neere vnto Croia.

Whileſt *Scanderbeg* was with great carefulneſſe yet thus prouiding for the ſafegard of his Kingdome, in the meane time *Amurath* his armie was aſſembled at Hadrianople, to the number of a hundred and fiftie thouſand men, whereof many were pioners, and men appointed for other baſe ſeruices neceſſarie at the ſiege of townes. Of this great armie *Amurath* ſent fortie thouſand light horſemen before him to Sfetigrade; who according to his command came and incamped before the citie. The newes of their comming, with a great deale more than truth, was forthwith brought to *Scanderbeg*, then lying with his ſmall Armie neere Croia: whereupon he with foure thouſand horſe, and a thouſand foot, tooke the way toward Sfetigrade, and ſtrongly incamped his armie within ſeuen miles of the citie. Where hauing ſet all things in good order, he, accompanied with *Moſes* and *Tanuſius*, went by certaine blinde wayes thorow the mountaines and woods, vntill he came ſo neere vnto the citie, that from the place where he ſtood, he might eaſily diſcouer in what ſort the enemie lay incamped: and ſo returning backe againe to his campe, roſe with his armie in the night following, and drawing as neere vnto the Turks armie as he could, vndiſcouered, placed all his armie in the couert of the woods and ſecret vallies, vnperceiued of his enemies. After that, he ſent forth *Moſes* and *Muſachi* his nephew, with thirtie of his beſt horſemen, apparelled as if they had been but common ſouldiers, but paſſing well mounted, driuing before them certaine horſes laden with corne, by a by-way, as if they had ſecretly purpoſed to haue got into the citie. The day then breaking, they were diſcouerd by the Turks ſcouts, and ſet vpon: where at the firſt *Moſes* and the reſt began of purpoſe to flie; but when he ſaw that they were purſued but with like number to themſelues, he turned backe vpon the Turks, and flew fiue of them, and chaſed the reſt vnto the campe. The Generall ſeeing what had happened, ſent forth foure thouſand horſemen to purſue theſe ſuppoſed victuallers: whom they quickely recouered the ſight of, for that *Moſes* of purpoſe had made ſmall haſt to flie: but when the Turks began to draw nigh, *Moſes* left the horſes laden with corne, and fled; yet ſo, that he ſtill drew on the Turkes with hope to ouertake him, vntill he had brought them where *Scanderbeg* with his armie lay in wait: by whom they were ſuddenly aſſailed on euerie ſide, and with great ſlaughter put to flight. In this conflict two thouſand of the Turks were ſlaine, and a thouſand of their horſes taken: of the Chriſtians were loſt but two and twentie. This was the firſt welcome of the Turks armie to Sfetigrade.

A notable ſtratagem of Scanderbeg for the intrapping of his enemies.

1449.

Amurath commeth to Sfetigrade with his Armie.

About eight dayes after came *Amurath* with all his armie, in the beginning of May, *Anno Dom.* 1449, and hauing made the greateſt ſhew he could with his huge army to terrifie the defendants; he incamped the baſer ſort of his footmen at the foot of the hill whereon the citie ſtood, and lay himſelf with his Ianizaries, & other his moſt valiant ſoldiers, about three quarters of a mile further off: where after he had lien ſtill one day, & well conſidered the ſtrength of the place, toward euening he ſent a meſſengers to the city, who requeſted to ſpeak with the Gouernour *Perlat*. Wherof he hearing came to the wall: of whom the meſſenger requeſted, That he would command the ſouldiers ſtanding by, to go further off, for as much as he had ſomething in ſecret to ſay vnto him from his maſter. Vnto whom *Perlat* merrily anſwered; It is like indeed to be ſome great ſecret, that you would haue kept not onely from the hearing

A ring of my ſoldiers, but from the verie light of the day, and therefore haue choſen the night: but I haue not learned of myne elders, to heare any meſſage from mine enemies by night, neither at any time elſe out of the hearing of the gariſon ſoldiers, to whom *Scanderbeg* hath committed the defence of this Citie, and I the ſafegard of my perſon: you muſt therefore at this time pardon me, and to morrow if your Maſter ſo pleaſe, I will heare you at large. And therewith commanded him to depart from the walls. So he returned for that time without audience as he came. It grieued *Amurath* not a little, to ſee his meſſenger ſo lightly regarded: yet for as much as he had more hope to gaine the citie by large offers, or ſome reaſonable compoſition, than by all his great force, he diſſembled his wrath, and the next day ſent the meſſenger againe, with one of his Baſſa's, a graue and well ſpoken man, himſelfe borne in Epirus. This B Baſſa, with three ſoldiers, and two ſeruitors, was by the Gouernors commandement, by one of the ports receiued into the citie, and brought into Saint *Maries* church. Where after he had with great eloquence ſought to inſinuate himſelf into the minds of the Gouernor & the hearers, and afterwards augmented the terror of *Amuraths* power beyond all meaſure, laying before them the great victories by him obtained againſt the Hungarians and the other Chriſtian Princes: in fine, he exhorted them to yeeld the citie vnto him; in whoſe name hee promiſed firſt, That the citiſens ſhould in all reſpects vnder his gouernment liue as they had before done vnder *Scanderbeg*: then, That the gouernour ſhould receiue at *Amurath* his hands moſt honorable preferments, with many rich and princely gifts: and, That it ſhould be lawfull for the garriſon ſoldiers to depart in ſafetie whither they would, & to haue three hundred thouſand Aſpers diuided amongſt them in reward. But when the Baſſa had ended his ſpeech, the C Gouernor in this ſort replied:

The reſolute anſwere of Perlat the Gouernour, vnto the Baſſa.

If you had not deliuered this ſpeech vnto reſolute men, deuoted vnto the defence of their libertie, it might perhaps haue wrought ſome effect; and we (ſaid he) *might peraduenture liſten vnto your offers, if we were either affraid of the* Othoman *King, and the vaine threats of our enemies, or elſe were wearie of the gouernment of the noble* Scanderbeg. *But foraſmuch as no euill deſert of his, nor good deſert of your maſters, hath yet paſſed, for which we ſhould preferre a ſtranger before our naturall Soueraigne, an enemie before a friend, a Turke before a Chriſtian; let your maſter proceed firſt in his action begun, let him prooue his fortune, let him by force terrifie vs, beat downe our walls, make hauocke of our* D *men, and by ſtrong hand driue vs to humble our ſelues at his feet, and to ſue for peace. But it were a great diſhonour, yea a thing almoſt to be laughed at, if we ſhould cowardly accept of theſe conditions by him offred, before any aſſault giuen, before one drop of bloud ſpilt, before any ſold er did ſo much as once groan for any wound receiued, before one ſtone were ſhaken in the wall, or any ſmall breach made: But your maſter ſhall do better to raiſe his ſiege, and get him backe againe to Hadrianople, there to ſpend the ſmall remainder of his old yeares in quiet, and not to prouoke vs his fatall enemies, whoſe courage in defence of our liberties, and fidelitie towards our Prince, he hath ſo oftentimes prooued to his great diſhonor, & loſſe of his armies. The faith I haue once giuen to my Soueraigne, for the defence of this citie, I wil neuer forget, vntill the effuſion of the laſt drop of my bloud. It ſhall be vnto me reward and honour enough, if I either liuing defend this citie, or with loſſe of my life ſhall leaue my guiltleſſe ſoule at libertie, & my carkaſſe amongſt the dead bodies of worthie ſoldiers, when I ſhall find a way into a far better place.*

The General hauing giuen this reſolute anſwer vnto the Baſſa, bountifully feaſted him that E day at dinner, and afterwards led him thorow the midſt of the citie; where he ſaw great ſtore of victuals, by the gouernor commanded of purpoſe to be ſet in ſhew, to put *Amurath* out of hope of winning the citie by long ſiege. And ſo ſent the Baſſa out by the ſame port whereby he came in, much diſcontented with the anſwer he was to returne to his Maſter.

When *Amurath* vnderſtood by the Baſſa, of the gouernors reſolution, he was therwith exceeding wrath, and thereupon with his great Ordnance battered the citie three days without intermiſſion. And hauing by the furie of his artillerie made a ſmall breach, he forthwith gaue thereunto a moſt terrible aſſault, laboring firſt to win the ſame by the force and multitude of F his common ſoldiers, which the Turks call Aſapi, whom he forced by great numbers to that ſeruice. Of theſe ſouldiers the Turke in his wars maketh no great reckoning, but to blunt the ſwords of his enemies, or to abate their firſt fury, therby to giue the eaſier victory to his Ianizaries and other his better ſoldiers: which the *Othoman* Kings hold for good policie. Whilſt

Sfetigrade aſſaulted.

theſe forlorne ſoldiers, without reſpect of danger preſſing forward, are ſlaine by heapes at the breach, the Ianizaries at the ſame time in another place attempted to haue ſcaled the walls of G the citie: but whilſt they with much labor & difficultie firſt crawle vp the ſteep rock wheron the citie was built, and afterward deſperatly mount vp their ſcaling ladders, they were by the defendants, with huge ſtones and weightie pieces of timber caſt vpon them, beaten downe, wherewith they were driuen headlong to the bottom of the rock, and ſo miſerably ſlain. Manie of them together with their ſkaling ladders, were by the Chriſtians thruſt from the wall, and tumbling from the rocke, violently carried with them others comming vp behind them. Some few got to the top of the ladders, and taking hold of the battlements of the walls, loſt ſome their fingers, ſome their hands, but moſt their liues, being beaten downe as the other were. Many of them which ſtood farther off, were then wounded alſo, & with ſhot from the H wals ſlain. With this miſerable ſlaughter, & no hope to preuaile, the Turks diſcouraged, began to withdraw themſelues from the aſſault: but the Baſſa's and captains ſtanding behind them, forced them again forward, exhorting ſome, threatning others, and beating the reſt forward with their trunchions. By which means the aſſault was again renewed, but not with ſuch courage as before, though with no leſſe ſlaughter: which the defendāts ſeeing, gaue from the wals great tokens of joy & triumph. *Amurath* perceiuing his diſcouraged ſoldiers readie of themſelues to forſake the aſſault, preſently ſent *Feri-Baſſa* (one of his moſt valiant captains) with a new ſupplie of 3000 choſen ſoldiers to renew the fight. The Chriſtians well aware of their comming, ceaſed not with continuall ſhot to beat them from the walls: but ſuch was the forwardnes of that fierce captain, that without regard of danger, he brought his men to the wals, I where the defendants from aboue ouerwhelmed them with ſtones, timber, wild-fire, and ſuch other things as are vſually prepared for the defence of towns beſieged. For all that, *Feri-Baſſa* gaue ſo great an aſſault, that he ſlew diuers of the defendants vpon the wals, and had there forcibly entred, had not the gouernor, perceiuing the danger, with a companie of freſh ſouldiers come with ſpeed to the defence of that place; wherby the enemie was preſently repulſed, and driuen again from the walls. *Amurath* ſeeing the great ſlaughter of his men, and no hope of ſucceſſe, cauſed a retrait to be ſounded, and ſo leauing the aſſault, retyred again into his camp. The great loſſe and diſhonor at this aſſault receiued, much troubled his waiward minde; who for all that yet ceaſed not to giue the like vaine attempts. At length, the captain of the Ianizaries perceiuing that part of the citie which was fartheſt from the campe, to be commonly but K ſlenderly manned, by reaſon that it ſeemed a place impregnable, both for the height & ſteepnes of the rock; told *Amurath*, That he would aſſay (if it ſo pleaſed him) ſecretly in the night to attempt by that place to enter the city; whereas they thought nothing was more to be feared, than the height thereof, which they, ſupported with the wings of deſire, doubted not to mount vnto. This his deuice exceedingly pleaſed the King, and was the next night with great ſilence put in execution. But ſuch was the carefulneſſe of the gouernor ouer euery part of his charge, that nothing could be done againſt the ſame, but that it was forthwith by him diſcouered. The gouernor aduertiſed by the Watch, of the Turks attempt; with great ſilence preſently repaired to the place with a great companie of the garriſon ſoldiers, and ſtanding cloſe, from the top of the wall beheld the Turks, as it had bin a ſwarme of Emmets, climing vp the L high rocks, and one helping vp another, by ſuch deſperat way, as was in reaſon to haue beene thought no man would haue attempted. But when they were come to the top of the rock, and now euen readie to enter, they were from aboue ſuddenly ouerwhelmed, as it had been with a ſhoure of ſhot, and ſo violently forced down that high rocke, that moſt part of them which had got vp to any height, were miſerably cruſhed to death, either with the weight of themſelues, or with others falling vpon them, and many of the reſt ſlaine with ſhot from the top of the rocke: whereof *Amurath* preſently vnderſtanding, was therewith exceedingly grieued.

The Turkes repulſed, retyre.

The Ianizaries deſperately attempt to ſurpriſe the citie.

The Ianizaries repulſed.

During the time of this ſiege, *Scanderbeg* neuer lay long ſtill in one place, but remoued continually from place to place, as beſt ſerued his purpoſe, breaking ſomtimes into one quarter of the Turks campe, & ſometime into another, & ſtraitway ſo ſuddenly gon again, and as it were M vaniſhed out of ſight, that *Amurath* many times wondered what was become of him. At this time, being the latter end of Iune, he was come with his army within eight miles of *Amuraths* campe: and from thence ſent *Moſes* his greateſt captaine, in the attyre of a common ſouldier, with two other, to take view how the enemie lay incamped. By which truſtie eſpials he was

informed,

A enformed, That the Turks lay in great ſecuritie, as men without feare, keeping but negligent watch. Of which opportunitie, *Scanderbeg* reioycing, the night following ſuddenly aſſaulted one quarter of the Turks camp. Whoſe comming, although it was a little before by the Turks ſcouts diſcouered, yet his furious aſſault was ſo ſudden and ſo forcible, that he ſlew two thouſand of the Turks, and filled euery corner of that great campe with feare and tumult, before they could well arme themſelues or make reſiſtance. After which ſlaughter he ſafely retired, carrying away with him two hundred and thirtie horſe, with ſeuen of the Turks enſignes, hauing in this skirmiſh loſt of his men but two and fortie: whoſe dead bodies the Turkes the next morning in reuenge of their ſlaine friends hewed into ſmall pieces.

Vpon theſe great diſgraces one following in the neck of another, *Amurath* hauing no other B obiect but the citie to ſhew his furie vpon, gaue three fierce aſſaults vnto the ſame, one after another, & was alwaies with loſſe both of his men & honor repulſed. But the more he loſt, the more he burnt with deſire of reuenge, perſuading his ſoldiers, That as the ſtrongeſt cities and fortreſſes were built by mens hands, ſo were they to be ouerthrowne and laied euen with the ground by reſolute and valiant men: incouraging them to a freſh aſſault, with greater promiſes of reward than euer he had done before in all his wars, from the firſt beginning of his raigne. And becauſe he would with more ſafety giue this his laſt & greateſt aſſault, he appointed *Feri-Baſſa*, with twelue thouſand horſemen and ſix thouſand foot to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, if he ſhould hap to come (as he thought he would) to trouble the aſſault, by aſſailing of his camp. *Feri-Baſſa* glad of this charge, wel hoping now to redeeme his former ouerthrow with ſome great victorie, and leading forth his armie a little from the camp, as he was commanded, ſo lay; C wiſhing for nothing more than the comming of *Scanderbeg*; vainely boaſting, That he would ſeek him in the field, and there trie his force and fortune with him hand to hand: which he did ſhortly after to his coſt. When *Amurath* had thus ſet in order all things requiſit, as wel for the ſiege, as for the ſafegard of his campe, the next morning he compaſſed the citie round about with his army, & couered the ground with his men of war, purpoſing at that time to gage his whole forces vpon the taking therof. The wals he had before in ſome places battered, ſo much as was poſſible; & yet but ſo, as that they were not without ſcaling laders to be aſſaulted: partly for the naturall ſtrength of the place, & partly for that the defendants had with great diligence continually repaired & filled vp with earth what the fury of the cannon had throwne down. This aſſault *Amurath* began firſt with his archers and ſmal ſhot, which deliuered their D arrows and bullets vpon the top of the wall, & into the city, as if it had bin a ſhower of hayle, therby to trouble the ſtationary ſoldiers. In this heat, ladders were clapped to the wals in euery place where any could be poſſibly reared, and the Turks began deſperatly to ſcale the wals; but the Chriſtians nothing diſmaid therat, with great courage reſiſted them, & with ſhot from their ſafe ſtandings wounded and ſlew many of them: yet others ſtil preſſed vp in the places of them that were ſlain, ſo that the aſſault began moſt terrible in many places at once, but eſpecially neere to the great gate of the citie; where the Turks had vpon the ſudden with ladders, timber, and plancks clapt together, raiſed cloſe vnto that tower, as it had bin a wooden tower, equall in height to the wall; from whence the Turks greatly diſtreſſed the Chriſtians in that E place, fighting with them as if it had bin vpon euen ground, ſtill ſending vp freſh ſouldiers in ſtead of them that were ſlain: & thereby preuailed ſo far, that they had ſet vp certain of *Amuraths* enſignes vpon the wall, to the great comfort of the Turkes, & aſtoniſhment of the beſieged Chriſtians. The Gouernor ſeeing the eminent danger, haſted to the place with a company of freſh and valiant ſouldiers, by whoſe force the Turks were quickly repulſed from the wal, their enſignes taken and ſent into the market place: the tower of wood with many ladders and much timber by the Turks brought to that place, was quickly conſumed with wilde fire caſt vpon the ſame from the wals. *Perlat* hauing deliuered the citie of this feare, preſently placed freſh ſouldiers in ſtead of them which were ſlaine or hurt, and ſo worthily defended the citie.

Whileſt *Amurath* was giuing this great aſſault to Sfetigrade, *Scanderbeg* to withdraw him F from the ſame, came with nine thouſand ſoldiers to aſſaile the Turks campe, as *Amurath* had before ſuſpected, & was now come very neere the ſame. *Feri-Baſſa* glad of his comming, oppoſed his armie againſt him: which *Scanderbeg* ſeeing, retired a little of purpoſe to draw the Baſſa farther from the campe, and then forthwith began to ioyne battell with him. The Baſſa conſidering the ſmal number of his enemies, & his own greater power, withdrew foure thouſand

Scanderbeg commeth to trouble the aſſault, and is met with by Feri-Baſſa.

ſand horſmen out of his armie to fetch a compaſſe about, & to ſet vpon the rereward of *Scanderbegs* G
army:hoping ſo to encloſe him,that he ſhould neuer eſcape thence,but there either to
be ſlaine or taken aliue,and his army vtterly defeated. But the expert captaine perceiuing his
purpoſe, to meet therwith, left *Moſes* to lead the main battel,and he himſelfe with two thouſand
horſmen,ſo valiantly charged thoſe foure thouſand of his enemies before they were wel
departed from the reſt of the Baſſaes army,that they had now more cauſe to look to their own
ſafety, than how to circumuent others. In this conflict *Feri-Baſſa* hand to hand, as he had oft
times before deſired,encountring with *Scanderbeg*,was by him there ſlain. All this while that
Scanderbeg was in fight with *Feri-Baſſa* in the right wing of the army,and *Muſachy* in the left,
Moſes ſtood faſt,receiuing the aſſault of the enemy without mouing any thing forward,expecting
the ſucceſſe of the wings. But *Scanderbeg* hauing diſcomfited the right wing, and ſlaine H
the General,comming now in,he ſet forward with ſuch force & courage,that the Turkes not
able longer to abide his force, turned their backs and fled: of whom many were ſlaine in this
chaſe,though *Scanderbeg* doubting the great power of his enemy ſo nigh at hand,durſt not follow
them far; but ſounding a retrait,put his army again in good order,for feare of ſom ſudden
attempt from the campe, and after appointed ſome of the meaneſt of his ſouldiers to take the
ſpoile of the ſlain Turks. When *Amurath* had vnderſtood what had hapned to *Feri-Baſſa*, hee
was ſo ouercome with anger and melancholy,that for a while he could not ſpeake one word:
but after the heat was a little paſt,he commanded certain ſmall pieces of ordnance, which he
had before vſed againſt the citie, to bee remoued into the campe,and there placed vpon that
ſide which was moſt in danger to the enemie. He alſo preſently ſent thither foure thouſand I
ſouldiers to ioyne with the remainder of *Feri-Baſſaes* armie, for defence of the campe, with
ſtrait charge that they ſhould not iſſue out of the trenches. Neuertheleſſe he himſelfe continued
the aſſault of the citie all that day: but when night drew on,& no hope appeared for him
to preuaile,he cauſed a retrait to be ſounded; and leauing the aſſault,he returned again into his
campe. At this aſſault *Amurath* loſt ſeuen thouſand men, beſide many that died afterwards of
their wounds; but of the garriſon ſouldiers were ſlaine but ſeuentie,and ninetie moe hurt.

The terrour of the Turkiſh armie began now to grow in contempt throughout Epirus; and
Scanderbeg was in good hope,that *Amurath* after ſo many ouerthrowes and ſhameful repulſes,
would at length raiſe his ſiege and be gone: yet hee ſent ſpies continually to diſcouer what
was done in the Turks campe, and he himſelfe with two thouſand ſoldiers would oftentimes K
ſhew himſelfe vpon the ſides of the mountaines neere vnto *Amurath* his campe, of purpoſe to
draw the Turkes out, that he might take them at ſome aduantage. But the old King had giuen
commandement vpon paine of death, That no man ſhould goe out of the trenches without
leaue,or once to ſpeake of giuing battell or aſſault: ſo that he lay certaine dayes in his camp,
not like a King beſieging of a citie, but more like a man beſieged himſelfe: the which his ſtill
lying, *Scanderbag* had the more in diſtruſt, fearing greatly that hee was hatching ſome miſchiefe,
which ſo ſoone as it was ripe would violently breake out.

Amurath by great promiſes ſeeketh to corrupt the gariſon of Sfetigrade.

Amurath conſidering with what euill ſucceſſe he had many times aſſaulted the city,& holding
it for a great diſhonour to raiſe his ſiege and depart, hauing done nothing worth the remembrance;
thought good once againe to proue, if it were poſſible to ouercome the mindes L
of the garriſon ſoldiers with gifts, whom he was not able to ſubdue by force. For which purpoſe
he ſent an embaſſador vnto the city,offering vnto the beſieged and garriſon ſoldiers eaſie
conditions of peace, with ſuch large gifts & rewards as had not bin heard offered to any garriſon
in former time. Al which his magnificall promiſes were lightly reiected by the common
conſent of al the whole garriſon,preferring their faithful loyalty before al his golden mountains.
For all that, *Amurath* was in good hope,that amongſt ſo many, ſome would be found,into
whoſe minds his large offers might make ſome impreſſion; wherein he was not deceiued.
For one baſe minded fellow amongſt the reſt, corrupted with the Turks great promiſes,preferring
his owne priuat wealth, before the welfare of his country,waiting his time had ſecret
confrence with the Turks eſpials, promiſing vpon aſſurance of ſuch reward as was before by M
Amurath profeſſed,to find means that in few daies the citie ſhould be yeelded into his power.
This corrupted traitor,had laid many miſchieuous plots for the effecting of this horribie treſon:
but the firſt deuice he put in practiſe, which of al others a man would haue thought to haue
bin of leaſt moment, ſerued his wicked purpoſe in ſtead of all the reſt. All the garriſon ſouldiers

A tratior corrupted with Amurath his large promiſes, conſpires to betray the citie.

diers of Sfetigrade were of rhe vpper country of Dibra, put into thatcitie,by *Moſes*,for their
A approued valor aboue all the other ſoldiers of Epirus.But as they were men of great courage,
ſo were they exceeding ſuperſtitious both in their religion and manner of liuing,putting nice
difference betwixt one kind of lawfull meat and other : accounting ſome clean,ſome vnclean;
abhorring from that,which they fondly deemed vncleane,with more than a Iewiſh ſuperſtition,
chuſing rather to die than to eat or drink thereof: ſuch is the ſtrong deluſion of blind error,
where it hath throughly poſſeſſed the minds of men. The citie of Sfetigrade (as is aforeſaid)
is ſcituate vpon the top of a great high rock,as moſt of the cities of Epirus now bee, and
was then watred but with one great well in the midſt of the citie, which ſunke deepe into the
rock,plentifully ſerued both the publick and priuat vſe of the inhabitants.Into this common
well the malicious traitor in the night time caſt the foule ſtinking carrion carkaſſe of a dead
B dod,knowing,that the conceited garriſon ſouldiers of Dibra, would rather indure the paines
of death,& ſtarue,or els yeeld vp the citie,vpon any condition,than to drink of that polluted
water. In the morning when that ſtinking carion was eſpied,and drawne out of the well, the
report therof was quickly bruted in euery corner of the citie,& that the wel was poiſoned:ſo
that al the people were in maner in an vprore about the finding out of the traitor.The citizens
were exceeding ſorrie for that had hapned,but the garriſon ſoldiers deteſted that loathſom
and vnclean water(as they accounted it)more than the Turkiſh ſeruitude,proteſting,that they
would rather periſh with thirſt,than drink therof. Wherupon ſome of them deſired to ſet fire
vpon the citie,and whileſt they had yet ſtrength,to break through the enemies camp or there
manfully to die. And they which thought beſt of the matter,requeſted,that the city might be
C yeelded vp; for now,they diſcouraged with a ſuperſtitious vanitie,could be content to hearken
to the former conditions of peace, yea they were ready enough of themſelues to ſue to
Amurath for peace, though it had bin vpon harder tearmes. The Gouernour troubled with
that had hapned,and aſtonied to ſee ſo great an alteration in the minds of his ſoldiers vpon ſo
ſmal occaſion:could not tell whether he might thinke it to proceed of a ſuperſtitious conceit,
or of ſome ſecret compact made with *Amurath*. But the better to pacifie the matter,he came
into the market place,and there in the hearing of al the garriſon,with many effectuall reaſons,
exhorted them to continue faithful vnto their Prince and country in that honorable ſeruice;
and in a matter of ſo great conſequence to make ſmall reckoning to vſe that water, which
would eaſily in ſhort time be brought again to the wonted puritie and cleanneſſe: and to perſuade
D them the rather,he went preſently to the wel himſelf,and in the ſight of them al drunk
a great draught of the water,whoſe example the citizens following,drank likewiſe. But when
it was offered to the captains and ſoldiers of the garriſon, they all refuſed to taſt therof, as if
it had bin a moſt loathſome thing,or rather ſome deadly poiſon, & with great inſtance cried
vnto the Gouernor, to giue vp the citie: for which cauſe many thought they were corrupted
by *Amuraths* great promiſes. Howbeit none of the garriſon (except that one traitor)did euer
afterwards reuolt to the Turkiſh king,or yet appeared any thing the richer for any gift receiued,
whereby ſuch ſuſpition might be confirmed. When the Gouernor ſaw that the obſtinate
minds of the garriſon were not to be mooued with any perſuaſion or reward (whereof he ſpared
not ro make large promiſe)nor by any other means which he could deuiſe;he called vnto
him his chief captains,with the beſt ſort of the citizens,& reſolued with them ful ſore againſt
his wil,to yeeld vp the city to *Amurath*,on ſuch conditions as they themſelues there agreed
E vpon: which were,That it ſhould be lawfull for all the captains and ſoldiers to depart in ſafetie
with their armor and al other things;and that ſo many of the citizens as would ſtay,might
there ſtil dwel in the city,in ſuch ſort,as they had done before,vnder the gouernment of *Scanderbeg*;
the reſt that liſted not to remain there ſtil,might at their pleaſure with bag & baggage
depart whether they would. Glad was *Amurath* when this offer was made vnto him,& granted
them al that was deſired,ſauing that he would not conſent that the citizens ſhould continue
in the citie,yet was he content that they ſhould liue vnder him as they had don before,
quietly enioying all their poſſeſſions, but to build their houſes without the wal of the city :
which condition ſome accepted, & ſome forſaking al, went to *Scanderbeg*. When all was thorowly
F agreed vpon,the keys of the gates were deliuered to *Amurath*,& the gouernor with the
captains,& al the garriſon ſoldiers ſuffered quietly to paſſe through the Turkiſh camp,as the
King had promiſed. Howbeit, *Mahomet* the ſon of *Amurath*, a Prince of a cruell diſpoſition,

The carkas of a dead dog caſt by the traitor into the common wel that ſerued the citie.

The Gouerner in vaine ſeeketh to perſuade the garriſon ſouldiers to drinke of the water of the well.

earneſtly perſuaded his father, to haue broken his faith, and to haue put them all to the ſword: G ſaying, it was one of their Prophet *Mahomets* chiefe commandements, to vſe all crueltie for the deſtruction of the Chriſtians. But the old king would not therin hearken vnto his ſon, ſaying, That he which was deſirous to be great among men, muſt either be indeed faithful of his word and promiſe, or at leaſtwiſe ſeeme ſo to be, therby to gain the minds of the people, who naturally abhor the gouernment of a faithleſſe and cruel Prince. The traitor which corrupted the water, remained ſtill in the city, and was by *Amurath* rewarded with three rich ſuits of apparell, and fiftie thouſand aſpers, and had giuen vnto him beſides a yearely penſion of two thouſand duckats. But ſhort was the ioy the traitor had of this euil gotten goods: for after he had a few daies vainely triumphed in the midſt of *Amurath* his fauors, he was ſuddenly gone, and neuer afterwards ſeen or heard tell of; being ſecretly made away (as was ſuppoſed) by the H commandement of *Amurath*: whoſe noble heart could not but deteſt the traitor, although the treaſon ſerued well his purpoſe. *Amurath* entring into Sfetigrade, cauſed the wals to be forthwith repaired, and placed one thouſand two hundred Ianizaries in garriſon there. And raiſing his campe the firſt of September, departed out of Epirus, hauing loſt thirtie thouſand of his Turks at the ſiege of Sfetigrade; much grieued in mind for all that, that he could not vanquiſh the enemie, whom he came of purpoſe to ſubdue. In his returne, the viceroy of Aſia marched before him with the Aſian ſouldiers; in the rereward followed the viceroy of Europe with his Europeian ſouldiers: in the middeſt was *Amurath* himſelfe, compaſſed about with his Ianizaries and other ſouldiers of the court. *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding of *Amurath* his departure, followed ſpeedily with eight thouſand horſemen, and three thouſand foot, and taking the aduantage I of the thicke woods and mountaine ſtraits (to him well knowne) whereby that great armie was to paſſe, oftentimes skirmiſhed with the Turks, charging them ſometime in the vaward, and ſomtime in the rereward, ſometime on the one ſide, and ſomtime on the other, and ſlew many of them: whereby he ſo troubled *Amurath* his paſſage, that he was glad to leaue the viceroy of Romania, with 30000 to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, that he himſelfe might in the meane time with more ſafety march away with the reſt of his army. *Scanderbeg* perceiuing the ſtay of the viceroy, ceaſed to follow *Amurath* further, fearing to be encloſed betweene thoſe two great armies. The viceroy ſeeing that *Scanderbeg* was retired, after hee had ſtaid a few dayes, followed his maſter to Hadrianople, and ſo *Scanderbeg* returned to Croia.

A traitor worthily rewarded according to his treaſon.

Sortly after the departute of *Amurath* out of Epirus, *Scanderbeg* left two thouſand ſouldiers K vpon the borders for defence of the country againſt the Tutks. Theſe ſouldiers ſo ſtraightly kept in the Ianizaries left in garriſon at Sfetigrade that they could not looke out of the citie, but that they were intercepted and ſlaine. And within a few daies after came himſelfe with an army of eighteen thouſand, and laid ſiege to Sfetigrade the ſpace of a month, which was from middle of September vntill the middle of October. In which time he gaue two great aſſaults to haue recouered the citie, but was both times repulſed, with the loſſe of fiue hundred men. *Amurath* vnderſtanding that *Scanderbeg* lay at the ſiege of Sfetigrade, ſent with al ſpeed to recall his armie, but lately before diſperſed. Whereof *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence, conſidering alſo the difficultie of the enterpriſe, with the approch of Winter, raiſed his ſiege, and returned to Croia: where he ſet all things in the ſame order he had done before the comming L of *Amurath* to the ſiege of Sfetigrade, and put two thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers there in garriſon, vnder the charge of the famous captaine *Vranacontes*, and ſtored his citie with ſufficient victuall for a yeares ſiege, wherein he had great helpe from the Venetians and other Chriſtian Princes, for that there was then great ſcarcitie of all things in Epirus, by reaſon of the late warres. The like care he had alſo of all the reſt of his cities, being continually aduertiſed from his ſecret friends in the Turks court, of the great preparation intended againſt him by the Turkiſh King, againſt the beginning of the next Spring.

1450

Amurath aſſembleth againe his armie at Hadrianople.

Amurath vnderſtanding that *Scanderbeg* was departed from Sfetigrade, changed his former determination for the calling backe againe of his armie, and appointed it to meet againe at Hadrianople, in the beginning of March following: whether the Baſſaes, and other great commanders, M at the time appointed, aſſembled with their companies, according as *Amurath* had before commanded. So that by the latter end of March, he had there in readineſſe an army of an hundred and threeſcore thouſand men ſtrong. Of which great multitude, he after the manner of the Turkiſh wars, ſent forty thouſand horſemen, vnder the leading of *Sebalyas* a politick

A captaine, as his vauntcourriers into Epirus, in the beginning of Aprill, in the yeare 1450. The valiant captaine with great ſpeed and no reſiſtance entred into Epirus, as was giuen him in charge, and without let came to Croia: where, after he had aduiſedly conſidered of the ſcituation thereof, and of the places thereabouts, he ſtrongly encamped himſelfe neere thereunto in the pleaſant plaine called Tyranna: and there within his trenches kept his ſouldiers cloſe, attending nothing more, but that no new ſupplie of men, munition, or victuals, ſhould be conueied into the citie, more than was therein before his comming. For he was not able with his horſemen to doe any thing againſt the citie: and *Scanderbeg* had left nothing abroad in the countrey ſubiect to his fury. Beſides that, he was expreſly by *Amurath* forbidden, to attempt any thing againſt *Scanderbeg* himſelfe.

B After *Sebalyas* had twentie dayes thus lyen encamped before Croia, neither doing nor taking harme; *Amurath* by reaſon of his great age, hauing marched oftentimes but fiue miles a day, came thither alſo with his whole armie, wherewith he filled al the country round about: the very ſight whereof, had bin enough to haue diſcouraged the ſmall garriſon in Croia, had they not bin men both of great experience and reſolution. Where after he had ſpent foure dayes in ſettling of his campe, he ſent two meſſengers vnto the Gouernour (as the manner of the Turks is) offering him if he would yeeld vp the citie, that it ſhould be lawful for him with all his ſouldiers in ſafetie with bag and baggage to depart; and the Gouernor himſelfe to receiue in reward two hundred thouſand aſpers, with an honourable place amongſt the great Baſſaes of his court, if it would pleaſe him to accept thereof: and further, that the citizens ſhould enioy all their antient liberties as in former time, without any alteration; with promiſe C alſo of greater. Theſe meſſengers comming to the gates of the citie, could not be ſuffered to enter, but ſtanding without, were commanded there to deliuer their meſſage: which when the Gouernor had heard, he ſcornefully reiected their offers, and returned the meſſengers ſhamefully derided by the ſouldiers which ſtood vpon the wall. *Amurath* more offended with this contempt, than the refuſall of his offers; and ſeeing no other means to gaine the citie, conuerted all his deuices vnto the ſiege thereof. Wherefore he firſt commanded ten great pieces of artillerie to be forthwith caſt, for he had brought with him none readie made, becauſe of the difficult paſſage ouer the high mountaines into Epirus; whereby it ſeemed to be a matter of infinit trouble to haue brought his great ordnance: and therefore carried with him great ſtore of mettall in maſſe, whereof at his pleaſure to make his great artillerie as he ſaw cauſe. In fif-D teen daies this worke was brought to perfection, and ten pieces of huge greatneſſe were ready mounted vpon carriages. Six of them hee placed againſt the Eaſt ſide of the citie, towards the plaine of Tyranna, and the other foure againſt the gate: in which two places onely, Croia was ſubiect to batterie, being on all other parts naturally defended with impregnable rocks, vpon the tops whereof were built faire battlements, more for beautie than needfull defence. Theſe two places *Amurath* battered foure dayes continually, and with the fury of his artillery had in both places beaten downe halfe the wall, & ſore ſhaken the reſt. Wherewith the Turks were exceedingly encouraged, & with great cheerfulnes made all things ready to aſſault theſe breaches, whenſoeuer *Amurath* ſhould command, ſtriuing among themſelues who ſhoud ſhew himſelfe moſt forward in that dangerous enterpriſe. And *Mahomet* the yong Prince, the more to encourage the ſoldiers, beſides the great rewards by his father propoſed, promiſed of himſelfe to giue an hundred thouſand aſpers vnto him that ſhould firſt ſet vp an enſigne vpon the E wals of the citie. The garriſon ſoldiers on the other ſide, conſidering that the whole ſtate and welfare of Epirus was repoſed in their valour, and that the eyes of moſt part of Chriſtendome were as it were fixed vpon them, were nothing diſmayed with the breaches made, but manfully comforted and encouraged one another to endure all manner of perill and danger that might poſſibly chance: but eſpecially the worthie Gouernour *Vranacontes*, who going through the middeſt of his ſouldiers, and ſhaking ſome of them by the hands, withall ſaid:

Croia battered.

Theſe, theſe are the fortreſſes of our citie, theſe are the inuincible bulwarkes, theſe are the irremoo-F uable ſtones and ſureſt ſement. What honour? what praiſe? what triumph ſhould we hope for? if theſe wals ſtanding whole and ſtrong, wee ſhould lie ſhrouded vnder the defence of them, and not they defended by vs? So can cowards defend cities, and ſheepe feare not the wolues rage, when they are ſafely ſhut vp within the wals of their ſheepecoats: But that is the praiſe of the walls, and not of the men.

The cheerefull ſpeech of Vranacontes the Gouernour to encourage his ſouldiers.

worthie Caſtriot *our Prince hath commended this his city to be defended by vs, and not vs by it. Honor is attended vpon with danger, and foſtered vp amongſt perils : euery baſe mariner may be a maſter in faire weather : and firme things ſtand of themſelues, and need not our vpholding. Wherefore, men of worth ſhun ſuch things, which being kept or loſt, yeeld like praiſe. Things readie to fall, need ſhoaring, and thither haſteth honour, and there (worthie ſouldiers) appeareth courage and valour. Wherefore let our valiant right hands defend theſe broken breaches, and in ſtead of theſe dead wals, couragiouſly oppoſe our luſtie and liuely armed bodies againſt the force of our enemies. If theſe wals ſtood ſtill firme, and vnbattered, you ſhould then fight from the top of them like women; but now that they are ſomething ſhaken, you ſhall as men ſtand vpon ſomewhat more euen ground, and encounter your enemies hand to hand, the better to ſatisfie your furious deſire. Where I alſo in the thickeſt, ſhall eaſily view and iudge of euery mans priuate courage in particular, and of all your valour in common. And yet if wee well conſider of the matter, the place it ſelfe doth yet notably make for vs; and our former good hopes are little or nothing by theſe ſmall breaches diminiſhed: for, this riſing of the hil (not poſsible to be taken from vs) although it be not ſo high as it is in other places, yet, doth it not ſerue vs ſufficiently at great aduantage to charge our enemies, and hinder their aſſault? The ſteepneſſe whereof, as it wil bee troubleſome vnto them, ſo will it keepe vs moſt freſh in ſtrength, and make our ſhot more forcible. Wherefore this had beene a thing of vs to haue beene wiſhen for, if wee deſire the ſlaughter of our enemies at this ſiege, or if we wiſh for perpetuall honour and glorie by this warre. For this breach of the wals will encourage theſe Barbarians, and allure their armed men to clime vp in greater multitude than if the wals were whole; whereof ſo many ſhall on euery ſide be eaſily ſlaine, as we ſhall but aime at: except you had rather ſit ſtil, holding your hands together in your boſomes as cowards. Their dead bodies ſhall fill vp the breaches againe, if you be men mindfull of your libertie. What is there (worthie captaines and ſouldiers) that letteth our victorie? or memorable ſlaughter of our enemies? by whom onely theſe two places of the citie can be aſſaulted: all the reſt is out of danger, and feares no enemies force. Here onely is the pains to be taken, this onely is left for you to defend, and here ſhall you all be : the courage, force, and ſtrength of you all ſhall in this place appeare. How will you ſo many worthie captains, and valiant ſouldiers, in ſo little roome beſtow your ſelues? We are too many defendants for ſo ſmall breaches. Yet let vs play the men, & doe our endeuour : let vs in one conflict weaken the tyrants ſtrength, and burſt his proud heart; he will forſake this city, and raiſe his ſiege vnfortunatly begun, ſo ſoone as he ſhall ſee his firſt aſſault to coſt him the liues of ſo many thouſands of his men.*

Croia aſſaulted

When *Vranacontes* had with this comfortable ſpeech thus encouraged his ſouldiers, againſt the aſſault which he expected the next day ; and had with great care & diligence ſet al things in order for the ſame, & repaired the breaches as wel as was poſſible in that caſe, he gaue them leaue for that night to take their reſt. In the morning *Amurath* commanded the aſſault to be giuen to both the breaches, which was forthwith by the Turks cheerfully begun, and euery man buſie to perform the ſeruice he was appointed vnto. But by that time that the aſſault was well begun, a ſudden alarum was raiſed throughout all the Turks campe: for *Scanderbeg* with fiue thouſand valiant ſouldiers, had ſuddenly broken in vpon one ſide of the Turkes great camp, and at the firſt encounter had ſlain ſix hundred of the Turks, and was now ſpoiling their tents. The rumor wherof, troubled the whole campe, and made the Turks with leſſe courage to aſſault the breaches, for feare of the danger behind them. *Amurath* although he had great confidence in them whom he had before left for the ſafegard of his tents, yet for more ſurety ſent *Seremet* one of his greateſt captains, with forue thouſand ſoldiers back into the camp, for more ſurety; ſaying, that nothing could be too ſure, againſt that wild beaſt: meaning the fury of *Scanderbeg*. *Mahomet* alſo the yong prince, haſted thither in great choler with his guard, much againſt his fathers wil. But *Moſes*, *Scanderbegs* lieutenant, knowing himſelfe too weak to withſtand the multitude that was ſwarming thither (contenting himſelf with that which was already don) had before *Mahomets* comming, ſpeedily retired with all his army into the ſafegard of the mountains, from whence he came : hauing done great harme in the Turks campe, with the loſſe but of ten men.

Scanderbeg in danger.

Scanderbeg in the heat of this skirmiſh, forgetting himſelf, had ſo far engaged himſelf among the Turks, that he was by them on euery ſide encloſed, & in great danger to haue bin ſlaine or taken : yet valiantly breaking through them, he eſcaped the danger, and recouered the mountains, and with much ado came at length to his camp, to the great ioy and comfort of them all, being before in great feare he had bin loſt. This was accounted

A the greateſt ouerſight of *Scanderbeg* in all his wars; for ſo much as the office of a good Generall
conſiſteth not in aduenturing of his perſon to manifeſt danger,but in the politick gouernment
of his charge. During the time that *Scanderbeg* thus aſſailed the Turks campe, *Amurath*
but faintly aſſaulted the breaches, expecting the ſucceſſe in the campe: but when he vnderſtood
that *Scanderbeg* was retyred, and all quieted, he brought all his forces to the walls, and
firſt with the multitude of his archers and ſmall ſhot laboured to driue the defendants from
the wals,ouerwhelming them with arrows falling as thicke as haile. And likewiſe at the ſame
time other common ſoldiers of baſer account,brought ſcaling ladders and other things needfull
for the ſcaling of the walls. After whom alſo followed the Ianizaries and other choſen
ſoldiers,readie to mount the ladders ſo ſoon as they ſhould be ſet to the wals. But whilſt they
B climbe vp the high hills in this order,the garriſon ſoldiers made ſuch ſlaughter of them with
ſhot from the wals and out of the citie,that they would haue preſently retyred, had they not
bin forced forward by their captaines, who ſpared neither ſtripes nor wounds, when words
would not ſerue. By this tyrannicall means, the ſcaling ladders were with great ſlaughter of
the common ſoldiers ſet vp againſt the walls,and the Turks climing vp,came to handy blows
with the defendants at the breaches: nothing was to be heard but the crying of people, the
clattering of armor,& the inſtruments of war,which was terribly redoubled with the eccho's
from the mountaines round about. The Turks doing what they might to win the breaches,
were by the Chriſtians worthily repulſed, & with their ladders tumbled headlong down the
mountain,with ſuch horrible ſlaughter and diſcomfiture, eſpecially of the common ſoldiers,
that none of them would ſet one foot forward again toward the wals,although they had ſmall
C hope to ſaue themſelues by retyring back: for the fierce yong prince *Mahomet* euen then making
ſhew of his cruell diſpoſition,cauſed them that returned,to be ſlain,by the terror thereof
to driue others forward. Theſe common ſoldiers,whom the Turks make ſmall reckoning of,
are for the moſt part miſerable Chriſtians,which liue in ſuch countries as had ſomtimes receiued
the faith of Chriſt, but are now vnder the Turkiſh ſlauerie; of which ſort of wretched
people the Turkiſh tyrants draw with them great multitudes in their warres,moſt commonly
vnarmed,becauſe they dare not wel truſt them in wars againſt the Chriſtians: theſe carry all
the baggage of the campe;theſe ſerue to fetch wood and water for other ſoldiers of better account;
theſe ſerue in ſtead of pioners, to caſt trenches and raiſe bulwarks; and when battell is
D to be giuen,if it be in plain field,theſe haue then weapons put into their hands,and thruſt into
the fore front of the battel,to blunt the enemies ſwords: but if a city be to be beſieged,theſe
ſerue as fit matter to fill vp the breaches with their dead bodies,or to make bridges for other
ſoldiers to paſſe ouer vpon:and if they ſhrink to attempt any thing they are commanded,then
are they more cruelly vſed by their commanders than by their enemies. When *Amurath* ſaw
his ſoldiers ſo diſcouraged,he ſtood in doubt whether it were better for that time to ſound a
retrait, or to ſend a new ſupplie: but being inraged with the loſſe of his men, and deſirous to
be in ſome part reuenged,he ſent diuers companies of his better ſouldiers,for the incouragement
of them which were before diſcouraged,and ſo gaue a freſh aſſault: but with as euill or
worſe ſucceſſe than before; for *Vranacontes* had withdrawn from the breaches all thoſe ſoldiers
which had indured the former aſſault,and placed other freſh & luſtie men in their ſtead;
who incouraged with the former victorie, and loth to be accounted inferior to their fellows,
repulſed the Turks with double ſlaughter: vntil that the aged King,not able longer to behold
E the endleſſe loſſe of his men,cauſed a retrait to be ſounded; which al his ſoldiers were glad to
heare, and ſo returned into his campe, hauing loſt in thoſe two aſſaults eight thouſand men,
without any notable harme done vnto the defendants worth the remembrance.

Mahomet thinking to deceiue Scanderbeg, is himſelfe by him deceiued.

This ſhameful repulſe much grieued all the captains & commanders of *Amuraths* army, but
eſpecially *Mahomet* the young Prince,whoſe violent nature vnacquainted with miſhap,burnt
impatiently with reuenge. Wherefore vnderſtanding that *Scanderbeg* lay intrenched vpon the
mountain of Tumeniſt,not far from his fathers army,he drew moſt of the beſt & readieſt ſoldiers
of all the whole camp,into that quarter which was neereſt vnto *Scanderbeg*: of purpoſe
F that if he ſhould again aſſaile the campe in that place (as it was moſt like he would) he ſhould
be incountered with ſo many braue and valiant men there in readineſſe, as that it ſhould be
hard for him either to do any great harme,or for himſelfe to eſcape. Of all which, *Scanderbeg*
by certaine fugitiues had intelligence, as alſo in what order the campe lay: whereupon hee

left *Moſes* with fiue hundred ſoldiers in the place where he lay ; taking order with him before his departure , that he at a certaine appointed houre in the night following, ſhould aſſaile the Turks campe in the quarter next vnto him where *Mahomet* lay ; and hauing there raiſed ſome tumult, ſpeedily to retyre again to his aſſured ſtrength in the mountaine. *Scanderbeg* himſelfe with the whole ſtrength of his armie, in number about 8000, in the meane time tooke a compaſſe, and by certaine ſecret by-wayes through the woods and mountaines, came vnto the farther ſide of the Turks campe, to a place called Mountecle. The night following, *Moſes* at the appointed houre with his 500 ſouldiers aſſailed that part of the Turks campe next vnto him, with ſuch noyſe and tumult as if it had been ſome great armie. By occaſion whereof, all the Turks camp was in alarm, and drew in haſt to that place where they heard that great tumult, as was before by *Mahomet* commanded. When at the ſame inſtant, *Scanderbeg* with all his Armie brake into the other ſide of the Turks campe, where he was leaſt feared or looked for, and from whence the beſt ſoldiers were before drawne by *Mahomet*; and there made ſuch ſlaughter and hauocke of the reſt (not knowing which way to turne themſelues) that the loſſe a little before receiued vnder the walls of Croia, was now forgot, as a ſmall thing in compariſon of this. *Moſes* hauing raiſed a great feare, and done little harme, returned in ſafetie to his well known ſtrength ; and *Scanderbeg* hauing made great ſpoyle in the campe, fearing to be oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies, if he ſhould there longer ſtay , returned in good time, hauing ſcarce loſt one man.

Amurath after this great loſſe and trouble of his campe, withdrew moſt of his ſmall Ordnance which he had before bent againſt the citie, into his trenches, placing it as commodiouſly as he might, for the defence thereof againſt the ſudden attempts of *Scanderbeg*. Yet for as much as he could not in that hot ſeaſon of the yeare ſo cloſely incampe his great armie, but that ſome part thereof would ſtill be in like danger as before ; he therefore appointed *Sebalias* with 16000 ſoldiers to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, that he ſhould no more trouble the campe. After which order taken, he battered the walls of Croia afreſh, and with his great ordnance ouerthrew whatſoeuer the citiſens had repaired, making the breaches greater, and more ſaultable than before, intending once againe by a new aſſault to proue his fortune, and the force of his ſoldiers : which he appointed to be the next day. But when he perceiued no ſigne of courage or good hope in the heauie countenances of them diſcouraged, and that they yeelded to him their conſents, rather for feare and ſhame, than for hope of victorie ; he called them cowards, diſcouraged with the leaſt frowne of fortune ; and ſaid,

Amurath his comfortable ſpeech vnto his wearied ſouldiers.

Euerie weake caſtle is able to hold out one aſſault : but if you will draw theſe wilde beaſts out of their dens, you muſt arme your ſelues like reſolute men of inuincible courage, to indure what thing ſoeuer ſhal happen. Great Captains with their puiſſant armies haue growne old vnder the walls of their enemies, vpon light and ſmal diſpleaſures : and will you hauing receiued ſo many diſgraces of theſe perjured Epirots , leaue them all vnreuenged? What great victorie was euer yet by any man gained without bloudſhed? Remember the moſt glorious victorie of Varna. It is hard without bloudie hands to put the yoke vpon the fierce enemies necke. All honorable things are brought to paſſe with aduenture and labour; and the end of this war dependeth of the taking of Croia : if it were once woon, all this warre were at an end: which if Scanderbeg *loſe (being the ſtrength of his kingdome, he will not tarrie one day longer in Epirus. Wherfore be of good cheere, and couragiouſly ſet vpon it : there is not more vncertainty in any thing, than in matters of war : Fortune is to be prooued, and oftentimes prouoked of him that wil wed her. And yet I will not denie, but that we muſt goe more warily to worke againſt this enemie, and hazard our ſelues with better aduiſement, and not without reaſon like wild beaſts to run headlong vpon our owne death. At length we ſhall weare them out, if we kill but ten of them at an aſſault : yet are they dayly to be aſſailed, that they may haue no leiſure to refreſh themſelues, and to make vp their breaches : and peraduenture if force may not preuaile, fortune may find ſome meane that we looke not for, as it fell out at the ſiege of Sfetigrade, beyond all our expectation. Treaſon is ingenious, and mens deſires great, where great rewards are propounded.*

With theſe and like ſpeeches old *Amurath* encouraged his captains & ſoldiers, and the next day early in the morning began the aſſault, which the Turks valiantly attempted ; and without regard of danger came to the gates of the Citie, aſſaying, but with vaine and deſperat labour, A bour to haue broken them open. In this aſſault wild fire was caſt into many places of the city, and the great artillerie oftentimes diſcharged into the breaches: whereby many of the Turks themſelues were ſlain with their owne great ſhot, together with the Chriſtians: for *Amurath* deſperately ſet, was content to buy the life of one Chriſtian with the loſſe of twenty of his Turks. But the Chriſtians ſtill valiantly repulſed their enemies, ſo that of them that came to the gates, none eſcaped aliue; and of them that aſſaulted the great breach, they which were moſt forward, were firſt ſlaine, and they which ſtood farther off, were ſore wounded with ſhot. Yet for all that, *Amurath* ſtill maintained the aſſault, by ſending in of new ſupplies, delighting to ſee them goe forward, but grieued at the heart to ſee them ſo ſlaine: vntill at laſt wearie with beholding the ſlaughter of his men, hee cauſed a retrait to be ſounded, and ſo ended the aſſault; B perſuaded by his Baſſaes, not wilfully to caſt away his valiant ſoldiers where there was no hope to preuaile, but to reſerue them for his better ſeruice.

The Turkes retire.

Amurath ſeeketh to vndermine Croia.

Amurath now out of hope to win the city by aſſault, thought good to proue what might be don by vndermining of the ſame: during which worke he cauſed ſmall alarums daily to be giuen vnto the citie, to the intent that the defendants buſied therewith, ſhould not perceiue the ſecret worke of the mine. About which time his prouiſion of corn began to faile in his camp; for which cauſe he ſent his purueyors for corne to Liſia, a citie of the Venetians, with whom he was at that time in league, and bought of them great ſtore of corne. But as his officers were conueying it to his campe, *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence thereof, ſlew the conuoy, & carried away with him all that prouiſion, diuiding it among his owne ſoldiers. Howbeit, not long after, C *Amurath* receiued great aboundance of corne and other prouiſion out of Macedonia: beſide that, the Venetian marchants afterward furniſhed him with plentie of corne, oyle, hony, and other neceſſaries; which *Scanderbeg* might well haue hindered, but that he would not in ſo doing offend the Venetians, which were alſo his ſecret friends, conſidering that *Amurath* might haue had all the ſame prouiſion out of the further part of Macedonia, Thracia, Myſia, and ſuch other places, if he had not otherwiſe had it from the Venetians.

Whileſt *Amurath* thus lay expecting the ſucceſſe of his mine, foure hundred of the garriſon ſouldiers of Croia ſallying out of the citie, chaſed diuers of the Turks that were come forth backe againe vnto the campe: wherof *Amurath* was glad, hoping, that they encouraged with that good hap, would to their further loſſe giue the like attempt afterwards. But the ſtaid diſcretion D of the Gouernour deceiued that his expectation; who conſidering the danger, would not ſuffer his ſoldiers any more to ſallie out of the citie. *Scanderbeg* alſo at this time hauing encreaſed his army with a new ſupply of two thouſand ſouldiers, diuided the ſame into three parts; deliuering one part to *Moſes*, another to *Tanuſie*; and reſeruing the third vnto himſelfe. With this armie of nine thouſand thus diuided, he determined by night at one inſtant to aſſaile the Turks great camp in three diuers places, apointing in which quarter euery one ſhould charge. But as *Scanderbeg* in the night appointed, was comming towards the Turks campe, hee was diſcouered by their ſcouts: wherupon a ſudden alarum was raiſed in the campe, & al mens minds turned that way, & ſoldiers appointed with al diligence to guard that ſide of the camp. But whilſt the Turks were al at gaze this way for feare of *Scanderbeg*, *Moſes* and *Tanuſie*, in the E dead of the night, at one time aſſailed the Turks camp in two diuers quarters, as they were appointed, where they ſlew a number of the Turks, and made great ſpoile. At which time *Scanderbeg* did alſo what he might: but by reaſon he was before diſcouered, did not much harme. Vpon the approch of the day *Scanderbeg* retired againe to the hils, & by that time it was faire daylight, ſate down vpon the ſide of a great mountain, about twenty furlongs off; in the open ſight of all the Turks camp: which he did of purpoſe, that *Moſes* and *Tanuſie*, which were by night retired into the mountains, might ſee which way to hold, to meet with him again. But the Turks thinking that he ſtood there to braue their whole camp, & as it were to deface them to the great encouragement of the defendants: diuers of them earneſtly craued leaue of *Amurath*, F that they might goe vp to him, & at leaſtwiſe beat him out of ſight: which he granting, 12000 of his beſt ſouldiers, whereof 7000 were horſemen, and the reſt foot, preſently ſet forward to encounter him. *Scanderbeg* ſeeing them all the way they came, vpon their approch ſoftly retired a little farther vp into the mountaines, ſtil expecting the comming of *Moſes* and *Tanuſie*. The Turkes vnacquainted hith ſuch difficult waies, marched vp the ſteepe hils after *Scanderbeg* with much labour and pain, wel wearied of themſelues: but when they were come a great way into the mountaines, they perceiued by the riſing of the duſt, that ſome greater force was comming croſſe thoſe mountaines; and not long after they might plainely ſee the foremoſt of their enemies. Wherefore fearing to be encloſed, they began to retyre, in which retrait *Scanderbeg* hardly purſued them, and hauing the aduantage of the ground, ſlew many of them but eſpecially with his archers. *Moſes* alſo comming afreſh on another ſide, cauſed them to flie down the hill amaine, and beſide the ſlaughter that he made, tooke diuers priſoners. After which victorie by *Scanderbeg* obtained in the ſight of *Amurath* and his whole Armie, he retyred again into the mountaines.

The late ſpoyle of the Turks campe, with this ouerthrow of the ſouldiers but now ſent againſt *Scanderbeg*, much grieued the old tyrant: but the worke of the mine, wherein he had of long layd vp his greateſt hope, ſorting now to no good purpoſe, being deemed as wel an endleſſe peece of worke, for the naturall hardneſſe of the rocke, as alſo of ſmall importance, for that it was by the defendants diſcouered, draue him to his wits end. His forces he had to his great loſſe ſufficiently proued, and ſtil found them too weake: and policie preuailed not. Nothing now remained, but to prooue if by great gifts and glorious promiſes he could firſt corrupt the faith of the Gouernor, and afterwards the garriſon: wherein he determined to ſpare no coſt. Vpon which reſolution he ſent one of his Baſſa's (a man of great authoritie and dexteritie of wit) vnto *Vranacontes*, with ſuch rich gifts and preſents as might haue mooued a right conſtant mind: commanding the Baſſa (if it were poſſible) firſt to faſten the ſame vpon the gouernor, as preſents ſent from *Amurath* of meere bountie, in the honor of his valiant mind; and afterwards to deliuer his meſſage, not ſparing to promiſe any thing for the giuing vp of the citie, yea more than ſhould be deſired. The Baſſa attended on but with two ſeruants, came with this rich Preſent neere to the gates of the citie, and there ſtayed vntill the gouernors pleaſure were known: by whoſe command he was receiued into the citie, and brought to his preſence. Then the Baſſa with much reuerence, and many magnifical words, preſented vnto *Vranacontes* the rich gifts ſent from *Amurath*, and would forthwith haue deliuered them vnto him, as the rewards of his valour. But *Vranacontes* willed him firſt to declare his meſſage from *Amurath*, vpon the hearing wherof he would (as he ſaid) as he ſaw cauſe, either receiue or refuſe them: before which time he would not be beholden to his enemie, by receiuing from him the leaſt courteſie. With which anſwer the ſubtill Baſſa nothing diſmayed, with great conſtancie thus began to deliuer his meſſage:

The craftie ſpeech of the Baſſa ſent from Amurath to corrupt the Gouernour, and to perſuade the ſoldiers to yeeld vp the citie.

Howſoeuer we agree (ſaid he) *vpon other matters we come for, we brought not theſe gifts of purpoſe to deceiue any: for ſo men vſe to deale with their children and ſeruants, and not with men of courage and valour. And albeit that enemies gifts are euer to be ſuſpected, (as you haue right wiſely ſaid, and we our ſelues know) yet we durſt not for ſhame come vnto ſo worthie a Gouernour (as the common ſaying is) emptie handed: neither ought you, if you be the man you ſeeme to be, and whom men report you are, to refuſe our courteſie. Take theſe Preſents in good part, which ſhall no way inforce or hinder you to determine or diſpoſe of your affaires otherwiſe than ſhall ſeeme vnto you good: neither ſhall we once obiect vnto you theſe gifts, which we ſo franke and freely offer in the great Sultans name, whether you reject or admit our demaunds and meſſage; wherein there is (perhaps) no leſſe regard had of your good, than of ours. For there is no greater token of a baſe mind, than to giue, in hope to receiue againe. We come vnto you frankely, (worthie Gouernour) I ſpeake it from my heart: we goe not about with filed ſpeech and rich rewards to circumuent thee, whoſe inuincible mind we haue ſo often in vaine prooued with our Forces and power. That is it for which* Amurath *loueth thee; he doth wonderfully admire the vertues of his enemies, and if it were poſsible, deſireth to haue them with himſelfe. There verily with ſo mightie a Monarch might thy inuincible mind and pregnant finde a better way vnto the higheſt type of Fortunes bliſſe. Not that I condemne* Scanderbeg, *whom we his enemies doe highly commend, for his Countrey ſo well recouered, and ſo oftentimes worthily defended, yet chiefely by your helpe: but you are worthie of another manner of Soueraigne, and of another manner of Calling, and not to ſpend all the dayes of your life, and ſuch heroicall vertues, in obſcuritie, and (without offence be it ſayd) in contemptible baſeneſſe. Beſides that,* Scanderbeg *his eſtate is but momentarie, the Deſtinies haue aſsigned vnto him too too mightie an Enemie; his deſtruction may well be deferred, but not by any means auoyded.* Amurath *hath conceiued againſt him an implacable diſpleaſure, and prepared his forces accordingly: he hath ſworne to ſpare no coſt, no labour, no danger: and that he*

will

A *wil neuer whilſt he liueth depart out of Epirus, before he haue impoſed a deadly yoke on his neck. And*
behold, the firſt of this miſerie beginneth at this citie, and vpon your ſelues. We dayly heare his pauilions
ſound with theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, That he will neuer depart out of this place before he haue taken
this citie, and ſatisfied his angrie mind with the torture of your bodies; no, not if he ſhould therefore loſe
Hadrianople, yea, and that more is, his whole kingdome. And verily he will do it, which I feare to diuine
or thinke vpon: For although I with others, beare againſt you the mind of an enemie; yet am I a man,
and moued with humane compaſſion: beleeue me (ye men of Croia) beleeue me, my eyes would ſcarcely
endure to behold the horrible ſpectacle of your miſerable fortune. I tell you againe, he will do it, except
you change your purpoſe, and now receiue health, life, libertie, and peace, whileſt it is ſo freely offered. For
albeit that this notable ſtrong place, theſe impregnable walls, and eſpecially your own valor, do yet defend
you; how long will it hold out? Verily no longer than you haue victuall, no longer than you haue meat
B *to ſuſtaine your bodies. Do you thinke that* Amurath *will raiſe his ſiege in the middle of the heat of this*
war, and be gon? No, no, if force will not preuaile, if all his attempts faile, yet ſhall you ſee and feele
theſe enemies continually to your hurt; you ſhall always haue theſe tents in your eyes, and at your gates,
vntill long famin, which maſtereth all things, tame your courage alſo. I pray you, what hope haue you
left? from whence ariſeth in your reſolute minds ſuch deſperat contempt of danger? Can Scanderbeg
victuall you, being ſo ſtraightly beſieged? which hideth himſelfe (poore man) in the woods all day, and
flieth ouer the tops of the mountaines, loaden with trauell and care, ſcarce able to relieue his owne miſerie.
Or will the Venetians relieue you, which dayly bring vnto vs and ſtore vs with too too great plentie
of all things neceſſarie for this war againſt you. Wherefore repent your too much hardineſſe, and gather
your wits together: behold, I your enemie aduiſe you: you haue long enough continued in
C *your obſtinacie: your countrie and libertie is not ſo far to be defended, as that you ſhould therefore*
fight againſt God. But wherefore do I call this, libertie? you muſt giue place vnto your fortune, and
learne to obey them that be too ſtrong for you. You ſhal find aſſured libertie, rich rewards, perpetual reſt
with Amurath. *Prouide for your ſelues, if you be wiſe, whileſt all things are yet whole for you to determine*
of; whileſt we your enemies exhort and requeſt you, and had rather haue you our voluntary companions
and friends, than our enforced ſeruants and ſlaues.

This the Baſſa ſpake with great grauitie, and no leſſe vehemencie, expecting ſome great
motions to haue riſen in the minds of the ſouldiers. But when he perceiued that his ſpeech
had rather filled them with indignation, than with feare; and that it was but a vaine thing to
D go about to terrifie them with words, whom all the power of *Amurath* could not make afraid
with weapons, he requeſted to talke alone with the gouernor in ſecret: which was alſo granted.
For all men had no leſſe good opinion of the worthie Gouernours fidelitie, than of his
great wiſedome and valour. The craftie Baſſa hauing him by himſelfe, began with great cunning
to deliuer his more ſecret meſſage: when *Vranacontes* perceiuing by a little, what the
whole tale meant, interrupted him in the middle of his ſpeech, and without more adoo commanded
him to depart: ſtraitly charging him, That neither he nor any other ſhould after that
time preſume to come from his Maſter to the citie, to ſpeake with him about any ſuch diſhonourable
matter; for if he did, he would in deteſtation thereof cauſe their hands, their noſe,
their eares to be cut off, and ſo returne them diſmembred, in ſtead of anſwer. And ſo the Baſſa
E was with his Preſents againe turned out of the Citie, and no man ſuffered to receiue any
thing of him in reward, although the ſouldiers could haue beene well content to haue
eaſed him and his Seruants of that carriage, if the Gouernour whould but haue winked
thereat.

Vranacontes rejecteth Amuraths Preſents, and threatneth the Baſſa.

Great was the expectation in the Turks camp, of the Baſſa's returne: but when they ſaw the
Preſents were not receiued, they eaſily gueſſed that all went not as they wiſhed. But when *Amurath*
himſelfe vnderſtood the gouernors reſolute anſwer, he in great rage commanded all
things to be made readie for a freſh aſſault: which he did rather to ſatisfie his anger, than vpon
any hope he had to preuaile therein. The next day he cauſed a furious aſſault to be giuen to
F the citie, but with greater loſſe to himſelfe than before; the Chriſtians ſtill valiantly defending
the citie againſt the Turkiſh furie. In this aſſault many of the Turkes were ſlaine at the
breach with their own great ſhot: for whileſt *Amurath* ſought therewith to driue the Chriſtians
from the defence of the breach, he ſlew a great number more of the forwardeſt of his own
men, than he did of the defendants. But wearied at length to behold the endleſſe ſlaughter of

Croia againe in vaine aſſaulted

his men, he gaue ouer the aſſault, and returned into his camp, as if he had bin a man halfe franticke or diſtract of his wits; and there ſate downe in his tent, all that day full of melancholie paſſions, ſometimes violently pulling his hoarie beard and white locks, complaining of his hard and diſaſter fortune, that he had liued ſo long to ſee thoſe daies of diſgrace, wherein all his former glorie and triumphant victories were obſcured, by one baſe towne of Epirus. His Baſſaes and graue counſellors labouring in the meane time with long diſcourſes to comfort him vp: ſometimes recounting vnto him his many and glorious victories, and other whiles producing antient examples of like euent. But darke and heauy conceits had ſo ouerwhelmed the melancholie old tyrant, that nothing could content his waiward mind, or reuiue his dying ſpirits: ſo that the little remainder of naturall heat which was left in his aged bodie now oppreſſed & almoſt extinguiſhed with melancholie conceits, & his aged body dried vp with ſorrow, he became ſick for griefe. Wherupon by the counſell of ſome of his Baſſaes, he ſent an embaſſador to *Scanderbeg*, offering him peace, if he would yeeld to pay to him a yerely tribute of ten thouſand duckats: thinking by that means his honor to be wel ſaued, if before his departure out of Epirus, he could but make *Scanderbeg* his tributarie. This embaſſador was by *Scanderbeg* honourable entertained in his campe, but the offered peace at the ſame time vtterly refuſed. The embaſſador returning to *Amurath*, declared vnto him the euill ſucceſſe of his embaſſage, which greatly increaſed his melancholie ſickneſſe. And *Scanderbeg* to grieue him the more, vnderſtanding that he was dangerouſly ſicke, and that the great Baſſaes were more carefull of the Kings health, than of the ſucceſſe of the warres; diuers times aſſailed the Turkes campe. Which thing though the Baſſaes kept from his knowledge with all carefulneſſe; yet he oftentimes ſuſpected the matter, by the often alarums and tumults in the campe, and with the griefe thereof languiſhed. So feeling his ſickneſſe daily to encreaſe, and that he could not longer liue, lying vpon a pallet in his pauillion, grieuouſly complained to his Baſſaes, That the deſtinies had ſo blemiſhed all the former courſe of his life, with ſuch an obſcure death, that hee which had ſo often repreſſed the furie of the Hungarians, and almoſt brought to nought the pride of the Grecians together with their name, ſhould now bee enforced to giue vp the ghoſt, vnder the walls of an obſcure caſtle (as he termed it) and that in the ſight of his contemptible enemie. After that, turning himſelfe to his ſon *Mahomet*, he earneſtly commended him to the faithfulneſſe of his Baſſaes, and gaue him many graue aduertiſements, ſometimes in ſecret betwixt themſelues, & ſometimes in the hearing of others: want of ſtrength, & abundance of teares running downe his aged face (vpon the ſight of his ſon) oftentimes interrupting his ſpeech. Yet ſicke vnto death as he was, and drawing faſt vnto his end, he forced himſelfe, to warne his ſon of ſuch things as now at his death grieued him moſt.

The laſt ſpeech and admonition of Amurath to his ſonne Mahomet vpon his death bed.

Let mine example (quoth he) *be a warning vnto thee my ſonne, neuer to contemne thine enemie, bee he neuer ſo weake: of which one thing aboue all others, I haue repented my ſelfe of long, and ſhall doe after my death, if any feeling of humane things remaine in the dead. And that I was ſo fooliſh, and inconſiderate, as to foſter vp as it were in my boſome this my domeſticall and neglected enemie, whereby I haue purchaſed vnto my ſelfe this calamitie, and for euer blemiſhed the honour of the* Othoman *kings: whileſt I ſo baſely ending my daies vnder the wals of Croia, ſhall become a by-word vnto the world, and all poſteritie for euer. This traitour ſhould euen then haue beene oppreſſed, when hee by great treacherie, firſt recouered his wicked kingdome: in that newneſſe of his eſtate, and before the mindes of the people were aſſured vnto him, then it had beene an eaſie matter, without bloudſhed to haue vtterly extinguiſhed the wretch, together with his name.* Alis Baſſa, *whoſe euill fortune was the firſt beginning of his good: Nor the other Generals, who by him ſlaine or taken priſoners, increaſed his ſtrength and credit vnto his ſubiects, ſhould not haue beene ſent againſt him: a thing which I haue oftentimes thought vpon, but could ſcarce haue beleeued, that euer I ſhould haue thereby receiued ſuch diſgrace, together with the ignominious renting of my kingdome, if I had not beene taught the ſame by mine owne experience, to my great loſſe and hearts griefe. Wee entered into Epirus, and here encamped an hundred and threeſcore thouſand men ſtrong: now if leiſure ſerue you, take view of them, examine the matter, you ſhall find a great want of that number. The fields could not containe our regiments and the multitude of our men: but now, how many tents ſtand emptie? how many horſes want riders? You ſhall goe to Hadrianople with our forces much impaired. As for me, the Deſtinies haue vowed my ſpirits to this countrey of Epirus, as vnto me fatall. But wherefore do I impute vnto my ſelfe theſe impediments and chances of fortune? for then firſt began this ſeed of miſchiefe in Epirus, when the*

A *Hungarians with other the Chriſtian Princes, roſe vp in armes againſt vs: at which time we fought not with them for ſoueraigntie, but for the whole ſtate of our kingdome: as the bloudie battels of Varna and Coſſoua ſtill witneſſe vnto the world. So whileſt I had neither leiſure nor ſufficient power to take order for all my important affaires at once; in the meane time this enemie grew as you ſee. But how, or in what order you are hereafter to wage warre againſt him, you may not looke for any direction from mee, which haue in all theſe matters ſo euill directed my ſelfe: Fortune neuer deceiued my endeuours more than in this. But happily thou* Mahomet *my ſonne, maieſt proue a more fortunat warriour againſt him: and for ſo many honours alreadie giuen vnto me, the Deſtinies haue reſerued the triumph of Epirus for thee Wherfore my ſonne, thou ſhalt receiue from me this ſcepter, and thoſe royall enſignes: but aboue all things, I leaue vnto thee this enemy; charging thee not to leaue my death vnreuenged. It is all I charge thee with, for ſo great and ſtately a patrimonie as thou art to receiue from me: it is the only ſacrifice that* B *my old departing ghoſt deſireth of thee.*

Shortly after he became ſpeechleſſe, & ſtriuing with the pangs of death halfe a day, he then breathed out his gaſtly ghoſt, to the great ioy and contentment of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians. He died about the middle of Atumne, in the yeare of our Lord 1450, when he had liued 85 yeares, as moſt write: and thereof raigned 28 (or as ſome others report 30) about fiue moneths after the ſiege laid before Croia.

Amurath his death.

Thus lieth great *Amurath*, erſt not inferiour vnto the greateſt Monarchs of that age, dead almoſt in deſpaire: a worthie mirror of honors frailty; yeelding vnto the worldly man in the end, neither comfort nor reliefe. Who had fought greater battels? who had gained greater C victories, or obtained more glorious triumphs than had *Amurath?* who by the ſpoiles of ſo many mightie Kings and Princes, and by the conqueſt of ſo many proud and warlike nations, againe reſtored and eſtabliſhed the Turks kingdome, before by *Tamerlane* and the Tartars in a manner cleane defaced. He it was that burſt the heart of the proud Grecians; eſtabliſhing his empire at Hadrianople, euen in the center of their bowels: from whence haue proceeded ſo many miſeries and calamities into the greateſt part of Chriſtendome, as no tongue is able to expreſſe. He it was that firſt brake downe the Hexamile or wal of ſeperation on the ſtrait of Corinth, and conquered the greateſt part of Peloponeſus. Hee it was that ſubdued vnto the Turks ſo many great countries and prouinces in Aſia; that in plaine field and ſet battell ouerthrew many puiſſant kings and princes, and brought them vnder his ſubiection: who hauing D ſlain *Vladiſlaus* the King of Polonia and Hungarie, and more than once chaſed out of the field *Huniades* that famous and redoubted warriour; had in his proud and ambitious heart, promiſed vnto himſelfe the conqueſt of a great part of Chriſtendome. But ô, how far was he now changed from the man he then was! how far did theſe his laſt ſpeeches differ from the courſe of his fore paſſed life! ful of ſuch baſe paſſionat complaints and lamentations, as beſeemed not a man of his place and ſpirit; but ſome vile wretch ouertaken with deſpaire; and yet afraid to die. Where were now thoſe haughtie thoughts, thoſe loftie lookes, thoſe thundering & commanding ſpeeches; whereat ſo many great commanders, ſo many troupes and legions, ſo many thouſands of armed ſouldiers were wont to tremble and quake? Where is that head, before adorned with ſo many trophies and triumphs? where is that victorious hand that ſwaied E ſo many ſcepters? where is the maieſtie of his power and ſtrength, that commanded ouer ſo many nations and kingdomes? O how is the caſe now altered; he lieth now dead, a gaſtly filthie ſtinking carkas, a clod of clay vnregarded, his hands cloſed, his eyes ſhut, and his feete ſtretched out, which erſt proudly traced the countries by him ſubdued and conquered. And now of ſuch infinit riches, ſuch vnmeaſurable wealth, ſuch huge treaſures, ſuch ſtately honors and vaine glorious praiſes as hee in his life time enioyed; his fraile bodie enioyeth nothing, but left all behind it. O the weake condition of mans nature! O the vaine glorie of mortall creatures! O the blind and peruerſe thoughts of fooliſh men! Why do we ſo magnifie our ſelues? why are we ſo puft vp with pride? why do we ſo much ſet our minds vpon riches, au-F thoritie, & other vanities of this life? wherof neuer man had yet one days aſſurance, and at our moſt need, and when we leaſt think, quite forſake vs; leauing euen them that moſt ſought after them, and moſt abounded in them; ſhrowded oft times in the ſheet of diſhonour and ſhame.

Amurath an example of the vanitie of worldly honor.

That his death is otherwiſe by ſome reported, I am not ignorant: The Turks ſaying, that he died maraculouſly forewarned of his death at Hadrianople: and ſome others, That hee died in Aſia,ſtrucken with an Aploplexie proceeding of a ſurfet taken of the immoderat drinking of wine. But *Marinus Barleſius*,who liued in his time in Scodra faſt by Epirus,whoſe authoritie, in report of the warres betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* wee follow, ſetteth it downe in ſuch manner as is aforeſaid.

Amurath buried at Pruſa.

Preſently after his death, *Mahomet* his ſonne, for feare of ſome innouation to bee made at home,raiſed the ſiege and returned to Hadrianople : and afterward with great ſolemnitie buried his dead body at the Weſt ſide of Pruſa,in the ſuburbs of the citie,where he now lieth in a Chappell without any roofe, his graue nothing differing from the manner of the common Turks : which(they ſay)he commanded to bee done in his laſt will ; that the mercie and bleſſing of God (as he tearmed it) might come vnto him by the ſhining of the Sunne and Moone, and falling of the raine and dew of heauen vpon his graue.

He whileſt he liued,mightily enlarged the Turkiſh kingdome,and with greater wiſedome and policie than his predeceſſors,eſtabliſhed the ſame:inſomuch that ſome attribute vnto him the firſt inſtitution of the Ianizaries, and other ſouldiers of the court (the greateſt ſtrength of the Turkiſh empire) before indeed begun in the time of *Amurath* the firſt, his great grandfather (as is before declared)but by him greatly augmented,& the policy of that ſtate ,wherby it had euer ſince in his poſterity flouriſhed,euen by himſelfe plotted. For the better eſtabliſhing wherof in his owne houſe, and to cut off all occaſion of feare, as alſo to leaue all ſuch as might haue the heart to ariſe againſt him, naked & bare of forces to reſiſt ; but eſpecially the other antient and noble families of the Turks,ſtill ſecretly repining at the great honor of the *Othoman* Kings:he as a man of great wiſedome and iudgement, to keep them vnder in the beginning of his raign,by manifold fauors began to bind vnto himſelf men of ſtrange & forrain countries,his ſeruants,& by ordering of his moſt weightie affaires by their authoritie, ſo by little and little to caſt off the ſeruice of his naturall Turks : they in the mean time little or nothing at all looking into this his practiſe. And wheras the *Othoman* kings his predeceſſors,had for the moſt part, or rather altogether raiſed their Ianizaries & other ſoldiers of the court, of ſuch children of the Chriſtians as were taken in the warres;he,ſeeing by experience how ſeruiceable thoſe new kind of ſouldiers were, began forthwith to plot in his head,how to make himſelfe an army altogether of ſuch able perſons,his owne creatures, & ſo to bring in a new kind of warfare,wholly depending of himſelf. And to that end,by his officers appointed for that purpoſe, took from the Chriſtians throughout his dominions,euery fift child : the faireſt and apteſt of whom,he placed in his own Seraglio at Hadrianople , and the reſt in other like places by him built for ſuch purpoſe : where they were by ſufficient teachers, firſt inſtructed in the principles of the Mahometan religion,& then in all maner of actiuity and feats of arms. Of theſe,when they were grown to mans ſtate,he made horſemen, gaue them great penſions, and ſorting them into diuers orders,appointed them alſo to guard his perſon ; honouring the better ſort of them with the name of *Spahi-Oglani*, that is to ſay,his ſons the Knights ; and of theſe he began to make his Baſſaes,his generals of his armies,& the gouernors of his prouinces & cities, with all the great offices of the ſtate. The reſt,and far the greateſt part of theſe tribute children,taken from their Chriſtian parents,& not brought vp in the Seraglios,he cauſed to be diſperſed into euery city and country of his dominion in Aſia,there for certain yeres to be brought vp in all hardnes & painful labor,neuer taſting of eaſe or pleaſure:out of which hard brood ſo enured to pains,he made choice of ſo many of the moſt luſty & able bodies fitteſt for ſeruice,as he thought good ; who kept in continual exerciſe,& by skilful men taught to handle all manner of weapons,but eſpecially the bow, the peece,and the ſcimitar, were by him as occaſion ſerued added to the other Ianizaries, and appointed for the guarding of his perſon : calling them commonly by the names of his ſonnes. The remainder of theſe tribute children,as vnfit for the wars, he put vnto other baſe occupations and miniſteries. But vnto thoſe martiall men of all ſorts ſo by him ordained,he appointed a continual pay,according to their degrees and places : and by great benefits & liberties beſtowed vpon them,bound them ſo faſt vnto him,as that he might now account himſelfe to haue of them ſo many ſons, as hee had ſoldiers : For they together with the Chriſtian religion, hauing forgot their parents and countrey,and knowing no other lord and maſter but him,& acknowledging all that they had to come and proceed of his free grace only,remained euer bound and fathful vnto him;and ſo kept others alſo,as wel the natural Turkes themſelues,as the other oppreſſed Chriſtians with-

in

A in the bounds of obedience and loyaltie. A great policie proceeding from a deep iudgement,
firſt to weaken the Chriſtians by taking from them their beſt children, and of greateſt hope;
and then by them depending wholly of himſelf, to keep in awe and dutifull obedience his na-
turall ſubiects alſo: hauing them alwaies as a ſcourge ready to chaſtiſe the rebellious or diſ-
loyal. Now the other *Othoman* Kings and Emperours, the ſucceſſors of *Amurath*, keeping this
cuſtome, and alſo increaſing it one after another, haue thereby not only kept the empire ſtil in
their houſe and family, where it was firſt gotten: but alſo ſo maintained the maieſtie of their
ſtate, as that they are of their ſubiects feared, obeyed, and honored, not as Kings, but as Gods.
For the naturall Turks their ſubiects loſing courage continually, & daily growing more baſe
and daſtardly, by reaſon they are not ſuffered to practiſe the knowledge of armes; and the ſol-
B diers in whoſe power all things are, knowing nothing of their owne, but holding and acknow-
ledging all that they haue to come of their Lord, account them as Lords and Kings of all: ru-
ling much after the manner of the *Pharaohs* the ancient Kings of Ægypt; who were abſolute
Lords and maſters, both of the publicke and priuate wealth of their ſubiects, whom they kept
vnder as ſlaues and villaines. And hereof commeth it to paſſe, that the better part of them
whom we call Turks, (but are indeed the children of Chriſtians, and ſeduced by their falſe in-
ſtructors) deſire to be called Muſulmans (that is to ſay, right beleeuers) holding it a reproch-
full and diſhonorable thing to be called Turks, as it were peculiarly and aboue other people:
For that they knowing right well, that there is not one naturall Turke among all thoſe that
beare authoritie and rule, and are had in greater honor and reputation than the reſt (ſuch as are
C the men of war and courtiers) but he is borne a Chriſtian either of father, or at the leaſt of his
grandfather: auouch thoſe onely to bee Turks which liue in Natolia, all of them either mar-
chants, or of baſe and mechanicall crafts, or poore labourers with the ſpade and pickaxe, and
ſuch like people vnfit for the wars, the reſt (as I ſay) holding it for a title of honor to bee de-
ſcended of Chriſtian parents. Yea the Grand Seignior himſelfe, although by the fathers ſide
he be come of progenitors ſuch as were naturall Turks borne, yet many of them had Chriſti-
an mothers, which they accounted in the greateſt part of their nobilitie and honor. Thus by
the wiſedome of *Amurath* was the order of the Ianizaries, and other ſouldiers of the court
greatly aduanced, though not by him begun, and the politick ſtate of the Turks kingdome (to
ſay the truth) quite altered; the naturall Turks (more than the Sultan himſelfe) now bearing
D therein no ſway: but onely theſe new ſouldiers, all of them deſcended from Chriſtian parents
and by adoption as it were become the ſons of the Turkiſh Sultans, and vnder them comman-
ding all: by whom they haue euer ſince managed their eſtate, and by their good ſeruice won-
derfully, euen to the aſtoniſhment of the world, increaſed and extended their empire. But of
them more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

A great policie.

This great King was whileſt he liued, of his ſubiects wonderfully beloued, and no leſſe of
them after his death lamented. Hee was more faithfull of his word than any of the Turkiſh
kings either before or after him: by nature melancholy & ſad, and accounted rather politicke
than valiant, yet was indeed both: a great diſſembler, and painful in trauell, but wayward and
E teſtie aboue meaſure, which many imputed vnto his great age. He had iſſue ſix ſonnes, *Achme-
tes*, *Aladin*, *Mahomet*, *Haſan* (otherwiſe called *Chaſan*) *Vrchan*, and *Achmetes* the yonger, of ſome
called *Calepinus*: three of whom died before; but the two youngeſt were by their
vnnaturall brother *Mahomet*, who ſucceeded him in the Turkiſh king-
dome, euen in their infancie, in the beginning of his
raigne moſt cruelly murdered.

Amurath his diſpoſition.

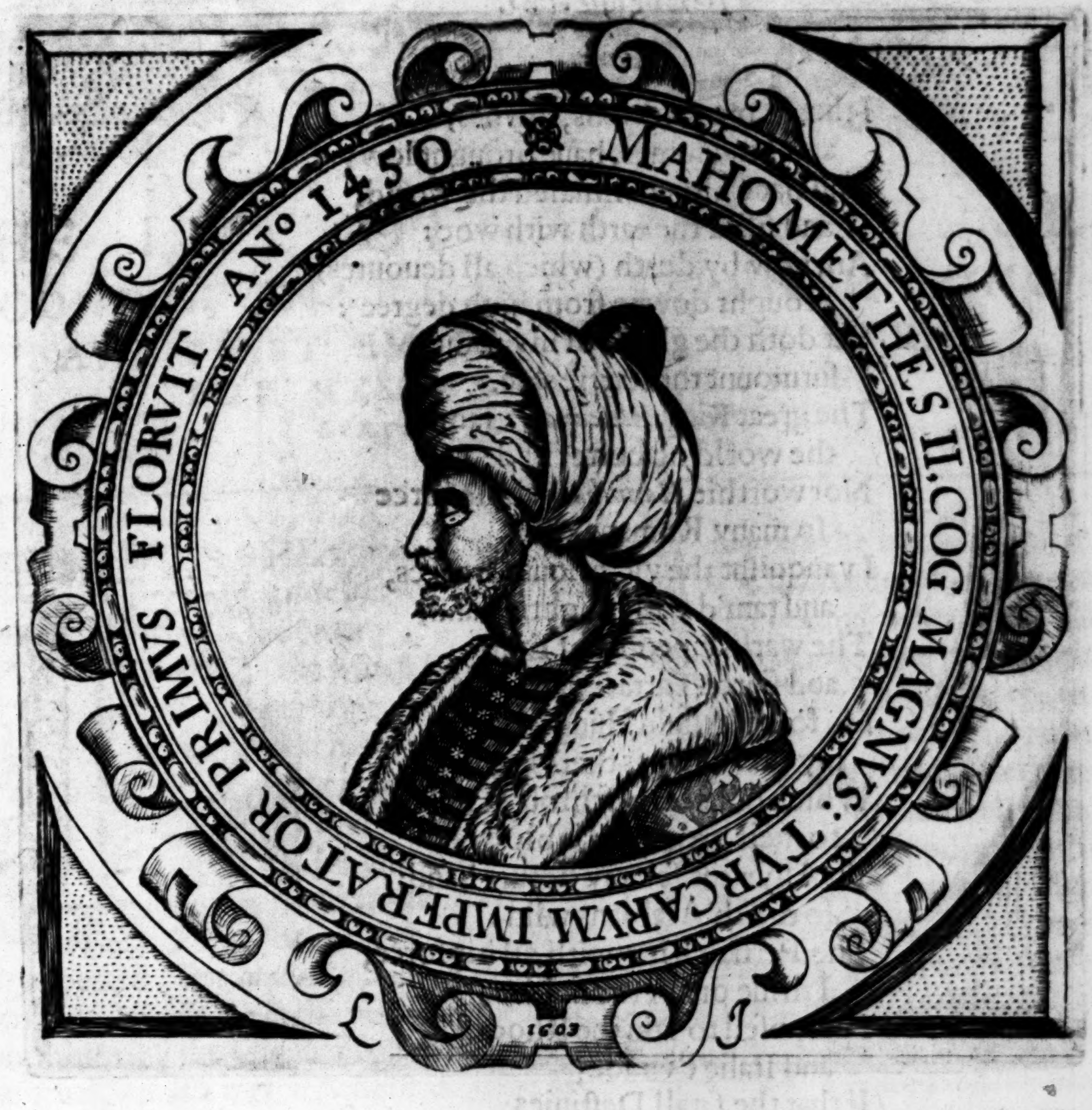
The ſonnes of Amurath.

⁂

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the ſame time with Amurath the ſecond.

- *Emperours,*
  - *Of the Eaſt*
    - *Iohn Palæologus.* 1421. 24.
    - *Conſtantinus Palæologus.* 1444. 8.
  - *Of the Weſt*
    - *Sigiſmund King of Hungarie.* 1411. 28.
    - *Albert the ſecond King of Hungarie and Bohemia.* 1438. 2.
    - *Fredericke the third, Archduke of Auſtria.* 1440. 54.
- *Kings,*
  - *Of England*
    - *Henrie the fifth.* 1413. 9.
    - *Henrie the ſixth.* 1422. 39.
  - *Of France*
    - *Charles the ſixt,* 1381. 42.
    - *Charles the ſeuenth.* 1423. 38.
  - *Of Scotland*
    - *Iames the firſt.* 1424. 13.
    - *Iames the ſecond* 1436. 29.
- *Biſhops of Rome,*
  - *Martin the V.* 1417. 13.
  - *Eugenius the IIII.* 1431. 16.
  - *Nicholas the V.* 1447. 8.


MAHOMETHES II. COG MAGNVS: TVRCARVM IMPERATOR PRIMVS FLORVIT ANº 1450
1603

Paulus Ionius
Illuſt. virorum
Eclog.lib.3.

Qui vici innumeros populos, tot regna, tot vrbes:
Solus & immenſi qui timor orbis eram:
Me rapuit quæcunque rapit mors improba, ſed ſum
Virtute excelſa, ductus ad aſtra tamen.
Major Alexander *non me fuit,* Annibal *& non,*
Fuderit Auſonios tot licet ille duces.
Vici victores Danaos, domuiq; feroces
Caoniæ populos, Sauromataſq; truces:
Pannonius ſenſit, quantum ſurgebat in armis
Vis mea: quæ latio cognita nuper erat.
Arſacidæ ſenſere manus has, ſenſit Arabſque:
Et mea ſunt Percæ cognita tela duci.
Mens fuerat bellare Rhodum, ſuperare ſuperbam
Italiam, ſed non fata dedere modum.
Hei mihi, nam rapuit mors aſpera, quæque ſub alto
Pectore condideram, vertit & hora breuis.
Sic hominum faſtus pereunt, ſic ſtemata, ſicque
Imperium, atque aurum, quicquid & orbis habet.

In Engliſh thus.

I that ſo many nations, townes,
  and kingdomes, haue brought low;
And haue alone diſmaied the world,
  and fill'd the earth with woe:
Am now by death (which all deuoures)
  brought downe from high degree:
Yet doth the glorie of my name
  ſurmount the ſtarrie skie.
The great King *Alexanders* fame,
  the world no better fil'd:
Nor worthie *Hannibal*, whoſe force
  ſo many Romans kil'd.
I vanquiſht the victorious Greekes,
  and tam'd with mightie hand,
The warlike people of Epire,
  and fierce Tartaria land.
My force in field Hungaria felt,
  my greatneſſe is there knowne:
Which of late time through Italie,
  to their great ruth is blowne.
Th'Aſſyrians felt my heauie hand:
  ſo did th'Arabians wild:
The Perſian King with all his force,
  I driue out of the field.
I purpoſed to win the Rhodes,
  and Italie t'vndoe;
If that the fatall Deſtinies
  had granted leaue thereto.
But woe is me, for griſly death
  hath brought all this to nought:
And in the twinckling of an eye
  is periſht all I thought.
So periſheth the pride of man,
  his honour, wealth, and power,
His gold, and whatſoeuer elſe,
  it fadeth as a flower.

THE LIFE OF *MAHOMET*, SECOND OF THAT NAME, SEVENTH KING AND FIRST EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS, FOR HIS MANY VICTORIES SYRNAMED THE *GREAT.*

THE report of the death of old *Amurath* the late king, was in ſhort time blown thorow moſt part of Chriſtendome, to the great joy of many; but eſpecially of the Greeks and other poore Chriſti- C ans which bordered vpon the tyrants kingdome; who were now in hope, together with the change of the Turkiſh King, to make exchange alſo of their bad eſtate and fortune: and the rather, for that it was thought, that his eldeſt ſonne *Mahomet*, after the death of his father, would haue imbraced the Chriſtian Religion, being in his childhood inſtructed therein (as was ſuppoſed) by his mother the daughter of the Prince of Seruia, a Chriſtian. But vaine was this hope, and the joy thereof but ſhort, as afterward by proofe it appeared: For *Mahomet* being about the age of one and twentie yeares, ſucceeding his father in the kingdome in the yeare of our Lord 1450, embraced in ſhew the Mahometan D Religion, abhorring the Chriſtian; but indeed making no great reckoning either of the one or of the other, but as a meere Atheiſt, deuoyd of all Religion, and worſhipping no other god but good Fortune, derided the ſimplicitie of all ſuch as thought that God had any care or regard of worldly men, or of their actions: which graceleſſe reſolution ſo wrought in him, that he thought all things lawfull that agreed with his luſt, and making conſcience of nothing, kept no league, promiſe, or oath, longer than ſtood with his profit or pleaſure.

1450.
Mahomet of no Religion.

Now in the Court men ſtood diuerſly affected towards the preſent ſtate: the mighty Baſſa's, and others of great authoritie, vnto whom the old Kings gouernment was neuer grieuous, inwardly lamented his death; doubting leſt the fierce nature of the yong King ſhould turn to the hurt of ſome of them in particular, and the ſhortning of their authoritie in generall, as indeed it ſhortly after it fell out. But the luſtie gallants of the Court weary of the old king, who in hope of preferment had long wiſhed for the gouernment of the yong Prince, were glad to E ſee him ſet vpon his fathers ſeat. And the vulgar people (neuer conſtant but in vnconſtancie, and always fawning vpon the preſent) exceedingly rejoyced in their yong King. The Ianizaries alſo at the ſame time (according to their accuſtomed manner) took the ſpoile of the Chriſtians and Iews that dwelt amongſt them, and eaſily obtained pardon for the ſame: whereupon he was by the ſame Ianizaries and other ſouldiers of the Court, with great triumph ſaluted King. Which approbation of theſe men of war, is vnto the Turkiſh Kings a greater aſſurance for the poſſeſſion of their Kingdome, than to be borne the eldeſt ſon of the King, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall appeare: ſo great is the power of theſe maſterfull ſlaues, in promo- F ting to the kingdome whichſoeuer of the Kings ſons they moſt fauour, without much regard whether they be the eldeſt or not.

This yong tyrant was no ſooner poſſeſſed his fathers kingdome, but that he forgetting the lawes of nature, was preſently in perſon himſelfe about to haue murthered with his owne

Mahomet murdereth his brethren.

A cruell reuenge of an angry woman.

hands,his youngeſt brother , then but eighteene moneths old , begotten on the daughter of G
Sponderbeius. Which vnnaturall part, *Moſes* one of his Baſſaes,and a man greatly in his fauour,
perceiuing,requeſted him,not to embrue his own hands in the bloud of his brother,but rather
to commit the execution thereof to ſome other : which thing *Mahomet* commanded him the
author of that counſell forthwith to do. So *Moſes* taking the child from the nurſe,ſtrangled it,
with pouring water downe the throat thereof. The young lady vnderſtanding of the death of
her child(as a woman whom furie had made paſt feare)came,and in her rage reuiled the tirant
to his face, ſhamefully vpbraiding him for his inhumane cruelty. When *Mahomet* to appeaſe
her furie,requeſted her to be content,for that it ſtood with the policie of his ſtate : and willed
her for her better contentment,to aske whatſoeuer ſhe pleaſed,and ſhe ſhould forthwith haue
it. But ſhe deſiring nothing more than in ſome ſort to be reuenged, deſired to haue *Moſes*(the H
executioner of her ſonne) deliuered vnto her, bound : which when ſhe had obtained,ſhe preſently
ſtruck him into the breaſt with a knife (crying in vaine vpon his vnthankful maſter for
helpe :) and proceeding in her cruell execution, cut an hole in his right ſide, and by peecemeale
cut out his liuer,and caſt it to the dogs to eat. At the ſame time alſo he cauſed another
of his brethren,committed by his father to the keeping of *Caly Baſſa*,and now by him betraid
into his hands,to be likewiſe murthered.

Mahomet reformeth the Turkiſh commonweale.

Thus beginning his tyrannous raign with the bloudy execution of them that were in bloud
neereſt vnto him,& whom of all others he ought to haue defended, he preſently after began
to frame a new form of a common weale,by abrogating & altering the old laws and cuſtoms,
and publiſhing of new, better fitting his owne humor, and more commodious for himſelfe : I
impoſing alſo new taxes and ſubſidies vpon his ſubiects, neuer before heard off: thereby to increaſe
his treaſures,and ſatisfie his auaritious deſire : which amongſt many other his vices,ſo
much raigned in him,as that he was thought ouer-ſparing vnto himſelfe,as wel in his apparel
as in his diet. And proceeding further,he called vnto ſtrait account all the great officers of his
kingdome : of whom ſome hee put to death, and confiſcated their goods : others hee put to
great fines,or quite remoued them from their offices. In like maner he dealt alſo with his great
Baſſaes,admitting many falſe and ſurmiſed accuſations againſt them : whereby to bring them
within his danger,where little mercie was to be looked for. By which meanes he became no
leſſe terrible vnto his ſubiects,than he was afterwards vnto his enemies: & ſo was of them exceedingly K
feared,but more hated. Among other things,he much miſliked in his court the exceſſiue
number of faulconers and huntſmen ; which was grown ſo great by the immoderate
delight which his predeceſſors tooke in the pleaſures of the field,that there were continually
maintained of the Kings charge,ſeuen thouſand faulconers, and not many fewer hunteſmen,
ſaying,that he would not be ſo much a foole,as to maintain ſuch a multitude of men to attend
vpon ſo meere a vanity. And therefore tooke order,that from thenceforth there ſhould be allowance
made for 500 faulconers only,and 100 hunntſmen : the reſt he appointed to ſerue as
ſoldiers in his wars. At the ſame time alſo he entred into league with *Conſtantinus Palaologus*
the Emperor of Conſtantinople, and the other Princes of Grecia : as alſo with the Deſpot of
Seruia, his grand father by the mothers ſide,as ſome wil haue it;howbeit,ſome others write, L
that the Deſpot his daughter, *Amurath* his wife, was but his mother in law, whom he, vnder
the colour of friendſhip ſent backe againe vnto her father after the death of *Amurath*, ſtill allowing
her a princely dowre. But if ſhe were not his mother (as like enough it is that ſhe was
not)much more happie was ſhe that ſhe neuer groned for ſo graceleſſe a ſonne.

1451
Mahomet goeth againſt the king of Caramania.

Whileſt *Mahomet* was thus occupied about his ciuill affaires,*Ibrahim* King of Caramania,
who long before had maried *Amuraths* ſiſter,and yet for all that, had (as his anceſtors had before
him) alwaies enuied the proſperous ſucceſſe of the *Othoman* Kings,tooke occaſion in the
firſt yeare of *Mahomet* his raigne,with fire and ſword to inuade his dominions in Aſia. Which
thing when *Mahomet* vnderſtood,he diſplaced *Iſa* his lieutenant in Aſia, as a man not ſufficient
to mannage ſo great warres,and appointed *Iſaac Baſſa* in his roome,a moſt valiant man of M
war,vpon whom not long before hee had vpon ſpeciall fauour beſtowed in marriage the faire
daughter of *Sponderbeius*,one of his fathers wiues,of whom we haue ſpake before. This great
Baſſa paſſing ouer into Aſia, raiſed a great army. After whom followed *Mahomet* in perſon
himſelfe with a greater, out of Europe : and hauing all his forces together,entered with great
hoſtilitie into Caramania. But the Caramanian King perceiuing himſelfe vnable to withſtand

A ſo puiſſant an enemie, fled into the ſtrength of the great mountaines, and by his embaſſadours offered vnto *Mahomet* ſuch reaſonable conditions of peace, as that hee was content to accept thereof. Which after they had by ſolemne oath on both parts confirmed, *Mahomet* returned with his armie to Pruſa: but when hee was come thither, the Ianizaries preſuming that they might be bold with the young King: putting themſelues in order of battell, came and with great inſolencie demanded of him a donatiue or largious, as a reward of their good ſeruice done. With which ſo great preſumption, *Mahomet* was inwardly chafed: but for ſo much as they were his beſt ſoldiers, and alreadie in armes, he wiſely diſſembled his anger for the preſent, hauing a little before had warning thereof by *Abedin Baſſa*, and *Turachan beg*, two of his great captains, who had got ſome ſuſpition of the matter: wherefore to content them, he cauſed ten great bags of aſpers to be ſcattered among them, and ſo pacified the matter. But within B few dais after, he cauſed *Doganes* (the Aga or chiefe captain of the Ianizaries) to be brought before him, and to be ſhamefully whipt and ſo preſently diſcharging him of his office, placed one *Muſtapha* in the ſame. The like ſeuerity he vſed againſt the reſt of the vnder-captains, cauſing them to be cruelly ſcourged and beaten like ſlaues: which in that tyrannical gouernment is an vſuall puniſhment, vpon the leaſt diſpleaſure of the king to bee inflicted vpon any man, without reſpect of degree or calling, if he be not a natural Turke born. Preſently after he ſent *Iſaack* his lieutenant againſt *Elias* Prince of Menteſia or Caria, by whom the poore Prince was driuen out of his countrey: euer ſince which time it hath remained in ſubiection to the Turkiſh Kings, as part of their Kingdome and Empire.

Menteſia ſubdued by the Turkes.

1452

When *Mahomet* had thus ended the Caramanian war, and was determined with his army to C returne to Hadrianople, he was aduertiſed, That the ſtraits of Helleſpontus were ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed by the Chriſtian fleet, that he could not there poſſibly paſſe ouer but with moſt manifeſt danger: wherefore he tooke his way through that part of Bythinia which lyeth aboue Conſtantinople, and came to the caſtle which the Turkes call *Acca-Chiſar*, and the Grecians ἀσπρόκαστρον, or white caſtle, ſtanding vpon the narrow ſtrait of Boſphorus on Aſia ſide, and there paſſed ouer into Europe at the ſame place where his father *Amurath* had not many yeares before in like manner found paſſage. Where when he was ſafely got ouer with his armie, he by the aduice of his Baſſaes encamped faſt by the ſea ſide, and there preſently began to build a great ſtrong caſtle cloſe vnto the ſtraits of Boſphorus, neere vnto Propontis, on Europe ſide, directly ouer againſt the other caſtle in Aſia. For the ſpeedie accompliſhment of which work, D he aſſembled thither all the workmen he could poſſibly get out of Europe and Aſia, apportioning vnto his captaines and ſouldiers of his armie part of the worke alſo: by whoſe induſtrie and labour, that great building was in ſhorter time brought to perfection, than was by any man at the firſt expected. This caſtle which for the greatneſſe thereof is of moſt writers reputed for a citie, was by the Turks named *Genichiſar*, and of the Grecians *Neocaſtron*, or New caſtle, and alſo *Lamocaſtron*, or caſtle vpon the ſtraits; and was there by the Turkes built, as well for the ſafetie of their owne paſſage too and fro, as for to hinder the paſſage of the Chriſtians through thoſe narrow ſtraits, they now poſſeſſing the ſtrong forts on both ſides: and therby alſo to diſtreſſe the citie of Conſtantinople, from whence this caſtle was not aboue fiue miles diſtant. When *Mahomet* in the ſecond yere of his raign had finiſht this great caſtle, with ſome E other ſmall forts about the ſame, and alſo repaired the other caſtle in Aſia ouer againſt it, hee placed therein ſtrong garriſons, and furniſhed the ſame with artillerie; in ſuch ſort, that no ſhip could paſſe through the ſtrait of Boſphorus into the great Euxine, or blacke ſea, but ſhee was in danger to be ſunke: whereby the rich trade which the marchants of Venice, Genua, & Conſtantinople, had to Caffa, and other places lying vpon the Euxine, were almoſt quite cut off, to the great hinderance of thoſe eſtates. Now *Mahomet* by nature ambitious, and withall deſirous to doe ſome ſuch thing as the glorie whereof might farre paſſe the fame of his predeceſſors, thoght nothing more anſwerable to his high conceits, than to attempt the winning of Conſtantinople, and the vtter ſubuerſion of the Greeke empire: Whereupon his father *Amurath*, F and his great grandfather *Baiazet*, had before in vaine ſpent their forces. Beſides that, it grieued him to ſee that goodly citie, the antient ſeat of the Chriſtian empire, to bee ſo commodiouſly ſcituated, as it were in the middeſt of his kingdome, and not to bee at his command. Hereunto the ſmall power of the Greeke Emperour himſelſe, and the other Chriſtian Princes at the ſame time at mortall diſcord amongſt themſelues, miniſtred vnto his greedie

Mahomet maketh preparation for the beſieging of Conſtantinople.

deſire no ſmall hope of ſucceſſe, and ſerued as ſpurs to prick him forward vnto ſo great an enterpriſe. G Wherfore al the Winter he cauſed great preparation to be made of ſhipping & other warlike prouiſion both for ſea and land: and gaue out commiſſions for the leuying of a mightie army, to be in readineſſe againſt the next Spring. But whither he would imploy the ſame, no man could certainly tel: ſome gheſſing one thing and ſome another, as the manner of men is, when ſuch extraordinarie preparation is at hand.

Conſtantinus the Emperor in vaine craueth aid of the Chriſtian Princes.

Conſtantinus the eight of that name, then Emperor of Conſtantinople, a Prince of a mild and ſoft ſpirit, fitter for the Church than for the field, hearing of the great preparation made by the Turkiſh King, and fearing leaſt that tempeſt then growing, ſhould vpon the ſudden break forth vpon himſelfe, firſt made ſuch preparation as his owne ſmall abilitie would extend vnto. And then ſent his embaſſadours vnto other Chriſtian Princes, earneſtly crauing their aid and aſſiſtance in that his dangerous eſtate. H But that labour was loſt, and all his ſuit vaine: for they beeing at variance one with another, and hauing more care of priuate reuenge, than how to repulſe the common enemie of Chriſtianitie, could not, or would not affoord him any helpe at all. *Nicholas* the fifth of that name, then Biſhop of Rome, with *Alphonſus* King of Naples, and the State of Venice, promiſed to haue ſent him thirtie gallies, but none for all that came.

There were by chance at Conſtantinople certain ſhips and gallies of Venice, Genua, Crete and Chios, of whom the Emperour made ſtay: at which time alſo it chanced, that *Ioannes Iuſtinianus*, an aduenturer of Genua, who had beene ſcouring thoſe ſeas, came to Conſtantinople with two tall ſhips, and foure hundred ſouldiers: where he was entertained by the Emperour. I And foraſmuch as he was a man honorably deſcended, and ſuppoſed to be both of great courage and direction, was by the Emperour appointed Generall of all his forces next vnto himſelfe. He alſo entertained ſix thouſand Greekes: which, with three thouſand Venetians, Genowaies and others, whom he had made ſtay of, ioyned vnto the citizens, was al the weak ſtrength he had to relie vpon, for the defence of his ſtate and empire.

1453

Vide Leonardi Chienſis Archiepiſcopi Mitylen. hiſt. de captiuitate Conſtantinopolitana.

Againſt the beginning of the Spring, the Turkiſh king had in readineſſe a great and puiſſant army of three hundred thouſand men, of whom, the greateſt part were taken out of Bulgaria, Seruia, Raſcia, Theſſalia, Macedonia, & Grecia, which as yet were called the Chriſtian countries, and were themſelues either indeed Chriſtians, or elſe ſuch renegates as had not long before forſaken the Chriſtian faith: vnto theſe alſo were ioyned diuers other Chriſtians which came out of Germanie, Bohemia, and Hungarie, to ſerue the Turke in his wars. K This hath bin none of the leaſt means, whereby the Turkiſh Kings haue growne ſo great, and their kingdome ſo mightily inlarged, by inforcing and alluring Chriſtians to fight againſt Chriſtians, to the vtter confuſion of themſelues. Among the great multitude of the Europeian Chriſtians, were mingled his effeminate ſouldiers of Aſia, and his naturall Turks and Ianizaries, which were in number feweſt, and yet commanded all the reſt.

Mahomet encampeth before Conſtantinople.

With this great army, well appointed with all warlike prouiſion, came *Mahomet* the Turkiſh King from Hadrianople: and the ninth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1453, encamped before Conſtantinople, and with the multitude of his armie filled all the maine land before the citie, from the ſeaſide of Boſphorus, vnto the place where the ſame ſea compaſſing in the city on two parts, and running far into the land betwixt Conſtantinople and Pera, maketh there a L goodly hauen betwixt them.

The ſcituation of Conſtantinople.

This citie of Conſtantinople (called in antient time Bizantium) is in forme of a Triangle, ſcituated in Europe in the pleaſant countrey of Thracia, vpon a point of the maine land ſhooting out towards Aſia, called of *Plinie* and *Solinus*, the promontorie Chryſoceras; where the ſea of Propontis ioyneth vnto that ſtrait of ſea, which diuideth Aſia from Europe, called in antient time Boſphorus Thracius; ſometime the ſtraite of Pontus; and the mouth of Pontus; and of the moderne writers, the ſtrait of Conſtantinople; and about two hundred yeares paſt, or more, S. *George* his arme. This point of the maine, whereon the citie ſtandeth, lyeth about two Italian miles more Northward than doth the auntient citie of Calcedon, on the other ſide of the ſtrait in Aſia: more than thirtie miles diſtant from the Euxine or blacke Sea, lying M from it Northward: And two hundred miles from the ſtrait of Helleſpontus or Calipolis, from thence South. Which noble Citie (of all others moſt fitly ſeated for the Empire of The World, and with great maieſtie ouerlooking both Europe and Aſia) is by the Coſmographers accounted to ſtand in the height of 43 degrees, vpon ſeuen little hils, of

Conſtantinople built by Pauſanias, deſtroyed by Seuerus, reedified by Conſtantine the Great, & now taken by Mahomet the Turke.

A no great and eaſie aſcent : and was there firſt built by *Pauſanias* the Lacedemonian King, and called Bizantium, and ſo many yeares flouriſhed as a populous and rich citie, vntill the ciuill wars betwixt *Seuerus* the Emperor, and *Niger* : what time it indured the ſiege of the Romans vnder *Seuerus*, three yeres, with ſuch obſtinacie, that it yelded not vntil it was brought to ſuch extremitie, that the citizens did eat one another; and then yeelding, had the wals ouerthrown by *Seuerus*, and the citie it ſelfe deſtroyed, and brought to the low eſtate of a poore countrey village, and ſo by him giuen to the Perinthyans. In which baſe eſtate it continued vntill the time of *Conſtantine* the Great, the ſon of *Helena* (whom ſome will needs haue to haue beene an Engliſh woman) by whom it was new built, and beautified with buildings ſo ſtately and ſumptuous, that vnto the ſtrange beholders it ſeemed a dwelling place for heauenly wights, rather B rather than for earthly men. And to grace it the more, tranſlated his imperiall ſeat thither, and called it *Noua Roma*, or New Rome; and all that pleaſant part of Thracia alongſt the ſea coaſt of Helleſpontus, Propontis, and Boſphorus, by the name of Romania, of the faire Romane colonies there by him planted; which name it at this day retaineth, and is of the Turkes called Rumilia and Rum-Ili, that is to ſay, the Romane countrey. But as for the citie it ſelfe, the glorious name of the founder ſo preuailed, that the citie was and yet is of him called Conſtantinople, or *Conſtantine* his citie : and now of the barbarous Turks commonly, but corruptly, Stamboli. It is (as we ſaid) built in the forme of a Triangle, whereof the longeſt ſide, which runneth from Northeaſt to Southweſt, is on the South ſide waſhed with the Propontis; and towards the ending of the point, which is about the ſeuen towers, is ſomewhat indented; being commonly reputed to be eight miles long. The other ſide lieth Eaſt and Weſt fiue miles C in length, being waſhed with the hauen, which is ſomwhat more than eight miles long before it meet with the freſh water, and about a quarter of a mile broad : on the further ſide whereof ſtandeth the citie of Pera, commonly called Galata, ſometimes a colonie of the Genowaies. This hauen is very deepe, & by that reaſon as commodious as deep, bearing ſhips ful fraught cloſe to the ſhoare, ſo that they may diſcharge their burthens with the leaſt trouble that may be; and is of *Strabo* called *Cornu Bizantij*, or the Horne of Bizantium. The third ſide of this citie towards the Continent, lieth almoſt North and South fiue miles alſo in length : thoſe two ſides that lie vpon the ſea, and the hauen, are enuironed and girt in with a ſingle wal, built after the antique maner, with many high towers, which ſtrongly defend and flanke the ſame. Without which wals (eſpecially towards the hauen) there lieth a ſtreet between them and the ſhore. D But the other ſide, which is the third, & regardeth the maine land (beſide the ditch, which is alſo fenced) is defended with three wals : the firſt wal ſtanding vpon the ditch being but low; and the ſecond not far diſtant from the firſt, raiſed ſomwhat higher; but the third ouerlooketh and commandeth both the other; from whence as from an high fortreſſe both the other wals and al the ditch without may eaſily be defended. But the two vtter wals, with the whole ſpace betwixt them, are now by the Turks but ſlenderly maintained, lying full of earth and other rubbiſh, euen as they were in the time of the Grecians : ſom cauſe why they with leſſe heart & courage defended the ſame againſt their barbarous enemies. In the Eaſt part of the city, on that point which in the raigne of the Grecians was called the cape of S. *Demetrio*, diſtant from Aſia not much more than halfe a mile, ſtands the Seraglio or pallace of the great Turk, containing in it ſelfe a great part of an hil, encloſed round with a wall, as if it were it ſelfe a citie, in circuit more than two miles : wherein amongſt other ſtately buildings, neere vnto the ſea ſtandeth a E very faire and ſumptuous gallerie, built for pleaſure, with a priuy gate wel fortified and planted with great ordnance, and other munition, whereby the great Turke at certaine times paſſeth, when he is diſpoſed in his gally to take his pleaſure vpon the ſea, or to paſſe ouer the ſtrait vnto his houſes or gardens of delight, on the other ſide in Aſia. In this great city are alſo many other moſt ſtately and ſumptuous buildings, as well of late erected by the Turkiſh Sultans, ſince they became Lords therof, as before by the Greeke Emperours : amongſt all which the Temple of S. *Sophia* ſtanding on the Eaſt ſide of the citie, not far from the Seraglio (now reduced vnto the form of a Mahometan Moſchie, & whither the great Turke goeth oftentimes to F heare ſeruice, being indeed but the ſanctuarie or chancel only of the great, ſtately, & wonderful church built by *Iuſtinian* the Emperor) is moſt beautifull and admirable. That which ſtandeth of it now, is both round and very high, built after the faſhion of the Pantheon in Rome, but much greater, fairer, and not open in the top as is that : the wals thereof being of the fineſt

The magnificent temple of S. Sophia.

marble,and the floore al paued with faire marble alſo. In the middeſt there is a very great and large circle,compaſſed in with high and huge pillars of moſt excellent marble of diuers ſorts; and theſe ſupport a mightie vault that beareth vp as many mo pillars aboue,ſtanding after the very ſame order,and in a downe-right line,almoſt of the like greatneſſe and goodneſſe of the marble with the other below: vpon which,aboue the ſecond vault in manner of a loouar,reſteth the great round roofe which couereth all that ſpace of the Church which is compaſſed with the aforeſaid pillars: being all enameled and fillited,with the pictures of Saints,after the antient manner of ſome great Churches in Chriſtendome: but that the Turks, who like not to haue any pictures in their churches,haue put out their eies only,as loth to ſpoile ſuch a rare peece of work,and vtterly to deface it. In like maner the wals of the vpper vault are wrought, painted,or portraied after the ſame order,though in ſome part decaied,by reaſon of their long continuance and ſtanding. About this church are eighteene or twentie doores of braſſe, right faire and coſtly,well declaring the magnificence and greatneſſe thereof in more antient times; when as it had (as is reported) more than two hundred doores of like making and greatneſſe: and beſide the hugeneſſe of the frame and building it ſelfe, had alſo diuers faire monaſteries and houſes of religion ioined vnto it: wherunto belonged ſix thouſand Prieſts,whoſe houſes and lodgings extended almoſt all ouer the place where now the Turkes pallace ſtandeth, and the other places adioining to this great church, which is now their chiefe Moſchie,& called by them by the proper name of S. *Sophia*,becauſe they hold euen as we doe,the wiſdome of God to be incomprehenſible & infinit. The next in magnificence vnto this,is the Moſchie of *Solyman*,wherin he lieth buried,& his welbeloued wife the faire *Roxolana*: a work wel beſeeming the maieſty of ſo mighty a Monarch. There are beſide theſe alſo many other faire Moſchies,Seraglioes for the Turke his wiues and concubins,Bezaſtanes or Burſes for marchants, Obeliſkes,Bathes,& other publick edifices and buildings of great maieſtie and ſtate, all well worth the beholding: wherin conſiſteth al the beauty of this ſo antient and renowned a city; far vnlike to that it was in the time of the firſt Greek Emperors, and before it was ſpoiled by the Latines. For the Turks priuat houſes in this ſo great and imperiall a citie,ſo much renowned through the world, are for the moſt part low & baſe,after the Turkiſh faſhion,built ſome of wood,ſome of ſtone,and ſome of vnburnt brick,laid with clay and dirt,which quickly decaieth again: they after their homely manner (by long cuſtome receiued) neuer building any thing ſumptuouſly for their own priuat vſe,but contenting themſelues with their ſimple cottages,how mean ſoeuer,commonly ſaying them to be good enough for the ſhort time of their pilgrimage: and yet not ſparing for any coſt vpon the publick buildings and ornaments of the common-weale,which they build with great maieſty & pomp; but ſpecially their Moſchies, wherein they excell. Neuertheleſſe,there yet are in Conſtantinople ſome other houſes alſo built high and comely enough; but theſe be few,and very old,all inhabited by the Chriſtians and Iewes,and not by the Turks; but of this enough. And ſo againe to our purpoſe.

The frugalitie of the Turks in their priuate buildings.

The Turks fleet

Mahomet with his puiſſant armie thus encamped before the citie, placing his Aſian ſoldiers on the right hand towards the Boſphorus; his Europeian ſoldiers on the left hand,toward the hauen; lay himſelfe with 15000 Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court, in the middle betwixt both, againſt the heart of the citie. On the farther ſide of the hauen alſo by Pera,he placed *Zoganus*,one of his chiefe counſellors,with another part of his army. At which time alſo *Pantologes* his Admirall came to the ſiege,with a fleet of 30 gallies:and 200 other ſmall ſhips, and a number of other leſſer veſſels,which were rowed with three,or fiue oares a peece,ful of Turkiſh archers,fitter for ſhew than ſeruice. But for defence of the hauen,and ſo of the city on that ſide,the Emperor had cauſed the hauen to be ſtrongly chaind ouerthwart from the citie to Pera: and within the chaine had orderly placed his ſtrong fleet,the greateſt ſtrength wherof was ſeuen great ſhips of Genua, with three gallies, and two galliots of Venice, three of Creet,and a few others of the Iſland of Chios; all which were there, rather by chance vpon marchants affaires,then that they were prouided for any ſuch ſeruice: yet by this means the Turks fleet was ſhut out of the hauen,and ſo the citie put in good ſafetie on that ſide.

When *Mahomet* had thus conueniently encamped his armie,and ſurrounded the citie both by ſea & land: he firſt caſt vp great trenches as neere as he poſſibly could vnto the wals of the citie,& raiſed mounts in diuers places as high as the wals themſelues,from whence the Turks with their ſhot greatly annoied the defendants. After that,he placed his battery againſt one of the gates of the city called Calegaria, and terribly battered the ſame, ſpecially with one peece of ordnance of a wonderfull greatneſſe, which with much difficultie was brought from Hadrianople with an hundred and fiftie yoke of oxen, and carried a bullet of an hundred pound weight, made (as his other ſhot was) of a kind of hard blacke ſtone brought from the Euxine ſea: for as yet (as it ſeemeth) ſo ſoone after the inuention of that fatal engine, the vſe of bullets of mettall was vnknowne. There with continuall batterie, hee terribly ſhooke the wals, which although they were very ſtrong, yet were they not able to withſtand the furie of ſo great a batterie. The Chriſtians alſo out of the citie diſcharged their great artillerie vpon the Turks, but ſo ſparingly, as if they had bin afraid to ſhake their owne wals, or loth for good husbandrie, to ſpend ſhot & poulder, which was to the canoniers very ſparingly allowed: yet that which was ſpent, was ſo well beſtowed, that the Turks were therewith greeuouſly annoyed. The breach alſo which they had made at the aforeſaid gate, was by the defendants with great and dangerous labour againe repaired with faggots and earth, and ſuch like matter beſt ſeruing for that purpoſe, and ſo made ſtronger than before. In which moſt dangerous worke, they were altogether directed and greatly encouraged by ***Iuſtinianus*** the Genoway, the Emperors lieutenant generall for defence of the citie.

Conſtantinople vndermined by the Turks.

Yet for all this dilligence of the Chriſtians, ***Mahomet*** continued his batterie with no leſſe furie than before: but repoſing greater hope to finde a way into the citie, by the ſpade and mattocke, than by batterie; he employed his pioners, whereof he had great ſtore, to digge a mine: being altogether directed by Chriſtians skilfull in that kind of worke, whom hee had for that purpoſe entertained. By whoſe cunning direction, with the induſtrious labour of the poore pioners, the mine was brought to ſuch perfection, that part of the wal, with one of the ſtrong towers in the ſame, was quite vndermined, and ſtood ſupported, but with ſuch vntruſty ſtaies as the pioners had left for the bearing vp thereof til ſuch time as it ſhould be by the tyrants appointment blown vp. This dangerous work was neither perceiued, neither yet feared by the Conſtantinopolitans, as a thing not poſſible to haue bin done: foraſmuch as ***Baiazet*** & ***Amurath*** had both with great labour before in vaine attempted the ſame, at ſuch time as they hardly beſieged the city. But that which thoſe great kings had with much vaine labor by vnskilfull men made proofe of, ***Mahomet*** had now by men of greater deuice, brought to paſſe; although it took not ſuch effect as he wiſhed: for one ***Io. Grandis***, a German captaine, and a man of great experience, ſuſpecting the matter, had cauſed a countermine to be made, whereby the labour of the Turks was in good time diſcouered, and they with fire and ſword driuen out of the mine, and the ſame ſtrongly filled vp againe, and ſo the citie for that time deliuered of a great feare and danger. ***Mahomet*** perceiuing that it auailed him not to continue his batterie againſt that place, which was againe ſo ſtrongly repaired, remoued the ſame, and planted it againſt a tower called Bactatina, neere vnto the gate called Porta-Romana, or, Romane gate. Which tower ſhaken with contiuuall batterie, at length fell downe, and filled the ditch before the vtter wall, euen with the ground. But this breach was alſo ſpeedily and with great courage made vp againe by the defendants, although the Turkes did what they could, with continuall ſhot, to haue driuen them from the ſame. At which time they alſo erected certaine high towers of timber, couered with raw hides to defend the ſame from fire, out of which they with their ſhot ſlew many of the Chriſtians vpon the wals, & in making good the aforeſaid breach: but ***Mahomet*** ſeeing this valiantneſſe of the defendants, openly ſaid, That it was neither the Grecians skill, nor courage, but the Frenchmen that defended the citie: for the Turks commonly call all the Chriſtians of the Weſt by the name of Frankes or Frenchmen.

Seuentie of the Turks galliots brought eight miles ouer land (by the deuice of a Chriſtian) into the hauen of Conſtantinople.

The cheerefulneſſe and induſtrie of the Chriſtians in defending and repairing the aforeſaid breach, was ſo great, that the Turkiſh King beganne almoſt to deſpaire of winning the citie, which he could no way aſſault but on one ſide. When as a bad Chriſtian in his camp, put him againe in good hope, by ſhewing vnto him a deuice how to bring a great part of his fleet ouer land into the heauen, & therby to aſſault that part of the city by water, which the citizens leſt feared: by which ingenious deuice, and by the great ſtrength of men, ***Zoganus Baſſa*** (to whom that charge was committed) brought ſeuentie of the leſſer ſhips & galliots, with al their ſailes abroad (to the great admiration of all that ſaw them) vp a great hil, and ſo by dry land, out of the Boſphorus behind Pera, the ſpace of eight miles, into the hauen of Conſtantinople, which running in betweene the citie and Pera, runneth into the maine Land (as we haue ſaid) about eight miles. The Chriſtian that diſcouered this deuice vnto the king, is ſuppoſed to haue learned it of the Venetians, who not long before had done the like at the lake of Bennacus. Glad was *Mahomet* to ſee ſo many of his ſhips and gallies in the hauen, and the Chriſtians with the ſight thereof no leſſe diſcouraged. Neuertheleſſe, they attempted to haue burnt thoſe veſſels as they were in launching, but the Turks had ſo commodiouſly placed certain pieces of great Ordnance for their defence, that the formoſt of the gallies of the Chriſtians, approching the Turks fleet, was preſently ſunke; wherewith the reſt diſmaied, returned backe from whence they came. Certaine of the Chriſtians of the loſt gallie, whom the Turks tooke vp ſwimming in the hauen, were the next day cruelly ſlain in the ſight of the Chriſtians: in reuenge whereof, certaine Turks before taken priſoners into Conſtantinople, were forthwith brought to the top of the wals, and there in the ſight of the campe with like crueltie put to death.

A wonderfull bridge made by the Turks ouer the hauen of Conſtantinople.

Mahomet thus poſſeſſed of the hauen, ſhortly after cauſed a wonderfull bridge to be made quite ouer the hauen, from *Zoganus* his campe which lay by Pera, vnto the wals of Conſtantinople: which bridge was built with timber and plankes, borne vp with ſmall boats and emptie caske, after a moſt ſtrange manner, and was in length more than halfe a mile: by which bridge his armie came ouer the hauen, to aſſault the citie on that ſide alſo.

A notable fight betweene foure of the Chriſtians ſhips, and the Turks fleet.

In the meane time, three tall Genoway ſhips laded with men and muniton from the Iſland of Chios, with one of the Emperours laded with corne from Sicilia, came with a faire winde for Conſtantinople. The Turks great fleet then lying not far off, within the ſight of the camp, ſet vpon them, and after a great fight, wherein an exceeding number of the Turks were ſlaine with ſhot, the gallies boorded the ſhips: but beeing much lower, were ſo far from doing any good, as that the Turks could not well looke out, but they were from aboue ſlaine or wounded. *Mahomet* from the ſhore beholding the vnequal fight, and ſlaughter of his men, cried out aloud, ſwearing and blaſpheming God, and in great rage rid into the ſea as far as he durſt; and comming backe againe rent his clothes, faring with himſelfe like a mad man. The whole army of the Turkes beholding the ſame fight at ſea, was filled with like indignation alſo, but could nothing remedie the matter. The great fleete aſhamed in the ſight of their King to be ouercome of ſo few ſhips, did what they might deſperatly to enter: but all in vaine, being continually ouerwhelmed with ſhot and ſtones from aboue, and valiantly beaten downe by the Chriſtian ſouldiers. At length wearie of their loſſe, they were glad with diſhonour to fal off again, and to get them farther off. The report of the loſſe the Turks ſuſtained in this fight, is almoſt incredible: ſome of the Turkes fugitiues reported, almoſt ten thouſand Turks to haue there periſhed: but certaine it is, that ſuch was the loſſe, as filled the whole armie with indignation and ſorrow, many hauing there loſt their kinſemen or friends. Three of theſe ſhips that had made this fight, arriued in ſafetie at Conſtantinople, the other was loſt. *Mahomet* vpon this ouerthrow conceiued ſuch diſpleaſure againſt *Pantogles* his Admirall, who in that fight had loſt one of his eyes, that he neuertheles thruſt him out of his office, confiſcated his goods, and was hardly by the great Baſſaes intreated to ſpare his life.

Whileſt *Mahomet* thus lay at the ſiege of Conſtantinople, and had thereunto giuen many great attempts, with more loſſe vnto himſelfe than to the defendants, a rumor was raiſed in his camp, of great aid that was comming out of Italie by ſea, and out of Hungarie by land, for the reliefe of the beſieged. This report (although indeed it was not true) with the due conſideration of the danger of the ſiege, filled the Turks camp with feare: ſo that the ſoldiers commonly murmured amongſt themſelues, ſaying, That to ſatisfie the ambitious humour of their young King, they were led to fight againſt impregnable wals & fortreſſes, yea againſt the bars of nature it ſelfe, without all reaſon: Whereupon *Mahomet* entered into conſultation with the three great Baſſaes his counſellors, Whether it were beſt for him to continue the ſiege or not. When *Caly Baſſa*, ſometime his tutor, a man of greateſt authority among the Turks, both for his long experience and high place, and withall ſecretly fauouring the diſtreſſed Emperour; after hee had with long & graue diſcourſe declared the difficulty or rather impoſſibilitie of the wiſhed ſucceſſe in that preſent war; & confirmed the ſame, by producing the examples of *Baiazet* his great grandfather, and of *Amurath* his father, who had both in vaine made proofe of their ſtrength againſt that city: at length concluded, that in his mind it were beſt for him to raiſe his ſiege, & to depart before he had ſuſtained any further loſſe or diſgrace: but *Zoganus* the ſecond Baſſa, in great fauor alſo with *Mahomet*, and ſecretly enuying the greatneſſe of *Caly Baſſa*, perſuaded the K.to proceed in his honorable enterpriſe:aſſuring him of the good ſucceſſe thereof,and with all the reaſons he could deuiſe,impugned that which *Caly Baſſa* had ſaid. And of the ſame opinion with *Zoganus* was alſo the third Baſſa,rather of purpoſe to croſſe *Caly-Baſſa*, and withal to fit the Kings humor,than for any great hope he had in the good ſucceſſe of that he ſo much deſired.Howbeit the ſpeech he & *Zoganus* deliuered,ſo wel agreed with the kings affection,that he reſolued to continue the ſiege:and thereupon gaue ful authority to *Zoganus* to appoint a day for a great and generall aſſault to bee giuen,reſoluing at once to gage all his forces vpon the winning of the city.Which charge *Zoganus* gladly took vpon him,& with his good liking, appointed the 29 day of May for the general aſſault,being then the tueſday next following.In the meane time he ſent one *Iſmael*,the ſon of *Alexander* Prince of Sinope,embaſſador vnto the Emperour,to offer him peace:but vpon ſuch hard conditions,as were no leſſe to be refuſed than death it ſelfe.Which thing he did, partly to ſatisfie the minds of his Turks (who are for moſt part of opinion,That God will not proſper them in their aſſaults, except they firſt make vnto their enemies ſome offer of peace, how vnreaſonable ſoeuer it forceth not)and partly to make proofe what confidence the enemy yet had in himſelf,for the holding out of the ſiege.But that diſhonorable peace ſo offered,together with the intolerable conditions,was by the emperor honorably refuſed:who no leſſe feared the Turks faith(if he ſhould haue accepted therof)than he did the hardnes of the conditions.Three daies before this fatal aſſault was to be giuen,the Turks(according to their maner)kept their ſolemne faſt,eating nothing al the day vntil night,and then making the greateſt cheare & ioy they could deuiſe,and in the winding vp of the ſame,took their leaue one of another,with ſuch kiſſing & imbracing as if they ſhould neuer haue met againe.At the ſame time *Mahomet* to encourage his ſoldiers, cauſed proclamation to be made thorow his camp,That he would freely giue all the ſpoile of the citie for three daies vnto his ſouldiers,if they could win it: and for confirmation thereof, ſolemnly ſwore the Turks great oath, By the immortall God,and by the foure hundred Prophets,by *Mahomet*,by his fathers ſoule,by his owne children,and by the ſword wherewith he was girt,faithfully to performe whatſoeuer he had to them in his proclamation promiſed.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing,*Caly-Baſſa* diſdaining that his counſel was reiected, and the opinion of his aduerſaries followed ; by ſecret letters aduertiſed the Emperour of the day appointed for the generall aſſault,together with all the preparation made againſt him:perſuading him not to be afraid of them, who were themſelues no leſſe afraid of him; but carefully to prouide to haue al things in readineſſe for the defence of his city,and valiantly to withſtand the raſh and laſt attempt of his enemies.

This wofull Emperour had already done what he could to the vttermoſt of his power for defence of the citie,all the time of the ſiege : but ſuch was the diſloyaltie of the citizens his ſubiects,that many times they could hardly be drawne from their priuate trades and occupations,vnto the wals to withſtand the enemie; fooliſhly affirming,That it was to no purpoſe for them to fight againſt the Turks at the breaches,& to ſtarue for food at home in their houſes.For which cauſe,the Emperor commanded a view to be taken of all the corne in the citie (which then began to grow very ſcarce ;)but vpon diligent ſearch made,ſuch ſtore was found in many mens hands,(which was by them either altogether kept in to ſel afterwards at vnreaſonable priſes;or els ſo ſparingly vttered, as if they had none to ſpare) as that it appeared, the dearth and ſcarcitie which then began to increaſe, to proceed rather of the couetouſneſſe of men,than of any true want of graine: this ſtore the Emperour cauſed to bee proportionably diuided vnto euery family at reaſonable priſes,according to their ſpending ; and ſo eaſed the great murmuring and grudging of the common people for bread. The Grecian mercinarie ſouldiers alſo,regarding more their owne priuat profit than the publicke ſeruice, refuſed any longer to go to the wals,than they were ſure of their daily pay : which the poore Emperour, otherwiſe vnable to giue them,was glad to conuert the church plate & jewels into money,to content them. For he had many times before with teares,in vaine requeſted to haue borrowed money of his couetous ſubiects, to haue beene employed in defence of the citie ; but they would ſtill ſweare,that they had it not, as men growne poore for want of trade:which in few daies after,their enemies found in ſuch abundance,that they wondered at their wealth,& derided their follie,that poſſeſſing ſo much,they would beſtow ſo litle in defence of themſelues and their countrey. But this had beene their vſuall manner of dealing with their Emperours,

The citizens of Conſtantinople without cauſe murmur againſt the Emperour.

A bare ſhift for money.

in that declining ſtate of the empire: as well appeared in the time of the Emperour *Baldwin*, G who for lack of money was glad firſt to ſell away many of the goodly ornaments of the citie, and afterwards to pawne his owne ſon vnto the Venetian marchants, for money to maintaine his ſtate, as in the former part of this Hiſtorie is declared.

But to returne againe to the courſe of our Hiſtorie. The Emperour certainly aduertiſed of the enemies purpoſe, for the generall aſſault ſhortly to be giuen, firſt commended the defence of himſelfe and the citie to the protection of the almightie, by general faſting and prayer: and afterwards appointed euery captaine and commander, to ſome certaine place of the wall for defence thereof: which was done by the direction of *Io. Iuſtinianus* his Generall, in whoſe valour the Conſtantinopolitans had repoſed their greateſt hope.

But the citie being on euery ſide now beſet with the Turks great armie, and the defendants H in number but few, for ſo great a citie (in compaſſe eight miles) the wals could but ſlenderly in many places be manned, and eſpecially on both ſides toward the ſea, where indeed leaſt danger was. The greateſt ſtrength and beſt ſouldiers, were placed for defence of the vtter wall, where the breach was, and the aſſault expected by land. *Iuſtinianus* the Generall himſelfe, with three hundered Genowayes well armed, and certaine choſen Greeks vndertook the defence of that part of the battered wal, neere vnto the Roman gate, where the fall of the tower Baccatina had filled the ditch as is aforeſaid: againſt which place *Mahomet* himſelfe lay encamped, with his Ianizaries and beſt men of war. Neere vnto *Iuſtinianus* lay the Emperor himſelf, for defence of another part of the wall: and ſo other captains orderly with their companies, all alongſt the vtter wal: and becauſe the defendants ſhould haue no hope to ſaue their liues, more I than their own valour, the Emperor cauſed all the gates of the inner wal to be faſt ſhut vp: and in this ſort they lay all the night, expecting continually when the aſſault ſhould be giuen: all which time they might heare great hurly burly and noiſe in the Turks campe, as they were putting things in readineſſe for the aſſault.

Conſtantinople aſſaulted by the Turks.

A little before day, the Turkes approched the wals, and begun the aſſault, where ſhot and ſtones were deliuered vpon them from the wals, as thicke as haile; whereof little fel in vain, by reaſon of the multitude of the Turks, who preſſing faſt vnto the wals, could not ſee in the darke how to defend themſelues, but were without number wounded or ſlain: but theſe were of the common and worſt ſoldiers, of whom the Turkiſh king made no more reckoning than to abate the firſt force of the defendants. Vpon the firſt appearance of the day, *Mahomet* gaue K the ſigne appointed for the generall aſſault, whereupon the citie was in a moment & at one inſtant on euery ſide moſt furiouſly aſſaulted by the Turks: for *Mahomet*, the more to diſtreſſe the defendants, and the better to ſee the forwardneſſe of the ſouldiers, had before appointed which part of the city euery Colonel with his regiment ſhould aſſaile. Which they valiantly performed, deliuering their arrows and ſhot vpon the defendants, ſo thicke, that the light of the day was therewith darkened: others in the mean time couragiouſly mounting the ſcaling ladders, and comming euen to handie ſtrokes with the defendants vpon the wall; where the formoſt were for moſt part violently borne forward by them which followed after. On the other ſide, the Chriſtians with no leſſe courage withſtood the Turkiſh furie, beating them down again with great ſtones and weighty peeces of timber, and ſo ouerwhelmed them with L ſhot, darts, and arrowes, and other hurtfull and deadly deuices from aboue; that the Turkes diſmaied with the terrour thereof, were readie to retire.

Mahomet renueth the aſſault.

Mahomet ſeeing the great ſlaughter and diſcomfiture of his men, ſent in freſh ſupplies of his Ianizaries and beſt men of war, whom he had for that purpoſe reſerued as his laſt hope and refuge: by whoſe comming on his fainting ſouldiers were againe encouraged, and the terrible aſſault begun afreſh. At which time the barbarous King ceaſed not to vſe all poſſible meanes to maintaine the aſſault: by name calling vpon this and that captaine, promiſing vnto ſome whom he ſaw forward, golden mountains; and vnto others in whom he ſaw any ſigne of cowardiſe, threatning moſt terrible death: by which means the aſſault became moſt dreadfull, death there raging in the middeſt of many thouſands. And albeit that the Turks lay dead by M heapes vpon the ground, yet other freſh men preſſed on ſtil in their places, ouer their dead bodies, and with diuers euent either ſlew, or were ſlaine by their enemies.

In this ſo terrible a conflict, it chanced *Iuſtinianus* the General to be wounded in the arme; who loſing much bloud, cowardly withdrew himſelf frō the place of his charge, not leauing

any

A any to ſupplie his roome, and ſo got into the citie by the gate called Romana, which he had cauſed to be opened in the inner wal: pretending the cauſe of his departure to be for the binding vp of his wound, but being indeed a man now altogether diſcouraged.

The ſoldiers there preſent, diſmaied with the departure of their Generall, and ſore charged by the Ianizaries, forſooke their ſtations, and in haſte fled to the ſame gate wherby *Iuſtinianus* was entered; with the ſight whereof, the other ſouldiers diſmaied, ran thither by heaps alſo. But whileſt they violently ſtriue, al together to get in at once, they ſo wedged one another in the entrance of the gate, that few of ſo great a multitude got in: in which ſo great a preſſe & confuſion of mindes, 800 perſons were there by them that followed, trodden vnder foot, or thruſt to death. The Emperor himſelf, for ſafegard of his life flying with the reſt, in that preſſe B as a man not regarded, miſerably ended his daies, together with the Greeke empire. His dead body was ſhortly after found by the Turks among the ſlaine, and knowne by his rich apparel; whoſe head being cut off, was forthwith preſented to the Turkiſh tyrant: by whoſe commandement it was afterward thruſt vpon the point of a lance, and in great deriſion carried about as a trophie of his victorie, firſt in the campe, and afterwards vp and downe the citie.

The Chriſtians forſake the wals.

The Turks encouraged with the flight of the Chriſtians, preſently aduanced their enſignes vpon the top of the vttermoſt wall, crying victorie; and by the breach entered as if it had bin a great floud, which hauing once found a breach in the banke, ouerfloweth, and beareth down all before it: ſo the Turks when they had won the vtter wal, entered the city by the ſame gate that was opened for *Iuſtinianus*, and by a breach which they had before made with their great artillerie; and without mercy cutting in pieces all that came in their way, without further C reſiſtance became lords of that moſt famous & imperial city. Some few there were of the Chriſtians, who preferring death before the Turkiſh ſlauerie, with their ſwords in their hands ſold their liues deare vnto their enemies: amongſt whom, the two brethren *Paulus* and *Troilus Bochiardi* Italians, with *Theophilus Palæologus* a Greeke, and *Ioannes Stiauus* a Dalmatian, for their great valour and courage, deſerue to be had in eternal remembrance: who after they had like lions made ſlaughter of their enemies, died in the midſt of them, embrued with their bloud, rather oppreſſed by multitnde, than by true valor ouercome. In this fury of the Barbarians, periſhed many thouſands of men, women, and children, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition. Many for ſafegard of their liues, fled into the Temple of Sophia; where they were al without pitty ſlain, except ſome few reſerued by the barbarous victors, to purpoſes more grieuous D than death it ſelfe. The rich and beautiful ornaments and iewels of that moſt ſumptuous and magnificent Church (the ſtately building of *Iuſtinianus* the Emperor) were in the turning of a hand, pluckt down and caried away by the Turks: and the Church it ſelfe built for God to be honored in, for the preſent conuerted into a ſtable for their horſes, or a place for the execution of their abhominable and vnſpeakable filthineſſe: the Image of the crucifix was alſo by them taken downe, and a Turks cap put vpon the head thereof, and ſo ſet vp and ſhot at with their arrows, and afterwards in great deriſion carried about in their campe, as it had beene in proceſſion, with drums playing before it, railing and ſpitting at it, & calling it the God of the Chriſtians. Which I note not ſo much done in contempt of the Image, as in the deſpight of Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion.

Conſtantinople woon by the Turks.

But whileſt ſome were thus ſpoiling of the Churches, others were as buſie in ranſacking of priuat houſes, where the miſerable Chriſtians were enforced to endure in their perſons E whatſoeuer pleaſed the inſolent victors: vnto whom all things were now lawfull that ſtood with their luſt, euery common ſouldier hauing power of life and death, at his pleaſure to ſpare or ſpill. At which time riches were no better than pouertie; and beautie worſe than deformitie. What tongue were able to expreſſe the miſerie of that time? or the proud inſolencie of thoſe barbarous conquerours? where of ſo many thouſands, euery man with greedineſſe fitted his own vnreaſonable deſire: all which the poore Chriſtians were inforced to indure. But to ſpeake of the hidden treaſure, mony, plate, iewels, & other riches there found, paſſeth credit, the Turks themſelues wondered thereat, and were therwith ſo enriched, that it is a F prouerbe amongſt them at this day, if any of them grow ſuddenly rich, to ſay, *He hath beene at the ſacking of Conſtantinople*: whereof if ſome reaſonable part had in time beene beſtowed vpon defence of the citie, the Turkiſh King had not ſo eaſily taken both it and the citie. But euery man was carefull how to encreaſe his own priuat wealth, few or none regarding the publicke

ſtate; vntill in fine, euery man with his priuat aboundance was wrapped vp together with his G
needy neighbor in the ſelfe-ſame common miſerie. Yea the ſecurity of the Conſtantinopolitans was ſuch, that being alwaies enuironed with their mortall enemies, yet had they no care of fortifying of ſo much as the inner wal of the city (which for beauty and ſtrength was comparable with the wals of any citie in the world, if it had been kept well repaired) but ſuffered the officers which had the charge to ſee to the fortifying of the citie, to conuert the greateſt part of the mony into their owne purſes: as appeared by ***Manuel Giagerus***, a little before a very poore man; and likewiſe by ***Neophitus***, who then hauing that office to ſee vnto the fortification of the citie, had in ſhort time gathered together ſeuenty thouſand florens, which became all a worthy prey vnto the greedy Turkes

After that the barbarous common ſoldier had thus by the ſpace of three daies without controlment taken his pleaſure in the citie (as ***Mahomet*** had before promiſed) and throughly ranſackt euery corner thereof; they then returned into the camp, with their rich ſpoiles, driuing the poore Chriſtian captiues before them, as if they had bin droues of cattell, or flocks of ſheep: a ſpectacle no leſſe lamentable, than was the ſacking of the citie. It would haue grieued any ſtonie heart to haue ſeene the noble gentlewomen and great ladies, with their beautifull children, and many other faire perſonages, who lately flowed in all worldly wealth and pleaſure, to be now become the poore and miſerable bondſlaues of moſt baſe and contemptible raſcals; who were ſo far from ſhewing them any pitie, as that they delighted in nothing more than to heape more and more miſerie vpon them, making no more reckoning of them than of I
dogs. There might the parents ſee the wofull miſerie of their beloued children, and the children of the parents; the husband might ſee the ſhameful abuſe of his wife, and the wife of her husband, and generally one friend of another: and yet not able to mourne together (the leaſt part of heauie comfort) being in the thraldome of diuers cruel maſters, by whom they were kept in ſunder, like in few daies to be diſperſed into diuers farre countries, without hope that they ſhould euer find releaſe, or one ſee another againe.

Mahomet ſolemniſeth his feaſts in Conſtantinople with the bloud of the Grecian nobilitie.

The ſoldiers being all retired into the campe, ***Mahomet*** as a proud conquerour, with great triumph entered into the citie of Conſtantinople, then deſolate and void of al Chriſtian inhabitants; and there after the manner of the Turkiſh Kings, made a ſumptuous & royal feaſt vnto his Baſſaes and other great captains: where after he had ſurcharged himſelfe with exceſſe of K
meat and drinke, he cauſed diuers of the chiefe Chriſtian captiues, both men and women (of whom many were of the late Emperors line and race) to be in his preſence put to death, as he with his Turkes ſate banquetting; deeming his feaſt much more ſtately by ſuch effuſion of Chriſtian bloud. Which manner of exceeding crueltie he daily vſed, vntil ſuch time as he had deſtroied al the Grecian nobilitie that was in his power, with the chiefe of the late Conſtantinopolitan citizens. At which time alſo diuers of the Venetian Senators, with ***Baiulus*** their Gouernour, & many rich marchants of Genua and other places of Italie, were in like manner murthered: ſo that of ſeuen and fortie Senators of Venice which were there taken (whereof moſt part came thither by chance, bound for other places, but there vnluckily ſhut vp) ſome few found the fauour, with exceeding great ranſomes to redeeme themſelues. L

Amongſt theſe noblemen thus lamentably executed, was one ***Lucas Leontares***, or ***Notaras*** commonly called ***Kyr-Lucas***, or lord ***Lucas***, but of late great Chancellor of Conſtantinople, a man of greateſt account next vnto the Emperor himſelfe: whom the Turkiſh tyrant ſeemed greatly to blame, that he being a man in ſo great credit with the late Emperor, perſuaded him not in time to haue ſought for peace vpon any condition, or els to haue yelded vp the city, rather than to haue run that extreme courſe of wilful miſery. He to excuſe the matter, ſaid, That the late Emperor his maſter was encouraged to hold out the ſiege, by the Venetians & citizens of Pera, from whom he receiued ſecret aid: as alſo by ſome of the greateſt men about his own perſon: for proofe wherof, he drew out of his boſome the letters which ***Caly-Baſſa*** had to that purpoſe written vnto the Emperor, & deliuered them to ***Mahomet***, hoping therby to haue M
found ſome fauour. But when he had ſaid what he could, the eldeſt of his ſons then liuing (for he had loſt two elder in the time of the ſiege) was cruelly executed before his face, & the yongeſt reſerued for the tyrants luſt: and after al this miſerie, had his own head ſtruck off with the reſt appointed for that daies ſacrifice. Out of this generall calamitie eſcaped ***Io. Iuſtinianus*** the General, who with al ſpeed fled at firſt to Pera, and from thence to Chios, where in few daies

after

A after he died, of griefe of mind(as was thought) rather than of his wound, being happie if hee
had honorably before ended his daies vpon the wals of Conſtantinople. *Iſidorus* alſo the Car-
dinal & Legat from the Pope, diſguiſed in ſimple apparel, and being of the Turks vnknowne,
redeemed himſelfe for a ſmal ranſome, as if he had bin a man of none account, and ſo eſcaped:
whom if *Mahomet* had knowne, he had vndoubtedly beene made ſhorter by the head.

The glorie of this famous citie of Conſtantinople continued many hundred yeares, com-
manding a great part of the world, vntill that by ciuill diſcord and priuate gaine, it was by lit-
tle and little ſo weakened, that the Emperours of latter times, for the maintenance of their e-
ſtate, were glad to relie ſometime vpon one, and ſometime vpon another, yet ſtill holding the
title and ſtate of an empire, by the ſpace of 1121 yeres, when as(God his iudgement ſet apart,
B wonderfull and ſhameful it is to conſider how)it was by this Turkiſh King *Mahomet* ſo quick-
ly taken, and the Chriſtian empire of the Eaſt there vtterly ouerthrowne: which happened on
the nine and twentieth day of May, in the yeare of our Lord 1453. *Conſtantinus Palæologus*, the
ſonne of *Helena*, and laſt Chriſtian Emperour, beeing then ſlaine, when he had raigned about
eight yeares. Since which time it hath continued the imperiall ſeat of the Turkiſh Emperors,
and ſo remaineth at this day.

The poteſtates and citizens of Pera, otherwiſe called Galata, a citie ſtanding oppoſit againſt
Conſtantinople, on the other ſide of the hauen, and then vnder the gouernment of the Geno-
wayes, doubting to run the ſame courſe of miſerie with their neighbours, ſent their Orators
vnto *Mahomet* (the ſame day that Conſtantinople was taken) offering to him the keies of their
C gates, and ſo to become his ſubiects. Of which their offer *Mahomet* accepted, and ſent *Zoga-
nus* with his regiment to take poſſeſſion of the city. Who comming thither, according to *Ma-
homet* his commandement, there eſtabliſhed the Turkiſh gouernment, confiſcated the goods
of all ſuch as were fled, and vſed the reſt of the citizens which ſtaid, with ſuch inſolencie and
oppreſſion, as that their miſerie was not much leſſe than theirs of Conſtantinople: and becauſe
it was doubted, that the Genowayes might by ſea giue aid vnto the citizens, if they ſhould at
any time ſeeke to reuolt, he cauſed all the wals and fortreſſes of the citie which were toward
the land, to bee caſt downe and laid euen with the ground. Thus is the fatall period of the
Greeke empire run, and *Mahomet* in one day become Lord of the two famous cities of Con-
ſtantinople and Pera: the one taken by force, the other by compoſition. At which time the
D miſerie of Pera was great, but that of Conſtantinople iuſtly to be accounted amongſt the grea-
teſt calamities that euer happened to any Chriſtian citie in the world.

Pera yeelded to the Turke.

Mahomet had of long time borne a ſecret grudge againſt *Caly-Baſſa*, ſometime his tutor, for
that by his meanes *Amurath* his father, in the dangerous time of the Hungarian warres, had
again reſumed vnto himſelfe the gouernment of the Turkiſh kingdome, which he had before
reſigned vnto him, then but yong. But foraſmuch as he was the chiefe Baſſa, and had for many
yeares ruled all things at his pleaſure, to the generall good liking of the people, during the
raigne of old *Amurath*, and was thereby growne to be of ſuch wealth, credit, and authoritie, as
no man had at any time obtained greater vnder any of the *Othoman* Kings: *Mahomet* in the be-
E ginning of his raigne, before he was eſtabliſhed in his kingdome, durſt not to take reuenge of
that iniurie(as he deemed it)but yet ſtill kept it in remembrance, warily diſſembling his deep
conceiued hatred, as if he had quite forgot it. Neuertheleſſe ſometime (for all his warineſſe)
words fell from him, whereby the warie courtiers (which as curiouſly weigh their Princes
words, as the cunning goldſmith doth his fineſt gold) eaſily perceiued the ſecret grudge that
ſtuck in his ſtomack againſt the Baſſa: and thereby diuined his fall to be at hand. So it hapned
one day that as *Mahomet* was walking in the court, he ſaw a fox of the Baſſa's tied in a chaine,
which after he had a while earneſtly looked vpon, he ſuddenly brake into this ſpeech: *Alas
poore beaſt, haſt thou no mony to giue thy maſter to ſet thee at libertie?* Out of which words, curious
heads gathered much matter concerning the Kings diſpoſition towards the Baſſa. This omi-
F nous ſurmiſing of the courtiers (which oftimes proueth too true) was not vnknown vnto the
Baſſa himſelfe, but troubled him much: wherfore to get himſelfe out of the way for a ſeaſon,
more than for any deuotion, he took vpon him to go in pilgrimage to viſit the temple of the
great Prophet(as they terme him)at Mecha, which amongſt the Turks is holden for a right re-
ligious and meritorious worke: hoping, that the young Kings diſpleaſure might in time bee
mittigated, and his malice aſſwaged. But *Mahomet* perceiuing the diſtruſt of the Baſſa, and

Mahomet notably diſſembleth his hatred againſt Caly Baſſa.

whereof it proceeded, ſeemed to take knowledge thereof, and with good wordes comforted G
him vp,willing him to be of good cheere, and not to miſdoubt any thing; neither to regard
the vaine ſpeech of fooliſh people,aſſuring him of his vndoubted fauour: and the more to put
him out of al ſuſpition,continually ſent him rich gifts,& heaped vpon him new honours,as if
of al others he had eſteemed him moſt. Vntil that now at the taking of Conſtantinople,it was
diſcouered by ***Lucas Leontares***, that he had intelligence with the late Emperour of Conſtantinople,
and his letters produced. For which cauſe,or as the common report went,for the old
grudge that the tirant bare againſt him,as alſo for his great wealth,he was by ***Mahomets*** commandement
apprehended and carried in bonds to Hadrianople: where after he had with exquiſite
torments bin enforced to confeſſe where all his treaſures lay, he was moſt cruelly in
his extreame old age executed. After whoſe death, his friends and ſeruants (which were many, H
for he was a man greatly beloued in court) in token of their griefe,put on mourning apparel:
ſo that in the court appeared a great ſhew of common ſorrow; wherwith ***Mahomet*** being
offended,cauſed proclamation to be made, That all ſuch as did weare ſuch mourning apparel,
ſhould the next day appeare before him: at which time there was not one to be ſeene about
the court in that heauie attire,for feare of the tyrants diſpleaſure.

Mahomet placeth his Imperial ſeat at Conſtantinople, and is worthily accounted firſt Emperor of the Turks.

After that ***Mahomet*** was thus become Lord of the imperial citie of Conſtantinople,as is aforeſaid,
and had fully reſolued there to place his imperiall ſeat, he firſt repaired the wals and
other buildings ſpoiled in the late ſiege, and by proclamations ſent forth into all parts of his
dominions,gaue great priuiledges & immnnities to all ſuch as ſhould come to dwell at Conſtantinople,
with free libertie to exerciſe what religion or trade they pleaſed. Whereby in I
ſhort time that great & deſolate citie was again well peopled,with ſuch as out of diuers countries
reſorted thither: but ſpecially with the Iewiſh nation,which driuen out of other places,
came thither in great numbers,and were of the Turks gladly receiued. So when he had there
eſtabliſht all things according to his hearts deſire, he took vpon him the name and title of an
Emperour: and is from that time not vnworthily reputed for the firſt Emperor of the Turks.

Now among many faire virgins taken priſoners by the Turks at the winning of Conſtantinople,
was one *Irene* a Greeke borne,of ſuch incomparable beautie & rare perfection, both of
bodie & mind,as if nature had in her,to the admiration of the world, laboured to haue ſhewn
her greateſt skil; ſo prodigally ſhe had beſtowed vpon her, all the graces that might beautifie K
or commend that her ſo curious a worke. This paragon was by him that by chance had taken
her,preſented vnto the great Sultan ***Mahomet*** himſelfe, as a iewell ſo fit for no mans wearing
as his owne: by the beautie and ſecret vertues whereof,he found himſelfe euen vpon the firſt
view not a little moued. Neuertheleſſe,hauing as then his head full of troubles, and aboue all
things carefull for the aſſuring of the imperiall citie of Conſtantinople, by him but euen then
won,he for the preſent committed her to the charge of his Eunuch,and ſent her away, ſo to
be in ſafetie kept vntill his better leiſure. But thoſe his troubles ouerblowne, & his new conqueſts
well aſſured, he then began forthwith to thinke of the faire *Irene*: and for his pleaſure
ſending for her,took in her perfections ſuch delight and contentment,as that in ſhort time he
had changed ſtate with her, ſhee being become the miſtreſſe & commander of him ſo great a L
conqueror; & he in nothing more delighted,than in doing her the greateſt honor & ſeruice he
could. Al the day he ſpent with her in diſcourſe,and the night in dallianceal time ſpent in her
company,ſeemed to him ſhort; & without her nothing pleaſed: his fierce nature was now by
her well tamed and his wonted care of arms quite neglected: ***Mars*** ſlept in ***Venus*** lap,and now
the ſoldiers might go play. Yea the very gouernment of his eſtate and empire ſeemed to be of
him,in compariſon of her, little or not at all regarded; the care therof being by him careleſly
committed to others,that ſo he might wholy himſelf attend vpon her,in whom more than in
himſelf the people ſaid he delighted. Such is the power of diſordered affections,where reaſon
ruleth not the rein. But whilſt he thus forgetfull of himſelfe,ſpends in pleaſure not ſome few
daies or months,but euen one whole yere or two,to the lighting of his credit,& the great diſcontentment M
of his ſubiects in general: the Ianizaries & other ſoldiers of the court (men deſirous
of imploiment, & grieued to ſee him ſo giuen to his affections,& to make no end thereof)
began at firſt in ſecret to murmur therat,& to ſpeak hardly of him; and at length (after their
inſolent manner) ſpared not openly to ſay, That it were well done to depriue him of his gouernment
and ſtate, as vnworthie thereof,and to ſet vp one of his ſonnes in his ſtead. Which

A ſpeeches were now growne ſo rife, and the diſcontentment of the men of war ſo great, that it was not without cauſe by ſome of the great Baſſaes feared, whereunto this their ſo great inſolencie would grow. But who ſhould tel the tyrant therof; whoſe frowne was in it ſelfe death? or who durſt take in hand to cure that his ſicke mind? which diſtraught with the ſweet, but poiſoned potions of loue, was not like to liſten to any good counſell, were it neuer ſo wiſely giuen: but as a man metamorphoſed, to turne his furie vpon him which ſhould preſume ſo wholeſomly (but contrary to his good liking) to aduiſe him. Vnhappy man, whoſe great eſtate & fierce nature was not without danger to be medled or tempered with, no, not by them who of all others ought in ſo great a perill to haue bin thereof moſt carefull; but were now for feare all become ſilent and dumb. Now amongſt other great men in the court, was one *Muſtapha Baſſa*, a man for his good ſeruice (for that he was of a child brought vp with him) of *Mahomet* B greatly fauoured, and by him alſo highly promoted; and hee againe by him as his Soueraigne no leſſe honoured than feared: who no leſſe than the reſt, greeued to ſee ſo great a change in the great Sultan, of whome they had conceiued no ſmall hope of greater matters than were by him as yet performed; and mooued alſo with the danger threatned vnto him, by the diſcontented Ianizaries and men of war: eſpying him at conuenient leiſure to be ſpoken vnto, and preſuming of the former credit he had with him, aduentured thus to break with him, and to giue him warning thereof.

How dangerous a thing it is for a ſubiect or vaſſale, without leaue, preſumptuouſly to enter into the ſecrets of his dread Lord and Soueraigne, the wofull examples of others (moſt mightie Mahomet*) haue* C *ſo ſufficiently warned me, as that were it not for the dutifull loyaltie I owe vnto your greatneſſe, farre dearer vnto me than mine owne life, I would not at this time aduenture my ſelfe vnto the hazard of your doubtfull acceptance of my faithfull ſpeech and meaning, but with others keepe ſilence, and in ſecret mourne together with my heauie thoughts: which if I ſhould in ſo great a danger both of your life and empire now doe, without warning you thereof, I were not to be accounted vnworthie onely thoſe your great fauours and honours, moſt bountifully on me beſtowed; but as a moſt vile traitor both vnto your ſtate and perſon, to be of all men deteſted and abhorred. The life you haue of late led, euer ſince the taking of Conſtantinople, as a man carelеſſe of his eſtate, and wholly wedded vnto his owne pleaſure, hath giuen occaſion not vnto the vulgar people onely (alwayes readie to ſay the worſt) and ſouldiers of the Court, the guarders of your perſon, but euen vnto the greateſt commanders of your armies and empire, to* D *murmure and grudge, I dare not ſay, to conſpire againſt you. Yet pardon me dread Soueraigne, if I ſhould ſo ſay, for that there is no man which with great diſcontentment maruelleth not much to ſee ſo great an alteration in your heroicall diſpoſition and nature: whereby you are become farre vnlike that noble* Mahomet, *which hauing ouerthrowne the Greeke Empire, and taken the great citie of Conſtantinople, promiſed both vnto himſelfe and others, the conqueſt of Italie, & the ſacking of Rome, the ſtately ſeat of the antient Roman conquerors. You haue giuen your ſelfe ouer (as they ſay) for a ſpoile and prey vnto a poore ſimple woman, your ſlaue and vaſſale, who with her beautie and allurements hath ſo bewitched your vnderſtanding and reaſon, as that you can attend nothing but her ſeruice, and the ſatisfying of your moſt paſſionat and inordinat deſires; which how much the more you cheriſh them, ſo much the more they torment and vex you. Enter but a little into your ſelfe (I pray you) and compare the life you now lead with* E *the like time heretofore by you ſpent in treading honours ſteps, and you ſhall find a notable difference betwixt the one and the other. Had the noble* Othoman, *the firſt raiſer of your houſe and family ſo giuen himſelfe ouer vnto pleaſure, you had not now inhabited the countries of Bythinia and Galatia, with others moe alongſt the Euxine, by him conquered. Neither had his ſonne* Orchanes *(the liuely image of his father, and follower of his vertues) by leading this kind of life, triumphed ouer Licaonia, Phrygia, and Caria, or extended the bounds of his empire ſo farre as vnto the ſtraits of Helleſpontus. What ſhould I ſpeake of* Amurath *his ſonne, and ſucceſſour in the empire? who in perſon himſelfe, firſt of the* Othoman *Kings, paſſed ouer into Europe, placed his imperiall ſeat at Hadrianople, conquered Thracia, Bulgaria, and Raſcia. Yea* Baiazet *your great grandfather is in his misfortune to be more than* F *you commended, as vanquiſhed in field by the mightie* Tamerlane *with foure hundred thouſand horſemen and ſix hundred thouſand foot, and not by a ſillie woman: comforting his miſhap with the honour and greatneſſe of him by whom he was ſo ouercome. Neither may I with ſilence paſſe ouer your worthie grandfather the Noble* Mahomet, *who not contented to haue reſtored the ſhaking empire, conquered alſo a great part of Macedonia, euen to the Ionian ſea, and carrying the terrour of his armes ouer into*

Aſia, did great matters againſt the Caramanians and others. As for your father Amurath *(of worthie memorie) I cannot but to my great griefe and ſorrow ſpeake of him, who by the ſpace of thirtie yeares made both the ſea and earth to quake vnder his feete, and with ſtrong hand more than once vanquiſhed the Hungarians, and brought vnder his ſubiection the countries of Phocis, Beotia, Ætolia, with a great part of Morea; and to ſpeake of him truely, brake euen the very heart and ſtrength of the Grecians, and other his fierce enemies. Let all theſe moſt famous conqueſts of your noble progenitors, whoſe worthie praiſes (as eternall trophies of their honour) are diſperſed into euery corner of the world, awake you out of this heauie Lythargie wherein you haue too long ſlept, yea, let the remembrance of the conqueſt of this imperiall Citie by you to your immortall glorie woon, ſtirre you vp to greater things: and let it neuer be ſaid of you, That you were able with your ſword to ouercome your greateſt enemies, and not with reaſon to ſubdue your inordinate affections: Thinke that your greateſt conqueſt, and ſuffer not your ſelfe, ſo great a conquerour, to be led in triumph by your ſlaue. What auaileth it you to haue woon Conſtantinople, and to haue loſt your ſelfe? Shake off theſe golden fetters wherein the wilie Greeke hath ſo faſt bound you: which at the firſt though it ſeeme vnto you hard and painfull, yet ſhall time diſgeſt it, and make you to thinke it both good and neceſſarie for your ſtate. Weane your ſelfe from your deſires, and giue reſt vnto your troubled thoughts: which if you cannot do at once, ſtriue by little and little to doe it: pleaſure groweth greater by the ſeldome vſe thereof, and ſatietie bringeth loathſomneſſe. Moderate your ſelfe therefore, and againe take vp armes. Your ſouldiers if they bee not employed abroad, wil to your farther trouble ſet themſelues to worke at home: Idleneſſe maketh them inſolent, and want of martiall diſcipline corrupteth their manners. Hereof proceedeth their intemperate and diſloyall ſpeeches, That if you will not lead them forth for the honour and inlargement of the* Othoman *empire, as did all your moſt noble progenitors, they will ſet vp another that ſhall euen one of your owne children. And what the common ſouldier fooliſhly ſaith, their great commanders maliciouſly purpoſe: which what a confuſion it would bring vnto the whole ſtate of your empire, together with the danger of your royall perſon, I abhorre to thinke. Wherefore it is time, it is now high time for you to ſhew your ſelfe, and with the maieſtie of your preſence to repreſſe their tumultuous inſolencie, before it breake farther out. Rebellions are by farre, more eaſily preuented, than in their heat appeaſed. The diſcontented multitude is a wild beaſt with many heads, which once enraged, is not a little to be feared, or without danger to be tamed: yet doe you but ſhew your ſelfe maſter of your owne affections, and you ſhall eaſily maſter them alſo. But what is fit for you to doe, beſeemeth me not for to ſay: yea, pardon mee I beſeech you, that I haue thus much (contrary perhaps to your good liking) alreadie ſaid: prouoked (by what diuine inſpiration I know not) euen halfe againſt my will, to diſcouer vnto you the ſecret of my heart, and to lay open vnto you thoſe things, which others knowing as well as I, do yet for feare keep the ſame from you. And if I haue gon too far, or in any thing that I haue ſaid forgot my ſelfe, impute the ſame (my dread Soueraigne) vnto the zeale of my loue and loyaltie towards you, or vnto my fidelitie ſo often by you tried, or to our antient education (the ground of your affection towards me) or to what elſe ſhall pleaſe you, rather than to my preſumption, from which, how farre I haue alwaies been, I appeale euen to your maiſties owne knowledge.*

Hauing thus ſaid, he fell down at his feet, as there to receiue his heauie doome of his ſo free ſpeech, if it ſhould be otherwiſe than well taken of the angrie Sultan: who all this while with great attention and many a ſterne looke had hearkned vnto all that the Baſſa had ſaid: for well he knew it to be all true; and that in ſo ſaying, he had but diſcharged the part of a truſtie and faithfull ſeruant, carefull of his maiſters honour. But yet the beautie of the Greeke was ſtill ſo fixed in his heart, and the pleaſure he tooke in her, ſo great, as that to thinke of the leauing of her, bred him many a troubled thought. He was at war with himſelfe, as in his often changed countenance well appeared: reaſon calling vnto him, for his honour; and his amarous affections, ſtill ſuggeſting vnto him new delights. Thus toſſed too and fro (as a ſhip with contrary winds) and withall conſidering the danger threatned to his eſtate, if he ſhould longer follow thoſe his pleaſures, ſo much diſpleaſing to his men of war, he reſolued vpon a ſtrange point whereby at once to cut off all thoſe his troubled paſſions, and withall to ſtrike a terrour euen into the ſtouteſt of them that had before condemned him, as vnable to gouerne his owne ſo paſſionate affections. Whereupon with countenance well declaring his inward diſcontentment, he ſaid vnto the Baſſa, yet proſtrate at his feet.

Although thou haſt vnreuerently ſpoken, as a ſlaue preſuming to enter into the greateſt ſecrets of

A *thy Soueraigne (not without offence to be of thee once thought vpon) and therefore deſerueſt well to die; yet for that thou waſt a child brought vp together with me, and haſt euer bin vnto me faithfull, I for this time pardon thee: and before to morrow the Sunne goe downe, will make it knowne both to thee, and others of the ſame opinion with thee, whether I be able to bridle mine affections or not. Take order in the meane time that all the Baſſaes, and the chiefe commanders of my men of warre be aſſembled together to morrow, there to know my farther pleaſure: whereof faile you not.*

So the Baſſa being departed, he after his wonted manner went in vnto the Greeke, and ſolacing himſelfe all that day and the night following with her, made more of her than euer before: and the more to pleaſe her, dined with her; commanding, that after dinner ſhe ſhould be attired with more ſumptuous apparrell than euer ſhe had before worne: and for the further gracing of her, to be deckt with many moſt precious iewels of ineſtimable value. Whereunto B the poore ſoule gladly obeyed, little thinking that it was her funerall apparrell. Now in the mean while, *Muſtapha* (altogether ignorant of the Sultans mind) had as hee was commanded, cauſed all the nobility, and commanders of the men of war, to be aſſembled into the great hal: euery man much maruelling, what ſhould be the Emperors meaning therein, who had not of long ſo publikly ſhewed himſelfe. But being thus together aſſembled, and euery man according as their minds gaue them, talking diuerſly of the matter; behold the Sultan entered into the pallace leading the faire Greeke by the hand; who beſide her incomparable beautie and other the greateſt graces of nature, adorned alſo with all that curioſitie could deuiſe, ſeemed not now to the beholders a mortall wight, but ſome of the ſtately goddeſſes, whom Poets in their extaſies deſcribe. Thus comming together into the midſt of the hal, & due reuerence to C them done by all them there preſent; he ſtood ſtill with the faire Lady in his left hand, & ſo furiouſly looking round about him, ſaid vnto them: *I vnderſtand of your great diſcontentment, & that you all murmur & grudge, for that I, ouercome with mine affection toward this ſo faire a paragon, cannot withdraw my ſelfe from her preſence: but I would fain know which of you is ſo temperat, that if he had in his poſſeſſion a thing ſo rare and precious, ſo louely and ſo faire, would not be thrice aduiſed before he would forgo the ſame? Say what you think: in the word of a prince I giue you free liberty ſo to do.* But they all rapt with an incredible admiration to ſee ſo faire a thing, the like wherof they had neuer before beheld, ſaid all with one conſent, That he had with greater reaſon ſo paſſed the time with her, than any man had to find fault therwith: wherunto the barbarous prince anſwered; *Well but now I will make you to vnderſtand how far you haue bin deceiued in me, & that there is no* D *earthly thing that can ſo much blind my ſenſes, or bereaue me of reaſon, as not to ſee and vnderſtand what beſeemeth my high place and calling: yea I would you ſhould all know, that the honor & conqueſts of the* Othoman *Kings my noble progenitors, is ſo fixed in my breaſt, with ſuch a deſire in my ſelfe to exceed the ſame, as that nothing but death is able to put it out of my remembrance.* And hauing ſo ſaid, preſently with one of his hands catching the faire Greeke by the haire of the head, and drawing his falchion with the other, at one blow ſtruck off her head, to the great terror of them al: and hauing ſo done, ſaid vnto them: *Now by this iudge whether your Emperor is able to bridle his affections or not.* And within a while after, meaning to diſcharge the reſt of his choler, cauſed great preparation to be made for the conqueſt of Peloponeſus, and the beſieging of Belgrade.

E At the ſame time that the barbarous Turkes tooke the imperiall citie of Conſtantinople, *Thomas* and *Demetrius Palæologi*, brethren to the late vnfortunat Emperor *Conſtantinus*, gouerned a great part of Peloponeſus, one of the moſt famous prouinces of Grecia, which in forme of a leafe of a Plane tree, is almoſt in manner of an Iſland, enuironed with the ſeas Ionium and Ægeum, which running farre into the land on either ſide therof, ſeperateth the ſame from the reſt of Grecia, by two great bayes; leauing but a ſtrait necke of land, called of the Greekes Iſtmos, in breadth about fiue miles, which was ſometimes by the Grecians, and afterward by the Venetians, fortified by a ſtrong wall, and fiue great caſtles: neere vnto which place ſtood the great and famous citie of Corinth. This Prouince is in length 175 miles, and almoſt as much in breadth; wherein are contained the countries of Achaia, Meſſenia, Lacedemonia, F Argolica, and Archadia, with many famous cities and goodly hauens, wherein it farre exceedeth all the other prouinces of Grecia. Theſe two Princes *Thomas* and *Demetrius*, diſmaied with their brothers diſaſter fortune, began now ſo farre to deſpaire of their owne eſtate, that vpon the firſt bruit thereof, they were about preſently to haue fled by ſea into Italy. And as it commonly falleth out, That one euill happeneth not alone; ſo at the ſame time it fortuned, that the Albanians riſe in arms againſt the ſaid two Princes their Soueraignes : and vnder the G leading of their rebellious captaine *Emanuel Catecuzenus*, grieuouſly troubled both the poore Princes. Theſe Albanians were a rough and hardy kind of people, which liuing after the manner of the rude Scithian heardſmen, by feeding of cattel, had of long time planted themſelues in Peloponeſus; differing from the naturall Greekes, both in their manner of liuing and language: which diuerſitie was no ſmall cauſe that they oftentimes ſpurned, as now, againſt the gouernment of the Grecian Princes. In this extremitie, the two diſtreſſed Princes (not well 1454 knowing which way to turne themſelues) ſought for peace at *Mahomets* hands, offering to become his tributaries. Of which their offer he willingly accepted, as an induction to the full conqueſt of that country; & ſent *Turachan* Gouernor of Theſſalia, one of his greateſt men of war, with an armie into Peloponeſus, to aid thoſe princes againſt the Albanians: by whoſe in- H ſtire the maſterful rebels were in ſhort time diſcomfited, and the country of Peloponeſus quieted; yet ſo, that it was now become tributarie to the Turkiſh King.

Thomas & Demetrius rebell againſt Mahomet, and are by him ſpoiled of part of their dominion.

Theſe two princes *Demetrius* and *Thomas*, the laſt of all the Chriſtian princes that raigned in Peloponeſus, hauing thus loſt their libertie, liued for a few yeares as the Turks vaſſals; paying ſuch yearely tribute as they had before promiſed. During which time many diſpleaſures aroſe betwixt the two brothers, being both iealous of their eſtate, and deſirous by all plauſible meanes to win the hearts of their ſubiects one from another: whereby it came ſo to paſſe, that whiles they both deſired to become popular, they weakned their owne credit, and had not their ſubiects at ſuch command as beſt ſtood with the ſafetie of their eſtate. Neuertheles, as ſoone as they vnderſtood that the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt were making great prepa- I ration againſt the Turke; and that *Calixtus* the third of that name (then the Biſhop of Rome) had already put a fleet of gallies to ſea, which did great ſpoile vpon the borders of the Turks dominions, they vainly perſuading themſelues that the Turks would in ſhort time be againe driuen out of Grecia, refuſed to pay any more tribute to the Turkiſh King, or to keepe league any longer with him. Vpon which occaſion, *Mahomet* with a puiſſant armie came downe and firſt beſieged Corinth, and afterwards entering into Peloponeſus, tooke diuers ſtrong townes, and deſtroied the country before him : and forced the two princes for ſafegard of their liues to flie, the one to Mantinia, and the other into the ſtrong citie of Epidaurus, now called Raguſium. The poore princes deſtitute of ſuch aid as they expected, and altogether vnable to withſtand the power of the mightie tyrant, began againe to ſue for peace: which he, hauing now K ſpoiled their country, granted vpon condition, That all ſuch places as he had alreadie taken, ſhould be ſtill his own; and alſo that the citie of Patras with the country adioyning, ſhould be deliuered vnto him; and that for the reſt, the ſaid princes ſhould pay vnto him a yerely tribute: which hard conditions the poore princes, now in danger to loſe all, were glad to accept of; whereupon a peace was for that time againe concluded.

In his returne he tooke the citie of Athens in his way, which he not long before had taken from *Francus Accianoll* by compoſition (by meanes of *Omares* the ſon of *Turachan*, one of his great captaines) promiſing to giue him the country of Beotia with the citie of Thebes, in lieu thereof. This *Francus* was nephew to *Nerius*, ſometime prince of Athens, and had of long time beene brought vp in the Turks court, as one of *Mahomet* his minions; and was of him L (as was ſuppoſed) entirely beloued. But when he had receiued the dukedom of Thebes, in exchange for his princely ſtate of Athens, he was ſhortly after, as if it had beene in great friendſhip ſent by *Mahomet* to *Zoganus*, his lieutenant in Peloponeſus: by whom he was at firſt courteouſly entertained, but afterward being about to depart, he was (according as *Mahomet* had before commanded) ſuddenly ſtaied, and when he leaſt feared, cruelly murdered.

Mahomet commeth againe into Peloponeſus.

About three yeres after the peace before concluded betwixt *Mahomet* & the two brethren, *Mahomet* vnderſtanding that the Chriſtian kings and princes had combined themſelues againſt him, with a purpoſe to driue him againe out of Grecia; thought it now high time, and much for the aſſurance of his eſtate, to root out the ſmall reliques of the Grecian empire, which yet M remained in Peloponeſus in the two princes of the imperiall bloud, *Thomas* and *Demetrius*: whereunto hee ſaw a faire occaſion preſented. Foraſmuch as thoſe two brethren were at that time at great variance betwixt themſelues, neither paied him ſuch tribute as they had before promiſed : hereupon hee with a ſtrong army came to Corinth, where *Arſanes* a noble man of great authoritie and power in that country, whoſe ſiſter *Demetrius* had maried, came to him

A from the Prince his brother in law,attended vpon with many gallant gentlemen his followers,
of purpoſe to aid him againſt the other Prince *Thomas*,nothing fearing any harme to haue bin
by the Turke intended againſt himſelfe or his brother in law *Demetrius*,whom they both rec-
koned of as of a friend.But when *Mahomet* was entred into Peloponeſus,and come to Tegea,
he cauſed the the ſame *Arſanes*,with all his chiefe followers,to be laid hold vpon,and caſt into
bonds: knowing (as it ſhould ſeeme) no man for friend, which might any way hinder his am-
bitious deſignes.

Demetrius ſubmitteth himſelf to Mahomet.

Demetrius hearing what was happened vnto *Arſanes*, fled to Sparta, now called Mizithra:
whither *Mahomet* in few dais after came and laid ſiege to the citie. But the poore prince conſi-
dering,that he muſt needs at length fall into his hands, went out of the citie, and humbly ſub-
B mitted himſelfe with all that he had into his power. Which ſo wel pleaſed the Turkiſh tyrant,
that he courteouſly receiued him,comforted him,and promiſed him in ſtead of Sparta to giue
him other lands and poſſeſſions of like value elſewhere: neuertheleſſe he committed him to
ſafe cuſtodie,and carried him about with him as his priſoner,vntil he had finiſhed thoſe wars.
After he had taken Sparta,he beſieged Caſtria; where hee loſt diuers of his Ianizaries: for
which cauſe,when he had taken the citie,he put all the ſouldiers therein to the ſword,and cut
the captaines ouerthwart in two peeces. From thence he marched to Leontarium, called in
antient time Megalopolis,which he tooke; with another citie called Cardicea,whither they
of Leontarium had before conueied their wiues and children, as to a place of more ſafetie:
There he cruelly put to death all the inhabitants of thoſe cities,men, women,and children,in
C number about ſix thouſand,of whom he left not one aliue:and yet not ſo ſatisfied,commanded
the very beaſts and cattell of thoſe places to be killed. Many cities of Peloponeſus terrified
with the dreadfull example of their neighbours,forthwith yeelded themſelues: and amongſt
others Saluarium, a great and ſtrong citie of Archadia; where he cauſed all the inhabitants,
men,women,and children, to the number of ten thouſand to be caſt into bonds, looking for
nothing but preſent death: all which afterwards he commanded to be ſent captiues to Con-
ſtantinople, and with them peopled the ſuburbs of that citie. After that,he by the counſell of
Demetrius,ſent one of his captaines called *Ioſua*, with certaine companies of Greeke ſouldi-
ers,vnto the ſtrong citie of Epidaurus,to command them in the name of the Prince,to deliuer
vnto him the citie,with the Prince his wife and daughter,which lay there. But the Gouernor
D truſting vnto the ſtrength of the citie, refuſed to deliuer the ſame: yet ſuffered the Princeſſe
with her daughter to depart out of the citie,beeing willing to goe to her husband; whom the
captaine hauing receiued,returned, and preſented them to *Mahomet*. By whoſe commande-
ment they were preſently ſent into Beotia,there to attend his returne to Conſtantinople, and
an Eunuch appointed to take charge of the yong Ladie,who had ſo warmed *Mahomets* affecti-
on, that he tooke her afterwards to his wife. At the ſame time he alſo ſubdued the moſt part
of Achaia and Elis,by *Zoganus Baſſa* his lieutenant: whither he came not long after himſelfe,
and laied ſiege to the citie of Salmenica, which for lacke of water was at length yeelded vnto
him: but the caſtle was by the ſpace of a whole yeare after valiantly defended againſt the
E Turks left to beſiege it,by *Thomas* the prince: of whom *Mahomet* afterwards gaue this com-
mendation, That in the country of Peloponeſus he had found many ſlaues, but neuer a man
but him. This valiant Prince ſeeing the miſerable ruine of his country, and the ſtate thereof
vtterly forlorne, after he had moſt notably endured a yeares ſiege in the caſtle of Salmenica,
got to ſea,and ſo arriued in Italie: where trauelling to Rome,hee was honorably receiued by
Pius Secundus,then Biſhop there: who during his life, allowed him a large penſion for the
maintenance of his ſtate. Thus *Mahomet* hauing thruſt both the Grecian Princes out of their
dominions,and ſubdued all Peloponeſus (excepting ſuch ſtrong townes and caſtles,as borde-
ring vpon the ſea coaſt were yet holden by the Venetians) left *Zoganus Baſſa* his lieutenant to
gouern that new conquered prouince,& with great triumph returned himſelfe towards Con-
F ſtantinople,carrying away with him *Demetrius* the Prince, with his wife and daughter,& ma-
ny other noble priſoners. But after he was come to Hadrianople,and placed in his royall ſeat,
he remoued the Eunuch from the faire yong Lady, and tooke charge of her himſelfe. As for
Demetrius her father, hee gaue to him the citie Ænum, with the cuſtome ariſing of the ſalt
there made,as a penſion for him to liue vpon. Thus this moſt famous and populous countrey
of Peloponeſus fel into the Turkiſh thraldome,about the yere of our Lord 1460,ſeuen yeres

Peloponeſus ſubdued by the Turks.

after the taking of Conſtantinople. Which I haue here together ſet downe, as it is reported G
by them who liued in that time, and in the ſame countries: omitting of purpoſe other great
occurrents of the ſame time (which ſhall in conuenient place be hereafter declared) to the intent
that the fall of that great empire, with the common miſerie of the delicate Grecians,
might appeare vnder one view, which otherwiſe being deliuered by peece-meale, as it did
concurre with other great accidents according to the courſe of the time, would but breed
confuſion, and require the Readers great attention.

The death of George Deſpot of Seruia.

Seruia yeelded to the Turke.

The Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially ſuch as bordered vpon the dominions of the Turkiſh tyrant,
were no leſſe terrified than troubled with the ſubuerſion of the Conſtantinopolitan empire:
for they ſaw by the continuall preparation of the Turke, that his ambitious deſires were
rather increaſed than in any part ſatisfied with ſo great & late victories. Wherfore they with H
all carefulnes fortified their frontier townes, and prouided all things neceſſary for defence of
themſelues, & for the repulſing of ſo mightie an enemie. Among the reſt, *George* the old Deſpot,
or Prince of Seruia (whoſe dominions of al other lay moſt in danger of that tempeſt) ſpeedily
muſtred his men of war, fortified his ſtrong cities, placed his gariſons, & left nothing vndon
that he thought needful for the defence of the country: for he had many times before to
his great loſſe, indured the fury of the Turkiſh kings, although he were ioined to them in the
bonds of neereſt alliance. And hauing thus politickly ſet all things in order at home, in perſon
himſelfe tooke his iourney into Hungarie, from thence to procure aid againſt ſuch time as he
ſhould haue need. But the Hungarians, & eſpecially *Huniades* (who at that time bare greateſt
ſway in that kingdom) hauing before had ſufficient trial of the vncertainty & light faith of that I
aged Prince, who had ſo often faſhioned himſelf according to the occurrents of the time, that
he was counted neither right Turke nor good Chriſtian: refuſed to promiſe him any aid, but
left him to his own fortunes: wherwith he returned diſcontented, & ful of indignation. But
ſhortly after he was come home, he died of a hurt receiued in a skirmiſh with *Michael Zilugo*,
gouernor of Belgrade: whoſe brother *Ladiſlaus* he had but a little before trecherouſly murdered,
as he was trauelling by wagon to Belgrade with his ſaid brother *Michael*, who at the ſame
time hardly eſcaped. This was the end of the Deſpot of Seruia, when he had liued 90 yeres:
in which time of his long life, he had plentifully taſted of both fortunes. A man aſſuredly of
great courage, but of a maruellous vnquiet nature: by profeſſion a Chriſtian, yet a great friend
vnto the Turks, whom he many times ſtood in great ſtead: a deep diſſembler, and double in all K
his dealings; wherby he purchaſed vnto himſelf that credit, that he was not of any his neighbor
Princes whileſt he liued, either beloued or truſted; & after his death, of his ſubiects ſo deteſted,
that the people of that country euen at this day in their country ſongs, ſtil term him, the
faithleſſe & graceleſſe Deſpot. *Lazarus* his yongeſt ſon, after his death ſucceeded in his place,
hauing depriued both his elder brethren *Stephen* and *George*) of the gouernment: for *Amurath*
the Turkiſh king had long time before put out their eys, of purpoſe to make them vnfit for the
gouernment of ſo great a country: yet theſe blind princes found means to flie away from him
to *Mahomet*, carrying with them a great maſſe of money; and ſo incited him againſt *Lazarus*
their yonger brother, that to keep friendſhip with the tyrant, he was glad to promiſe vnto him
a great yerely tribute, and ſo to become his tributarie. But within few months after, *Lazarus* L
died, the laſt Chriſtian prince that raigned in Seruia: after whoſe death, great troubles aroſe in
Seruia for the Soueraigntie: the blind brethren ſtil crauing aid of *Mahomet*, with whom they
then liued; & the deſolate widow of *Lazarus*, putting her ſelfe with her three ſons, *Iohn*, *Peter*,
and *Martin*, into the protection of the Hungarians: by which meanes ſhe with much trouble,
held her ſtate for a ſeaſon. Vntill ſuch time as that the Seruians, ſeeing ſmall aſſurance in that
manner of gouernment, and wearie of the harmes they daily receiued of the Turks; yeelded
themſelues with their country, vnto the obedience of the Turkiſh Emperour *Mahomet*, who
for euer vnited the ſame vnto his empire as a prouince thereof, and ſo it remaineth at this day.

Now was *Mahomet* by the continual courſe of his victories, grown to that height of mind,
that he thought no prince able to abide his force; neither any enterpriſe ſo great, which he was M
not of power to bring to paſſe; wherfore hee ceaſed not on euery ſide continally to vex and
trouble the Princes, whoſe countries bordered vpon his. But aboue others, his heart was greateſt
againſt the Hungarians: for that by them the Turkiſh Kings his anceſtors, had been more
troubled, & their ſtate more endangered, than by any or al other the Chriſtian princes. Wherfore

A ſore he reſolued now to take them in hand; which thing he had from the beginning of his
raigne greatly deſired. And becauſe the citie of Belgrade ſtanding vpon the great riuer of
Danubius, was accounted the key of that country, he determined there to begin his wars, and
by taking thereof to make an entrance into the heart of Hungarie. Hereupon he leuied a great
armie of an hundred and fiftie thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers, in whom he repoſed ſuch an aſſured
truſt and confidence, that he accounted the citie alreadie as good as taken, and a faire
way made into Hungarie: ſo readie are we to promiſe vnto our ſelues, the things we earneſtly
deſire. For the better accompliſhment of theſe his deſignes, he had prouided in readineſſe a
fleet of 200 ſhips and galies, which he ſent vp the riuer of Danubius from Vidina to Belgrade
to the intent that no reliefe or aid ſhould be brought vnto the city out of Hungarie, by the
B great riuers of Danubius and Savus, whereupon the city of Belgrade ſtandeth. With this fleet
he kept both thoſe riuers ſo ſtraitly, that nothing could be poſſibly conueied into the citie by
water: and not ſo contented, ſent part of his ſaid fleet farther vp the riuer of Danubius, and ſo
landing his ſouldiers in many places, ſpoiled the countries all alongſt the riuers ſide. Shortly
after he came with all his forces by land, & encamped before the citie: whereunto at his firſt
comming he gaue a moſt fierce aſſault, thinking to haue taken them vnprouided: but finding
greater reſiſtance than he had before imagined, & that the Hungarians were readie to skirmiſh
with them without the wals, he begun to proceed more warily, & entrenched his armie: and
to prouide for the ſaferie therof, by caſting vp of deep trenches & ſtrong rampiers againſt the
ſudden ſallies of his enemies: & after, planting his batterie, began moſt furiouſly to ſhake the
C wals with his great artillerie. By the fury wherof, he ouerthrew a part thereof, and laid it flat
with the ground: which the defendants with great induſtrie and labour ſpeedily repaired, by
caſting vp of new fortifications & rampiers, in ſuch ſort, that it was rather ſtronger than before

Belgrade beſieged.

In the mean time *Huniades* (not to be named without the addition of a moſt worthie captain)
being then Generall for the Hungarians, ſent a fleet of ſhips and gallies, well appointed with
all warlike prouiſion, downe the riuer of Danubius from Buda: which encountring with the
Turks fleet, tooke twentie ſaile of them, and ſo diſcomfited the reſt, that they were glad to run
themſelues on ground neere vnto the Kings camp. All which were by *Mahomets* commandement
preſently ſet on fire, becauſe they ſhould not come into the power of the Hungarians.
By this meanes the Chriſtians became maſters of both the riuers of Danubius and Savus; and
D ſo at their pleaſure, by water conueied into the citie all things needfull for the defence thereof.
Huniades alſo himſelfe, with fiue thouſand valiant ſouldiers, and *Io. Capiſtranus* a Minorate
Frier (by whoſe perſuaſion fortie thouſand voluntary Chriſtians out of Germanie, Bohemia,
and Hungarie, were come to that warre) entered into the citie that way with their ſouldiers
and followers.

The Turks fleet ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians

Mahomet reſolutely ſet downe for the winning of the citie, had with continuall batterie
made the ſame at length ſaultable; and ſo determined the next day to giue a generall aſſault,
appointing which part of the wal euery Colonel with his regiment ſhould aſſaile. But as they
were with great dilligence and greater ſtir, preparing all things needfull for the next daies ſeruice,
E it fortuned, that *Carazias Baſſa*, *Mahomets* lieutenant general in Europe, and his beſt man
of war, was by chance ſlaine with a great ſhot out of the towne. With whoſe death *Mahomet*
was exceedingly troubled, as with an ominous token of the euill which afterwards enſued vnto
him and his whole armie. For all that, proſecuting his former determination, the next day,
early in the morning hee commanded the aſſault to be giuen; & with the dreadfull ſound of
trumpets, drums, cornets, & other inſtruments of war, brought on his Ianizaries to the breach,
who as couragious ſoldiers fiercely aſſailed the ſame, and without any great reſiſtance, entered
both there and in diuers other places of the citie; reckoning the ſame to be now their owne.
For *Huniades* hauing before ſtored euery corner of the citie with his moſt valiant and expert
ſoldiers, had taken order that the defendants, vpon the firſt charge of the Ianizaries, ſhould
F forſake their ſtations, and as men diſcouraged, retire towards the citie, of purpoſe to draw the
fierce enemies faſter on, to their farther deſtruction, & vpon a ſigne giuen to ſet vpon them on
freſh, & to repaire to their former places of defence; which was accordingly done: ſo that as
ſoon as the Ianizaries, with other of the Turks moſt forward ſoldiers, were in great numbers
entred, vpon the retiring of the defendants; & the ſigne before appointed in the city giuen, the
defendants, as men quickly changd, turning again, fiercely charged the Turks which were entred;

Carazias Baſſa ſlaine.

Belgrade aſſaulted by the Turks

tred;

The Turks notably repulſt.

tred contrary to their expectation : and the valiant *Huniades*, at the ſame time iſſuing out on G
euery ſide with his moſt reſolute ſouldiers, ſo oppreſſed the Turks, that few of them that were
entred eſcaped with life, but were there in the citie either ſlaine or taken priſoners ; and the
reſt with exceeding ſlaughter beaten from the wals. Preſently after, *Huniades* in this confuſion
of the Turks, ſtrengthened with the ſouldiers which came with *Capiſtranus* the Friar, made a
ſallie out of the town, and ſet vpon the Turks appointed for the defence of the great ordnance;
which was with ſuch reſolution performed, that the Turks were glad with great ſlaughter to
forſake their charge, and to leaue the ordnance to their enemies.

The Turkiſh tyrant ſore troubled and throughly chafed with the loſſe of his great ordnance,
couragiouſly charged the Hungarians afreſh, to haue recouered the ſame againe : but was ſo
valiantly repulſed by *Huniades*, and ſo beaten with the murthering ſhot out of the citie, that he H
was glad when he had got him out of the danger thereof into his trenches. *Huniades* alſo retiring
turned the ordnance hee had lately won, vpon the Turks campe, and with the ſame did
them no ſmall harme.

In this hurle, a great part of the Ghriſtian armie (which then lay on the other ſide of Danubius)
was ſpeedily tranſported ouer the riuer ; and making no ſtay in the citie, ioyned themſelues
with *Huniades*, then lying without the wals of the citie. Who notably ſtrengthned with
this new ſupplie, aſſailed the Turkes trenches, as if he would euen preſently haue entred their
campe : at which his preſumption, the proud tyrant (neuer before ſo braued) diſdaining, went
out of his trenches, and valiantly encountering him, beat him backe againe to the great ordnance ;
from whence he was againe by the Chriſtians driuen to his trenches. Which manner I
of doubtfull and dreadfull fight, was on both ſides notably maintained, vntill the day was almoſt
ſpent : Victorie with indifferent wings, houering now ouer the one ſide, now ouer the
other.

Mahomet wounded, and carried away for dead.

In theſe hot skirmiſhes and conflicts, *Chaſanes* captaine of the Ianizaries, with many other
valiant men were ſlaine. And *Mahomet* himſelfe performing the part as well of a couragious
ſouldier, as of a worthie chiefetaine, was ſore wounded vnder his left pap ; ſo that he was taken
vp for dead, and ſo carried into his pauillion, to the great diſcomfiture of his whole army.
But comming againe vnto himſelfe, and conſidering that he had in that ſiege loſt his whole
fleet, his great ordnance, with moſt part of his beſt ſouldiers, and yet in no poſſibilitie of the
towne : ſecretly in the night aroſe with his armie, and with great ſilence ſhamefully departed; K
ſtill looking behind him when the Hungarians ſhould haue purſued him into Seruia, or haue
troubled him vpon his way towards Conſtantinople. At this ſiege (beſide many of his beſt
captaines and chiefe commanders) were ſlaine fortie thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers. The loſſe
that hee there ſuſtained was ſo great, and ſo ſtucke in his mind, that euer after during his life,
when he had occaſion to ſpeake of that ſiege, he would ſhake his head and ſigh deepely, and
many times wiſh, That he had neuer ſeene that citie, whereat both he and his father had receiued
ſo great diſhonor. Many were of opinion, that if *Huniades* had there had his horſemen on
that ſide of Danubius to haue preſently purſued the fearefull enemie, that the whole army of
the Turks might haue there bin ouerthrowne. This notable victorie was obtained againſt the
Turke the ſixth of Aguſt in the yeare of our Lord 1456. L

The death of the moſt famous captaine Huniades.

Shortly after, this moſt valiant and renowned captain *Huniades*, worthie of immortal praiſe,
died of a hurt taken in theſe wars ; or as ſome others write, of the plague, which was then rife
in Hungarie : who when hee felt himſelfe in danger of death, deſired to receiue the ſacrament
before his departure, and would in any caſe (ſicke as hee was) be carried to the Church to receiue
the ſame ; ſaying, That it is not fit, that the Lord ſhould come to the houſe of his ſeruant,
but the ſeruant rather to goe to the houſe of his Lord and maſter. He was the firſt Chriſtian
captain that ſhewed the Turks were to be ouercome ; and obtained more great victories
againſt them than any one of the Chriſtian Princes before him. He was vnto that barbarous
people a great terror, and with the ſpoile of them beautified his country : and now dying, was
by the Hungarians honourably buried at Alba Iulia, in *S. Stephens* Church : his death beeing M
greatly lamented of all good men of that age.

Mahomet the Turkiſh Emperour, no leſſe deſirous to extend his empire with the glorie of
his name, by ſea than by land ; ſhortly after the taking of Conſtantinople, put a great fleet to
ſea, wherwith he ſurpriſed diuers Iſlands in the Ægeum, and hardly beſieged the Citie of the

A Rhodes. At which time, *Calixtus* the third, then Biſhop of Rome, aided by the Genowayes
(for the grudge they bare againſt the Turks for the taking of Pera) put to ſea a fleet of ſixteen
tall ſhips and gallies well appointed, vnder the conduct of *Lodouicus*, Patriarch of Aquilla;
who with that fleet ſcoured the ſeas, & recouered again from the Turks the Iland of Lemnos,
with diuers other ſmal Iſlands thereabout: and encountering with the Turks fleet neere vnto
the Iſland of the Rhodes, at a place called the Burrow of S. *Paul*, diſcomfited them, ſunke and
tooke diuers of their gallies, and forced them to forſake the Rhodes. After which victorie at
ſea, he for the ſpace of three yeares, with his gallies, at his pleaſure ſpoyled the frontiers of
the Turks dominions all alongſt the ſea coaſt of the leſſer Aſia, and wonderfully terrified the
effeminate people of thoſe countries: and ſo at length returned home, carrying away with
B him many priſoners and much rich ſpoyle.

1461

Vſun Caſſan the Perſian King ſendeth embaſſadors with preſents to Mahomet.

After that *Mahomet* was thus ſhamefully driuen from the ſiege of Belgrade, and his fleet at
ſea diſcomfited (as is before declared) he began with great diligence to make new preparation
againſt the next Spring to ſubdue the Iſles of the Ægeum, ſpecially thoſe which lay neere
vnto Peloponeſus. But whileſt hee was buſie in thoſe cogitations, in the meane time embaſſadours
from *Vſun-Caſſanes* the great Perſian King, arriued at Conſtantinople, with diuers rich
preſents ſent to him from the ſaid King. Where among other things, they preſented vnto
him a paire of playing tables, wherin the men & dice were of great and rich precious ſtones
of ineſtimable worth, and the workmanſhip nothing inferiour to the matter: which the embaſſadors
for oſtentation ſaid, That *Vſun-Caſſanes* found in the treaſures of the Perſian King,
whom he had but a little before ſlain and bereft of his kingdome, and had there bin left long
C before by the mightie conquerour *Tamerlane*. Together with theſe Preſents, they deliuered
their embaſſage; the effect whereof was, That thoſe two mightie Princes might ioine & liue
together in amitie: and that whereas *Dauid* the Emperor of Trapezond, had promiſed to pay
vnto *Mahomet* a yerely tribute, enforced thereunto by *George* his lieutenant in Aſia; he ſhould
not now looke for any ſuch thing: foraſmuch as that empire after the death of the Emperour
then liuing, ſhould of right belong vnto *Vſun-Caſſanes*, in right of his wife, who was the daughter
of *Calo-Ioannes*, the elder brother of *Dauid* the Emperor, then liuing: and further required
him, from that time not to trouble or moleſt the ſaid Emperor his friend & neere alliance, ſo
ſhould he find him his faithful & kind confederat: otherwiſe it was (as they ſaid) in his choice
D to draw vpon himſelf the heauie diſpleaſure of a moſt mightie enemie. *Mahomet* before enuiing
at the riſing of the Perſian King, and now diſdaining ſuch peremptorie requeſts, little differing
from proud commands, in great choller diſmiſſed the embaſſadors with this ſhort anſwer,
That he would ere long be in Aſia himſelfe in perſon, to teach *Vſun-Caſſanes* what to requeſt
of a greater than himſelfe. This vnkindnes was the beginning & ground of the mortall
wars which afterwards enſued betwixt theſe two, then the greateſt princes of the Eaſt, as ſhall
be hereafter more at large declared. The embaſſadors being departed, and *Mahomets* fleet of an
hundred and fifty ſaile readie to put to ſea, he altered his former determination for the Iſlands
of the Ægeum (which after the loſſe of Conſtantinople had for the moſt part put themſelues
vnder the protection of the Venetians) and commanded his Admirall with that fleet to take
his courſe through the ſtraits of Boſphorus into the great Euxine ſea, (now called the blacke
ſea) and ſo ſailing along the coaſt to come to anker before Sinope, the chiefe citie of Paphlagonia,
& there to expect his comming thither with his army by land. This great city of Sinope
E ſtands pleaſantly on a point of the main which runs a great way into the Euxine, ſomtime the
metrapolitical citie of that prouince: but as then, with Caſtamona and all the country thereabout,
was vnder the gouernment of *Iſmael*, a Mahometane prince: vpon whom *Mahomet* had
now bent his forces, for no other cauſe than that he was in league with *Vſun-Caſſan*, the Perſian
king. Now with great expedition had *Mahomet* leuied a ſtrong army, and paſſing therewith
ouer into Aſia, was come before he was looked for, to Sinope. *Iſmael* ſeeing himſelfe ſo ſuddenly
beſet both by ſea & land in his ſtrongeſt citie, although he wanted nothing needful for
his defence, hauing in the citie foure hundred peeces of great artillerie, and ten thouſand ſoldiers:
F yet doubting to be able with that ſtrength to indure the ſiege, offered to yeeld vp the city
to *Mahomet*, with all the reſt of his dominion, vpon condition, That hee ſhould freely giue
him in lieu therof the city of Philippopolis in Thracia, with the country thereto adioining. Of
which his offer *Mahomet* accepted: and ſo taking poſſeſſion of Sinope, with the ſtrong citie of

Mahomet inuadeth Iſhmael, prince of Sinop.

Caſtamona,

mona, and all the reſt of the Princes territorie, ſent him away with all his things to Philippopolis, G
as he had promiſed. This *Iſmael* was the laſt of the honourable houſe of the *Iſfendiars*,
who had long time raigned at Heraclea and Caſtamona in Pontus. From Sinope he marched
on forward with his army to Trapezond. This famous citie ſtandeth alſo vpon the ſide of the
Euxine or blacke ſea in the countrey of Pontus, where the Emperors of Conſtantinople had
alwaies their deputies, whileſt that empire flouriſhed and commanded the Eaſt part of the
world, as farre as Parthia: but after it began againe to decline (as all worldy things haue but
their time) one *Iſaac* (whoſe father, Emperour of Conſtantinople, the Conſtantinopolitanes
had for his euill gouernment ſlaine) flying to Trapezond, tooke vpon him the gouernment of
that citie, with the countries of Pontus and Capadocia, and many other great prouinces, and
was at firſt called the King of Trapezond: but after he was well eſtabliſhed in that gouernement, H
both he and his ſucceſſors took vpon them the name and title of Emperors; which they
maintained equally, if not better, than the late Conſtantinopolitan Emperours, and therefore
are of moſt accounted for Emperors. He that then raigned, was called *Dauid Comnenus*: which
moſt honourable family of the *Comneni* had long time before raigned in Conſtantinople; and
out of the ſame were many other great Princes deſcended, which ruled in diuers places of
Macedonia, Epirus, and Græcia. *Mahomet* comming to Trapezond, laied hard ſiege vnto the
ſame by the ſpace of thirtie daies both by ſea and land, and burnt the ſuburbes thereof, as hee
had before at Sinope. The fearfull Emperour diſmaied with the preſence of ſo mightie an
enemie, and the ſight of ſo puiſſant an army, offered to yeeld vnto him the city with his whole
empire, vpon condition, That he ſhould take his daughter to wife, and deliuer vnto him ſome I
other prouince, which might yeeld him ſuch yearly profit as might ſuffice for the honorable
maintenance of his ſtate. *Mahomet* perceiuing the weakeneſſe of his enemie by his large offers,
refuſed to accept thereof, and attempted by force to haue taken the citie: which not ſorting
to his deſire, the matter was againe brought to parle: where after long debating too and
fro, it was at laſt agreed vpon, That the Emperour vpon the faith of the Turkiſh King for his
ſafe returne, ſhould in perſon meet him without the citie, if happily ſo ſome good attonement
might be made betwixt them. Whereupon the Emperour following the Turks faith before
ſolemnly giuen for his ſafe returne, as was before agreed, went out of the citie to meet him,
in hope to haue made ſome good agreement with him: but as ſoone as he was come out, *Mahomet*
according to the damnable and helliſh doctrine of his falſe prophet (That faith is not to K
be kept with Chriſtians) preſently cauſed the Emperour to be caſt into bonds, and ſo to bee
detained as priſoner. Which when it was bruted in the citie, the citizens vtterly diſcouraged,
without farther reſiſtance yeelded themſelues with the citie into his power.

Trapezond beſieged by Mahomet.

Trapezond yeelded vnto the Turks.

Mahomet now Lord of Trapezond, entring the citie, tooke priſoners the Emperors daughter,
with all the reſt of his children and kindred, and all ſuch of the nobility as he found in the
citie: whom hee cauſed forthwith, together with the Emperor, to be ſent by ſea as it were in
triumph to Conſtantinople. Of the reſt of the citizens he choſe out ſo many as he pleaſed for
his owne ſeruice, and appointed eight hundred of the Chriſtian children, in whom appeared
moſt towardlineſſe, to be brought vp for Ianizaries, many alſo of the other citizens were ſent
into captiuitie to Conſtantinople: the beautifull women and virgins he diuided amongſt his L
friends and men of war, certain choſen paragons of whom, he ſent as preſents to his ſons. After
he had thus taken his pleaſure in the citie, and left none there but the baſeſt of the people, hee
put a ſtrong gariſon of his Ianizaries into the caſtle, & a great garriſon of common ſoldiers into
the citie, appointing his Admirall to gouerne the ſame. The reſt of the Emperours ſtrong
townes, diſcouraged with the taking of Trapezond, and the miſeries therof, in ſhort time ſubmitted
themſelues vnto the Turkiſh thraldome, wherein they haue euer ſince moſt miſerably
liued. So *Mahomet* in the ſpace of few months hauing reduced that empire into the forme of
a prouince, returned in great triumph to Conſtantinople; when hee had in this expedition
ſubdued Paphlagonia, Pontus, and a great part of Capadocia, with ſome other prouinces neere M
vnto the Euxine ſea. When he was come to Conſtantinople, he ſent the Emperour with his
children priſoners to Hadrianople. But afterwards, vnderſtanding that the Perſian Queene,
the wife of *Vſun-Caſſan*, ſought meanes to get ſome one of her vncles children, whom by the
power of her husband ſhee might, if it were poſſibly aduance vnto her fathers empire: hee
ſent for *Dauid* the wofull Emperour to Conſtantinople, and there cruelly cauſed him, with

all

A all his ſonnes and kinſmen, to be put to death; and to the vttermoſt of his power rooted out al that moſt honourable familie of the ***Comneni***, excepting ***George*** the Emperours youngeſt ſon, who at his firſt comming to Hadrianople turned Turke: whoſe ſiſter (the Emperours daughter) ***Mahomet*** afterwards tooke to be one of his concubines. This Chriſtian empire was by the Turkiſh tyrant ***Mahomet*** thus miſerably ſubuerted and brought to nought in the yeare of our Lord 1461.

The ruine of the empire of Trapezond.

1462

Mahomet ſeeketh to entrap Wladus Prince of Valachia.

The yeare following, which was the yere 1462, ***Mahomet*** hauing intelligence, that ***Wladus Dracula*** Prince of Valachia, his tributary, was reſolued to caſt from him his obedience, and to ioyne himſelfe vnto the Hungarians, his mortall enemies; thought it beſt to proue if he could by policy circumuent him, before he were altogether fallen from him. For which purpoſe he B ſent ***Catabolinus*** his principall ſecretarie vnto him to bring him vnto the court, promiſing him greater fauors and promotions from the Emperor, than he had as yet at any time inioyed. And by the ſame truſtie meſſenger, he commanded ***Chamuzes Baſſa***, Gouernor of Bidina and the country lying ouer againſt Valachia, on the other ſide of Danubius, to do his vttermoſt deuoir for the entrapping of ***Wladus***: promiſing him great rewards if he could bring the matter to effect. Whereupon ***Chamuzes*** deuiſed with the ſecretarie, that when he had done his meſſage to the Prince, and with all his cunning perſuaded him to take that iourney vpon him, hee ſhould ſecretly before hand giue notice vnto him of the certain day of his returne back againe from the prince: at which time it was like, that ***Wladus*** would in courteſie of himſelf bring the ſecret arie wel on his way, being a man of ſo great account in the court, or at leſtwiſe not refuſe ſo to do, being therto requeſted by the ſecretary: at which time the Baſſa ſecretly paſſing ouer C Danubius with certain troupes of horſemen, and lying cloſe in ambuſh vpon the way, ſhould ſuddenly ſet vpon the prince, & ſo either take him, or els kil him. The plot thus laid, and euery circumſtance agreed vpon, the ſecretarie held on his way; and comming to the prince, forced his wit to perſuade him to goe to the court: ſometime cunningly extolling the great opinion that ***Mahomet*** had of his fidelitie and valor; and otherwhiles feeding him with the hope of greater honors & princely preferments he was to receiue at the Emperors hands. But when he had ſaid what he could, he obtained no more of the wary prince, but good words againe, and that he would in courteſie conduct him on his way to the ſide of Danubins: wherof the ſecretarie by ſpeedy meſſengers gaue ***Chamuzes*** intelligence: who ſecretly paſſing ouer Danubius with certain troups of horſemen, and riding a good way into the country, lay in ambuſh vpon D the way wherby the prince & the ſecretarie muſt needs paſſe: according as was before appointed, the ſecretary accompanied with the prince, put himſelf vpon the way, and at the very prefixed time came to the place where ***Chamuzes*** lay in ambuſh with his horſmen: who ſuddenly ariſing, & on euery ſide aſſailing the prince, ſlew diuers of his men before they were well aware of his comming. But ***Wladus*** being a man of great courage, and better appointed than the Baſſa had ſuppoſed (for he went alwaies attended vpon with a ſtrong guard of valiant & ſtout men) ſo receiued ***Chamuzes*** & his Turkes, that he ſlew many of them, & at length after a hard conflict took him with the reſt priſoners: whoſe hands and feet he cauſed to be cut off, & their bodies afterwards to be thruſt vpon ſharpe ſtakes ſet faſt in the ground, to the terror of all that ſaw them: and did the Baſſa ſo much honour, as to hang him and the ſecretarie vpon a gibbet a E great deale higher than the other Turks. And not ſatisfied with this reuenge, preſently gathred his forces, & paſſing ouer Danubius into the Turkes dominions, burnt all the country before him along the ſea ſide, killing man, woman, & child, without mercy: after which great ſpoile and ſlaughter made, he returned again to Valachia. The report of this news being brought to ***Mahomet***, ſet him in ſuch a choler & rage, that he commanded the great Baſſa ***Mahomets***, which firſt told him therof, to be cruelly whipt: which ſeruile puniſhment in that tyrannical gouernment hath vſully bin inflicted euen vpon the greateſt princes of the court, vpon the leaſt diſpleaſure of the tyrants, eſpecially if they be not naturall Turks borne; accounting the reſt in their anger but as their baſe & contemptible ſlaues, as wel appeareth by the woful end of maF ny, euen of the greateſt of them. But when he vnderſtood by moſt ſure aduertiſements that all was as the Baſſa had before reported, or rather worſe, it is not to be in words expreſſed into what a rage he fell: the ſpoile of his country grieued him much, but the ſhameful death of the ſecretary his embaſſador, and of ***Chamuzes*** the Baſſa, tormented his heart, and filled him with indignation & deſire of reuenge. Wherefore with all ſpeed poſſible he aſſembled his ſoldiers

Chamuzes Baſſa and the Turks ſecretary hanged.

and men of war, out of all parts of his dominions to Philippopolis: and had in ſhort time raiſed ſuch an armie, as the like he had not at any time imploied ſince the winning of Conſtantinople. At the ſame time alſo, he ſent his Admiral with 25 gallies, and 150 ſaile of other ſmall veſſels by the Euxine, to enter the riuer Danubius, and there landing his men, to ioyne his forces with the Prince of Podolia: who for a grudge he bare againſt *Wladus*, had promiſed to aid the Turke againſt him. When all things were now in readineſſe, he marched with his army from Philippopolis, and paſſing ouer Danubius, entered into Valachia; before which time, the Admirall had landed his men, and with the helpe of the Podolian, had burnt the Citie of Prailaba, the greateſt Towne of trade in all Valachia; and was beſieging Cebinm, called in antient time Lycoſtomos: where after they had lien a while and receiued ſome loſſe, they left the ſiege and departed, the Podolian backe again into his country, and the Admirall to his fleet.

Mahomet himſelfe in perſon inuadeth Valachia.

Mahomet being got ouer Danubius, burnt the villages, draue away the cattell, and made hauocke of all that came in his way. As for priſoners, he tooke but few; for the Valachies before his comming, had retired their wiues and children, and all that were vnfit for wars, either into their ſtrong cities, or into the refuge of great and thicke woods (whereof there is in that countrey plentie) or elſe into the high and rough mountaines where they were in more ſafety than in any their ſtrongeſt holds: and all ſuch as were able to beare arms, followed the Prince, who euer kept the woods and mountaines, ſtill following the Turkes armie ſo neere as he poſſibly could with ſafety; and many times cut off ſuch as ſtragled any thing far abroad from the armie, into the country: yet neuer durſt ſhew himſelfe in plaine field, being indeed but a handfull, in compariſon of the Turks multitude. *Mahomet* to ſmall purpoſe roaming vp and downe the country at his pleaſure, ſtaid neuer long in one place; and making no reckoning of ſuch a weake enemie as durſt neuer ſhew himſelfe, pitcht his tents ſtill in the open plaines, and ſo lay with his armie in great ſecuritie, not entrenched at all. *Wladus* by his eſpials vnderſtanding of this the manner of *Mahomets* encamping, came in the dead time of the night, and with al his power furiouſly aſſailed that quarter of the Turks camp where the Aſian ſoldiers lay, & ſlew many of them in their tents; the reſt terrified with the ſuddenneſſe of the alarum, fled out of their tents for refuge vnto the Europeian ſouldiers: the prince following them at the heeles, and entring into that quarter of the campe alſo, did there great harme, and ſtruck ſuch a generall terror & feare into all the Turks army, that they were euen vpon the point to haue wholly forſaken their tents and betaken themſelues to flight. Yea *Mahomet* himſelfe, diſmaid with the terrour of the night and tumult of his campe, and fearing leſt the Hungarians had ioyned their forces with the prince; not knowing which way to turn himſelfe, had vndoubtedly fled, had not *Mahomet Baſſa* a man of great experience in martial affaires, perſuaded him otherwiſe, and by generall proclamation made thorow the campe, That no man ſhould vpon paine of death, forſake the place wherein he was encamped, ſtaid the flight; and with much ado enforced them to make head againſt the prince. *Wladus* perceiuing the Turks now to begin to ſtand vpon their guard, and to make reſiſtance; after great ſlaughter made, returning, tooke the ſpoile of the tents forſaken by the Aſian ſouldiers, and vpon the approch of the day, againe retired with victorie into the woods. As ſoone as it was day, *Mahomet* appointed *Haly-Beg* with certain companies of ſelect ſouldiers, to purſue the Valachies: who ouertaking part of the Princes army, tooke a thouſand of them priſoners, and put the reſt to flight: all which priſoners were by the tyrants command, preſently put to the ſword. From that time *Mahomet* euerie night entrenched his armie, and cauſed better watch and ward to bee kept in euery quarter of his campe, than before.

A moſt horrible ſpectacle.

As he marched along the country, he came to the place where the Baſſa and the Secretary were hanging vpon two high gibbets, and the diſmembred Turks impailed vpon ſtakes about them: with which ſight he was grieuouſly offended. And paſſing on farther, came to a plaine containing in breadth almoſt a mile, & in length two miles, ſet ful of gallows, gibbets, wheles, ſtakes, and other inſtruments of terror, death, and torture; all hanging full of the dead carkaſes of men, women, and children, thereupon executed, in number (as was deemed) about twentie thouſand. There was to be ſeene the father, with his wife, children, & whole family, hanging together vpon one gallowes; and the bodies of ſucking babes, ſticking vpon ſharpe ſtakes; others withal their limbs broken vpon wheeles, with many other ſtrange & horrible kinds of death.

ſmall armie paſſed ouer into Aſia, and came by land to Poſſidium a citie of Ionia ouer againſt Mitylene. From whence he embarked himſelfe ouer the narrow ſtrait into the Iſland, where after he had once landed his armie, he in ſhort time ouerran the whole Iſland, and miſerably ſpoiled the ſame, leading away all the inhabitants thereof into captiuitie; who ſhortly after were ſold at Conſtantinople like flocks of ſheepe, and from thence diſperſed into all parts of his dominions. After he had thus harried the countrie, and left nothing therein vnſpoiled, he beſieged the Prince in the citie of Mitylene, whereof the Iſland now taketh name: and with his great ordnance continually battered the ſame by the ſpace of 27 dayes (in which time many ſharpe aſſaults were alſo giuen by the Turks, whereby the defendants were greatly diminiſhed and waſted. The Prince perceiuing himſelfe not able long to hold out, offered to yeeld vp the citie, with all the ſtrong holds in the Iſle, vpon condition that *Mahomet* ſhould therefore giue vnto him ſome other prouince, of like value to the Iſland: which his offer *Mahomet* accepted, and by ſolemne oath bound himſelfe for performance of that hee had promiſed. Whereupon the Prince came out of the citie, and humbled himſelfe before him, excuſing himſelfe for the receiuing of the men of war (wherewith he was charged) as done for no other purpoſe, but that they ſhould forbeare to ſpoile his owne country, much ſubiect to their fury: vtterly denying that hee had at any time bought, or ſhared, any part of ſuch prizes as had by thoſe pirats by ſea or land bin taken from the Turks. With which his excuſe, *Mahomet* ſeemed to be reaſonably well contented, and with good words cheered him vp: neuertheleſſe as ſoon as the citie, with all the other ſtrong holds in the Iſle, were by the Princes meanes deliuered into his hands, he no longer made reckoning of his Turkiſh faith, but cruelly cauſed many of the chiefe citizens of Mitylene to be put to death; and three hundred pirats, whom he found in the citie, to be cut in two peeces in the middle, ſo to die with more paine. And when he had placed conuenient garriſons in euery ſtrong hold in the Iſle, hee returned to Conſtantinople, carrying away with him the Prince, and all the better ſort of the inhabitants of Mitylene, that were left aliue, together with all the wealth of that moſt rich and pleaſant Iſland, leauing it almoſt deſolate, none remaining therein more than his owne garriſons, with a few of the pooreſt and baſeſt people. *Mahomet* after he was arriued at Conſtantinople, caſt the Prince *Nicholaus*, with *Lucius* his coſin (whoſe helpe he had before vſed in killing of his elder brother) into cloſe priſon: where they ſeeing themſelues euery houre in danger of their liues, to winne fauour in the tyrants ſight, wickedly offered to renounce the Chriſtian Religion, and to turn Turke. Which *Mahomet* vnderſtanding, cauſed them both to be richly apparelled, and with great triumph to be circumciſed, and preſently ſet at libertie: yet ſtill bearing in mind his old grudge, he ſhortly after, when they leaſt feared any ſuch matter, clapt them both faſt againe in priſon, and there cauſed them to bee moſt cruelly put to death. A iuſt reward for the bloudie murtherers, and Apoſtacie, who to gaine a little longer life, were content to forſake God.

Mitylene beſieged.

Mitylene yeelded to the Turke.

1464 Shortly after it fortuned, that *Stephen* King of Boſna (in antient time called Mæſia Superior) who ſupported by the Turkiſh Emperor, had wrongfully obtained that kingdome againſt his owne brethren, refuſed now to pay ſuch yearely tribute as hee had before promiſed: for which cauſe *Mahomet* with a ſtrong armie entered into Boſna, and laied ſiege vnto the city of Dorobiza: which when hee had with much adoe taken, he diuided the people thereof into three parts; one part whereof he gaue as ſlaues vnto his men of war, another part he ſent vnto Conſtantinople, and the third he left to inhabit the citie. From Dorobiza hee marched to Iaziga, now called Iaica, the chiefe citie of that kingdome, which after foure moneths ſiege was deliuered vnto him by compoſition: in this citie he took the Kings brother and ſiſter priſoners, with moſt of the nobilitie of that kingdome, whom he ſent as it were in triumph vnto Conſtantinople. The other leſſer cities of Boſna following the example of the greater, yeelded themſelues alſo. But *Mahomet* vnderſtanding that the King of Boſna had retired himſelfe into the fartheſt part of his kingdom, ſent *Mahometes* his chiefe Baſſa with his Europeian ſoldiers to purſue him: wherin the Baſſa vſed ſuch diligence, that he had on euery ſide ſo incloſed him, before he was aware, that hee could by no meanes eſcape, which was before thought a thing impoſſible. So the King for ſafegard of his life was faine to take the citie of Clyſſa for his refuge: where he was ſo hardly laid to by the Baſſa, that ſeeing no other remedie, he offered to yeeld himſelf vpon the Baſſaes faithful promiſe by oath confirmed, that he ſhould be honorably death: ſo that a man would haue thought, that all the torments the Poets ſeigne to be in hell had beene there put in execution. All theſe were ſuch as the notable, but cruell prince, iealous of his eſtate, had either for iuſt deſert, or ſome probable ſuſpition, put to death, and with their goods rewarded his ſouldiers: whoſe cruell manner was, together with the offender to execute the whole familie, yea ſometimes the whole kindred. *Mahomet*, although he was by nature of a fierce and cruell diſpoſition, wondred to ſee ſo ſtrange a ſpectacle of extreme crueltie: yet ſaid no more but that *Wladus* knew how to haue his ſubiects at command. After that, *Mahomet* ſent *Ioſephus*, one of his great captaines, to skirmiſh with the Valachies; who was by them put to the worſe: but by the comming in of *Omares* the ſonne of *Turachan*, they were againe in a great skirmiſh ouerthrowne, and two thouſand of their heads brought by the Turks vpon their launces, into the Kings campe: for which good ſeruice *Omares* was by the King preferred to be Gouernour of Theſſalia.

Two thouſand of the Valachies ſlaine.

When *Mahomet* had thus traced Valachia, and hauing done what harme hee could, ſaw it to be to no purpoſe, with ſuch a multitude of men to hunt after his flying enemie, which ſtil kept the thicke woods or rough mountaines: he returned againe to Conſtantinople, leauing behind him *Haly beg* with part of his armie, to proſecute that warre; and with him *Dracula* the younger brother of *Wladus*, who was alſo called *Wladus*, as a ſtale to draw the Valachies into rebellion againſt the Prince. This *Dracula* the younger, was of a little youth brought vp in *Mahomets* court, and for his comely ſeature of him moſt paſſionatly affected: which inordinat perturbation, ſo preuailed in the intemperat nature of the laſciuious prince, that he ſought firſt by faire words and great gifts to corrupt the youth, and not ſo preuailing, attempted at laſt to haue forced him: wherewith the noble youth being enraged, drew his rapier, and ſtriking at him to haue ſlain him, grieuouſly wounded him in the thigh, and thereupon fled. Neuertheleſſe being drawne back againe to the court, and pardoned, he was afterwards reconciled to the King, and ſo became his *Ganimede*; and was of him long time wonderfully both beloued and honoured, and now ſet vp for a ſtale (as is before ſaid) for the Valachies his countreymen to gaſe vpon.

It fortuned, that after the departure of the King, diuers Valachies came to *Haly-beg* the Turkiſh Generall, to ranſome ſuch friends of theirs as had bin taken priſoners in thoſe wars, and were yet by him detained: to whom the younger *Dracula* by way of diſcourſe declaring the great power of the Turkiſh Emperour, and as it were lamenting the manifold and endleſſe miſeries of his natiue country, cunningly imputed the ſame vnto the diſordered gouernment of his cruell brother, as the ground of all their woes: aſſuring them of moſt happie and ſpeedie redreſſe, if the Valachies, forſaking his fierce brother, would cleaue vnto him as their Soueraigne, in ſpeciall fauor with the great Emperour. Which ſpeech he deliuered vnto them with ſuch liuely reaſons, and in ſuch effectuall tearmes, that they there preſent, perſuaded by him, and others by them, in ſhort time all, as if it had been by a ſecret conſent, forſooke *Wladus* the elder brother, and choſe *Dracula* the younger brother to be their prince and ſoueraigne. Who ioyning vnto him the Turks forces, by the conſent of *Mahomet* tooke vpon him the gouernement of that warlike countrey and people; yet holding the ſame as the Turkiſh tyrants vaſſaile, the readieſt way to infidelitie. *Wladus* ſeeing himſelfe thus forſaken of all his ſubiects, and his yonger brother poſſeſſed of his dominion, fled into Tranſiluania, where he was by the appointment of the Hungarian King, apprehended and laid faſt in ſtrait priſon at Belgrade, for that he had without iuſt cauſe (as it was laid to his charge) moſt cruelly executed diuers Hungarians in Valachia: yet ſuch was his fortune, after ten yeres hard impriſonment, to be againe enlarged, and honourably to die in battaile againſt his antient enemies the Turks.

The death of Wladus.

Mahomet returning out of Valachia to Conſtantinople, ſent the ſame fleet which hee had vſed in his late warres, into the Ægeum, to take in ſuch Iſlands as being before vnder the Conſtantinopolitan empire, had vpon the loſſe of the citie put themſelues vnder the protection of the Venetians; but eſpecially the Iſle of Mitylene, called in antient time Lesbos: pretending that *Nicholaus Catelusius* prince thereof, did harbour the pyrats of Italy and other places, and alſo bought of them ſuch priſoners, and other bootie, as they continually tooke from the Turkes at ſea, or alongſt the ſea coaſt, out of many places of his dominions: pretending alſo the chaſtiſing of the ſayd prince, for that he had by treacherie ſlaine his eldeſt brother, and ſo vniuſtly taken vpon him the gouernment. His fleet thus ſet forward, hee himſelfe with a

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bly vſed, and not to receiue in his perſon any harme from the Turkiſh Emperor. Whereupon the Baſſaes oath to the ſame purpoſe was with great ſolemnitie taken; and for the more aſſurance conceiued in writing, firmed by the Baſſa, and ſo deliuered to the king: which done, the king came out of the citie and yeelded himſelfe. The Baſſa hauing thus taken the king priſoner, carried him about with him from place to place, & from citie to city, vntill he had taken poſſeſſion of all the kingdome of Boſna; and ſo returning vnto his maſter, preſented vnto him the captiue king: who was not a little offended with him, for that he had vnto him ſo far engaged his Turkiſh faith. But when the poore King thought to haue departed, not greatly fearing further harm, he was ſuddenly ſent for by *Mahomet*: at which time, he doubting the worſt, caried with him in his hand the writing wherin the Baſſaes oath for his ſafety was compriſed: neuertheleſſe, the faithleſſe tyrant without any regard therof, or of his faith therin giuen, cauſed him preſently to be moſt cruelly put to death, or as ſome write, to be ſlaine quicke. Thus was the Chriſtian kingdome of Boſna, ſubuerted by *Mahomet* in the yere 1464: who after he had at his pleaſure diſpoſed thereof, & reduced it to the forme of a prouince, to bee (as it is at this day) gouerned by one of his Baſſaes; in great triumph returned to Conſtantinople, carriing away with him many a woful Chriſtian captiue, and the whole wealth of that kingdom.

Mahomet following the example of his father *Amurath*, had from the beginning of his raigne by one or other of his great Baſſaes or expert captains ſtill maintained wars againſt *Scanderbeg* the moſt valiant and fortunat King of Eiprus: the greateſt part wherof, although it did in the courſe of time concurre with the things before declared, and might by peecemeale haue bin amongſt the ſame in their due time and place inſerted; yet I haue of purpoſe for diuers reaſons wholly reſerued them for this place: firſt, for that I would not interrupt the courſe of the hiſtorie before rehearſed, with the particular accidents of this war: And then, for that the greateſt heat of this hereditarie war, deliuered as it were from hand to hand, from the father to the ſon, hapned not long after this time; when as *Mahomet* hauing conquered the kingdom of Boſna, had ſurrounded a great part of *Scanderbegs* dominion: wherein I had reſpect alſo vnto the Readers eaſe, who may with greater pleaſure and content, and leſſe paines alſo, view the ſame together, than if it had bin diſperſedly ſcattered & intermedled with the other greater occurrents of the ſame time. In which diſcourſe I will but briefly touch many things wel worthie of a larger treatiſe. And if forgetting my ſelfe, I ſhall in ſome places happen to ſtay ſomething longer than the Readers haſt would require, yet I hope, that the zeale and loue he beares vnto the worthy memorie of moſt famous Chriſtian Princes, together with the ſhortneſſe of the hiſtorie, in compariſon of that which is therof written in iuſt volumes by others, ſhall eaſily excuſe a larger diſcourſe than this: But againe to our purpoſe.

The great wars betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg, are at large written by Marinus Barletius, in 13. Bookes, De vita, & geſtis Scanderbegi, *from whence this hiſtorie is taken: & were done betwixt the yeres 1450 and 1467.*

Vide Marinum Barletium. lib. de vita & geſtis Scanderbegi.

Mahomet in the beginning of his raigne ſent embaſſadors to *Scanderbeg*, offering him peace, ſo that he would grant to pay vnto him ſuch yearely tribute as his father *Amurath* had in his life time demanded. Which embaſſage the craftie tyrant ſent rather to proue what confidence *Scanderbeg* had in himſelfe, than for any hope he had to haue his demand granted. This diſhonorable offered peace *Scanderbeg* ſcornfully reiected, and ſo returned the embaſſadors as they came: and preſently vpon their departure entered with his horſemen into that part of the Turks dominion which bordereth vpon Epirus: and when he had waſted the country, returned home laded with the ſpoile thereof. In reuenge of which deſpight, *Mahomet* ſhortly after ſent *Ameſa* one of his beſt men of war, with 12000 horſemen into Epirus, to requite *Scanderbeg* with the like ſpoile of his people and country. But *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding by his eſpials of the Turks comming, lay cloſe in ambuſh with 6000 ſouldiers vpon the great mountaine Modriſſa, ouer which the Turks muſt of neceſſitie take their way: and as they were about by night to haue paſſed ouer that rough and ſteepe mountaine, and were with much difficulty almoſt got vp to the top thereof, they were ſuddenly charged by *Scanderbeg* his footmen, who hauing the aduantage of the place, made great ſlaughter of the Turks, & draue them down the mountaine amaine; at which time their horſes ſtood them in no ſtead at all, but were rather vnto them an hinderance in that vneuen and troubleſome ground. Now when the Turks were come to the foot of the mountaine, they were in that great feare and diſorder againe fiercely aſſailed on the one ſide by *Scanderbeg*, & on the other ſide by his nephew, called alſo *Ameſa*, who before the Turks comming had placed themſelues with their horſmen in places of moſt aduantage: ſo that the Turkes hardly beſet and forced on euery ſide, were in ſhort time ouerthrowne and put to flight. In this conflict ſeuen thouſand of the Turks were ſlaine, and *Ameſa* Generall of the Turks armie with diuers other captains taken, whom *Scanderbeg* ſent priſoners to Croia. For ioy of this victorie at *Scanderbegs* returne, great triumph and feaſting was made at Croia: during which time, *Scanderbeg* cauſed *Ameſa* the Turke, with the reſt of the Turkiſh captains, to be enlarged, to be partakers of that ioy, wherof they againſt their wils had giuen the occaſion; and afterwards vſed them with all kinde of courteſie during the time of their abode. This *Ameſa* requeſted of *Scanderbeg*, that he might ſend a meſſenger to Conſtantinople, to certifie *Mahomet* how the caſe ſtood with him and the reſt, whom happily he might thinke to haue bin ſlaine in the battell; and to procure from him their ranſom. Which his requeſt *Scanderbeg* eaſily granted, and ſet downe their ranſome at thirteen thouſand duckats. The newes of this ouerthrow ſore greeued the Turkiſh tyrant, but afterwards when he ſaw the remainder of his army without their Generall & leaders, hauing for moſt part loſt their enſignes and armour, and alſo the meſſenger that was ſent from *Ameſa*; he fell into ſuch a rage, that he denied to giue any thing at all for his ranſome: imputing all the loſſe to his treacherie, follie, or cowardiſe. Howbeit he was afterwards perſuaded by his Baſſaes and other great courtiers, *Ameſa* his friends, to thinke better of the Generall, of whoſe faithfulneſſe and valour he had of long time had great experience, and alſo to ſend his ranſome: by denying whereof, he ſhould (as they ſaid) diſcourage his other Generals and captains, who by chance of war might hap to fall into the like danger. By whoſe perſuaſion *Mahomet* ſent an embaſſador to *Scanderbeg*, with the ranſome demanded, and other great preſents alſo. Vpon receit whereof, *Ameſa* with the other captaines were ſet at libertie, and ſent with ſafe conuoy out of Epirus. All the mony ſent for the Turks ranſome, *Scanderbeg* diuided amongſt his captaines and ſouldiers.

Debreas ſent with 14000 horſemen to inuade Epirus.

A skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

This late receiued ouerthrow filled the proud tyrant with deſire of reuenge, ſo that he determined forthwith to ſend another armie into Epirus: the leading whereof, diuers of his great and moſt expert captaines ambitiouſly ſought for. For *Mahomet* had promiſed great rewards and moſt honorable preferments to him whoſe hap it ſhould be to vanquiſh *Scanderbeg*. Among the reſt, one *Debreas* (a man for his forwardneſſe & courage, in great fauor with his ſoueraigne) by great ſuit obtained to haue that charge: promiſing with exceeding confidencie vnto *Mahomet*, to make a beginning of better ſucceſſe in his wars of Epirus, than others thither by him before ſent: for the accompliſhment whereof, he required to haue no greater power than was ſent the yere before. But after that *Ameſa* was returned to the court, & had with long diſcourſe ſet forth the vertues and valour of *Scanderbeg*, with the inuincible courage of his ſouldiers, *Debreas* became more temperate in his ſpeech, and was contented to receiue a new ſupplie; ſo that he had vnder his charge fourteene thouſand ſouldiers: with which armie he marched towards Epirus, and was come to a place called Pologus, where he lay with his army encamped in a plaine in great ſecuritie, fearing no danger, for that he was not as yet in the enemies country, neither as he ſuppoſed, neere the enemie. Of all this preparation, and of the comming of *Debreas*, *Scanderbeg* had intelligence; and being reſolued not to expect the comming of the Turks into Epirus, made choice of ſix thouſand of his beſt horſemen; with whom he marched with as much ſpeed as was poſſible into the enemies country, and came by night vnto the plaine where the Turks lay, hoping to haue bin vpon them before they were aware, and ſo to haue ouerthrowne them; wherein he was much deceiued: for by the light of the Moone (which then ſhined all night) he was by the Turks in time deſcried, yet the ſuddennes of his approch with the ſtrangeneſſe of the attempt, exceedingly diſmaied the whole army of the Turks. But *Debreas* mindfull of the promiſe he had made vnto his Lord and maſter, with cheerfull words encouraged his ſouldiers, and preſently ſent out certain troups of light horſemen, to receiue the firſt charge of the enemie, vntill he might ſet his whole armie in order of battell. Betwixt theſe troups, and others ſent out by *Scanderbeg*, began a ſharpe skirmiſh; both the armies ſtanding faſt, as beholders, carefully expecting the euent thereof. But *Scanderbeg* doubting, that if his ſouldiers ſhould in his firſt encounter be put to the worſt, it might tend to the great diſcouraging of the reſt of his armie; ſeconded his men with other freſh troups vnder the leading of *Moſes* and *Ameſa*: by whoſe comming in, the Turks were forthwith beaten back, and chaſed euen to their maine battell. In the heat of which chaſe, *Moſes* forgetting himſelfe, had with great danger in following on too faſt, bin incloſed by the Turks, had not his furie bin in good time ſtaid by *Ameſa*: for which ouerſight, he was afterward blamed by *Scanderbeg*, *The battell betwixt Scanderbeg & Debreas.*

Debreas ſlaine by Scanderbeg, and his armie ouerthrowne.

A pleaſant contention betwext Muſachius and a Turke for his ranſome.

A ***derbeg***, that he could not with greater moderation vſe his good fortune, commending ſuch for-
wardneſſe in a priuat ſouldier, but not in ſo great a commander. When ***Moſes*** and ***Ameſa*** had
thus put the Turks to flight, ***Scanderbeg*** brought on his whole armie, and fiercely aſſailed the
Turks, yet troubled with the diſcomfiture of their fellowes. ***Debreas*** on the other ſide, with
cheerfull ſpeech, & his own valor, ſo encouraged his ſoldiers, that ***Scanderbeg*** was there nota-
bly reſiſted, and his fortune as it were at a ſtand: vntill that ***Muſachius***, with certain troupes of
reſolute men, drawne out of the left wing of ***Scanderbegs*** armie, gaue ſuch a fierce charge vpon
the ſide of the Turks armie, that he brake their rankes, and ſore diſordered that part of the ar-
mie: which when ***Debreas*** perceiued, he withdrew himſelfe out of the front of the battell
wherin he had valiantly ſtood againſt ***Scanderbeg***, and came to the place where ***Muſachius*** had
diſordered the battell, and with ſuch courage cheared vp his troubled ſoldiers, that his onely
B preſence and valour ſeemed to be the very life and heart of his whole armie. Whileſt ***Debreas***
was thus buſied againſt ***Muſachius***, ***Scanderbeg*** in the mean time with might and main ſtil char-
ged the front of the enemies armie: who now in the abſence of the Generall began to looſe
their order & to giue ground, making no ſuch reſiſtance as before. At which time, ***Moſes*** forci-
bly breaking into the thickeſt of them, tooke one of their enſignes, which hee threw backe
among his followers: wherwith they encouraged, ſo preſſed vpon their enemies, without re-
gard of danger, that the Turks being therewith diſcouraged, and their battell diſordred, were
almoſt ready to turne their backs and to flie. ***Debreas*** ſeeing all in danger to be loſt, haſted with
all ſpeed vnto the place where he ſaw moſt perill, and did what was poſſible to haue reſtored
the battell, and encouraged his ſoldiers: where preſſing in among the formoſt, he was by ***Scan-***
C ***derbeg*** himſelfe encountered hand to hand, and ſo by him ſlaine: with whoſe fall the whole
armie diſcouraged, without further reſiſtance fled. ***Moſes*** purſuing them on the one ſide, and
Muſachius on the other, with furious hand ſlew more in that chaſe than were ſlaine in the bat-
tell. Of the Turks were ſlaine in this battell 4120, and ſome priſoners taken, but of the Chri-
ſtians few or none: ſo that for the good fortune thereof, ***Scanderbeg*** accounted it a victory gi-
uen. All the ſpoile taken from the enemie, together with the priſoners, was by ***Scanderbeg*** e-
qually diuided among the ſoldiers. Vnto ***Moſes*** he gaue ***Debreas*** his horſe and armor: and vnto
Muſachius a priſoner, which by his port and behauiour ſeemed to bee a man of ſome account.
This Turke agreed with ***Muſachius*** vpon a ranſome of 200 duckats, and preſently vpon agree-
ment made, drew forth the mony out of a little bag which he had kept ſecretly about him, and
D offered it to ***Muſachius*** for his ranſom: who receiuing the mony, told the Turke, that he muſt
prouide another ranſome, foraſmuch as that mony was his owne before by law of armes, as ta-
ken with his perſon. The Turke on the other ſide alledged for himſelfe, the agreement alrea-
die made, with the paiment of the full ſum agreed vpon. This controuerſie was brought be-
fore ***Scanderbeg***: who with great pleaſure heard them both what they could ſay: ***Muſachius***
laying in hard for another ranſome, and the Turke for his liberty vrging the agreement. Who
when they had both ſaid what they could for themſelues, ***Scanderbeg*** ſmiling, told them, that
they both contended for that which was in right his, and neither of theirs: for the priſoner
with the mony were both mine (ſaid he) at the firſt taking of him, ſince which time I haue gi-
E uen to you ***Muſachius*** the priſoner, which I knew, but not the mony which I knew not of: nei-
ther doth the concealing thereof make it yours (ſaid he to the Turke) who had by law of arms
loſt your ſelfe, together with al that you had about you. After he had thus pleaſantly diſcour-
ſed of the matter, and brought them both in doubt, he awarded to ***Muſachius*** the mony he a-
greed for, & to the Turke his deſired liberty: who glad thereof, and hauing alſo receiued his
horſe and armor of the gift of ***Scanderbeg***, departed, ſpeaking all the honor he could of ſo no-
ble a conqueror. After this victorie ***Scanderbeg*** with great triumph returned againe to Croia.

When ***Mahomet*** vnderſtood that ***Debreas*** was ſlaine, and his armie ouerthrowne, he became
exceeding melancholie: but after he ſaw ſo many of his ſoldiers returned as had bin ſuffici-
ent to haue reſtored a loſt battell, he was ſo highly diſpleaſed with that cowardiſe, as that he
F could not endure the ſight of them. The death of ***Debreas*** greeued none more than the King
himſelfe: for the captains generally either enuied at his hardineſſe, or els hated his inſolencie.
Ameſa among the reſt tooke no ſmall pleaſure, that his proud ſucceſſour had taken part of his
euill fortune, and ſo in part eaſed his former infamie. The great Baſſaes and men of war ſeeing
their ſoueraigne ſo deſirous of reuenge, offered to ſpend their liues in that ſeruice: whoſe for-

wardneſſe he ſeemed not to refuſe: howbeit he had in his mind already plotted another man- G
ner of reuenge. Hee was not ignorant, what great matters his father *Amurath* had brought to
paſſe, by ſowing diſcord among the Princes of Græcia: which foule practiſe he purpoſed now
to put in practiſe himſelfe. There were at that time many famous chiefetaines in Epirus, of
Scanderbeg both beloued and truſted; among whom, he was in hope to find ſome one who for
deſire of wealth or promotion, might be allured to giue ſome deſperat attempt againſt the life
or ſtate of *Scanderbeg*. Of all others, *Moſes Golemus* of Dibra (a man honorably deſcended) was
moſt inward with *Scanderbeg*, and for his proweſſe and experience in martiall affaires, of all
men accounted the beſt captaine in all Epirus, next vnto *Scanderbeg* himſelfe: him, the craftie
tyrant moſt deſired to alienate from *Scanderbeg*, as one fitteſt to ſerue his purpoſe, and eaſieſt
without ſuſpition to be dealt withall, becauſe he commonly lay with a ſtrong garriſon in Di- H
bra, vpon the very frontiers of Epirus. Wherefore he directed his letters vnto the Gouernor
of Sfetigrade, commanding him by al means he could poſſibly deuiſe to withdraw *Moſes* from
Scanderbeg; and not to ſpare for any gold or golden promiſes whereby to allure him: promi-
ſing alſo vnto the Gouernor himſelfe great preferments, if he could win him. Vpon receit of
which letters, the Gouernor began forthwith carefully to deuiſe, how he might beſt attempt
the matter he had in charge: where after many deuiſes, he at laſt thought vpon a ſhrewd-head-
ed fellow, one of the Chriſtians which dwelt in Sfetigrade; whom for that he was a Chriſti-
an, hee might without ſuſpect vſe as an inſtrument in ſo dangerous and important an action.
This Chriſtian the Gouernor called vnto him, and after he had with great gifts and large pro-
miſes won him to vndertake the matter, he ſent him away, fully before armed with plenteous I
inſtructions, full of treaſon and deceit. When this ſubtill meſſenger was come vnto *Moſes*, and
vnder pretence of great and ſecret matters of importance, had obtained to ſpeake with him in
priuat; he after ſome diſcourſe had of matters well worth the hearing, began at length vnder
the couert of faire glozing words, to vtter his poyſon: ſhewing vnto him (as a meſſengr from
the Gouernor) the great and good opinion the Turkiſh Emperor had of long time conceiued
of his valor and proweſſe: for which cauſe his heroicall nature could not but honor him, al-
though he were his enemie; and therewith alſo maruell, that hee being a man of that worth,
could be contented to be commanded by *Scanderbeg*, whoſe ſtate was by him chiefly vphol-
den: wheras if he would do wiſely, and changing his affection, follow *Mahomet*, an Emperor
of greateſt magnificence and power, he ſhould quickly in his court find ſuch honorable enter- K
tainment, as were to be preferred before the ſtate of *Scanderbeg*: or if the ſoueraigntie of Epi-
rus his natiue country did better pleaſe him, he might eaſily be therunto aduanced, by ioining
his owne endeuor vnto *Mahomets* great power. It pleaſed *Moſes* well to heare his owne praiſes
(a thing incident vnto hautie minds) and he liked well that he was ſo fauoured of the Turkiſh
Emperor: but the hope of the kingdome of Epirus, began to worke in him new conceits, and
moued him more than all the reſt. Such is the force of ambitious thoughts, that they make a
man forget all things, ſaue themſelues: ſo glorious a thing it is, to ſtand in the higheſt place: for
all that, *Moſes* neither in word or countenance made any ſemblant of liking, or diſliking the
meſſage. Which the wily meſſenger taking for a ſecret conſent, and heartily glad that he had
bin ſo well heard, not deſiring as then any further anſwer, craued leaue to depart, promiſing in L
ſhort time to returne to him againe. After the departure of this meſſenger, many troubled
thoughts began to ariſe in the mind of *Moſes*: his mirth was changed into melancholy, & the
cheerfulneſſe of his countenance was abated; his hautie thoughts were his ſolitarie compani-
ons, and the imagined kingdome the Idol he in ſecret worſhipped; ſo that in ſhort time, he ſee-
med to the wiſer ſort as a man altogether metamorphoſed. Some were ſo bold, as for to aske
the cauſe of the meſſengers comming: vnto whom he anſwered, That he was one, from whom
he receiued intelligence of matters concerning the good of the ſtate: which his anſwer was
holden for true; for who durſt once miſtruſt *Moſes*? Whilſt he thus was toſſed vp and downe
with his owne thoughts, as a ſhip with the billowes of a wrought ſea, the ſame ſlie meſſenger, M
according to his promiſe came againe; and for his more credit, in ſecret brought with him
ſuch preſents as well might ſeeme to haue bin ſent from the Great Turke; with his meſſage
better framed than before. Of all which that was ſent, *Moſes* is reported to haue receiued no-
thing but the worſt, which was, the very treaſon it ſelfe. And ſo returned the meſſenger, with
anſwer, that he could not but in good part accept of the Turkiſh Emperors great fauors; and

The craftie proceeding of the Turks meſſenger.

Moſes corrupted.

A for the reſt of his requeſts, whatſoeuer he ſhould chance to doe therein, he ſhould not from thenceforth find him any great enemie: commanding the meſſenger at his departure, no more to repaire vnto him about that matter, for feare of ſuſpition.

After that, it chanced that *Scanderbeg* came into Dibra, to ſee how all things ſtood there, and to conſult with *Moſes* for the beſieging of Sfetigrade; which citie it grieued him to ſee in the poſſeſſion of the Turks. *Moſes* to auert *Scanderbeg* from that enterpriſe, wherein he muſt of force be driuen to ſhew himſelfe, told him, That he vnderſtood of late by a certaine meſſenger which came to him out of Sfetigrade, that the citie was ſo well ſtored by the Turks, of all things neceſſarie for the defence thereof, that it were but loſt labor to attempt any thing againſt the ſame: wherefore hee aduiſed him rather to beſiege Belgrade (not that Belgrade B which is ſcituated vpon the riuer of Danubius, but another of the ſame name) in the confines of Epirus, then holden by the Turks, but diſtant from Sfetigrade about an hundred and fortie miles; of the taking whereof, there ſeemed to be more hope. By this perſuaſion, *Scanderbeg* reſolued with himſelfe to make prouiſion for the beſieging of Belgrade. And foraſmuch as his ſouldiers of Epirus alwaies vſed to the field, were not ſo fit for the beſieging of townes, he thought it good to pray aid out of Italy, from his old friend *Alphonſus* King of Naples, with whom he had beene of long time acquainted, and vnto him much beholden. Wherefore he ſent two of his noblemen embaſſadors vnto him, with certaine rich Preſents, and familiar letters of this purport.

Scanderbeg craueth aid of Alphonſus king of Naples.

Our ſouldiers of Epirus, know onely how to fight with men, and them to vanquiſh: with wals they C *know not how to deale. You Italians (as I vnderſtand) haue skill in that kind of ſeruice, and take pleaſure therein: wherefore now at this preſent, I haue neede of your helpe and cunning. There be certaine townes of our enemies in Epirus, yea almoſt in the heart of our kingdome, which eye ſore I haue of long deſired (if it pleaſed God) to take out of my ſight: but being occupied with continuall wars, had no leiſure vntill now, happily to attempt any thing againſt them. This time I haue choſen as moſt fit, to ſatisfy my deſire, both for the ſeaſonableneſſe of the time of the yeare, and for that* Mahomet *ſpareth me leiſure; whoſe furie I haue twice calmed. You vnderſtand in few words, what I haue need of: all other things are almoſt in readineſſe, and we onely looke for your helpe. Lend me ſuch ſouldiers as know how to fight a far off, I meane harquebuſiers and canoniers, for of others we haue ſtore plentie. But happie is Apulia, my* Alphonſus, *vnder thy gouernment, from whence men fit for all ſeruices may bee drawne as out* D *of a moſt plentifull treaſurie. Whenſoeuer we haue requeſted men fit for ſeruice, either in peace or warre, you haue beautified both our court and campe. By you the kingdome of Epirus hath beene ſupported with ciuill policie, and warlike ſtrength: all ſort of people, of what condition ſoeuer: yea euery corner of Epirus ſoundeth forth thy praiſe, both at home and abroad. But for mine own part, I doe ſo louingly embrace your kindneſſe, and ſo firmly retaine the remembrance of your deſerts towards me, that ſometime I wiſh you that fortune (although in ſo doing I may ſeeme vnkind) which (as the common ſaying is) proueth, but getteth not friends: to the intent, that you might by ſome more certaine proofe know, how much I am to you deuoted.*

When *Scanderbeg* had ſent away his embaſſadours, he with all diligence began to prouide E things neceſſarie for the ſiege of Belgrade: wherein he had purpoſed alſo to haue vſed the ſeruice of *Moſes*. But he now in heart a traitor both to his Prince and countrey, and a friend to *Mahomet*, found many excuſes to ſtay at home in Dibra; alleging firſt, that it was to be thought that ſo ſoone as the Turkiſh King ſhould heare of the ſiege of Belgrade, hee would inuade ſome part of Epirus, thereby to withdraw his enemies from the ſiege: and then, that no part of all Epirus lay neerer vnto the Turks, or more in danger than Dibra; and that therefore hee could not doe any better ſeruice, than to ſee vnto the ſaftie of that country, long before committed to his charge, and in which alſo moſt part of his liuing lay. Theſe his excuſes, proceeding indeed from deep treaſon, were yet neuertheleſſe thought reaſonable, and he for his pro- F uident care highly commended: and authoritie giuen him with new ſupplies to augment the garriſon vnder his command, as time and occaſion ſhould require.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had fully made his preparation for the intended ſiege, the embaſſadors before ſent to *Alphonſus*, were returned into Epirus, and with them ſuch aid as *Scanderbeg* had before requeſted, and a great deale more: For *Alphonſus* fearing the greatneſſe

Alphonſus ſendeth aid vnto Scanderbeg.

of the Turkiſh Emperor, in what he could furthered *Scanderbeg* his actions, reckoning Epirus G not aboue 60 miles diſtant from his dominions, to be the ſtrongeſt wals of his kingdome in Apulia (as not many yeres after, it by proofe appeared, when as the Turks hauing taken Otranto put all Italy in no ſmall feare.) With this aid he alſo wrote louing letters vnto *Scanderbeg*, thanking him for his preſents, and for the good opinion he had of him, willing him to make as bold of all his things, as of his owne. But when he came to make mention of the ſouldiers he had ſent, *Alphonſus*, after the manner of his pleaſant nature, merrily wrote vnto *Scanderbeg*, That he had ſent him Italian ſouldiers which could according to his deſire, fight well both with men and wals, but better with women: and that therefore the Epirots were beſt to take heed, that they whoſe helpe they required for fight a far off, proued not alſo good warriours at hand at home in their houſes. The great commendation *Scanderbeg* had giuen of the King, H was by him referred vnto the exceſſe of his loue, and by the King requited with like.

Scanderbeg beſiegeth and diſtreſſeth Belgrade.

Scanderbeg now furniſhed with all things needfull, ſet forward, and according to his former determination, came and encamped before Belgrade, with an armie of fourteene thouſand good ſouldiers: and in ſhort time had ſo diſtreſſed the citie, that the Turkes were glad to take truce with him for ſixteene dayes, which time expired, they promiſed to deliuer vp the town, if they were not before relieued. Vpon concluſion of this truce, *Scanderbeg* encamped himſelfe vpon an high hil, neere vnto the citie, with three thouſand horſe, and a thouſand foot: and appointed *Muſachius* and *Tanuſius*, with the reſt of his armie, to remoue farther off into a large plaine, where they might encampe themſelues in a more wholſome and freſh aire, in that hot ſeaſon of the yeare, during the time of the truce. At which time he appointed alſo 25 ſcouts to I keepe continuall watch vpon the top of the higheſt mountaine, to diſcouer a far off the comming of the enemie, and to giue warning thereof vnto the campe by making a fire vpon the mountaine: by the negligence of which watch, *Scanderbeg* receiued a great ouerthrow, as hereafter followeth.

The news of the ſiege of Belgrade was brought vnto *Mahomet*, at ſuch time as he was readie to haue paſſed into Aſia againſt the Emperour of Trapezond: which great enterpriſe hee was loath to giue ouer, for the releefe of Belgrade; and yet to loſe that citie vnto *Scanderbeg*, grieued him much: wherefore he reſolued with himſelfe ſo to doe the one, as that he would not altogether neglect the other. And ſo holding on his intended iourney into Aſia himſelfe, with ſuch fortune as is aforeſaid, he ſent *Sebalias* one of his great Baſſaes, with fortie thouſand horſ- K men to releeue Belgrade, promiſing him great rewards if he could bring him *Scanderbeg* eyther aliue or dead. This Baſſa was of the Turks accounted for a warie captaine, but not ſo couragious, alwaies more politick than forward: he hauing receiued his charge, ſet forward with all ſpeed poſſible, no leſſe carefull of that he was commanded, than was *Mahomet* himſelfe, and by great iournies came on ſo faſt, that he ſtill preuented the fame of his comming; and by his forerunners intercepted, or rather (as ſome write) corrupted the watch which *Scanderbeg* had before placed vpon the mountains; ſo that no ſigne was giuen vnto the campe, of the enemies, as was expected. By means whereof, *Sebalias* with all his power were vpon that part of *Scanderbegs* armie, which lay in the plaines, before they were well aware of his comming: ſo that moſt part of them had not ſo much leiſure as to bridle their horſes, or to put on their armour. L In which ſo ſudden a feare, *Muſachius* armed himſelf, and put his ſoldiers in ſuch order, as the ſhortneſſe of the time and the enemies approach would permit; doubting much, whether it were better to fight or to flie: but ſeeing no leſſe danger in flight than in fight, he reſolutely receiued the enemies charge, as a man deſirous beforehand to reuenge his owne death. And at length (ſeeing his men ſlain about him by heaps, and that courage muſt needs giue place vnto fortune) fiercely attempted to haue broken thorow the midſt of his enemies, and ſo to haue fled vnto the mountain where *Scanderbeg* lay: but he was ſo beſet, that no way was poſſible to be made; wherfore reſoluing there to die, he deſperatly fought, to the great admiration of his enemies, vntill that he, with all there with him, were euery man ſlaine.

Muſachius ſlain and the Epirots put to flight.

Tanuſius on the other ſide, after he had giuen diuers braue attempts to haue reſcued his coſin *Muſachius*, finding by M proofe, that he could do him no more good therein but to become the wofull companion of his death, exhorted al the reſt yet left, for ſafegard of their liues to flie: in which doing, moſt of them were ſlain, for the Baſſaes great armie ſo filled all places thereabout, and ſo eagerly purſued the victorie, that it was almoſt impoſſible any way to eſcape. *Scanderbeg* lying vpon the moun-

A mountaine, and ſeeing the ouerthrow of moſt part of his armie, was about many times to haue deſcended from the hil, to haue holpen them in what he might, or els to haue there died with them: but yet ſtaied, being thereto earneſtly requeſted by his other moſt expert captaines; and perſuaded, not deſperatly to thruſt both himſelfe and them all into the manifeſt perill of aſſured death.

Scanderbeg ſeeth his men ſlain, and is not able to releeue them.

Sebalias hauing ſlaine *Muſachius*, and put *Tanuſius* to flight, followed th chaſe with the greateſt part of his army, ſo that few were left in the great plaine, except ſuch as ſtaied or rifle the dead. *Scanderbeg* taking that opportunitie, came downe from the hill whereon he ſtood, with his foure thouſand ſoldiers, and in a moment ſlew all ſuch Turkes as he found in his way: and after following in the taile of the Turks army, cut off a great number of them, and brought a B generall feare vpon the whole armie: inſomuch, that *Sebalias* perceiuing that he gained not ſo much in chaſing of *Tanuſius*, but that he loſt more in the rereward of his armie, by the purſuit of *Scanderbeg*, left the chaſe, and turned vpon his fierce enemy: where after a ſharpe skirmiſh begun, the warie Baſſa fearing in the maintaining of that diſordered fight to haue the victory wrung out of his hands by *Scanderbeg*, cauſed a retrait to be ſounded, ſo to cal together his diſperſed ſoldiers, and in better order to encounter his dangerous enemy. *Scanderbeg* in the mean time hauing aſſembled the remainder of his armie, valiantly again encountred the Turks, who thought in this battel to haue made an end of the wars in Epirus: and with his own hand ſlew *Achmat* and *Barach*, two valiant ſoldiers of the Turks; which like ſtout champions had before ſworne vnto *Mahomet* the death of *Scanderbeg*, if they ſhould chance to meet with him. In this laſt skirmiſh a great number of the Turkes were ſlaine: but night drawing on, *Sebalias* retired C with his armie to a mountaine neere vnto the citie, and *Scanderbeg* likewiſe to another almoſt two miles off: and in the dead time of the night riſing with his army, returned in ſafety into Epirus, leauing ſtrong gariſons vpon all the ſtrait paſſages as he went, for feare leaſt the Baſſa proud of this victorie, ſhould forthwith breake into Epirus. This was the onely and greateſt ouerthrow that *Scanderbeg* had hitherto receiued of the Turks: wherein he loſt two thouſand horſemen and three thouſand foot (moſt part whereof were of the Italians ſent from king *Alphonſus*) together with his tents and great artillerie, and about eightie of his men taken priſoners. And of the Turks were alſo ſlaine three thouſand.

Scanderbeg flieth by night into Epirus.

The next day *Sebalias* perceiuing that *Scanderbeg* was retired, commanded the bodies of the ſlaine Turks to be ſought out and buried: but of ſuch Chriſtians as they yet found breathing, D the Turks cut off their hands and feet, and ſo left them among the dead. The head of *Muſachius* and of many other the ſlaine Chriſtians, which by their armour or apparell were thought to be of the better ſort, were by the commandement of *Sebalias* cut off; which becauſe hee could not for the diſtance of the place, and heat ~~of the weather~~, without great annoiance carry with him to Conſtantinople, as the barbarous manner of the Turks is; he cauſed them to bee flaine, and ſtuffed with chaffe, and ſo to be carried as the vaine trophies of his victorie. Afterwards, when he had repaired the battered wals of Belgrade, & put a new ſupplie of ſeuen hundred freſh ſouldiers into the citie, beſide the old garriſon therein before, and ſet all things in good order, he returned with great triumph to Conſtantinople. And the more to ſet out the glory of his victory, at ſuch time as he entred the city, he firſt cauſed the captiue Chriſtians to E be led in chains before him; after whom were borne the enſignes taken from the Chriſtians, with the aforeſaid heads thruſt vpon lances, and after them all the ſpoile: laſt of all came *Sebalias* himſelfe with his ſouldiers, as great conquerours, and was of the people receiued with ſuch applauſe and ioy, as if he had conquered ſome great kingdome. No man was now ſpoken of but *Sebalias*, his praiſes were in euery mans mouth, he was the onely man (as they ſaid) that did ſhew that *Scanderbeg* was to be ouercome: no preferment was now thought too great for him, or reward ſufficient to counteruaile his deſert. The poore Chriſtian captiues were afterwards for the moſt part ſould: of the reſt, ſome were aliue thruſt vpon ſharpe ſtakes, ſome hanged vpon yron hookes, ſome otherwiſe cruelly at the victors pleaſure tortured to death.

F *Moſes* lately before corrupted by the practiſe of the Gouernour of Sfetigrade, hearing of the great loſſe *Scanderbeg* had receiued at Belgrade, thought it now a moſt fit time for his reuolt. But foraſmuch as the fact, in the nature of it ſelf foule, ſeemed euen to himſelfe the doer thereof, a great deale fouler and more diſhonorable, for that he had therein no complices: he thought it good, if it were poſſible, to alure ſom others into the fellowſhip of his treaſon, ſo to diminiſh the infamy of himſelfe, in communicating the ſame with many, and to appeare with G greater credit before the Turkiſh tyrant, than if he ſhould as a contemptible fugitiue come all alone. Wherefore vpon the bad news from Belgrade, he ſeemed at the firſt very penſiue, and much to lament the misfortune of *Scanderbeg*, and the common miſerie of the country of Epirus, with many words amplifying the ſame: and then on the contrary part, ſetting forth to the vttermoſt the force and power of the Turkiſh Emperour *Mahomet*, thereby to ſtrike a greater terrour and diſtruſt into the minds of them with whom he was conuerſant: but vnto ſuch as were more ſecret and inward with him, he diſcouered the great affection and fauour the great Emperor *Mahomet* had of long born him, with the large offer of his gifts and preferments, aſſuring them of the like alſo, if they would conform themſelues vnto his appetite; ſeeking herby H ſo much as he could, to allure them into the participation of his moſt execrable treaſon; yet when he had ſaid what he could, he found none but a few of the baſer ſort of the common ſouldiers, which were willing to hearken vnto him or to follow him. When *Moſes* ſaw how much he had laboured, and how little preuailed, fearing to be diſcouered, he fled by night to Sfetigrade, accompanied with a few baſe fellowes, and eaſily obtained the Gouernours paſſe, with ſafe conduct to Conſtantinople: where he arriued a little before the returne of *Sebalias* from Belgrade, and was of *Mahomet* both ioyfully receiued and honourably entertained.

When *Scanderbeg* vnderſtood that *Moſes* was thus reuolted, at the firſt report thereof he was ſo troubled with the ſtrangenes of the fact, that he ſtood ſpeechleſſe as a man aſtonied: but after he had pauſed a while, & vpon further enquirie had found it out to be true, he according to I his heroicall diſpoſition, ſaid no more, but that he could eaſily haue *Moſes* excuſed, for that he was carried away with the violence of ſuch fortune as might haue alienated the mind of a right conſtant man. And when diuers of his friends (according to the manner of the world) with hard ſpeeches ſeemed to aggraute his offence: he could not abide to heare the ſame, but commanded them to hold their peace, & no more to vſe ſuch ſpeeches: wiſhing that all treaſon & euil fortune were together with *Moſes* gon out of Epirus. Vpon this news *Scanderbeg* accompanied with *Ameſa* his nephew, & a troup of horſmen, preſently entred into the country of Dibra, & there with al care cauſed moſt diligent inquirie to be made, if any could be found partakers of the conſpiracie with *Moſes*. But finding none, he much reioiced in the fidelity of his ſubiects: & hauing ſet al things in good order in that prouince, returned himſelf to Croia. K

Mahomet ſendeth Moſes with fifteene thouſand ſelect men to inuade Epirus.

Moſes remaining in the Turks court, ceaſed not to ſolicit *Mahomet* to proceed in his warres againſt *Scanderbeg*, promiſingto do therin great matters, euen to the ſpending of his life in that ſeruice. But the craftie tyrant thinking it not good to truſt him too farre before he had further triall of him, delaied him off to the next Spring, pretending that the yeare was too far ſpent to bigin wars. In the mean time he cauſed al *Moſes* talke, his behauior and actions, to be diligently obſerued and noted; and oftentimes himſelfe diſcourſed with him concerning the managing of that war: all which he did eſpecially to ſound the depth of *Moſes* his thoughts. And finding nothing in him but the moſt aſſured & vndoubted ſignes of a mind deuoted to his ſeruice, & altogether eſtranged from *Scanderbeg*: in the beginning of the Spring he committed to his charge the leading of fifteene thouſand horſemen for the inuading of Epirus, ſuch men as L *Moſes* himſelf ſhould make choice of: for a greater number he required not for the vanquiſhing of *Scanderbeg*. Theſe ſouldiers although they deteſted (ſo few in number) to enter that fatal country of Epirus, as men faire warned by other mens harms, yet heartened on by the opinion they had conceiued of their new Generall, and the hope they had by his meanes to find friends in that country to ioyne with them, were the willinger to go. So *Moſes* furniſhed with a notable army, and all warlike prouiſion he could deſire for the deſtruction of his country; and blinded with the imagination of a kingdome, ſet forward, and marching through Thracia and Macedonia, forgetting the loialtie due vnto his Soueraigne, and the loue he ought to haue borne vnto his natiue countrey, came and entered into Dibra.

Scanderbeg by his eſpials vnderſtanding of the comming of *Moſes*, as alſo what ſtrength he was of, ſtood not now vpon any policie againſt him who had of long bin priuie to all his ſtratagems, M but was ready euen at his firſt entrance with true valor to incounter him. As both the armies ſtood ranged in order of battell, a meſſenger came from the the Turks campe, to know of *Scanderbeg*, if any one of his army durſt to proue his fortune hand to hand againſt one of the Turks, before the beginning of the generall battel. By which meſſenger anſwer was returned, *A combat betwixt a Turke and a Chriſtian.*

A That the challenge ſhould be accepted. The name of the Turke which made this braue challenge was *Abemaze*, a man for his valour and courage of great name amongſt the Turks. Vpon this proud challenge, *Zacharias Groppa*, a gentleman of no leſſe reputation among the Chriſtians, haſtily ſtept forth before *Scanderbeg* (as if he had bin afraid to haue beene preuented by ſome other) and requeſted, that he might be the man to abate the Turks pride. *Scanderbeg* embracing him, commended his noble mind, and wiſhing him good fortune, gaue him leaue to carrie with him into the field the firſt honour of the Chriſtian armie. As he was arming himſelfe, his companions and fellowes in armes ſtanding about him, wiſhed vnto him not more courage or ſtrength than he had, but onely the fortune of *Maneſſi*. Vpon his armor he put on many rich iewels and ornaments, the allurements or rather the rewards of the enemie, if hee B could vanquiſh him. The Turkiſh champion was no ſooner come into the plaine betwixt both armies and made ſhew of himſelfe in great brauery, as if his match had yet bin ſcarcely found, but he ſaw *Zacharias* come forth brauely mounted, and readie to charge him: to whom *Abemaze* calling aloud, ſaid there would be time enough for him to haſten to his death, & therefore requeſted to talke with him before. So when he had learned of him both his name and place, he propounded ſuch like conditions of the combat, as had bin long before derided by *Maneſſi*: whereof *Zacharias* in no better ſort accepted. In few wordes it was agreed vpon betwixt them, That each of them ſhould abide his owne fortune, without any helpe or ayd of others; and that the victor ſhould haue full power ouer the bodie & ſpoile of the vanquiſhed. Thus agreed, they withdrew themſelues one a good diſtance from another, and with their C Launces charged, ran together with ſuch force, that with the violence of the encounter they brake their Launces one vpon the other, and were both horſe and man ouerthrowne. But vnhorſed, they nimbly recouered themſelues, and with their ſcimitars fiercely aſſailed the one the other on foot. Fortune it ſhould ſeeme had determined to beautifie that combat with varietie, ſtanding a great while indifferent to both. After many ſturdie ſtrokes giuen, without any hurt don, by reaſon they were ſo ſtrongly armed, it fortuned that both their ſwords were beaten out of their hands: then grapling together with their bare hands, as if they had bin two vnarmed wreſtlers, after long ſtrugling till they were both almoſt out of breath, *Zacharias* ouerthrew the Turke, and lying vpon him, with his dagger, aboue the gorget thruſt him into the throat, & ſlew him: and ſo riſing vp, with the ſword that firſt came to his hands, cut off the D Turks head: at the ſight wherof the Chriſtian army gaue a great ſhout for ioy, to the great diſcomfiture of the Turks. To be ſhort, *Zacharias* deſpoiling the Turke of his armor, & what els he thought good, returned loded with the ſpoile of his enemie, and preſented vnto *Scanderbeg* the proud Turks head: for which he was of him afterwards moſt honorably rewarded.

Into this place yet reeking with the bloud of the late ſlaine Turke, came *Moſes*, and with a loud voice challenged *Scanderbeg* hand to hand, thinking indeed that he would not haue aduentured his perſon: but when he ſaw him readie to come forth, he ſhamefully forſooke the place, and returned with ſhame enough into his armie.

The battell betwixt Scanderbeg and Moſes.

Preſently after, both the armies vpon ſignall giuen ſet forward, and ſo began to ioine battell: where at the firſt onſet *Scanderbeg* ſo valiantly charged the vauward of the Turkes armie, that E they were glad to giue ground: which *Moſes* perceiuing, releeued them with new ſupplies, and riding now here, now there, with his preſence and courage reſtored the battel, in many places almoſt loſt. Howbeit, the Epirots encouraged with the beginning of their good fortune, ſtill preuailed vpon their enemies, & after great ſlaughter made, came to the ſtrength of their battell: where *Moſes* had placed moſt of his beſt ſoldiers, as his moſt aſſured and laſt refuge: in this place the Turks fought with exceeding courage, and *Moſes* warily obſeruing in what part of the battell *Scanderbeg* himſelfe was, directed his moſt forces againſt him, of purpoſe, if poſſibly he might, to haue ſlaine him; whereof he miſſed but a little: for a couragious ſoldier of the Turks by chance encountering with *Scanderbeg*, with his horſemans ſtaffe bare him quite F backeward vpon his horſe, in ſuch forcible manner, that the Turks for ioy gaue a great ſhout, thinking verily that he had bin ſlaine: but *Scanderbeg* recouering himſelfe again, & chafed with ſuch an vnwonted diſgrace, furiouſly aſſailed the ſame Turke with his ſword, and after a great fight ſlew him. A great part of the Turks armie being alreadie ouerthrown by them that had the leading of the wings of *Scanderbegs* armie, diuers of the common ſoldiers thruſt the heads of the ſlaine Turks vpon the points of their ſpeares, in token of victorie, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Turks: and now ioining themſelues with *Scanderbeg*, more fiercely charged the maine battell of the Turks than before. Neuertheles, *Moſes* encouraging his ſoldiers, did what was poſſible for a man to doe, and euen with his owne valour a great while ſtaid the courſe of the victorie: vntil he ſeeing the ground about him couered with the dead bodies of his beſt ſoldiers, & that there was no remedie but that he muſt either flie, or there die; turned his back and fled. In which flight, many of the hindermoſt of the Turks were ſlaine: as for *Moſes* himſelfe, he eſcaped by waies to him wel knowne, onely with foure thouſand men, the poore remainder of ſo great an armie: the reſt, to the number of about eleuen thouſand, all choiſe men, were ſlaine: whereas of the Chriſtians were not paſt an hundred loſt, and about eightie wounded. Of all the Turks that were taken, only one was ſaued; who being a man of good account, had yeelded himſelfe to *Zacharias*, and was afterward ranſomed; the reſt were all by the common ſouldiers, without pittie tortured to death, in reuenge of the crueltie by them ſhewed at Belgrade: *Scanderbeg* himſelfe either not knowing thereof, or winking thereat.

Moſes with the reſt of his diſcomfited armie, lay ſtill a while vpon the borders of Epirus, and would faine haue perſuaded them, after the departure of *Scanderbeg*, to haue followed him againe into Epirus, to haue ſurpriſed the garriſon left in Dibra, in number not aboue 2000; promiſing to bring them vpon the ſame garriſon, before they ſhould bee aware of their comming. But the Turks hauing him now in contempt, were about by generall conſent to forſake him, and to returne home. And ſo *Moſes* ſeeing no remedie, returned with them to Conſtantinople, with countenance as heauie as if he had bin a condemned man now carried to the place of execution: and the Turkes which had not long before had him in great admiration, expecting that he ſhould haue ended the warres in Epirus, began now to diſgrace him as faſt, and to ſpeake all the euill of him they could deuiſe. Yea the tyrant himſelfe (although hee could blame nothing in the man, but his fortune) was ſo highly offended with him for the loſſe of his armie, that he had vndoubtedly put him to moſt cruell death, had not the great Baſſaes, & others neere about him, perſuaded him otherwiſe, ſaying, That in ſo doing, he ſhould alienate the minds of al others from reuolting vnto him, or attempting any great thing for his ſeruice. So was he by their mediation pardoned his life; but withall, ſo diſgraced, that he had little or nothing allowed him afterwards for his neceſſarie maintenance: all which deſpightfull contumelies he outwardly ſeemed patiently to beare; but was inwardly ſo tormented with melancholy and griefe, that he could not neither eat nor drinke: the remembrance of the foule treaſon committed againſt his prince and country, was day and night before his eies; and the diſgraces of the Turks court inwardly tormented him with intollerable griefe: the ſight of the tyrant (who meaſured all things by the euent) filled his heart with ſecret indignation; and to return again to his naturall prince, of whom he had ſo euill deſerued, he was aſhamed: ſometime the clemencie and princely nature of *Scanderbeg*, whom he knew of old, ſlow to reuenge, and eaſie to be intreated to forgiue, heartned him on to thinke of return; and by & by, the conſideration of his foule treaſon ouerwhelmed him with deſpaire. Thus with contrarie thoughts plunged too and fro, tormented with the vnſpeakable griefs of a troubled conſcience, not knowing what to do, purpoſing now one thing, and by & by another, at laſt he reſolued to forſake the inſolent tyrant, & to ſubmit himſelfe to the mercie of *Scanderbeg*; wiſhing rather to die in his countrey for his due deſert, than to liue with infamie, derided in the Turks court. Reſting himſelfe vpon this reſolution, one euening he got ſecretly out of the gates of Conſtantinople, and trauelling all that night and the day following before he reſted, by long and weary iournies, came at laſt vnto his natiue country of Dibra. The gariſon ſoldiers beholding their old Gouernor all alone, full of heauineſſe, as a man eaten vp with cares, moued with compaſſion, and forgetting the euils he had bin the occaſion of, receiued him with many tears and friendly embracings, and brought him to *Scanderbeg*, who by chance then lay not far off. *Moſes* comming vnto him with his girdle about his neck, in token that he had deſerued death (as the manner of that country was) found him walking before his tent, and there with heauie cheere falling downe vpon his knees at his feet, ſubmitted himſelfe vnto his mercie, and with great humilitie and ſignes of repentance, craued his moſt gracious pardon. Which his requeſt *Scanderbeg* preſently granted, and taking him vp by the hand embraced and kiſſed him, in token he had from his heart forgiuen him: and within a few daies after, cauſed all ſuch things of his as were before confiſcat, to be again reſtored vnto him; with all ſuch offices & promotions

Moſes contemned of the Turks.

Moſes flieth from Conſtantinople.

A tions as he had before inioyed: and by open proclamation commanded, That from thenceforth
no man ſhould either publikely or priuatly ſpeake of that *Moſes* had treſpaſſed. *Mahomet* vn-
derſtanding that *Moſes* was returned againe into Epirus, and honoured of *Scanderbeg* as in for-
mer time, was much greeued thereat, and fumed exceedingly: firſt, for that he had at all tru-
ſted him; and then, that he had ſo let him ſlip out of his hands: being verily perſuaded, that all
that *Moſes* had done, was but a fineneſſe of *Scanderbeg* to deceiue him.

Shortly after that *Moſes* was returned into Epirus, *Mahomet* by like practiſe allured vnto
him *Ameſa*, *Scanderbeg* his nephew, promiſing to make him king of Epirus in his vnckles ſtead.
For by that meanes, the craftie tyrant thought it a more eaſie way to draw the mindes of the
people of Epirus from *Scanderbeg* vnto him deſcended of the princes bloud, than to *Moſes*, or
B to any other ſtranger he ſhould ſet vp. *Ameſa* vpon this hope of a kingdome, fled to Conſtan-
tinople: and becauſe he would cleere the mind of the tyrant of all ſuſpition and diſtruſt, he car-
ried with him his wife and children, as the moſt ſure pledges of his fidelitie. This *Ameſa* was
of ſtature low, and the feature of his bodie not ſo perfect as might ſufficiently expreſſe
the hidden vertues of his mind: hee was of courage hautie aboue meaſure, ſubtill, and of a
pregnant wit, wonderfull painfull, and thereto courteous and bountifull (the chiefe meanes
whereby aſpiring minds ſteale away the hearts of men) whatſoeuer he got of himſelfe, or had
by the gift of his vnckle, he diuided it amongſt his ſouldiers or friends: he was very affable,
and could notably both couer and diſſemble his affections: for which things, he was aboue
all others both beloued and honored of all the people of Epirus, next to *Scanderbeg* himſelfe.
At his firſt comming to *Mahomet*, he filled not his eares with great promiſes and vaine praiſes
C of himſelfe as had *Moſes*; but onely excuſing his owne reuolt, labored to perſuade him, That
he had for iuſt cauſes left his vnckle, with a deſire now faithfully to ſerue him. And to that
purpoſe ſpake vnto him as followeth.

Ameſa his firſt ſpeech vnto Mahomet.

If it ſhould pleaſe thee (moſt noble Mahomet*) to call to remembrance the old iniuries, and antient*
diſpleaſures by vs committed againſt thine imperiall Maieſtie: we might ſeeme now rather to haue
come hither to receiue the iuſt guerdon of our euill deſerts, than vpon any hope of honour or preferment.
For what could haue bin done more in diſgrace of the Othoman *Empire, than that you haue ſeene*
long ſince done by vs, in the moſt dangerous time of the Hungarian warre; rather of a malitious and ſet
purpoſe, than for that we were iuſt enemies? Whenas in the ſame perfidious courſe, I my ſelfe being a
D *helper and partaker therein (for now no excuſe is to be pretended for our doings, more than repentance)*
your fathers armie was betrayed at Moraua, and the kingdome of Epirus by great treacherie wreſted out
of your fathers hands; the onely cauſe of ſo many calamities, and of ſo much bloudſhed. But vaine is
this feare, and our ſuſpition needleſſe, with ſo wiſe and mercifull a Prince; eſpecially for that my yeares
then greene, and youth prone vnto the harme of it ſefe, and a mind not reſting vpon his owne reſoluti-
ons, deceiued me. I beleeued mine vnckle (for the ignorant beleeue many things) and allured with the
deſire of ſoueraigntie (the proper diſeaſe of that age) and too much credulous, I forſooke you and fol-
lowed his promiſes, but diſcretion growing with yeares, I haue by little and little perceiued both the ſlie
perfidious dealing of mine vnckle, as alſo that my reuolt from you was more hurtfull vnto my ſelfe than
to any other. Scanderbeg *recouered, and alſo enlarged the kingdome of Epirus; but not without my*
E *great labour and helpe. I expected long time, that he ſhould haue giuen me, if not my fathers whole*
inheritance, yet at leaſt ſome part thereof, as a ſmall reward of my ſo great trauell and danger.
Not long after he married a wife, and hath begot a young heire, a new ſucceſſour in his kingdome: vn-
to me for ſhame of the world, becauſe I ſhould not altogether leade a priuate life, he hath aſſigned a baſe
corner of Epirus; where he enioying the reſt, I might lead a poore and contemptible life. In this caſe I
had much adoe to bridle my affections, and could neuer diſgeſt that iniurie: yet the iniquitie of the time,
with the inſolent diſpoſition of the man, compelled me to ſmother vp my thoughts, and to make faire
weather, leaſt finding ſome ſuſpition, he ſhould craftily haue intrapped me, as he did of late George
Streſie *his ſiſters ſonne; whom wrongfully charged with fained ſurmiſes, he hath almoſt depriued of all*
F *his poſſeſſions. I would willingly haue fled vnto the feet of your highneſſe, I would gladly haue forſaken*
my ingratefull vnckle with the ſtaines of his infamous kingdome; but that the remembrance of the
old rebellion, and many iniuries ſithence done, did make me afraid: vntill that now (God I thinke ſo
appointing it) I came moſt gladly, following your moſt royall faith and promiſe. You had ſcarcely beck-
ned vnto me, you had ſcarcely inuited me, hauing of long intentiuely waited euery occaſion, but ſtraight

way I came with ſuch ſpeed, as if I would haue flowne: I lingred not, I expected not either Scanderbeg G *or his euill hap, or your more proſperous ſucceſſe, as of late did* Moſes; *leaſt I might thereby iuſtly ſeeme either for feare or regard of ſome eminent danger, rather to haue prouided for mine owne ſafetie than to haue embraced your magnificence. Neither haue I left any thing for you in me to ſuſpect, nor any cauſe wherefore I ſhould deſire to returne againe into Epirus: here are preſent moſt ſure bonds of my loue, and faithfull pledges of my loyaltie. Behold (worthie* Mahomet) *you haue whatſoeuer is deare vnto me, yea whatſoeuer nature could giue, pleaſing vnto men in the courſe of mans life. Theſe haue I brought vnto thee, which ſhould with violence haue beene taken from an enemie: ſuch pawnes as might aſſure thee of the faith of a moſt doubtfull man. More than this, haue I brought nothing: for in ſo great ſpeed and ſecret departure, I could not haue regard of my ſubſtance. And if I might haue had time to* H *haue truſſed vp my traſh at leiſure; yet I know not how, I ſhould haue thought it a kind of baſeneſſe, to haue brought with me any part of the poore reliques of mine old fortune: eſpecially vnto thee, of all other the richeſt. Onely my fidelitie I lay downe before thee, for any thing greater I haue not: and if thou deſire of me any other bond for more aſſurance, I refuſe not whatſoeuer your highneſſe ſhall appoint: for I come not hither to ſet downe couenants and agreements of my ſelfe, but to receiue them from you. I dare not promiſe to vanquiſh mine vnckle, and to ſubdue Epirus with an armie of fifteen thouſand men: the misfortune of* Haly-Baſſa *and other your Generals; yea and the late and rare victorie of* Sebalias, *with great bloudſhed gained, may ſerue for examples. In me you ſhall neither want diligence nor faithfull ſeruice: as for other things concerning the euent of this warre, and for the reuenge of the iniuries by you receiued; you being a Prince of power inuincible, and of a moſt deepe iudgement, are not to be aduiſed* I *by me your vnskilfull vaſſaile.*

Ameſa honorably entertained by Mahomet.

This ſpeech of *Ameſa*, ſeemed vnto *Mahomet* free from all diſſimulation, foraſmuch as he knew moſt part thereof to be true; and his wife and children brought vnto his preſence, confirmed the reſt. Wherefore commending his good affection, he appointed him honourable entertainment, referring other matters vnto a further time.

Vpon the approch of the Spring, *Mahomet* deſiring nothing more than to be reuenged vpon *Scanderbeg*, entred into conſultation with his great Baſſaes, concerning the inuaſion of Epirus: vnto which counſell *Ameſa* was by *Mahomet* admitted, and his wicked deuiſe for the deſtruction of his countrey, of all others beſt liked. After the matter had bin long too and fro debated, it was concluded, That *Iſaac* the great Baſſa of Conſtantinople, ſhould with an armie of fifteen thouſand be ſent againſt *Scanderbeg*, and *Ameſa* with him, hauing the charge of fiue thouſand horſemen: and the Baſſa to proclame *Ameſa* King of Epirus; thereby to perſuade the Epirots, that *Mahomet* inuaded Epirus rather for the diſpleaſure hee bare againſt *Scanderbeg*, and for the aduancement of *Ameſa*, than for any ambitious deſire he had to take vnto himſelfe that kingdome. K

Great was the preparation for this warre, and the expectarion thereof greater. Flying fame had in ſhort time filled euery corner of Epirus with the report of theſe newes; adding thereunto (as the manner is) a great deale more than was true. Whereupon *Scanderbeg* without delay, ſent for his great captaines and men of war into D bra, where that tempeſt was firſt to be L expected: and when they were all aſſembled, he declared vnto them the greatneſſe of the danger, and what he thought thereof himſelfe as followeth.

A notable ſpeech of Scanderbeg vnto his captaines, how the Turks were to be withſtood at their comming to Epirus.

Amongſt all other things which God hath left to vex and greeue the minds of men in ſo great varietie of worldly affaires, we ſee (right worthie ſouldiers) theſe two the greateſt, Hope, and Feare. The firſt a more comfortable thing, and proper to couragious minds (I may not ſay) of light beleefe: the other a thing of more diſcretion and ſafetie, which although it vſe to deferre the deſires of men, yet hath it power at length excellently to cure and ſeaſon the ſame. Hereupon is it eaſily to be gathered, That the great cheefetaines of former times haue gained more honour and greater victories, by fearing all that was to be feared, than others in ſhew more hardie, which feared nothing. Hereupon the great Carthaginentian captaine vſed to call Q. Fabius *(whome the Romanes euer thought too ſlow and too fearefull) his great enemie: But* Terentius Varro *he called a greater enemie vnto his owne countrey and the* M *people of Rome, than to himſelfe. But wherefore do I wrongfully call that Feare, which might more truly be called Diſcretion, or wholeſome Policy? Call it as you will, it is not much materiall: but this one thing no man can deny, That thereof hath riſen the antient diſcipline of warre, and the old and ſeuere*

gouernment

A gouernment of martiall affaires. This aduiſed carefulneſſe cheriſheth and nouriſheth Hope it ſelfe, it
doth nothing raſhly, it hath eyes before, behind, and on both ſides; it weigheth in indifferent ballance
things paſt, preſent, and to come. You may now perceiue to what end my ſpeech tendeth. I would firſt
conferre with you, ond know your opinions, before I determine any thing of the order of this warre; that
either I might yeeld vnto your opinion, or elſe you (as you haue alwaies hitherto done) to mine. You heare
now with your eares, what preparation, what warlike prouiſion is daily made againſt vs. Loe
the great Baſſa of Conſtantinople, all the flower of Europe, and whole ſtrength of the Othoman Kingdome
knocketh at our gates. I want not courage (neither euer did) to proeue my fortune againſt him,
not without your honour: But I thinke it better to vſe policie and warie heed againſt ſo great an enemy,
than our woonted force and courage. That notable ouerthrow of Haly-Baſſa, ſo many great victories by
B vs atchieued, our minds by ſo many good haps confirmed, perſuade me to thinke that we haue both courage
and ſtrength to encounter him in plaine battell: but the vncertaine euents of warre, and fortune
neuer ſufficiently knowne, maketh wiſe men to forget what is paſt, and to feare that is to come. It was
neuer proper to any man, it was neuer giuen by inheritance, alwaies to ouercome; new occurrents require
new correſpondents: neither may you, for that you conquered yeſterday, preſume to aſſure your
ſelfe to diuide the ſpoile of your enemies to day. Victorie is like a trauellour, and goeth hither and thither,
not reſting long in a place: and although it be for moſt part both gotten and kept by courage and
diſcretion, yet oftentimes, when you haue moſt carefully and politiquely diſpoſed of all things, the fortune
and chance of warre haue therein a great ſway. I was woont to require (I remember it well) onely
valour and courage in my ſouldiers, contemning all externall accidents and fortunes haps; if you did
C promiſe vnto me couragious minds, I aſſured you of all good hap and proſperous ſucceſſe: but that loſſe
we receiued at Belgrade (the remembrance whereof my mind feareth, and alwaies abhorreth to thinke
vpon) hath much changed my former cogitations, and made me to deeme farre otherwiſe of worldly
matters, and the vncertaintie of fortune. What if that day had bin longer? or Sebalias of more courage?
might not the ſtate of Epirus haue that day bin vtterly ouerthrowne? We were then rather
by God preſerued, than by any thing that was in our ſelues: What remained more, but that we ſhould
like cowaras haue yeelded our ſelues to haue bin bound of the conquerours? The night defendea vs, yea
euen God himſelfe defended vs; who tooke from them both policie and force, and gaue vs time to breath
and eſcape away. We were then but as a prey, expecting but the comming of the victor: Howbeit he
tooke nothing from vs, he carried little or nothing away with him, being too much carefull to keepe the
D honour he had alreadie gained, and peraduenture in feare of them of whom he was not without cauſe
moſt feared. I ſpeake not this of purpoſe to terrifie any of you, but rather to admoniſh you, and to conſult
with you, how ſo great preparations may be fruſtrated and ouerthrowne, and ſome notable victory by
vs atchieued, without the price of our bloud, or the loſſe of ſuch things as we haue. The number of our
enemies is great, and ſo great, as vntill this day we neuer ſaw in Epirus greater, except at ſuch times as
they came to beſiege our cities, and to deuoure vs all. Now if wee ſhall meet them in the plaine fields in
a ſet battell, the euent thereof will be doubtfull, many of vs muſt needs fall, many of vs muſt die (I
would I might be a falſe Prophet) before ſo great on armie will either flie or be ouercome, your victorie
ſhall be mingled with teares, and the heauineſſe of the conqueror not much vnlike the ſorrow of the conquered.
E Was it but a few that we loſt at Belgrade? is that loſſe ſo to be recouered? What flower of
Chiualrie, hardly to be in many yeares reſtored? How many worthie men were there ſlaine? Epirus
muſt needs in ſhort time be vnpeopled, if we ſhall ſo deſperatly onely ſeeke for ſuch glorious victories.
Wherefore if we will do well, we muſt ſo fight to day, as that we may fight to morrow alſo. Neither are
our enemies and we in like caſe. The loſſe of fortie or fiftie thouſand is leſſe vnto the Turkiſh tyrant,
than the loſſe of an hundred of you is to me. We are in all but a few; and therefore carefully to be kept:
which if we regard not for our own ſakes, yet let vs doe it for our wiues and childrens, whoſe welfare and
libertie dependeth of our liues: I know the number of you, I know your faces and countenances, and almoſt
euery one of your names, which maketh me alſo more carefull of your health. And yet I would not refuſe
to try the whole fortune of this battell in plaine field, if we might thereby end all the warres againſt
F the Turks for euer; if I were in hope ſo to find an end of our labours and trauels hereafter, I would gladly
aduenture my life with yours, for the perpetuall quiet and peace of our poſterity: but a new enemy
alwayes ariſeth, and we muſt ſtill looke for new warres. When this Iſaac is gone, another Iſaac will ere
long come in his place: we ſhall be alwaies exerciſed with new warres, and incloſed with new dangers:
It is the deſtinie of Epirus (as farre as I can ſee) and we our ſelues are borne thereto. Wherefore we muſt
gather our wits together, we muſt well husband our forces, and ſo diuide our patrimonie, as that we may

alwayes haue ſomething to content our creditors, when they ſhall chance to come vpon vs. Yet ſhall God (no doubt) giue an end alſo vnto theſe troubles: for extremities cannot be of long continuance, and you your ſelues ſhall at length take reſt: yea the ſtrong and puiſſant enemie, wearied with ſo many vaine attempts, will at laſt haue enough thereof, and leaue off his perpetuall hatred againſt vs: then ſhall it be to you no ſmall pleaſure to remember ſo many labours and dangers paſt. Thus haue I declared vnto you the commodities and incommodities enſuing the victorie in plaine battell: But what if we be vanquiſhed? where haue we any hope of reliefe left? From whence may we expect help? Will the bloudie enemie, inflate with victorie, expect whileſt we againe recouer our ſtrength and encounter him againe with new forces? No, he will purſue vs and chaſe vs ſo long as any of vs are left: and hauing ouercome vs, will poure out the reſt of his furie vpon our townes and countrey, then ſubiect to his iniurie. But ſome of you peraduenture will ſay, that they are by policie to be ouertaken, and not to be met in open field: of which opinion I alſo am my ſelfe; yet happily differ from you in the time of doing the ſame. Then I thinke it beſt to deceiue them, when they thinke they cannot be deceiued: when as they being as it were in poſſeßion of a ſuppoſed victorie, like men ouerioyed, ſhall caſt no perill. Now they come euen from the gates of Conſtantinople, full of diſtruſt, prying into euery corner, as men before warned by others harmes, and ſo many dreadfull examples of their fellowes: Beſides that, they haue with them my graceleſſe nephew and domeſticall foe Ameſa, *who will teach them to foreſee and ſhun ſuch ſnares as in times paſt he with vs was woont to lay for them. Wherefore wee muſt now tower vp vnto the height of ſome notable and ſtrange policie, whereby both our countrey may be from danger preſerued, and alſo ſome great victorie, without our owne bloudſhed (which ſeldome chanceth) obtained: which to the maintenance of our antient glorie and renowne, we haue to this day by many moſt notable victories gained: But time and ſpace, and the ſight of the enemie, ſhall furniſh vs with this deuiſe. Now (that my diſcourſe may come to the purpoſed end) firſt of all, all things ſubiect either to the furie or victorie of the enemie, are to be remooued out of the way; all people, of what age, ſex, or condition ſoeuer, are to be brought out of the countrey into places of ſafetie; and then, our townes are to be furniſhed with ſtrong garriſons and all other neceſſarie prouiſion, againſt all the chances of fortune. Beſides, who knoweth the ſecret deſignes of the tyrant? or whether he himſelfe (of long time deſirous of reuenge, and thirſting after our bloud) will follow the Baſſa at the heeles, or no? Perhaps I may beleeue and feare more than is needfull; but it is good to feare all that may be feared, that we may indeed feare nothing. If all things ſhall thus be ſet in order, if there ſhall nothing be left in the fields or in the villages, that may enrich, feed, or feare our enemies, and which may withdraw our care and thoughts from our enemies, vndoubtedly we ſhall be victors. And if you will be ruled by me, and follow my direction in theſe wars, I will aſſuredly deliuer your enemies into your hands to be ſlaine at your pleaſure; and (by the leaue of God) will make the name and valour of the Eperots more terrible vnto the Turke, than euer it hath beene in the time of our anceſtors. I flatter not my ſelfe, I deceiue you not: if any thing may be promiſed in worldly actions, this I aſſure you of, and this will I take vpon me. But theſe things are better done than ſaid. In the meane while, to ſpend no more time in longer talke and diſcourſe (than which, no greater loſſe can be to ſouldiers) let euery one of vs take a part in this charge, for the good diſpoſing of all things, and how to withſtand the enemie. I will not command any thing to others which I will not my ſelfe doe: I will refuſe nothing, or reckon any thing baſe, which may tend to the common honour or profit of vs all.*

This ſpeech of *Scanderbeg* was well liked and ioyfully receiued of all the hearers, ſo that many beſought him to manifeſt to them how he purpoſed to proceed in thoſe wars: whereunto he with cheerfull countenance anſwered, That it was enough for him, if they did but beleeue him, promiſing himſelfe in perſon to bee in the moſt dangerous actions as far as any of them, wherewith they reſted contented. And preſently diſpatching his lieutenants into diuers parts of his kingdome, as he thought moſt conuenient, prouided, that all things were in ſhort time conueied out of the country into the ſtrong townes and other places of refuge. No corne, no cattell, or other things of any worth was left in the country; but all left deſolate, in like manner as was before at the comming of the great King *Amurath* to the ſiege of Croia.

The Epirots remoue all their things out of the country into the ſtrōg towns before the comming of the Turks.

By this time *Iſaac* the great Baſſa was come into Epirus, accompanied with *Ameſa*: and as he marched, ſtill ſent before him his ſcouts aud eſpials, carefully to view euery corner of the countrey, for feare to be entrapped as others before him had bin; directed in his iourney for moſt part by *Ameſa*. *Scanderbeg* had in readines ſuch an armie as he had purpoſed to vſe againſt

his

A his mightie enemie, but lay with ſix thouſand horſemen only in ſhew, as if he had determined with them to haue giuen them battell, but meaning indeed nothing leſſe. For as ſoone as the Baſſa was come in ſight, he with thoſe horſemen, according as he had before appointed, as if he had bin diſcouraged with the very ſight of the Turks, turned his backe and fled. And becauſe he would not giue them any occaſion to ſuſpect it to bee done for ſome policie or fineneſſe, and ſo to make them more carefull, he fled not into the mountains or woods, as his wonted maner was, but directly toward Lyſſa, a town of the Venetians ſtanding vpon the ſea coaſt, as if he had quite deſpaired of the keeping of Epirus, and fled thither for refuge. The Baſſa ſeeing him flie, was glad therof, & ſent certaine troupes of horſemen to purſue him, and diligently to marke which way he tooke: but encamped himſelfe with his armie in the plaines of Dibra, B neere vnto Oronychium, where *Scanderbeg* lay before: and there reſted his armie, wearie of long trauell, expecting the returne of his horſemen, ſent after *Scanderbeg*. But vpon their returne, when it was for a certaintie reported by them, That *Scanderbeg* with an handfull of men was fled out of Epirus, and not an enemie to be ſeene, the Turks began to reioyce, and proudly to triumph, that they had without any loſſe driuen the enemie out of the countrey; yet much greeued, that they could no where find any thing to ſatisfie their greedie deſires: for why, al things were ſo clen gon, as if the country had bin ſwept againſt their comming, which might haue beene a ſufficient cauſe for them to haue diſtruſted ſome great matter; but they flattering themſelues, ſuppoſed all this to be done for feare of them, vpon extreme deſperation: ſuch is the fraile condition of men, to loſe ſtrength of bodie, common ſenſe, yea, their reaC ſon & vnderſtanding, when ſome great miſchiefe is appointed for their ouerthrow or deſtruction. The Baſſa ſeeing the enemie fled, and now no cauſe of feare, conſulted with his chiefe captains, what were now beſt to be done: *Ameſa* ſtill perſuading him not to remoue, but there to ſtay a time, and to expect the farther euent of matters. But the greater number, whoſe opinion preuailed, ſaid it was better to go farther into the country, and to take the ſpoile thereof before the country people ſhould conuey away al their ſubſtance into places of ſafety, as they had done there in Dibra, and leaue them nothing but the bare ground and emptie cottages. By this perſuaſion, the Baſſa earely next morning in good order ſet forward: commanding by generall proclamation, That no man vpon pain of death ſhould breake his array or ſtraggle from the armie. Yet before hee ſet forward, he called *Ameſa* vnto him; whom after he had highly D commended, & with great vehemencie inuayed againſt *Scanderbeg*, he with the great applauſe of the whole army in the name of *Mahomet* created him king of Epirus. That day he marched not far, by reaſon of the great heat: for it was then about the midſt of Iuly. Yet when he had well wearied himſelfe with that dayes trauell, finding neither enemie nor any thing elſe worthie to be accounted in any part of a victorie, he encamped at night, keeping diligent watch, and ſending forth his ſcouts euery way, but eſpecially towards Lyſſa. The next day, which was the third day after the Baſſaes comming into Epirus, he ſet forward againe, and came at length into Æmathia, and there encamped that night.

Ameſa is by the Baſſa created king of Epirus.

When *Scanderbeg* (flying for feare, as the Turks ſuppoſed) was gone a great way out of their E ſight towards Lyſſa, and come euen to the borders of his kingdome, he there ſtaid all the reſt of that day. And a little before the going downe of the Sun, he with a few ſelect horſmen departed from the armie, and with painfull trauell got vp to the top of the high mountains, from whence a man might by day well diſcouer all the plains of Æmathia. There he appointed one *Peieus Emanuel*, a politicke and valiant gentleman, with certaine horſemen to marke diligently which way the enemie held, and by certain ſecret and appointed waſtings and ſignes, to giue knowledge thereof to the armie. After ſuch order taken, he returned himſelfe, and came again to the campe after midnight. And preſently riſing with his armie, and fetching a compaſſe about, came vndiſcouered, and ſecretly encamped himſelf as neere as he could vnto the mountains where his ſcouts lay, with eagles eis waiting for the leſt mouing of the enemie. The Baſ- F ſa deſirous to get as far as he could into the country, before the heat of the day, began early in the morning to ſet forward, and came to the plains of Pharſalia, through the world ſpoken of for the great battell in them long time before fought, between the two moſt famous chiefetaines *Cæſar* and *Pompeius*: and now once more to bee made famous, by the ſlaughter of the Turks. Here the enemy finding ſome ſtragling cattel, & other ſmall things which the country people had in their haſty flight left behind them, fel to ſeeking after booty, &, as men without feare, ſpent that day in roaming vp and downe the country, in hope to find ſomething: and at night encamped without any great watch, but towards Lyſſum, from whence they (in great ſecuritie) looked for the comming of *Scanderbeg*; & as it were in diſgrace of him, carried *Ameſa* in triumph vp and downe the campe, as if he had bin alreadie poſſeſſed of the kingdome of Epirus. *Scanderbeg* lying on the other ſide of the mountaines, perceiued by his eſpials, which way the enemie lay: and with great ſilence vnder the couert of the mountains and woods, ſecretly bent his courſe the ſame way, vntil he came to a mountaine called Tumeniſt, at the foot wherof he encamped that night. The next morning the Baſſa holding on his way, came & encamped not far from the ſame mountain, and there ſtaid himſelfe with halfe his army, and ſent *Ameſa* with the other halfe to burne & ſpoile the countrey: who about noone returned to the campe with ſuch prey as he had got, with his ſoldiers wel wearied with trauel, and the heat of the day. *Scanderbeg* like a carefull houſholder, who being about to entertaine and feaſt ſome honorable perſonages, truſteth not to his wife and ſeruants, but looketh to the beſtowing of his prouiſion himſelfe, carefully ordering and diſpoſing and ſetting forth all things, eſpecially if his prouiſion (for want of abilitie) be ſhort, to welcome ſo great gueſts; and ſetting al things forth to the greateſt ſhew, ſeeketh at leaſt to fil the eies of his gueſts, although he doubt to ſatiſfie their appetites: ſo he carefully viewing all the mountaines and thicke woods thereabouts without reſting, ſet *Moſes* in one place, *Tanuſius* in another, & all the reſt in places moſt conuenient. He appointeth euery man what to do, and inſtructeth them, & conſidereth of euery particular circumſtance himſelfe: and ſo diuideth his forces, as might beſt ſerue his purpoſe, and make the moſt terrible ſhew to the enemie: for which purpoſe he in euery companie placed moe trumpets, drums, and other inſtruments of war, than he had before at any time vſed. When he had ſo to his moſt aduantage beſtowed ſo many of his captaines and ſoldiers as he thought good, & as the nature of the places would giue leaue, he with 4000 horſmen and the like number of foot, ſpeedily marching vp the rough mountaine of Tumeniſt, from thence plainly beheld in what order the Turks campe lay in the plaines below. The Turks, eſpecially they which were lately returned with *Ameſa* from the ſpoile of the countrey, lay ſcattered abroad in the fields, with their horſes vnbridled & vnſadled, reſting their weary bodies: ſome got vnder the ſhadows of trees were victualling themſelues; ſome hauing filled their bellies, lay faſt aſleep on the green graſſe; the reſt were paſſing the time, ſome with one kind of ſport, ſome with another, as ſoldiers do in field when they haue little or nothing to do: for it was then the hotteſt time both of the yere, & of the day, being about the midſt of Iuly, and the noonetime of the day. The like negligence was alſo in that part of the camp where the Baſſa himſelf lay; euery man taking his eaſe and pleaſure, with ſmal regard of horſe or armour; for being out of feare of *Scanderbeg*, whom they thought to haue bin a great way off at Lyſſum, they lay as men without care wrapt vp in ſecuritie, the common deſtruction of great armies and common wealths. *Ameſa* with the great captaines, were at the ſame time all together in the Baſſa's pauilion, conſulting what courſe they were beſt to take, to do ſomthing to the contentment of *Mahomet*, and their own commendation: ſome ſaid it were beſt with fire and ſword to deſtroy al they could in Epirus; and ſo hauing laid the country waſt, to returne. Others thought it better to march directly to Croia, to proue if the citizens could be perſuaded to yeeld themſelues & receiue *Ameſa* for their king; otherſome to threaten them with a continual ſiege, and vtter ruine of the country, if vpon the vaine expectation of helpe from *Scanderbeg* they ſhould refuſe to ſubmit themſelues. As for *Scanderbeg* himſelfe, who then lay houering ouer their heads, he was in all that conſultation leaſt feared: who from the top of the mountain, beholding the ſecuritie & diſorder of the Turks campe, & delighted with the ſight therof, encouraged his ſoldiers, & martialed them in ſuch order as they were to follow him, for the charging and terrifying of the enemie. But firſt of all he determined to oppreſſe the Turks ſcouts, which lay at the foot of the mountain: for which purpoſe he himſelf with a few horſmen firſt ſecretly deſcended the mountain, the reſt of his army following ſhortly after, & ſo ſuddenly came on the ſcouts, that he ſlew them all except one, who eſcaping by the ſwiftnes of his horſe, came running to the camp as one half affrighted, crying out that *Scanderbeg* was comming. The Turks ſuſpecting nothing leſſe than the comming of him that way, at the preſent inſtant hardly beleeued that he was ſo nie: when as he following him at the heels as faſt as he could, with his horſmen & his footmen after them, was in a moment as if it had bin a ſudden tempeſt, broken in

The Turks campe buried in ſecuritie.

amongſt

Scanderbeg ſuddenly aſſaileth the Turks.

A amongſt the vnarmed Turks, and there making great ſlaughter of them, filled all the campe with ſudden tumult and feare. *Ameſa* who at the firſt noiſe had ſpeedily got him to his charge, with his ſouldiers ſome halfe armed, ſome on foot, hauing no leiſure, to bridle their horſes, was the firſt that made head againſt *Scanderbeg*. The Baſſa alſo did what he might in that ſudden feare and ſhortneſſe of time, to arme his men, and to put them in order: but whileſt thoſe things were in doing, the ſouldiers which lay in ambuſh in the woods, came downe the mountaine with ſuch horrible ſhouts and noiſe of inſtruments of war, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue preſently gone together; the hils and vallies with their hollow ecchoes, encreaſing the terror of the alarum. Inſomuch, that the Turks diſmaied, and fearing that all the force of Epirus with the countries adioyning had come vpon them, began to flie on euery ſide, before that B *Moſes* and the reſt that lay in ambuſh were come into the plaines. *Ameſa* acquainted with his vnckles ſtratagems, as much as he could encouraged the Turks, crying aloud and telling them, That ſuch vaine tumults and terrors were not to be feared, being but the bare ſhifts and deuiſes of their enemies to couer their owne weakeneſſe: and by his owne valour ſtaied many which before were about to haue fled. In this while, the Baſſa hauing put his men in beſt order he could, was comming to the aid of *Ameſa*, hardly charged by *Scanderbeg*: but in his ſetting forward, he was ſo valiantly encountered on the one ſide by *Moſes* with his horſemen, and on the other by *Tanuſius* and *Emanuel* with their footmen, that he was enforced, not without great loſſe, againe to retire vnto his trenches.

All the hope of the battell depended vpon *Ameſa*, who ſtill with great courage withſtood his vnckle; exhorting his ſouldiers valiantly as men to endure that firſt aſſault, which ſhould C afterwards bring them moſt aſſured victorie: heartening them on with hope of ſpeedie helpe from their fellows if they would but a while endure the furie of their enemies, whoſe hearts (as he ſaid) would preſently be diſcouraged, if they preuailed not in that their firſt and deſperat attempt, hauing nothing elſe to truſt vnto. By which perſuaſion the Turkes were againe encouraged, accounting it a great diſhonour to flie and leaue their Chiefetaine in the field. But when they ſaw *Scanderbeg* ſtill to preuaile vpon them, and that no helpe came as they hoped (for many were by *Scanderbegs* horſmen ſlaine as they were arming themſelues, many were by the way cut off as they were comming, & the reſt put to flight) they which before fought valiantly with *Ameſa*, turned their backs and fled alſo. *Scanderbegs* horſemen purſuing the chaſe, made great ſlaughter of the Turks, and in the ſame chaſe tooke *Ameſa* priſoner. *Scanderbeg*, ha- D uing ouerthrowne that part of the Turks battell, was comming with a thouſand footmen and ſome horſemen, to haue ayded *Moſes* againſt the Baſſa: but before his comming, *Moſes* to blot out his former infamie, had with inuincible courage put the great Baſſa with all his armie to flight: and *Scanderbeg* following the chaſe, gaue him not leaue to looke behind him, vntill he was got out of Epirus. Many were in this chaſe taken priſoners, and amongſt the reſt one *Meſites* a Sanzacke, a man of great account amongſt the Turks. In this battell beſide the priſoners, were taken twentie of the Turkes faireſt enſignes. As for horſes, armor, and other ſpoiles taken in the field, and in the campe, all which fell to the ſouldiers ſhare, it is almoſt incredible to be told. The number of the ſlaine Turks is of diuers diuerſly reported; they which write of the moſt, reckon vp thirtie thouſand; and they which ſpeake of the leaſt, account twentie thou- E ſand. Of the Chriſtians were loſt but ſixty. Now if any account it ſtrange, that ſo great a victorie ſhould be gained with ſo little loſſe; not to ſpeake of that is written in holy writ, let him but read the antient hiſtories of the Romans, or the Chronicles of our own Countrey, and he ſhall in them find victories no leſſe ſtrange. There was to be ſeene the ſudden and ſtrange alteration of theſe worldly things, no more indeed (whatſoeuer we account of them) to be reckoned of, than of things we haue not. *Scanderbeg* poſſeſſeth the rich pauillion, erſt belonging to the great Baſſa; and other of his captaines enioy tents, with much other rich furniture neuer prepared for their vſe. *Ameſa* which the ſame day as a victorious conquerour ouerran a great part of Æmathia with his horſemen, and was carried in triumph with the generall acclama- F tion of many thouſands of valiant ſouldiers, and honoured as a king, and of them ſo called; is now led through the Chriſtian army to his vnckle, with his hands bound behind him as a ſlaue, ſpeechleſſe and confounded, vnable to hold vp his head for ſhame: whoſe miſerie moued moſt of the beholders to compaſſion, and forced teares out of the eyes of many.

A notable victorie of the Chriſtians.

The next day after this great victorie, *Scanderbeg* cauſed the bodies of the ſlaine Turkes to be buried, together with their horſes; which he did not for any regard of them, but that their loathſome carkaſes ſhould not infect the country: and after that, returned in great triumph to Croia. By the way as he went, the country people, which were before for feare of the Turks fled into the woods and mountaines in great multitudes met him, as he did others alſo out of the cities, whoſe mouthes were all full of his worthie praiſes. Before him went the captiue Turkes with their hands bound behind them, excepting ſuch as were enforced to carrie the Turks enſignes. Next vnto them followed the great Baſſaes rich pauillion, in ſuch maner ſupported by the ſouldiers, as if it had bin in the field. Then came *Scanderbeg* himſelfe with the Turkiſh Sanzacke, and *Ameſa* following him; for *Ameſa* had with great and humble ſuit obtained of his vnckle, that he might not as he well deſerued, be carried bound among the other captiues. Laſt of all came *Scanderbeg* his victorious ſouldiers in goodly order, euery man leading a ſpare horſe taken from the enemie, and loaded with ſpoile. So when he was come to Croia, and there of his ſubiects ioyfully receiued, he brake vp his armie, and gaue euerie man leaue at his pleaſure to depart. The Sanzacke, and *Ameſa*, were committed to ſafe keeping, vntill farther order was taken for them. *Ameſa* afterwards was for his treaſon worthily condemned to perpetuall priſon, and by an Embaſſadour from *Scanderbeg* ſent vnto king *Alphonſus* to Naples, there to be kept in durance; and with him was alſo ſent an honourable Preſent of part of the ſpoile taken from the Turkes, in token of the victorie. What became afterward of this *Ameſa*, concerneth not much the courſe of our hiſtorie; yet to ſatisfie the deſirous, I thinke it not amiſſe with him to ſtray a little out of the way.

When *Ameſa* had remained a yeare in priſon at Naples, *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding of the death of *Alphonſus*, by his embaſſador requeſted of *Ferdinand* his ſonne, to haue *Ameſa* reſtored to him againe. By which meanes he was brought backe againe into Epirus, and caſt in priſon at Croia; but not in ſuch ſtraight manner as before: for *Scanderbeg* according to his accuſtomed clemencie, began now to forget the iniurie to him before done; and at laſt ouercome with the continuall ſupplication aud tears of his nephew, pardoned him his life; and reſtoring him to his former libertie, receiued him alſo into his former fauour. But *Ameſa* remembring what pledges of his loyaltie hee had left with *Mahomet* at Conſtantinople, and fearing what would become of his wife and children, if he ſhould haſtily vſe that his liberty, giuing his vnckle moſt humble thanks, brake vnto him his mind concerning that matter, as followeth,

The ſpeech of Ameſa to Scanderbeg.

Whereas you of your owne gracious goodneſſe onely, without any deſert of mine, haue regarded my life and welfare, it behoueth me alſo to be carefull for the life of others: leaſt whileſt I receiue your exceeding bounty with too much deſire of mine owne health and honour, I doe at this preſent, by this ſame benefit of yours, caſt away them, whom I haue long ſithence by mine owne treacherie vndone. Mine vnfortunate and guiltleſſe Wife is with Mahomet, *my little and innocent Childaen are with him alſo: theſe yet liue, and ſhall liue, ſo long as the tyrant ſhall thinke, that I liue in heart his; but when he ſhall once perceiue by this your gracious dealing that I am fallen from him, the cruell creditor will forthwith cut and rend in peeces the pledges of my faith, and their innocent bloud ſhall pay the guilt of their Fathers offence. Wherefore the* Othoman *tyrant is of me by ſome deuice to be deceiued, that I may in the meane time preſerue thoſe pledges, vntill I may by ſome fit occaſion afterwards redeeme the ſame. I will by your leaue this night take my flight out of* Croia, *as if I had broken priſon, and eſcaped againſt your will, and ſo flie vnto* Mahomet, *making the greateſt ſhew I can of my woonted loue and loyaltie towards him: not omitting to heare, or ſpeake vnto that credulous King ſuch things concerning your eſtate, as I was woont in my better fortune: that hauing ſo cleared my ſelfe of all ſuſpition, which he perhaps hath conceiued by reaſon of my captiuitie and long ſtay with you, I may at length, with my Wife and Children, ſo eſcape from him: Wherein you may helpe me much, if you ſhall openly make ſhew as if you were greeued with my eſcape, and ſeeme to be highly offended with the keepers of the priſon for the ſame. In the meane time, whileſt I ſhall ſtay in the tyrants court expecting ſome fit time for my eſcape; I will ſtand you in ſtead of an intelligencer, ſo that your enemie ſhall not to my knowledge either attempt or goe about any thing againſt you, which ſhal be kept from your hearing or knowledge.*

Scanderbeg refuſed not to graunt whatſoeuer he had requeſted, but ſaid vnto him:

Ameſa, *ſithence we haue granted you life, with all the good things thereunto belonging, we will not* A *prohibit you to vſe that our gift to your moſt good, and to the preſeruation of them who for euer may moſt iuſtly call vpon you, as debtor vnto them, for their wilfare and libertie. Goe thy waies, proceed, take thy time and occaſion as it ſeemeth vnto thee beſt; and at length reforme thy ſelfe, whileſt thou yet haſt ſufficient time and ſpace. We now beleeue you in all things, and well like of this your deuiſe:* Ameſa *you ſhall herein deceiue no man but your ſelfe, if you ſhall longer follow the faith and court of the barbarous King, whereas like danger is both of body and ſoule both to thee and thine. Whenſoeuer thou ſhalt returne vnto vs thou canſt not doe vs a greater pleaſure: and in what regard thou haſt heretofore beene with vs in the ſame thou ſhalt be with vs againe.*

The anſwer of Scanderbeg to Ameſa.

The ſame night *Ameſa* by ſecret order from *Scanderbeg*, eſcaped both out of priſon and out B of Croia: and in the morning it was all ouer the citie, that hee was gone, and the keepers ſharply rebuked for their negligence. He comming to Conſtantinople, eaſily perſuaded *Mahomet*, that he was by chance eſcaped, with all things elſe that he told him: yet was he not for all that, ſo well graced of him as before; not for any diſtruſt he had in the man, but for the euill ſucceſſe hee had in the former warres. Now whether *Ameſa* neglected his promiſed returne, or could find no opportunity to performe the ſame, is vncertaine: but certaine it is, that ſhortly after hee died at Conſtantinople, poiſoned as was thought by the commandement of *Mahomet*, who could no longer indure the ſight of him, whom hee reckoned the author of the notable ouerthrow receiued in Æmathia. This was the wofull end of this noble and valiant man, well worthie of remembrance, had not his haughtie thoughts ſoared too high with the C deſire of Soueraigntie.

The death of Ameſa.

When *Mahomet* vnderſtood in what manner *Iſaac Baſſa* was ouerthrowne, and his armie diſcomfited, hee was therewith much greeued, and iuſtly blamed the Baſſaes ſecuritie: yet ſuch was his credit with his Soueraigne, that the matter was in better ſort paſſed ouer than was ſuppoſed it would haue been. Neuertheleſſe, *Mahomet* in reuenge thereof would willingly haue imployed all his forces vpon *Scanderbeg*, if his more vrgent affaires would haue ſo permitted. For at the ſame time, beſides that great warres began to riſe betwixt him and the Venetians (which continued for many yeres after) he was certainly informed, That the Chriſtian Princes were making a ſtrong confederation againſt him. At which time *Mahomet* diſdaining openly to ſue for a peace at *Scanderbegs* hands, cunningly practiſed by ſuch as were ſent to re- D deem the priſoners, & alſo by the Sanzack himſelf, to perſuade *Scanderbeg* to require peace of him, aſſuring him, that if he did but aske it, it would for a long time be eaſily obtained. Which thing *Scanderbeg*, well acquainted with the Turkiſh policie, vtterly refuſed to doe. Wherefore *Mahomet* for the defence of his countries bordering vpon Epirus, ſent two of his moſt expert captains, *Sinam* and *Hamur*, with each of them 14000 ſoldiers into Macedonia, expreſly charging them not to enter at any time or vpon any occaſion, into Epirus, or by any meanes to prouoke *Scanderbeg*: which his commandement they ſo well obſerued, that the Epirots by the ſpace of almoſt two yeres enioyed the fruits of peace, although there was no peace at all concluded. So that the remembrance of old iniuries wearing out with time, at length by the E mediation of the ſame captains, a peace for a yere was agreed on betwixt *Mahomet* & *Scanderbeg*. In which time he paſſed ouer into Apulia, and there notably aided King *Ferdinand* againſt the French, the proceeding wherein, as not pertinent to our hiſtorie, I of purpoſe paſſe ouer.

A peace for a yeare concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg.

After that the time of the peace before concluded was expired, all things now going well with *Mahomet* as he deſired, he reſolued according to his wonted manner to trouble the quiet eſtate of *Scanderbeg*: and ſo ſending a new ſupplie of ſoldiers to *Synam-beg*, who then lay with a ſtrong garriſon vpon the frontiers of Epirus, commanded him with all his power to make wars vpon *Scanderbeg*. *Synam* accordingly, with an armie of 20000 men entered into Epirus, where he was forthwith encountered by *Scanderbeg*, and his army vtterly ouerthrown, ſo that but few eſcaped by flight with *Synam* himſelf. Preſently after he ſent *Aſam-beg*, another of his F captaines, into the ſame ſeruice, with an armie of thirtie thouſand, whom *Scanderbeg* alſo in plaine battell vanquiſhed at Ocrida; in which battell *Aſam* himſelfe was ſore wounded, and finding no way to eſcape, was glad to yeeld himſelfe priſoner to *Scanderbeg*, by whom he was courteouſly vſed, and afterwards ſet at libertie. *Iuſſum-beg* following *Aſam* with eighteene thouſand into Epirus, was ſet vpon by *Scanderbeg* alſo, and hauing loſt part of his armie, was glad by ſpeedie flight to ſaue himſelfe with the reſt. After all this, *Caraza-beg*, an old captaine G and a man of great experience (who had bin a great commander, and a companion with *Scanderbeg* in the time of old *Amurath*) requeſted of *Mahomet*, that he might proue his fortune againſt his old acquaintance *Scanderbeg*, aſſuring him of better ſucceſſe than before. The long and approued experience of this old leader put *Mahomet* in ſuch hope of good ſpeed, that he gaue preſent order for the leuying of ſuch an armie as *Caraza* had requeſted, and for ten thouſand mo than he had at the firſt required. With this ſtrong armie, in number almoſt forty thouſand, *Caraza* ſet forward, hauing before filled the minds of men with the expectation of ſome greater matter to haue bin by him done. *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding certainly that *Caraza* was comming, ſtood more in doubt of the man than of his power: and therefore aſſembled greater forces than he had vſually done before: and to welcome him, ſent two thouſand of his beſt and H moſt expert ſouldiers ſecretly into the enemies countrey; who lying in ambuſh amongſt the woods and mountaines, whereby *Caraza* muſt needs paſſe, ſuddenly ſet vpon foure thouſand horſemen (the forerunners of *Caraza* his armie) who marching diſorderedly, and fearing no ſuch matter, were in a trice ouerthrowne, and moſt part of them ſlaine: thoſe few that eſcaped fled backe againe to the army, as if they had come in poſt to bring tidings of ſome haſtie news to the Generall. With which ſo vnfortunat a beginning, *Caraza* was ſo diſcomfited, that if hee might for ſhame, he could haue bin content to haue returned againe and gone no farther: yet for his honours ſake holding on his way, he came into Epirus; where whileſt he was (after the manner of old men) long in reſoluing what courſe to take, he was vpon the ſudden aſſailed by *Scanderbeg*, before he could well put his men in order of battell. At which time there fell ſuch I a vehement ſhower of raine, that both the armies were glad to retire before any great hurt was done. Three daies together it rained continually (for it was about the latter end of Autumne) all which time *Scanderbeg* ceaſed not in one place or other to trouble the Turks camp: ſo that the old Generall, partly diſtempered with the extremitie of the weather, which for the violence thereof he tooke to be ominous; and more diſcouraged with the reſtleſſe attempts of *Scanderbeg*, roſe with his armie, and retiring back by the ſame way he came, returned to Conſtantinople. Where he was well derided of *Mahomet*, that hauing promiſed ſo much, had performed ſo little: yet afterwards was againe by him in ſome ſort commended, for that he had with leſſe loſſe looked vpon *Scanderbeg* than other his Generals before ſent againſt him.

Mahomet perceiuing that *Scanderbeg* was not to be ſubdued but with ſuch forces as he was K not then at leiſure to imploy on him, thought it not amiſſe to proue if he could by faire ſpeeches & glorious ſhews of fained friendſhip get within him, and ſo bring him to confuſion: for which purpoſe he ſent vnto him an Embaſſador with rich preſents, and letters of this purport.

Sultan Mahomet, *Lord and Emperour of the East and of the Weſt,*
and of all parts of the world, vnto *Scanderbeg*, Prince of
Albania and Epirus, ſendeth greeting.

The letters of Mahomet to Scanderbeg.

I thinke friend Scanderbeg, *that no acquaintance can be greater, or friendſhip more firme, than that* L *which hath growne of long and mutuall conuerſing and liuing together and, eſpecially if the ſame haue taken beginning from childhood and tender yeares, as you know it hath done betwixt vs two; who haue of long time, euen from our childhood, liued together in great loue and friendſhip, when as you firſt lay as hoſtage in my fathers court. Wherfore beloued* Scanderbeg, *when as I call to remembrance all thoſe things, with others, wherewith our youthfull yeares were then delighted; and being mindfull alſo of all thoſe things which you haue oftentimes done for the aduancement of our Empire and kingdome, and for the glorie of the* Othoman *familie, I cannot chuſe but embrace thee with ſingular zeale and affection. For I take God to witneſſe, that nothing could chance more welcome or pleaſing vnto me in my life, than to haue thee with me, and for a while to enioy thy company. Neither needeſt thou to feare any thing to come vnto me, for that my ſouldiers without my knowledge or commandement haue of late broken in* M *and ſpoiled thy kingdome: which thing as reaſon required, was vnto me exceedingly diſpleaſing: neither did it any whit offend me, that they were by thy forces vanquiſhed and ouercome, and ſo receiued the iuſt reward of ther euill deſerts, and that all things fell out with thee according to the equitie of thy cauſe, and as thy heart could haue deſired But to let theſe things paſſe, the remembrance of our old loue and friendſhip perſuadeth me to come to agreement, and to ioine together with thee in a perpetull league*

A *of amitie: to the intent that our antient acquaintance and familiaritie, which by reaſon of long abſence is almoſt worne out, may againe take life, increaſe, and be confirmed. Of which peace, let theſe be the capitulations, if they ſhall ſeeme vnto you reaſonable: for I know it belongeth vnto him that requireth not the peace, to appoint the conditions of the ſame. Firſt, we require of you freely and peaceably to ſuffer our armies to paſſe through your kingdome, for the beſieging of the cities and inuading of the countries ſubiect to the Venetians our enemies: Then, to deliuer vnto vs your ſonne* Iohn *in hoſtage, whom we will alwaies vſe as one of our owne naturall children: And afterwards, that our Marchants and men of trade, may peaceably come and trauell into all parts of your kingdome with their marchandiſe, and there freely and ſafely vſe their negotiation: Laſt of all, that your ſelfe in perſon may at your pleaſure ſafely and without all feare repaire vnto vs, and in like manner returne againe. In which things if you will yeeld vnto vs, I promiſe in the faith of a King, to grant vnto you and your kingdome ſincere* B *peace, with perpetuall tranquilitie; and that there ſhall not be any more deerer vnto me than your ſelfe; and will neuer to the vttermoſt of our power permit your kingdome to be infeſted or moleſted by any of our ſubiects, or others. Whatſoeuer you ſhall further receiue from vs by the mouth of our Embaſſadour* Muſtapha, *you may thereto giue full credence. Fare you well. From our imperiall palace at Conſtantinople the* 10 *of May* 1461.

Scanderbeg hauing receiued theſe Letters, and well conſidered of the ſame, returned him anſwer by the ſame meſſenger as followeth.

The ſouldier of Chriſt Ieſus, *George Caſtriot*, otherwiſe called *Scanderbeg*, C Prince of the Albanenſes and Epirots, vnto *Mahomet* Prince of the Turkes, greeting.

Your Letters (moſt magnificent) are deliuered vnto vs, wherein you write of your exceeding loue and ſingular affection towards vs, confirmed as you ſay by old acquaintance: which being growne vp betwixt vs, and by tract of time firmely rooted and as it were into nature conuerted, ſhall alwaies retaine his force and ſtrength. But foraſmuch as it ſeemeth vnto you good to awake the ſame, hauing of long time and many yeares lien as it were aſleepe; and to make a motion that we ſhould enter into a certaine new league and confederation, whereof amongſt other conditions of the league by you propounded, this is one, That your forces may freely paſſe through my kingdome, to inuade the Venetians; Vnto this your requeſt, worthie Mahomet, *it ſtandeth neither with equitie nor with mine honour to conſent, for* D *ſo much as the Venetians are my eſpeciall good friends and confederates. As for that you deſire to haue my ſonne* Iohn *with you in hoſtage for the better aſſurance of the peace betwixt vs, I ſhould peraduenture do it (moſt noble* Mahomet) *if fatherly affection would giue me leaue: but ſithence I haue no moe but him, and he as yet a tender child, it is not for the good either of him or vs, to haue him now taken from vs, whenas he ought of vs to be moſt tenderly cheriſhed, and carefully inſtructed. As for that you requeſted concerning your marchants, That they may freely and ſafely traffique into my kingdome at their pleaſure, I can be content to yeeld therunto, and wiſh heartily that there might be a free entercourſe for our marchants indifferently with their commodities into both our kingdomes. Further, whereas you earneſtly perſuade me boldly and without feare to come vnto you, that by ſuch enteruiew and perſonall* E *preſence, our great deſire, growne of long abſence, might be the better ſatisfied: in this thing moſt excellent Prince, I cannot but praiſe your moſt honourable diſpoſition, and commend your good nature; and would therefore boldly follow your perſuaſion, if my other vrgent affaires, with the gouernment of my kingdome, would ſo permit. But what ſhall I doe? My ſonne* Iohn *(as I ſaid before) but little, and as yet vnfit to gouerne; and my people (as you know) loue alwaies to haue ſomething to doe; being by nature a fierce and reſtleſſe nation, whom I my ſelfe haue much adoe to rule and gouerne: For all that I wil come vnto you acccording to your deſire, expecting onely a more commodious time. So fare you well, and loue me ſtill. From our Campe the* 30 *of May,* 1461.

The anſwer of Scanderbeg to the former letters of Mahomet.

When *Mahomet* had receiued theſe Letters, and well peruſed the ſame, hee writ to him againe in manner following.

F

Sultan *Mahomet*, Empetour of all the parts of the World, vnto *Scanderbeg* Prince of the Albanenſes and Epirots, greeting.

The letters of Mahomet to Scanderbeg for the concluding of a perpetuall peace betwixt them.

Your Letters we haue receiued by our embaſſdor Muſtapha, *wherein you giue vs to vnderſtand, that* *you like of none of the conditions of peace by vs proponnded, but onely that concerning our marchants and men of ttade, that they might freely and at their pleaſure vſe their traffique and trades with their marchandiſe too and fro, and vpon this condition onely you grant vs peace. This your offer we accept of, and all the reſt of your excuſes we willingly admit: wherefore I promiſe vnto thee (my louing* Scanderbeg) *and wil performe all that thou doeſt require, and vpon that reſolution reſt: and will ſo long as I liue obſerue and keepe a ſincere and inuiolable peace with thee for euer, except thou firſt giue cauſe of violating the ſame. And for that purpoſe haue we with our vſuall and imperiall ſeale ſigned theſe our* Letters, *which we by our Embaſſadour* Muſtapha *haue ſent vnto thee, as thereby confirming vnto thee this perpetuall peace. Wherefore you alſo (if you be ſo content) may ſubſcribe, and with your Seale confirme this of ours, that I in like manner may haue alſo your like conſent and agreement. And would farther, that you would command knowledge thereof to be made by open proclamation through all your kingdom, as I will in like manner cauſe to be done through mine. And for the more manifeſtation of this my loue towards you, I would alſo that you ſhould vnderſtand, That of mine owne meere motion and bountie, I doe freely giue vnto you all thoſe things, which you by force of armes haue taken from my father in Albania and Epirus, ſo that you may poſſeſſe and enioy the ſame, as if they had alwayes beene yours and your anceſtors: Wherefore I giue, grant, and confirme vnto thee and thy heires, all the right, title, or intereſt, which I heretofore had therein, and from henceforth will alwaies account and repute thee as prince of Albania and Epirus, and ſo call thee. And as I haue promiſed thee in the faith of a King, will neuer hereafter with warres moleſt thee or thine, except thou thy ſelfe giue cauſe thereof. Wherefore after you haue with your ſeale confirmed theſe things, you may commend them to our faithfull Embaſſadour* Muſtapha, *to be by him brought vnto vs; vnto whom I would you ſhould in all things giue full credit. So fare you well, and render vs loue for loue. From our Imperiall Palace at Couſtantinople, the 22 of Iune,* 1461.

A peace concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg.

Vpon receit of theſe Letters, a peace was concluded betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*, and the ſame by publique proclamations ſolemnly publiſhed through both their kingdomes, to the great reioycing of many. Which peace was for a ſeaſon faithfully kept on both ſides, vntill that the Turks lying in gariſon vpon the frontiers of Epirus, began after their wonted manner againe to fetch preyes and booties out of the countrey. Of which iniuries, *Scanderbeg* by Letters complained to *Mahomet*: who anſwered that he was altogether ignorant thereof, and ſeemed in ſhew to be much offended with the inſolencie of the doers thereof: and forthwith cauſed many things to be againe reſtored. By which meanes the peace before concluded, was ſtill as before continued.

A little before the concluſion of the aforeſaid peace, great warres began to ariſe betwixt the Turkes and the Venetians, who all this while being in league with the Turke, peaceably followed their traffique and trades of marchandiſe, little or nothing at all regarding their neighbours harmes and miſeries, vntill that now the flame and fire began to take hold vpon their owne houſes, and as it were to awaken them out of a dead ſleepe. For *Mahomet* after he had ſubuerted the Empire of Conſtantinople, and driuen *Thomas* and *Demetrius* the Emperours brethren out of Peloponeſus (now called Morea) reſted not ſo contented, but by his lieutenants and other great captaines began to diſturbe the quiet of the Venetians, who then held in their poſſeſſion Methone, Corone, Neapolis, Argos, with diuers other ſtrong townes in Peloponeſus, ſtanding vpon the ſea coaſt. And now it chanced, that about this time, *Ioſue*, *Mahomet* his Lieutenant in Peloponeſus, had by the treaſon of a Greeke Prieſt, vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the citie of Argos: and *Omares* another of his great Captaines, hauing firſt ſpoyled the countrey about Naupactum (now Lepanto) entered farther into the territorie of the Venetians about Methone and Corone, making hauocke of whatſoeuer came in his way. With which iniuries plainly tending to open warre, the Venetian Senators being much troubled, ſate oftentimes in counſell, deliberating with much care what courſe to take in a matter of ſo great importance. Some being of opinion, that it were beſt to ſend Embaſſadours to *Mahomet*, ſo to make proofe if the matter might by faire meanes be redreſſed: others on the contrary part deeming it to be to no purpoſe ſo to do; foraſmuch as ſuch great and manifeſt outrages, nothing differing from plain hoſtilitie, could not poſſibly be done without the tyrants knowledge and expreſſe command. After the Senatours had oftentimes met together, and with many great reaſons debated the matter too & fro, and yet for all that concluded nothing

A (as in conſultations of great matters with a multitude, it moſt commonly falleth out to be a harder matter, and to require longer time, to bring the multitude to ſome certaine reſolution, than it is afterwards to performe the ſame in action.) In this ſo great a diuerſitie of opinions concerning ſo weightie a cauſe, at length one *Victor Capella*, a noble gentleman and graue Senator, ſtept vp in the middeſt of the Senate, and there franckly deliuered this notable ſpeech vnto the reſt, concerning the matter propounded, as followeth.

The notable ſpeech of *Victor* Capella to perſuade the Venetians to take vp armes againſt Mahomet.

I haue before this at other times by long experience often noted (moſt noble Senatours) that in all
our greateſt conſultations of matters moſt concerning our common ſtate, ſome are alwaies ſo addicted
or rather wedded vnto their owne conceits, that they can hardly with patience endure to heare the
B *reaſonable opinion of others contrarie to their owne, the chiefe cauſe of our ſlow reſolutions. Wherefore*
I haue thought it good, briefly at this time to call vpon you for reſolution: foraſmuch as I ſee we
muſt of neceſsitie take vp armes, be we neuer ſo loath or vnwilling: For to my vnderſtanding, you doe
but betray the ſtate, in delaying the time to make preſent warre vpon the barbarous enemie. Yet many
principall men amongſt vs, aduiſe vs to beware, that we doe not raſhly or vnaduiſedly determine of matters
of ſo great conſequence; and thinke it requiſite, that we ſhould ſend Embaſſadours *vnto the tyrant,*
to expoſtulate with him his vniuſt dealing in breaking his faith and league; and withall to requeſt him
to obſerue the conditions of the peace before agreed vpon, if happily he may rather by perſuaſion than by
armes be mooued to change his purpoſe: and if by this meanes nothing may be obtained, then at length
they thinke it neceſſarie to reſolue to make warre vpon him. They alledge further, That if wee ſhall attempt
warre, our cities in the continent bordering vpon the Ionian *in* Peloponeſus, *with diuerſe others of*
C *ours in the firme land, will not be able to hold out very long, but for want of neceſſaries muſt needes*
periſh with the firſt of the trouble; beſides that, if thoſe places ſhall be waſted and ſpoiled, great loſſe
(as they ſay) ſhall enſue thereby vnto moſt of vs in priuat: The greateſt motiue (perhaps) wherefore
they thinke it moſt conuenient to deferre the warres, and for that purpoſe to ſend our embaſſadors
vnto him. Of which embaſſage, firſt by your leaue a few words. At ſuch time as theſe our Embaſſadours,
men of great wiſedome and reach, not long ſince came vnto him, he had them in no regard;
but dallying off the time with fraudulent, deceitfull, and gloſing ſpeeches, did indeed ſuch things
to the contrarie as we leaſt hoped: wherefore I cannot well deuiſe (if we ſhould ſend them, or ſuch others
againe) what eſpeciall thing of all that we then gaue them in charge, they ſhould now propound vnto
D *him, hauing already ſaid what is to be ſaid; except they ſhould ſay, That whereas we are not of ſufficient*
ſtrength and power to wage war againſt him, we would be glad to decide the matter by talke, and
by that ſimple meanes to redreſſe our iniuries; and vpon the matter, to ſhew our ſelues preſt and ready
to fall to agreement with him, according as ſhall ſtand with his good pleaſure and liking. Truely
this were good plaine dealing, but it will not ſerue our turne. Argos is alreadie taken from vs, and
hee maketh open warre vpon vs: wherein he doth but prooue our courage, and trie how long we will
put vp theſe iniuries. If we will quietly digeſt theſe, he will then confidently and without feare proceed
further: but if we ſhall as beſt beſeemeth vs, valiantly reſiſt him, he ſhall be glad of ſuch
reſt as we ſhall giue him; and when he knoweth not well which way to turne himſelfe, ſhall be as glad
as we to lay downe armes, and to ſeeke for peace: whereas if we ſhall doe otherwiſe, I feare we ſhall
E *repent our ſelues when it will be too late. It is reported, that as ſoone as he was come into* Peloponeſus,
he went himſelfe in perſon vnto Eubœa, *to view the citie of* Chalcis: *And going a ſecond time out*
of Peloponeſus, *ſounded the depth of the paſſage, and came within the ſight of the Citie, of purpoſe*
to haue aſſaulted it, if he had found opportunitie: At which time he himſelfe rid ouer that ſtrait
of the ſea betwixt Bœtia *and* Eubœa *with his horſe, and curiouſly viewed in what place he might moſt*
conueniently paſſe ouer with his armie to beſiege the Citie. Verily theſe are the moſt manifeſt ſignes of
warre, whereby any man may ſufficiently prooue, that he hath long ſince reſolued (ſo ſoone as he is
readie) to make warre vpon vs. Whileſt we are yet dreaming in the middeſt of our long conſultations;
he will proceed in the warres he hath begun; and cutting vs ſhort, augment his owne dominions.
F *Then will he blame his Lieutenants and Captaines, as authours thereof: but ſtill be doing that*
beſt ſerueth his purpoſe. And whileſt no man oppoſeth himſelfe againſt him, his power dayly increaſing,
he will doe the beſt he can, ſuddenly to ſwallow vs vp, beeing vnprouided. For he may eaſily raiſe
great forces, that by ſufferance of others, maketh himſelfe of great ſtrength there where he had before
no footing. Shall we then ſay that we haue no warres with this encroching tyrant? Some I know
feed themſelues and others alſo, with vaine hopes, ſaying, That he will neuer turne his forces vpon vs,

nor ruinate our eſtate, although he might at eaſe doe it : Wherefore (ſay they) let vs refraine from G *warres, and vſe our peace and quietneſſe; yet omitting nothing in the meane time that ſhall be needfull for our ſafetie. But foraſmuch as it plainely appeareth vnto all men, by the which is before ſaid, That he hath already indeed proclaimed warre againſt vs, inuading our countries, ſurpriſing our cities, and killing our people : Whether thinke you it more expedient or profitable for vs, to ſit ſtill and ſuffer our dominions to be taken from vs, or rather by open warre to make the barbarous King know the greatneſſe of our power and ſtrength ? For if we ſhall enter into open warre, wee being in armes ſufficiently prouided for all euents, and with carefull eye attending all his attempts, ſhall eaſily auoid both himſelfe and all his deuiſes : who if he be ſuffered to runne ſtill on forward with his proſperous ſucceſſe, people wil daily more and more fall vnto him, in hope to liue the better, as his friends. For which cauſe, I thinke it better to preferre an honourable warre, before a doubtfull peace. As for delay, it hath hurt many great States, and our ſelues moſt of all : whereby we haue in ſome ſort betrayed the Empire of Grecia, with the woful Emperor himſelf, when as this tyrant battered the wals of Conſtantinople; for our traffique was much holpen by the Grecians, whom we then* H *left to themſelues. After that, we deſpiſed and reiected the pittifull complaints of the Princes of Peloponeſus, who with teares craued our aid : and now we ſee that famous countrey loſt, and fallen into his hands, through our ſloath and negligence. Of late, when as the King of Boſna humbly requeſted our aid, and promiſed fully to requite our courteſie, and whatſoeuer elſe we ſhould doe in his behalfe; we ſuffered his kingdome to be loſt, and himſelfe to be cruelly murthered of the Turks. For all theſe things by vs thus neglected, we cannot eſcape the imfamous report of all the reſt of the nations in Europe but that they will ſay, That we for the greedie deſire of trade and filthie gaine, haue forſaken,* I *and for our parts betraied whole Kingdomes and Nations, agreeing with vs both in manners and Religion; and to haue ſtood ſtill looking on, vntill they were ſubdued and brought into thraldome by the Turkes. Wherefore in few wordes to ſhut vp the matter, if we ſhould ioyne in league with the Hungarians, and enter into armes, we ſhould ſo be able to keepe our owne: whereas if we ſhall vſe delayes, and hunt after peace, we ſhall in ſhort time ſee, that he will ſuddenly deuoure vs, being vnprouided, and wreſt from vs all our prouinces and territories which border vpon him. And therefore it is (in my opinion) beſt to ſend our Embaſſadours into Hungarie, with a great maſſe of money, to ſtirre vp that warlike Nation into the fellowſhip of this warre. And beſide the Nauie we now haue in readineſſe, to put to Sea as many more ſhips and gallies as we are able. The great Biſhop alſo is not to be forgotten, but by all meanes to be drawne as a chiefe man into this warre. Beſides all this, we* K *muſt doe what we can to raiſe vp rebellion aganſt the Turke in Peloponeſus : which will be no hard matter to bring to paſſe. For if the Peloponeſians riſe in armes with one of their poore Princes which reuolted from the Turkiſh King, and forſaking all that they had, aduentured themſelues into all manner of peril and danger: what thinke you they will doe, if they ſhall ſee ſo great forces comming both by ſea and land againſt the Turkiſh king? It were good alſo, that we ſhould ſend two thouſand Italian horſemen into Peloponeſus, to animate the people : who when they ſhall ſee vs thus to proceede, will vndoubtedly preſently reuolt from the Turks, and yeeld themſelues with their countrey vnto vs, from whence we may moſt commodiouſly vex and moleſt this tyrant : For there is no where better entrance into his kingdome, than by the way of Peloponeſus. So that ioyning in league with the Hungarians, we ſhall beſet him on euery ſide: they all along the riuer of Danubius, and we out of Peloponeſus. Let vs* L *not therefore ſit ſtill with our hands in our boſomes, ſuffering our countries to be taken from vs, and our ſubiects made bondſlaues to the Turks : but encouraging them by our example, animate them to take vp armes, and valiantly to reſiſt the cruell and barbarous tyrant.*

The Venetians take vp armes againſt the Turke.

The greater part of the Senate mooued with this graue Senatours ſpeech, decreed without delay to make warres, and to ſend their Embaſſadours to the Pope, the king of Hungarie, and other the Chriſtian Princes their neighbours, to pray aid of them in theſe warres againſt the Turkes. According to this decree, the Venetians for defence of their territorie ſent one *Bertholdus Eſte*, a valiant captaine, with an armie into Peloponeſus: where at his firſt comming, M he in ſhort time recouered the citie of Argos, before loſt. And departing thence, marched through the countrey with his armie of fifteene thouſand men, vnto the ſtrait of Corinth, called Iſthmus. At which place *Alouiſius Lauretanus*, Admirall for the Venetians (by appointment before made) met him: and there ioyning their forces together, with great labour

in

A in the ſpace of fifteene days fortified all that ſtrait from the Ionian, to the ſea Ægeum, with a continuall rampier and double ditch in length about fiue miles. In which work they vſed the helpe of thirtie thouſand men; and in doing thereof were much furthered by the ruins of the old wall before deſtroyed by **Amurath.** The Venetian Commanders hauing fortified this ſtrait, incamped before Corinth, and layd ſtrait ſiege vnto it: where at the ſecond aſſault, **Bartholdus** the General deſirous by his owne forwardneſſe to encourage his ſouldiers, was in that aſſault grieuouſly wounded with a ſtone caſt downe vpon him from the wall, of which hurt he ſhortly after died. Neuertheleſſe the ſiege was ſtill continued by **Betinus Calcinatius**, who ſucceeded in **Bartholdus** his place. But whileſt the Venetians lay thus at the ſiege of Corinth, ſuddenly newes was brought vnto the campe, That **Mahomet** was comming with a great army B himſelfe in perſon, to raiſe the ſiege, and to deſtroy the new fortifications at Iſthmus. Whereupon the Venetians left the ſiege, with purpoſe to haue defended the late fortified ſtrait: but after that it was certainly knowne, that **Mahomet** was euen now at hand with an armie of fourſcore thouſand Turks, **Betinus** diſtruſting with his ſmall number to be able to defend the ſtrait againſt ſo puiſſant an armie, left the place ſo lately before fortified, and with all his armie retired to Neapolis to keepe the ſea coaſt.

Shortly after, **Mahomet** without any reſiſtance at all entered with a world of men by the ſtrait into Peloponeſus; and when he had with the great ſlaughter of the country people roamed vp and downe about Argos, he came to Neapolis, and in moſt terrible manner aſſaulted the citie twice; both which times he was notably repulſed by the Venetians, and many of his C men ſlaine. Departing thence, he deſtroyed and waſted the countrey about Methone (now Modon) and Corone, and aſſaulted the citie of Iuncum, but with no better ſucceſſe than he had before Neapolis. Wherefore Winter now drawing on, he returned with his Armie to Conſtantinople.

After his departure the Venetians ſpoyled all that part of Archadia which was ſubiect to the Turks, requiting him with like iniuries as he had done them before. Not long after, **Lauretanus** the Venetian Admirall had the Iſland of Lemnos deliuered vnto him by one **Cominius** a famous pyrat, who had ſurpriſed the ſame, and taken it from the Turks; but diſtruſting how he ſhould be able to keepe the ſame, deliuered it ouer vnto the Venetians. Shortly after, **Vrſatus Iuſtinianus**, a great Magnifico amongſt the Venetians, was ſent to ſucceed **Lauretanus** their D Admirall: but whileſt he was ſcouring the Ægeum with a fleet of two and thirtie great Gallies, **Andreas Dandalus** Generall of their forces at land, inconſideratly encountering with the Turks horſemen betweene Mantynia and Pytheme, was by them ouerthrowne and ſlaine, and with him diuers other gentlemen of great account: in which skirmiſh fifteene hundred of the Venetians were ſlaine alſo with their Generall. And as Fortune is neuer more conſtant, than in miſchiefe, ſo at the ſame time **Vrſatus** Generall at ſea, landing his men in the Iſland of Lesbos, beſieged the citie of Mitylene, & gaue thereunto two great aſſaults, wherein he loſt fiue thouſand men: and vnderſtanding that the Turks fleet was comming to relieue the citie, raiſed the ſiege, and ſailed into Eubœoa, and from thence paſſed ouer into Peloponeſus, where he ſhortly after died for ſorrow and griefe of mind. In whoſe place the Venetians ſent another fa- E mous Captaine called **Iacobus Lauretanus.**

The Venetians well conſidering the great power of the Turkiſh Emperour, laboured by their Embaſſadours, to draw as many of the Chriſtian Princes as they could into the fellowſhip of this war; but eſpecially the great Biſhop, by whoſe means they were in good hope to be greatly ſtrengthned. **Pius** the ſecond of that name was then the great Biſhop; who at firſt anſwered the Venetian Embaſſadors, That he muſt take away the little Turke, before he had any thing to doe with the great: meaning thereby, **Sigiſmundus Maletaſta** Prince of Ariminum, whom he deadly hated, for that he tooke part with the French, againſt the Aragonians. Howbeit, the warres in Italie being well appeaſed, **Pius** ſtill ſolicited by the Venetians, made F great preparation againſt the Turks; giuing it out, That he would in perſon himſelfe go vnto thoſe warres: and by his authoritie (then much regarded) procured great aid out of Germanie, France, Spaine, and other countries alſo further off. At which time alſo voluntarie men in great numbers reſorted out of all parts of Chriſtendome into Italie, readie to aduenture their liues in thoſe religious warres. At the ſame time alſo the Venetians had with much adoo by the working of **Paulus Angelus** Archbiſhop of Dirrachium, perſuaded **Scanderbeg** to renounce

The Venetians enter into confederation with other Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turke.

nounce the league which he had before made with the Turke, and to enter into armes againe: G which he preſently did, and ſpoyled the borders of the Turks dominions next vnto him. Wherewith *Mahomet* was no leſſe troubled, than with all the reſt of the great preparation of the Chriſtians againſt him: fearing that (as it was then reported) he ſhould be made Generall of the Chriſtian armie, which *Mahomet* feared might tend to the vtter ruin of his Kingdome; ſo dreadfull was the name of *Scanderbeg* amongſt the Turks. Wherefore thinking it moſt conuenient for his affaires, to reconcile him if it were poſſible, by his Embaſſadour ſent for that purpoſe, wrot vnto him as followeth:

Sultan *Mahomet*, Emperour of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, vnto *Scanderbeg* Prince of the Albanenſes and of the Epirots, Greeting. H

The Letters of Mahomet to Scanderbeg.

I haue alwayes had thy fidelitie and vpright dealing in great admiration, moſt noble Prince Scanderbeg: *for which cauſe I thought it a thing incredible, that thou being a Prince of ſuch an heroicall and Princely perfection, ſhouldſt ſo inconſideratly and without any occaſion break the faith and league which thou not long ſince ſolemnly contractedſt with me. For as I am aduertiſed, thou haſt entred into the confines of our dominion with a great armie, and with fire and ſword deſtroying all that thou couldeſt, haſt carried away with thee a great bootie. Of which thing I know right well, that the Venetians are the only cauſe, by whoſe counſell and perſuaſion thou haſt beene ſet on to doe this deed; and ſeduced by their allurements and ſubtill perſuaſions, haſt made war vpon me, and art become the faithleſſe breaker of thine owne league, and of the ſacred law of Nations. Yet doe I little or nothing blame thee therefore, regarding* I *more the cauſe of the ignominie, than the deſpight it ſelfe, and lay the blame vpon them who haue alwayes beene my foes and capitall enemies, rather than vpon thee. But alas, what is this vnto me* (Scanderbeg) *that thou haſt done, which poſſeſſe ſo many and ſo large Dominions? Diddeſt thou thinke to doe ſo great hurt vnto our Kingdome, by ſpoyling a little peece of our Countrey, and by ſtealing our Cattell, more like a Theefe and Robber, than an open Enemie? Which thing I yet account not worth the name of an iniurie. But if thou thinke it ſo good, proceed in theſe thy doings: for I make more account of thy friendſhip and loue, than of whatſoeuer is to me deereſt; becauſe (as thou knoweſt) I haue alwayes borne vnto thee an eſpeciall fauour, and loued thee moſt entirely. And therefore as often as I call to remembrance our tender yeares and old familiaritie whileſt we liued together in my fathers court at Hadrianople, I cannot but thinke my ſelfe bound vnto thee in all courteſie. And therefore my* K *good* Scanderbeg, *I moſt heartily requeſt and entreat thee, That we renewing the former concluſions of peace, may of new confirme the ſame by ſolemne oath; wherewith if the former peace had bin eſtabliſhed, thou wouldeſt not haue ſuffered thy ſelfe to haue been now of the Venetians ſo circumuented or ſeduced. It is therefore needfull, that we now againe for euer confirme a league and peace betwixt vs by ſolemne and ſacred oath on both ſides: which if thou ſhalt doe, (as I hope thou wilt, and in this be aduiſed by me) thou with thy poſteritie ſhall vndoubtedly alwayes raigne in peace, and in ſafetie poſſeſſe whatſoeuer is yours. Whereas if thou ſhalt doe otherwiſe, beleeue me it will repent thee, and that right quickly. Thou knoweſt alreadie my force, which whether thou be able to withſtand or not, thou wert beſt to be wel aduiſed. The poore Princes thy neighbours, the Venetians thy ſeducers, cannot deliuer thee from my forces and power. Doſt thou not ſee the Grecians almoſt al rooted out before thy face? the Emperors of Conſtantinople* L *and TrapeZond by vs depriued of their Empires? the Princes of Seruia and Raſcia deſtroyed? the King of Boſna put to death? and all the Kingdomes of Aſia, with many other Kings and Princes moe, vanquiſhed, and ouerthrowne, and made ſubiect vnto me? Wherefore* Scanderbeg, *I aduiſe thee in this to follow my counſell, keepe thy promiſe, and ſo beleeue me thou ſhalt not be deceiued. Concerning theſe matters, we haue giuen further commandement to our Embaſſadour and ſeruant* Muſtapha, *which commeth vnto thee: vnto whom doubt thou not to giue credence in any thing. Farewell. From our imperiall citie of Conſtantinople the ſeuenth of May, 1463.*

Scanderbeg hauing by the aforeſaid meſſenger receiued theſe letters, and well conſidered of the ſame, returned anſwer as followeth: M

The Champion of Chriſt Ieſus, *George Caſtriot*, otherwiſe called *Scanderbeg*, Prince of the Albaneſes and Epirots, to the moſt Excellent *Mahomet* King of the Turks, Greeting.

Scanderbeg his anſwere to the Letters of Mahomet.

You maruell (moſt Noble Mahomet) *that my ſouldiers (as you ſay) contrarie to the League and the*

conditions

A conditions of our peace, haue entered into your confines, and from thence carried a great bootie. Of which
thing (you ſay) the Venetians are the authours, whom you call your mortall enemies : inferring afterward,
that you are little therewith offended, for that you are a moſt mightie Prince, and can eaſily diſgeſt
ſuch vnkindneſſe, for the great loue you beare vnto me : and the rather, for that I did it deceiued (as it
pleaſeth you to ſay) by others. All theſe things you can eaſily forgiue and forget, ſo that I will by ſolemne
oath confirme the ſame conditions of peace that were in our former league betwixt vs agreed
vpon. And thereunto you doe greatly vrge me, you admoniſh and counſell me to follow your aduiſe,
as tending to the great profit and ſecuritie of me and my poſteritie, leaſt happily whileſt I ſeeke to pleaſe
the Venetians, I incurre your heauie diſpleaſure. Beſides this, the more to terrifie me, you reckon vp as
it were in a Catalogue, the People, Nations, Kings, and Princes, by you ouercome and ſubdued. But what
B is that which is ſo ſtrange (I pray you) and which you ſo much maruell at (moſt noble Mahomet ?) Is
it not for that my ſouldiers did that in the confines of your dominions, whereof they were (of right) ſorrie;
and had thereof to me complained, that your ſouldiers had before done the like in their goods and
poſſeſsions. Wherefore if they alſo vpon a militarie brauerie (as is your maner of phraſe) haue made themſelues
whole, and done one ſhrewd turne for another, reuenging iniurie receiued, and not inferring any of
new : there is no cauſe that you ſhould either thinke it ſtrange or blame me. I would my ſelfe haue reſtrained
my ſouldiers, although they were grieuouſly iniuried (I will plainely confeſſe vnto you a troth)
I would haue appeaſed their angrie minds, enflamed with deſire of reuenge; if you (a Prince of all others
moſt rich and bountifull) would either haue taken order, that full reſtitution might haue been made vnto
them of all ſuch things as they had loſt, or elſe would with condigne puniſhment haue chaſtiſed the inſolencie
C of your ſouldiers : which you would ſeeme to couer with the tearme of militarie wantonneſſe or
brauerie; an excuſe ſcarce currant amongſt children. For although offences are in all places grieuous,
yet ought they moſt of all ſo to be deemed in martiall affairs. What I pray you, would you haue me to take
it for a laſciuiouſneſſe in your men of war ? eſpecially when I had receiued ſo great loſſe, when as you
might with a word firſt haue reſtrained them from doing of it, and at your pleaſure corrected them after
the deed was done. Wherefore (moſt excellent Mahomet) take you alſo in good part theſe our tearmes,
which you haue accuſtomed hitherto moſt glorioſly to giue and ſell vnto vs, whileſt you alwaies couer
your reach with ſome excuſe or ſhew of right. As for that in excuſing me, vnder colour of old acquaintance
and friendſhip, you inuey againſt the Venetians, verily you doe them wrong : for why, thoſe good,
iuſt, and vertuous Princes are not to be ſlandered by you, as ſeducers of me or others. Beſide, what need
D that inuincible ſtate to enter into councell with me, or (as it pleaſeth you to ſay) to allure me to fall at
ods with you, or to proſecute you as their enemie ? Who of themſelues, yea (I ſay) of themſelues alone,
when occaſion ſhall require, are able to dare you in plaine battell; and to abate your pride. Furthermore,
whereas you aduiſe me to reiect their friendſhip, your labour is therein but loſt; for what man is ſo
deſperat, or hated of his ſubiects, that would not chuſe rather to erre with that moſt honorable Senat, than
to be in the right with you ? eſpecially I, who haue of long time bin confederat with them, and am of all
others vnto them moſt deare : which you for all that had no regard of, but (according vnto your vntruſtie
dealing) breaking in ſunder the bonds of peace, ſpoiled and waſted their territorie in Peloponeſus. Neither
can your great threats terrifie me, which you after the Turkiſh maner thunder & poure out againſt
E me, except I will be ouerruled by you : for it is the part of an Albaneſe both to endure when need
ſhall require, and alſo to do ſuch things as beſeeme a man of courage. You cannot make me afraid, being
but a ſmall Prince, with my honorable friends the Venetians. And what are you ? ſo great an Emperor of
the Eaſt and of the Weſt, and of all parts of the World, as you vainly tearme your ſelfe ? Truly you make
me ſmile, and other Chriſtian Princes laugh you to ſcorne, in vſurping falſly to your ſelfe the ſtately ſtile
of the Emperour of the World. What poſſeſſe you in Aſia the greater ? verily nothing. Is all yours
in Aſia the leſſer ? not ſo. What haue you in Europe ? except Thracia, Myſia, part of Grecia, and Peloponeſus,
with the Iſle of Mytelene. As for Africke, you neuer ſet your foot therein. Is this to be Emperour
of the World ? But ſuppoſe, ſuppoſe (I ſay) worthie Mahomet, that all from the fartheſt part of the
Ocean were yours, you ought not therefore ſo to ſwell, as to contemne all others. Ceaſe to boaſt, and learne
F now (if you can) the ſpeciall, but true examples of humaine fragilitie. Where are now the Aſſyrians,
which ſometime ſwayed the World ? where be the Medes ? Where the Perſians ? and to be ſhort, where
are the Romains, the great commanders of all ? Verily, Tamerlane the Sythian King (called the terror
of the world) was far greater than you : who in triumph, drew before his chariot thy great grandfather
Baiazet in chains: who had before won ſo many victories, whom neuertheles he ouerthrew in the plaines
of Armenia, with three hundred thouſand Turkes, hauing in his armie (as is reported) twelue hundred

thouſand men, greater than Xerxes *or* Darius, *whoſe armies couered the ſeas, and dried vp the riuers* G
before them as they went, yet for all this (noble Mahomet) *they are all caſt out by him that caſteth out*
all nations, the finger of the Higheſt hath brought them all to nought. Wherefore learne to know your
ſelfe to be a man alſo. Truſt not too much to the multitude of your ſoldiers, and ſtrength of your armies:
for oftentimes great and puiſſant armies haue beene ouerthrowne with farre leſſe, as all hiſtories beare
witneſſe: whereof it is commonly ſaid, Thou ſhalt not praiſe the valor of the Generall, before he be brought
to the triumph. And doe you not thinke, Mahomet, *that God will fauour the better cauſe? You know,*
you well know, that all your kingdome is violently gotten, that it is wrongfully and vniuſtly poſſeſſed:
for which cauſe I am not afraid not onely to withſtand you when you ſhall come, being ſo great a Prince;
but alſo valiantly and couragiouſly to dare you into the field, and by the power of God, both to hope for and
haue a notable victorie ouer you. We haue ſouldiers alſo, which know how to vſe their weapons, to march H
before their enemies, and how to beare themſelues in the heat of the battell. Wherefore, to that you ſay vnto
me for the new confirming of the former league, you labour now but in vaine to circumuent me with
ſuch faire gloſes, I haue your faith in ſuch diſtruſt, and your friendſhip in deteſtation: foraſmuch as you
cunningly and ſubtilly, after the manner of your anceſtors, whatſoeuer you do, or whatſoeuer you promiſe
vnto me, it tendeth all to no other end than to thruſt me out of my kingdome. Yet thus long I haue by
Gods helpe well eſcaped all your policies, all your crafts and deceits. But I hope there will in ſhort time be
an end of all theſe matters, when all your ſleights and deuiſes ſhall not eaſe you, neither your working
head or Turkiſh pride any thing profit you. It is not I alone that ſo much ſtomacke you, there commeth
after me a great number of Chriſtian Princes: behold, the whole chiualrie and glorie of the Chriſtian
commonweale is in armes, and comming againſt thee with all their force: all the Kings and Princes of I
Chriſtendome haue combined themſelues together, with the great Biſhop, againſt thy ſtate, and will in
ſhort time be preſent to deſtroy thee and thy kingdome. Wherefore (worthie Mahomet) *I haue thought it*
good in regard of our old friendſhip (although the ſame hath by you beene greatly empaired and violated)
to forewarne you of all theſe things, that you might gather your wits together, and in time prouide
for the ſafetie of your ſelfe and of your kingdome. You ſee the force and power of ſo many great Princes,
from which whether you can eſcape or no, I know not: yet you may, if you wil follow my aduiſe, you may, I
ſay, make both your name and empire of great, greater, of famous, moſt renowned, of fortunate, moſt happie
and bleſſed; if caſting off from you the groſſe errours of the Mahometan ſuperſtition, you will embrace
the faith and truth of Chriſt Ieſus, and at length haue regard of your ſoules health. And you
which excel al your predeceſſors in highneſſe of ſpirit, and pregnancie of wit, ſuffer not your ſelf and your K
ſubiects as it were by inheritance to be longer blinded in your wilfull errours: but doe that (as a wiſe
Prince) of your owne accord, which otherwiſe you wil ſhortly of neceſſitie be conſtrained to do. To ſay, Had
I wiſt, hath euer bin accounted a great diſgrace from the mouth of an Emperour. At length amend and
meaſure your ſelfe. Behold, Almightie God doth offer you meanes, whereby you may quiet the whole ſtate
of your kingdome, and all our Kings and Princes loue, honor, and reuerence you. Neither let the ambitious
deſire of ſoueraigntie or immoderat care of thoſe things you poſſeſſe, trouble you from ſo doing: For
whatſoeuer you haue vniuſtly and vnlawfully vſurped, the Chriſtian Princes will grant, confirme, and
eſtabliſh vnto thee, as if they had bin your owne by antient inheritance. So ſhall you be a true Monarch
indeed, and rule and raigne lawfully, if you ſhall embrace this Faith, and worſhip God aright: which ſo L
ſoone as you ſhall feele the ſweetneſſe of, you will be ſorrie that you knew it no ſooner, you wil grieue at the
time you haue loſt, and vtterly deteſt and abhorre all that filthie ſuperſtition which the moſt filthie falſe
Prophet Mahomet *hath left amongſt you. From our Campe the 26 of May, 1463.*

With theſe Letters *Scanderbeg* diſmiſſed the Turks Embaſſador. About which time he receiued
Letters from the great Biſhop, that he, accompanied with the Chriſtian Princes, would
without delay come ouer into Epirus with a ſtrong armie of valiant Chriſtians, to ioine their
forces with his, againſt the common enemie of the Chriſtian religion: exhorting him in all
their names to denounce war againſt the Turkiſh king. Which thing *Scanderbeg* moſt ioyfully
vndertooke: and without delay with all his power brake into the Turks dominion, burning
and deſtroying the countrey before him as he went: from whence he returned laden with the M
ſpoile there gotten.

When *Mahomet* had peruſed *Scanderbegs* Letters, and certainly vnderſtood of the great preparation made againſt him in Italie, as alſo of the great ſpoyle of late made by *Scanderbeg*, he became exceeding melancholie, as a man much troubled in mind, which daily more and

A more increaſed: for that he ſaw not the wonted cheerfulneſſe in his men of warre, but all full of heauineſſe and deſpaire, as if they had bin men alreadie vanquiſhed. Neuertheleſſe, he ſpeedily tooke order for the leuying of a great armie; fortifying his cities and ſtrong holds, leauing nothing vndone that was poſſible, for the aſſurance of his ſtate. And to repreſſe the furie of ***Scanderbeg***, ſent ***Seremet Baſſa*** with fourteene thouſand ſouldiers to lie vpon the borders of Epirus, with charge only to attend vpon him. Who mindfull of his charge, came into Macedonia, vnto the city Ocrida, now called Alchria, in the very confines of Macedonia towards Epirus, and there lay with his armie; ſome part thereof lodged in the citie, and the reſt in places more conuenient neere about the ſame.

The comming of the Baſſa, as alſo the manner of his lying, was not vnknowne to ***Scandebeg***, who deſired nothing more than to be doing with him. Wherefore he ſecretly in the night B marched towards Ocrida with twelue thouſand ſoldiers, and being come within three miles of the towne, lay cloſe in ambuſh, & vpon the breaking of the day ſent out 500 horſemen towards the enemy, vnder the conduct of ***Peicus Emanuel***, and ***Petrus Angelus***, two valiant and expert captains, to draw him if they could into the field. But ***Scanderbeg*** had before commanded thē, that if the enemie did come forth to fight, they ſhould make but ſmal reſiſtance, but retire backe as if they had fled, and ſo to traine him on to the place where the armie lay. Which was ſo well performed by the two skilfull captaines, that the Baſſa with all his power was according as they could haue wiſhed, drawne into the field, and brought to the very place where ***Scanderbeg*** lay; who ſuddenly riſing vp with all his armie, aſſailed the Turkes on euery ſide, and ſlew them as Deere encloſed in a toyle. In this battell ten thouſand of the Turkes were C ſlaine, the Treaſurer of the armie with twelue other of great marke were taken priſoners, and brought bound to ***Scanderbeg***, who were preſently ranſomed for fortie thouſand duckats.

Ten thouſand Turks ſlaine.

Scanderbeg hauing obtained the victorie, returned with triumph into Epirus, dayly expecting the comming of the great armie out of Italie: ***But fatal Deſtinie, the mightie controller of mens higheſt deſignes, had not ſo appointed.*** For when ***Pius*** the great Biſhop had out of all parts of Chriſtendome aſſembled a great armie (whereof the greateſt part were voluntarie ſouldiers) & all things were now in ſuch readines, that he had put himſelf vpon the way, & was come to Ancona, a city vpon the ſea ſide (where ***Chriſtophorus Maurus*** duke of Venice came vnto him, with ten gallies well appointed, to haue accompanied him in thoſe warres: and all men were now in expectation of ſome great matter to haue bin done) ſuddenly he fell ſicke of a feuer, D and died in the yeare 1464. Whereupon the armie was forthwith diſperſed, and all that great preparation fruſtrated, to the exceeding griefe of many Chriſtian Princes; and no leſſe ioy of the Turks, who now reioyced to ſee themſelues deliuered of ſo great a feare.

About this ſame time, ***Victor Capella*** chiefe perſuader of this war betwixt the Venetians & the Turks, was by the Senat ſent Generall of their forces at ſea, in ſtead of ***Lauretanus***, whoſe yeare was then expired. He hauing receiued the charge from ***Lauretanus***, and ſailing out of Eubœa, in ſhort time tooke from the enemie the citie of Aulis in Peloponeſus ouer againſt Chalcis, and alſo the citie of Larſum in the gulfe of Theſſalonica, with the Iſle of Himber. Afterwards landing his men by night at Pyræus, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed the citie of Athens E (now called Sethina) ſometime the mother of learning, and moſt noble citie of Grecia; and from thence caried away with him into Eubœa al the people he there found, as his priſoners, together with the rich ſpoile of that citie. Whileſt he lay in Eubœa, he was perſuaded that the citie of Patras in Peloponeſus would be deliuered vnto him by the Chriſtians that dwelt therein, if he did but ſhew himſelfe before it. Wherupon he departed from Eubœa, and comming into the gulfe of Patras, landed 4000 footmen vnder the leading of ***Barbaricus***, and 200 horſemen, of whom one ***Nicholaus Ragius*** was captaine. ***Barbaricus*** marching toward Patras, was come within a mile of the citie; when many of the horſemen, and of the vnruly mariners, diſorderly ſcattering abroad, neglected the intended ſeruice, and ſought after pillage all about the countrey. The Turks garriſons taking this opportunitie, ſet vpon them with their horſe-F men, and ſo, eaſily ouerthrew them, being ſcattered and out of order. At the firſt encounter, ***Barboricus*** himſelfe was ſlaine; ***Ragius*** Captaine of the horſemen was taken, and aliue empailed vpon a ſharpe ſtake. Of all them that were landed, ſcarce a thouſand were left, who ſaued their liues by flying vnto the gallies. With this ouerthrow ***Victor*** the Venetian Admirall was greatly diſcomforted, yet hauing conceiued ſome hope of better ſucceſſe, in few

The Venetians attempting to win Patras, receiue great loſſe daies after attempted againe to haue taken Patras, but with like hap as before : for hauing loſt a thouſand of his men about the citie, and the reſt glad to take their refuge to the fleet, he was conſtrained with great diſhonor to depart thence. And ſo full of ſorrow and heauineſſe returning into Eubœa, oppreſſed with melancholy, there ſuddenly died.

The Venetians deceiued of the great hope they had conceiued of the generall preparation made againſt the Turks, and much troubled with the hard proceeding of their warres againſt ſo mightie an enemie ; by their embaſſadours ſolicited *Mathias*, not long before choſen king of Hungarie, to ioyne in league with them, and to take vp armes againſt the common enemie, offering preſently to furniſh him with a great ſumme of money, beſide a large yearely pention for the maintenance of thoſe warres : for which hee ſhould to his power by land defend all their territorie betwixt the Rhetian Alpes, and the Adriatique, againſt the inuaſion of the Turke.

Mathias of a priſoner, choſen king of Hungarie.

This *Mathias* ſurnamed *Coruinus*, was the younger ſonne of the moſt famous captaine *Io. Huniades*, whoſe elder brother *Vladiſlaus*, a gentleman of ſuch courage as might well ſhew whoſe ſon he was, being not able to diſgeſt the iniuries and diſgraces done vnto him and his brother, by *Vlricus* countie of Cilie, and vnckle vnto *Ladiſlaus* the yong king of Bohemia and Hungarie ; for the deſpite he alwaies bare vnto their father *Huniades*, ſlew the ſame *Vlricus* at Alba Regalis, euen in the kings court. Which outrage the young king was glad for the preſent to winke at; and alſo to grant him pardon; as hauing taken away the man, whoſe immoderat power well ſtood not with the kings ſafetie : but indeed fearing the citizens of Alba, and the men of war, who exceedingly fauoured the ſons of *Huniades* for their fathers ſake. For all that, *Ladiſlaus* returning into Bohemia, cauſed both the ſons of *Huniades* vpon the ſudden to be apprehended, and moſt cruelly executed, *Vladiſlaus* being then about ſix and twentie yeres old. *Mathias* the yonger brother was kept in priſon, expecting nothing elſe but to be partaker of his brothers hard fortune, as vndoubtedly he had. had not *Ladiſlaus* the yong king, vpon the ſudden, as he was vpon the top of his marriage with *Magdalaine* the French kings daughter, by vntimely death bin taken away. After whoſe death the Hungarians for the loue they bare vnto the remembrance of *Huniades*, by a militarie election, choſe this *Mathias* his yongeſt ſonne, then in priſon at Prague, to be their king. Wherof *Pogebrache* (who after the death of *Ladiſlaus*, of an old gouernor had made himſelfe the yong king of Bohemia) hauing ſpeedy intelligence as he was ſitting at ſupper, ſent for *Mathias* his priſoner, and when he was come, commanded him to ſit downe at the vpper end of the table : whereat the young gentleman, being then but about eighteene yeares of age, and ſore abaſhed, began to craue pardon. But when the King would needs haue it ſo, & that he was ſet, the king to quiet his troubled thoughts, willed him to be of good cheere, for that he had good newes to tell him. Good newes, ſaid he, if it would pleaſe your maieſtie to grant me libertie. Yea that, ſaid the king, and more too : and then ſaluting him by the name of the king of Hungarie, brake vnto him the whole matter, how that he was by the generall conſent of the Hungarians, choſen their king. And ſo in few daies after, married to him his daughter : which done, he furniſhed him with all things fit for his eſtate, and royally accompanied him into Hungarie, where he was with great ioy and triumph receiued of the Hungarians : ouer whom he afterwards glorioſly raigned for the ſpace of eight and thirtie yeares. In which time he notably enlarged the kingdome of Hungarie, and became a farre greater terrour vnto the Turkes, than euer was his father *Huniades*. And therewithall (which is not to be accounted in the leaſt part of his praiſes) was alwaies a great fauourer and furtherer of good letters and ingenious deuiſes.

But to returne again vnto our purpoſe, *Mathias* hauing well conſidered of that the Venetians had requeſted, anſwered them, that they had many times before in like caſe refuſed to giue aid vnto the Hungarian kings his predeceſſours : yea, and that more was, thought it a thing not reaſonable, that any ſuch thing ſhould be requeſted at their hands; foraſmuch as they then receiued no harme from the Turke, but were in league and amitie with him : ſo that the Hungarian kings wanting their helpe, had many times receiued greater loſſe from the Turke, than otherwiſe they ſhould haue done, if they had beene by them aided. Yet for all that, he was content to forget all ſuch vnkindnes, & to grant them what they had requeſted: promiſing the next Spring to inuade the Turks dominion, & according to their requeſt, to take into his protection all their territorie betwixt the Rhetian Alpes, and the Adriatique : which thing hee moſt honourably performed. For with the firſt of the Spring he paſſed ouer Danubius at Belgrade with a puiſſant armie, and raſed the forts which the Turks had built thereabouts; and ſo entring into Seruia, laid all the country waſt before him: and afterwards laden with ſpoile, returned home, carrying away with him twentie thouſand captiues. Neither ſo reſted, but with great good fortune maintained great warres againſt *Mahomet* during all the time of his raigne: and afterwards againſt *Baiazet* his ſonne alſo, wherein he moſt commonly returned with victorie: ſo that it is of him as truly as briefly written, That no Chriſtian king or chieftaine, did more often or with greater fortune fight againſt the Turkiſh nation, or had of them greater victories.

Mahomet ſendeth Balabanus to inuade Epirus.

Mahomet deliuered of the great feare he had before conceiued of the generall preparation of the Chriſtian princes againſt him, determined now to worke his wil vpon ſuch as were neereſt vnto him, and afterward not to forget them that were farther off. The proceeding of *Scanderbeg*, with the late ouerthrow of Seremet with his armie in Epirus, ſtucke in his ſtomacke: in reuenge whereof, he now ſent vnto *Balabanus Badera*, a moſt valiant captaine, with fifteene thouſand horſemen, and three thouſand foot, to inuade Epirus. This *Balabanus* was an Epirot borne, a chorles ſonne of that country: and being of a boy taken captiue of the Turks, as hee was keeping of his fathers cattell, and of long time brought vp in ſeruitude amongſt them, framing himſelfe both to their religion and manners, after long ſeruice got the credit of a good common ſouldier. But when as at the taking of Conſtantinople, it was his fortune to be the firſt man of the Turks armie that gained the top of the wals, and entered the citie, he was for that peece of ſeruice euer afterwards of *Mahomet* greatly eſteemed: and beſide his other great preferments, now ſent Generall of his armie into Epirus. Who as ſoone as he was come to Alchria (a citie vpon the frontiers of that countrey) ſent many rich Preſents to *Scanderbeg*, making ſhew as if he had beene deſirous peaceably to lie vpon the borders committed to his charge, without farther purpoſe to trouble his countrey: yet indeed waiting nothing more than ſome notable opportunitie, ſuddenly to doe him the greateſt miſchiefe hee could. But *Scanderbeg* well ſeeing into the malice of the man, reiected his faigned friendſhip and gifts, and in deriſion ſent him a ſpade, a mattocke, a flaile, with other ſuch inſtruments belonging vnto husbandrie, willing him to take in hand thoſe tooles, and to follow his fathers trade of life, and to leaue the conducting of armies vnto men of greater skill and better place. Which diſgrace *Balabanus* tooke in exceeding euill part, purpoſing in himſelfe, if euer it lay in his power, to be thereof reuenged. Wherefore knowing that *Scanderbeg* with a ſmall power lay not farre off vpon the frontiers of his kingdome, he determined ſuddenly in the night to ſet vpon him before he were aware of his comming, and ſo if it were poſſible to ouerthrow him, but *Scanderbeg* hauing knowledge thereof by his ſcouts, ſet forward in good order to haue met him. When *Balabanus* perceiuing that he was diſcouered, ſtaid vpon the way, and encamped within two miles of *Scanderbeg*, who had then in his armie but foure thouſand horſemen, and one thouſand and fiue hundred foot, but all choiſe men, and moſt expert ſouldiers, and then lay in a large pleaſant valley called Valchal; At the farther end whereof *Balabanus* lay alſo encamped, neere vnto a rough and woodie hill which encloſed that part of the valley. Whileſt both armies thus lay within view one of another, *Scanderbeg* well conſidering the ground the enemie had taken, and that it was like he would offer him battell, with cheerfull ſpeeches encouraged his ſouldiers: ſtraitly charging them vpon paine of his diſpleaſure, That if the enemie vpon the fortune of the battell, ſhould chance to flie or to retire, they ſhould not in any caſe purſue them farther than the ſtraits of the hill whereby the enemie lay: gheſſing too truly, that he would in ſo conuenient a place leaue part of his armie in ambuſh, as a ſure refuge to truſt vnto whatſoeuer ſhould befall. When hee had thus encouraged and inſtructed his ſouldiers, he riſe with his armie, and in good order retired vnto the riſing of an hill, which was a good way behind the place where he before lay: of purpoſe to haue the aduantage of the ground, if the enemy ſhould follow to giue him battel. *Balabanus* ſeeing him retire, and the ſmall number of his armie, thought verily that he had fled for feare: and therefore to ſtay him who ment nothing leſſe than to flie ſet forward in great haſte. The Turkes thinking vpon ſo great aduantage to haue found no great reſiſtance, followed after *Scanderbeg* as if they had, had him in chaſe; and by that time they were come to the place where hee ſtaied, were by their haſt greatly diſordered and out of aray. *Scanderbeg* his old truſtie ſouldi-

Balabanus goeth againſt Scanderbeg.

The battell betwixt Balabanus and Scanderbeg.

ours nothing diſmaied with the haſtie comming and hideous clamour of the Turks,receiued G
them with great courage ; ſo that there began a fierce battell , with much ſlaughter on both
ſides,which for a great while ſtood doubtfull. Yet ſuch was the inuincible courage of *Scanderbegs*
reſolute ſouldiers,that the Turks(who as then fought in great diſorder)were at laſt put
to flight , and with much ſlaughter chaſed vnto the ſtraits of the mountain, where *Scanderbeg*
had before commanded his men to ſtay. But certaine of his beſt and principall captaines forgetting
what he had ſaid vnto them;and led on (whether with the heat & furie of the battell,
or rather with ineuitable deſtinie is hard to ſay) vnaduiſedly purſued the enemie into thoſe
ſtraits,whereof they were by *Scanderbeg* before warned, and charged that they ſhould not enter
: where they were on euery ſide beſet with their enemies, ariſing out of ambuſh : and after
they had a long time deſperatly fought as wild beaſts encloſed with hunters,at laſt oppreſſed
with multitude,were together taken and brought to *Balabanus*,by whom they were forthwith
ſent to *Mahomet* to Conſtantinople. Who as ſoone as he heard of their taking,is reported with
great reioycing to haue ſaid, Now am I ſure that the ſtrength of *Scanderbeg* is broken. The H
names of the principall men which were there taken,was *Moſes Golemus* of Dibra,the greateſt
captaine of Epirus next vnto *Scanderbeg* himſelfe ; *Giuriza Vladerius*,*Scanderbeg* his kinſman ;
Muſachius,*Scanderbeg* his nephew by his ſiſter *Angelina* ; *Ginius Muſachius* ; *Ioannes Perlatus*,
who valiantly defended Sfetigrade againſt *Amurath* ; *Nicholaus Beriſius, Georgius Chucca*,and
Ginius Maneſius : whereof euery one of them was able to haue conducted a great armie, and
might worthilie haue beene accounted amongſt the greateſt captaines of that age. The taking
of theſe worthie men brought ſuch a generall ſorrow and heauineſſe vpon Epirus, that I
the victorie was nothing accounted of,euery man lamenting the loſſe of ſuch notable leaders.
Scanderbeg carefull of their deliuerance ; preſently ſent an Embaſſadour to *Mahomet*, requeſting
that hee might redeeme his priſoners , either by exchanging of others for them,or elſe
for ſuch ranſome as it ſhould pleaſe him to ſet downe. But hee knowing them to bee *Scanderbeg*
his beſt Captaines, would neither exchange them for others, nor graunt that they
ſhould bée ranſomed for any Gold : But after hee had vſed them with all the diſpight hee
could deuiſe, cauſed them all by little and little, to bee ſlaine quicke : in which miſerable
torment they liued fifteene daies, and ſo died. *Scanderbeg* hearing thereof, was therewith rather
encouraged than diſcouraged ; and in reuenge thereof, with fire and ſword entered into
the Turkes dominion, ſparing nothing that hee could either burne, or poſſibly by any other K
meanes deſtroy.

Moſes & other worthie captaines cruelly executed by Mahomet.

Mahomet glad of the taking of theſe notable men (although they were bought with the
liues of many of his people) commended *Balabanus* highly, as the onely man that knew how
to fight againſt *Scanderbeg*:and in reward of his good ſeruice, ſent him diuers rich gifts,with
commandement to repaire againe his armie, and to proceed in his warres ſo happily begun.
Which thing *Balabanus* with all diligence performed. Yet truſting more vnto his policie,than
his ſtrength, lying at Alchria, ſent againe diuers rich Preſents to *Scanderbeg*, as deſirous to
liue in peace by him ; but ſeeking indeed to bring him into ſecuritie , and ſo ſuddenly (if it
were poſſible) to entrap him. Which thing *Scanderbeg* well perceiuing, reiected his faigned
friendſhip together with his Preſents,as ſent from a baſe peiſant. Wherupon *Balabanus* entred L
into a new deuiſe, and by ſecret meanes, with great rewards corrupted *Scanderbeg* his ſcouts,
whereof ſome were *Balabanus* his kinſmen,though it were to *Scanderbeg* vnknowne. By which
practiſe,he had vpon the ſudden in the night oppreſſed *Scanderbeg*,lying encamped in Oronycheum,
if *Scanderbeg* himſelfe (who commonly ſpent moſt part of the night in carefull watch)
going about the campe, had not in the ſilence of the night a far off perceiued the comming of
the enemie by the noiſe of his horſes : and thereupon with wonderfull celeritie putting his
armie in ſuch order as he beſt could,was readie to receiue him ; and at laſt after a great fight,
put him to flight : and hauing him in chaſe , ſlew moſt part of his armie , *Balabanus* himſelfe
with a ſmall remnant hardly eſcaping.

Now when *Mahomet* vnderſtood that *Balabanus* was ouerthrowne , and his armie loſt, M
hee was in doubt, whether to ſend another Generall, or elſe againe to prooue the fortune of
the old. But after hee had well conſidered, that *Balabanus* was a right valiant Captaine, and
one that well knew the countrey of Epirus,and withall a mortall enemie to *Scanderbeg* : he reſolued
to ſtaie vpon him,and not to ſend any other. So committing to his charge foureteene

thouſand

The battell of Sfetigrade betwixt Balabanus and Scanderbeg.

thouſand horſmen and three thouſand foot, ſent him againe to inuade Epirus: and the more to A encourage him, promiſed to make him king of that countrey, if he could ſubdue *Scanderbeg.* *Balabanus* with his armie comming to Alchria, and ſtill in vaine plotting how hee might circumuent his warie enemie; after his wonted manner ſent diuers preſents to *Scanderbeg*; which he ſtill ſcornefully refuſed. Three months he lay ſtill at Alchria, with nothing more troubled than with his own thoughts: but finding nothing that pleaſed himſelfe, he determined to aduenture by plaine force to ſubdue him. And vpon that reſolution marched with all his armie into the great plaines neere vnto Sfetigrade, whither *Scanderbeg* came with his armie alſo, which then conſiſted of eight thouſand horſemen and fifteen hundred foot: with which ſmal power he refuſed not to ioyne battell with *Balabanus*, being in number two to one. But after they were come to handie blowes, to haue ſeene *Scanderbeg* his men fight, a man would haue B thought them rather to haue bin raging Lyons than men, they ſo furiouſly aſſailed their enemies, without regard of perill or danger, as men nothing afraid to die. *Scanderbeg* with great skill gouerned that battel, carefully prouiding for euery danger: himſelfe valiantly fighting in the head of this battell, but not without care of the reſt, ſtill ſending ſpeedie releefe where moſt need was, and bringing in freſh ſupplies in ſted of them that were wounded or ſlain, performed all the parts of a moſt worthy cheefetaine and valiant ſouldier: where moſt peril was, there was he ſtraight, and at his preſence danger fled, as if victory had attended vpon him. But whileſt he thus fought in the midſt of his enemies, his horſe fortuned to be ſlaine vnder him, and falling downe with him, ſore bruiſed one of his armes, whereof he complained long time after. The Turks ſeeing him downe, preſſed on fiercely to haue ſlaine him: but he was quickly C reſcued by his owne ſouldiers and remounted. And forthwith encountering with one *Suliman*, a great commander in the Turks armie, ſlew him in fight hand to hand: whereupon ſuch a terrour fell vpon the Turks, that they began to retire, and after a while to betake themſelues to plaine flight. *Scanderbeg* purſuing them with ſuch execution, that of that great armie few eſcaped with *Balabanus* to carrie newes home.

Balabanus now thrice vanquiſhed by *Scanderbeg*, and in the laſt battell hauing loſt what hee could looſe, except he ſhould haue loſt himſelfe, returned to *Mahomet* at Conſtantinople, of whom he was ſharply rebuked for the great ouerthrowes he had ſo often receiued. At which time *Balabanus* at firſt gaue place to the kings furie: but afterwards when the heat was ouer, he with a large diſcourſe cunningly excuſed himſelfe, imputing all theſe miſhaps vnto the appointment D of God, and the fortune of war: and in the end told *Mahomet* plainly, That it was but in vain to ſend ſuch ſmal armies into Epirus. But if it would pleaſe him at once to ſend two valiant captaines with a puiſſant and ſtrong armie, who diuiding the ſame betwixt them, and entering at one time into diuers parts of Epirus, might ſpoile the countrey before them, and encloſe *Scanderbeg* betwixt them, if he ſhould aduenture to giue either of them battell; being before reſolued neither of them to offer him battel, or yet to accept of the ſame being by him offered, except the other were alſo at hand: and ſo by mutuall conſent to vndertake him, but neuer ſingle. By which courſe he promiſed vnto him an eaſie and aſſured victorie: for as much as it were impoſſible for any man ſo beſet, and as it were on euery ſide coupt vp with his enemies, either to eſcape, or yet to make any great reſiſtance. This perſuaſion of *Balabanus* ſo wel E fitted the tyrants humor, that he appointed *Balabanus* himſelfe to be the man to put his owne deuiſe in execution: giuing him commiſſion to leuie ſuch an armie as he ſhould thinke ſufficient for the performance of that ſeruice: and withall to aſſociat vnto himſelfe for his companion which ſoeuer of his captains he pleaſed. *Balabanus* according to his commiſſion, tooke muſters of the men of war, and made choice of fortie thouſand good ſouldiers, and choſe one *Iacup Arnauth* (otherwiſe called *Iames* the Epirot, becauſe he was alſo borne in Epirus, a valiant captaine) to be his companion: whom he ſent with ſixteene thouſand ſoldiers by the way of Theſſalia and Grecia into Epirus, commanding him in no caſe to ioine battel with *Scanderbeg*, vntill he himſelfe were alſo come into the country with the other part of the armie. And F ſo ſetting both forward, *Balabanus* taking the neerer way through Thracia and Macedonia, came firſt into Epirus with twentie thouſand horſemen and foure thouſand foot, and encamped in the vally of Valchall. *Scanderbeg* both by his eſpials and letters from his ſecret friends in the Turks court, hauing certaine intelligence of all *Balabanus* his intent and purpoſe, had in readineſſe againſt his comming a ſtrong armie of eight thouſand horſemen and foure thou-

Scanderbeg his ſcouts traite-rouſly flie to Balabanus.

ſand foot, all choiſe ſoldiers. And now hearing that he was come into Epirus, & incamped in G
Valchaal, ſent out three eſpials to diſcouer in what order he lay: one of which ſpies was *Bala-*
banus his kinſman (but not ſo knowne to *Scanderbeg*) by whoſe perſuaſion the other two when
they had taken full view of *Balabanus* his army, & ſhould haue returned to *Scanderbeg* to haue
giuen intelligence of that they had ſeene, like falſe traitors went ouer to *Balabanus*, and diſco-
uered vnto him all that they knew concerning *Scanderbeg*: hoping therefore to receiue ſome
great reward, as their fellow had before borne them in hand. *Scanderbeg* maruelling that his eſ-
pials returned not againe as they were appointed, and doubting that they had bin by the ene-
mie intercepted, and vſing many times in matters of ſuch importance to truſt himſelfe beſt,
preſently went out with fiue luſtie ſoldiers, & rid forth to diſcouer the maner of the enemies
lying. *Balabanus* like a craftie fox, miſtruſting that *Scanderbeg* deceiued of his firſt ſpies would
for like purpoſe ſend forth others, laied certain horſmen in ſecret ambuſh in diuers places, to
intercept them if it were poſſible. Theſe horſmen lay not ſo couert, but that they were in good
time deſcried by *Scanderbeg* and his followers (who with *Argus* eies, pried into euery buſh & H
thicket as they went) before he was altogether fallen into their danger: and yet but ſo that he
came to handie ſtroks, where *Scanderbeg* & his followers oppreſſed with multitude, were glad
to flie as faſt they could into the next wood, the Turks horſmen following them at the heels.
It fortuned that as they were flying, a great old tree was fallen croſſe the way, which *Scander-*
beg putting ſpurs to his horſe, leapt ouer with one of his men after him; the other foure not a-
ble to get ouer, turned back vpon the Turks, and there fighting were ſlaine. One of the Turks
which ſo hardly purſued *Scanderbeg* being wel mounted, forced his horſe to leape the tree, and I
ſtill followed after *Scanderbeg*: who looking backe and ſeeing but one, turned vpon him and
ſlew him: the other Turks hauing ſlaine foure of *Scanderbegs* men which could not get ouer
the tree, returned. And *Scanderbeg* accompanied but with one of his followers, came backe a-
gaine to his campe; and there with all ſpeed put his armie in readines to go againſt *Balabanus*
before the comming of his companion, with the other part of his armie. Vpon which reſolu-
tion, after he had with cheerfull perſuaſions encouraged his ſouldiers, and filled their mindes
with hope of victorie, he ſet forward, and came with great ſpeed into the valley of Valchaal
where *Balabanus* lay. *Scanderbeg* had diuided his army into foure ſquadrons; whereof *Tanuſius*
had the leading of one, *Zacharias Groppa* of another, the third was committed to *Peieus Emanu-*
el, and *Scanderbeg* himſelfe conducted the fourth. So ſetting forward, he ſent before certaine K
companies of harquebuſiers, and archers, to prouoke the enemie and to draw him forth vnto
battel. *Balabanus* alſo ſhewed himſelf with his army in ſeemly order before his tents, but there
ſtood faſt & would nor ſtir, expecting continually the comming of his fellow. Which *Scan-*
derbeg perceiuing, and that he ſought but to dallie out the time, and as one vnwilling to fight
had again retired his armie into the ſafetie of his trenches; drew neerer and neerer vnto him,
continually skirmiſhing with ſuch as he ſent out, daring him to the field, & brauing him vnto
his trenches, in ſuch ſort, as if he would haue forced the ſame, & by ſtrong hand haue ſet him
out thence: wherat the Turks fretted and chaſed exceedingly, inſomuch that they were ready
to riſe againſt their Generall, becauſe he would not lead them forth to battel, but ſuffer them
to be ſo diſgraced. *Balabanus* mindful of that he had promiſed to *Mahomet* his great lord and L
maſter, did what he might to haue deferred time; but when hee ſaw that his fellow came not,
and that he could no longer delay the matter; being ſo continually aſſailed & braued by *Scan-*
derbegs ſouldiers, that his Turks therewith prouoked, were readie oftentimes to haue iſſued
out without his direction, and now no remedie but that he muſt needs fight, placed his men in
good order, and ſo went out of his trenches to giue battell, himſelfe leading the left wing
thereof: where betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* was made a fierce fight, many falling on both ſides.
But *Scanderbeg* ſtrengthned with the old gariſon of Croia, and the moſt expert ſouldiers of Di-
bra, preuailed vpon the Turks & forced them to giue ground, yet ſtil keping their order. The
fight was ſo great in this part of the battell, that in other places they ſtood almoſt ſtill as loo-
kers on, expecting the doubtful fortune of their Generals: which thing *Scanderbeg* perceiuing, M
drew certain troups out of the right wing, whereas he ſaw was leaſt danger, which ſpeedily
fetching a compaſſe about, charged the ſide of the enemies armie; and againe withdrawing
themſelues, and with wonderfull celeritie wheeling about, ſet vpon the backe of them that
fought in the left wing: ſo that the Turks there fiercely charged both before and behind, by

the

A of **Scanderbeg** his armie, fell in other places with a great ſlaughter. **Balabanus** with exceeding courage gainſtood his enemies, ſo long as there was any hope left: but when he ſaw the fortune of **Scanderbeg** to preuaile, and all about him to become deſperat, he made ſhift for himſelfe, and fled out of the battell as faſt as he could. The reſt of the armie being in other places, before troubled and diſordred, fled alſo, ſome one way, ſome another, euery man as his fortune led him. Some few that followed **Balabanus** eſcaped: the reſt were for moſt part either ſlaine or taken priſoners.

Scanderbeg had ſcarcely well breathed himſelfe after this victorie, and diuided the ſpoyle amongſt his ſouldiers, but that newes was brought to him in Poſt from the ladie **Mamiza** his ſiſter, then lying at Petrella, That **Iacuppe Arnauth** was by the way of Belgrade come into Epirus B with an armie of ſixteene thouſand horſemen, burning and deſtroying the country before him, and then lay incamped in the plaines of Tyranna the leſſe. When **Scanderbeg** to prooue the minds of his ſouldiers, had cherefully imparted vnto them ſuch newes, as was like to be the beginning of new labour and perill; they were therewith nothing diſmayed, but readie to follow him with ſuch cherefulneſſe of countenance and mind, as if they ſhould haue gone to ſome great feaſt or banquet; reckoning of them, but as of the remnant of a diſcomfited armie. This cherefulneſſe of his ſouldiers, **Scanderbeg** tooke as an aſſured token of his good ſucceſſe; and hauing all things in readineſſe, preſently ſet forward, and in ſhort time came to the place where the enemie lay. **Iacuppe** hearing of his comming, remooued his campe into a corner of the plaine of Tyranna, neere vnto a little hill, as a place of more ſafetie for his armie C to lie in. **Scanderbeg** hauing taken the Plaine, incamped his Armie in the ſame place from whence **Iacuppe** was but a little before departed, where he reſted one whole day. The next morning, to terrifie his enemies (who as yet had not heard of the ouerthrow of **Balabanus**) he cauſed diuers of the Turks heads which were ſlain in the late battel (which he had brought for that purpoſe) to be caſt before the trenches of the enemie; and withall, diuers of them which were taken priſoners, to be ſhewne: which **Iacuppe** beholding, in great deſpaire ſayd, *I ſee the euill hap of Mahomet.* Immediatly after, **Scanderbeg** ſent forth 500 horſemen to skirmiſh with the Turks, commanding them, ſo ſoone as they were charged by the enemie, to retyre, if haply they might ſo be drawne into battell. Which fell out accordingly: for **Iacuppe** now ſeeing his fellow was not to be looked for, and willing alſo without further delay to trie his D fortune, came readily into the field, and began a fierce battell: which endured not long; for **Scanderbeg** perceiuing in what part of the armie **Iacuppe** was, bent his greateſt force that way, and ſingling him out, with his owne hand ſlew him. Wherewith the Turks being diſcouraged, forthwith betooke themſelues to flight, and in flying, were for moſt part ſlaine or taken. Thoſe which eſcaped the preſent furie of the ſword, ſtragling thorow the countrey by thicke woods and blind wayes, were by the country people either ſlaine or taken priſoners. In theſe two battels were ſlaine of the Turks 24000, and 6000 taken. And of **Scanderbeg** his men were loſt about a thouſand. **Scanderbeg** and his ſouldiers were ſo wearie of the ſlaughter of the Turks, that when it was told him the next day, That **Balabanus** was fled but with one cornet of E horſemen, and might eaſily be ſurpriſed if he were well purſued; he ſayd, *O let ſome of our enemies liue to report their owne ſlaughter, and our victorie.* After that **Scanderbeg** had in this ſort vanquiſhed theſe great captaines, he preſently entred into the frontiers of the Turks dominions, and roaming vp and downe at his pleaſure without reſiſtance, made hauocke of all that came in his way: and after returning to Croia with victorie, brake vp his armie, and gaue his ſoldiers leaue to depart, euery man to his owne dwelling.

Iacuppe ſlain by Scanderbeg, & his armie diſcomfited.

1465.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, **Mahomet** had with great rewards procured two Turks to vndertake to kill **Scanderbeg**. Theſe traitors came vnto **Scanderbeg** as fugitiues, making ſuch ſhew of the deteſtation both of **Mahomet** his tyrannicall gouernment, and vaine ſuperſtition, that they were both of **Scanderbeg** and others, reputed to be in deed the men, they deſired to be accounted: and ſo after they had learned the principles of the Chriſtian religion, were by F their owne deſire baptiſed. But treaſon againſt Princes whom God hath in his moſt mightie protection, cannot be long couered; much leſſe, without his great ſufferance performed. So fortuned it, that theſe two falſe diſſembling traitors, expecting nothing but opportunitie to performe their diueliſh deuice, vpon ſome occaſion fell at variance betwixt themſelues, and in their heat let ſome ſuch words fall, as being taken vp by ſome there preſent, drew them both into ſuſpicion: and thereupon being ſtraitly examined, it was at laſt by them confeſſed, That they were ſent by *Mahomet*, of purpoſe to haue ſlaine *Scanderbeg*: for which their treaſon they were both preſently executed, as they had right well deſerued. When *Mahomet* vnderſtood that *Balabanus* was ouercome, *Iacup* ſlaine, and both their Armies almoſt quite deſtroyed, he after his impatient manner fell into a great rage, and became as a man almoſt franticke: and afterwards calling together his great Baſſa's, reſolued by their aduice, not to ſend any more Generals againſt *Scanderbeg*, but to go himſelfe in perſon, with ſuch an armie as ſhould at once make an end of his wars in Epirus for euer. Hereupon commiſſions were directed thorow all his kingdome, and an army raiſed of two hundred thouſand men. Whereof *Scanderbeg* hauing certaine aduertiſement, fortified all his cities and ſtrong holds, eſpecially the citie of Croia, vpon the fortune whereof depended the whole ſtate of his kingdome. Into this citie he put a ſtrong garriſon of his moſt valiant & faithfull ſoldiers, & throughly furniſht the ſame with all things neceſſarie for the enduring of a long ſiege: and left one *Balthazar Perduci* (a graue and worthie captaine) gouernor thereof. With like care he prouided for the ſafetie of his other cities, and tooke order that the countrey people were either receiued into the ſtrong townes, or elſe conueyed into other places of refuge, and left nothing abroad in the countrey for the Turks to prey vpon; as he had in like caſe done long before, at the comming of old *Amurath* to the ſiege of Croia, as is before in his life declared.

Mahomet commeth to the ſiege of Croia.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had ſet all things in order, his old friend *Balabanus* with fourescore thouſand horſemen (the forerunners of *Mahomet* his armie) was entred into Epirus, and ranging ouer the country two dayes, came and ſate downe before Croia: vpon whom the gouernor at his firſt comming made many braue ſallies. In few dayes after came *Mahomet* with his huge armie, and there incamped alſo: who at his firſt comming ſummoned the city, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him, vpon ſuch vnreaſonable conditions as it pleaſed himſelf, (as the manner of the Turke is:) whereunto the worthie gouernor returned him no other anſwer, than by continuall thundring ſhot into his campe. Whereupon *Mahomet* cauſed ſuch ordnance as he had to be planted for batterie; and commanded other new to be caſt, of ſuch mettall as he had for that purpoſe brought in maſſe: all which, he did rather to ſtrike a terrour into the minds of the defendants, than for any great hope he had of taking the citie by force: knowing by his owne experience, that it was a place almoſt impregnable. Whileſt *Mahomet* was thus buſied, & little or nothing preuailed, *Scanderbeg* lying abroad in the woods & mountaines, with a ſmall armie of moſt valiant and couragious ſouldiers, continually cut off the forragers of *Mahomets* armie, and ſuch as brought in victuall or neceſſaries for his campe: and manie times in the night ſuddenly brake into one quarter or other of the Turks great camp with great ſlaughter, and with continuall alarmes neuer ſuffered them to reſt in quiet. *Mahomet* ſeeing his armie to decreaſe dayly, and no hope of winning the citie but by famin, which would require a long ſiege: and fearing alſo to make that ſame place againe famous by ſome notable miſchance which might happen vnto himſelfe vnder the walls of Croia, as had before vnto his father *Amurath*; determined to returne himſelfe to Conſtantinople, and to leaue *Balabanus* with a great part of his armie to continue the ſiege. Vpon which determination, he committed the charge and ordering of the whole matter for the continuing of the ſiege, to *Balabanus*, ioyning vnto him eight of his moſt expert captaines; yet ſo, as that they ſhould be all at *Balabanus* his command. And ſo leauing with him three and twentie thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers, and with euery one of the other eight Captaines ſeuen thouſand moe, departed himſelfe with the reſt of his armie from Croia, towards Conſtantinople. But by the way as he went he tooke from *Scanderbeg* certaine ſmall forts, and with faire promiſes corrupting the Gouernour of a place called Chidna, wherein eight thouſand of *Scanderbeg* his ſouldiers lay, had the ſame deliuered into his power, vpon his faith before giuen, That all the ſouldiers with the reſt of the people ſhould in ſafetie depart thence. But after the tyrant had them in his power, without regard of faith or promiſe, he cauſed them all moſt cruelly to be cut in pieces, ſparing neither man, woman, nor child, to the great griefe and weakning of *Scanderbeg*, who had not at any time before receiued ſo great a loſſe. And after he had ſo raged, he in great melancholie returned vnto Conſtantinople.

Scanderbeg diſdaining to haue his chiefe citie beſieged by *Balabanus*, (ſomtime one of the baſeſt of his fathers ſubiects) and yet finding himſelfe vnable to relieue the ſame, for as much

A as the ſouldiers were with continual wars ſore waſted,and his warie enemies lay ſo encamped, as that they were not but by a ſtrong armie to be remoued, ſent vnto the Venetians and other the confederat princes of Albania, Illyria,and Dalmatia,praying of them aid now at his need againſt that enemie, which preuailing againſt him,would forthwith ſet vpon them. All which princes promiſed forthwith to ſend their ſuccours. At the ſame time alſo he paſſed ouer into Italie ſecretly,and diſguiſed in ſimple attire,came to Rome,to craue aid of *Paulus* the ſecond of that name, then great Biſhop: by whom he was honourably entertained, but obtained nothing of that he came for; ſo cold was his deuotion: onely at his departure he gaue vnto *Iunetrio,Scanderbeg* his treaſurer,a poore almes of three thouſand duckats.

Scanderbeg returning into Epirus,found all ſuch aid ready as was promiſed from the confe- B derat princes,but eſpecially from the Venetians, which was for moſt part drawne out of their garriſons of Scutari,Driuaſto, Alyſſa,and Dirrhachium: ſo that he had in few daies in his armie thirteeene thouſand foure hundred choice ſouldiers. With this ſtrength he marched towards Croia: but vnderſtanding by the way,that *Ionima* was within a daies iourny,comming with a new ſupplie to his brother *Balabanus*, he drew out certaine troupes of his beſt horſemen,and coaſting ouer the country in the night,ſuddenly came vpon the Turks,and put them to flight: where amongſt others, *Ionima* himſelfe,with his ſonne *Hedar*, were taken priſoners; whom he ſhewed the next day in bonds to *Balabanus*. This exploit ſo happily performed,he with all ſpeed returned to his armie: and ſo marching to Croia, by plaine force driue the Turks from the mountaine Cruina, their greateſt ſtrength, and neereſt to the citie of Croia. C Which thing when *Balabanus* ſaw, he with certaine troups of horſemen rid euen to the gates of the citie,perſuading the defendants to yeeld the citie,making them in the name of his maſter ſuch offers and promiſes as he thought might moſt moue them. But they nothing regarding his words,but rather incenſed with his preſumption,ſallied out vpon him, and inforced him to retire: but he therewith enraged,and halfe mad for anger,came vpon them with a freſh charge, thinking by plaine force to haue driuen them backe into the citie. In which skirmiſh he was by one *Georgius Alexius*,with a bullet,ſhot quite thorow the throat; and feeling himſelfe mortally wounded,ſetting ſpurres to his horſe,ran as faſt as he could to his campe,where he preſently fell downe from his horſe and died. The Turks diſcouraged with the death of their General,& the comming of *Scanderbeg*,roſe the ſame night,& with great ſilence retired D themſelues vnto the plaine of Tirana,about eight miles from Croia. *Scanderbeg* the next morning entring the forſaken tents of the Turks,found therin great ſtore of corne and other victuals,which he cauſed to be forthwith conueyed into the city,& in triumph followed after himſelfe,to the great ioy and comfort of his late beſieged ſubiects: whom hee highly commended for their fidelitie,and bountifully rewarded according to their deſerts. The ſame day he ſent certaine companies of ſouldiers to take the ſtrait paſſages whereby the Turks muſt needs paſſe in their returne out of Epirus: which when the Turks vnderſtood,they ſent two meſſengers to *Scanderbeg* (who ſeemed to be men of good account in the armie) offering in the name of the reſt of the captaines and commanders, to deliuer vnto him their horſes and armes, ſo E that they might in ſafetie depart with their liues. Which their requeſt *Scanderbeg* propounding to his counſellors and captains,was by them diuerſly digeſted. In concluſion,they receiued this anſwer from *Scanderbeg* himſelfe, That as they came into his countrey, without his commandment,ſo ſhould they not by his leaue depart thence. The Turks receiuing this ſhort anſwer by their meſſengers,& conſidering that they muſt needs in that bare country in ſhort time periſh,either with famin or with the ſword,the ſame night departed from Tiranna, and in the dead time of the night entering the aforeſaid ſtraits,by plain force deſperatly brake thorow and eſcaped, but not without their great loſſe: for whoſe eſcape the common ſouldiers murmured grieuouſly againſt *Scanderbeg*,and were not without much adoe appeaſed. In ſhort time after, *Scanderbeg* recouered al ſuch places as *Mahomet* had before taken from him, and put F to ſword the ſoldiers he had left for the keeping of the ſame: which done, he brake vp his armie,retaining only two thouſand horſmen & a thouſand foot for the defence of his frontiers.

Scanderbeg ſurpriſeth Ionima the brother of Balabanus, and Hedar his ſonne.

1466 The Turkiſh tyrant hearing of the euil ſucceſſe of his affaires in Epirus, as that his Generall was ſlaine,Croia relieued,his armie diſcomfited,and al that he had done,brought to nought, fretted thereat exceedingly,& was therewith ſo much grieued,that he could not for a ſeaſon eat or drink,or take reſt,his diſcontented thoughts ſo much troubled him. In the end,to reme-

die the matter, he reſolued the next Spring to go again in perſon himſelfe with a moſt puiſſant G
armie into Epirus, and ſo if it were poſſible, to make a full conqueſt thereof: of which his pur-
poſe *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding, prouided for his comming, as hee had in former time. The
Spring being come, *Mahomet* according to his former reſolution, with a mightie armie entred
into Epirus, and there with exceeding labour & charge, firſt repaired or rather re-edified the
old ruines of the citie of Valmes, wherein he left a ſtrong garriſon, of purpoſe to trouble that
part of the country. From thence he marched to Dirrachium (now called Durazzo, but of old
time Epidamnum) a city vpon the ſea coaſt, then in the poſſeſſion of the Venetians, famous for
many things in the time of the Roman empire, but eſpecially for the flight of the Roman Se-
nat thither, and their entertainment there in the time of the ciuil wars betwixt *Caſar* and *Pom-
peius.* This city *Mahomet* thought to haue taken vnprouided, & ſo vpon the ſudden to haue car- H
ried it, but was therein much deceiued, finding it ſtrongly fortified and manned both by the
Venetians and *Scanderbeg.* Where when he had there ſpent ſome time, & to his great loſſe in
vain attempted the citie, he riſe vpon the ſudden: & retiring into Epirus, came and ſat down
againe before Croia, of purpoſe by his ſudden comming to haue terrified the citizens: and
vainly perſuaded, that he had left *Scanderbeg* in Dirrachium, for that in the aſſailing thereof he
had diſcouered many of *Stunderbegs* men, and thereby ſuppoſed him to haue bin there alſo;
the greateſt cauſe why he ſo ſuddenly riſe and came to Croia. At his firſt comming he offered
great rewards and large priuiledges vnto the citizens, if they would forthwith yeeld vp their
citie; otherwiſe hee threatned vnto them all the calamities of warre, vowing neuer to depart
thence before he had it: wherunto he receiued no other anſwer out of the citie than was ſent I
him by the mouth of the cannon, or brought him by many moſt braue ſallies. *Scanderbeg* in the
mean while continually moleſting his campe, & euery night falling into one quarter or ano-
ther thereof. *Mahomet* taught by experience, to what ſmall purpoſe it would be for him to lie
there long, riſe with his armie, and marched againe to the ſea ſide, to a place now called the
head of Redon vpon the gulfe of Venice, not far from Dirrachium, where *Scanderbeg* had be-
gun to build a new citie called Chiurill, not yet finiſhed: which *Mahomet* in deſpight of the
man, raſed downe to the ground. After that, hearing that many of the Epirots were retired in-
to the mountaines, hee went to ſeeke them out, and was with great loſſe by thoſe mountaine
people repulſed: *Scanderbeg* ſtil following them at the heels, and awaiting all opportunities, K
daily cut off part of his armie. So that at laſt the tyrant deſpairing of any good to bee done in
that expedition, was glad to depart out of Epirus, hauing atchieued nothing worth his com-
ming, and ſo, full of diſcontentment and melancholie returned into Conſtantinople.

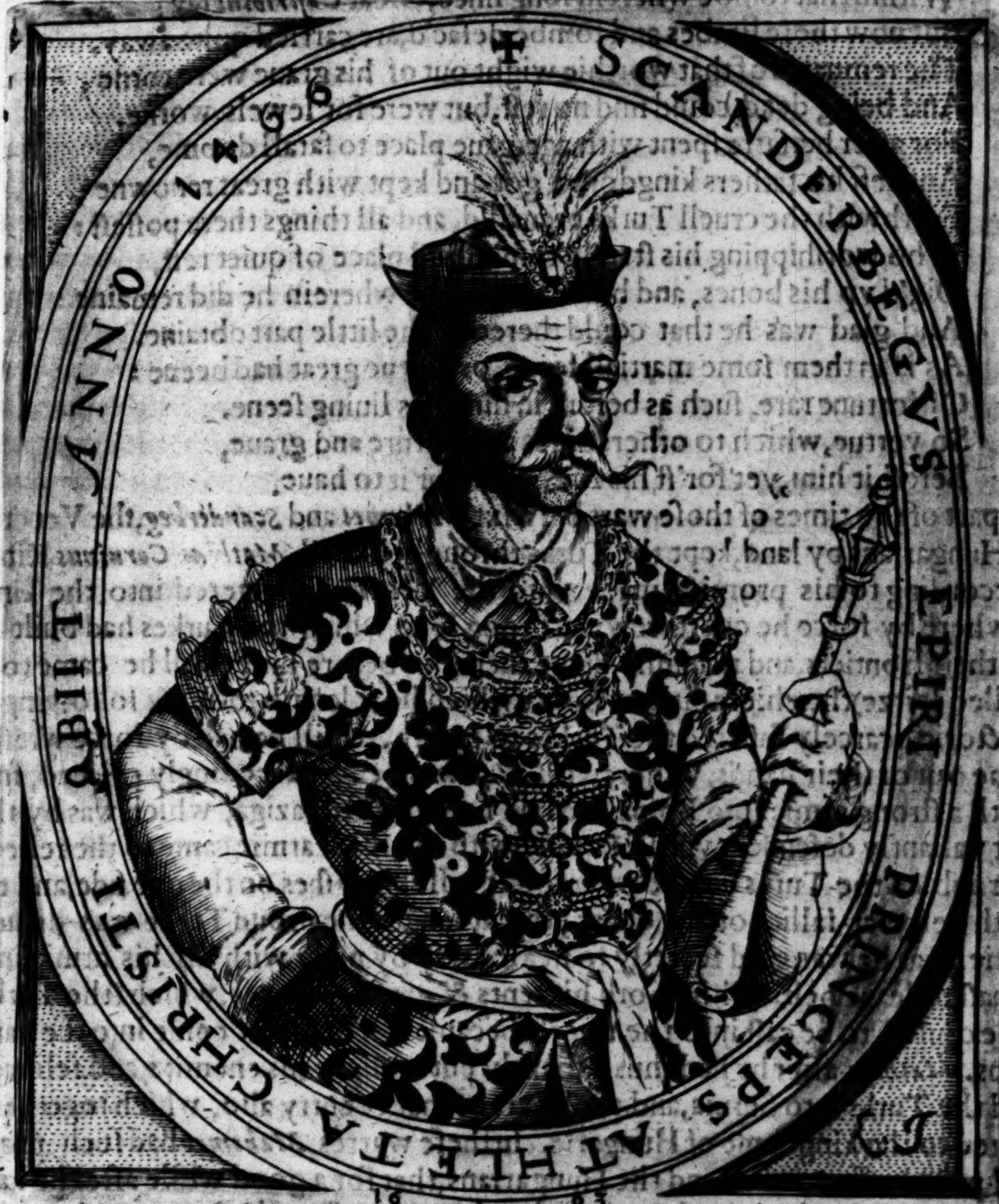
After all theſe great troubles, *Scanderbeg* rid ouer moſt part of Epirus, to view the ſtate of
his kingdome, and ſo at laſt came to Lyſſa (a citie of the Venetians, which he had alwaies ſpe-
cially liked) there to confer with the Venetian legat and other the confederat princes, of mat-
ters concerning their ſtate in generall, as his manner was: but more particularly how they
The death of Scanderbeg.
might take the citie of Valmes, which *Mahomet* had the laſt yere built in the ſeignorie of *Ary-
annites Comynat,* and much troubled that part of Epirus. But whilſt he lay there, he fel ſicke of
a feauer, which daily ſo increaſed vpon him, that he became ſicke euen vnto death: and now L
perceiuing his end to draw nigh, ſent for his wife and ſon, with the princes & lords his confe-
derats, & the embaſſadors of the Venetians, into his bedchamber. Where after he had at large
with greater pain notably diſcourſed of his troubleſome life led among them, than he had be-
fore paſſed the ſame, and carefully forewarned them of the dangers like to enſue, he earneſtly
exhorted them to continue in vanitie & concord, and vliantly to ſtand in defence of their reli-
gion, country, and liberty. And afterwards turning his ſpeech to his wife & his ſon, commen-
ded them both with his kingdome to the tuition of the Venetians: who by the articles of the
confederation betwixt him and them, were in honor bound to protect his ſon and kingdome,
during the time of his minoritie, and afterwards peaceably to place him in the ſame. In fine he
willed his wife after his death to paſſe ouer with her ſonne into Apulia, where they might in
ſafety and quiet liue vpon ſuch poſſeſſions as he there held by the gift of King *Ferdinand.* And M
ſo after hee had with moſt feruent prayer commended his ſoule into the hands of Almightie
Scanderbeg falleth ſicke.
God, departed in peace the 17 day of Ianuarie, in the yeare of our Lord 1466, when he had li-
ued about 63 yeares, and thereof raigned about 24. His death was worthily lamented of all
Chriſtian princes, but eſpecially of the Venetians and Princes of Albania, who had now loſt
their

A their moſt carefull watchman and inuincible champion: the ſorrow of his ſubiects is not to be expreſſed, euery man bewailing him, as the only ſtay of the common-weale, and as if with him they had loſt all their hope. His dead bodie was with the generall lamentation of all men roially buried in the cathedrall church of S. *Nicholas* at Lyſſa: where it reſted in peace, vntill that about nine yeares after, the Turks comming to the ſiege of Scodra, by the way tooke the citie of Lyſſa, and there with great deuotion digged vp his bones, reckoning it in ſome part of their happineſſe, if they might but ſee or touch the ſame: and ſuch as could get any part thereof, were it neuer ſo little, cauſed the ſame to be ſet, ſome in ſiluer, ſome in gold, to hang about their necks, or weare vpon their bodies; perſuading themſelues by the wearing thereof to be partakers of ſuch good fortune and hap as had *Scanderbeg* himſelfe whileſt he liued: B which is not vnaptly by *Gabriel Fairnus* of Cremona, thus in verſe expreſſed.

Scanderbeg buried at Lyſſa.

The bodie of Scanderbeg digged vp by the Turkes, and of them greatly honoured.

SCANDERBEG.


SCANDERBEGVS EPIRI PRINCEPS ATHLETA CHRISTI OBIIT ANNO 1466
16 03

Paulus Iouius Illuſt. virorum Elog. lib 3.

Turcarum clades, Othomanni nominis horror,
Epiri tutela, illo iacuere ſepulchro:
Quo quondam inuicti cubuerunt oſſa Georgi.
Nunc & membra viri, & diſſectum in fruſtra ſepulchrum
Interijt, ſparſi manes, conciſa vaguntur
Oſſa, nec in gelida nunc ſaltem morte quieſcunt.

Namque vt is aſſertum toties cum laude paternum
Imperium, exactâ moriens ætate reliquit:
Illicet immanes tenuerunt omnia Turcæ.
Tum clari Herois venerati nobile buſtum,
Oſſaque, marmoraque, inuictum condentia corpus,
Abſtulerant, ſibi quiſque in partes ſecta minutas,
Tanquam ijs bellica vis, & Martius ardor ineſſet:
Et genium præſtare bonum, ſortemque valerent.
Sic quæ alijs tumulum virtus parat, abſtulit illi:
Atque eadem diro venerandum præbuit hoſti.

In Engliſh thus:

The bloudie bane of faithleſſe Turkes, and terrour of their name,
Epirus ſtrong defence and guard, lay buried there with fame:
Within that tombe wherein long ſince, Great *Caſtriotus* lay;
But now thoſe limbes and tombe defac'd, are carried quite away.
The remnants of that worthie wight out of his graue were torne,
And being dead, could find no reſt, but were for Iewels worne.
For after he, farre ſpent with age, gaue place to fatall doome,
And left his fathers kingdome, got and kept with great renowne;
Forthwith the cruell Turks preuail'd, and all things there poſſeſt:
Who worſhipping his ſtately tombe, and place of quiet reſt,
Dig'd vp his bones, and brake the tombe wherein he did remaine:
And glad was he that could thereof ſome little part obtaine.
As if in them ſome martiall force, or vertue great had beene:
Or fortune rare, ſuch as before in him was liuing ſeene.
So vertue, which to others giues a ſepulture and graue,
Bereft it him, yet for'ſt his foe in honour it to haue.

Mathias king of Hungarie, taketh the kingdome of Boſna from the Turks.

Moſt part of the times of thoſe wars betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*, the Venetians by ſea and the Hungarians by land, kept the Turks throughly buſied. *Mathias Coruinus* King of Hungarie (according to his promiſe made vnto the Venetians) entered into the kingdome of K Boſna, where by force he ouerthrew the ſtrong forts which the Turkes had built for the defence of their frontiers, and manfully draue them out before him vntill he came to Iaziga (of ſome called Iaitze) the chiefe citie of Boſna, which he at length took: & following the courſe of his victorie, ſcarcely ſuffered the Turkes to breath, vntill he had by force wreſted all that kingdome out of their hands. Wherewith *Mahomet* being exceedingly grieued, in great fury came with a ſtrong armie into Boſna, and laid hard ſiege to Iaziga, which was by the Chriſtians right valiantly defended, vntill *Mathias* with a puiſſant armie came to the releefe thereof: who ſo troubled the Turks campe with continuall skirmiſhes on the one ſide, and they of the town with deſperat ſallies on the other; that at length the proud Turke was driuen to ſuch L extremitie, that he was glad ſecretly to ſteale away by night with all his armie into Seruia; and for haſt to leaue behind him both his tents & great ordnance, which (the Turks hiſtories report) he cauſed to be caſt into the riuer, becauſe it ſhould not come into the hands of the Chriſtians. *Mathias* after he had thus valiantly put to flight his enemies, and relieued his city, followed the Turks into Seruia, and took part of that country alſo, which together with Boſna he vnited to the kingdome of Hungarie. In theſe warres, *Mahomet* had ſuch proofe of the force and power of *Mathias* and the Hungarians, that for a good while after he had no great ſtomacke to prouoke them farther: for why, the name of *Mathias* was now become vnto the Turks no leſſe dreadfull, than was ſometime the name of his father the valiant *Huniades*.

The Venetians at the ſame time alſo with their gallies ſcoured the ſeas, & landing their men M ſometime in one place, ſometime in another, did great harme in many places of the Turks dominion neere vnto the ſea coaſt. Amongſt other their Generals at diuers times ſent from that ſtate, one *Nicholas Canalis* ſucceeding *Lauretanus* (whom we haue before ſpoken of) as ſoone as he had receiued his charge, came with his fleet into the bay of Salonichi, and landing his men, burnt diuers townes and villages alongſt the ſea ſide: And afterwards returning into Pelo-

A poneſus, he fortified the towne of Legoſticium in the gulfe of Patras; which worke the Turks with their often skirmiſhes laboured to haue hindred, but in deſpite of all they could doe, it was brought to perfection, and a ſtrong garriſon therein left for the defence thereof; which done, he returned againe to Eubœa. Shortly after, he with the ſame fleet put to ſea againe; and ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Macédonia and Thracia, ſurpriſed the citie of Ænus which ſtandeth vpon the mouth of the riuer Meritza, called in antient time Hebrus, vpon which riuer the famous cities Andrianople, and Philippopolis are alſo ſcituate. *Canalis* after hee had taken the ſpoyle of the citie, returned to his gallies, carrying away with him two thouſand captiues into Eubœa. At the ſame time alſo, the Venetians giuing aid vnto *Nicholas Duchaine* againſt his brother *Alexius*, then at variance for the principalitie of Zadrima, neere vnto the riuer of Drino in Epirus, gaue a great ouerthrow to the Turks which came in the quarrell of B *Alexius*.

1470

Mahomet not a little offended with the harmes done vnto him by the Venetians, and perceiuing that the Iſland of Eubœa (now called Nigroponte) was for the commodious ſcituation and ſtrength therof, the chiefe place from whence they wrought him all theſe wrongs, and whither they afterwards retired againe, as vnto a moſt ſure place of refuge; determined with himſelfe at once to be euen with them for all, and to imploy his whole forces both by ſea and land for the gaining of that place. This Iſland of Eubœa is about an hundred miles in length, and lieth ouer againſt that part of Græcia which was of old called Bæotia, from whence it is ſeparated with a narrow ſtrait of the ſea: it aboundeth with corne, wine, oyle, fruit, & wood fit for ſhipping. The chiefe city thereof, was in antient time called Chalcide, and of latter time C Nigroponte, by which name alſo the whole Iſland was knowne: albeit the Turks now call it Egribos; a populous, rich, and ſtrong citie; ſo fortified with wals and bulwarkes, that (in moſt mens judgement) it ſeemed a place impregnable. Vnto this ſtrong citie, *Mahomet* reſolued to lay ſiege, knowing well, that vpon the fortune thereof depended the ſtate of the whole Iſland. Wherefore he aſſembled a mighty army, and made great preparation both by ſea and land: and when all things were in readineſſe, ſent *Mahomet* (the great Baſſa of the court) with a fleet of three hundred gallies, and certaine other ſmall veſſels well furniſhed with ſouldiers, mariners, and all things neceſſarie, by ſea into Eubœa: and with a great army marched himſelfe by land through Achaia, vntill he came ouer againſt the citie of Chalcis. The Venetian Admirall hearing of the comming of the Turks fleet, ſet forward to haue met them neere vnto the ſtraits of D Helleſpontus: but after he had by his eſpials deſcried the great number of the enemies fleet, finding himſelfe too weake, ſhaped his courſe to the Iſland of Sciros. The Baſſa comming out of the ſtraits of Helleſpontus, couered the ſea with his fleet, & holding on his intended courſe without let came to Eubœa: where at his firſt landing, he tooke Stora and Baſilicon, two ſmal townes, which he raſed to the ground, and from thence went directly to Chalcis. As ſoone as this great fleet was there ariued, *Mahomet* cauſed a great bridge to be made of his ſmaller veſſels ouer the ſtrait betwixt Achaia and Eubœa; whereby he paſſed all his armie, and ſo belaied the citie round both by ſea and land. And after he had planted his batterie, began moſt furiouſly to ſhake the wals: wherein he had in ſhort time made faire breaches, and the ſooner, for E that one *Thomas* of Liburnia (chiefe canonier of the citie) before corrupted by the Turks, by ſignes agreed vpon, gaue them certaine knowledge in what places the wals were weakeſt: whereby they ſo aptly planted their batterie, as if they had taken view on the inſide of the wals. Which foule treaſon was at length perceiued, and the traitor therefore worthily executed. Yet little preuailed the tyrant thereby; for ſuch was the induſtrie of the defendants, that whatſoeuer he had by the furie of his great ordnance beat down by day, that they with reſtleſſe labor repaired again by night. Thus was the ſiege continued thirtie dayes, in which ſpace many a ſharpe aſſault was giuen by the Turks, to their great loſſe; and the citie ſtill valiantly defended by the Chriſtians. At length the Venetian Admirall (to the great comfort of the beſieged) came with his fleet within view of the city, making ſemblant as if he would haue giuen F the Turks battell. Whereupon it is reported, that *Mahomet* was about to haue raiſed his ſiege, and haue got himſelfe ouer into the maine, for feare the Venetians ſhould with their gallies haue broken the bridge, and ſo haue ſhut him vp into that Iſland: which thing it was thought the Admiral might haue done to his great praiſe, if he would as a couragious chiefetaine haue aduentured the matter, as he was earneſtly requeſted by the captaines of euery priuate gallie;

Chalcis the chiefe citie of Eubæa beſieged by the Turke.

Treaſon in the citie.

who generally grieued to ſee him ſo great a commander, to let ſlip ſo faire an opportunitie. But he fearing to come any neerer, came to an anchor and moued not, neither gaue any ſigne of comfort or reliefe to the beſieged. Which thing the Turkiſh King quickly perceiuing, and therewith encouraged: hauing now in diuers places beaten downe the wals, and made them ſaultable, brought on his men to the breaches, promiſing them the ſpoile of the city, with many other great rewards and hie preferments according to their particular deſerts, whereof he ſaid, he would himſelfe be an eye-witnes. Hereupon the Turks gaue a moſt fierce and furious aſſault; which the defendants with inuincible courage receiued, and made ſuch ſlaughter of them, that the ditches were fill'd, & the breaches made vp with the bodies of the dead Turks. But ſuch was the number of that populous armie (the greateſt ſtrength of the Turks) that the liuing little felt the loſſe of the dead: ***Mahomet*** continually ſending in new ſupplies of freſh men, in ſtead of them that were ſlaine or wounded: ſo that one could no ſooner fall, but two or three ſtept vp in his roome, and ſo ſucceſſiuely, as if new men had ſprung out of the bodies of the dead. Twiſe they had euen woon the breaches, and were both times with wonderfull ſlaughter beaten out againe. This deadly and dreadful aſſault, was maintained a whole day and a night without intermiſſion. At length the defendants being for the moſt part ſlaine or wounded, and the reſt wearied with long fight, and vnable to defend the town now aſſaulted almoſt round, retired from the breaches into the market place, and there like reſolute men, ſold their liues at a deere price vnto the Turks. Amongſt the ſlaine Chriſtians, were found the dead bodies of many notable women, who ſeeing the ruine of the citie, choſe rather to die with their friends in defence thereof, than aliue to fall into the hands of their barbarous enemies.

Chalc is taken by the Turks.

Mahomet being now become Lord of the citie, and hauing loſt fortie thouſand of his Turks in that ſiege, in reuenge thereof cauſed all the men that were found in the citie aliue, to be put to moſt cruel death, eſpecially the Italians, vpon whom he ſhewed his tyrannie with moſt exquiſit and horrible torments. ***Paulus Ericus*** gouernor of the citie, with a few others, who with him were fled into the caſtle, without reſiſtance deliuered the ſame vnto him, vpon his faithfull promiſe, that they might in ſafetie depart: but after that he had got them into his power, the perfidious tyrant without regard, commanded them all to be cruelly murthered. The Gouernors daughter a maiden of incomparable beautie, was amongſt the reſt taken priſoner, and for her rare perfection, by them that tooke hir preſented to ***Mahomet*** as the mirror of beauty: The barbarous tyrant greedie of ſo faire a prey, ſought firſt by flattering words and faire perſuaſion, to induce her to conſent to his deſire: but when he could not ſo preuaile, he fell into another vaine, and began to ſhew himſelfe in his owne nature, threatning her with death, torture, and force, worſe than death it ſelfe, if ſhe would not otherwiſe yeeld vnto his appetite. Whereunto the conſtant virgin (worthie eternall fame) anſwered ſo reſolutely, and ſo contrary to the tyrants expectation, that he being therewith enraged, commanded her to be preſently ſlaine. The horrible and monſtrous crueltie, with the filthie outrages by that beaſtly and barbarous people committed, at the taking of that citie, paſſeth all credit. Chalcis thus woon, the reſt of that fuitfull Iſland without further reſiſtance yeelded vnto the Turkiſh ſlauerie, vnder which it yet groaneth. This calamitie happened vnto the Venetian ſtate, or rather (to ſay truly) to the generall hurt of the Chriſtian common-weale, in the yeare of our redemption, 1470.

The fruitfull Iſland of Eubœa taken by the Turks.

Canalis the Venetian Admirall, who all the time of the ſiege, had in the ſight of the citie lien at anchor as a looker on, fearing now that the citie was loſt, to be ſet vpon by the Turkes fleet, hoiſed ſaile, and laded with diſhonour returned in haſte vnto Venice, where he was by the commandement of the Senat committed to priſon, and afterward with all his familie exiled to Vtinum.

1471

Shortly after, when ***Mahomet*** was departed with his army out of Eubœa, and his fleet returned to Conſtantinople: the Venetians with their gallies, attempted to haue vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the citie, a little before loſt. But ***Mahomet*** had therein left ſo ſtrong a garriſon, that when the Venetians had landed their men, they were againe enforced to retire to their gallies, and to forſake their Iſland.

Chalcis thus loſt with all the Iſland of Eubœa, the Venetians choſe ***Petrus Mocenicus***, a valiant and diſcreet gentleman, Admirall of their fleet, in ſtead of ***Canalis***: and by their embaſſadours ſolicited ***Sixtus*** the fourth of that name, then Biſhop of Rome, and ***Ferdinand*** King

of

A of Naples, with *Lewis* king of Cyprus, and the grand maſter of the Rhodes, to ioyne their forces
together with theirs againſt the great and common enemie: which thing all the aforeſaid
Chriſtian princes promiſed them to do. And the more to intangle the Turke, they at the ſame
time ſent *Caterinus Zenus* their embaſſadour with rich preſents vnto *Alymbeius Vſun-Caſſanes*,
the great king of Perſia, to incite him on that ſide againſt the Turke: in which negotiation *Zenus*
ſo well behaued himſelfe, that the next yeare following, that great king tooke vp armes
againſt *Mahomet*, and had with him mortall wars, as ſhall be in conuenient place hereafter declared.
Mahomet not ignorant of the proceedings of the Venetians, & that they did what they
might to ſtir vp as many enemies as they could, and to bring him (if it were poſſible) into hatred
with the whole world: and well knowing how much he had offended the minds of the
Chriſtian princes with the cruelty he had of late vſed againſt them of Chalcis, thought it not
B beſt as then further to prouoke them, and ſo happily to bring all at once about his eares; but
for a ſeaſon to lie ſtill at Conſtantinople, as if he had beene deſirous now to liue in peace, not
meaning further harme: hoping thereby, that although he concluded no peace with any of
them (which indeed he was not deſirous of) yet that tract of time might mittigat the hainouſnes
of the fact, and coole the heat of their diſpleaſure; whereby it came to paſſe as he wiſhed;
that nothing worth the ſpeaking of was that yere attempted againſt him: and becauſe the Perſian
king was the man of whom he ſtood moſt in doubt, he ſought by his embaſſadors to pacifie
him, and to withdraw him from the league of the Chriſtians: requeſting him, if it were
for nothing els but for the communitie of the Mahometan religion, wherin they well agreed;
and were thereby the profeſſed enemies of the Chriſtians, to withdraw his hand, and in their
C cauſe to ceaſe to take vp armes: vrging now (for that it ſo ſtood with his purpoſe) the zeale of
religion, whereas otherwiſe he regarded (as was thought) no religion at all. But *Zenus* the Venetian
embaſſadour lying continually in the Perſian court, ſo wrought the matter with *Vſun-Caſſanes*,
that he told the Turks embaſſadours plainly, That he could not nor would not longer
endure the manifeſt iniurie and wrong done vnto him by the Turkiſh king: and farther, that
he had made a faithfull league with the Chriſtian princes, and therefore would to the vttermoſt
of his power make it knowne vnto the world, that he would effectually performe what
thing ſoeuer hee had promiſed: and ſo diſmiſſed them, now no leſſe diſcontented than were
before the Perſian embaſſadours at ſuch time as they returned from the Turkes court, hauing
obtained nothing they then requeſted concerning the Emperour of Trapezond.

1472
The Venetians aided by King Ferdinand, the Biſhop of Rome, and the great maſter of the Rhodes, doe the Turks great harme all alongſt the coaſt of the leſſer Aſia.

D The yeare following, *Mocenicus* the Venetian Admirall with his fleet arriued in the Iſle of
Lesbos, where he did great harme. From thence hee paſſed the bay of Adramittium into the
leſſer Aſia, and ſore ſpoiled the countrey about Pergamus. After that he landed again at Cnidus
vpon the coaſt of Caria, where he tooke a great bootie: and ſo hauing done the Turks exceeding
much harme in Aſia all alongſt the ſea coaſt oppoſite to Græcia, hee returned laden
with ſpoile towards Peloponeſus. In his returne about the promontorie of Malea, vpon the
coaſt of Peloponeſus, he met with *Richaienſis* comming vnto him with 17 gallies from King
Ferdinand: by whom he was certified, that the great Biſhops fleet was ready to come forth
alſo. After mutuall gratulation, as the maner at ſea is, the Admirals ioyning their fleets in one;
E landed at Methone, now called Modon, then a citie of the Venetians in Peloponeſus: where
after they had well refreſhed their ſouldiers, and taken in freſh victuals, they put to ſea againe;
and ſailing through the Iſlands, landed in Aſia, where they were at their firſt landing encountered
by the countrey Turks, whom at laſt they put to flight, and by the ſpace of foure dayes
tooke what pillage they could in the countrey: where the ſouldiers found great ſtore of rich
bootie, eſpecially of Turkie carpets, which are there made in great abundance. From thence
they ſailed to Halicarnaſus, which is part of Caria (where ſometime ſtood the ſtately tombe
which Queene *Artemeſia* built for her husband *Mauſolus*, accounted amongſt the wonders
of the world) where they tooke a wonderfull ſpoile. There came vnto them *Nicholas* Biſhop
of Modruſſa, with twentie gallies ſent from the great Biſhop: whom the other two Generalls
F welcomed with great ioy. At the ſame time alſo came thither two gallies from the great maſter
of the Rhodes. With this fleet of eightie fiue gallies, they ſailed to the Iſle of Samos
ouer againſt Epheſus (ſometime a place of great fame, but then altogether deſolate and vnpeopled)
there to conſult for their further proceedings in thoſe warres. Looſing from Samos,
they took their courſe alongſt the ſea coaſt of Aſia, and landed at Attalia, the chiefe city
of

of Pamphilia, a place of great traffique: where they found in the ſubburbes of the citie great ſtore of many rich commodities, brought thither out of Ægypt and Syria; whereof they took what pleaſed them, and burnt the reſt together with the ſubburbs. Vnto the citie it ſelfe they began to lay ſiege, but perceiuiug that it was not without great loſſe of their men to be taken, they departed thence: & running all alongſt the coaſt of Pamphilia, burnt and deſtroied what came in their way, and ſo returned backe againe to Rhodes: where they met an Embaſſador from *Vſun Caſſanes* the Perſian King, to the Biſhop and the Venetians, for great ordnance, whereof that ſo mightie a Prince was altogether vnfurniſhed. Of this Embaſſadour they vnderſtood, that *Vſun Caſſanes* was entred into league with the Chriſtian Princes, and now buſie in making preparation againſt the Turke. At which time *Mahomet* requited the Venetians with no leſſe harme in Epirus and Dalmatia, than they had done to him in Aſia: for now that *Scanderbeg* was dead, the Turks mightily preuailed vpon the weake princes of Epirus and Albania, with the countries adioyning. The Chriſtian fleet departing from the Rhodes, landed in the country of the Myndians, a part of Caria, and with great ſpoile returned to the Iſland of Naxos, one of the Cyclades: from whence King *Ferdinand* his gallies returned home, laded with much rich ſpoile; for now the yeare was far ſpent. Yet after the departure of the Kings gallies, *Mocenicus* with the Legat returned backe againe into Aſia, and there landing their men tooke the famous citie of Smyrna in Ionia, and when they had taken the ſpoile thereof, ſet it on fire. At which time alſo they did great harme about Clazomene, not farre from Smyrna. So Winter drawing now faſt on, they returned, laded with the rich ſpoiles of Aſia; the Legat into Italie, and *Mocenicus* into Methone.

1473

Mahomet no leſſe troubleſom vnto the Mahometane princes than to the Chriſtians.

The inſatiable deſire of Soueraigntie, whereunto the Turkiſh king was naturally inclined, had continually armed him, not onely againſt the Chriſtian princes, but againſt others alſo euen of his owne ſuperſtition: making no great difference betwixt the one and the other, if ſo he might extend his dominion. He had long before vnder the pretence of a friendly parley craftily circumuented the King of Myſia, a counttey in Aſia, and hauing got him within his danger, cruelly put him to death, & by force ſubduiug his kingdome, left not one of the kings bloud aliue. After that he inuaded Cilicia, which the Turks call Caramania, where the two young brethren, *Pyramet* and *Caſſambet* raigned, and draue them both out of Cilicia: of whom *Pyramet* the elder, fled for refuge to *Vſun-Caſſanes*; *Caſſambet* the younger aſſiſted by his old friends, ſought by force of armes to recouer againe his inheritance wrongfully by the Turkes poſſeſſed, and was beſieging certaine townes vpon the ſea coaſt, which being taken from the Turks would eaſily draw all the reſt of the kingdome after them. *Mocenicus* the Venetian Admirall being now with the firſt of the Spring come vpon the coaſt of Cilicia, at the requeſt of *Caſſambet*, landed certaine companies of his men vnder the leading of *Victor Superantius*, and certaine peeces of great artillerie, wherewith he ſo battered the wals of Sichinum, that he enforced the Turks therein to yeeld vp the citie: which he deliuered to *Caſſambet*. In like manner he tooke the citie of Corycus, which he alſo reſtored to *Caſſambet*. At laſt he laied ſiege to Seleucia, which ſtandeth vpon the riuer Orontes, and was built by King *Seleucus*, one of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* the Great, diſtant from the ſea about fiue miles: the Gouernor of this city diſcouraged with the ſight of the great artillerie, deliuered the city to the Venetian captaine, who by the appointment of the Admirall reſtored the ſame to *Caſſambet*. Who by this meanes brought againe into his kingdome, gaue great thanks vnto the Admirall, promiſing both for himſelfe and for his brother to be alwaies frinds vnto the Venetians. *Mocenicus* departing from Cilicia, landed his men in Lycia, and harried that countrey alongſt the ſea coaſt. And this *Mocenicus* ſailed into Cyprus, to appeaſe a great inſurrection there raiſed againſt the Queene, who was by her husband at his death left to the protection of the Venetians: which rebellion when he had well quieted, hearing that *Triadanus Grittus*, was by the decree of the Senat appointed Admirall, and alreadie come into Peloponeſus, he with as much ſpeed as he could haſted thither, to giue vp his charge, and ſo to returne home againe to Venice,

About this time the great Perſian King *Vſun-Caſſanes* began to make war vpon the Turkiſh emperor *Mahomet*, for the better vnderſtanding wherof, it ſhal not be from our purpoſe briefly to ſhew by what means this *Vſun-Caſſanes*, of a ſmall prince aſpired to the kingdome of Perſia, and ſo in ſhort time grew to that greatneſſe, that he was iuſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt monarchs of the world then liuing; as appeareth by theſe warres betwixt him and the great

Turkiſh

A Turkiſh Emperor *Mahomet*. This *Vſun-Caſſanes* of whom we now ſpeake, was the ſonne of that *Tachretin*, who with other poore princes was driuen into exile by the violence of *Baiazet* the firſt, great grandfather to this *Mahomet* the great, Emperor of the Turks, and was againe reſtored by great *Tamerlane*, as is before declared in the life of *Baiazet*. By the death of *Tachretin*, his ſon *Vſun-Caſſanes* (of ſome called alſo *Aſymbeius*) obtained that ſmall territorie which his father had in Armenia: nothing anſwering vnto the greatneſſe of his conceits. Wherefore not contented with ſuch poſſeſſions as was from his father diſcended vnto him, he began to ſhoulder for more roome, with ſuch weake princes his neighbors as he thought he might beſt deale withall; wringing one prouince from this prince, another from that, and thruſting ſome others quite out of all that they had: and in ſhort time ſo inlarged his dominion, that he had B got into his hands a great part of Armenia, and was reputed both for a mightie and fortunate prince. Inſomuch that *Calo Ioannes*, then Emperor of Trapezond (whoſe power altogether anſwered not to the greatneſſe of his ſtile, being for moſt part ſhut vp within the bounds of Pontus, and fearing the greatneſſe of the Turkiſh Emperour *Mahomet*, whoſe name began then to grow dreadfull vnto his neighbour princes) gaue to him his onely daughter *Deſpina* in marriage, by ſuch allyance to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt the Turkiſh tyrant, if need ſhould require. At which marriage it was agreed, That *Vſun-Caſſanes* ſhould in the right of his wife enioy all the kingdome of Pontus, after the death of *Calo Ioannes* her father, and of *Dauid* his brother: and that *Deſpina* ſhould ſo long as ſhe liued haue the free exerciſe of her Chriſtian Religion. By this woman, *Vſun Caſſanes* had a daughter called *Martha*, whom I willingly remember, for that ſhe was the mother of *Hyſmael*, afterwards the great king of Perſia, commonly called C *Hyſmael the Sophy*; of whom more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in the life of *Selymus*. *Vſun-Caſſanes* honoured with this marriage, and ſtrengthned with this new allyance, ceaſed not, after his wonted manner, daily to incroach vpon his neighbor Princes; and proceeded ſo far, that at length he began to lay hand vpon a part of Armenia, which was then part of the Dominion of the Perſian King. *Zenza* (whom ſome call *Tzokies*, which was indeed the name of his father) raigning then in Perſia, by his Embaſſadors admoniſhed, and in ſort commanded *Vſun-Caſſanes* to hold himſelfe content with his owne, or at leaſt, with that he had alreadie wrongfully taken from others, & not to preſume to come within the bounds of his dominion, threatning otherwiſe to take him as an enemie to his ſtate, and to turne his forces vpon him. With which D embaſſage *Vſun-Caſſanes* being much offended, gaue the Embaſſadors no entertainment, but commanded them with ſpeed to get them out of his Kingdome, and to tell their Maſter, That he would ſhortly himſelfe in perſon come and debate the matter with him face to face. With which proud anſwer from ſo meane a prince the Perſian king moued, leuied ſuch an armie for the inuading of him, as was thought to haue beene ſufficient to haue ſubdued a farre greater prince: and ſo appointed, ſet forward toward Armenia. *Vſun-Caſſanes* much inferiour to this great king in wealth and number of men, but not in haughtines of mind, and valiantnes of courage, ſtayd not to expect the comming of ſo puiſſant an enemie, but full of hope ſet foward to meet him, and by great journeys ſought to come vpon him before he could haue any knowledge of his comming: yet had he then in his army ſcarcely one man to ten, but al armed with E couragious hearts, and conducted by a moſt fortunat chiefetaine which feared nothing. So holding on his way, at length he met with the great army of the Perſians, with whom he preſently ioyned battell, and after a long and cruell fight ouerthrew them in the plaine field, with ſuch a ſlaughter as might well haue weakned the forces of a right great kingdome. The great king more inraged than diſcouraged with his ouerthrow, raiſed a far greater army than before, the verie ſtrength of his kingdome: reſoluing now, not to ſend any more his lieutenants, but to go in perſon himſelf againſt ſo deſperat an enemie. All things being in readineſſe, he ſet forward, and at length met with the Armenian prince, whom he found as ready to giue battel as he was at the firſt. So being both deſirous to trie their fortune, they ioyned battel; wherein the Perſians were againe diſcomfited and put to flight, and mo of them ſlain in that battell, than were F brought into the field in the firſt armie. *Zenzes* the Perſian king was there ſlain with *Vſun-Caſſanes* his owne hand, and *Cariaſuphus* his ſon taken priſoner: whom the Armenian prince vſed with the greateſt honor could be deuiſed, giuing vnto him the honor and title due to the Perſian king, taking to himſelfe the bare name of the protector of the Perſian ſtate. Which he did only to pleaſe the Perſians, and to keepe them quiet vntill he had got ſome more aſſured poſ-

Vſun-Caſſanes in a great battel ouerthroweth the king of Perſia.

ſeſſion of that kingdome. But after he had in the two former battels broken their greateſt ſtrength, and then vnder the colour of a peaceable gouernor got into his power the regall citie of Tauris, with the reſt of the cities and ſtrong places of that great kingdome, and that all men had him now in great reuerence and admiration for his great vertues; he ſecretly diſpatched out of the way the poore titular king his priſoner, (the laſt of the poſteritie of the mightie *Tamerlane*) and tooke vpon himſelfe the higheſt place, which admitteth no partner. Whileſt this reſtleſſe Prince was thus tumbling in the world, and not yet well ſetled in his new gotten kingdome, ***Mahomet*** the Turkiſh Emperor, no leſſe ambitious than himſelfe, had ſcornefully reiected the Embaſſadors and Preſents which ***Vſun-Caſſanes*** had ſent; and hauing ſhamefully put to death ***Dauid*** the Emperor of Trapezond, his alyance, had conuerted all the kingdom of Pontus (which ***Vſun-Caſſanes*** of right claimed as his wiues dowrie) into the forme of a prouince, and ſo vnited it vnto the Turkiſh Empire. Which ſo manifeſt a wrong, ***Vſun-Caſſanes*** in the newnes of his ſo late atchieued greatneſſe, durſt not aduenture to addreſſe: but after that he was ſurely ſeated, and had with the courſe of time ouercome all dangers at home, being daily prickt forward with the remembrance of the former iniuries (ſtill ſuggeſted by the importunitie of his wife ***Deſpina***, and the ſolicitation of the Venetians, to whom he had by ſolemne promiſe bound himſelfe) he determined now to take the matter in hand, and to trie his forces vpon his proud enemie the Turkiſh Emperour. Hereupon he raiſed a great armie, and being well appointed of all things neceſſarie, paſſing through Armenia toward Pontus, neere vnto the riuer Euphrates was encountred by ***Muſtapha) Mahomets*** eldeſt ſon, a young prince of great hope) and ***Amurath*** the great Baſſa of Romania, whom ***Mahomet*** (fearing ſuch a matter) had ſent before with a ſtrong army out of Europe, to ioyne with ſuch forces as ***Muſtapha*** had alreadie raiſed in Aſia, ſo to withſtand the inuaſion of the Perſian. Theſe two great Commanders ***Muſtapha*** and ***Amurath*** ioyning battell with ***Vſun-Caſſanes***, were by him in the plain field ouerthrowne; where ***Amurath*** the great Baſſa himſelfe, with thirtie thouſand Turks were ſlaine; ***Muſtapha*** with the reſt of the armie by ſhamefull flight ſauing themſelues.

1474.
Two huge Armies of the Turks and Perſians in field together.

Now when ***Mahomet*** vnderſtood that ***Amurath*** was ſlaine, and his armie diſcomfited, he was therewith exceedingly troubled: but purpoſing to be thereof reuenged, gaue order into all parts of his dominions for the leuying of new forces; ſo that at the time by him appointed, was aſſembled a great and mightie army of 320000 men. ***Vſun-Coſſanes*** in like manner was in the field with an armie, nothing in number inferior vnto his enemie. Theſe two Mahomitan Kings, drawing after them their huge armies, met together neere the mountaines of Armenia, where at the firſt encounter one of the Turks great Baſſa's was ſlaine, with 40000 Turks. With which hard beginning the proud tyrant was ſo daunted, that he could hardly be perſuaded to proue his fortune any further, but contenting himſelfe with that loſſe, was about to haue retyred; and had vndoubtedly ſo done, if ſome of his moſt expert and valiant captaines which might be bold with him, had not ſharpely reproued him, that hauing ſo populous an armie as ſcarcely felt that ſmall loſſe, he ſhould once thinke of returning without victorie. With which their comfortable perſuaſions he was againe encouraged to giue battel. Yet for his more ſafetie he withdrew his armie into a ſtrait betwixt two mountaines, and with his carriages fortified the front thereof, as with a trench: behind which carriages he placed his great ordnance, and on either ſide his archers. The Perſians, as men of great valor, & thereto encouraged with their former victories, came on as men fearing no perill, to haue charged the Turks euen in their ſtrength; preſenting their whole armie before they were aware, into the mouth of the Turks artillerie; which ſuddenly diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of them, brake their ranks, and tooke away a number of them. Beſides that, the Perſian horſes terrified with the vnacquainted and thundring report of the great ordnance, were not to be ruled by their riders, but ſtarting back, ran ſome one way, ſome another, as if they had felt neither bit nor rider. Which their confuſion ***Mahomet*** perceiuing, preſently tooke hold of the occaſion offered, and with his horſmen fiercely charged them, being now by themſelues intangled and out of order. Neuertheleſſe the Perſians made great reſiſtance, and ſlew many of the Turks: but ſtill fighting confuſedly and out of order, they were at the laſt inforced to flie: in which flight a great number of them were ſlaine, and their tents alſo taken. ***Zeinal, Vſun-Caſſanes*** his eldeſt ſonne, labouring to ſtay the flight of the Perſians, was ſlaine with a ſmall ſhot. So the honour of the day remained with the Turkes: yet had they no great cauſe to bragge of their winnings, hauing

loſt

A loſt in that battell fortie thouſand ſouldiers: whereas of the Perſians fell not aboue ten thouſand. *Mahomet* contenting himſelfe with this deere bought victorie, returned homewards: and *Vſun-Caſſanes* leauing another of his ſonnes with his army for the defence of Armenia, returned likewiſe to Tauris. But whileſt the Chriſtian Princes were in their greateſt expectation, what might be the euent of theſe warres betwixt theſe two mightie Mahometane Kings; they vpon the ſudden concluded a peace, and confirmed the ſame with new affinitie, excluding the Chriſtians quite out of the ſame. This laſt battell betwixt *Mahomet* and *Vſun-Caſſanes*, was fought in the yeare of our Lord 1474, about foure yeares before the death of *Vſun-Caſſanes*, who died the fifth of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1478.

The death of the noble Muſtapha, Mahomet his eldeſt ſonne.

In the time of theſe wars died the noble *Muſtapha*, *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſon, at Iconium, hauing ſpent himſelfe with reuelling amongſt his paragons, or as ſome write, commanded to B die, by his father, vpon this occaſion. This youthful Prince vpon a time comming to the court to ſee his father (or as they terme it, to kiſſe his hand) became amorous of the wife of *Achmetes* Baſſa, a ladie of incomparable beauty, & daughter to *Iſaac* Baſſa, the chiefe men in the Turkiſh empire, next vnto *Mahomet* himſelfe: but finding no meanes to compaſſe her in whom his ſoule liued, he awaited a time when as ſhe (after the manner of the Turkes) went to bathe her ſelfe; and there as he found her all diſroabed, ſhamefully forced her, without regard either of his own honor, or of hers. Of this ſo foule an outrage, *Achmetes* her husband, with his cloathes and hat al rent for madneſſe, came and grieuouſly complained to *Mahomet*, crauing vengeance for the ſame. Vnto whom *Mahomet* againe replied, *Art not thou thy ſelfe my ſlaue? and if my ſon* C Muſtapha *haue knowne thy wife, is ſhe not my bondſlaue he hath had to doe withall? Ceaſe therefore thus to complaine, and hold thy ſelfe therewith content.* Neuertheleſſe he in ſecret ſharpely reprooued his ſonne for ſo hainous and diſhonorable a fact by him committed, and commanded him out of his ſight: and as he was of a ſeuere nature, cauſed him within a few dayes after to be ſecretly ſtrangled. Neuertheleſſe, the wrong done vnto the Baſſa, ſunke ſo deepe into his haughtie mind, as that he would neuer admit excuſe therefore, but put away his wife, the ground of the implacable hatred betwixt him and the great Baſſa *Iſaac* his father in law; and in fine, the verie cauſe of his vtter deſtruction, as is afterward declared in the life of *Baiazet*.

1475.

Mahomet deliuered of his greateſt feare, by the peace he had lately concluded with *Vſun-Caſſanes* the Perſian king, was now at good leiſure to imploy all his forces againſt the Chriſtians. D And bearing a deadly hatred againſt the Princes of Epirus and Albania, with a wonderful deſire to extend his Empire vnto the Ionian and Adriaticke, that he might from thence but looke toward Italie, which he began now to long after; he determined with himſelfe, firſt to ſubdue thoſe countries, as ſtanding in his way, both for the inuaſion of Italie, and of the territories of the Venetians. And foraſmuch as the ſtrong citie of Scodra (otherwiſe called Scutarie) then in the poſſeſſion of the Venetians, for the commodious ſcituation thereof ſeemed to giue him the beſt entrance into the countries of Albania, Epirus, Dalmatia, and to ſuch cities as the Venetians held alongſt the ſea coaſt, he reſolued there to begin his warres.

This citie was of great ſtrength, as well for the naturall ſcituation thereof, as for the ſtrong E fortifications therein made by the hand of man: which thing *Mahomet* was not ignorant of, but preſuming of his owne ſtrength and power, vainly perſuaded himſelfe, that no place was now able long to hold out againſt him. Wherfore hauing prepared all things fit for the beſieging thereof, he ſent *Solyman* Baſſa an Eunuch (whom he made his lieutenant generall in Europe, in the place of *Amurath* Baſſa, before ſlain by *Vſun-Caſſanes*) with 80000 ſoldiers to beſiege Scodra. This great Baſſa according to his charge came, and with great pompe incamped round about the citie, the 25 of May. Shortly after hauing planted his batterie, he began moſt furiouſly to ſhake the walls, and ceaſed not by all means he could deuiſe, to trouble the defendants: and when he had by force of the cannon done what he could, gaue diuers ſharpe aſſaults vnto the citie, but was ſtill with great loſſe valiantly repulſed by them of the Citie. F Long it were to declare, how often, and in what terrible manner that warlike Baſſa *Mahomet*, his chiefe captaine, attempted to haue woon the citie: as alſo to ſhew how they of Scodra, directed by their worthy gouernor *Antonius Lauretanus*, valiantly defended themſelues & their citie: nothing was omitted that the enemie could doe or deuiſe for the gaining thereof; but all his deuices and attempts were ſo met withall by the defendants, that they ſerued him to no other purpoſe but to the deſtruction of his people. Whileſt the Baſſa thus lay at the ſiege of

Solyman Baſſa beſiegeth Scodra with an armie of eightie thouſand men.

Scodra, *Mocenicus* hauing receiued ſuch commandment from the Senat, came and joined himſelfe to *Grittus* the new Admirall, who then lay with his fleet in the mouth of Boliana, a great riuer running out of the lake whereupon the citie of Scodra ſtandeth. Theſe two great Commanders being met together, were both as one man, and with a wonderfull conſent did what they might for the furtherance of the Common good, a thing not common: firſt they put ſtrong garriſons, with all things neceſſarie, into Colchinum, Lyſſa, Dirrhachium, and other cities of their ſeigniory vpon the ſea coaſt. After that, they went vp the riuer Boliana with certaine gallies, and came within ſight of Scodra, and there by fires in the night, and other tokens of comfort, encouraged the defendants, as with an aſſured promiſe of reliefe: which thing it grieued the Turks to behold, who therefore went about to haue ſhut in thoſe ſame gallies with a great chaine drawne croſſe the riuer, where it was narroweſt betwixt them and the ſea: but in doing thereof, the Venetians out of their gallies ſlew 500 of the Turks, and wounded diuers others, and ſo returned againe to ſea. It was afterward attempted by the aforeſaid Admirals, if a new ſupply might haue bin put into the citie: but the enemy had ſo beſet the ſame that it was not poſſible to be done. In the mean time, *Mathias* king of Hungarie (receiuing a great yerely portion of the Venetians for the defence of their countries againſt the Turk) hearing that Scodra was beſieged, began to make ſuch ſpoyle in the Turks dominions bordering vpon him, that *Mahomet* was glad to call home the great Baſſa from the ſiege of Scodra, to defend his own frontiers. So the Baſſa after he had lien three months with his great armie at the ſiege, and loſt 14000 of his men, whereof the greateſt part died of ſickneſſe taken by long lying in the rotten mooriſh ground neere vnto the riuer, by commandement from his Maſter, roſe with his armie and departed. The Venetians alſo, which lay all that while thereabout in their gallies, were toucht with the ſame contagion: *Triadanus Grittus* died thereof, & *Mocenicus* the other Admiral fell therof dangerouſly ſicke, but being ſomwhat recouered, returned home, and was ſhortly after for his good ſeruice choſen Duke of Venice, *Marcellus* the old Duke being then dead. With this diſhonour taken at Scodra *Mahomet* was ſo diſcontented, that he appointed a yearely fee vnto one, to put him in mind dayly of the ſiege of Scodra.

Matthias King of Hungary inforceth the Turkes to forſake the ſiege of Scodra.

The ſame yeare that this great Baſſa *Solyman* had in vain beſieged Scodra, he was afterward ſent with a great armie into Valachia, where he was ſo intangled in the woods and fennes, by *Stephanus* the Vayuod, that he loſt all his armie, and with much adoo eſcaped himſelfe, by the wonderfull ſwiftneſſe of a mare whereon he rid.

1476.

The yeare following, which was the yere 1476, *Mahomet* ſent out a great fleet to ſea, vnder the conduct of *Geduces Achmetes*, his chiefe counſellor and man of war, (whoſe verie name was dreadful in all places where he came) in hope to haue by treaſon ſurpriſed the Iſland of Crete: but that plot was in good time by the Venetians perceiued, the traitors executed, and he of his purpoſe diſappointed. Whereupon he changed his former purpoſe for Crete, and ſent the ſame *Achmetes* with his fleet into the Euxine (or as the Turks call it, the blacke ſea) to beſiege the rich citie of Caffa. This citie was in antient time called Theodoſia, ſcituate in the country of Taurica Cherſoneſus, faſt by the ſea ſide, and had of long time bin in poſſeſſion of the Genowaies, and was a place of exceeding great trade, vntill that this great Emperor *Mahomet* hauing taken Conſtantinople, and falling out with the Venetians, had by his ſtrong caſtles built vpon the ſtraits of Helleſpontus and Boſphorus, taken away both the traffique of merchants into thoſe ſeas, and all poſſible meanes for the Genowaies to ſend ſuccour to that citie: yet it is credibly reported, that one valiant captaine vndertooke to carrie his companie (in number not aboue one hundred and fiftie men) by land from Genoa to Caffa, not much leſſe than two thouſand miles, and worthily performed what he had vndertaken. *Achmetes* comming thither with his fleet, encloſed the citie both by ſea and land: which diuided in it ſelfe by reaſon of the diuers diſpoſition of the Inhabitants, being of diuers Nations, ſome Genowaies, ſome Greeks, ſome Armenians, but moſt Tartars, could not long hold out, but was in ſhort time giuen vp to the Baſſa, vpon condition, That the Genoway Merchants, who were there both in number many, and exceeding rich, might in ſafetie depart thence with their wealth: Which promiſe the Baſſa performed not, but when he was poſſeſſed of the citie, ſent ſuch as he thought good, to Conſtantinople, and commanded the reſt vpon paine of death, not to depart thence, or to conuey away from thence any part of their ſubſtance. In ſhort time after, the whole Countrey of Taurica Cherſoneſus yeelded vnto the Turkiſh obeiſance. At which time alſo the Tartar Princes, namely the Precopenſes and Deſtenſes, terrified with the greatneſſe of the Turke, cowardly yeelded themſelues as tributaries vnto him; euer ſince which time they haue liued a moſt ſeruile and troubleſome life, ſubiect to euery command of the *Othoman* Emperor; for whom they haue done great ſeruice many times in their warres, againſt the Perſians, the Polonians, the Hungarians, Tranſyluanians, and Germanes, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie well appeareth; and as the aforeſaid nations their neighbors, with others alſo further off, haue euen of late to their great loſſe felt.

1477.

Although the Venetians had in theſe late warres loſt the great and fertile Iſland of Eubœa, with the ſtrong citie of Chalcis, the ſureſt harbour for their gallies; yet held they ſtill diuers ſtrong towns and commodious hauens by the ſea coaſt, both within Peloponeſus & without, as Methone, Corone, Tenarus, Naupactum, & others: which ſtanding as it were in the boſome of his Empire, *Mahomet* ſore longed after. And therefore to ſatisfie his ambitious deſire, ſent *Solyman* (the great Baſſa of Europe) with a ſtrong fleet into Peloponeſus. Who entering the gulfe of Corinth, at his firſt comming layd ſiege to Naupactum, now called Lepanto, a citie ſtanding in the gulfe of Corinth, in the countrey of Ozolæ neere vnto Locris, ouer againſt Peloponeſus. *Antonius Lauretanus* (for his late good ſeruice done in defending of Scodra) made Admirall for the Venetians, came with ſpeed to Naupactum, and in deſpight of the enemy ſo furniſhed the citie both with men and whatſoeuer elſe was needfull, that the Baſſa now out of hope to win the citie, roſe vpon the ſudden with his armie, and in a great furie departed, after he had lien there foure moneths. In this fret returning towards Conſtantinople, he put certaine companies of his men to ſhore in the Iſland of Lemnos, in hope to haue vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the citie of Coccinum: but as they were about to haue entered, they were contrarie to their expectation, manfully reſiſted by ſuch Chriſtians as by chance were next the gate: where the notable courage of *Marulla* (a maiden of that Citie) was much commended; who ſeeing her father ſlaine in the gate, tooke vp the weapons that lay by him, and like a fierce Amazon notably reuenged his death, deſperatly fighting in defence of her countrey, with thoſe few which were there at the firſt; and ſo kept the Turks out, vntill the reſt of the citiſens (mooued with the alarme) came to the gate, and forced them, not without ſome loſſe, to retyre againe to their gallies. Not long after, *Lauretanus* came thither with his fleet: but before his comming, the Baſſa was departed thence for Conſtantinople, hauing in this expedition done nothing that was expected at his hands.

Mahomet after the death of *Scanderbeg* ceaſed not from time to time by one of his great captaines or other to inuade Epirus, and the other parts of Albania; and ſo gaining ſometime one part, and ſometime another, had ſubdued moſt part thereof. And about this time his army lay at the ſiege of Croia: for reliefe whereof, the Venetians (in whoſe protection it was) ſent *Franciſcus Contarenus*, a noble gentleman, their lieutenant, with ſuch forces as were ſufficient for the raiſing of the ſiege. He finding the Turks in the plaine of Tyranna, gaue them battell, which a great while ſtood doubtfull: at length victorie inclining to the Venetians, the Turks began to flie; after whom the Venetians made no great purſuit, but contented to haue put them to flight, tooke their tents, with ſuch forts as they had raiſed againſt the citie. Thus whileſt the Venetians thinke themſelues in ſure poſſeſſion of the victory, & out of feare of their enemies, they were through their owne too much ſecuritie, by and by themſelues ouerthrowne: For whilſt the common ſoldiers hauing their minds more ſet vpon the ſpoile, than vpon the purſuit of the enemie (the battel as yet ſcarce ended) ſcatter themſelues, & the captains were conſulting, whether they ſhould lodge that night (which began then to approch) in the enemies tents, or not; in the middeſt of their conſultation, the Turks hauing perceiued their diſorder, ſuddenly returned againe vpon them, and without great reſiſtance ouerthrew them, and put them to flight. In which flight a thouſand of them fell, amongſt whom *Contarenus* the Generall, and diuers others of good place and calling, were ſlaine alſo. This ouerthrow the Venetians tooke a great deale better than that which ſhortly after followed in the confines of Italie, at the riuer of Sontium.

Croia beſieged by the Turke.

Contarenus the Venetian Generall ſlaine.

Mahomet hauing conquered a great part of Albania, and dayly incroaching vpon the Chriſtians, made diuers incurſions into the countries of Dalmatia, Hiſtria, and Carniola; yea, and ſometimes went ſo far, that he and his Turks entred into the prouince of Friuli, called in antient time Forum Iulij, a part of the Venetian ſeigniorie, and ſo carried away with them many

The Turks ſhew thẽſelues at the riuer of Sontium.

The countrey of Friuli ſpoyled by the Turkes.

priſoners, with much ſpoile. For remedie whereof, the Venetians with exceeding charge and G wonderful labour fortified alongſt the riuer of Sontium, from Goritia, to the fens of Aquilea, the ſpace of twelue miles, and there built two Forts, wherein they continually kept ſtrong garriſons for the defence of the country. Whereby the countrey people thinking themſelues now in ſafetie, began to fall into ſecuritie (the dangerous ſickneſſe of all commonweales) neglecting by their carefull watch to foreſee a farre off the enemies comming, as they had before vſed. It fortuned at this time, that *Aſa-beg* (whom ſome call *Marbecke*) one of the Turks great captains, vpon the ſudden when no ſuch thing was feared, came and ſhewed himſelf in an euening vpon the further ſide of the riuer of Sontium, with 1000 horſemen: vpon the ſight of whom, an alarme was raiſed in both forts, and euery man put himſelfe in readineſſe, as if they ſhould euen preſently haue ioyned battell: but it was ſo nigh night, as that nothing could as then be done; yet the Venetian garriſons ioyning themſelues together, watcht all that night in arms. There was at that time in both theſe forts, 3000 horſemen, and ſome few companies of footmen, all vnder the command of *Hieronimus Nowel* Countie of Verona, a famous captain H of that time: who with the reſt of the captaines reſolued if they could, to keepe the Turkes from paſſing the riuer; if not, then to giue them battel. *Marbecke* Generall of the Turks armie, taking good view of the place, in the night time ſecretly conueyed a thouſand of his beſt ſoldiers ouer the riuer, foure miles off, in ſuch a place as the Venetians feared leaſt, deeming it impoſſible for any man, there to haue paſſed ouer. Theſe men he appointed to lie cloſe in ambuſh behind a great hil, in ſight, not far from the other ſide of the riuer, and vpon a ſigne giuen, preſently to diſcouer themſelues and charge the enemie. The next morning verie early, he I ſent certaine troups of his readieſt horſmen ouer the riuer, which by offering to skirmiſh with the Venetians, might draw them into the field; and then as men in doubt whether to fight or to flie, to tole them on to the place where the ambuſh lay. The Venetians had diuided themſelues into three battalions; whereof the Generall himſelfe had the leading of the firſt, who ſeeing theſe diſordred troups comming to skirmiſh with him, encountred them fiercely, and eaſily put them to flight (being ſo determined before) & in that flight earneſtly purſued them; eſpecially the Counties ſon, a valiant yong gentleman, who with others like himſelfe, thought by that dayes good ſeruice to gaine vnto themſelues great honour. When the Turks General ſaw that the Venetians following the chaſe, were gone a great way from the riuer, he forthwith paſſed ouer with the reſt of his armie, and followed the Venetians at the heeles: which K the Turks which before fled, now beholding, turned againe vpon their fierce enemies, and valiantly withſtood them. At which very inſtant the other Turks vpon ſigne giuen ariſing out of ambuſh, came downe from the hill Licinis, with ſuch violence and clamour, that the Venetians therewith diſcouraged, would haue fled if they could haue told which way: but they were on euery ſide ſo beſet, that there was no way left for them to eſcape; but were there all ſlaine, except ſome few which yeelded themſelues, and ſo were ſaued. The other two battalions of the Venetians, diſcouraged with the ſlaughter of the firſt, fled incontinently, and in flying were many of them ſlaine. In this battell the Countie himſelfe, with his ſonne, and many other notable gentlemen, and halfe the horſemen, were loſt. The Turks incouraged with this victorie, the next day ſpoyled all the country of Friuli, betwixt the riuers of Sontium, (otherwiſe called Liſonzo) and Tiliauentum, and cruelly burnt all the country before them; ſo that L at once 100 country vilages were to be ſeen on a light fire together, which ſtood ſo thick, that it ſeemed as if one continuall fire had wholly couered all the face of the country. The barbarous Turks laden with the ſpoile of that rich country, and driuing before them great numbers of miſerable captiues, as if they had bin flocks of ſheepe, returned to Sontium. But when they had paſſed the riuer, and had trauelled homeward one days journey, and all men thought they had now bin quite gone, they ſuddenly returned backe again, and poſting thorow the country they had before ſpoyled, came to the riuer of Tiliauentũ, which they deſperatly paſſed, & did no leſſe harme on that ſide the riuer, than they had before on the other: and ſo carrying away with them what they pleaſed, returned by the ſame way they came, hauing filled all that part M of Italy with terror and feare. This ouerthrow of Sontium the Venetians account amongſt the greateſt loſſes which they receiued from the Turks in all theſe their long warres.

1478. The next yeare about Harueſt the Turks came againe with a farre greater power: and paſſing the riuer of Sontium, came before the Forts of Gradiſca, where *Carolus Fortebrachius* lay

A lay with a ſtrong garriſon of rhe Venetians, offering him skirmiſh, ſo to haue drawne him into the field. But the wary captaine conſidering the great ſtrength of the enemie, and the loſſe receiued the yeare before, would not be drawne out of his ſtrength, but ſtood vpon his guard, expecting to take the enemie at ſome more aduantage: which thing the Turks fearing, durſt not diſperſe themſelues abroad for the ſpoile of the countrey, leauing ſo ſtrong a garriſon of the enemies behinde them. And therefore when they had gone about foure miles into the countrey, they turned their courſe vp into the mountaines (which are part of the Alpes) towards Germanie, and there grieuouſly ſpoyled the mountainie people; ſtrangely paſſing through thoſe abrupt and high mountaines with their horſes, where men could hardly either goe or ſtand on foot without ſomthing to ſtay vpon. And ſo when they had done what harme they could, taking a great compaſſe about, returned home another way.

1479

B *Mahomet* remembring the ſhamefull repulſe he had about foure yeres before receiued at Scodra, and hauing the name of that citie daily ſounding in his eares, determined now once againe to gage his whole forces vpon the winning thereof, and ſo to giue peace to his ambitious deſires. And becauſe he would not againe be diſhonored with that he purpoſed to take in hand, he gaue out order into al parts of his dominions, both in Europe and Aſia, for the aſſembling of his beſt ſouldiers and men of war. Now when all things were in readineſſe, and ſuch an armie aſſembled as he ſeldome or neuer had a ſtronger; firſt he ſent forth *Aly-Beg* (Warden of the frontiers of his kingdome alongſt the riuer Danubius) with eightie thouſand of the ſouldiers called Achanzij, towards Scodra. Theſe Achanzij are horſemen, which for their good ſeruice, according to their deſerts, haue certaine lands giuen them by the king to liue vpon during C their liues; for which they are of dutie bound to ſerue vpon their owne charge, as the forerunners of the Turke his armie, whenſoeuer he goeth to beſiege any place: theſe be they which firſt enter into the enemies countrey, burning and ſpoiling what they can, vntill they come vnto the place appointed: and haue this priuiledge, That ſo ſoone as all the armie is come vnto the place to be beſieged, they may then at their pleaſure either depart or ſtay.

Vid. Marinum Barletium de expug. Scodrenſi.

The Gouernor of Scodra vnderſtanding both by common fame and certaine intelligence, of the Turks deſignes, with all care and diligence fortified the towne, labouring continually both night and day at the rampiers, as if the enemie had been already preſent; and plentifully prouided all things neceſſary for the enduring of a long ſiege. The aged and vnneceſſarie people, he ſent out of the city into other places of more ſafetie farther off: in whoſe ſtead he tooke D in great numbers of ſtrong and able men which dwelt in the countrey round about: amongſt whom were many mariners taken out of the gallies, and other men of like qualitie, which got their liuing vpon the riuer and lake of Scodra, luſtie bodies enured to hardneſſe, who in the long ſiege following did great ſeruice.

Whileſt this preparation was making in Scodra, behold, the mountaines a far off Northward from the city, began to ſhine with many great fires, and all the country was couered with thicke ſmoake, which euerie houre ſeemed to draw neerer and neerer; when within ſhort time after, the poore country people (which as yet were not all fled) with ſuch traſh as they could well carrie, came running for life all ouer the countrey to the ſtrong cities vpon the ſea ſide, E crying out that the Turks were come.

The poore countrey people flie for feare of the Turks.

The next day, which was the fourteenth of May, *Aly-Beg* with his eightie thouſand Achanzij, came into the ſuburbs of the citie, and there encamped; ſo that none could goe in or out of the gates: which was not the leaſt part of his charge. To him, by the commandement of *Mahomet*, had *Scander-Beg* Gouernor of Boſna, and *Malcotius* with ſeuen thouſand horſemen, ioined themſelues vpon the way. Of this *Malcotius* it is reported (as was of *Auguſtus*) that the maieſtie of his countenance, with the reſplendant beames iſſuing out of his eyes (as if it had been the rayes of the Sunne) were of ſuch piercing brightneſſe, that no man was able with immoued and fixed eye long to behold the ſame. Theſe horſemen (the forerunners, as I ſaid, of *Mahomets* great armie) the Chriſtians much troubled, with often ſallies and ſhot, out of the towne, F and ſlew many of them with little or no loſſe vnto themſelues.

When *Aly-Beg* had thus lien before the citie ten dayes, came *Taut Gaiola* the great Baſſa of Conſtantinople with fiue and twentie thouſand ſouldiers, and about twelue thouſand camels, for moſt part laden with metall in maſſe, for to make great Ordnance of, and other neceſſaries for the campe. The Baſſaes great and ſtately Tent of purple colour, was pitched vpon the top of an high hil called the Baſſaes hill, becauſe in that place *Solyman Baſſa* had lien in the G formerſiege about foure yeares before: the Baſſaes armie lay encamped betwixt the ſame hill and the towne. This *Taut Gaiola*, was borne in Epirus of baſe parentage, and was from thence by the Turks carried away young to Conſtantinople; where for his ſharpneſſe of wit and rare actiuitie, he grew into ſuch fauour, firſt with *Mahomet*, and afterward with *Baiazet* his ſonne, that he was by them promoted to the greateſt places of honor, next vnto themſelues: wherein he became ſo popular, and had ſo poſſeſſed the hearts of the people, that it was ſuſpected of ſome, he would haue aſpired to the Turkiſh empire himſelfe. Preſently after the comming of this great Baſſa, workmen were ſet a worke about the caſting of the great ordnance, and making readie of other things for the ſiege. The Chriſtians alſo were no leſſe buſie about their fortifications, the Gouernor appointing vnto euery man his charge, and which part of the wal to defend: yet keeping continually in the maket place certaine companies (with the enſignes of S. *Marke*, and S. *Stephen*) to ſerue as freſh ſupplies, as need or occaſion ſhould require. Whilſt the great ordnance was in caſting, the Baſſa caſued a great bridge of timber to be made ouer H the riuer, that ſo he might at his pleaſure paſſe ouer his men, and command both ſides of the riuer. The Chriſtians in the meane time with vigilant eye ſo attending the Turks, that none of them could ſtirre within ſhot, but he was forthwith ſet off and ſlaine.

The thirteenth of Iune, *Muſtapha* the Beglerbeg or Viceroy of Aſia (commonly called the great Baſſa of Natolia) came alſo in great pompe to the ſiege with thirtie thouſand ſouldiers brought out of Aſia; perſonable men, but not accounted ſo good ſouldiers as they of Europe: for it is a common ſaying among the Turks, That the men of Europe, and the horſes of Aſia I doe beſt ſeruice. This great Baſſa was honorably met and welcomed by the other great Baſſa of Conſtantinople, and was quartered vpon another ſide of the citie, where his rich pauillion (all of Greene) was pitcht in a vineyard about a mile from the towne. *Muſtapha* to proue the courage of his ſouldiers, propounded a reward to which ſoeuer of them, as durſt aduenture but to goe and touch the wals of the citie: vpon which occaſion, two of his ſouldiers paſſing well mounted, attempted to haue performed that enterpriſe. But making what haſt they could poſſibly, they were both ſlaine from the wall, and one of their bodies recouered by certaine valiant ſouldiers which ſallied out of the towne, and his head being cut off, was vpon a launce ſet vpon the wals for the Turks to behold.

Two of the Turks attempting to touch the wals of Scodra, are both ſlaine, and one of their heads ſet vp vpon the wal.

The fifteenth of Iune, 5600 Ianizaries came into the campe, with foure white enſignes: at K whoſe comming all the ſouldiers of both the Baſſaes camps gaue a wonderfull ſhout, & welcomed them with great ioy. Theſe are the great Turks guard and beſt ſouldiers, in whom the greateſt ſtrength of his kingdome conſiſteth, and are called the ſons of the great Sultan. After whoſe comming, *Mahomet* himſelfe was daily expected. Three dayes after, came two other great men, attended vpon with a number of followers, who by their countenance, and the great reuerance done vnto them by the reſt of the Turks, ſeemed to be men of great place and authoritie: theſe men deſired, that they might with ſafetie ſpeake with the Gouernour of the citie, and the reſt of the captaines, to deliuer vnto them ſuch a meſſage, as they had for their good (as they ſaid) brought vnto them from *Mahomet*. Which their requeſt being granted, the elder of them, after he had with many glorious words ſet forth the power of his maſter, and L what he had done to other great cities, with their Princes; and further ſhewed into what danger they were like to fall, if they ſhould long ſtand vpon their defence: he began to perſuade them to yeeld vp the citie, aſſuring them of all kind vſage, with many rich rewards from the great Emperor; whereas otherwiſe, they were to expect nothing but extreme miſerie & moſt ſhamefull death. Whereunto anſwer was in the name of them all giuen by the mouth of *Petrus Pagnanus*, a graue and worthie citizen, That they were not afraid of the greatnes of *Mahomet*, or of any thing hee had done, or could doe: and that he ſhould find it hard to inforce them, but impoſſible to perſuade them to deliuer their citie: and therefore that he might at his pleaſure vſe his forces againſt men fully reſolued rather to yeeld vnto nature her laſt due, than to hearken to any compoſition: and in concluſion told them, that if they ſhould at any time after M make any ſuch motion, they ſhould not expect any other anſwer than from the mouth of the Canon. With which ſhort anſwer theſe great men departed, not a little diſcontented.

At this ſame time the ſtrong city of Croia (which the worthy *Scanderbeg* had liuing ſo honorably defended, and dying had left it with his kingdome, in the protection and poſſeſſion of

A the Venetians)hauing holden out a yeares ſiege, after that all the kingdome of Epirus and moſt part of Albania was loſt, for lacke of victuals was yeelded vp vnto the Turke, vpon condition, That the hungerſtarued defendants (who then ſeemed rather ghoſts than men) might at their pleaſure in ſafetie depart: which agreement the faithleſſe Turke brake and without mercie put them al to the ſword. This heauy news was deliuered to them of Scodra by certain Chriſtians in the Turks campe: wherwith they were much grieued, but nothing at all diſcouraged.

Whiles the Turks thus lay at the ſiege, the watermen, of whom a great number liued vpon the great lake of Scodra (being in circuit about one hundred miles) came many times downe the riuer by night, and did much harme in the Turks campe: for remedie whereof, they were inforced to build certaine ſmall gallies to keepe them in, who for all that, many times ſtole B ſecretly vpon them, and much troubled them.

The two and twentieth of Iune, the Turks mounted two great peeces of ordance vpon the top of the hill whereon the Baſſa lay; whereof the one carried a bullet, made of an hard kind of round ſtone, of three hundred pound weight, and the other a bullet of foure hundred, wherewith they began to batter the towne foure daies: after that, they placed a third peece of artillerie at the foot of the ſame hil, which deliuered a bullet of foure hundred pound weight: and the next day they planted a fourth peece, greater than the reſt, about the middle of the ſame hill; which carried a ſhot of ſix hundred and fiftie pound weight. In this while, eight thouſand of the Turks ſoldiers, called Aſapi (which are knowne from the Ianizaries by their red caps, whereas the Ianizaries weare white) came into the campe. And ſhortly after came C *Mahomet* himſelfe with all his armie to the riuer of Drimon, whither the two great Baſſaes of Aſia and Conſtantinople went with great pompe and triumph to meet him.

The ſecond of Iuly, *Mahomet* with all his armie before the riſing of the Sun came to the campe before Scodra: where after he had well viewed the ſcituation thereof, he is reported to haue ſaid, *O what a faire and ſtately place hath the Eagle choſen out for her ſelfe to build her neaſt, and to hatch her young ones in.* Diuers rich pauillions were ſet vp for *Mahomet* himſelfe, but one far greater than the reſt, diſtant from them about a flight ſhoot, which was the place wherin he held his counſell; the other were for his one priuat vſe. Round about theſe his tents, lay the Ianizaries incamped, a good diſtance off, yet ſo cloſe one to another, as if it had bin a perpetuall rampire or ſtrong trench, wherinto was but one entrance, continually guarded with a moſt D ſtrong guard. Round about the Ianizaries lay all the reſt of the armie encamped: ſo that al the countrie as farre as a man could ſee was couered, and white with tents, much like as when the ground in Winter is couered ouer with a deepe ſnow: and ſtill more people reſorted to the campe daily; ſo that it was deemed by men of great experience, that *Mahomet* had then in his armie of al ſorts of people, about 350000 men, al gaping to deuoure that poore city: a ſight of it ſelfe ſufficient to haue daunted the courage of right valiant men: but what can be terrible to them that feare not to die? Againſt this terror of the enemie, the defendants were notably encouraged by the comfortable perſuaſions and exhortations of one *Bartholomeus*, a preacher, (ſometimes one of the worthie *Scanderbegs* ſouldiers) who afterwards giuing himſelfe to the ſtudie of diuinitie, became a zealous preacher, and in this ſiege did notably comfort the Chri-E ſtian defendants againſt the terror of ſo great an armie of miſcreants. All this while the batterie was ſtil maintained; and the fifth of Iuly the Turks mounted two other great peeces, wherof the one was like vnto the former before mounted, but the other placed vpon the middle of the Baſſaes mount, was of an incredible greatneſſe, diſcharging a ſhot of twelue hundred pound weight, and was called the Princes peece, in whoſe name it was with much cunning and induſtrie made: with which huge peece, the Turks euen from the beginning of the ſiege had threatned the beſieged, willing them to expect the comming of the Princes Peece. The next day they planted vpon the ſame mount a ſeuenth peece, which carried a ſhot of fiue hundred and fiftie pound weight: from which time they battered the citie with the aforeſaid ſeuen great peeces, and ceaſed not oftentimes by night out of their great mortar peeces, to caſt great bals of wild fire into the city, ſo to haue ſet it on fire: wherby diuers of the citizens were inforced to vncouer their houſes couered with ſhingle, & by men appointed for that purpoſe, to watch the fal of ſuch fire works, & ſo to quench the ſame: which they ſo carefully looked to, as that the deuiſe of the enemy tooke no effect at all. At the ſame time alſo the Turks out of their ſhort mortar peeces, caſt huge great ſtones of incredible weight, which falling from hie, did

Mahomet in perſon himſelfe commeth vnto the ſiege of Scodra.

The order of Mahomets campe.

moſt terribly cruſh in peeces whatſoeuer thing they light vpon, wherewith the defendants G were wonderfully troubled. In few daies after, the enemie mounted three other great peeces, whereof one was greater than that was called the Princes, and carried a bullet of thirteen hundred weight: from which time they daily battered the citie with ten ſuch peeces, as the like hath ſeldome times beene heard of; and the arrowes fell ſo thicke into the citie, as if it had bin continuall ſhowers of haile, ſo that no man could goe or well ſtirre in the ſtreets without hurt. Yet in the midſt of all theſe dangers the Chriſtians valiantly defended the city, and with their deadly ſhot from the wals and mounts exceedingly annoyed the enemie. The eleuenth of Iuly the Turks mounted another great peece like vnto the former, vpon the Baſſa's mount, and the ſame day battered the wals with a hundred ſeuentie eight ſhot of this huge artillery.

Mahomet hauing by the furie of his great ordnance, beaten downe a great part of the wall, H and that now nothing ſtood in his way but ſuch ſimple repaires as the defendants had made of timber & planks, with earth caſt in betwixt, was in good hope in ſhort time to become maſter of the towne: and therefore ſent certaine companies of his Ianizaries and other ſoldiers (which he with continuall ſupplies of freſh men ſtil relieued) to aſſault the breaches, ſo if it were poſſible to enter the town, or at leaſtwiſe to burn ſuch fortifications of timber as the defendants had made. But that which ſeemed vnto him at firſt ſo eaſie, he found in execution ful of difficultie & danger: for the Turks approching the breach, found there reſolute men, a ſurer defence than any wall: whoſe valiant courage ſerued in ſtead of a ſtrong bulwarke. So whilſt the Turks deſperatly ſtriue in the face of the breach either to enter or to ſet fire vpon the new fortifications made for moſt part of timber, and the defendants with no leſſe reſolution doe I what they may to the vtmoſt to repulſe them, many were on both ſides ſlain, but eſpecially of the aſſailants. Which *Mahomet* wel perceiuing, & that by that manner of aſſault he gained nothing but notable loſſe & ſpoile of his beſt men, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, & his battery to be again forthwith renewed, euery day ſhaking the wal with 160 or 180 moſt terrible great ſhot, and one day with 194, the greateſt batterie that he made in one day during that ſiege.

After this great batterie, the tyrant cauſed a freſh aſſault to be giuen, but with little or rather worſe ſucceſſe than before: for though diuers of the defendants, and among them, ſome of good place, as *Franciſcus Patauinus*, *Franciſcus Scorbaro*, two Italian captains, and ſome other of the better ſort of the citizens were there ſlaine with the great ſhot, whereof the enemie that day diſcharged into the breaches 193, yet were they with greater loſſe enforced againe K to retire, and with ſhame to giue ouer the aſſault.

Notwithſtanding this repulſe, *Mahomet* continuing his batterie with no leſſe furie than before, ſtill ſought by force of his artillerie to open a way into the citie: and the third day after the former aſſault, gaue a more furious and deſperate attempt vnto the citie than before; inſomuch that the Turks were in the breaches come to handy ſtrokes with the Chriſtians, and there made a moſt cruell and deadly fight, wherein many fell on both ſides, but of the Turks moſt; yet were there many of the Chriſtians alſo ſlaine, eſpecially with the Turks great ordnance. It was a right ruthfull ſight to haue ſeene the rampiers at the great gate of the citie beaten downe flat to the ground, and to lie full of the rent bodies of the Chriſtians: at which L place the enemie ſo preuailed, that he was euen now readie to haue entered; for the Turks ſo furiouſly aſſailed the defendants, and the murthring ſhot from the Baſſaes mount fell ſo thicke and ſo terribly into the breach, beſide the infinit number of arrowes, that there was ſcarce any of the Chriſtians which defended that place, but they were either ſlaine or grieuouſly wounded. But when all ſeemed now almoſt deſperat and forlorne, and the greedie enemie euen readie to deuoure his prey, a new ſupplie of luſtie ſouldiers well armed, came couragiouſly to the breach, and as Lyons encountering the enemie, draue him downe againe, and ſo enforced him with great loſſe to retire. *Mahomet* grieued with this repulſe, in his furie cauſed [illegible] great ſhot to be diſcharged into the citie, and afterwards ſending for his great Baſſaes and other his principall men of war, declared vnto them his mind, as followeth. M

Mahomet purpoſing to giue a general aſſault, incourageth his captaines and ſouldiers thereunto.

I thinke none of you are ignorant (right worthie ſouldiers) that now it is the third moneth ſince this citie hath by vs beene moſt ſtraitly beſieged, and with all manner of Artillerie and engines of warre impugned, aſſaulted, and on euery ſide aſſailed, the wals thereof vtterly ſubuerted, and the bulwarkes layed flat with the ground, and (as you ſee) as good as raſed: beſides that, ſo oft as we haue yet ſet

A *vpon their fortreſſes, ſo often we haue prouoked them of Scodra to fight, and haue alſo much vexed them with aſſaults. Laſt of all, as you know, we haue left nothing vnproued, nothing vnattempted, which could be deuiſed, the eaſilier to ouercome them, being wearied, worne out, and their ſtrength ſpent. Wherefore (in mine opinion) the matter is not longer to be put off or delayed, but euen to morrow before the enemie can recouer his ſtrength or repaire his breaches, let vs encloſe the citie round, and giue them a generall and terrible aſſault: and therefore euery one of you make your ſelues readie, and exhort your ſouldiers in the campe, that they euery one of them to morrow with the dawning of the day come forth armed and wel appointed for the winning of the citie. Now will I prooue and know them that are worthie of my pay. Thou the Baſſa of Conſtantinople, with thy ſquadrons and certaine companies of the Ianizaries our faithfull guard, giue charge vnto the breach: in the meane time, let the Baſſa of Aſia with his* B *power aſſault the other parts of the citie: let euery man make readie and bring with him what ſo is needfull for this generall aſſault; my mind giueth me, that to morrow before this time we ſhall winne the citie: for who is there can reſiſt vs? The towne (as you ſee) is bared both of wall and of all other defence: the bulwarkes and ditches are laied euen, and an eaſie way for vs to come vnto it: the citizens themſelues wearie with ſo many fights and aſſaults faint and want ſtrength; whereas we are ſtill freſh and luſtie: they in number few, we almoſt innumerable: beſides that, we farre paſſe them in the force of our artillerie, wherewith many of them ſhall periſh in the defending of the breaches. Who then can gaineſay, but that they of Scodra are alreadie our priſoners? Where, vpon ſuch as remaine aliue, I will at my pleaſure vſe the law of armes and captiuitie. On therefore couragious hearts without further delay. Is not the very name of Scodra hatefull vnto vs? For which of you doth not with great diſdaine call to remembrance the death of your parents, or brethren, or friends, or companions, cruelly ſlaine vnder theſe* C *wals? Can you digeſt your hatred againſt them of Scodra? And ſo many ſlaughters of your friends, by them made? But to forget elder times, and the harmes receiued from them long ſince, let vs but looke vpon our late ſlaughters and wounds as it were yet bleeding: it is not yet full foure yeares ſince that we made warre with theſe men of Scodra, wherein ſo many thouſands of our people fell, that their ſlaughter is yet almoſt obiects to our eyes, and their bloud crauing reuenge. This very hill whereon we ſtand, and the ſtones yet ſeeme beſprinckled and polluted with their bloud. Wherefore haſte you as men of courage: Take vp armes, valiantly mount the hill, aſſault the towne, and reuenge your old iniuries. Glut your ſelues to the full in the effuſion of the Chriſtian bloud, whereunto our lawes doe ſo much exhort vs, and doe what you may with force and ſword, that not one of them of Scodra may bee left aliue: which* D *you may eaſily bring to paſſe, hauing all things thereunto needfull: for there is nothing to withſtand you, nothing wanting for the gaining of the victorie. All things are prepared, all things are readie: an eaſie matter it is for a ſtrong man to ouercome the weake and feeble, that wanteth, ſtrength as doe they.*

This ſpeech of the barbarous tyrant, was receiued with great applauſe & good liking of the hearers: and now was Scodra to be with all might & maine aſſaulted, and not a man there left aliue. Hereupon proclamation was made throughout the campe, That euery man vpon paine of death ſhould be readie againſt the appointed time: and the great captains and commanders of the armie departing from *Mahomet*, went vp to the top of the hil wheron the Baſſa lay, and E from thence taking view of the citie, and laying their heads together, conſulted how they might beſt giue the aſſault. The defendants on the other ſide alwaies expecting their enemies houering ouer their heads, left nothing vndon that they could poſſibly deuiſe, for the defence of themſelues & the citie. Now vpon the top of the Baſſaes mount, was a royal pauillion erected, richly couered with purple, from whence the proud tyrant might plainly behold all the aſſault: who with the dawning of the day (being the 22 of Iuly) entering the ſame, the Turkes who in the couert of the night had conueied themſelues, as neere vnto the wals as they could vpon the ſignall of battell giuen by a tire of ordnance diſcharged from the Baſſaes mount, ſuddenly ran to the breaches as thicke as bees, in hope by their ſudden approch to haue taken the Chriſtians at ſome aduantage, wherin they were much deceiued. F For they alwayes doubting ſuch a matter, & carefully obſeruing the leaſt motion of the enemie, were alwaies in readines to meet with their attempts: ſo that the Turks deſperatly ſtriuing to gain the breaches, and the Chriſtians valiantly defending the ſame, there was in diuers places begun a moſt cruell and mortall fight: but eſpecially neere vnto the great gate, where the furie of the cannon had made the wals moſt ſaultable. There the enemie was come to fight hand to hand, and pre-

The citie of Scodra aſſaulted by the Turks the fourth time.

A moſt terrible aſſault.

uailing vpon the defendants, had ſet vp one of the Turks enſignes vpon the top of the rampiers; which *Mahomet* beholding, reioyced exceedingly, thinking the citie now as good as taken. But the Chriſtians ſeeing the danger, ſpeedily repaired thither with new ſupplies, and by plaine force draue the enemie out again, & beat him from the rampiers. Vpon them alſo that were comming vp, they caſt downe peeces of timber, great ſtones, wildfire, pots of lime, and ſuch other things as might moſt annoy them: as for ſhot, none fell in vaine by reaſon of the wonderfull multitude of the Turkes, who ſtood ſo thicke, that a man could hardly haue caſt down a graine of muſtard ſeed from the wall but it muſt needs haue light vpon ſome of them: by which means the Turks were notably repulſed, their enſigne pluckt down, and they enforced to retire from the wals. Which ſudden alteration *Mahomet* perceiuing, fell into a great rage, and forthwith commanded his great ordnance, with greater fury than euer, to be diſcharged into the breach: and with great words commanded the two chiefe Baſſaes which ſtood by him vpon the mount, to goe preſently downe and enforce the ſoldiers which were already retired, to returne again vnto the aſſault. Theſe great commanders ſeeing the tyrant in ſuch a fret, forthwith deſcended from the hill, and where perſuaſion would not ſerue, with their drawne ſwords enforced the ſoldiers to returne backe againe to the aſſault. The Turks knowing that they were now in the eye of their king, and in the preſence of their greateſt commanders, ſtriue with might and maine to win the rampiers: for in that place, the wals of the citie were beaten downe to the ground, ſhaken before this aſſault with 2539 ſhot of the cannon or other peeces of no leſſe force. The Chriſtians likewiſe in defence of themſelues and their citie, with inuincible courage oppoſed themſelues againſt the Turks: ſo that a more deſperat fight than there, was hardly euer to be ſeen; deſperat men with deſperat band aſſailing one another; and the more to increaſe the terror of the day, the thundering ſhot, with the clamor of men, and noiſe of the inſtruments of warre, was ſo great, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue preſently fallen together; and arrowes falling into the citie as if it had bin ſhowers of rain, oftentimes darkened the light of the day. In this dreadfull fight, many of the defendants were ſlain; but of the Turks, twenty to one. Neere vnto that gate where this terrible aſſault was giuen, were certaine loupes hewen out of the maine rocke, which flanked the ditch all alongſt that ſide of the citie, out of which the Chriſtians with their murthering ſhot made lanes amongſt their enemies, and ſlew them without number. For all that, the mightie Baſſaes and great captains, one while by perſuaſion, another while by threatning, forced them ſtil forward, and if any turned backe, preſently ſlew him: ſo that the Turks ſeeing no leſſe danger in retiring than in fighting againſt the enemie, like deſperat men thruſt forward by heapes, and were ſlaine without number. Yet ſtill preſſing on ſo long as life laſted, and others ſtepping forward in ſtead of them that were ſlaine, they began againe to preuaile vpon the defendants (who in that place were for moſt part either ſlaine or hurt) and againe recouered the top of the rampiers, and there aduanced the Turks enſignes. Then began the tyrant to lift vp his head, making ſure account that the city was now his owne. But as the common ſaying is, He that reckoneth without his hoaſt, muſt reckon twiſe, ſo chanced it to *Mahomet*. For the companies, *from the* beginning of the ſiege left in the market place readie for all euents, & oftentimes wiſhing for ſome occaſion wherein to ſhew themſelues, being now in good time aduertiſed of the imminent danger, came with ſpeed to the place of the aſſault before the Turks had taken good footing; and there valiantly encountring them, ſlew a great number of them, and forced the reſt from the rampiers; and plucking downe their enſignes before ſet vp, in ſtead of them placed their owne. With which repulſe the Turks were ſo diſmaied, that they quite forſooke the aſſault, and in deſpight of their imperious commanders, not expecting any ſigne of retrait, in haſt retired to their campe. *Mahomet* fallen from ſo great an hope, and grieued aboue meaſure with this ſhamefull repulſe, returned into his pauillion fretting & fuming as a man halfe mad, where two daies he tormented himſelf with his own paſſions, not admitting any man to his preſence. The Chriſtians afterwards tooke the ſpoile of the dead Turks, and cutting off diuers of their heads, ſet them vp vpon poles round about the citie, to the terrour of their fellowes. In this aſſault were 12000 of the Turkes ſlaine, and many moe wounded. Of the Chriſtians were loſt 400: and of them that came to the breach eſcaped none, but he was wounded more or leſſe.

Twelue thouſand Turkes ſlaine in the laſt aſſault.

After that *Mahomet* had two daies diſgeſted the laſt repulſe, the ſhame wherof grieued him more than the loſſe it ſelfe; hee ſent for both the great Baſſaes of Conſtantinople and Aſia,

A and other two of his chiefe Counſellors, with whom he reſolued to giue another aſſault,and
thereon to gage his whole forces: for they were all of opinion with him, That the defendants
were ſo weakned & waſted with the former aſſault,that they could not poſſibly hold out another.
Whereupon ſtraight commandment was giuen thorow the campe,that euery man without
exception ſhould be readie to go to the aſſault whenſoeuer they were called vpon: & the
more to incourage the ſoldiers,great rewards and preferments were promiſed to them which
in time of the aſſault ſhould performe any eſpeciall piece of ſeruice. The firſt appearance of
the new Moone (which the Turks worſhip with great deuotion) was the time that *Mahomet*
had appointed for this generall aſſault: in the mean time he ſpared not to poure out his furie
againſt the walls and rampiers of the town,by the mouth of the canon. The Chriſtian defendants
B on the other ſide,firſt by heartie prayer commended themſelues and their Citie to the
protection of the Almightie,and afterwards with reſtleſſe labour and no ſmall perill, ſpeedily
repaired and new fortified whatſoeuer the furie of the artillerie had ouerthrowne or ſhaken;
omitting nothing that could be done or deuiſed for the defence of themſelues and their citie.
Now as ſoon as the new moon began to ſhew her ſelfe,the Mahometan prieſts going about the
armie,gaue the ſoldiers knowledge thereof (as their manner is) by ſinging of a ſong in manner
of a proceſſion; whereunto the whole armie anſwered with a ſhort reſponde, but with ſuch a
terrible noiſe as was wonderfull to heare; and at the ſame time bowing themſelues to the
ground,ſaluted the Moon with great ſuperſtition. All their fond ceremonies performed,they
began to draw nigh the citie ſo thicke,and in number ſo many,that all the ground for the ſpace
C of a mile round about Scodra,was thicke coueted with men. The Chriſtians expecting euerie
houre to be aſſailed,were readie vpon the walls and rampiers of the citie, to repulſe the enemie:
but eſpecially at the great gate where moſt danger was feared, for that the Turkes with
their great Ordnance had made that place of all others moſt ſaultable. Here *Iacobus Moneta* a
noble captain,with his brother *Moncinus* a valiant gentleman,tooke vpon them to receiue the
firſt aſſault, which is commonly of all others moſt terrible: for the Turks vſe in their aſſaults
to giue three attempts,whereof the firſt is moſt furious and dangerous,as performed by their
beſt ſoldiers: the other two are of leſſe force; but if they faile in all three, they forſake the
enterpriſe as men diſcouraged. Whileſt both the aſſailants and the defendants ſtood thus in
readines,the one as it were facing the other a great part of the night, *Mahomet* before day went
D vp to the top of the Baſſa's mount,from whence he had before beholden the former aſſault: at
whoſe comming there were preſently 11 canons diſcharged,and 12 ſmaller Pieces (the ſignal
appointed for the aſſault.) The Turks vpon this ſigne giuen,with exceeding tumult & moſt hideous
outcrie (as their manner is) began to aſſaile the citie round,and with ſuch wonderful agilitie
of bodie and courage mounted the rampiers at the great gate, that they had there as it
were in a trice ſet vp one of their enſignes,which was forthwith pluckt vp by *Moneta*, & the
Turks with great ſlaughter driuen down,where many of them were ſlain with ſtones, timber,
fire,& ſuch other things caſt down vpon them; beſide a great number ſlain or wounded with
ſhot,arrows,and darts,whereof none fel to the ground in vain,by reaſon that the Turks ſtood
E ſo thicke,that they violently preſſed one another forward, in ſuch ſort that the formoſt could
by no means ſhun any danger,were it neuer ſo great or terrible. In this ſort the aſſault was with
great ſlaughter of the Turks continued vntil it was day; they ſtriuing to win the breach, and
the Chriſtians moſt valiantly defending the ſame. *Moneta* himſelf in this fight receiued diuers
wounds,and was twice beaten down to the ground; yet ſtill recouering himſelfe,incouraged
his ſoldiers,and worthily repulſed the enemie. *Mahomet* ſeeing his ſouldiers beaten from the
breach,cauſed a tyre of his great ordnance to be diſcharged vpon the Chriſtians which ſtood
therein thicke for the defence thereof, by force whereof many of them were rent in pieces,
and the reſt ſore diſmayd: which the Turkes quickly perceiuing,and therewith encouraged,
came on again with a freſh charge,forcing themſelues to the vtmoſt to haue entred. But the valiant
F captain nothing diſcouraged either with the loſſe of them that were ſlaine,or the danger
of himſelfe, valiantly withſtood the furious enemy, & maintained the place till new ſupplies
came to relieue him,and departed not thence,nor ſuffered any man to depart,til the aſſault was
ended. Many were ſlain on both ſides; yet nothing troubled the defendants ſo much as the
great ordnance,which being diſcharged from the Baſſa's mount, into the breach, when as the
Turks were driuen back,ſlew many of the Chriſtians, leauing the breach almoſt cleere: ſo giuing

The Turks ſuperſtitiouſly reuerence the new Moone.

Scodra againe moſt furiouſly aſſaulted by the Turks.

uing occaſion for the Turks to haue entred, had not other couragious ſoldiers ſtept vp in ſtead of them that were ſlain, who manfully repulſed the enemy. The tyrant from the mount ſeeing the inuincible courage of the defendants, was therewith exceedingly troubled: but fully reſolued now or neuer to haue it, commanded all his forces to be drawn from all other parts of the citie, to the great gate, there to renew the aſſault; ſtraitly charging his captains, neuer to return thence vntill they had taken the citie. Hereupon the greateſt part of that hugie army was forthwith in the ſight of himſelfe brought to the appointed place, and there gaue a ſharpe and cruel aſſault at the breach, with ſuch deſperat fury, that in ſhort time they had ſlain moſt of the defendants there preſent, and aduanced diuers of their enſignes vpon the top of the rampiers. Which *Mahomet* beholding from the Mount, rejoiced exceedingly, making ſure account, that the city was now his own: but by that time he had well conceiued this hope, new ſupplies of freſh and couragious men (of purpoſe reſerued for all euents) came to the place of danger, and with great reſolution incountring the wearied Turks, draue them backe, cleared the breach, and ouerthrew the enſignes. Which ſo ſudden an alteration in the breach, wrought no leſſe alteration in the proud tyrants mind, his hope was turned into diſpaire, and his joy into choler: inſomuch that in his furie he commanded all his great artillerie to be at once diſcharged into the breach, whereby many of his forward and couragious ſouldiers were ſlaine togither with the defendants. At the ſame time, the great commanders & captains knowing themſelues to be in the eye of their imperious lord and maſter, with their drawn ſwords forced the poore ſoldiers again forward to the breach; & the more to encourage them, aduentured themſelues alſo among them: whereby the fight became more fierce and terrible than before. Many of the Turks were there ſlaine; yet ſuch was the force and multitude of them which ſtill ſtept vp in their place, and bullets and arrowes flew ſo thicke, that the defendants oppreſſed with multitude, and ouerwhelmed with ſhot, were hardly able longer to maintain the place, being for moſt part either ſlain or wounded. Wherupon a great crie ran apon the ſudden thorow the city, that euery man without exception ſhould forthwith repaire to the breach. Which was with ſuch cherefulnes done, that in leſſe time than was to haue bin thought, a wonderful multitude of all ſorts of people was there met togither, encouraging one another againſt the preſent danger; who all as men reſolued to lay down their liues in defence of their country, valiantly encountred the Turks vpon the top of the rampiers, and ſo hardly laid vnto them, that notwithſtanding their great number, they began now again to wauer and ſhrinke back. Which thing the tyrant perceiuing from the mount, in great rage commanded his canoniers, as faſt as they could to diſcharge the great ordnance into the breach, without regard of his own men, ſo that together with them he might alſo kil ſome of the Chriſtians: and withall imperiouſly commanded his captaines, with all their force and power to maintaine the aſſault, threatning them with moſt horrible death, if they returned without victorie. Hereupon the aſſault was again renewed, euery man (in ſhew at leaſt) ſet downe there to doe his laſt deuoire. But the great ordnance ſtill playing vpon the breach, ſlew many of the Turks, as well as of the Chriſtians. Thriſe the great ſhot fell amongſt the Turks themſelues, and rent in ſunder a great number of them which were formoſt, to the great diſcouragement of the reſt: whereof the tyrant had ſmall regard, ſo that togither with them he might alſo diminiſh the number of the defendants. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch was the deſperat furie of the enemie, that the citie was in no ſmall danger to haue been preſently taken, had not freſh ſupplies come from other parts of the city which they were appointed vnto; who with great courage reſiſted the enemie. Yet the Turks far exceeding in number (and freſh men continually ſtepping vp in ſtead of them which lay by heapes vnder their feet, and ſerued them in ſtead of ſteps to get vp to the rampiers) maintained a long and terrible fight: at which time the great ordnance alſo ſore annoyed the defendants, ſo that with one ſhot (whereby the greatneſſe of the harms done at other times may be gathred) eighteen of the Chriſtian defendants were ſlaine. As for arrowes, they flew as thicke as haile into the citie, ſo that they obſcured the light of the day, and lay in moſt places of the ſtreet a ſpan thicke: ſo that for the ſpace of a moneth after, the inhabitants vſed no other fuell to burne, but Turkiſh arrowes. It was a ruthfull ſight, to haue ſeene the bodies of the valiant Chriſtians rent in ſunder with the great ſhot, and peeces of them cleauing vpon euerie wall thereabout, euery ſtreet was ſtained with their bloud, the great ordnance continually thundred, Churches and houſes came ratling downe, yea the heauie countenance of the

The aſſault renewed againe fiercely by the Turks.

A wofull ſight.

A aire it ſelf ſeemed to bewaile the miſerie of the poore Chriſtians: beſides, the noyſe of trumpets,
drums, and other inſtruments of warre, with the horrible crie of the helliſh Turks, was ſo
great and hideous, that it ſeemed as if heauen and earth ſhould haue gone together: nothing
was to be heard but the verie terror of the eare; nothing to be ſeene but death, and the verie
inſtruments of death. And now in this extremitie a fearefull crie ran through the citie, That
without preſent helpe all would be loſt at the great gate: whereupon not onely they which
were whole, (which were the feweſt in number) but they alſo which lay wounded or ſicke in
their beds, chering vp themſelues, with weapons in their hands ranne with ſpeed to the place
where the danger was; chuſing rather there to die, than to be ſlain in their beds. Thus whileſt
the Chriſtians of all ſorts, and from all parts of the citie, ran deſperatly to the gate, the Turkes
B were on euerie ſide hardly preſſed, and in great number ſlain; yet freſh men ſtill comming vp,
as if they had ſprung out of the earth, the deadly fight was by them ſtill maintained: for the
Turks on the one ſide, for feare of the tyrant, laboured with might and main to win the citie;
and the Chriſtians on the other, knowing no hope left for them if they ſhould be ouercome,
with no leſſe reſolution defended the ſame. In this obſtinacie of mindes many fell on both
ſides; ſometimes the Turks ſeemed to haue the better, and were ſtraitway by the Chriſtians
put to the worſe. Which manner of mortall fight, with doubtfull euent, was continued moſt
part of that day; vntil that at length many being on both parts ſlaine, and the reſt for the
moſt part ſore wounded and hurt, the furie of the aſſault began to aſſuage: for the Turkes
now wearie of that long and deadly fight, and fainting with their wounds, had no great ſtomacke
to mount vp the rampiers, where they ſaw no hope to preuaile, but all things threatning
C present death. *Mahomet* beholding the wonderfull ſlaughter of his men, and that hauing
done what was poſſible for men to doe, they now fought as men diſcouraged; and in deſpaire
of victorie himſelfe, cauſed a retrait to be ſounded, which the Turkes no ſooner heard, but
that they left the aſſault, and without order ran to their tents, as men halfe feared out of their
wits.

A doubtfull fight.

Of this victorie, the Chriſtians (as they had good cauſe) reioyced greatly: yet was this joy
mingled with much ſorrow and heauineſſe, for the loſſe of ſuch worthie men as were ſlaine in
that aſſault, many of whoſe bodies they were glad to gather vp by piecemeale, ſome here,
ſome there, ſome cleauing on this wall & ſome on that: which they, as the time would giue
D leaue, honorably buried with the reſt of the ſlain. At which time alſo, they with all diligence
and expedition repaired their breaches, and put all things in ſuch readineſſe, as if they ſhould
haue preſently receiued a freſh aſſault.

Mahomet wonderfully grieued with the ſhamefull diſhonour and great loſſe he had receiued
at the laſt aſſault, repented himſelfe that euer he had taken the matter in hand, wiſhing that
he had neuer heard of the name of Scodra: and in his choler and franticke rage moſt horribly
blaſphemed againſt God, moſt wickedly ſaying, That it were enough for him to haue care of
heauenly things, and not to croſſe him in his worldly actions: in which furie he deſcended
from the Mount, and got him into his tent, where he againe tormented himſelfe with his melancholie
paſſions by the ſpace of two dayes; wherein he would neither be ſpoke withall, or
E admit any man to his preſence. Vpon the third day he called a generall Councell of his commanders
and beſt ſouldiers, and thereupon openly before them all ſayd, That he was determined
to giue the enemie a freſh aſſault, for that being weakened with ſo many aſſaults, he could
not poſſibly be able to hold out another; and therefore hoped for an eaſie victorie. But he had
no ſooner ſo ſayd, but that all they that heard him, cried out with one voyce to the contrarie;
ſaying, That it was not by any meanes to be attempted, for as much as his beſt ſouldiers were
alreadie ſlaine, and the greater part of them that were left, either ſore wounded, or brought
to that weakneſſe, that they were not able to doe any more ſeruice; and that therefore it were
better for them to kill one another, or elſe himſelfe to kill them one by one, than to expoſe
F them to be ſo ſhamefully butchered by the Chriſtians. In this diuerſitie of opinions, *Achmetes
Baſſa* the great champion of the Turkes (a man reuerend and of great authoritie, for his
birth, yeares, and rare experience in martiall affaires, and one by whom *Mahomet* had done
great matters) ſtanding vp, with pleaſing ſpeech calmed his furious mind, and with ſubſtantiall
reaſons perſuaded him to deſiſt from that his intended purpoſe, and to take another ſurer
courſe, as followeth:

A notable ſpeech of the great Baſſa *Achmetes.*

Your great valour and worthie praiſes, inuincible Emperour (ſayd he) *who is able to expreſſe? the* G *greatneſſe whereof the mind of man cannot conceiue, and my dull ſpirit but wonder at; my tongue faltereth to ſpeake of them, neither would this time ſerue ſo much as to recount them. It is of all men deemed a thing of great honour (moſt dread Soueraigne) when a Prince hath receiued a Kingdome from his Anceſtours, to be able in ſafetie to keepe and defend the ſame: greater than this is it, honourably to increaſe and augment it, ſo left: but of a ſmall thing, by worthie proweſſe to bring it to the higheſt type of worldly honour, is of all other things the greateſt. Which moſt rare excellencie, all men worthily aſcribe vnto your perfection and felicitie: and I, of all others, can thereof bring the moſt aſſured teſtimonie, who haue oftentimes heard it of mine Anceſtours (which following the* Othoman *Princes out of Aſia into Europe) that your worthie predeceſſors at their firſt comming into Europe (without offence* H *be it ſayd) poſſeſſed but a corner thereof: to whom you afterward by diuine appointment ſucceeding, haue adioyned ſo many prouinces, kingdomes, and Empires, as were tedious to rehearſe them. For who can worthily expreſſe, how you haue in Europe ſubdued Conſtantinople, the Imperiall citie of the Eaſt Empire, with all Thracia, Achaia, Grecia, Peloponeſus, Bæotia, Thebes, and the noble citie of Athens the Mother and Nurſe of all good learning. The Empire of Trapezond, with the Emperour thereof is by you ouerthrowne: The Kingdomes of Seruia and Boſna, with the Princes of Peloponeſus, are by you gloriouſly vanquiſhed. You haue at your command twelue kingdomes in Aſia the leſſer; Pontus, Bythinia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Cilicia, Pamphilia, Lycia, Caria, Lydia, Phrygia, Nicomedia, and Nicea, with the famous citie of Pruſa. Beſides theſe, Ionia, Doris, Smyrna, Colophon, Epheſus, Miletum, Halicarnaſſus, Pergamus, with the Countrey of Taurica, are vnder your ſubiection. The great coun-* I *trey of Armenia hath felt your force: The Iſlands of Lesbos, Chios, and Eubæa, are parts of your Empire. What ſhould I ſpeake of infinite people and Nations, by you moſt victoriouſly vanquiſhed? This may ſuffice for all, That you haue gained from the Chriſtians twentie Prouinces, and two hundred great Cities. For it were too long to rehearſe the Mahometane Kings and Princes by you alſo vanquiſhed: In all your expeditions all things haue yet giuen place to your fortune. The antient Monuments may now ceaſe to extoll the praiſes of* Cæſar, Scipio, Pyrrhus, Hannibal, *and other Chiefetaines of Rome and forraine Nations: for why, they are all inferiour to you, both for victories and countries ſubdued. The* Othoman *Familie is vndoubtedly fatall for ſoueraigntie: all the world ſhall in ſhort time come vnder your gouernment, and all Nations ſhall ſerue you. As for this towne of Scodra, let it not ſo much grieue you: worldly things (as you know) doe oftentimes deceiue our expectation; in* K *them Fortune beareth great ſway. Yet for this matter quiet your ſelfe; for I dare gage my Faith vnto your Imperiall Majeſtie, that I will in ſhort time find meanes, that this citie ſhall ſtand at your deuotion. Did not I of late bring into your ſubiection the impregnable citie of Croia, which you ſo long deſired? But whereas you would now againe forthwith attempt to win it by aſſault, I therein craue your pardon, in that I cannot be of that opinion, but muſt needs thinke far otherwiſe: for to attempt war, and to be ouerthrowne, is an eaſie matter for euery one to do; but to vanquiſh the enemy, and to carry away the triumph, that right few men know. He that conſulteth of ſuch great and waightie matters, ought to be free both from furie and deſire, both euill Counſellors. The Chriſtians of Scodra are not in my opinion to be againe aſſaulted, for in ſo doing you ſhall but loſe your labour. For if you could not ſubdue them, your Armie being then freſh and ſtrong, how ſhall you now ouercome them with much fewer, and they* L *wounded, weake, and feeble? I haue viewed the whole camp, and ſearched euery tent; and found no place, no tent, yea ſcarcely any cabin, without groaning, ſighing, weeping, or wailing; in euery place was heauineſſe, ſorrow, mourning, and death it ſelfe: for in the laſt aſſault you loſt thirtie thouſand and more, of your beſt ſoldiers: many moe are grieuouſly wounded and maimed; none, but he carrieth about him ſome ſigne that he was there: few or none there be that dare againe mount the hill to giue a freſh aſſault, they are all ſo affraid and diſcouraged. Whom when I demanded, how ſo great a feare was come vpon them, and what was the cauſe they had ſo loſt their wonted courage? they anſwered me, That it was the looke, euen the verie looke of them of Scodra, whoſe eyes did ſeeme vnto them, to burne and ſparkle with fire: their ſterne and terrible countenances (ſaid they) haue ſtrooke this terror into vs. Wherefore I thinke it not good to giue a freſh aſſault with men ſo diſmayed; but rather to vſe policie and delay, againſt ſuch* M *reſolute enemies. This Citie of Scodra is the eye and head of all this Prouince, which the Venetians haue notably fortified, and planted with ſtore of ordnance, and of all things elſe neceſſarie for defence thereof; but eſpecially with moſt valiant Souldiers, of purpoſe choſen out of many their Garriſons, for defence of this Citie. You haue not now to doe with the weake and effeminate people of Aſia, but with* *the hard and rough people of Epirus. And you know (moſt mightie Emperour) the ſtrength and courage of this Nation: it is now thirtie yeares that you haue made warre againſt this People, and haue not yet altogether ſubdued them; and how dangerous and chargeable this warre hath beene vnto you, who knoweth not? It is now ſix moneths ſince we came firſt before this Citie; we haue intrenched our ſelues round about it, we haue day and night layd hard ſiege vnto it, we haue battered it of long with eleuen Cannons: I ſpeake not of other ſmaller Pieces or engines of warre, with all kinds of ſhot and fire-works, and whatſoeuer elſe we could deuiſe. We haue many times to our coſt aſſaulted it; what could be done by force, ſtrength, or multitude of valiant men, is alreadie done in the former aſſaults: Nothing hath bin left vnattempted, no policie, no direction hath wanted in your Leaders, neither courage in your ſouldiers. What ſhould I recount the innumerable great ſhot, or ſpeake of our arrowes and darts, deliuered into the citie as ſhowers of haile? Did all this, or any thing elſe we could doe, any thing terrifie theſe Defendants? Were they not, nay are they not ſtill readie with great aſſurance and courage at all aſſayes to encounter vs? You take a wrong courſe, by force to conſtraine them: they haue taken vpon them the defence of this place, and are not thence to be remooued, there ſhall you be ſure ſtill to find them either aliue or dead: and what account they make of their liues, you ſee, they will ſell them vnto vs deere for their countrey, and preferre an honourable death before a ſeruile life. Wherefore againſt men ſo ſet down, policie is to be vſed; and them whom we cannot by force ſubdue, let vs by delay and time ouercome. If you will winne Scodra, blocke it vp, build ſtrong Forts in places conuenient round about it, and furniſh them with good ſouldiers; make a bridge ouer Boliana, with a ſtrong Caſtle on either ſide, to ſtop the paſſage: which done, beſiege the other weaker Cities of the Venetians, which are as it were the limmes of Scodra; and ſubdue the Countrey round about, which will be no hard matter for you to doe, being maſter of the field: ſo muſt Scodra at length of neceſſitie yeeld vnto you, as of late did Croia, inforced thereunto by famine. Thus may you in ſafetie without ſlaughter of your people, come to the full of your deſires.*

The wholeſome counſell of the Baſſa ſo well pleaſed *Mahomet* himſelfe, and the reſt there preſent, that the aſſault was layd aſide, and preſent order taken for the ſpeedie execution of that which was ſo well by him plotted. Whereupon the Baſſa of Conſtantinople with his Forces was ſent to Zabiache, a citie in the borders of Dalmatia, ſtanding vpon the lake of Scutarie, not farre from Aſcriuium, which in few dayes was yeelded vnto him. The Baſſa poſſeſſed of the citie, thruſt out all the inhabitants, and leauing therein a garriſon of Turks, returned againe to the campe at Scodra. At the ſame time the great Baſſa of Aſia was alſo ſent by *Mahomet* againſt Driuaſto a citie alſo of the Venetians: which when he had beſieged and ſore battered by the ſpace of ſixteene dayes, the great tyrant came thither in perſon himſelfe, and the next day after his comming tooke the citie without any great reſiſtance. Such as he found vpon the walls, he put to the ſword; of the reſt he tooke three hundred away with him to the campe at Scodra, and there in the face of the citie cauſed them all to be cruelly ſlaine, of purpoſe ſo to terrifie the defendants. The next day after, he ſent the great Baſſa of Conſtantinople to Lyſſa, called alſo Aleſſa, a citie of the Venetians, ſcituated vpon the riuer Drinus, about thirtie miles from Scodra. The Baſſa comming thither, found the citie deſolate, (for the citiſens hearing of his comming, were for feare before fled) for which cauſe he ſet the citie on fire. Here the Turks digged vp the bones of the worthie Prince *Scanderbeg*, for the ſuperſtitious opinion they had of the vertue of them; and happie was he that could get any little part thereof to ſet in gold or other iewell, as a thing of great pride, (as is before declared.) All theſe things thus done, *Mahomet* committed the direction of all things concerning the ſiege of Scodra, vnto the diſcretion of *Achmetes*; by whoſe perſuaſion he leauing a great power for the continuing of the ſiege, departed thence himſelfe with fortie thouſand ſouldiers for Conſtantinople, curſing and banning by the way all the countrey of Epirus, all the inhabitants therein, and euery part thereof, their corne, their cattell, and whatſoeuer elſe was fruitfull, but aboue all other things, the citie of Scodra, with all that therein was, for that he had neuer receiued greater diſhonour or loſſe, than there.

Lyſſa taken by the Turks, and the bones of Scãderbeg digged vp by them, & had in great reuerence.

After his departure, which was about the ſeuenth of September, the two great Baſſa's of Conſtantinople and Aſia, according to order before taken, built a great bridge ouer the riuer Boliana, and on either ſide a ſtrong caſtle, to the intent that no reliefe ſhould that way be brought into the city. Which worke when they had brought to perfection, & furniſhed both caſtles with garriſons, ordnance, and all things neceſſarie, they left ***Achmetes Baſſa*** with fortie thouſand ſouldiers to continue the ſiege, and returned themſelues, the one to Conſtantinople, the other into Aſia. The warie and politique Baſſa mindfull of the charge he had taken vpon him, tooke ſuch order, that no reliefe could poſſibly be brought vnto the citie either by land or by water: and ſo lying ſtill before it a long time, he brought it at length into ſuch a diſtreſſe and want of all things, that the poore Chriſtians were fain to eat all manner of vnclean and loathſome things; horſes were daintie meat, yea, they were glad to eat dogs, cats, rats, and the skinnes of beaſts ſod: it exceedeth all credit, to tell at what exceeding great price a little mouſe was ſould, or puddings made of dogs guts. All theſe bare ſhifts and extremities the poore Chriſtians were content to endure euen vnto the laſt gaſpe, rather than to yeeld themſelues into the hands of their mercileſſe enemies.

Whileſt Scodra thus lay in the ſuds, the Venetians wearie of the long and chargeable war they had to their great loſſe now maintained againſt ſo mightie an enemie by the ſpace of ſixteene yeares, and hauing no meanes to relieue their diſtreſſed ſubiects in Scodra, thought it beſt to prooue if they could procure a peace from the tyrant. For which purpoſe they ſent ***Benedictus Triniſanus***, a great Senator, and a man of great experience, to Conſtantinople: who ſo well vſed the matter, that after long debating too and fro, at length a peace was concluded; whereof the chiefe capitulations were, That the Venetians ſhould deliuer vnto *Mahomet* the citie of Scodra, the Iſland of Lemnos, and the ſtrong caſtle of Tenarus in Peloponeſus, and pay him yearely eight thouſand duckats; that they might freely after their woonted manner traffique into the Euxine by the ſtraits of Helleſpontus and Boſphorus Thracius, and other parts of his dominions. Concerning the citiſens of Scodra, it was compriſed in the ſame peace, That it ſhould be at their owne choice, either to liue there ſtill vnder the gouernment of the Turkiſh Emperour, or elſe at their pleaſure to depart in ſafetie with their goods whither they would. *Triniſanus* hauing in this manner concluded a peace, in his returne homeward, the fourth of Aprill found the Venetian Admirall riding at anker in the mouth of Boliana, from whence they both by letters certified the Gouernor and citiſens of Scodra, in what manner the peace was concluded with the Turke, and what prouiſion was therein made for them. Vpon receit of which letters, the Gouernor calling together the citiſens, declared vnto them how the caſe ſtood; and there with them entred into conſultation vpon this hard queſtion, Whether they would remaine there ſtill in their natiue countrey vnder the Turkiſh tyrannie; or forſaking the ſame, liue amongſt other Chriſtians in perpetuall exile? But after that the matter had beene throughly debated, and many reaſons on both parts alledged; at length it was by generall conſent concluded; That they ſhould all forſake the citie and the houſe of bondage, as dangerous both to their ſoules and bodies, and liue as it ſhould pleaſe God amongſt other Chriſtians. So the Turks giuing pledges for the ſafe departure of the Chriſtians in Scodra, they all at an appointed day with bag and baggage came out of the citie, and were by the Venetians carefully tranſported into other parts of their territorie in Italie, where they liued in peace. The Turks (who had now beſieged the citie a whole yeare) after the departure of the Chriſtians entred the citie with great joy and triumph; which, with manie others thereabout, hath euer ſince, to the great ruth of all Chriſtendome, remained in the poſſeſſion of the faithleſſe Infidels. Thus was the ſtrong citie of Scodra loſt, and the long wars ended betwixt *Mahomet* and the Venetians, which hapned in the yeare 1478.

A hard choice.

Scodra yeelded vnto the Turks.

1480.

Mahomet now at peace with the Venetians, ſent the ſame ***Achmetes Baſſa*** (by whom he had but a little before taken in Scodra) with his fleet of gallies againſt one ***Leonard*** Prince of Neritus, Zacynthus, and Cephalenia, Iſlands neere vnto Peloponeſus: where the Baſſa arriuing, eaſily tooke the ſame Iſlands, the poore Prince for ſafegard of his life being glad to flie into Italie with his wife and treaſure, to King ***Ferdinand***, whoſe nigh kinſwoman he had married.

About the ſame time ***Alis Beg***, ſyrnamed ***Michael Ogli***, ***Iſa Beg*** the ſon of ***Caſſanes***, and ***Balis Beg***, ſyrnamed ***Malcozogli*** (men of great account amongſt the Turks, and moſt honourably diſcended) entred into Tranſyluania with a great army of an hundred thouſand men, and brought ſuch a generall feare vpon the countrey, that ***Stephanus Batore*** the Vayuod, was glad with all ſpeed to flie vnto ***Matthias*** king of Hungarie, to declare vnto him the danger of his countrey, and to craue his ayd. ***Matthias*** at the ſame time lay ſicke of the gout: neuertheleſſe he tooke ſuch order by his captains, ***Stephanus Cherepetrus***, and ***Paulus Kiniſius*** Countie of Temeſware, that the Turks were encountred not far from Alba Iulia, and there in a great and bloudie battell ouerthrowne: wherein *Iſa* one of their great Captaines was ſlaine, with thirtie thouſand Turks mo. Neither was this victorie gained by the Chriſtians without loſſe, *Bator* the Vayuod himſelfe being ſore wounded, and eight thouſand men ſlaine.

Mahomet in his ambitious humor, had long time deſired to haue in his ſubiection the Iſland of the Rhodes. For why, it grieued him that ſo ſmal an Iſland ſhould lie ſo nie his great dominions in Aſia, holden by a few Chriſtians, to the great trouble of his merchants trading in the Mediteranean, beſide many other harmes daily from thence receiued, and to haue no feeling of his greatneſſe. But foraſmuch as the winning of that place was thought to bee a matter of great difficultie, and in former times vnfortunatly attempted by ſome of the Mahometan princes: he purpoſed now with good aduiſe to take this enterpriſe in hand. Whereſore calling together his graue counſellors and moſt expert men of war, after he had declared vnto them the manifold iniuries receiued from them of the Rhodes; he propounded the matter, Whether it were beſt to attempt the winning of that Iſland or not? Some forward men perſuaded him to reuenge thoſe iniuries done by thoſe Chriſtians, and to ſubdue that Iſland, which for the neereneſſe vnto Caria, might of right be accounted as part of his dominion, & not to forbeare that enterpriſe for feare of repulſe, foraſmuch as he was able to bring mo men to aſſaile it than were ſtones in the wal about it. Others better aduiſed, declared the ſtrength of the Iſland, with the valor of the defendants; men alwaies brought vp in armes, and as it were choſen out of all parts of Chriſtendome: ſo that it was (as they ſaid) like to proue a matter of more difficultie than was by ſome ſuppoſed; whereof ſome of the Mahometan princes had to their no ſmall diſhonor, alreadie made ſufficient triall: alleadging farther, that that ſmall Iſland which ſcarcely appeared in the ſea, was not of that worth, as that he ſhould thereon gage his honor, with the liues of ſo many good men, and moſt valiant ſouldiers as might ſerue for the conqueſt of a kingdome. For all that, *Mahomet* prickt forward with the ſpurs of ambition, and continuall ſolicitation of *Anthonius Meligalus*, a fugitiue knight of the Rhodes, reſolued to follow the counſell of them which perſuaded the war. This *Meligalus* was a knight of the Order, which when he had prodigally conſumed his ſubſtance, which was great, with two others, *Demetrius* and *Sophonius*, men of his own qualitie and diſpoſition, fled vnto the Turkiſh Emperor; preſenting vnto him a perfect plot of the citie, with all the ſtrength both of it, and the Iſle wherin it ſtood, and which way he might with moſt eaſe win it. In which ſeruice they frankly offered to ſpend their liues: but hoping indeed, by ſuch foule treacherie to repaire their broken eſtate. All things being now in readineſſe, *Mahomet* appointed *Meſithes Paleologus*, one of his chiefe Baſſaes (the neere kinſman of *Conſtantinus Paleologus* the laſt Emperor of Conſtantinople) Generall for that expedition; committing to his charge the whole managing of that ſo great an action. *Meſithes* embarking his armie, in number eightie thouſand, and throughly furniſhed with all things neceſſarie for the ſiege, ſet forward from Conſtantinople, and with a pleaſant gale of wind, ſailed alongſt the coaſt of Aſia the leſſe, towards the Rhodes: where by the way he called vnto him *Demetrius* (one of the fugitiue knights) to learne of him the beſt means for the ſafe landing of his army. As for the arch traitor *Meligalus*, and chiefe authour of this warre, he was fallen ſicke vpon the way; and in the extremitie of his ſickneſſe, growing both troubleſome and loathſome vnto the Turks that were with him in the ſame gally, was by the marriners throwne ouer boord aliue, crying out in vaine for helpe, no man vouchſafing to haue any compaſſion vpon him: and ſo ſwallowed vp of the ſea, receiued amidſt the waues, the iuſt guerdon of his treacherie.

Mahomet longeth after the Rhodes.

A death right worthie ſuch a traitour.

At this time *Peter Damboyſe* a Frenchman, an Auergnoies, a man of ſingular gouernment, was Great Maſter of the Rhodes; whoſe vigilancie was ſuch, that commonly once in eight daies he had certain intelligence what great matters paſſed in the Turks court: and therewith of ſuch deepe iudgement, that he was ſeldome or neuer ouertaken, or deceiued with any falſe aduertiſements. This carefull Grand Maſter, was not ignorant of all theſe great preparations, neither of the comming of the Baſſa; and therefore had before ſtrongly fortified the city, and ſo ſtored the ſame with all things needfull, as might wel haue ſerued for many yeres ſiege: but eſpecially with ſuch ſhot and powder, that it was deemed (as indeed it was) an eſpeciall meanes whereby the citie was afterward preſerued. At the ſame time, many noble and valiant gentlemen hearing of the Turkes deſignes, repaired thither out of Italie, France, Spaine, Germanie,

manie, and other places of Chriſtendome, cheerfully to aduenture their liues, in defence both of the place, and of the Chriſtian religion, againſt the common enemie of Chriſtianitie. The Great Maſter taking a generall view of all the forces he had, to oppoſe againſt ſo puiſſant an enemie, found that he had in the citie ſixteene thouſand able men: in which number were reckoned many Iewes and other men of ſeruile condition; who in the ſiege following, did right good ſeruice. The great Baſſa conducted by the falſe traitor *Demetrius*, ſafely landed both his armie and artillerie in the Iſland the two and twentieth day of Iune, not far from the citie. At which time the Great Maſter conſidering that the ſafetie of the Citie conſiſted more in the liuely valour of the defendants, than in the ſtrength of the dead wals, or other warlike prouiſion; thought it requiſit, as a part of his dutie, by cheerfull perſuaſions to encourage them, valiantly to withſtand the force of their enemies. And therefore calling them all together, ſpake vnto them as followeth.

The oration of the Great Maſter to the reſt of the knights and ſouldiers, to encourage them valiantly to withſtand the Turkes.

At length valiant ſouldiers and fellowes at armes, we ſee the Turkes our mortall enemies (as we were before aduertiſed, as well by Letters from our friendes, as by common fame) breathing after our deſtruction; in readineſſe to deſtroy our Churches, our Oratorries, our Altars, our Religion, and whatſoeuer elſe we account ſacred or religious; ſeeking the ruine of this noble Citie, and the cruell death of vs all; gaping at once, to deuoure our liues, our wealth, our hope, with all our former honour. And truly as I cannot denie but that the chance of warre is doubtfull, and the euent thereof vncertaine: So when I conſider your valiant courage and cheerfulneſſe of mind, I preſently conceiue a moſt aſſured hope of victorie. They haue entered into armes againſt vs, not ſo much for any deſert of ours, or vpon any other quarrell, as for the vnſatiable deſire of rule, and the great deſpite they beare againſt vs and the Chriſtian religion. But to withſtand their furie, and to fruſtrate their deſignes, we want neither weapons nor artillerie, nor prouiſion for many yeares; we haue a moſt ſtrong garriſon of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germaines, Engliſh, and others, the verie chiualrie of Chriſtendome: and that which more is, Chriſt Ieſus our Captaine and Generall, by whoſe power, we ſhall no doubt eaſily repulſe the vaine force of our moſt wicked and graceleſſe enemies. The care we haue for the defence of the Chriſtian Faith, whereunto we are by ſpeciall profeſſion bound, will animate and encourage vs, againſt them, which ſeeke for nothing more than to extend their wicked and groſſe superſtition, to the great diſhonour of God, and of his ſonne Chriſt Ieſus. Beſides that, we are warlike Frenchmen, Italians, Germaines, and other worthie Chriſtians: they are of Caria, Lydia, Capadocia, and the other delicate countries of Aſia; effeminat perſons brought vp to pleaſure. I ſay it not to draw you into any manifeſt or ineuitable danger, neither to feed you with vaine hope, or to fill your eares with windie wordes: but this I promiſe and aſſure you of, that if this ſiege ſhall continue long, hither will come ſuch ſtrong ayde out of France, Italie, and Spaine, as will ſerue not onely to raiſe the ſiege, but to recouer againe the Empires of Conſtantinople and Trapezond. Then ſhall our enemie ſee no good end of their councels; but all their deuiſes ſo confounded, as that they ſhall hardly be able by ſpeedie flight to ſaue themſelues. But ſuppoſe the hardeſt ſhould happen, which I feare not, would not any man account his life moſt happily and honourably ſpent, in defence of a good conſcience, and the quarrell of Chriſt Ieſus? Truly my great yeares and courſe of life now almoſt ſpent in defence of the Chriſtian religion (as I euer deſired) doth call me forth, as one ſo aſſured of that good layed vp for me in heauen by Chriſt Ieſus (whoſe battell we are to fight) that I no whit feare any enemies force or future chance: which for all that, I haue as farre as I could, and to the vttermoſt of my power ſo prouided for, as that we will not (I hope) be therewith ouerwhelmed. Be you therefore of good cheere and comfort (as I know you are) and ſhew your ſelues valiant and couragious, which reſteth wholly in your ſelues: and as for all the reſt, time, and our deſcretion, ſhall right well prouide I doubt not.

The valiant men & worthie ſouldiers, reſting vpon the aſſurance of their aged gouernor, departed euery man to his charge, full of hope and courage. Now had the Baſſa landed his great armie, and ſent *Demetrius* the traiterous knight, *Meligalus* his companion, with certaine troupes of horſemen and ſome foot, to view the ground, where he might beſt encampe with his armie. *Demetrius* in great pride riding about the citie, was knowne by *Anthonie Damboyſe*, the Great Maſters brother; by whoſe leaue, he ſallied out with a troupe of gallant horſemen, and skirmiſhed with them: but the Turks being moe in number, caſt about to haue incloſed them; which *Anthonie* perceiuing, turned vpon them that were comming behind him, and that with

A ſuch force,that he ſlew or wounded moſt part of them. In this hot skirmiſh, *Demetrius* hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him, and himſelfe ouerthrowne, was there troden to death vnder the horſes feet: an end too good for ſo falſe a traitor. *Muratius* a French knight,vnaduiſedly diſpoiling his dead bodie,was by the Turks ſlaine, and his head preſented vnto the Baſſa in ſtead of *Demetrius*.

The Baſſa approching the city,at the firſt comming tooke a great orchard,which the Great Maſter had ſtrongly intrenched,and therein placed certaine companies of ſoldiers,with ſome ſmall peeces of ordnance: which place if it could haue bin kept, might fitly haue ſerued the defendants to haue at their pleaſure ſallied out vpon the enemie. But they which were appointed to the keeping thereof,either terrified with the ſight of ſo great an armie,or els B doubting to be able to hold it againſt ſo great a power, abandoned it by night, and retired into the citie; leauing the great ordnance behind them for haſt. In this place,the Baſſa by the counſell of *George Frapaine* (a Chriſtian fugitiue of the Rhodes,and now maſter of his ordnance)began to plant his batterie, and from thence to batter the tower called Nicholea, or S. *Nicholas* his tower,diſtant from the citie three hundred paces. But againſt this place, *Damboyſe* had ſo aptly mounted two great Baſiliskes, that he made him glad quickly to forſake the ſame: yet finding no other place more conuenient for his purpoſe, ſhortly after hee neere vnto the ſame place planted againe his batterie,of far greater force than before. Wherin,beſide the ordnance of greateſt charge,he had three hundred ſmaller peeces for batterie: wherewith at the firſt he did ſmall harme,for that this *George Frapaine* repenting himſelfe (as was thought) of his foule C treaſon,beſtowed the ſhot to ſmall purpoſe; for which cauſe the Baſſa began to haue him in diſtruſt: which *Frapaine* perceiuing, fled by night againe vnto the Rhodes, and diſcouered vnto the Great Maſter all the ſecrets of the Turks campe. The Turks continuing the batterie, had ſore ſhaken the aforeſaid tower called S. *Nicholas*, and beaten downe ſome part thereof: which the Chriſtians with great induſtrie,ſpeedily repaired in beſt ſort they could:for all that the Turks gaue thereunto a fierce aſſault,by the ſpace of ſix houres, forcing themſelues to the vttermoſt to haue taken it: but perceiuing that it preuailed them nothing,they retired,hauing loſt eight hundred of their men, with many others drowned in the ſea, of whom the number was not knowne,and a thouſand others ſore wounded.

Eight hundred Turkes ſlaine.

Meſithes diſappointed of his former purpoſe,bent his artillerie againſt the wals of the city, D and with continuall batterie had made a faire breach. But *Damboyſe* foreſeeing the danger,had with great labour caſt vp ſuch rampiers with a countermure before the breach, that the Baſſa durſt not in any caſe aduenture to enter the breach hee had made. For performance of this ſo neceſſarie a worke,the captaines themſelues refuſed not to put too their helping hands: by whoſe example,all the reſt of the people which were able to do any thing,being moued,willingly imployed their labour vntill the worke was fully finiſhed.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing,*Caly-Baſſa* the younger (a great courtier) was ſent from *Mahomet* to ſee with what ſucceſſe the ſiege went forward. Vpon whoſe arriuall,it was giuen out through all the Turks campe,That *Mahomet* was in perſon himſelfe comming to the ſiege, E with 100000 men, and 150 peeces of great ordnance. Theſe newes (of purpoſe deuiſed to the terror of the defendants)being blowne out of the campe into the citie,ſtrucke an exceeding great feare into the minds of ſome of the defendants, and ſo diſcouraged the Spaniards, with their nigh neighbours that came from Nauar,that they began openly to reaſon in their conuenticles, That it was not poſſible for the citie to be defended againſt ſuch a power; and therfore after an inſolent manner,deſired leaue to be gone, to the great diſcouragement of the reſt. The Great Maſter vnderſtanding of their doings, ſent for theſe mutinous Spaniards: and after he had ſharpely reproued them both of diſorder and cowardiſe, promiſed to ſhip them away forthwith out of the Iſle, ſaying, That he doubted not,right well to defend the citie againſt the greateſt power of the Turk,without the help of ſuch baſe minded cowards. In the mean time he commanded them to ſurceaſe from their mutinous talke, threatning otherwiſe F to make them examples to others,what it is ſo much to forget themſelues. But theſe Spaniards ſhortly after, better conſidering of the matter, and what a diſhonour it would be both to themſelues and their nation, if they ſhould ſo diſhonourably bee ſent away, repenting themſelues of that they had done, came and craued pardon of the Great Maſter: and to redeeme their former fault,in all ſallies & ſeruices during that ſiege,ſhewed themſelues moſt valiant &

forward men : for all that, the Great Maſter would neuer afterwards truſt them in any ſeruice G alone. The Baſſa attempting much and preuailing little, thought it would much further his deſignes, if he could by any meanes take the Great Maſter out of the way, by whoſe careful pollicie he ſaw all his deuiſes ſtill countermanded: wherefore to bring this his purpoſe to paſſe, he practiſed by the means of one *Ianus* a Dalmatian, to poyſon him. This *Ianus* hauing conceiued this treaſon from the Baſſa, was receiued into the citie of the Rhodes, as a Chriſtian fugitiue fled from the Turkes : where hee acquainted himſelfe with one *Pythius* an Epirot, of great familiaritie with *Marius Philelphus* (of late Secretarie vnto *Damboyſe*, but as then out of fauor and in diſgrace, for that he was partaker with the Spaniards in the late mutinie.) *Ianus* by the means of *Pythius*, whom he had now throughly corrupted, ſought after *Philelphus*, H who then as he right well knew, liued diſcontented, as a fit inſtrument wherby to worke this treaſon; for that he was a man well acquainted with the cookes and butlers, and other ſeruitors in the Great Maſters houſe, and himſelfe (yet) there very conuerſant alſo. *Pythius* preſuming of his old acquaintance and familiarity with *Philelphus*, and waiting vpon his melancholie humor, began to perſuade him to reuenge the diſgrace he liued in, and withal to ſhew him the meanes how to do it, by poyſoning of the Great Maſter : which might (as he ſaid) fal out to his greater good than he was yet aware of. *Philelphus* making ſemblant as if he had not diſliked of the motion, was deſirous to know of him what farther benefit might thereby ariſe to him, more than reuenge. To whom *Pythius* forthwith ſhewed the Baſſaes Letters to *Ianus*, whereby hee aſſured him, that whatſoeuer hee ſhould promiſe vnto any man for the furthe- I rance of the practiſe, he would to the full performe the ſame. *Philelphus* hauing got full vnderſtanding of the treaſon, preſently diſcouered the ſame to *Damboyſe*. By whoſe commandement, *Ianus* and *Pythius* were ſtraight waies apprehended, and being examined, confeſſed the treaſon: for which *Ianus* loſt his head, and *Pythius* (as he had well deſerued) was ſhamefully hanged. *Philelphus* for his fidelitie, was pardoned his former errour, and againe receiued into the Great Maſters fauour.

Treaſon againſt the great maſter diſcouered, and the traitours executed.

The Baſſa vnderſtanding that the treaſon was diſcouered, and the traitours executed, was much grieued therewith. Neuertheleſſe, he ceaſed not with continual batterie to ſhake the citie, but eſpecially the tower of S. *Nicholas*, for the aſſailing whereof, he made wonderfull preparation. Amongſt other things, he had framed a great bridge, ſtaied with ſtrong ropes and cables, K ouer a ſhort fret of the ſea, betwixt the place of his batterie and the ſame tower, whereon ſix men might march abreaſt: in which deuice he repoſed great hope. But as the Turks were making faſt this bridge, and had (as they thought) brought the worke to a good perfection; *Gernaiſe Rogers* an Engliſhman of great courage, and very ſkilful in ſea matters, found meanes by night to cut and breake in ſunder all the ropes and cables wherewith the bridge was ſtaid; which now looſe, was by the violence of the ſea quickly carried away, and the Turkes diſappointed of their purpoſe. For which good ſeruice he was by the Great Maſter honorably rewarded, and of him in publicke audience highly commended.

Yet was the furious batterie by the Baſſa ſtill maintained, and a new bridge framed vpon ſmall boats and lighters, faſt moored with cables and anchors; and diuers peeces of great ord- L nance placed in fuſts and gallies. So that the the tower was at one time battered both by ſea and land, the defendants aſſailed with ſmal ſhot and arrowes innumerable, and the tower at the ſame inſtant deſperatly ſcaled. But *Damboyſe* had ſo placed his great ordnance, that with the force thereof the bridge was broken in ſunder, foure of their great fuſts ſunke, with great ſtore both of men and ordnance: the defendants alſo in the tower, with ſhot, timber, ſtones, & other ſuch like things prouided for that purpoſe, grieuouſly ouerwhelmed the Turks that were ſcaling the wals and beat them down with great ſlaughter. This hot aſſault was deſperatly maintained by the Turkes, from three a clocke in the morning vntill ten: when the Baſſa ſeeing no hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the aſſault, hauing therein loſt aboue 2500 men; whoſe dead bodies ſhortly after driuen on ſhore, were ſpoiled by the Chriſtians. The ſame night two mercinarie ſouldiers of Crete, going about to haue fled vnto the enemie, were apprehended and put M to death. And *George Frapaine*, who in the beginning of the ſiege fled from the Turkes, now againe vehemently ſuſpected of treaſon, was executed alſo.

Two thouſand fiue hundred Turks ſlaine in the aſſault.

Thus neither force nor treaſon preuailing, the Baſſa becauſe he would leaue nothing vnproued that might better his cauſe, ſent certain meſſengers vnto the Great Maſter, offering to him in

A in the name of the Turkiſh Emperor, great rewards, with many honorable preferments, if he would yeeld vp the citie, which he could not (as they would haue perſuaded him) long hold againſt ſo mightie an enemie: wiſhing him now in his declining eſtate not to refuſe ſuch honorable and princely offers, for feare he were afterwards conſtrained to accept of far worſe, or els through his deſperat wilfulneſſe plunge himſelfe and his people into ſuch extreme peril, as ſhould be impoſſible for him or them to find any way out of. Whereunto the Great Maſter in briefe anſwered, *That he would not willingly in his ſure eſtate vſe the counſell of his enemy: neither in his greateſt diſtreſſe refuſe cheerfully to yeeld his life vnto Almightie God, to whom he did owe it; and that with far better will than to yeeld vp the citie vpon any conditions, beare they neuer ſo faire a ſhew of honor or profit.* The meſſengers perceiuing his conſtant reſolution, rather to die than to yeeld his citie, began (according to inſtructions before giuen them by the Baſſa) to temper B with him another way, and to perſuade him to yeeld vnto the mightie Emperour ſome ſmall yerely tribute or other homage, as an acknowledgment of his greatneſſe, and ſo to liue as his friend in peace. But the Great Maſter knowing by the wofull example of others, that in that ſmall requeſt lay included the beginning of the Turkiſh thraldome and ſlauery, vtterly refuſed to pay him the leaſt tribute, or to doe him the leaſt homage that could be deuiſed. With which anſwer the meſſengers returned, hauing obtained nothing of that they were ſent for.

The reſolute anſwer of the great Maſter.

The reſolute anſwer of the Great Maſter, reported by the aforeſaid meſſengers vnto the Baſſa, troubled him exceedingly; for though he had ſmall hope by force to win the citie, yet he was alwaies in hope vntill now, at his pleaſure, to forſake the ſiege with ſome ſuch reaſonable compoſition as might ſtand with his honor. But ſith nothing remained now, but by plain C force to conſtrain his enemies, he reſolued for the ſafegard of his honor, in that extremetie to vſe that extreme remedie: wherefore beſide the great peeces of batterie he had already planted againſt the wals, he mounted diuers ſmaller peeces much higher, thereby the more to annoy the defendants, by beating downe of their churches and high built houſes. His ordnance thus placed, he battered the citie day and night for the ſpace of foure daies together without intermiſſion: during which time, the Chriſtians out of the city ſpared not, liberally to beſtow their ſhot among their enemies alſo: ſo that the aire ſeemed to grow thicke, and the light of the day to be darkned with the ſmoke of the great ordnance, and the great ſhot came ſo thicke into the citie, that the fearfull women and children were glad to ſhroud themſelues from the danger therof, in cellars and caues vnder ground. So long continued this great batterie, that at D length the ſtrength of the wall gaue place to the fury of the cannon, & a faire breach was laid open for the enemie to enter: which was no ſooner made, but that with the firſt ſhew thereof the Turks gaue thereunto a deſperat aſſault; and preuailing by reaſon of their multitude, had vpon the ſudden recouered the top of the wals, & there ſet vp ſome of their enſignes: but the Chriſtians ſpeedily comming in on euery ſide to the defence of the breach, they were againe quickly repulſed & beaten down into the diches, out of which moſt of them neuer riſe more. At which time the Turkes in another place with their ſcaling ladders had gained the top of the wals, and there aduanced their enſignes alſo, and were now fiue hundred of them entred the citie and come into the ſtreet called the Iew ſtreet: where they were encountered by the E Great Maſter and his followers, and all ſlaine that were already entered, and their enſignes that ſtood vpon the wals throwne down. The reſt yet ſcaling the wals, and ignorant of the fortune of their fellowes, were likewiſe beaten from the wals, and with wonderful ſlaughter reiected. So that the Baſſa not able longer to indure the ſlaughter of his men, being in both places repulſed, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and left the aſſault; wherein he had loſt of his moſt forward men about fiue thouſand, with ſmall loſſe of the Chriſtians. In this aſſault, the Great Maſter himſelfe receiued fiue wounds, whereof one vnder his right pap was thought to haue bin deadly: which yet afterward was very well cured with the reſt.

A faire breach made by force of the Turkes batterie.

After that the Baſſa had by the ſpace of three months to ſmal purpoſe ſpent all his forces and deuices vpon the city, he began to doubt whether it were better for him to raiſe his ſiege & F depart, or to tarrie & expect ſome better fortune, which in al his former actions had ſeemed almoſt to haue waited vpon him; to forſake the ſiege, was diſhonorable; and to continue it without hope, preſented no leſſe danger. Beſides that, in the former aſſaults he had already loſt nine thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers, and all the reſt of his armie was filled with heauineſſe and deſpaire, to heare the wofull ſighing and groning of their fellows, of whom fifteen thouſand lay diſperſed in the campe ſore wounded, and readie many of them to giue vp the ghoſt: and alſo G but euen a little before, two great ſhips ſent from *Ferdinand* King of Naples with men and munition, were in deſpight of all the Turks gallies ſafely arriued at the Rhodes, to the great ioy and encouragement of the beſieged, and no leſſe diſcontentment of the Turkes. Whileſt the Baſſa was thus deliberating what courſe to take, a rumour was raiſed in the campe, That the Chriſtian Princes were comming with great power to relieue the towne: with which newes the whole armie was exceedingly troubled; whereupon he raiſed his ſiege. Some others ſay, that *Mahomet* hearing of the euill ſucceſſe of his armie in the Iſland of the Rhodes, with the difficultie of the ſiege, and now readie to goe in perſon himſelfe againſt the Sultan of Ægypt, ſent for the Baſſa, and that ſo the ſiege was raiſed. Howſoeuer it was, the Baſſa before his departure cauſed all the vines and trees growing in that part of the Iſland, to be cut downe and H ſpoiled: and ſo after he had poured foorth his furie vpon the ſenceleſſe creatures, which hee could not according to his deſire exerciſe vpon the people, againe embarked his armie, and with ſhame departed, the ſeuenteenth of Auguſt.

The Baſſa raiſeth his ſiege.

At the ſame time that the Rhodes was thus beſieged, *Mahomet* ſent his old and moſt expert captaine *Achmetes Baſſa*, with a great fleet and a ſtrong army to make an entrance into Italie (for no kingdome was ſo ſtrong, which the ambitious tyrant in the pride of his heart thought not he might now command) and hauing long before conquered Conſtantinople, otherwiſe called new Rome, was ſtill dreaming (I wot not what) of the conqueſt of Old Rome alſo. The miſchieuous Baſſa according to his great maſters deſignes, embarked his armie at Vallona (otherwiſe called Aulona) a ſea towne in the borders of Macedonia; and from thence paſſing I directly ouer that narrow ſea, which is in breadth about ſixty miles, landed his men in that rich and fertile part of Italie, called in antient time Apulia (now Puglia) neere vnto the old and famous citie of Hydruntum, at this day called Otranto: where as ſoone as this warlike Baſſa had landed his forces, he forraged all that rich country alongſt the ſea coaſt and tooke ſuch infinit ſpoile as might wel haue ſatisfied the greedie deſire both of himſelfe and of his hungarie ſoldiers: all which rich bootie he cauſed to be conueyed into his gallies. So when he had at his pleaſure ranged vp and downe the countrie by the ſpace of fourteene dayes, and ſaw that none made head againſt him, he laid ſiege to Otranto, the chiefe citie of that countrey, and as it were the key of that part of Italie: and hauing with ſuch ordnance as hee tooke out of his gallies, made a breach, eaſily entred the ſame, & ſo without any great loſſe tooke the citie. A K thing not greatly to be maruelled at, foraſmuch as it was but weakly manned, and more weakly defended, by men altogether liuing in ſecuritie in the midſt of their wealth and pleaſure. The Archbiſhop, with *Zurlo* the Gouernor, and the chiefe men of the city, for ſafegard of their liues fled into the great Cathedral Church, as into a Sanctuarie, where they were all together moſt miſerably ſlain. The reſt of the citizens, whoſe hard fortune it was to eſcape the ſword (as people reſerued to moe miſery) were afterward ſhipt ouer into Grecia, & there ſold for ſlaues. The landing of the Turks in Apulia, with the taking of Otranto, brought a generall feare vpon all Italy, inſomuch that *Sixtus Quartus*, then the great Biſhop of Rome, forgetting al things ſaue himſelfe, was about to haue forſaken the citie for feare. Now after the Turks had at their L pleaſure ranſackt Otranto, *Achmetes* cauſed the ſame to be ſtrongly fortified (as the ſure footing of the Turks in Italie) and victualled for eighteen moneths, and there leauing eight thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers in garriſon, returned himſelfe with the reſt to Vallona, and ſo by land to Conſtantinople to know his great Maſters further pleaſure: but purpoſing with himſelfe, with the firſt of the next Spring to haue returned with greater forces againe to Italie for the proſecuting of his former victorie. Which if he had done, it was greatly to haue been feared, that all that goodly countrey, ſometime miſtreſſe of the World, but then and yet alſo rent in ſunder by the diſcord and ambition of the Chriſtian princes, had in ſhort time become a prey vnto the barbarous Turke for euer.

Achmetes landeth his armie in Apulia neere to Otranto, and ſpoileth the countrie.

Otranta taken by the Turkes.

But whileſt the great Baſſa (in his life time the great ſcourge of Chriſtendome) thus proudly M plotteth the ruine and deſtruction of faire Italie, God, in whoſe hands the hearts of Kings are, put an hook in the great tyrants noſe, and led him quite another way. For at the ſame time, the Caramanian king, aided by the Perſian & the Sultan of Ægypt, had in a great battel ouerthrowne *Baiazet* (*Mahomets* eldeſt ſonne then liuing) and ſlaine moſt part of his army: in reuenge whereof, *Mahomet* with great expedition raiſed a great and puiſſant armie, and taking

A *Achmetes* with him as his chiefe man of war, reiecting the wars of Italie vnto a more conuenient
time, paſſed ouer into Aſia: where vpon the way, about a dayes journey ſhort of Nicomedia
a citie of Bithynia, at a place called Geiuiſin he fell ſicke, and there for the ſpace of
three dayes grieuouſly tormented with an extreame paine in his bellie (which ſome ſuppoſed
to be the collicke) died; but being indeed, as moſt men thought, poyſoned; when he had liued
about 52 yeares, and thereof raigned 31, in the yeare of our Lord 1481. His bodie was
afterwards magnificently buried in a chappel neere vnto the great Mahometan temple, which
he himſelfe firſt built at Conſtantinople.

Mahomet dieth at Geiuiſen in Bythinia, not without ſuſpition of poyſon.

1481

He is buried at Conſtantinople.

The death of this mightie man (who liuing troubled a great part of the world) was not
much more lamented by thoſe that were neereſt vnto him, (who euer liuing in feare of his
crueltie, hated him deadly) than of his enemies, who euer in doubt of his greatneſſe, were glad
B to heare of his end. He was of ſtature but low, and nothing anſwerable to the height of his
mind, ſquare ſet, and ſtrong limmed, not inferior in ſtrength (when he was young) vnto any in
his fathers Court, but to *Scanderbeg* onely: his complexion was Tartarlike, ſallow and melancholie,
as were moſt of his anceſtors the *Othoman* Kings; his looke and countenance ſterne,
with his eyes piercing, hollow and a little ſunke as it were into his head, and his noſe ſo high
and crooked, that it almoſt touched his vpper lip. To be briefe, his countenance was altogether
ſuch, as if Nature had with moſt cunning hand therein depainted and moſt curiouſly ſet
forth to view the inward diſpoſition and qualities of his mind, which were on both parts notable.
He was of a verie ſharpe and apprehenſiue wit, learned, as amongſt that nation, eſpecially
in Aſtronomie, and could ſpeake the Greeke, Latine, Arabicke, Chaldee, and Perſian
C Tongues. He delighted much in regarding of Hiſtories, and the liues of worthie men, eſpecially
the liues of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Iulius Caeſar*, whom he propoſed to himſelfe as
examples to follow. He was of an exceeding courage, and thereto verie fortunate; a ſeuere
puniſher of injuſtice, in them eſpecially to whom he had committed the adminiſtration of juſtice.
Men that excelled in any qualitie, he greatly fauoured and honourably entertained: as
he did *Gentil Bellin* a Painter of Venice, whom he purpoſely cauſed to come from thence, to
Conſtantinople, to draw the liuerie counterfeit of himſelfe, for which he moſt honorably rewarded
him. He ſo ſeuerely puniſhed theft, as that in his time all the wayes were ſafe, and a
theefe ſcarcely to be heard of. But theſe good parts were in him obſcured with moſt horrible
and notorious vices: for why, he was altogether irreligeous, and of all others moſt perfideous,
D ambitious aboue meaſure, and in nothing more delighted, than in bloud; in ſo much
that it is probably gathred, that he was in his time the death of eight hundred thouſand men:
craft, couetouſneſſe, and diſſimulation, were in him accounted for tollerable faults, in compariſon
of his greater vices. In his loue was no aſſurance, and his leaſt diſpleaſure was death: ſo
that he liued feared of all men, and died lamented of none. He had iſſue three ſonnes, *Muſtapha*
(dead before him, as is before declared) *Bajazet*, and *Gemes*, or rather *Zemes*, of ſome called
Zizimus, competitor of the Empire with his eldeſt brother; whom he exceedingly troubled
in the beginning of his raigne, ſo that he could not well attend any other thing but him:
which opportunitie (by God himſelfe no doubt offered for the ſafegard of Italie) *Alphonſus*
E Duke of Calabria (King *Ferdinand* his eldeſt ſonne) taking hold vpon, with all the power hee
could make in Italie, beſieged the Turks in Otranto; with whom he had many ſharpe skirmiſhes,
wherein he loſt diuers of his great Captaines and Commanders, as the Countie *Iulio de
Aquaina*, *Loys de Capua*, and the Countie *Iulio de Piſa*, with others, and was ſtill by the ſtrong
garriſon of the Turks put to the worſe; vntill ſuch time as being ſtrengthened with aid out of
Spaine and Portugal, (but eſpecially with certaine companies of moſt valiant ſouldiers ſent
from *Matthias Coruinus* out of Hungarie; whoſe forces the Turks moſt feared) he began to
cut them ſhort, and ſtraitly beſieged the citie both by ſea and land: vntill at length the beſieged
Turks hearing of the death of their great Emperour, and now hardly preſſed with the
dangers of a ſtrait ſiege, no longer expecting the returne of *Achmetes* their Generall, (then readie
F to haue come to their reſcue with fiue and twentie thouſand ſouldiers) yeelded vp the city
vnto the Duke, vpon compoſition before made, That they might with bag and baggage in
ſafetie depart thence: which they did, after they had to the great terrour of all Italie holden
that ſtrong citie by the ſpace of a yeare. And ſo was that rich countrey rather by the mercie
of God (in taking away the great Tyrant) preſerued, than by the ſtrength or policie of the

The diſcription of Mahomet.

The ſonnes of Mahomet, Muſtapha, Baiazet, and Zemes.

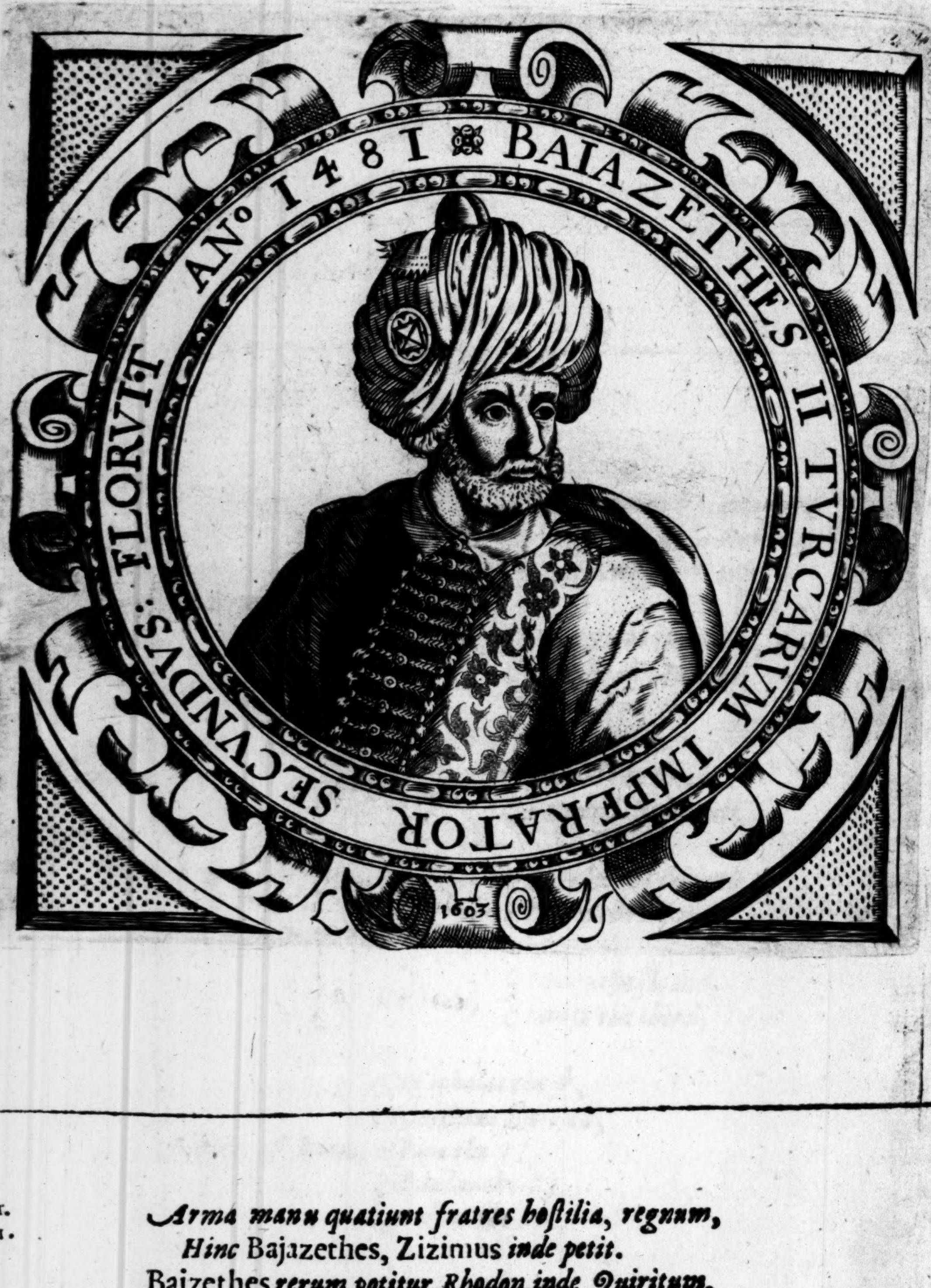
Otranto yeelded vp to the Turks vpō compoſitiō.

Inhabitants, which was then in great danger to haue for euer giuen place vnto the power of the great tyrant, had he longer liued; yea and after his death, to the power of *Bajazet* his ſon, had he not by domeſticall troubles beene enforced to turne himſelfe another way, and as it were to neglect in time to relieue his diſtreſſed garriſon in Otranto, as ſhall hereafter be declared.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Mahomet the Great.	*Emperours,*	*Of the Eaſt,*	*Conſtantinus Palæologus, laſt Chriſtian Emperor of Conſtantinople,*	1444.	8.
		Of the Weſt,	*Fredericke the third, Archduke of Auſtria,*	1440.	5
	Kings,	*Of England,*	*Henrie the ſixth,*	1422.	39.
			Edward the fourth,	1460.	22.
		Of France,	*Charles the ſeuenth,*	1423.	38.
			Lewis the eleuenth,	1461.	22.
		Of Scotland,	*Iames the ſecond,*	1437.	24.
			Iames the third,	1460.	29.
	Biſhops of Rome,		*Nicholas the V,*	1437.	8.
			Calixtus the III,	1455.	3.
			Pius the II,	1458.	6.
			Paulus the II,	1464	7.
			Xyſtus the IV,	1471.	13.

BAIAZET.


BAIAZETHES II TVRCARVM IMPERATOR SECVNDVS: FLORVIT ANº 1481
1603

Phil. Lonicer.
Tur. Hiſt. li. 1.

Arma manu quatiunt fratres hoſtilia, regnum,
Hinc Bajazethes, Zizimus *inde petit.*
Baizethes *rerum potitur, Rhodon, inde Quiritum,*
Zizimus *extrema mœnia ſorte petit.*
Suſtinet & bello, varias & pace, procellas,
Baizethes *fœlix & miſer, inter opes.*
Iam ſenio tremulus, fert bella domeſtica, regno,
Agnato eiectus, dira venena bibit.

Like earth-borne brethren, *Baiazet* and *Zizimus* in armes,
Seeke for the Turkiſh Empire great, the one by th'others harmes.
Vntill that *Baiazet* preuail'd, and *Zizimus* was faine
To flie to Rhodes, from thence to Rome, whereas he caught his baine.
Great ſtormes endured *Baiazet* in peace and bloudie broyles:
A man both happie and accurſt, amongſt his richeſt ſpoyles.
But now forworne with trembling age, and ciuill diſcord new,
Thruſt from his Empire by his ſonne, died poyſoned by a Iew.

THE LIFE OF *BAIAZET*, SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND SECOND EMPEROR OF THE TVRKES.

Vpon the death of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, great troubles began to ariſe about the ſucceſſion in the Turkiſh empire; ſome of the Baſſa's and great captaines ſeeking to place *Baiazet*, the eldeſt ſon of *Mahomet*, in the Empire; and others with no leſſe deuotion labouring to C. preferre *Zemes*, or *Gemes*, otherwiſe called *Zizimus*, *Baiazet* his yonger brother. By occaſion whereof there aroſe two great and mightie factions, which in few dayes grew to ſuch heat, that many great tumults and hot skirmiſhes were made in the imperiall citie, betwixt the fauourits of both factions, and great ſlaughter committed. In theſe broyls the proud Ianizaries for an old grudge ſlew *Mahomethes* one of the foure great Baſſa's, a man by whoſe graue counſel moſt of the weightie affaires of the Turkiſh empire had been managed during the raigne of the late Emperour: and proceeding further in their accuſtomed inſolencie, ſpoyled all the Chriſtians and Iewes which dwelt amongſt them, of all their wealth and ſubſtance; at which time the rich merchants and citiſens of Conſtantinople D which were naturall Turks themſelues, eſcaped not their rauenous hands, but became vnto them a prey and ſpoyle alſo. The other three Baſſa's of the court, *Iſaac*, *Meſithes*, and *Achmetes*, (lately returned from the winning of Hydruntum in Italie) although they ſecretly maligned and enuied one at the greatneſſe of another, yet to appeaſe theſe ſo dangerous troubles, and to aſſure their owne eſtates, ioyned hands together, and by their great authoritie, and multitude of followers and fauourits, found meanes that *Corcutus* (one of the younger ſonnes of *Baiazet*, a young Prince of eighteene yeares old) was as it were by generall conſent of the Nobilitie and ſouldiers, ſaluted Emperour, and with great triumph and ſolemnitie placed in the Imperiall ſeat. In whoſe name, the aforeſaid Baſſa's at their pleaſure diſpoſed of all things, little or nothing regarding either *Baiazet* or *Zemes*, then both abſent, the one at Amaſia, and the other E at Iconium in Lycaonia. For the jealous Turkiſh Kings neuer ſuffer their ſonnes to liue in court neere vnto them, after they be growne to yeres of diſcretion; but ſend them to gouerne their prouinces far off: where they are alſo vnder the command of the Emperors lieutenants generall in Aſia or Europe, and may not depart from their charge without great danger, not ſo much as to viſit their father without expreſſe leaue and commandement. So jealous are thoſe Tyrants, yea euen of their owne ſonnes.

Diſſentiō among the Turkes about the ſucceſſion.

Baiazet and *Zemes* hearing of the death of their father, and of the troubles in the imperial citie, haſted thitherward with all ſpeed, where *Baiazet* being the neerer, firſt arriued: but finding the empire alreadie poſſeſſed by *Corcutus* his yonger ſon, and himſelfe excluded, he in griefe of his heart poured forth moſt grieuous complaints before God and man, calling heauen and F earth to witneſſe of the great wrong and iniurie done vnto him by the proud Baſſa's. And what by tears and humble obteſtations, what by great gifts and greater promiſes, but moſt of all by the earneſt labour and ſolicitation of *Cherſeogles* Viceroy of Grecia, and the Aga or captain of the Ianizaries, both his ſons in law, preuailed ſo much with the great Baſſa's & ſoldiers of the court, that *Corcutus* being of a mild and curteous diſpoſition, ouercome by their intrea-

Baiazet commeth to Conſtantinople.

tie and the reuerence of his father, reſigned vnto him the imperiall gouernment, which he preſently tooke vpon him with the generall good liking of the people, and made *Corcutus* Gouernor of Lycia, Caria, and Ionia, with the pleaſant and rich countries thereabouts; allowing him a great yerely penſion for the better maintenance of his eſtate, with promiſe alſo of the empire after his deceaſe: and ſo ſent him away to his charge, where he moſt pleaſantly liued during the raigne of his father *Baiazet*, giuing himſelfe wholly to the ſtudie of Phyloſophie, which made that he was afterwards leſſe fauoured of the Ianizaries and other men of war.

Zemes riſeth againſt his brother Baiazet.

Zemes thus preuented by his elder brother, and vnderſtanding by his friends how all things ſtood at Conſtantinople, and that *Baiazet* was alreadie poſſeſſed of the empire; returning with great ſpeed, raiſed a puiſſant armie in the countries which were vnder his command, and marching through the heart of Aſia the leſſe, by the way as he went, tooke into his poſſeſſion ſuch cities and ſtrong places as he thought beſt; and ſo entring into Bithynia, tooke the great citie of Pruſa, the antient ſeat of the *Othoman* Kings. Purpoſing in himſelfe, that as *Baiazet* had ſhut him out of Europe, ſo he would alſo in requitall thereof exclude him out of that part of the Turkiſh empire which is beyond Helleſpontus in Aſia, & to make himſelf lord therof. Wherein fortune at the firſt ſeemed vnto him moſt fauourable, all the people whereſoeuer hee came yeelding vnto him obedience as vnto their Prince and Soueraign: ſo that in ſhort time he ſeemed both vnto himſelfe and to others, in ſtrong poſſeſſion of that part of the Empire.

Baiazet goeth againſt Zemes.

Of theſe his proceedings *Baiazet* hauing intelligence, and perceiuing the greater part of his empire now in danger to be loſt, and doubting further, that *Zemes* his ambitious minde would hardly reſt therewith long contented; for remedie of ſo great a miſchiefe leuied a ſtrong and puiſſant armie, wherewith he paſſed ouer into Aſia, and came to Neapolis a Citie of Anatolia, neere whereunto *Zemes* lay with his armie ſtrongly incamped. As *Baiazet* was vpon the way againſt his brother, *Achmetes* the great Baſſa (in the confeſſion of all men the beſt man of war and moſt expert Captaine amongſt the Turks, and of all others moſt entirely beloued of the Ianizaries) came, and vnarmed preſented himſelfe vpon his knees before *Baiazet*, his ſword hanging at his ſaddle bow: to the admiration of many, who could not but wonder to ſee ſo worthie a Chiefetaine of ſo great place in time of ſeruice, without any apparent cauſe, in ſuch humble manner to appeare before his Soueraigne, as if he had had nothing to do with armes. It chanced many yeares before, in the mortal warres betwixt *Mahomet* the late and great Emperour of the Turks, and *Aſſymbeius Vſun-Caſſanes* the King of Perſia, that *Baiazet* hauing the leading of the right wing of his fathers Armie, had not martialled it in ſo good order as was to *Mahomet* his good liking: for which cauſe he commanded this *Achmetes* to goe and ſet that part of the battell in better order. Which his Soueraignes command whiles hee moſt skilfully performed, *Baiazet* taking it in euill part, as tending to his owne diſgrace, in great choler threatened the Baſſa, to finde a time when he would be reuenged vpon him. But hee being a man of great ſpirit, and one that durſt both doe and ſay much, perceiuing his meaning, bid him doe what pleaſed him; and laying his hand vpon his ſword, ſolemnly vowed, That whenſoeuer he came to command as Emperour, he would neuer weare ſword in field: the remembrance whereof was the cauſe that he then came in manner aforeſaid, readie to ſerue if he were thereto commanded, or otherwiſe to endure what ſo his Princes pleaſure was. *Baiazet* perceiuing that the vnkindens ſo long before conceiued, was not yet diſgeſted, in token of grace ſtretched out to him his ſcepter; and taking him vp, commanded him to girt his ſword vnto his ſide, and not to remember that which hee had long before both forgiuen and forgotten. And knowing right well that he was a moſt valiant and expert captaine, made him General of his armie, to the great contentment of the Ianizaries and the reſt of the army; who ſo ſoone as they ſaw him, gaue out diuers great ſhouts for joy, as if victorie had moſt aſſuredly attended vpon him. *Achmetes* taking vpon him the charge, came and incamped ſo neere as he could to *Zemes*, and ſo lay by the ſpace of ten dayes: during which time, many ſharpe skirmiſhes were made with diuers fortune; ſometime the one ſide preuailing, and ſometime the other. At length the matter was brought to a generall battell; wherein after a long and cruell fight, and great ſlaughter on both ſides, the fortune of *Baiazet*, conducted by the policie of *Achmetes*, preuailed againſt *Zemes*. Who ſeeing his Armie ouerthrowne, betooke himſelfe to flight, and came to Iconium: in which flight many of *Zemes* his followers were taken priſoners; whom *Baiazet* would haue pardoned and enlarged, but that by the perſuaſion

Achmetes made Generall of Baiazet his armie.

A ſion of *Achmetes* he changed his mind, and to the terrour of others ſuffered them all to be put to the ſword.

Zemes flieth into Syria.

Zemes doubting after this ouerthrow to fall into his brothers hands, and finding no means to make head againe: when he had ſtaied three daies at Iconium, cauſed his treaſure, plate, iewels, and other things of great value and light carriage to be truſſed vp, and taking with him his mother and his two yong children, a ſonne and a daughter, accompanied with a ſmall retinue, fled into Syria; then part of the dominion of *Caytbeius*, commonly called the great Sultan of Ægypt and Syria. It was not long after the departure of *Zemes* from Iconium, but that *Baiazet* came thither with his armie, to haue ſurpriſed him: but vnderſtanding of his flight, hee took order for the peaceable gouernment of that part of his empire. And ſo hauing ſuppreſſed that dangerous rebellion, and again reduced that troubled part of his empire to his obeiſance, B returned with victorie to Conſtantinople.

1482.

The diſtreſſed prince *Zemes* trauelling through Syria, came at length to Ieruſalem: where he ſtayed a good ſpace, deuoutly viſiting the monuments of that moſt antient and famous citie. From thence he trauelled into Ægypt; where at his firſt entrance into the countrey, hee was met by diuers of the greateſt nobilitie of that kingdome, ſent from the great Sultan, by whom he was honourably conducted to Caire, and there preſented to *Caytbeius*, of whom he was graciouſly welcommed: vnto whom after due reuerence done, he declared the cauſe of his comming, as followeth:

Zemes his ſpeech to Caytbeius, Sultan of Egypt.

If it were not to me certainely knowne (moſt victorious) that you are not ignorant either who I am, C *or from whence deſcended, or with what iniurie enforced, after long and painfull trauell I am here arriued; it would much concerne me to vſe another manner of beginning of my ſpeech, and with greater proteſtation of words to ſeeke your gracious fauour. But foraſmuch as all theſe things are vnto your moſt royall Maieſtie ſufficiently knowne, as I doe well perceiue in this, that your infinite clemencie hath entertained me with farre greater kindneſſe, than I in ſuch my aduerſe fortune durſt wiſh for much leſſe requeſt: Now nothing remaineth for me to ſay, more than iuſtly to complaine vnto your inuincible Maieſtie, of the wrong and iniurie done vnto me by* Baiazet, *whom I may more iuſtly tearme my cruell enemie, than kind brother. For he not contented to haue taken vnto himſelfe my fathers Empire by great tumult and ſlaughter, hath with all hoſtilitie and force of armes perſecuted me his brother, excluded out of the Imperiall Citie, and then liuing in Bythinia, troubleſome neither to him, nor any of* D *his people, and neuer reſted vntill he had chaſed me out of the bounds of my fathers Empire. Neither hath the iealous deſire of Soueraigntie (whereof my father whileſt he liued, had him alwaies in diſtruſt) ſo much moued him vnto this ſo cruell fact, as a certaine vnnaturall crueltie towards all his kindred in generall, and mortall hatred againſt me his brother in particular: for he which is alreadie poſſeſſed of the Empire, and doth with all hoſtilitie perſecute a priuate perſon, ſubiect and expoſed to his iniurie, that man thirſteth not after Soueraigntie, but after bloud; neither deſireth he to conquer, but to kill. And whereas after my fathers death great troubles aroſe in Conſtantinople, and many bloodie skirmiſhes were fought betwixt the fauourites of both of vs, it cannot with any truth be laied to my charge, as done by mine aduiſe or counſell, I being at the ſame time ſo farre from thence. Neither am* E *I iuſtly to be blamed, if that after my fathers departure I put my ſelfe vpon the way towards Conſtantinople, eſpecially being ſent for thither by many my good friends, men of great marke and qualitie: but his fortune preuailing, I gaue place, and leſt my comming to the imperiall Citie might haue been the occaſion of new troubles, I returned aſide into Bythinia, and ſo to Pruſa, with purpoſe there to haue reſted in quiet, if my brother would haue giuen me leaue. But ſo far was he from that, to ſuffer mee there to reſt, as that I was by him moſt cruelly aſſayled as an open enemie: and had I not by ſpeedie flight withdrawn my ſelfe from the imminent danger, and departed quite out of my fathers kingdome, I muſt haue yeelded my ſelfe, my blood, and life, as a ſacrifice into his cruell hands. Neither is he to me ſo mortall an enemie, or thirſteth after my life ſo much for feare, as for very hatred and malice: for what is there in me to feare? Verily nothing: Conſtantinople is his, the fauour of the great Chiefetaines and men of warre is his, the treaſure and regall riches are all his; wherefore he* F *hateth his brother, but feareth him not. He will ſway all things alone, he will haue all that belongeth to the* Othoman *familie alone, and he, yea none but he, muſt liue alone.* Xerxes *was a mightie King, and yet in that great and large Kingdome he not onely preſerued his brethren in ſafetie, but had them alſo in great honour and eſtimation. What did* Alexander *the Great? Who not* *onely tooke pleaſure in his brother, but had him alſo as a companion of his moſt glorious expedition: and many other famous Kings of forreine Nations, and of our owne familie, haue ruled both more ſafely, and better ſtrengthened, with the counſell and aid of their moſt louing brethren, rather than with others. But* Baiazet *is of a farre other minde, reputing violence and haughtineſſe of heart to be his greateſt and ſureſt defence: herein his fierce nature delighteth, more than in the lawfull courſe of nature, iuſtice, and equitie; he had rather haue his brother his enemie than his friend, and to driue him into exile, than to make him partaker of his counſels. But I beſeech thee moſt puiſſant Monarch, the faithfull keeper and maintainer of our Law and Religion, by the ſacred reliques of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *which thou haſt at Hieruſalem and Mecha, ſuffer me not, a Kings ſonne, to liue in baniſhment and exile, poore and miſerable, a ſcorne of his brothers crueltie, farre from home, farre from his countrie and kingdome; but regarding the Law of the great Prophet, lift vp the afflicted and oppreſſed, and by the great authoritie which you haue, bridle domeſticall wrong; or if that will not take place, reuenge it with thy ſword, and ſuffer not our Empire, with ſo great trauell founded, by the crueltie or follie of one wilfull man to be ouerthrowne: which ſhould be no more grieuous and lamentable to vs, than dangerous to your moſt high eſtate, and all other Kings and Princes of our Religion. For you of your ſelfe vnderſtand right well, what deadly enemies the Chriſtian Princes are vnto the Turks: and doe you thinke, that if any great warre (which I wiſh not) ſhould ariſe of this our diſcord, that they would long reſt in quiet, and as idle beholders ſtand looking on vntill it were of it ſelfe appeaſed? Or rather hauing ſuch an opportunitie preſented, would not with might and maine ſuddenly inuade our kingdome, before ſhaken with ciuile warres, and ſeeke the vtter ruine and deſtruction of the ſame? Which their deſire, if that hatefull people could bring to paſſe (which thing* Mahomet *turne vpon themſelues) my mind abhorreth to thinke how far that miſchiefe would runne: For the* Othoman *familie once rooted out, there is none of our Religion, (your Maieſtie onely excepted) which is able to withſtand their power: wherefore you muſt then ſtand for your ſelfe and all the reſt, you alone muſt withſtand the force of the Chriſtians, you muſt maintaine that warre with much loſſe, aad greater charge, and moſt vncertaine ſucceſſe. Wherefore, inuincible Monarch, I moſt humbly beſeech thee, that pittying our eſtate, whiles the matter is yet whole, and remedie is yet to be had, to deale with* Baiazet *by your Embaſſadours, That though he will not receiue me his brother as partner of the Empire, yet at leaſt to admit me into ſome ſmall part of my fathers kingdome: Let him raigne and rule, let all things be at his command; let it be lawfull for mee poore man but to liue in reſt and quiet ſomewhere, poſſeſſing but ſo much as may ſuffice mee honeſtly to lead a priuate life. Which thing if he ſhall refuſe to grant, although he neither feare the Lawes of God or man, yet as I haue at Hieruſalem, ſo will I alſo ſhortly at Mecha (if by your leaue I may) complaine vnto the great Prophet, of the iniuries done vnto mee by my cruell and vnnaturall brother; and afterwards make proofe of your compaſſion towards mee, all which I hope ſhall much auaile. But if (which I would not) I ſhall prooue al theſe things in vain, ſith deſparation enforceth men to all extreamities, I will goe with fire, ſword, and ſlaughter, by ſecret and open force, by right and wrong; and hated, will vex my hateful brother by all manner of miſchiefe, by all manner of reuenge. Neither will I make an end of confounding of all, vntill I bee either receiued into part of the Empire, or elſe together with my life leaue thoſe deſperate and loſt things for him alone to enioy. For I deeme it much better, quickly to die, than with diſgrace and infamie to protract a lingring loathed life.*

The great Sultan in courteous manner comforted the diſtreſſed prince, willing him to be of good cheere, and patiently to beare his preſent hap: foraſmuch as it became a man borne in ſo high fortune, not to be diſcouraged with any miſchance, or diſmaid if things fell out otherwiſe than he looked for: commending him withall, for that he ſaw in him no leſſe courage than might well haue becommed his better eſtate; & willing him to liue ſtill in hope, promiſed to doe what in him lay, to reconcile him to his brother, & to perſuade him that he might be receiued into ſome part of the kingdom: and to that purpoſe ſhortly after diſpatched away an honorable embaſſage to *Baiazet*. *Zemes* in the meane while, by the ſame Sultans leaue, vpon a ſuperſtitious deuotion trauelled into Arabia, to viſit the Temple of *Mahomet* at Mecha, and his ſepulchre at Medina. Vpon his returne to Caire, the embaſſadours before ſent, returned alſo, but not hauing obtained any thing they deſired: for *Baiazet* would not giue eare to any agreement, but ſeemed altogether to contemne and deſpiſe his brother. Wherfore *Zemes* more vpon ſtomacke & deſire of reuenge, than for any hope he had of the empire, determined with

Caytbeius the Egyptian Sultan ſendeth embaſſadors to Baiazet.

himſelfe

A himſelfe to make open war vpon him; repoſing ſome good hope in his ſecret friends, and in the reuolt of ſome of the great captaines, who diſcontented with the gouernment of ***Baiazet***, ſecretly wiſhed for his returne.

1483.

The king of Caramania ſoliciteth Zemes *to take vp armes againſt* Baiazet

Whileſt he was thus plotting theſe weightie matters, a meſſenger with letters came fitly from the King of Caramania, offering with all the power he could make, to joyne with him, if he would take vp armes againſt his brother. This poore titular King then liued in Armenia, and being able by his friends to make ſome good force, was in hope by joyning with ***Zemes***, to recouer ſome part of the Caramanian kingdome, from whence his father was not many yeres before driuen by the force of the late Turkiſh Emperour ***Mahomet*** the Great, ***Baiazet*** his father. It is hard to ſay, whither of theſe diſtreſſed and exiled Princes gaue the greater B encouragement to the other, to take this deſperat war in hand, being both together far vnable by all the friends they could make, to encounter with the great power of ***Baiazet***. But what is ſo dangerous or deſperat, which aſpiring minds will not attempt in hope of a kingdome? whoſe brightneſſe ſo dazeleth their eyes, that they can ſee nothing but it.

Hereupon ***Zemes*** hauing receiued great gifts of the Ægyptian Sultan, with promiſe of aid, departed from Caire (the Sultan earneſtly perſuading him to the contrarie) and as it was before appointed, met with the Caramanian King vpon the borders of Aſia the leſſer: where they concluded to joine together ſuch Forces as they had, and to inuade ***Baiazet***. Which they accordingly did: for raiſing all the power they could, they entred into Cilicia, (now called Caramania) and joyning their armies together, incamped betweene Iconium and Larenda. C Neither did ***Baiazet*** in time of ſo great a danger ſit ſtill; not ſo much fearing his brothers power, as the reuolting of his captaines and ſouldiers, whom he knew either to loue, or at leaſt not to hate the young Prince his brother. Wherefore he raiſed a great armie, and ſent ***Achmetes*** (the great man of war) before with the one part thereof, himſelfe following after with a far greater ſtrength: for at that time he had vnder his enſignes two hundred thouſand men.

As he was marching with this great armie, a rumor was raiſed in the campe, That ſome of his chiefe captaines had conſpired to betray him into the hands of his brother, and that many of the ſouldiers ſecretly fauouring ***Zemes***, would vpon the joyning of the battell forſake him, and take part with his brother. Which report ſo troubled ***Baiazet***, that he ſtood in doubt what to doe, or whom to truſt: but knowing that nothing winneth the heart of the common D ſoldier more, than the Generals bountie, he forthwith cauſed a wonderfull maſſe of mony to be diuided amongſt the captains and ſoldiers, loding their minds with ample promiſes of far greater rewards, for their fidelitie and valour to be ſhewed in that preſent ſeruice. Hauing thus aſſured himſelfe of the wauering minds of his ſouldiers, he began to draw neere to Iconium, where his enemies lay incamped: and by gloſing letters and flattering meſſengers made ſhew openly, as if he had been verie deſirous to come to ſome good agreement with them, but ſecretly went about to ſtop all the ſtraits and paſſages, in ſuch manner as that it ſhould not be poſſible for them againe to retyre backe into Syria: for he doubted nothing more, but leſt they being few in number, & in ſtrength far vnequall vnto him, would not vpon ſo great diſaduantage hazard the fortune of a battell, but retyre themſelues into Syria, and ſo to his E exceeding trouble and infinite charge protract the warre.

Zemes perceiuing his brothers ſubtill drift, and ſeeing no ſuch reuolt as he had hoped for, and as had before by letters to him bin promiſed; and weighing with reaſon his owne weake forces, retyred in good time vnto the ſtraits of the mountain Amanus, which diuideth Cilicia from Syria. Here, deſpairing of all good ſucceſſe in the enterpriſe he had taken in hand, he perſuaded the Caramanian king his confederate to giue place vnto the time, and to reſerue himſelfe vnto his better fortune: and ſo breaking vp his armie, with a few of his followers came down to the ſea coaſt of Cilicia; where he hired a tall ſhip to attend in readineſſe, that if any ſudden danger ſhould ariſe, he might go aboord, and ſo ſaue himſelfe by ſea. In the mean time he ſent a meſſenger vnto ***Damboys*** Great Maſter of the Rhodes, certifying him, That F foraſmuch as he had no place of ſafetie left amongſt his owne people, wherein he might ſhroud himſelf from the fury of his brother, ſtill ſeeking after his life, he would vpon his ſafe conduct come to him into his Iſland of the Rhodes. Which his requeſt the Great Maſter eaſily granted, deeming the flight of ſo great a Prince from the Turke, to be a thing much profitable to the Chriſtian Commonweale: and thereupon he preſently ſent forth certaine gallies to fetch

Zemes flyeth to ſea.

him from the troubleſome coaſt of Cicilia. But before theſe gallies were come, *Zemes* was inforced by the ſudden acceſſe of his enemies, for the auoiding of preſent danger, to go aboord on that ſhip which he had prouidently before prepared to be in readineſſe for ſuch purpoſe. And hauing put a little from the ſhoare, ſhot backe againe an arrow with letters made faſt vnto it, directed vnto his brother *Baiazet*, containing as followeth:

Zemes his letters to his brother Baiazet.

Thou knoweſt (moſt vnkind and cruell brother) that I flie not vnto the Chriſtians, the mortall enemies of the Othoman *Familie, for hatred of my religion or nation; but enforced thereunto by thy iniurious dealing, and dangerous practiſes which thou inceſſantly attempteſt againſt me, yea euen in my extreame miſerie. But this aſſured hope I carrie with me, that the time will come when as thou the authour of ſo great wrong, or thy children, ſhall receiue the iuſt guerdon of this thy preſent tyranny againſt thy brother.*

It is reported, that when *Baiazet* had read theſe letters, he was ſo troubled in mind, that for certaine daies he gaue himſelfe wholly to mourning and heauineſſe, and would in no wiſe bee comforted: inſomuch, that he was brought into the campe by the Baſſaes, as a man halfe diſtraught of his wits, ſhunning for a ſeaſon all mens ſpeech and companie.

Zemes flieth to the Rhodes.

Zemes ſailing to the Rhodes, was there honorably receiued of the Great Maſter, and all the reſt of the Knights of the Order: to whom in their publicke aſſemblie three daies after, hee openly declared the cauſes of the diſcord betwixt his brother and him: alledging for the color of his rebellion, That although *Baiazet* were his elder brother, yet that he was born whilſt his father yet liued in priuat eſtate, vnder ſubiection and command, long before he poſſeſſed the kingdome, and ſo no kings ſonne: whereas he himſelfe was the firſt borne of his father, beeing an Emperour, and ſo not heire of his fathers priuat fortune (as was *Baiazet*) but of his greateſt honour and empire; and yet not of ſuch an hautie mind, but that he could haue beene content to haue giuen place vnto his brother, ſo that he could haue bin contented likewiſe to haue granted him ſome ſmall portion of the empire, wherein he might ſafely haue liued as a poore Prince, and his brother: but that ſuch was his pride, as that he would not vouchſafe to ſuffer him to liue ſo much as a poore priuat life in any corner of ſo large an empire, and was therefore by his vnnaturall and tyranous dealing, enforced to craue aid of the Chriſtian princes. Of whom (forſomuch as he had alwaies heard much honour) he was in good hope to find ſuccour and reliefe in that his diſtreſſed eſtate: proteſting vnto God and the world, that if euer it ſhould be his good fortune by their means and helpe to obtaine the empire, he would neuer be vnmindfull of ſo great a benefit; but to make with them a perpetuall and inuiolable peace, and ſo to reſt their faſt friend for euer. The Great Maſter on the other ſide comforting him with cheerfull ſpeeches, promiſed to keepe him in ſafetie from the furie of his brother; and farther to commend his cauſe to the other great Kings and Princes of Chriſtendome.

The deſcription of Zemes.

This exiled Prince *Zemes*, was about the age of eight and twentie yeares when he came to the Rhodes; of ſtature tall, ſomewhat corpulent and well limb'd, gray eyed, but looking ſomething aſquint, hooke noſed, and in the middle riſing, in ſuch maner as the Perſians commend in their kings: of colour browne, ſpare of ſpeech, and by nature cholericke: a great feeder, ſo that he ſeemed rather to deuoure his meat, than to eat it; much delighted in ſwimming, and to lie abroad in the night; penſiue and melancholie, which men imputed to his great cares, neuer merrie but in the companie of the grand Maſter; a religious obſeruer of the ſuperſtition, from which he could neuer be drawne during the long time he liued in exile; learned as among the Turks, ſo that he wrot the hiſtorie of his fathers life. But leauing him in ſafe keeping with the grand Maſter of the Rhodes, let vs againe returne to the courſe of our hiſtorie.

Baiazet hauing now the ſecond time chaſed away his brother, after he had wel quieted that part of his troubled kingdome in Aſia, returned againe to Conſtantinople, carefully attending when ſome new motion ſhould be made by his brother, to his farther diſquiet. But after he vnderſtood that he was with the Great Maſter of the Rhodes, hee ſent certaine of his Baſſaes (amongſt whom *Achmetes* the great ſouldier is reported to haue bin one) vnto the Great Maſter, requeſting him to deliuer vp *Zemes*, offering for him a wonderfull ſum of mony. Which diſhonorable requeſt, when it could by no meanes be obtained, the ſame Embaſſadors in the name of their maſter, concluded a peace very commodious for the Rhodians: wherein among other things it was agreed, That the Great Maſter ſhould keepe *Zemes* in ſafe cuſtodie, ſo that hee ſhould no more trouble the Turkiſh Empire: in conſideration whereof, and for his honourable

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A notable vſage, *Baiazet* ſhould yearely pay vnto the Great Maſter thirtie thouſand duckats the firſt of Auguſt, which was afterward accordingly paied.

It fortuned that whileſt *Achmetes* the great Baſſa (emploied in matters abroad) was abſent from the court, *Baiazet* diſcourſing with the other Baſſaes his graue counſellors, vpon his late expedition into Aſia againſt his brother, ſeemed to be highly offended with the vntruſtineſſe & doubtfull faith of ſome of his greateſt captains & ſoldiers; yet vpon whom he might iuſtly lay the blame, he well knew not, although it ſeemed by his talke, he ſhould ſomewhat diſtruſt the great captaine *Achmetes*. Hereupon *Iſaac* the moſt antient Baſſa of the court, and of greateſt authoritie next vnto *Baiazet* himſelfe (whoſe daughter, a ladie of exceeding beautie, *Achmetes* had long before married, but doubting that ſhe had yeelded her honour to the B wanton luſt of *Muſtapha* the eldeſt ſonne of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, had put her from him, and would by no meanes be reconciled; for which cauſe there was a ſecret hatred euer after betwixt thoſe two great Baſſaes) perceiuing the Emperors diſcontented and ſuſpitious humour, and deſiring nothing more than the deſtruction of *Achmetes*, tooke hold vpon his opportunity, and by all meanes he could deuiſe, encreaſed the ſuſpition of the treaſon, which had already too much poſſeſſed the iealous Emperor: ſometimes craftily imagining, intelligence to haue paſſed betwixt *Zemes* and *Achmetes*; and forthwith amplifying his power and authoritie, which (as he ſaid) was ſo great with the Ianizaries and ſouldiers of the court, that they by reaſon of his often imployments, were wholly at his deuotion; ſo that he might at his pleaſure do more in *Zemes* his quarrell, than ſhould ſtand with the ſafetie of *Baiazet*; a matter well to C be conſidered of, and alſo carefully preuented. For remedie of which dangers, it was thought neceſſarie, that *Achmetes* at his returne to court, ſhould be taken away and ſlaine.

Achmetes his death contriued.

Achmetes fearing nothing leſſe than that which was contriued againſt him, came after his wonted maner to the court; and was with the other great Baſſaes inuited to a ſolemne ſupper which *BaiaZet* had commanded to be prepared, to ſolace himſelfe after his trauels (as it was giuen out) with his chiefe Baſſaes. To this royall ſupper came *Achmetes* with the reſt of the bidden gueſts, miſtruſting nothing, and was there ſumptuouſly feaſted by *Baiazet*: who to make his gueſts the merrier, dranke wine plentifully himſelfe, cauſing them alſo to drinke in like manner; ſo that they were full of wine: a thing vtterly forbidden by their law, yet dayly more and more vſed, eſpecially by their great men in their feaſts. Supper now ended, and D the night far ſpent, *Baiazet* in token that they were welcome, and ſtood in his good grace, cauſed certaine rich robes of pleaſing colours to be brought forth, & to be caſt vpon euery of his gueſts one, giuing beſide vnto euery one of them a faire guilt boule full of gold. But vpon *Achmetes* was caſt a gowne of blacke veluet, which among the Turks may well be called the mantle of death, being ſo ſure a token of the Emperours heauie indignation, as that it is death for any man once to open his mouth, or to intreat for him vpon whom it is by the Emperors commandement ſo caſt. *Achmetes* ſeeing himſelfe now vnder the ſhadow of death, and knowing it but vaine to intreat for mercie, as he was a man of great ſpirit, brake forth and ſaid, *Oh cachpogly* (which is as much as to ſay, thou ſonne of a whore) ſith thou entendedſt ſo much crueltie againſt me, why didſt thou not put it in execution before thou hadſt inforced me to drink E this impure and forbidden wine? and ſo caſting his eies vpon the ground ſat ſtill. The other Baſſaes hauing leaue to depart, giuing thanks to the Emperor, and crauing pardon for their exceſſe, kiſſed the ground at his feet and ſo departed: with whom *Achmetes* offered to haue gon out alſo, but was forthwith commanded to ſit ſtill, for that the Emperor had to talke with him in ſecret. The Baſſa's were no ſooner departed, but the terrible executioners of *BaiaZet* his wrath ſtept in, and laid hands vpon *Achmetes* to haue ſlaine him; when one of the Eunuchs in greateſt fauor with the tyrant, ſtanding by, aduiſed him not to be too haſtie in executing of ſo great a man, ſo entirely beloued of his beſt ſouldiers and men of war, but rather to ſtay his execution for a while, to ſee how the matter would be diſgeſted; and in the meane time by torture to wreſt it out from him what might be got, to make it in ſome ſort appeare, that he died F for his due deſert. Hereupon *Baiazet* deferred his execution to a farther time, and cauſed him there preſently to be ſtript, and carried away to be tortured.

Amongſt other gallants of the court which attended the comming out of the great Baſſaes whom they followed, was one of *Achmetes* his ſons, a gentleman of great hope; who miſſing his father among the reſt, began preſently to miſtruſt that all went not wel, & ſpeedily running

Achmetes his ſon ſtirreth vp the Ianizaries to help his father.

from one of the Baſſaes to another, with much ado learned the hard eſtate of his father: whereof G he was alſo at the ſame inſtant aduertiſed by a ſecret friend neere about *Baiazet*. Hereupon this yong gentleman began forthwith piteouſly to lament his fathers miſhap, and to exclaim againſt the crueltie of *Baiazet*; called on the Ianizaries for aid, putting them in remembrance of his fathers great and manifold deſerts towards them, together with his imminent danger: and ſo running vp and down the city in the dead time of the night, had in ſhort ſpace raiſed vp all the Ianizaries in armes: who vnderſtanding of the danger of their antient commander, who they generally loued and honored as their father, came running by heaps from all parts of the citie vnto the court gate, there with terrible exclamation doubling and redoubling their *Bre, Bre*, (which barbarous word they commonly vſe in expreſſing their greateſt diſcontentment and fury) & did indeed ſo furiouſly beat at the court gate, that *Baiazet* fearing leaſt they ſhould H breake in by violence, cauſed the outer gate to be ſet open, and ſhewing himſelfe from aboue out at an yron window, demanded of them the cauſe of that tumult and vprore. To whome they inſolently anſwered, That they would by and by teach him as a drunkard, a beaſt, and a raſcall, to vſe his great place and calling with more ſobrietie and diſcretion: and among many other opprobrious words wherewith they ſhamefully loded him, they called him oftentimes by the name of *Bengi, Bengi* (that is to ſay, Batchelor or Scholler) which amongſt thoſe martial men, contemners of all learning, is accounted a word of no ſmall reproch and diſgrace. And after they had in moſt deſpitefull manner thus reuiled him, they proudly commanded him forthwith to deliuer *Achmetes* vnto them, or elſe to take that ſhould enſue thereof. *Baiazet* terrified with this inſolencie of the Ianizaries, & fearing ſome ſudden violence to be offred, commanded I *Achmetes* to be without delay deliuered vnto them: whch was done in ſuch haſt, that he was brought forth vnto them almoſt naked, bare legged, & bare headed, bearing in his body the manifeſt markes of his hard vſage. The Ianizaries receiuing him with great reioycing, ſupplied his want of apparell with ſuch habiliments, as they for that purpoſe vpon the ſudden tooke from *Baiazets* minions: and ſo taking him vpon their ſhoulders, with great ioy carried him out of the court, ſtill crying vnto him, How he did, and how he felt himſelfe? And ſo guarded him home, ready no doubt to haue ſlain *Baiazet* and rifled the court, if he would haue but ſaid the word. But he yet loyall, laboured with good words to appeaſe that tumult, and to pacifie their furie: excuſing that which *Baiazet* had done againſt him, to haue bin done onely to correct him, for that happily he had forgotten ſome part of obedience and dutie. Neuertheleſſe, K hereupon remained no ſmall heartburning betwixt *Baiazet* and the Ianizaries for a long time after: yet *Baiazet* for feare of them reconciled himſelfe to *Achmetes*, and in open ſhew had him in greater honour than before, promoting him euen vnto the higheſt degrees of honor, howbeit he inwardly hated him to death. And the more by the contiuuall inſtigation of the old Baſſa *Iſaac*: by whoſe perſuaſion, when it was thought that all had bin forgotten, hee was by *Baiazets* commandement as he ſat at ſupper in the court, thruſt through the bodie and ſlaine. This was the miſerable end of *Achmetes*, the great champion of the Turks, and one of the greateſt enemies of Chriſtendome that euer liued in the Turkiſh court: for by him, *Mahomet* ſubuerted the empire of Trapezond, tooke the great citie of Caffa (called in antient time Theodoſia) with all the countrey of Taurica Cherſoeneſus, the impregnable citie of Croia, L with all the kingdome of Epirus, the ſtrong citie of Scodra, and a great part of Dalmatia, and laſt of all Otranto, to the terror of all Italy: by him alſo, *Baiazet* vanquiſhed and put to flight his brother *Zemes*, as is before declared. In reward of which good ſeruices, he was by the tyrant (vpon a meere ſuſpition) thus cruelly and ſhamefully murthered. About this time alſo, *Caigubus* (*Zemes* his ſon, then but a childe) was by the commandement of *Baiazet* his vnckle, ſtrangled, in the new tower of Conſtantinople.

Baiazet for feare deliuereth Achmetes to the Ianizaries.

Achmetes ſlaine.

Baiazet now grieuouſly offended with the pride and late inſolencie of the Ianizaries, cauſed ſecret inquirie to be made, of them which were the authors of thoſe late ſtirs; & finding them to be the officers of their companies, and ſpecially thoſe which had before ſlain *Mahomet Baſſa* the great polititian, immediatly after the death of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, at which time M they had alſo raiſed great tumults, and done much harme in the citie; he vnder color of preferment, ſent away thoſe authours of ſedition into diuers parts of his Empire, appointing vnto them (as vnto old ſouldiers and men of good deſert) certaine lands & reuenues for their maintenance and preferment. But as ſoone as they were departed, he by ſecret letters commanded

A the gouernors and magiſtrats of thoſe places wherunto they were ſent, ſuddenly to apprehend them, and as traitors to put them to death; which was accordingly done. The Ianizaries of the court and about Conſtantinople, hearing what had hapned vnto their fellowes, became wonderfull diſcontented, and began to mutine in diuers places of the citie, vttering ſpeeches againſt the Emperor full of deſpight and reuenge. Which thing when **Baiazet** vnderſtood, and had wel conſidered the late danger he was in, together with the intollerable pride and inſolencie of thoſe his maſterful ſlaues; he ſecretly purpoſed in himſelfe for curing of ſo dangerous a diſeaſe, to vſe a moſt deſperat remedie: which was, ſuddenly to kill and deſtroy all the Ianizaries, eſpecially thoſe which were belonging to the court, or about Conſtantinople. This his purpoſe he imparted to diuers of his greateſt Baſſa's, charging them vpon paine of his heauie diſpleaſure not to diſcloſe it: and for the execution thereof, had ſent for great numbers of B thoſe ſoldiers which are called Acanzij, who are amongſt the Turks reputed for the beſt ſort of common ſoldiers. Moſt of all the Baſſa's to whom he had imparted this his cruell deuiſe, much diſliked thereof, as too full of perill and danger: yet ſeeing him fully reſolued for the performance thereof, would not, or durſt not ſay any thing to the contrarie. Only **Alis & Iſbender Baſſa** (both diſcended of the honorable family of **Michael Ogli**) diſſuaded him from attempting any ſuch thing: alledging firſt, That the Ianizaries were in number many, ſoldiers of great courage and experience, reſolute men, and ſuch as would ſel their liues deere: Then, admitting that he ſhould kill all them about the court and in Conſtantinople; yet for as much as all his ſtrong townes and caſtles, eſpecially in the frontiers and chiefe places of his dominions, were poſſeſſed and holden by ſtrong garriſons of other Ianizaries, fellows and friends of theſe (who C would vndoubtedly take vp arms in defence of themſelues, and reuenge of their dead friends) it were a thing very like to endanger himſelfe, together with the whole ſtate of his empire, beſide the great diſhonour which would grow vnto himſelfe thereby for euer.

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Baiazet purpoſeth to deſtroy the Ianizaries.

This ſo dangerous an exployt, wherein the hands of ſo many were to be vſed, was not kept ſo ſecret, but that the vigilant and wilie Ianizaries had got an inckling thereof; and thereupon began daily more & more to ſuſpect the matter, both by the often & ſecret repare of the great men to the court, more than they had before ſeen, & alſo by the vnwonted multitude of thoſe Acanzij, which were daily brought vnto the imperial citie by great troups. Wherfore fearing to be ſuddenly ſurpriſed, they banded themſelues together, and openly ſtood vpon their gard: and by chance lighting vpon **Alis Beg** as he came from the court, (who was indeed their beſt D friend) after their barbarous manner, with many opprobrious & contumelious words, demanded of him, if he were not one of them who had conſpired their deſtruction: and without more ado had preſently ſlain him, had he not (as a well ſpoken man) with great proteſtations and oathes perſuaded them, that he neuer conſented to any ſuch thing, or that they needed to feare any ſuch thing from him: and ſo with much adoe rid himſelfe out of their hands.

Baiazet ſeeing his purpoſe diſcouered, and that he could not without great bloudſhed, and danger both to his eſtate and perſon, worke his will vpon the Ianizaries; by the counſell and aduice of them that ſaw further into the matter, to colour his former intention, commanded by open proclamation, That the Ianizaries and other his men of war (of whom he had a great E power now aſſembled at Conſtantinople) to be in readineſſe againſt a certain prefixed day, to go with him into Moldauia: as if he had raiſed that power for that purpoſe only. But when the time was come that he ſhould ſet forward, the Ianizaries put themſelues in order of battell by themſelues, and would in no wiſe joyne themſelues with the reſt of the armie, or receiue the Emperor into the midſt of their ranks, as they had alwayes before accuſtomed; but furiouſly ſhaking their weapons at him, told him plainly, that he had ſought their deſtruction; and bid him therefore if he thought it ſo good, to ſet his executioners to worke vpon them, whom he ſhould find both readie and able to defend themſelues. To pacifie their furie, **Baiazet** was glad to giue them good words, and to vſe all the means he could (by his great Baſſa's and other captains which were able to do any thing with them) to perſuade them to be quiet; ſwearing vnto F them by the holy ſoule of his father (a ſolemne oath amongſt the Turks) that he would not harme or wrong the meaneſt of them. So with much adoo they were at length appeaſed, and receiued **Baiazet** into the midſt of them, as their woonted manner was.

This dangerous tumult ſo quieted, **Baiazet** ſet forward, and paſſing ouer Danubius, entered into Moldauia, where he firſt layd ſiege to a ſtrong towne ſtanding vpon the Euxine ſea, called

Baiazet inuadeth Moldauia.

of the Turks Kele, but in antient time Achilleia, which was at length deliuered vnto him by compoſition. From thence he went to Ac-girmen, otherwiſe called Aſprocaſtron, which after a moneths ſiege was alſo deliuered vp by compoſition: which two ſtrong places ſo woon, he returned againe to Conſtantinople.

Many great Princes ſue to the Maſter of the Rhodes for Zemes.

Many great princes deſirous of *Zemes*, labored by their Embaſſadors to haue obtained him of the Great Maſter of the Rhodes: firſt *Baiazet* his brother, fearing leſt he ſhould at one time or other againe breake forth vpon him, or elſe ſet vp by the Chriſtian Princes, trouble his eſtate, offered great ſums of mony to haue had him deliuered into his hands: and *Charles* the French king purpoſing the conqueſt of Naples, (which he in few yeares after performed) and after that to haue inuaded Grecia, thought *Zemes* a moſt fit inſtrument for the furtherance of thoſe his high deſignes, and was therefore wonderful deſirous to haue had him. *Matthias* alſo King of Hungarie (a fortunat Warriour againſt the Turke) perſuaded that the hauing of him might be vnto him a great furtherance in the courſe of his victories, ſought by all the meanes he could to haue obtained him. At which time alſo *Innocentius* the eight of that name, Biſhop of Rome, no leſſe deſirous than the reſt, to haue in his keeping ſo great a pledge of peace and war (the bridle of the Turks furie, together with the large penſion he was ſure to receiue yerely from *Baiazet* for the ſafe cuſtodie of him) ſo wrought the matter by *Lyonel* Biſhop of Concordia, his cunning Legat, that the Great Maſter, fearing on the one ſide to be conſtrained by the great power of *Baiazet*, to grant that he had ſo often refuſed, and now ſo earneſtly ſolicited on the other ſide by the Biſhop, cauſed *Zemes* to be deliuered to him at Rome in the yere 1488: for which doing he was by the Biſhop honoured with the honour and title of a Cardinall. So *Zemes* to the great profit of the Biſhop (who receiued from *Baiazet* a yerely penſion of fortie thouſand duckats) remained in ſafe cuſtodie at Rome all the time of *Innocentius*, and alſo of *Alexander* the ſixt his ſucceſſour: vntill that the French King *Charles* the eight, paſſing thorow the heart of Italie with a ſtrong armie againſt *Alphonſus* King of Naples, in the yeare 1495, and making his way thorow the citie of Rome, ſo terrified the great Biſhop (who altogether fauoured and furthered the title of *Alphonſus*) that he was glad to yeeld to ſuch articles and conditions as pleaſed the King: and amongſt the reſt, to giue in hoſtage vnto the King his graceleſſe ſonne *Caſar Borgia Valentinus*, and alſo to deliuer vnto him *Zemes* his honorable priſoner, as ſhall be afterwards in place conuenient at large declared.

In the beginning of *Baiazet* his raigne, whileſt he was buſied againſt his brother *Zemes* in Aſia, *Iohn Caſtriot* the ſon of *Scanderbeg*, aided by the Venetians, after he had fortunatly ouerthrowne the Turke in a battell neere vnto Croia, recouered a great part of Epirus out of their poſſeſſion. At which time alſo *Iohn Chernouich*, a Chriſtian Prince of Albania, caſting off the Turkiſh yoke impoſed vpon him by the late Emperor *Mahomet*, ſuddenly tooke vp armes, and by the helpe of the Venetians valiantly repulſed the enemies out of that part of Albania; and ſo troubled *Baiazet*, that he was glad to ſuffer him peaceably to enioy all that he had by force recouered, and further to content himſelfe with a ſmall tribute for the reſt.

1486.

Baiazet inuadeth Caramania.

Baiazet highly offended with *Abraham* (whom ſome call *Pyramet*) the King of Caramania, for aiding his brother *Zemes* againſt him; in reuenge thereof raiſed a great armie both in Europe and Aſia, and marching alongſt Aſia the leſſe, through the countries of Phrygia, Myſia, Caria, Lydia, and Pamphilia, entered at length into Caramania. But the King of Caramania hearing before of his comming, and knowing himſelf too weake to meet him in field, fortified the ſtrong cities and places of his kingdome, and retyred with his armie into the ſtraits of the mountain Taurus, where it parteth Cilicia from Syria; wherein he was in more ſafetie than in any of his ſtrongeſt holds. *Baiazet* finding no way to come to him, ſpent moſt part of the Summer in ſpoyling of the open countrey: but perceiuing his enemies could not ſo be drawne into the field, he laid ſiege vnto the famous citie of Tarſus, being the chiefe Citie of the champaine part of Cilicia (the natiue place of Saint *Paul* the Apoſtle) and in ſhort time ſo battered the walls of his citie with his great ordnance, that he had made them ſaultable. The Citiſens conſidering the danger they were in, offered to deliuer vp their Citie, their libertie, liues, and goods reſerued. Of which their offer *Baiazet* accepted, and moſt honourably performed his promiſe for their ſafetie; not permitting any of his ſoulders to enter the Citie, more than ſuch as muſt needs for the guard of his perſon, and ſafe keeping of the citie. And for as much as Winter began now to grow faſt on, he diſperſed his ſouldiers into the Countrey

Tarſus in Cilicia yeeldeth to Baiazet.

A trey villages round about, not ſuffering the countrey people to till or ſow their land, or to doe any thing els which might turne to their profit or good; wherby they were inforced to yeeld themſelues wholly to his deuotion. The Caramanian King ſeeing his people daily fall from him, & fearing to be at length forſaken of his ſoldiers alſo, in this his diſtres obtain'd aid both of men and mony from *Caytbeius* the great Sultan of Ægipt, and ſo with all the power he could make, tooke the field with the firſt of the next Spring, fully reſolued to trie the fortune of a battel, although in ſtrength and power he knew himſelf much inferior to his puiſſant enemy.

Baiazet glad to ſee his enemie ſo forward, ſpeedily aſſembled his armie, and without delay offered him battell: which the Caramanian king refuſed not. So betwixt them was begun a fierce and terrible fight; which by the skilfull conduct of the leaders, and exceeding courage B of the ſoldiers, was maintained the whole day with doubtfull victorie and great ſlaughter on both ſides, new ſupplies ſtill comming on in ſtead of them which were ſlaine. The day declining, the Caramanian king (whoſe fatall deſtinie had now appointed him vnto his laſt worke) ſeeing his wearied ſoldiers rather ouerlaid with multitude, than vanquiſhed by force, to begin to giue ground vnto their enemies; couragiouſly thruſt forward with his guard and other valiant ſoldiers about him, with ſuch furie, that he brake into the midſt of his enemies battaile: where being known, he was forthwith enuironed by the Turks, and ſo hardly charged on euerie ſide, that hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him, he was enforced to fight on foot; where after he had with his owne hand ſlaine diuers of his enemies, he fell downe dead in the middeſt of them. His ſouldiers diſcouraged with his death, turned their backes and fled, and in flying C were for the moſt part either ſlaine or taken priſoners. After this victorie, *Baiazet* ſpeedily ouerran all that large countrey, and without reſiſtance in ſhort time brought vnder his obeyſance all the countrey of Cilicia.

A long and terrible battell betwixt B iazet and the king of Caramania.

There was at that time in that part of Cilicia which is called Trachea, and lieth toward the ſea ſide, an antient Mahometan Prince who had vnder his command moſt part of that country, with the famous and populous city of Scandeloro, the chiefe place of his reſiance. This prince had of long time liued betwixt the Chriſtian Kings and the Kings of Caramania, as neuter, ſtil fearing the greater, but indeed louing neither: and had vntil then chiefly maintained his ſtate by the allyance he and his anceſtors continually held with the Kings of Cyprus and the grand Maſters of the Rhodes. Againſt this poore Prince, the only one now left in Aſia the leſſe, not D ſubiect vnto the Turkiſh Kings, began *Baiazet* now to turne his forces; purpoſing before he proceeded any further, to make a ful conqueſt of the leſſer Aſia, and ſo to make all ſure behind him. Of which his purpoſe the Prince hauing knowledge, and wiſely weighing his own ſmall power to withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemy; offered by his Embaſſadors to deliuer vnto *Baiazet* his chiefe citie of Scandeloro, with all the reſt of his territorie in Cilicia, vpon condition, that *Baiazet* ſhould giue vnto him other poſſeſſions for it, in ſome other part of Aſia the leſſer, to the like value. Which his offer *Baiazet* accepted, and ſo became lord of all the ſea coaſt, from the ſtraits of Boſphorus, vnto the confines of Syria.

After he had thus conquered Cilicia, with a great part of the mountaine Taurus, he deſcended into Armenia the leſſe, and in ſhort time brought vnder his ſubiection ſo much of that E countrey, as alſo of Cappadocia, as was ſometime belonging to the Caramanian Kings. When *Baiazet* had thus ſlaine the Caramanian King, and ſubdued that moſt antient kingdome of the Turks, which had long and many times mightily contended with the glorie and power of the *Othoman* Kings, he left *Muſtapha*, one of his great Baſſa's, at Iconium, with his Aſian armie, to keepe in obedience thoſe new woon countries: and as a triumphant conqueror returned himſelfe to Conſtantinople, where he was of his ſubiects ioyfully receiued.

After that *Baiazet* had thus inlarged his Empire with the kingdome of Caramania, and was now become an vnwelcome neighbour vnto the great Sultan of Ægypt and Syria; he began to ſwell in diſdaine againſt that mightie Prince, for that he had giuen aid againſt him, firſt vnto his brother *Zemes*, and after that to the Caramanian King in theſe late wars: of which wrong F purpoſing to be reuenged, he ſhortly after appointed one *Caragoſa Baſſa* his lieutenant in Aſia, with *Iſhender* another of his great Captaines, with a ſtrong armie to inuade Syria, then part of the great Sultans Kingdome. Theſe two great Commanders well appointed for the purpoſe, when they were come to the vttermoſt parts of Cilicia, the new bounds of *Baiazets* Empire, were then to paſſe by the confines of *Aladeules* his kingdome, before they could paſſe the

1487.

great mountaine Taurus to come into Syria. This *Aladeules* commanded as King ouer the rude and fierce people which dwelt alongſt that great and rough mountaine, and was then in league with the Sultan. He hearing of the approch of the Turks armie, with a great number of his mountaine people lay in ambuſh in the ſtraits whereby the Turks muſt needs paſſe, of purpoſe to intercept them. *Iſhender* marching in the vauntgard with a great number of the voluntarie ſouldiers called Acanzij, as the manner of the Turks is, and fearing nothing leſſe, than to be ſet vpon by the mountaine King, before he was aware was come into the midſt of his enemies, and was by them ſo fiercely charged on euerie ſide for their places of aduantage, that he there loſt moſt part of his men, and forſaken of the reſt, which ſought by flight to ſaue themſelues, he with his two ſonnes and others were taken priſoners: *Michael-beg* the eldeſt of the two being faſt bound, was ſlaine by one of *Aladeules* his followers, whoſe brother he had ſlain in that skirmiſh: his head being cut off, was by the commandement of *Aladeules* carried to his father *Iſhender*, the more to grieue him: who diſdainfully willed the meſſenger not to ſhew it vnto him, but to bid his maſter eat it if he would. With which anſwer *Aladeules* was exceedingly mooued; neuertheleſſe pittying the old mans miſerie, he ſhortly after ſet *Iaxis-beg* the yonger brother at libertie: but *Iſhender* himſelfe he ſent priſoner vnto *Caitbeius* the great Sultan at Caire, where he remained in priſon fiue yeares after. *Caragoſes* the Baſſa diſcouraged with the loſſe of ſo great a man, retyred with his armie backe againe into Cilicia, and from thence aduertiſed *Baiazet* what had hapned, by whom he was commanded to returne to Conſtantinople, as a man vnfit for ſo great an enterpriſe.

1488

Achmetes being diſcomfited, is taken priſoner & ſent to Caire.

The next Spring following, *Baiazet* conſtant in his former reſolution for the inuaſion of Siria, ſent *Achmetes* another of his Baſſa's, with a far greater army than had *Caragoſes*, againſt the Sultan: who was no ſooner come to the further part of Cilicia, but he was there at a place called of the Turks, Tzucur Oua, encountred by the Ægyptians & Arabians, and there in a great battell ouerthrowne; wherein he himſelfe fighting moſt valiantly, loſt two of his fingers, and being taken priſoner was ſent to Caire.

1489

Baiazet with this ouerthrow rather incenſed than diſcouraged, made great preparation the next yeare againſt the Sultan both by ſea and land, ſuch as he had not before at any time made. And when all things were now in readines, ſent *Alis Baſſa* (of ſome called *Calibeus*) and *Cherſeogles* his ſonne in law, two notable captains, with a great and puiſſant armie by land, againſt the Ægyptian Sultan: at which time he requeſted of the Venetians, with whom he was then in league, That he might by their good leaue, as occaſion required, refreſh his fleet (then readie to put to ſea for the inuaſion of Syria, as he ſaid) in their Iſland of Cyprus. Which his requeſt was by the generall conſent of the Senat denied, as a thing tending to the great danger of their State: yet wiſely doubting leſt *Baiazet* taking that deniall in euill part, ſhould ſeeke to haue that by force, which he could not obtaine by requeſt, they preſently ſent *Franciſco Priuolo* their Admirall, to ſea with thirtie gallies for the defence of that Iſland. He hearing that one fleet of the Turks gallies, lately come out of Helleſpontus, lay houering at the Iſland of Sciros, expecting a far greater from the coaſt of Ionia; and carefully conſidering how ſecret and ſudden the Turkiſh deſignements were, although it was giuen out, that al this great preparation was made againſt the Sultan: yet to prouide that they ſhould not ſuddenly ſurpriſe the Iſle, he ſpeedily ſent ſundrie companies of ſoldiers, eſpecially archers, out of Creta into Cyprus, for the better defence thereof; but ſtayed himſelfe with his fleet at the Iſland of Naxos, that ſo at hand he might be the readier to withſtand whatſoeuer the Turks intended. But when he vnderſtood that all their fleet was met, and now ſet forward, he hoyſed ſaile, & held his courſe directly for Cyprus. In the meane time the Turkiſh fleet ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Lycia, Pamphilia, and Cilicia, kept on their courſe vntill they came vpon the coaſt of Syria: by which time *Calibeus* and *Cherſeogles* were come with a mightie armie into Cilicia, neere vnto the mountaine Taurus.

Caitbeius the Egyptian Sultan hauing before had certaine intelligence of the great preparation that *Baiazet* had made againſt him, had before ſent *Vsbeg* a moſt valiant and politicke captaine, with a ſtrong armie of his Mamalukes and other his moſt expert ſouldiers into Syria, to be readie at all times to withſtand the Turkes. This worthie chiefetaine vnderſtanding of the comming of the Turks armie, thought it greater policie, to carry the calamities which always wait vpon great armies, into the enemies countrey, than to receiue it into his own boſom. And

A therefore although he knew himſelfe to be for number far inferior vnto his enemies, yet ſupplying that want with the valour, courage, and aſſured confidence he had repoſed in the approued and inuincible force of his Mamalukes, he expected not the comming of the enemie into Syria, but paſſing ouer the mountaine Amanus, and ſo deſcending into Cilicia, met him not far from Tarſus, in the ſame place (as it was thought) where *Alexander* the Great had long before in a great battell vanquiſhed *Darius*.

A long and terrible battell betwixt the Turks and the Mamalukes.

Theſe two puiſſant armies come from far out of diuers parts of the world, the one to finde the other, were no ſooner come together, but that with like cherefulneſſe they ioyned battell; and that with ſuch violence and furie, that the earth ſeemed to tremble vnder their feet, and a moſt preſent deſtruction threatned vnto them all: which terrible and cruel fight was maintained B all that day with doubtfull victorie, and exceeding ſlaughter on both ſides; the politique Generals with new ſupplies of freſh ſouldiers continually relieuing the moſt diſtreſſed parts of their battels; and they likewiſe as men prodigall of their liues, reſolutely offering themſelues to all dangers. When this moſt dreadfull fight had in this ſort endured the whole day, and many thouſands of valiant men of late aliue, lay now dead vpon the ground, the approching night brake off the battell, and both the armies ſore wearied and weakned (but eſpecially the Turks) retyred to their camps, where they reſted that night.

But the Ægyptians comming to their campe, found all their carriages with their prouiſion of victuals and other neceſſaries quite taken away and gone. Which thing (as ſome write) the bordering people of the country (for moſt part liuing vpon robbery) had done in time of the C battel, to pleaſe the Turks: or as ſome others report, they which had the charge thereof, terrified with the greatneſſe of the Turks armie, and doubtfulneſſe of the battell, fled away; and taking their way along the ſea ſide, fel into the hands of the Turks which were put on ſhore out of the gallies, and ſo were of them ſpoyled. Howſoeuer it was, (for in ſo great vncertaintie I dare not affirme) certain it is, that the Egyptians were ſore troubled with the loſſe of their prouiſion, fearing that if they ſhould now ſtay longer in the countrey, they ſhould forthwith be driuen to great extremities for want of neceſſaries. Wherefore when they had euill reſted that night, the next day early in the morning they preſented themſelues in order of battell before their enemies, brauing them into the field, and daring them to battel. The Turks diſdaining to ſee any prouder in field than themſelues, after they had in goodly order ranged their battels, D ſet forward with enſignes diſplayd againſt their proud enemies. There began a moſt terrible and bloudie battell, fought with ſuch deſperat reſolution, as if they had ſolemnly vowed, either to ouercome or die in the place where they ſtood. A man would haue ſaid, that the former days furie had bin but a play in compariſon of this: many valiant ſoldiers couered with their dead bodies the ſame ground whereon they liuing ſtood, when they receiued the firſt incounter of their enemies. Of both thoſe great armies none was ſeen to giue ground, or once looke backe: the Turks Ianizaries, and the Ægyptians Mamalukes (the vndoubted ſtrength of the greateſt Mahometan Monarchs, ſoldiers for their valour much feared, and through the world renowned) there buckled together, and ſtanding foot to foot ſpent the vttermoſt of their forces E one vpon another; as if they would in that battell haue made it knowne vnto the world, which of them were to be accounted the better ſoldiers. Whileſt victorie ſtood thus doubtfull, and the day was now far ſpent, *Vsbeg* the Ægyptian Generall, with fifteene thouſand valiant horſmen (whom he had receiued for that purpoſe) gaue a freſh aſſault vpon the Turks ſquadrons, with ſuch force, that they had much adoo to keepe their order, and began now to giue ground; which was by and by made good again by other freſh men ſpeedily brought on by the Baſſa's. Then became the battell more fierce than before, euery man ſtriuing to the vttermoſt of his power, to ſell his life vnto his enemies as deere as he could. In which manner of fight all the reſt of the day was ſpent, vntill that after the going down of the Sun, the darkneſſe of the night comming faſt on, they were glad for lacke of light to breake off the battel, and to F retyre themſelues into their camps, not knowing as yet who had got the better.

The Turks Baſſa's taking view of the armie, and finding that of an hundred thouſand fighting men which they brought into the field, there was ſcarce a third part left, and moſt of them alſo maimed or hurt; & doubting to be ſet vpon againe the next morning by their reſolute enemies, fled away ſecretly the ſame night, leauing behind them for haſte their tents well ſtored with victuals and all other things needfull. The Ægyptians alſo hauing loſt one half of their

The Turkes flie away by night.

armie (which was at the firſt ſeuentie thouſand) and wanting their neceſſarie prouiſion, were retyred alſo the ſame night into the mountaine Taurus, not knowing any thing of the flight of the Turks. And ſome of the ſouldiers paſſing quite ouer the mountaine without ſtay, into Syria, raiſed a report all ouer the countrey as they went, That the Sultans armie was ouerthrown, and that the Turks had got the victorie: ſo vncertaine was the true knowledge of the euent of that battel, euen vnto them that were preſent therein. The Ægyptian lying that night vpon the ſide of the mountaine, had ſpeedie intelligence from *Aladeules*, of the flight of the Turks: which being alſo confirmed by his eſpials to be true, he preſently came downe from the mountaine, and entred into the Turks campe, where he found plentie of victuals and of all other things needfull for the refreſhing of his armie.

Aladeules the mountaine King, with the people called Varſacide, by whoſe confines the Turkes muſt needs in their returne paſſe, robbed and ſlew many of them in their diſordered flight; and had ſo ſtopped the paſſages, that they were in flying ouertaken by the Mamalukes, and ſlaine with ſo great a ſlaughter, that of all that great armie of the Turks few remained aliue to carrie newes home. *Calibeius* and *Cherſeogles* the Baſſa's, were in that flight both taken priſoners, and afterwards preſented to *Caytbeius* the Sultan, at Caire, with eighteene enſignes of the Turkes Sanzackes, which are great men amongſt them, hauing euery one of them the regiment and commaund of ſome one prouince or other, and are in degree next vnto the Baſſa's.

Neither was the fortune of *Baiazet* his nauie at ſea, better than that of his armie at land: for as it lay at rode vpon the coaſt of Syria at the mouth of the riuer Orontes, which runneth by the famous citie of Antioch, his gallies were by tempeſt and rage of the ſea put from their anchors, and in the ſight of their enemies ſwallowed vp of the ſea, or elſe driuen vpon the main, and there with the ſurges of the ſea beaten in pieces. *Baiazet* not a little troubled with theſe loſſes both by ſea and land, at length with much ado, by his Embaſſadors concluded a peace with the Sultan, vnto whom he reſtored all ſuch places as he had before taken from him: for which the Sultan deliuered vnto him *Calibeius*, *Cherſeogles*, *Achmetes*, and *Iſbender*, with all the reſt of the Turks priſoners, which he had in great number in his keeping.

1492 *A peace concluded betwixt Baiazet and Caytbeius.*

Shortly after this peace was concluded betwixt theſe two great and mightie Princes, *Caytbeius* the Sultan died: who of a Circaſſian ſlaue, by many degrees of honour, and by the fauor of the Mamalukes his fellowes, obtained the rich Kingdome of Ægypt, which he right worthily gouerned to his immortall praiſe by the ſpace of two and twentie yeares; commanding at one time the great and rich countrey of Ægypt, with all Affricke, as farre as Cyrene, Weſtward; and Iudea, with a great part of Arabia, and all Syria, vnto the great and famous riuer Euphrates, Eaſtward. In the latter end of his raigne he (ouercome with the importunitie of his wife *Dultibe*, an Arabian borne, a woman of an haughtie ſpirit) joyned his ſonne *Mahomethes*, a yong man of about foure and twentie yeres old, with him in the fellowſhip of his kingdome; that ſo poſſeſſed of it his father yet liuing, he might the better enioy it after his death. Contrarie to the cuſtom of the Mamalukes, who of long time had not vſed to haue their king by ſucceſſion, but by their free election. Who grudging to be thus defrauded of their wonted choiſe, immediatly after the death of *Caytbeius* ſlew *Mahomethes* his ſon; and in a few moneths after, foure moe, who one after another without their good liking had aſpired vnto the kingdome: neither could they be contented, vntill ſuch time as that they had according to their wonted cuſtome ſet vp a Sultan of their own choice.

About the ſame time that the aforeſaid peace was concluded betwixt the two great Mahometane Princes *Baiazet* and *Caytbeius*, *Charles* the French King was making great preparation againſt *Alphonſus* king of Naples; giuing it out, That after he had recouered that kingdom, he would forthwith from thence inuade the Turks dominions in Grecia. Which great attempt the haughtie King was induced to take in hand, by the perſuaſion of diuers of his Nobilitie, but eſpecially the ſolicitation of *Lodouicus Sfortia* Duke of Millan: whereby the whole ſtate of Italie was in ſhort time after ſore ſhaken, and *Sfortia* himſelfe, authour of thoſe troubles, at laſt carried away by the French, miſerably ended his dayes as a priſoner in France. *Alphonſus* the Neapolitan King doubting the greatneſſe of the French King his enemie, entered into a confederation with certaine of the States of Italie, againſt the French, but eſpecially with *Alexander* the ſixt then Biſhop of Rome: for the better aſſurance whereof, he gaue

A his baſe daughter in marriage to *Godfrey Borgia*, the Biſhops ſon,and made him prince of Carinula : his other ſon *Frances* he entertained alſo in great pay to ſerue him in his wars. And
by his embaſſadour *Pandonius Camillus*,lately returned out of France,gaue *Baiazet* to vnderſtand,
what the French king had purpoſed againſt them both, requeſting him to aid him with
ſix thouſand horſmen & as many foot againſt their common enemie,promiſing to giue them
honorable entertainment during thoſe wars. And to further the matter, *Alexander* the great
Biſhop ſent *George Bucciarde*,a Ligurian, ſkilfull in the Turkiſh language,embaſſador to *Baiazet*,
to declare vnto him with what great preparation, both by ſea and land, the yong French
king (deſirous of honor and the enlargement of his kingdome) was about to inuade Naples;
and then, with what great power (after he had diſpatched his wars in Italie) he purpoſed to
B paſſe ouer into Græcia,and that he had to that end earneſtly trauelled with him to haue *Zemes*
his brother deliuered into his hands, whom he deſired to vſe as a moſt fit inſtrument for the
troubling of his ſtate and empire, by reaſon of his many friends : yet that his Holineſſe (hauing
the French in diſtruſt as a proud and ambitious people, as alſo carefull for the danger of
the citie of Rome,and of the ſtate of Italie in generall)had entered into a confederation with
Alphonſus king of Naples,with their vnited forces to withſtand that proud nation,both by ſea
and land,wanting nothing more for the accompliſhment therof,than mony : by which means
only,*Baiazet* might (as he ſaid) prouide for the ſafetie of his kingdome in Grecia,if he would
put to his helping hand,to furniſh them with money for the entertainment of ſouldiers : foraſmuch
as the citie of Rome,and the kingdome of Naples,were the ſureſt wals of that ſide of
C the *Othoman* empire, if he not altogether refuſing the charge,would not ſpare for a little coſt
to maintaine the war rather in that forreine countrey,than to receiue it, brought home to his
owne doore,concluding,That it were much more commodious and eaſie with his treaſures
to repreſſe his enemie in a ſtrange country a far off,than by dint of ſword and plaine battell in
his owne. A thing by experience well knowne, That they which haue neglected and ſet at
nought remote dangers,for ſparing of charge,haue afterwards bin inforced with greater danger
to receiue the ſame into their owne boſomes,when as they were become deſperat & paſt
remedie. *Baiazet*, who both by his eſpials and often letters and embaſſadors from *Alphonſus*,
knew all this to be true,gaue great thanks to the Biſhop by his embaſſador, for that he ſitting
in ſo high place,did ſo friendly and in ſo good time admoniſh him,both a ſtranger & of a contrarie
D religion, of things of ſo great conſequence : yet for anſwer, he willed him to returne
again vnto his maſter with one *Dautius* his embaſſador,who ſhould carrie with him both mony
and other his ſecret reſolutions concerning thoſe matters. Among other things giuen him
in charge,was an Epiſtle written in Greek,wherin the barbarous king with great cunning perſuaded
the Biſhop to poiſon *Zemes* his brother, as a man of a religion altogether contrarie to
his : for indeed of him alone for his great vertues *Baiazet* ſtood in feare and doubt, leaſt hee
ſhould by ſome chance eſcape out of priſon to the troubling of his ſtate. For the performance
of this his requeſt,he promiſed faithfully to pay vnto the Biſhop,two hundred thouſand duckats,
and neuer after ſo long as he liued, to take vp armes againſt the Chriſtians. Otherwiſe
than had his father *Mahomet*,and his grandfather *Amurath* done,who both as deadly enemies
E vnto the name of Chriſtians, neuer ceaſed by continuall warres to worke their woe.

Alphonſus king of Naples, and Alexander Biſhop of Rome craue aid of Baiazet againſt Charles the French king.

Baiazet ſendeth Dautius his embaſſadour to Alexander Biſhop of Rome.

But *George* the Biſhops embaſſador,and *Dautius*, trauelling towards Italie, and hauing now
happily paſſed the Adriatike, as they were about to haue landed at Ancona were borded by
Io.Rouereus, brother to *Iulianus* the Cardinall (a man of great account in thoſe quarters) and
cleane quit of their treaſure and whatſoeuer elſe they had aboord. *Rouereus* pretending for
the defence of the fact,That the Biſhop did owe him a great ſum of mony, due vnto him for
his good ſeruice don in the time of *Innocentius* his predeceſſor,for which he now paied himſelfe.
Neither could the Biſhop, much troubled with that iniurie, euer after recouer one part
therof,although he threatned vengeance with fire and ſword,and alſo ſought for recompence
of the Venetians,whom it concerned to ſaue the Turks harmleſſe in thoſe ſeas : for why,*Rouereus*
F bearing himſelf vp on the French,which were now vpon comming,whoſe faction he followed,
kept the mony,and ſet at nought the Biſhops thundering curſes and vain threats. *Dautius*
himſelfe, *Baiazets* embaſſadour beeing ſet on ſhore, was glad to goe on foot to Ancona;
and ſo from thence paſſing vp the riuer Padus,came to *Franciſcus Gonzaga*, duke of Mantua,of
whom for (the antient friendſhip betwixt him and *Baiazet*) hee was courteouſly entertained
and

Io.Rouereus robbeth the Turks embaſſadour.

and furniſhed both with money and apparell, and ſo ſpoiled returned into Grecia, to carrie newes vnto his maſter how he had ſped.

When *Baiazet* vnderſtood by *Dautius*, the euill ſucceſſe he had in his late iourny, he forthwith ſent *Muſtapha* one of the Baſſaes of the court, vnto the great Biſhop *Alexander*, with like inſtructions as he had before giuen to *Dautius*: who with better hap arriued in Italy, and came to Rome in ſafetie; where he forgot no part of that was giuen him in charge by his great Maſter. But amongſt many other things, the life of *Zemes* was that he moſt ſought for at the Biſhops hands.

1495. At the ſame time, which was in the yeare 1495, the French king *Charles* the eight of that name, paſſing through the heart of Italie with a ſtrong armie againſt *Alphonſus* king of Naples: and taking his way without leaue through the city of Rome, ſo terrified *Alexander* the Biſhop who (as we haue before ſaid) altogether fauoured, and as much as in him lay, furthered the cauſe of *Alphonſus*; that he was glad to yeeld to all ſuch articles and conditions as it pleaſed him then to demand: not purpoſing in himſelfe at all the performance of any of thoſe things, which for feare he had with great ſolemnity promiſed, as the ſequel of the matter afterwards declared. Amongſt other things, he was inforced to giue vnto the king his graceleſſe ſon *Cæſar Borgia Valentinus* (then one of the Cardinals) in hoſtage, for the performance of the other of his promiſes. Which diſgrace the craftie old Biſhop ſought to couer, by gracing his ſon with the title of his Legat: and with him he was alſo enforced to deliuer *Zemes* the Turke, *Baiazets* brother, his honorable priſoner; who to the great profit of the Biſhop and his predeceſſor, had remained in ſafe cuſtodie at Rome about the ſpace of ſeuen yeares. But *Zemes* within three daies after he was deliuered to the French, died at Caieta, being before his deliuerance poiſoned (as it was thought) with a powder of wonderfull whiteneſſe and pleaſant taſt; whoſe power was not preſently to kil, but by little and little diſperſing the force thereof, did in ſhort time bring moſt aſſured death: which pleaſant poiſon, *Alexander* the Biſhop, ſkilfull in that practiſe (corrupted by *Baiazets* gold, and enuying ſo great a good vnto the French) had cauſed to be cunningly mingled with the Sugar wherewith *Zemes* vſed to temper the water which he commonly dranke. His dead bodie was not long after ſent to *Baiazet*, by *Muſtapha* his embaſſador, who to the great contentment of his maſter, had thus contriued his death with the Biſhop. Not long after, this dead body ſo far brought, was by the appointment of *Baiazet*, honorably interred among his anceſtors at Pruſa. *Cæſar Borgia* alſo the Biſhops ſon, a little before giuen in hoſtage vnto the French king, deceiuing his keepers at Velitras, returned againe to Rome before the French king was come to Naples. This wicked impe come of an euil ſtrain, not worth the remembrance but by way of deteſtation (the very monſter of nature, if a man ſhould well conſider the courſe of his whole life) ſhortly after his eſcape, enuying at the honor of *Candianus* his brother, who then was Generall ouer the Biſhop his fathers forces, which were at that time great: when he had one time merrily ſupped with his ſaid brother, with their mother *Vannotia*, traiterouſly cauſed him to be vnawares murdred in the ſtreets as he was going home, & his dead body to be caſt into the riuer of Tiber. Then caſting off his prieſtly habit with his Cardinals robes, he took vpon him the leading of his fathers army in his brothers ſtead, & gaue himſelfe wholly to martiall affaires; a vocation beſt fitting his fierce and bloudy diſpoſition: and with exceeding prodigalitie, wherwith he exhauſted his fathers coffers and the treaſures of the church, bound faſt vnto him deſperat ruffians and ſoldiers (eſpecially Spaniards, his fathers countrey men) ſuch as he knew fitteſt to ſerue for the execution of his moſt horrible deuiſes. Which manner of his proceedings, although they were ſuch as all good men deteſted, yet did the old hypocrit his father winke therat, fearing (as it was thought) to be murdered of the viper, himſelfe, when it ſhould ſerue for his purpoſe. Now when he had thus ſtrengthned himſelf, & that he was become a terror to all the nobilitie of Rome and the ſeigniories thereabout, he by the deuiſe and help of his father (who deſired nothing more than to make him great) firſt draue the moſt honourable family of the *Columnij* out of the city, and afterwards out of Latium: and by moſt execrable trecherie, poiſoned or killed the honorable perſonages of the great houſes of the *Vrſini & Caetani*, taking to himſelfe their lands & poſſeſſions. With like cruelty he ſtrangled at one time four noblemen of the *Camertes*: & draue *Guido Feltrius* out of Vrbin. He took the city of Piſarum from *Io. Sfortia*, who with much difficulty eſcaped his bloudy hands: & draue the *Malateſtaes* out of Ariminum. The great lady *Cathe-*

Zemes dieth, poiſoned by Alexander Biſhop of Rome.

The euill life of Cæſar Borgia.

rine Sfortia he thruſt out of Forum Liuij and Forum Cornelij, & ſhamefully led her in triumph through Rome. And neuer ſatisfied with bloud, which he without meaſure ſhed, he tooke the citie of Fauentia from *Aſtor Manfredus*, a yong gentleman of rare perfection: whom after the beaſtly tyrant had moſt horribly abuſed againſt nature, he cauſed to be cruelly ſtrangled, and his dead bodie to be caſt into Tiber. Hauing thus filled the meaſure of his iniquitie, and as a fretting canker, hauing either deuoured or driuen into exile moſt part of the Roman nobility, and purpoſing by the ſupportation of his father, to make himſelfe lord and ſoueraigne both of the citie, and of all Latium, in the pride of his thoughts hee was by the hand of the moſt Higheſt attached and caſt downe, and that by ſuch means as he leaſt feared: for being with his father at a ſolemne ſupper in the Vaticane, of purpoſe prepared for the deſtruction of certain rich Cardinals and ſome other honorable citizens, they were both poiſoned by the fatall error of one of the waiters, who miſtaking of a flaggon, gaue the poiſoned wine to the accurſed Biſhop and his ſon, which was prepared for the gueſts; whereof the old Biſhop in few daies after died. But his ſon who had drunke the ſame more delaid with water, although he died not of long time after, yet preſently fel into ſuch an extreme ſickneſſe, that he was not able to help himſelfe, or to command his deſperat followers, whereof he had great ſtore: but lying ſicke, in ſhort time ſaw himſelfe of them forſaken, and two of his enemies, *Pius* the third, and *Iulius* the ſecond, one after another ſitting in his fathers place. Of which two, *Pius* enioyed that pontificall dignitie but ſixteene daies: and *Iulius* ſucceeding him, cauſed this *Cæſar Borgia* (who of right had deſerued a thouſand deaths) to be ſhut vp in the caſtle called Moles Adriani, from whence he ſet him at libertie vpon the deliuerie of certaine ſtrong holds which were yet holden by his garriſons. After he had thus rid himſelfe out of *Iulius* the Biſhops hands, he fled to Oſtia, and ſo by ſea to Naples: where he was by the commandement of *Ferdinand* king of Spaine, apprehended by *Gonſaluus* the Great, and tranſported into Spaine, for feare leaſt hee, being of a moſt troubleſome nature, and much reſorted vnto by his old fauourits, ſhould raiſe ſome new ſtirs in Italie. He was no ſooner arriued in Spaine, but he was caſt into priſon in the caſtle of Medina, where after he had lien three yeres he deceiued his keepers, and with a rope which he had gotten, let himſelfe downe from an high tower of the caſtle: and ſo eſcaping, fled to the king of Nauar, whom he afterwards ſerued in his wars, and was in an hot ſkirmiſh againſt the kings enemies (wherein he had obtained the victorie) ſlaine with a ſmall ſhot. Vnworthie after ſo many horrible villanies, to haue ended his days ſo honorably. His dead bodie was found ſtript, and ſo brought vnto the king vpon a bad beaſt, as if it had bin a dead calfe all naked; which was by his commandement honourably buried at Pamphilona.

The death of Cæſar Borgia.

The French king inuadeth Naples.

But to return again from whence we haue ſomething too long with this troubleſome body gone aſtray. The French King hauing thus loſt both his great hoſtages, *Zemes* the Turke by death, & the Cardinal *Borgia* by eſcape, held on his iourny towards Naples, & with wonderful ſucceſſe preuailed as he went, all places yeelding vnto him without any great reſiſtance. *Alphonſus* ſeeing himſelfe deſtitute of ſuch aid as he had in vaine requeſted both of the Turkiſh Emperour and of the Venetians, and now almoſt beſet with his mightie enemie, to whom ſo many ſtrong places had in ſhorter time bin deliuered than any man had before imagined; and withall conſidering with himſelfe, how that he had loſt the hearts of his ſubiects (the ſtrongeſt defence of princes) for that moſt of the nobilitie, and eſpecially the Neapolitanes, hated him for his too much ſeueritie in puniſhing the offenders in the late rebellion, wherein the princes of Sarne and Salerne were chiefe; and the common people were no leſſe offended with the grieuous and heauie exactions, required of them for the maintenance of theſe wars, inſomuch that their murmuring ſpeeches came oftentimes to his owne hearing; as oftentimes it falleth out, That the hatred of the ſubiects againſt their Princes, which hath for feare of long time bin diſſembled during their proſperitie, more franckly & fiercely breaketh out in their declining eſtate: for theſe cauſes, *Alphonſus* fearing to be forſaken of his people, as a man in deſpaire, with abundance of tears openly in the ſight of al the Neapolitans, reſigned his kingdom of Naples to his ſon *Ferdinand*, when as he had as yet ſcarcely raigned one whole yeare after the death of *Ferdinand* his father: and with foure gallies paſſed ouer to Mazerea, a city of Cicilia. His ſon *Ferdinand* a prince of rare perfection and ſingularly graced with all the vertues of true nobilitie, and thereto dearly beloued of all the people, was to the wonderfull contentment of the Neapolitans with great ioy & acclamations ſaluted king; and ſo hauing performed

formed all the ceremonies belonging to his coronation, returned preſently to his armie. By G this time the French King with all his forces was entred far into the kingdome of Naples, and hauing taken by aſſault certaine cities which truſted too much to their owne ſtrength, ſtrucke ſuch a generall terrour into the mindes of the Neapolitanes, that they thought no place now ſtrong enough to abide his batteries, or power ſufficient to incounter his forces. *Ferdinand* the yong king with his armie had taken the ſtraits of the forreſt of S. *Germane*, thereby to impeach the further paſſage of the French king. But whilſt he was there buſied, he was ſuddenly aduertiſed, that *Fabritius Columna* with a great power of Frenchmen had by the Appenines broken into Campania, and ſo was marching towards him: wherefore doubting to be ſhut vp betwixt two ſtrong armies of the enemies, he retired ſpeedily to Capua, a ſtrong citie ſcituat vpon the riuer Vulturnus; purpoſing there by meanes of that deepe riuer, to ſtay the French from paſ- H ſing farther. But whileſt he lay there, newes was brought vnto him, That all the citie of Naples was in an vprore, and that the citizens were all vp in armes, as men in doubt which way to turne themſelues. *Ferdinand* not a little troubled with theſe bad news, commended the charge of his armie and the defence of the citie of Capua to his chiefe captaines, and rid himſelfe in poſt backe againe to Naples.

Ferdinand departeth from Capua to pacifie an vprore at Naples.

It is a ſtrange thing to tell, what a ſudden alteration enſued vpon his arriuall there: for ſuddenly all the tumult was appeaſed, euery man laid downe his armes, and welcomed him with a generall gratulation: for he was a man of a great and inuincible courage, and of ſo comely a perſonage, as might eaſily win the hearts of his ſubiects, inſomuch, that when he earneſtly re- I queſted them, that they would not traiterouſly betray him to his barbarous & cruell enemies, being their naturall king, or rather their brother borne and brought vp amongſt them: they all with one conſent anſwered, That they would ſpend their liues and goods in his quarrel, ſo long as he ſhould keepe his armie whole, & defend the city of Capua: but if it ſhould ſo chance that the Aragonians ſhould be ouerthrowne, or els for feare abandon that city, and the French King, as victor, to approch the citie of Naples, he ſhould do both againſt reaſon and equitie, if by exacting fidelitie and allegeance of his ſubiects, apprehended with ſo iuſt a feare, he ſhould ſo expoſe that noble citie with the fruitfull countrey thereabout, to be ſpoiled and deſtroied by a mercileſſe and cruell enemie. Whileſt *Ferdinand* was thus buſied in appeaſing and confirming his wauering ſubiects at Naples, the French king had taken diuers cities, and was come K before Capua. The citizens of Capua although they were alwaies well affected to the Arogonian Kings, yet ſeeing the French King as a moſt violent tempeſt to beare downe all before him, began now to conſult amongſt themſelues of yeelding vp the city; whereunto they were the more prickt forward, by the ſudden reuolt of the great captain *Triuultius* with his followers; as alſo by the departure of *Verginius* and *Petilianus*, two great and famous commanders, who ſeeing themſelues forſaken of *Triuultius*, fled with their companies vnto the citie of Nola. In this diſcomfiture of King *Ferdinands* armie, the Frenchmen had entered into the ſuburbs of the citie; which thing *Gothfredus* and *Gaſpar* (two valiant German captaines) beholding, ſallied with their companies out of the citie, of purpoſe to abate the pride of the French, and to confirme the doubtfull citizens. Theſe worthie captaines, when they had with exceeding va- L lour repulſed the French, and thought to haue againe returned into the citie, could not be ſuffered to enter, but were by the citizens ſhut out of the gate, in danger to haue had their throats cut by the enemy. In which perplexity they were glad vpon their knees to intreat the cowardly citizens ſtanding vpon the wals, not in ſuch traiterous manner to betray their friends ready in their defence to beſtow their liues: and with much intreating, at length obtained of thoſe heartleſſe men, that they might by ten and ten in a companie be recieued in at one gate of the citie, and ſo put out at another, fartheſt from the danger of the enemie: in which ſort when they had paſſed through the citie, they tooke the way towards Naples: and vpon the way met with the king at Auerſa, vnto whom they declared all that had happened in his abſence at Capua: who although he ſaw his armie diſperſed, and all things now deſperat, yet went he on forward, and came to the very gates of Capua, and there called vpon diuers of the chiefe men of M the citie, requiring to be let in. But when he ſaw there was none to giue him anſwer, & an enſigne of the Freuch king diſplayed vpon the wall, in token that the citie was become French, he returned to Naples: where he found the gates now ſhut againſt him, and all the citizens vp againe in armes, and not willing to receiue any of the ſouldiers which came from Capua, A more than the king himſelfe; for flying fame preuenting his return, had filled euery corner of the citie with report, That all the chiefe captains of his army were either gone ouer to the enemie, or els for ſafegard of their liues fled; That the whole army was broken vp, and Capua yeelded to the French. Wherefore the Neapolitans framing their fancies according to the condition of the time, began now alſo to fawne vpon the good fortune of the French, and to haue king ***Ferdinand*** in contempt: which he well perceiuing, and fetching a compaſſe farther off from the citie, came vnto the caſtle, whereinto he was receiued with his followers by his faithfull captains therein before left. But prouidently foreſeeing that he could not there long ſtay, but that he ſhould be beſieged by his enemies both by ſea and land, he commended the keeping of that peece vnto ***Alphonſus D'aualus***, a moſt valiant captain, and departed himſelfe with 20 gallies well appointed vnto Ænaria, an Iſland not far from Naples, hauing in it a B commodious harbor and a ſtrong caſtle: where fortune, neuer firme but in miſerie, ſeemed againe to deride the poore remainder of his honor: for comming thither, the captain of the caſtle, vnworthily named ***Iuſtus***, forgetting his duty towards his ſoueraigne, of whom he had before receiued many extraordinarie fauours, moſt traiterouſly now in his ſo hard diſtreſſe ſhut the gates of the caſtle againſt him at his landing, and vnkindly refuſed to receiue him. With which vnexpected ingratitude, the poore king was wonderfully perplexed & almoſt abaſhed: yet with earneſt intreatie & ample commemoration of the benefits and preferments which both his father and himſefle had in times paſt beſtowed vpon him, he preuailed ſo much with this vnthankful man, that he was content to receiue him into the caſtle, ſo that he would come C but himſelfe alone: of which his offer, when no more could be got, the king ſeemed to accept. So the captain hauing opned a port to receiue him in, was in the very entrance therof ſuddenly ſtabd to the heart with a dagger by king ***Ferdinand*** and ſlain in the midſt of his armed ſoldiers: which was done with ſuch a countenance & maieſty, that the warders with their weapons in their hands, diſmaid with his look, forthwith at his commandement opened the gate, and reciued him in with all his followers. Whereby it appeareth, That in the countenance of princes reſteth a certaine diuine maieſtie, in all fortunes aboue the common courſe of nature: which is of power to daunt the hearts of moſt diſloial traitors in the performance of their vnnatural treaſons. The next day after the departure of king ***Ferdinand*** from the caſtle of Naples, ***Charles*** the French king was receiued into the citie, with ſuch pompe, triumph, and acclama- D tion of the Neapolitans, as if they had euen then by the benefit of that forraine king, bin reſtored to perfect liberty, & deliuered out of ſome long & hard bondage. Shortly after, the caſtle of Naples, with all the ſtrong places thereabout were yeelded vnto the French, and embaſſadors ſent from all the princes & people of that kingdome, yeelding themſelues into the power of the French king. Then ***Ferdinand*** ſeeing all loſt and gone, departed from Ænaria, where he lay expecting the euent of his hard fortune, and ſailed into Cicilia. Thus the houſe of Aragon in leſſe than fiue moneths, loſt the kingdome of Naples, about 63 yeares after that it was firſt taken from the French by ***Alphonſus*** the elder, this ***Ferdinand*** his great grandfather.

A moſt reſolued act of king ***Ferdinand.***

Charles the French king receiued into Naples.

The report of the great preparation made by the French for this war, had long before filled the eares of them which dwelt in any part of the Turks dominions in Europe; but when E they ſaw the French enſignes diſplayed vpon the wals of the caſtles, and ſtrong townes along the coaſt of Calabria and Salerne, ſuch a ſudden feare fell vpon the Turkes garriſons alongſt the coaſt of Epirus and Macedonia on the other ſide of the Adriatike, ouer againſt that part of Italie, that many of them forſooke their charge: the Chriſtians in thoſe places, as alſo in Grecia and Peloponeſus, beginning then to lift vp their heads in hope of their deliuerance, and to make the beſt preparation they could to ioine with the French againſt the Turks: but eſpecially the rough and wild people inhabiting the high mountaines called Acrocheraunij in the borders of Epirus, who preſently tooke vp armes, refuſing to be any longer tributarie vnto the Turkiſh Emperour.

F This proſperous and ſpeedie ſucceſſe of the French King in the conqueſt of Naples, filled the minds of moſt of the Chriſtian princes, as alſo of the Turkiſh Emperor, with a doubtfull expectation, whither his greatneſſe would grow: many being of opinion, that he couertly affected the empire of Rome, and to make himſelfe the ſole monarch of Italie. Which conceit no little troubled both the great Biſhop ***Alexander***, and ***Maximilian*** then Emperour. ***Baiazet*** alſo feared much, leaſt hee ſhould vpon the ſudden turne his forces into Epirus or Grecia, to his no ſmall diſquiet. And *Ferdinand*, the aduiſed King of Spaine, was no leſſe carefull for the G ſafetie of Silicia. *Lodouicus Sfortia* alſo (ſhortly after created Duke of Millan, the chieſe occaſion of the French Kings comming into Italie, and a great aider of him in thoſe warres) began now to conſider better of the matter, and to ſtand in doubt of the King, whom he well perceiued to make ſmall reckoning of his word or promiſe, ſo that he might thereby enlarge his dominions. And the Venetians, who in all theſe wars had ſtood looking on as neuters (in hope that when the Arogonians and French had with long wars, which they vainly imagined, well weakened one another, that they might then at their pleaſure ſhare out ſomething for themſelues) were now in doubt with the reſt of the States of Italie to loſe ſome part of their owne territorie: for now there was no Prince or ſtate in Italie able to oppoſe themſelues againſt the French, but ſtood all as it were at his deuotion.

A great league made by diuers Chriſtian princes againſt the French king.

H Wherefore the aforeſaid Princes, namely *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Ferdinand* King of Spaine, *Alexander* Biſhop of Rome, the ſtate of Venice, and *Lodouicus Sfortia*, Duke of Millan, for the more aſſurance of their eſtates, by their embaſſadors ſpeedily ſent from one to another, concluded a ſtrong league among themſelues; whereof the chieſe capitulation was, That if any of theſe confederates ſhould vpon their owne accord make war vpon any other Prince, they ſhould doe it vpon their owne charges: but if any of them ſhould chance to be inuaded by any other, that then euery one of theſe confederats ſhould of their owne charge ſend foure thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot in aid of their confederat ſo inuaded, vntill the warres were ended: which league was to indure for twentie yeres. The fame of this league was welcome to many other Princes, but eſpecially to *Baiazet*, who now feared nothing more, than the I forces of the French, and had therefore offered vnto the Venetians, to aid them both by ſea and land againſt the French, if their affaires ſhould ſo require. This league ſo much pleaſed not other Princes, but it troubled the French king more, as of purpoſe made againſt him, although it was by the confederats pretended to be made onely for their owne ſafetie. Wherfore he with all expedition placed his beſt captaines with ſtrong garriſons in all the cities and ſtrong holds of the kingdome of Naples, and left *Mompenſer* his viceroy in the city of Naples, and with the reſt of his armie returned into France; purpoſing by the way as he went to terrifie the diſſembling Biſhop, ſo if it were poſſible to draw him from the league; and afterwards to deale with *Sfortia* and the reſt as he might. But when he was come neere vnto Rome, the Biſhop for feare fled out of the citie to Peruſium, intending from thence to haue fled to Venice, K if the French king ſhould haue further purſued him. *Charles* deceiued of his purpoſe, in peaceable manner entered the citie, and there ſtayed three dayes, and ſo departed; vſing violence againſt none, but againſt ſuch as were well known to be of the Aragonian faction. From Rome he marched to Piſa, and ſo with much paine paſſing the Appenines, was at the riuer of Tarrus, not far from Parma, ſet vpon by *Franciſcus Gonzago* Duke of Mantua, Generall of a great army which the Venetians and *Sfortia* had raiſed vpon the ſudden to haue ſtopped his paſſage: in which battell he was in great danger to haue been taken or ſlaine, and there loſt his tents, with all the rich ſpoile gotten in the rich kingdome of Naples: yet hauing at length with great ſlaughter valiantly repulſed his enemies, he afterwards returned in ſafetie home.

Ferdinand recouereth his kingdome of Naples from the French, and dieth.

About the ſame time that this battell was fought at Tarrus, the yong king *Ferdinand*, lately L driuen out of his kingdome by the French King, returned againe out of Cicilia to Naples: where he was ioyfully receiued of the Neapolitans, and by the help of his friends (but eſpecially of the great *Gonſaluus*, ſent in his aid by *Ferdinand* king of Spaine) in leſſe than a yeares ſpace recouered the kingdome of Naples againe from the French: and then dying without iſſue, left the ſame vnto his vnckle *Fredericus*. Wherin the vncertaintie of worldly honors, the chieſe felicitie of ambitious minds, is wel to be noted; whenas in that one kingdom the chieſe gouernment was ſix times changed in leſſe than the ſpace of three yeares: for firſt, *Ferdinand* the elder dying, left that kingdome vnto his ſonne *Alphonſus*, at ſuch time as the French King was making preparation for thoſe wars: *Alphonſus* deſpairing of his owne forces, reſigned the kingdome to his ſon *Ferdinand*, when he had ſcarcely raigned fully a yeare: *Ferdinand* in leſſe M than three moneths was driuen quite out of Italie by *Charles* the French king: *Charles* poſſeſſed of the kingdome, in ſhort time after was againe diſpoſſeſſed by the ſame *Ferdinand*: *Ferdinand* hauing with much trouble thruſt out the French, died within leſſe than a yeare: After whom ſucceeded *Fredericus* his vncle, no leſſe vnfortunat than the reſt: and *Charles* the French King

The death of Charles the French king.

1496

A king himſelfe liued not long after, but died ſuddenly as he came from playing at Tenniſe, being
then but ſeuen and twentie yeares old, leauing the flouriſhing kingdome of France, with
the troubleſome title pretended to the kingdome of Naples, vnto *Lewis* his ſucceſſor, who liued
with great trouble to conquer the ſame, and with greater griefe to loſe it againe.

1497

The Turkes inuade Podolia & Raſſia, and in their returne are for moſt part loſt.

But to returne againe to the courſe of our Hiſtorie, from whence the great occurrents of
that time (not altogether impertinent to our purpoſe) haue a little too far led vs. *Baiazet* deliuered
of two great feares, firſt by the death of his brother *Zemes*, and after by the caſting
out of the French out of Naples; began now to turne his forces vpon the Chriſtians, and by
his lieutenant *Bali-beg* Sanzacke of Siliſtra, inuaded the countries of Podolia and Raſſia, being
part of the Polonian kingdome, where the Turks did great harme, and carried away many priſoners.
B But comming again the ſecond time, and making ſuch like ſpoile as before, they ſtayed
ſo long, that the cold of Winter (which in thoſe countries is verie extream) was now come
on: and in their returne as they were about to haue paſſed through Moldauia, they were by
Stephanus Prince of that Countrey, denied both paſſage and victuals, and forced to take the
way alongſt the ſea coaſt: where many of them ſtragling from their Armie, were by the way
cut off and ſlaine by the Moldauians; and the reſt, what by the extreamitie of the cold, what
for want of food, and fouleneſſe of the way, periſhed: ſo that of that great Armie verie few
returned home. The Turks hiſtories report, That in this expedition were loſt fortie thouſand
Turks.

He ſent alſo *Cadumes* one of his Baſſa's into Illyria; who ſpoyling that country, with a part
C of Croatia, was encountred by nine thouſand Croatians and Hungarians neere vnto the riuer
Moraua, vnder the leading of Countie *Bernard Francopaine*; where after a cruell and bloudie
fight, the Chriſtians were put to the worſe, and aboue ſeuen thouſand of them ſlaine; the reſt
ſaued themſelues by flight through the mountaines and woods. Of the Chriſtians that were
loſt, many were drowned in Moraua, chuſing rather ſo to end their dayes, than to fall into the
hands of their cruell enemies. This ouerthrow was imputed to the Generall, who would needs
giue the Turks battell in plaine field, although he was earneſtly entreated by Countie *Io. Torquatus*
to haue kept the ſtraits of that country, whereby he might haue had great aduantage of
the enemie. *Torquatus* himſelfe hauing loſt all his horſemen in that battell, and his horſe killed
vnder him, fought valiantly on foot, vntil he was by the multitude of his enemies oppreſſed
D and ſlaine. The Baſſa to giue *Baiazet* a ſure teſtimonie of the victorie, cauſed all the noſes
of the ſlaine Chriſtians to be cut off and put vpon ſtrings, and ſo by waggon ſent them as a barbarous
Preſent to Conſtantinople. After the death of *Charles* the French King, *Lewis* the
twelfth of that name hauing obtained that kingdome, wrot himſelfe alſo Duke of Millan, as
diſcended of one of the daughters of *Io. Galeatius* firſt Duke of Millan: in which his ſuppoſed
right hee was fully reſolued to make warre vpon *Sfortia* then Duke of Millan. And for his
better ſucceſſe in thoſe wars, ſought by all meanes he could, to draw ſome other of the Princes
and States of Italie into the fellowſhip of that intended war; but aboue all others the Venetians,
as moſt commodious for his purpoſe: with whom he made a firme league, and for the
E ayd they were to giue him, couenanted that they ſhould haue for their ſhare the citie of Cremona,
with all the pleaſant countrey about Abdua, then part of *Sfortia* his dominion; which
was afterwards accordingly performed.

Sfortia vnderſtanding of this compact made againſt him, and knowing himſelfe farre too
weake of himſelfe to ſtand againſt ſo puiſſant enemies; attempted firſt to ſet *Maximilian* the
Emperor, with the States of Germanie, vpon the French King. But that not ſorting to his deſire,
he ſought to agree with the King, by offering to hold his dukedome of him, by paying
him a yearely tribute. After he had thus in vain proued all the means he could deuiſe, to haue
appeaſed the French King, and prouided for his owne ſafetie; he by his Embaſſadors ſent of
purpoſe, certified *Baiazet* of the confederation betwixt the French King and the Venetians,
F and that their purpoſe was after they had oppreſſed him, and ſome other of the States of Italie,
then with their vnited forces to inuade his dominions: and that therefore it were good for
him in time to looke vnto it, and to giue ayd againſt thoſe which would in ſhort time become
his moſt dangerous enemies. By this means the Duke was in good hope, ſo to buſie the Venetians
by bringing the Turke vpon them, as that they ſhould ſtand the French in ſmall ſtead.
At which time alſo the Embaſſadors of Florence did what they could to pricke forward the

Turke to make wars vpon the Venetians; for the malice they bare againſt them for protecting them of Piſa againſt the oppreſſion of the Florentines. G

Baiazet perſuaded by the Embaſſadours, and calling to remembrance the iniuries before done him by the Venetians; firſt by giuing ayd to ***Iohn Caſtriot*** the ſon of ***Scanderbeg***, and ***Iohn Chernouich*** another Prince of Epirus, (whereby he loſt a great part of that countrey, and was alſo further enforced to yeeld to ſuch conditions as altogether ſtood not with his honor) and againe, by denying to giue his fleet leaue to put into their harbours of Cyprus, in the time of his wars againſt the Sultan of Ægypt: all which he was glad then to endure, for feare leſt that his brother *Zemes* (then liuing) ſhould by their means be ſet vp againſt him; promiſed now to doe what the Embaſſadors had requeſted: glad in his minde that the diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes had preſented vnto him ſo fit an opportunitie of reuenge. H

1499

Friuli part of the Venetian territory ſpoiled by the Turks.

Hereupon he made great preparation both by ſea and land againſt the Venetians, and vpon the ſudden cauſed ***Scander Baſſa*** his lieutenant in Illyria, with twelue thouſand horſe to breake into the countrey of Friuli, part of the Venetian territorie vpon the frontiers of Italie. The Baſſa as he had in charge, paſſing ouer diuers great riuers, at length entred the countrey, burning and deſtroying all before him as far as Liquentia, carrying away with him all the poore countrey people priſoners. But when he was come to the banks of Tiliauentum, and vnderſtood that he came too late to pleaſure the Duke of Millan (for why, the French with the Venetians had before without reſiſtance driuen him quite out of Italie and Germanie) he there, with more than barbarous crueltie put foure thouſand poore priſoners to the ſwoord; and ſo hauing filled the countrey with mourning and with bloud, returned from whence he came, loaded with the ſpoyle of that rich countrey. I

At the ſame time alſo, ***Baiazet*** put to ſea ſuch a fleet as none of his predeceſſours had before ſet forth; and with a great armie in perſon himſelfe marched alongſt the ſea coaſt of Morea, in ſuch ſort, as that his armie by land, and his fleet at ſea, as neere as they could, kept euen pace the one within ſight of the other. Neither were the Venetians vnmindfull of themſelues, but ſet forth a ſtrong fleet vnder the charge of ***Anthonie Grimani*** their Admirall; in number far inferior to the Turks, but for equipage, ſtrength, ſkilfull mariners, and all other manner of warlike prouiſion, much ſuperior. For which cauſe the Turks, although defied and braued by the Venetians, yet durſt not at the firſt joyn with them in battell, but ſtil kept alongſt the coaſt of Morea, not daring to put further off into the ſea. In this their courſe the Venetians troubled them exceedingly, ſomtimes making ſhew as if they would haue conſtrained them to fight, & otherwhiles giuing them chaſe, neuer departing far from them, wiſely accounting it right good ſeruice, if they could but keepe that hugie fleet from landing in Italy, or other place of the Venetian territorie. Moſt men were in good hope, that if thoſe great fleets ſhould haue joyned in battel, the Venetians ſhould haue had a notable victorie; for that the enemie as afraid kept ſo dangerous a courſe, and ſo neere the maine. The longer they thus ſailed, the more was the State of Venice offended with their Admiral, that he contrarie to all expectation, delayed to fight, and ſtil ſuffered the dangerous enemie to approch neerer and neerer their territories: and there were none which had not rather he ſhould haue ſet all vpon the hazard of one battell, than to protract by delay a long and doubtfull war. Whileſt all mens minds were thus in expectation of ſome great exployt to be done vpon the enemie, news came to the citie, that the Turks fleet had put into the hauen Sapientia in the Iſland Sphraga, to water, and was there embaied by the Venetians. This report was of moſt men joyfully receiued, as if the victorie had bin alreadie aſſured: and ſo much the more, for that it was vainly ſuppoſed, that it would be gained without any great loſſe. But others which better knew the place, deemed of the matter far otherwiſe, ſaying, That the place wherein the enemie lay was ſuch, as that he might ſafely at his pleaſure depart thence. Yet forſomuch as the Turks fleet was more ſubiect vnto danger in putting out of the harbor, than in the wide ſea, there was no man but was of opinion, That the Venetian Admirall would ſet vpon them as they ſhould come forth againe. Whileſt men were thus diuining too and fro, and the Venetians attending the comming forth of the enemis fleet, it fortuned that ***Andreas Lauredanus***, and ***Albanus Armerius*** (two valiant gentlemen) but a litle before come from Corcyra, of purpoſe to be preſent at the battell, were the firſt that began the fight; and with their two nimble Ships (after they had changed a few bullets) boorded a tall Ship of the Turks, being of ſuch beautie and burthen, that ſhe ſeemed rather a Caſtle

Fight at ſea betwixt the Turks and the Venetians.

A ſtle than a ſhip, whereof one *Baruch* of Smyrna (a notable pirat) was captain: who after a long &
cruell fight, perceiuing that he muſt either yeeld, or by force be taken, deſperatly ſet fire on
his own ſhip, by the rage whereof both ſhe and the Venetian ſhips faſt grapled vnto her, were
all three together burnt downe to the water. Many of the men (to ſhun the violence of the
fire) leapt ouer boord into the ſea, where ſome of them were taken vp by other ſhips, and ſome
periſhed. Some few other of the Venetian fleet couragiouſly aſſailed the Turks at their com-
ming out, and doing great harme, put the Turks whole fleet in no ſmall feare. But the moſt
part of the Venetian gallies lay looking on a far off; vnto whom the other before in fight with
the Turks, after they had done what they could, retyred alſo. But by that they had done, it
appeared plainly, that the Venetian Admirall that day let ſlip out of his hands a moſt notable
victorie, if he as a reſolute man had with his whole fleet charged the enemie.

B After this fight the Turks held on their courſe, ſtill keeping Morea on the right hand,
whom the Venetians ſtill followed: at length the Turks fleet was come to the entrance of the
gulfe of Patras, where the Venetians againe faintly ſetting vpon them, ſuffered them to reco-
uer the gulfe; with no leſſe diſhonour than they had before let them eſcape at the port Sapi-
entia: for the Venetians hauing the aduantage of the place, and better appointed for fight at ſea,
might eaſily (as it was ſuppoſed) haue gained the victorie, if the commanders (but eſpecially
the Admirall) had been ſo forward in the ſeruice as became men of their place. But many of
them afraid to fight lay aloofe, ſo that *Danthes* the Turks Admirall (who perceiuing himſelfe
too weake, had purpoſed to run his gallies on ſhoare, and ſo to haue fled to the armie at land,
C if he had felt himſelfe ouercharged by the Venetian Fleet) had now contrarie to his expecta-
tion recouered the gulfe he deſired, though not without loſſe of ſome of his gallies. Within
this gulfe ſtandeth the antient city of Naupactum (now called Lepanto) then ſubiect to the Ve-
netians, whither *Baiazet* was then come by land with his armie; and now by the comming of
his fleet into the gulfe, layd hard ſiege vnto the citie both by ſea and land. They of the citie
ſeeing themſelues on euery ſide beſet with their enemies, without any great reſiſtance fell to
compoſition with *Baiazet*, & ſo yeelded vnto him the citie, which the Turks hold at this day.

Lepanto yeelded to the Turks.

Grimanus the Venetian Admirall returning to Venice, was for all his euil ſeruice (or rather
for that he, according to his milde nature, had not vſed ſeueritie againſt ſuch captaines as refu-
ſed to fight) caſt into priſon: and although he was a man mightily befriended, yet was hee by
a publique Decree baniſhed into one of the Abſytides, Iſlands vpon the coaſt of Liburnia.
D From the firſt foundation of the city of Venice was neuer man impugned with more ſpight, or
defended by greater friends: but common hatred preuailing, he was neuertheleſſe exiled.
Thus *Baiazet* hauing made a roade into the Venetian territory by *Scander-Baſſa*, and taken from
them the citie of Naupactum, with the country therabout, returned with victorie to Conſtan-
tinople.

The next yeare following, which was the yeare 1500, *Baiazet* put to ſea a greater and ſtron-
ger fleet than he had the yeare before; and himſelfe in perſon with a puiſſant armie of an hun-
dred and fiftie thouſand men entred by the ſtrait of Corinth into Peloponeſus, and marching
through the country, came and incamped before the ſtrong citie of Methone (now called Mo-
E don) then vnder the gouernment of the Venetians: at which time his great fleet met him there
alſo by ſea, as he had before appointed. When he had thus beſet the citie both by ſea & land,
& with long and continuall batterie made three great and faire breaches in the walls, he gaue
vnto the ſame two terrible aſſaults, and that with ſuch deſperat furie, that many of them which
went firſt vnto the breach, ouerthrowne by the preſſe of them which followed, were trodden
to death. Yet neuertheleſſe the citie was both times valiantly defended by the citiſens & gar-
riſon ſoldiers: ſo that when he had done what he could, he was glad to retyre from the wals,
hauing filled the towne ditches with the bodies of his ſlain Turks. The Venetian Admirall
Triuiſanus lying at the Iſlle of Zacynthus (but far too weake to fight with the enemie) in the
beginning of the ſiege ſent *Valerius Marcellus* and *Baptiſta Polanus*, with two gallies full of men
F and munition in relief of the beſieged; and now doubting their further wants, ſent *Io. Maripe-
trus*, *Alex. Cothius* of Corcyra, & *Cachuris* of Hydruntum, with three other great gallies, with
men, munition, and ſuch other things as he thought needful for the defence of the citie. Theſe
three reſolute captaines comming with a full winde, and packing on all their ſailes, brake tho-
row the Turks fleet lying in their way, and ranne themſelues aground vnder the walls of the

1500.

Methone beſieged both by ſea and land by Baiazet.

towne:

Methone taken by the Turks.

Corone, Pilus, and Criſſeum yeeded to the Turks.

towne: for they of the town had ſo barred the hauen for feare of the enemie, that they could G not that way poſſibly get in. The Citiſens and ſouldiers joyfull of the comming of this freſh ſupplie, and withall fearing leſt the Gallies ſhould be ſet off againe from them by the enemie, came running by heapes from all parts of the citie, towards the ſea, to receiue this new come ayd: which was done with ſuch a confuſed diſorder, that diuers places of the citie towards the land were left without defendants, as if there had beene no enemie neere. Which the Ianizaries quickly perceiuing, preſently entred by thoſe forſaken places with little or no reſiſtance. Then the Citiſens all too late began to make head: for the Ianizaries alreadie entred made way for the reſt of the armie; which ſwarming into the citie, ſlew without pittie all that came in the way, as well Grecians as Venetians, with all the ſouldiers but euen then newly landed out of the three gallies. In this ſlaughter, *Anthonius Fabrius* and *Bardella* (gouernors H of the towne) with *Andreas Falco* Biſhop of Methone, in his Pontificalibus and his Mytre on his head, were ſlaine: none eſcaped their furie, but ſuch as were for their ſtrength reſerued for ſeruile labour, or for their beautie, to the Victors luſt: and of theſe a thouſand bound faſt together in long ropes, were brought to *Baiazets* Pauilion, and there in his ſight by his commandement cruelly murthered. The Cities of Corone and Pylus (now called Nauarrinum) ſometime the dwelling place of old *Neſtor*, terrified with the taking of Methone, yeelded themſelues by compoſition to *Baiazet*. This citie of Chriſſeum, now knowne by the name of *Caput S. Galli*, was taken alſo by *Cherſeogles*, *Baiazet* his ſonne in law. All theſe were Cities belonging to the Venetians. Nauplium was alſo beſieged by *Haly Baſſa*, but yet ſtill defended by the Venetiaus. *Baiazet* hauing new fortified the citie of Methone, and ſtored it I with new Inhabitants, left in it a ſtrong garriſon, and ſo with victorie returned to Conſtantinople.

1501.

Sephalenia taken by the Venetians.

At this time *Triuiſanus* the Venetian Admirall died, of griefe of mind as ſome ſuppoſed; in whoſe place the Senat ſent *Benedictus Piſaurius*, a noble and valiant gentleman, who with the Venetian fleet followed the enemie, then departing from the ſiege of Nauplium, purſuing them euen vnto the ſtraits of Helleſpontus, ſtill cutting off ſuch as ſtragled or tarried behinde the reſt of the fleet: by which meanes he tooke aboue twentie of their gallies, and in his returne tooke from the Turks the Iſland of Ægina, and landing in diuers places of the Turks dominions, left vnto them the wofull remembrance of his being there. Afterwards meeting with *Gonſaluus*, ſyrnamed the Great (ſent by *Ferdinand* King of Spaine, to ayd him againſt K the Turks) at Zacynthus, he inuaded Cephalenia (which *Triuiſanus* his predeceſſour had in vaine attempted the yeare before) and layd hard ſiege to the citie; which was for a ſpace valiantly defended by the Turks, yet at length by the good conduct of *Gonſaluus* it was by force taken, when as *Giſdare* the gouernor thereof, with his garriſon of Turks had before fought it out euen to the laſt man. The citie being taken, all the whole Iſland yeelded forthwith to the Venetians.

Piſaurius hauing taken Cephalenia, repaired the citie, and leauing a ſtrong garriſon for defence of the Iſle, departed to Corcyra; where he was aduertiſed, that the Turks were rigging forth a great fleet againſt the next Spring, whereof ſome part lay in the Bay of Ambracia, not far from Corcyra; ſome at Eante, and the reſt within the ſtraits of Helleſpontus. Wherefore L purpoſing to do ſome exployt vpon thoſe gallies which lay in the bay of Ambracia, to auert the mind of the enemie from perceiuing of that he had ſecretly with himſelfe intended, he ſent the greateſt part of his fleet vnto the Iſland of Neritos, who ſuddenly landing ſhould put the Inhabitants in feare. The captaines ſent about the buſineſſe, cherefully put in execution what the Admirall had commanded, and by their ſudden landing raiſed ſuch a tumult, that all the countries thereabout were filled with the expectation of that which ſhould enſue thereof. The Bay of Ambracia is ſo ſtraitned on either ſide with the mountains of Epirus, that the entrance thereof is but halfe a mile ouer: but by and by opening it ſelfe into a great wideneſſe, and running vp into the land, maketh a moſt pleaſant and ſafe harbour for ſhips and gallies to ride in. *Piſaurius* with a faire wind comming thither with eight gallies wel appointed, when M the Turkes thought him to haue beene at Neritos, and entring the ſtrait, rowing farther into the Bay, burnt one of the Turkes great Gallies, to the terrour of all them that dwelt round about the Bay, and carried away with him eleuen more, laded with munition and victuall, through the ſtrait; the Turks in vaine fretting thereat, and doing what they could with

their

Pylos taken by the Turkes, and againe yeelded vnto them.

their great ordnance from ſhore to haue ſunke him in going out of the Bay. But hauing done what he came for, he returned with his prey againe to Corcyra. Not long after he alſo recouered the caſtle of Pylos in Morea: which as it was ſuddenly gotten, ſo was it as ſuddenly loſt; for *Camalis*, a notable Pirat of the Turks, who had bin abroad ſeeking after purchaſe, putting into that harbor by chance, took three gallies there left by the admiral for defence of the place, and ſo terrified the faint-hearted captaine, that he fel to compoſition with the Pyrat, to yeeld him the caſtle, ſo that he and his ſoldiers might in ſafetie depart: which the Pyrat granting, had the caſtle deliuered vnto him, which he could not with far greater ſtrength haue poſſibly woon. So was Pylos for feare twice in one yeare yeelded vp vnto the Turkes, and was both times the death of the cowardly captains which gaue it vp, being both beheaded by the commandement of the Admirall. About the ſame time, *Piſaurius* attempted to haue burnt other of the Turks gallies lying in the riuer Eante, vpon the coaſt of Macedonia: but not with ſo good ſucceſſe as before; for the Turks, made more carefull by the loſſe they had but a little before receiued at Ambracia, did now more vigilantly looke vnto their gallies: ſo that when *Biſaurius* had in certain ſmall veſſels, made of purpoſe for that ſeruice, embarked two hundred reſolute ſoldiers to haue gone vp the riuer to haue fired the gallies, they were by the way after they had entred a good way into the riuer, encountred by the Turks, and enforced to returne. But before they could get out of the riuer, the wind roſe ſo contrarie, with ſuch a ſtiffe gale ful in the mouth of the riuer, that the mariners ouermaſtered with the violence of the weather, when they had done what they could, and ſpent all their ſtrength, were driuen aſhore, ſome on the one ſide of the riuer, and ſome on the other, and ſo fell into the hands of their enemies, of whom it booted not to craue mercie.

Dyrrachium taken by the Turke.

Mytilene beſieged.

About this time *Baiazet* tooke alſo the antient and famous city of Dyrrachium, now called Durazo, from the Venetians; before ruinous, and almoſt quite abandoned by the inhabitants, as a place of danger, and not to be kept now that the Turk had got all the country round about it. The Venetians ſore preſſed with theſe wars ſo long maintained againſt the Turke, had many times prayed ayd of other Chriſtian Princes, and were well holpen by the Spaniard in the taking of Cephalenia: and now *Lewis* the French King, vpon a good deuotion to that war, ſent the Lord *Raueſtein* with ſeuen tall ſhips and fifteene gallies well appointed out of Prouince and Genoa, to aid the Venetians his friends. This fleet departing from Naples, where they had by the way put in, and paſſing about Italie, and ſo through the Ionian ſea, came to Melos one of the Cyclades; at which Iſland *Piſaurius* with his fleet in ſhort time arriued alſo: from whence they by mutual conſent departed together to inuade the Iſland of Lesbos; and being there ſafely arriued, landed their Forces, and laid ſiege vnto the ſtrong Citie of Mytilene, where by the furie of their artillerie they in ſhort time had made a faire breach in the wall. In the time of this batterie, whileſt the breach was in making, *Piſaurius* with part of his fleet ſailed to Tenedos; for it was reported, that certain of the Turks gallies were then comming for that place out of Helleſpontus. Which report, as ſome write, was of purpoſe giuen out by the French, thereby to draw the Venetian Admirall from the ſiege, that ſo in the meane time they being in good hope to take the towne in his abſence, might themſelues carrie away the honour thereof, together with the rich ſpoyle. Others fauouring the French, blame the Venetian Admirall, as if he had of purpoſe departed, enuying at the honor of the French. Which is hardly to be beleeued in ſo honorable a perſonage, and in an action ſo much concerning the good of his Commonweale. Howſoeuer it was, the breach being made, in his abſence was by the French preſently aſſaulted: although that *Paulus Valateſius* the Venetian Vice-Admiral, earneſtly requeſted the French Admirall to deferre the aſſault for a while, and to expect the returne of *Piſaurius*. Which his counſell the French Admirall gaue him the hearing of, but yet went forward with the aſſault. The French men after their manner furiouſly aſſailing the breach, were valiantly repulſed by the Turks; ſo that in the breach was made a deadly and moſt terrible fight, many falling on both ſides. Yet for all that, the Citie was manfully defended by the Turks, and the French men were enforced to retyre. The French Admirall hauing taken this repulſe, commanded all things to be carried aboord, purpoſing to haue forſaken the ſiege, and ſo to haue departed: when in the meane time the Venetian Admirall returned, and with much adoo perſuaded the French to ſtay. Whereupon the batterie was againe begun with greater furie than before, and now the Leaders were conſulting of a freſh aſſault to be giuen, when ſuddenly newes was brought, That the Turks fleet was comming to relieue the citie: and thereupon the aſſault was for a time deferred, and the batterie continued. But thoſe Turks which came, being in number but few, were for moſt part by them in the gallies taken and caſt ouer boord; ſome few that got to land, ſaued themſelues in the woods and deſart places of the Iſle. By this time the citie was againe made ſaultable, and the Venetians with great courage aſſailed the breach, and had twice gained the top of the rampiers, from whence they were againe both times beaten down by the Turks, the French all the while looking on. Many valiant men were there ſlaine and hurt, and in the end the Venetians were glad with loſſe to retire, as had the French done before. Whileſt this was in doing, a pinnace came to the fleet with newes, That the Great Maſter of the Rhodes was comming with his gallies to the ſiege: whereupon the Admirals determined to maintaine the ſiege vntil his comming. But the next day after, the French Admirall changing his purpoſe, ſhipped his men, and hoyſing ſaile departed to Chios: and ſailing thence towards Italie, was ouertaken with a moſt terrible tempeſt, wherein the Admirall Gallie with two others were loſt, with eight hundred good ſouldiers; the Admirall himſelfe with aboue fortie others were by chance contrarie to all hope ſaued, and with much danger with his weather-beaten fleet recouered the hauen of Tarentum. The Venetian Admirall thus forſaken of the French, and ſeeing the time paſt wherein he expected the comming of the Great Maſter of the Rhodes, brake vp the ſiege and departed from Leſbos to Chios, and from thence to Paros, where he found the Maſter of the Rhodes with his Gallies; vnto whom he complained greatly of the inconſtancie of the French, imputing it vnto them, that the citie of Mytilene was not woon. Neither were they behinde with him, but in euery place where they came, layd the fault as much or more vpon him. From Paros the Venetian Admirall tooke his courſe to the Iſland of Melos, where he found one *Rhithius* an arch Pyrat of the Turks, who by force of tempeſt was driuen on ſhore, and by the ſudden comming downe of the Iſland people taken: him (for that he had exerciſed exceeding crueltie vpon certain Chriſtians that he had taken) *Piſaurius* cauſed to be faſt bound to a ſpit, and with a ſmall fire to be roſted to death. From Melos he returned to Corcyra, and there wintered.

The ſiege of Mytelene broken vp.

1502.

The next Spring, *Piſaurius* with certaine gallies which *Alexander* Biſhop of Rome had ſent vnto him, vnder the command of *Iacobus Piſaurius* biſhop of Paphia, failed to Neritos, now called S. Maura, which is an Iſland parted from the firme land with a little fret of the ſea, long time before that way let in by the Corinthians. Here *Piſaurius* ſuddenly landing his men, ſurpriſed the Iſland, and with wonderfulll celeritie and induſtrie caſt vp two great trenches, in ſuch ſort, and to ſo good purpoſe, that three thouſand of the Turks horſemen comming at a low water ouer that narrow ſtrait which parteth the Iſland from the Maine, were with loſſe repulſed and forced to retyre. Whereupon S. Maura the chiefe citie was forthwith deliuered vnto *Piſaurius*, with the reſt of the Iſland.

Neritos taken by the Venetians.

The Venetians wearie of this long and chargeable war againſt ſo mightie an enemie, ſent *Lodouicus Manetius* their Embaſſador to *Baiazet*, to treat with him for peace: but *Baiazet* ſtood vpon ſuch hard points, that nothing could at that time be concluded. Yet *Manetius* ſo diſcreetly vſed the matter, that *Baiazet* ſent with him at his returne to Venice, his Embaſſador, to propound vnto the Senat ſuch conditions as it pleaſed him to grant them peace vpon. This Embaſſador had audience in the Senat twice, where he in the name of his Maſter propounded ſuch proud and vnreaſonable conditions, that they were by the Senat rejected, and ſo he himſelfe diſmiſſed and ſent backe againe.

1503. The yere following, the Venetians ſent an Embaſſador to *Baiazet*, who moued with the pitifull complaints of his owne ſubjects, for the daily harms they receiued from the Venetians alongſt the ſea coaſt, as alſo for want of trade; and fearing alſo ſome troubles like to ariſe in his kingdom in Aſia (as indeed there did, not long after) yeelded himſelfe more wllingly to heare of peace, than before. This Embaſſador called *Zacharias Phriſcus*, was well heard of *Baiazet*, and after long ſuit had brought the matter he came for into ſome good tearmes; and being honourably rewarded by the Turkiſh Emperour, returned home, carrying with him vnto the Senat farre more reaſonable conditions of peace than had at any time before beene by *Baiazet* propounded. Hereupon the Venetians ſhortly after ſent *Andreas Gritti* (an honourable Senatour) a man well knowne to *Baiazet* both for his famous traffique in former time at Con-

A ſtantinople, and alſo for that in theſe late warres he was taken priſoner at the winning of Methone, and his life ſpared at the interceſſion of *Cherſeogles* (*Baiazet* his ſon in law) and afterward ranſomed: he in the name of the ſtate from whence he came, concluded a peace with *Baiazet*. The capitulations wherof were, firſt, That the Venetians ſhould deliuer vp the Iſlands of Neritos and Leucadia, reſeruing vnto themſelues the Iſland of Cephalenia onely: Then, That *Baiazet* ſhould reſtore all ſuch goods as had been taken from the Venetian Merchants, in theſe late warres: And that it ſhould be lawfull for them (as they were wont) ſafely to trafique into the Euxine ſea, and to Conſtantinople; and there to haue their Conſull or Gouernour as they had had in former time; And laſt of all, That the Venetian territorie ſhould bee certainely knowne, and ſeparated from the Turkes by certaine bounds and limits. Theſe conditions were ſolemnly agreed vpon, and confirmed both by *Baiazet* and the ſtate of Venice; and ſo a firme B peace concluded in the yeare 1503, after the warres had continued betwixt them about the ſpace of fiue yeares.

A peace concluded betwixt Baiazet and the Venetians.

The ſame yeare *Baiazet* aſſembled a great and puiſſant army of his beſt and moſt approued ſoldiers, as well in Aſia as Europe, which met together at Sophia, purpoſing (as it was thought) to haue inuaded Hungarie: but worthily doubting the ſucceſſe of that war againſt ſo warlike a nation, he changed his purpoſe, and leauing *Achmetes Baſſa* with his Aſian ſoldiers at Sophia, turned himſelfe with the reſt of his armie into Albania (to reduce thoſe rebellious people againe to his obeyſance) and had before ſent a fleet of gallies to ſtop the paſſages of that countrey alongſt the ſea coaſt. But the country people vnderſtanding of his comming, fled into the high and rough rocks and mountains, from whence they did the Turks great harme: who neC uertheleſſe with incredible labour and aduenture, mounted thoſe difficult places, and killing an exceeding number of thoſe mountaine and ſauage people, carried all the women and children they could light vpon, away with them priſoners: and with fire and ſword made all the countrey deſolate. After which ſpoile done, *Baiazet* returned with his armie to Manaſtirum; and departing thence, vpon the way met with a Deruiſlar (which is a phantaſticall and beggarly kind of Turkiſh monks, vſing no other apparell but two ſheep-skins, the one hanging before and the other behind) a luſtie ſtrong fat fellow, attired after the manner of his order, with a great ring in each eare: who drawing neere vnto *Baiazet*, as if he would of him haue receiued an alms, deſperatly aſſailed him with a ſhort Scimitar which he had cloſely conueyed vnD der his hypocritall habit. But *Baiazet* by the ſtarting of the horſe whereon he rid (being afraid at the ſudden approch of the hobgoblin) partly auoided the deadly blow by the traitour entended, yet not altogether vnwounded: neither had he ſo eſcaped the danger, had not *Iſbender Baſſa* with his horſemans maſe preſently ſtruck downe the deſperat villain as he was about to haue doubled his ſtroke; but being now ſtrucke downe, he was foorthwith rent in peeces by the ſouldiers. This treacherous and deſperat fact ſo much moued *Baiazet*, that he proſcribed all them of that ſuperſtitious order, and baniſhed them out of his empire.

Baiazet in danger to haue bin ſlain by a Deruiſlar or Turkiſh monke.

After ſo many troubles, *Baiazet* gaue himſelfe vnto a quiet courſe of life, ſpending moſt part of his time in ſtudie of phyloſophie, and conference with learned men: vnto which peaceable kind of life, he was of his owne naturall diſpoſition more enclined than to wars; alE beit that the regard of his ſtate, and the earneſt deſire of his men of war, drew him oftentimes euen againſt his wil into the field. As for the ciuile gouernment of his kingdome, he referred it wholly vnto his three principal Baſſaes, *Alis*, *Achmetes*, and *Iachia*, who at their pleaſure diſpoſed of all things. After he had in this quiet and pleaſing kinde of life to his great contentment paſſed ouer fiue yeares, of a little neglected ſparke ſuddenly aroſe ſuch a fire in Aſia, as was hardly after with much bloud of his people and danger of that part of his Empire quenched: the reliques wherof yet troubleth thoſe ſuperſtitious people at this day. Which thing was brought to paſſe by the craftie deuiſe of *Chaſan Chelife*, and *Schach Culi* his boy (whome ſome call *Teckel Scachoculis*, and others *Techellis*) two hypocriticall Perſians: who flying into thoſe countries, and with the counterfeit ſhew of feigned holineſſe hauing procured to themF ſelues a great name amongſt thoſe rude people, with a number of windie headed followes (filled with the noueltie of their new doctrine) raiſed firſt ſuch a diuerſitie of opinions about the true ſucceſſors of their vntrue Prophet, and afterwards ſuch a rebellion amongſt the people, as that the one yet remaineth, and the other was not in a good while after with great bloudſhed appeaſed.

Baiazet by nature peaceable.

But for the better vnderſtanding of the ground of theſe troubles, which hapned at this time in the raigne of *Baiazet* by occaſion of theſe two fugitiue Perſians; as alſo for the mortal wars which afterwards enſued betwixt *Hyſmael* (commonly called the great Sophi of Perſia) and *Selymus*, *Baiazet* his ſucceſſor, it ſhall not be much from our purpoſe briefely to declare the great mutation which at this time hapned to the Perſian kingdome, as wel in the ſtate it ſelfe, as in matters of their ſuperſtition. At ſuch time as *Aſſymbeius Vſun-Caſſanes* raigned in Perſia, there was one *Haider Erdebil* (whom *Iouius* calleth by the name of *Harduelles*) a man honorably diſcended amongſt the Perſians, who contemning worldy honour, riches, pleaſure, and whatſoeuer elſe belonged vnto delicacie of life (commonly accounted the greateſt part of humane felicitie) as meere vanities and trifles, led ſuch a ſtraight and auſtere kind of life, with ſuch continencie and contempt of the world, as that the vulgar people, for moſt part giuen to pleaſure, wondering at that in him which they could not or would not imitate, began to haue the man in ſingular admiration for the opinion they had conceiued of his vpright life and rare vertues. The fame of this new Prophet (for ſo he was accounted) was growne ſo great in the Perſian kingdome, that people without number reſorted out of all parts of Perſia and Armenia vnto the great citie of Tauris to ſee the man. And he the more to ſeduce the multitude (delighted with nouelties) began to inuay againſt the common receiued opinion of the Mahometans, concerning the true ſucceſſours of their great Prophet; and to reuiue the opinion of *Giuni*, ſurnamed *Sofi*; perſuading the people (as if he had bin inſpired with ſome diuine inſpiration) That none of the profeſſors of the Mahometan religion ſhould inherit the kingdome of heauen after they were dead, but ſuch as were the followers of *Haly*, the true ſucceſſour of the great prophet *Mahomet*, and his fellow in writing. Whom he taught them onely to honour as priuie to the mind of the great prophet, and ſo to receiue his writings as of all others moſt authenticall; reiecting *Ebubekir*, *Omer*, and *Oſman*, with their writings, as moſt wicked and accurſed men; whom the Turks had euer, and yet doe with the other Mahometanes, honour and worſhip as the true ſucceſſours of their great prophet *Mahomet*, and his ſincere interpretors, together with the aforeſaid *Haly*, whom the Perſians do onely acknowledge: and therefore in their praiers doe commonly ſay, *Curſed be* Ebubekir, Omer, *and* Oſman, *and God be fauorable to* Haly *and wel pleaſed with him*. Which their difference about the true ſucceſſor of their Prophet, in whom was no truth, hath bin, and yet is, one of the greateſt cauſes of the mortall wars betweene the Turkes and Perſians: and not the diuers interpretation of their law (as many haue written) which amongſt the Turks and Perſians is all one.

The Turks and Perſians differ not about the interpretation of their law, but about the true ſucceſſor of their great prophet Mahomet.

Haider marrieth Martha the daughter of the great king Vſun-Caſſanes.

Vſun-Caſſanes mooued with the fame and vertues of this new prophet, or rather (as ſome thought) deſirous to win the hearts of the multitude of them that had receiued this new phantaſie; gaue him in mariage his daughter *Martha*, begotten of the Chriſtian ladie *Deſpina* the daughter of *Calo Ioannes* Emperour of Trapezond. Which marriage the Chriſtian Emperour made with the Mahometan prince, and he alſo accepted thereof, thereby to ſtrengthen themſelues againſt the Turkiſh Emperor *Mahomet* the Great; whoſe power was then become a terror vnto all his neighbor princes: but to how ſmall purpoſe this policie ſerued them both, is before declared in the life of the ſame *Mahomet*. At the concluſion of this marriage, the emperor had ſpecially couenanted with *Vſun-Caſſanes*, that his daughter *Deſpina* might haue the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion. Wherby it came to paſſe, that this *Martha* her daughter, inſtructed by her mother, became a Chriſtian alſo; who now married by her father vnto this preciſe hypocrit *Haider Erdebil*, in ſhort time bare him a ſonne called *Hyſmael*, whom ſhe ſo much as ſhe could trained vp in the principles of the Chriſtian Religion. Whereby it came to paſſe, that afterwards when he had by rare fortune obtained the kingdome of Perſia, he alwayes during his life had the Chriſtians in good regard, and neuer found fault with their religion.

Haider thus graced with the marriage of the great kings daughter *Martha*, only for his rare vertues and puritie of life, as was commonly ſuppoſed, grew now into farre greater credit and eſtimation of the people than before. So that his doctrine and opinions began to be generally receiued, & the number of his followers ſo greatly augmented, that *Iacup* ſucceeding his father *Vſun-Caſſanes* but lately dead, began to haue the power and credit of *Haider* his brother in law in ſuſpect; & to diſtruſt leſt the Perſians (who ſecretly fauored the remainder of the poſteritie of their antient kings) ſhould aſſemble together vnder the colour of this new ſuperſtition,

A and raiſe ſome dangerous rebellion before he were well ſetled in his ſeat. For he was not ignorant,
that *Aſembeius Vſun-Caſſanes*(his father)had but by force and policie vſurped the kingdome,
hauing killed *Moloonchres* the lawfull king: whereof there aroſe two factions,ſome fauouring
the vſurper,and otherſome the poore remainder of the diſcent of their antient kings
of the race of *Tamerlane*. For which cauſes *Iacup* (as he was of a ſupitious and troubleſome nature,
& aboue meaſure iealous of his ſtate)nothing regarding the neere alliance or reputed holineſſe
of his godly brother in law cauſed him(ſuſpecting no ſuch matter)to be ſecretly murthered:
and ſo hauing ſtrucke off his head,with fire and ſword perſecuted all the profeſſors of
that new doctrine;ſo to deliuer himſelfe for euer of that his vain and needleſſe feare: *Hyſmael*
the ſon of *Haider* (who was afterwards called the great Sophi of Perſia) beeing then but a
B child,as it were by fatall deſtinie eſcaped the fury of his crueſl vncle *Iacup*,and fled into Hyrcania,
vnto one *Pyrchales* his fathers friend,who then ruled in a ſmall territorie neere vnto the
Caſpian ſea.

Haider Ardebil ſecretly murdred.

Amongſt many others of the diſciples and followers of *Haider* (which in that cruel perſecution
were glad to flie for ſafegard of their liues) the two before named,*Chaſan Shelife*, and
Schach Culi,afterwards ſyrnamed *Cuſelbas*,in outward ſhew both of vertue and learning not inferiour
vnto their maſter,flying that dangerous tempeſt,and paſſing ouer the riuer Euphrates,
came into Armenia the leſſer,and there tooke vp their dwelling at the great mountaine Antitaurus:
at the foot wherof the broken rocks haue diuers darke and obſcure caues,made partly
by art,and partly by nature,which place is of the inhabitants called Teke-Ili: whereof diuers
hiſtoriographers,I know not whether deceiued by the name of the place,or els wittingly
C transferring the name of the place vnto the man that liued therein,haue called this *Scach Culi*
(who of the two proued of greater fame) by the name of *Techellis*, by which name we will
alſo from henceforth call him. A thing heretofore much vſed amongſt the religious, and alſo
ſom of the children of great princes,who oftentimes bare the names of the places where they
were borne, or where they moſt liued. This place is both wholſome and exceeding pleaſant,
for the varietie of fruits and liuely ſprings,wherewith the plaines adioyning are continually
watered,and the mountaines at all times of the yeare garniſhed.

Here *Shelife* with his companion *Techellis*,hauing ſeparated themſelues far from the companie
of men,and giuen themſelues wholly to a contemplatiue life, for diuers yeres liued moſt
ſtraitly and auſterely,contenting themſelues with ſuch things as the earth of it ſelfe afforded
D them,without ſeeking for better. Theſe hypocrits were firſt ſeene,and afterwards acquainted
with the ſheepheards and heardſmen liuing vpon the mountains: and in proceſſe of time with
the rude husbandmen and countrey people,who wondring at their ſtrait and deuout kinde of
life,relieued them with all things neceſſarie. Yea *Baiazet* himſelfe hearing of their auſtere
and deuout manner of liuing, ſent them yearely ſixe or ſeuen thouſand aſpers,as his almes giuen
them vpon charitie and deuotion. But afterwards when they began to tell fortunes,and as
it were by the way of diuination to prognoſticat of things to come,the rural people held them
for more than men, and conceiued of them a firme opinion,that they were ſome diuine prophets.
And ſo were by the countrey people firſt drawne into the countrey villages,and afterwards,
E as if it had bin againſt their wils,into the cities; where they had in ſhort time filled all
the country far and neere,with the admiration of their fame: But after they began to publiſh
their new phantaſied doctrine concerning the true ſucceſſor of their great prophet *Mahomet*,
they wanted not their new fangled followers (as had *Haider* their maſter before amongſt the
Perſians) who had them in ſingular reuerence; perſuaded now by them, that they ſhould bee
condemned for euer,if they did not (as they were by them taught)giue the honour of the true
ſucceſſion of their great Prophet,only to *Haly*,and him onely to reuerence and call vpon next
vnto the great Prophet himſelfe.

When they had thus with their often ſermons and blinded prophecies ſeduced the people,
and in ſhort time woon great credit amongſt the vulgar ſort,of themſelues too much giuen to
F noueltie and ſuperſtition; they commanded their diſciples and followers to weare vpon their
Turkiſh hats a red band or riband,whereby to be knowne from others that were not of their
profeſſion. Of which red bands or ribands, they which profeſſed this new ſuperſtition,were,
and yet are ouer all the Eaſt part of the world called by the name of *Cuſelbaſſas*, which is to
ſay, *Red heads*.

The beginning of the Cuſelbaſſas.

Hyſmael his behauiour in the time of his exile

Hyſmael alſo liuing in exile, moſt earneſtly embraced that new ſuperſtition which *Haider* G his father had before taught in Perſia, but with far better fortune and ſucceſſe. For as ſoone as he was grown to mans eſtate, he following his fathers maner of life, and being by nature wonderfull eloquent, comely of perſon, exceeding wiſe, and of an inuincible courage, was of the rude vulgar people accounted of more like a god than a man: ſo that hee grew to be of great fame and power amongſt thoſe barbarous people with whom he liued. And not the baſe and vulgar ſort only, but diuers noblemen alſo, and others of good reputation, once allured with the noueltie of his doctrine, the more to maniſeſt their good will towards the author of their ſect; after they had forſaken their old ſuperſtition, ceaſed not (as the manner of men is) to commend him in the higheſt degree of vertue and honor. And he himſelfe as yet but a youth, altogether bending his wit to the ſetting forth of himſelfe, making ſemblant of more than was H indeed in him, obtained, as if it had bin againſt his will, riches, honor, fame, and authoritie; of al which things, he as a notable diſſembler ſeemed to make no account or reckning: neither were there ſome wanting which would ſweare, that *Haider* his father (as he was an excellent Aſtronomer) calculating his natiuitie, ſhould ſay, That he ſhould prooue a great prophet, and the author of true religion, who ſubduing the greateſt part of the Eaſt, ſhould become as glorious both in matters of religion and martiall affaires, as was *Mahomet* the Great Prophet himſelfe. Which report being bruted abroad amongſt the vulgar people, greatly increaſed his authoritie, and gaue them occaſion to talke of wonders. Not long after, *Hyſmael* was firſt by the admiration or rather aſſentation of his friends and followers, and afterwards as if it had bin by a generall conſent, ſyrnamed *Sophos*; which amongſt thoſe people ſignifieth a Wiſe man, or the Interpreter of the gods. Theſe proſperous beginnings, with the troubled ſtate of the Perſian I kingdome, encouraged him to take in hand great matters: for his vncle *Iacup* the Perſian king was long before dead, beeing together with his ſon poyſoned by his adulterous wife: which thing he preſently perceiuing, enforced her to drinke of the ſame cup; and becauſe he would be ſure that ſhe ſhould not eſcape, with his owne hand ſtrucke off her head, and immediatly after died, with his ſonne. After whoſe death great troubles aroſe about the ſucceſſion: and diuers great men one after another aſpired to the kingdome, which they enioyed not long. And amongſt the reſt *Eluan-Beg* (whom *Iouius* calleth *Aluantes*) at that time ſtood in no ſure poſſeſſion of the kingdome, being mightily impugned by his brother *Moratchamus*.

Hyſmael returneth into Armenia, and recouereth his inheritance.

Hyſmael taking hold of this opportunitie, armed diuers of the moſt able men of his followers, K and receiuing ſome ſmall aid from his poore old friend *Pyrchales*, entered into Armenia, and there partly by the fame that ran of him, and partly by the good will of the people, rather than by any force, recouered his fathers inheritance, whereunto the remembrance of his dead father did not a little further him. He encouraged with this good beginning, daily grew ſtronger and ſtronger, by the continuall repairing vnto him of ſuch as hauing once receiued the doctrine of *Haider*, were glad of long (for feare of perſecution) to diſſemble the ſame: but now hauing got an head and chiefetaine to cleaue vnto, began openly to ſhew themſelues againe, and in great number to reſort vnto him, in hope of the good ſucceſſe of their religion, not ſo happily begun by his father.

Sumachia taken by Hyſmael.

His power thus daily increaſing beyond his expectation, he laied ſiege vnto Sumachia, a citie L in the confines of Media, which he tooke by force and ſacked: and with the ſpoile therof both inriched and armed his ſouldiers, which before were for moſt part naked men. The taking of this citie wonderfully increaſed both his fame and courage, as oftentimes it falleth out, That hautie minds, couragiouſly attempting high exploits, by the good euent of their firſt attempts make way vnto the full of their ſtately deſires. So after this, *Hyſmaels* thoughts were not ſo low, as to thinke of the taking of this or that little citie; but how he might now compaſſe the great citie of Tauris, the very ſeat of the Perſian kings, and afterwards the kingdome it ſelfe. Whereupon repoſing no leſſe confidence in his own good fortune, than the valour of his ſouldiers, he marched with his armie directly to the city of Tauris, & that with ſuch expedition, that he was come before it before any ſuch thing was feared, much leſſe prouided for. M *Eluan* the Perſian king was then at Tauris, and had but a little before fought a great battell with his brother *Moratchamus* for the kingdome: and hauing vanquiſhed him, draue him out of Armenia and Perſia; and afterwards, as it commonly falleth out in the winding vp of ciuile warres, had cauſed diuers of the chiefe citizens of Tauris, which had taken part with his bro-

Hyſmael commeth to Tauris.

A brother againſt him,to be ſeuerely executed,filling the eies of their friends with the horrible
ſpactacle of their diſmembred bodies,and the hearts of moſt men with ſorrow and heauines:
whereby he had ſo alienated the minds of the citizens from him,that now vpon the approch
of *Hyſmael*,they were all readie to forſake him: of which their diſpoſition *Hyſmael* was be-
forehand informed,and vpon the good hope thereof had haſted his comming. *Eluan* the Per-
ſian king thus ouertaken on the ſudden,had not time to raiſe ſuch forces as might ſuffice either
to encounter his enemie, or defend the citie; wherefore deſpairing of his owne ſtrength, and
iuſtly fearing the reuolt and furie of the diſcontented citizens,as a man diſmaid,ſuddenly fled
out of the citie. After whoſe departure the gates were preſently ſet open to *Hyſmael*. For the
citizens which in thoſe troubleſome times (wherin the two brethren contended for the king-
B dome)had ſuffered great calamitie,choſe rather in that preſent danger to receiue a conqueror
of ſo great fame as was then *Hyſmael*, than to their vtter deſtruction to oppoſe themſelues
againſt him in the quarrell of their cruell king: and the rather, for that they ſaw a general ſe-
curity and open way to preferment,propoſed vnto all ſuch as ſhould receiue the reformed re-
ligion of this new conquerour.

Hyſmael entering the citie, ſlew certaine of the kings guard which were not yet departed,
and then vtterly raſed the ſtately tombe wherein his vncle *Iacup* was after the manner of the
Perſian kings royally buried. And to mittigat the ſorrow he had ſo long conceiued of his fa-
thers death, and with reuenge to appeaſe his angrie ghoſt, he cauſed the tyrants bones to bee
digged vp and ſcattered abroad, and the memoriall of his name to bee quite raſed out of all
C places of the citie.

Hyſmael taketh the city of Tauris,and defaceth the tombe of his vncle Iacup.

Although *Hyſmael* was thus poſſeſſed of the regall citie of Tauris,and had thereby made
a way for the obtaining of the whole kingdome, yet he knew that ſo long as *Eluan* liued, his
conqueſt was not vnto him aſſured: and therefore to the vttermoſt of his power he augmen-
ted his armie with new ſupplies taken vp in that populous citie, whom he furniſhed with
armour and weapons taken out of the kings armourie. In the mean time newes was brought
vnto him, that the Perſian king before fled into the fartheſt part of his kingdome, was now
comming from Scyras with a great armie againſt him; and that *Moratchamus* his brother,for-
getting in this common danger all former quarrels,had raiſed a great armie about Babylon in
Aſſyria,in ſhort time to ioyne with his brother.

D *Hyſmael* neuertheleſſe nothing terrified with the report of the gteat preparation of the two
brethren againſt him, to the intent he might ſeeme to vndertake this war by the appointment
of God,and vpon a greater aſſurance than vpon his own ſtrength,reſolued to go againſt them.
And ſo after he had muſtered his armie,& in beſt manner he could prouided all things neceſ-
ſarie,he ſet forward from Tauris; vſing no other perſuaſion to encourage his ſoldiers, but that
they ſhould all as became reſolute men, make haſt & follow him whom God had giuen them
for a chiefetain and leader,vnto a moſt aſſured victory. The Perſian king was at the ſame time
ten daies iourney from Tauris,when *Hyſmael* with incredible celeritie preuenting the fame of
his comming, was come to the mountaine Niphates, which parteth Armenia from Aſſyria:
which mountaine,*Eluan* purpoſing ſhortly to paſſe ouer with his populous armie, had ſent be-
E fore his ſcouts to diſcouer the ſtraight paſſages, and a multitude of pioners to make the wayes
more commodious for his great armie to paſſe. Which thing *Hyſmael* vnderſtanding,and po-
litickly conſidering that it ſhould be much for his aduantage, if he ſhould firſt himſelfe paſſe
ouer thoſe great mountaines,and ſo vpon the ſudden ſet vpon his enemies then lying in ſecu-
ritie,and fearing nothing leſſe than ſuch a deſperat attempt: vpon that reſolution aduanced his
enſignes vpon the mountains; and hauing with ſmall reſiſtance diſcomfited them which kept
the paſſages, came downe the ſame mountaines like a tempeſt, and furiouſly aſſailed the king,
then lying in his campe on the other ſide at the foot of the mountaine: vpon the approch of
whom,ſuch a hurly burly was raiſed in the kings camp, that what for the confuſed tumult of
the ſoldiers,& fearfull outcries of the multitude of baſe people which followed the camp,the
F king could ſcarcely giue order vnto his captains what he would haue don,or yet incourage his
ſouldiers,or put them in order of battell. So that *Hyſmael* giuing a fierce onſet with his Arme-
nian ſouldiers,there was ſuddenly begun a moſt terrible and bloodie battell. Neither did that
day the fortune of *Hyſmael* faile him, whoſe courage and proweſſe neuer failed: for aſſailing
the Kings battell of footmen, with three ſquadrons at once,hee had ouercome them and put

Hyſmael goeth againſt the Perſian king.

them to flight before that the horſmen could arme themſelues and mount their horſes, which were for moſt part vnſadled and vnbridled at his comming. The king, who had nothing either feared or foreſeen this ſo ſudden a miſchiefe, but had vainly perſuaded himſelfe, That the very fame of his comming with ſo huge an army, would ſo terrifie his enemies, as that he ſhould find none either at Tauris, or in all Armenia, that durſt make reſiſtance; was glad now to run to and fro to encourage his ſouldiers, to ſtay his diſcomfited battels, yea and to come to handie blowes himſelfe. But when neither his captains nor ſouldiers could put in execution his ſudden directions which he was inforced to giue in that imminent danger, being at once ouercome with ſhame and deſperation, he reſolutely thruſt himſelfe into the head of his battell, and there valiantly fighting was ſlain. Whereupon the Perſian horſemen, the greateſt ſtrength of the Kings armie, hauing now no king for whom they ſhould fight, betooke themſelues to flight, after whom followed the archers, and all the reſt of the kings armie.

Eluan the Perſian king ſlain.

When as *Hyſmael* had with leſſe loſſe than a man would haue thought ſo great a victorie could haue bin atchieued, poſſeſſed the enemies tents, he made no great purſuit after them, for that he thought it more requiſit to refreſh his ſouldiers throughly wearied and almoſt ſpent with long trauell and late fight: wherefore for certaine dayes he repoſed himſelfe with his armie in thoſe his enemies forſaken tents. Afterwards, when he had receiued Embaſſadours from diuers places, yeelding their cities and towns, and that the fauor of the people generally inclined to him, together with the victorie; he marched with his armie to Scyras; where hee was of the citizens who had before heard of the victorie ioyfully receiued, & his army relieued with all things he could deſire. *Hyſmael* there entertained with the greateſt honours that the fearfull citizens could poſſibly attribute to him, did oftentimes preach vnto them of the truth and excellencie of his fathers doctrine, and withall gaue out ſtrait proclamations, That he would account all them for his enemies, which did not within the ſpace of thirtie daies renounce their old ſuperſtition, and receiue this new found veritie (as he would haue it.) Wherfore, foraſmuch as on the one ſide were propoſed moſt certain rewards, by the happy courſe of his victories, & on the other, was threatned exile and torture to ſuch as ſhould obſtinatly perſiſt in their opinion; in ſhort time he drew all the vulgar people to embrace his new doctrine. And afterwards hauing paied his ſouldiers with the riches of that great citie, he gallantly furniſhed both his old and new ſouldiers that wanted armor, with moſt excellent armor and furniture: for in that citie, one of the greateſt and moſt famous of the Eaſt, were many ſhops full of all kind of armor, which the armourers with wonderfull cunning vſed to make of yron and ſteele & in the juice of certain hearbs, of much more notable temper & beautie than are theſe which are made with vs in Europe; not only head-peeces, curiaſſes, and complete armors, but whole capariſons for horſes, curiouſly made of thin plates of yron and ſteele. Departing from Scyras, he tooke alſo the great citie of Sapha ſuppoſed to haue beene the citie in antient time called Suſa, and Sultania, which for the wonderfull ruines of the huge buildings, is deemed to haue bin the antient and famous citie Tigranocerta. Theſe great matters quickely diſpatched, and hauing in euery citie placed Gouernours of his owne ſect, he paſſed ouer the riuer Tygris into Meſopotamia, of purpoſe to expulſe *Moratchamus* the late kings brother, out of Babylon, who was yet in armes, and had intended (as is before ſaid) to haue paſſed into Armenia, to haue ioyned his forces with the king his brother: but now terrified with his brothers calamitie (who together with a moſt puiſſant armie, and the ſtrength of the Perſian kingdom, was in one day fallen from the height of ſo great a fortune) thought it not beſt to trie his fortune in the field againſt ſo fortunat an enemie, but forthwith to withdraw himſelfe into the remoteſt places of that large kingdome, and from thence to expect ſome better fortune. For he wel knew that he was not able to withſtand his victorious enemie, now leading after him a moſt puiſſant army, who not long before had with a ſmal power vanquiſhed & ſlain his brother in a great battel. *Hyſmael* now by the greatnes of his fame and forces, & as it were by the fauor of God himſelf, become a terror to all the princes of the Eaſt, entred into Meſopotamia after the flight of *Moratchamus*, & receiued all that great prouince into his ſubiection, euery man as it were ſtriuing who ſhould firſt by his ſpeedy ſubmiſſion purchaſe the fauour of the victorious conqueror. To be briefe, *Moratchamus* already terrified, & repoſing no great hope in himſelf, or his own power, neither deeming it for his ſafetie to ſhut vp himſelf within the wals of any ſtrong city, truſt vp his things of greateſt price, & with his wiues & children fled into Arabia.

Hyſmael goeth againſt Moratchamus.

This *Moratchamus* is he whom ſome Hiſtoriographers called *Mara Beg*, and is in the Turks Hiſtories called *Imirſa Beg*, who (as they report) afterwards marrying the daughter of *Baiazet*, and recouering part of the Perſian kingdome, was ſuddenly murthered by ſome of his Nobilitie, whom he purpoſed ſecretly to haue put to death, if they had not preuented the ſame by murthering of him firſt. *Hyſmael* hauing victoriouſly ſubdued a great part of the Perſian kingdome, & filled all the Eaſt part of the world with the glorie of his name, returned out of Aſſyria into Media, & tooke in ſuch cities and ſtrong holds as were yet holden by the garriſons of the late Perſian king. And afterwards returning into Armenia, made wars vpon the Albanians, Iberians, and Scythians, which dwell vpon the borders of the Caſpian: for that thoſe nations, in antient times tributaries vnto the Perſian Kings, taking the benefit of the long ciuile wars wherewith the kingdome of Perſia, and all the Eaſt countries, with the ruin of the kings houſe, had been of late turmoyled; had neither payed any tribute by the ſpace of foure yeres, nor ſent any honourable embaſſage, as they were woont, and as was expected, eſpecially in ſo great a victorie and alteration of the State.

Hyſmael hauing thus obtained the Perſian kingdome, in ſhort time became famous through the world, and was juſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt Monarchs of that age. But nothing made him more to be ſpoken of, than the innouation he had made in the Mahometane ſuperſtition: for by his deuice and commandement a new forme of prayer was brought into their Mahometane Temples, far differing from that which had been of long time before vſed. By reaſon whereof, *Ebubekir*, *Homer*, and *Oſman*, the ſucceſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, before had in great regard and reuerence, began now to be contemned, and their writings nothing regarded; and the honour of *Hali* exalted, as the true and onely ſucceſſor of their great Prophet. And becauſe he would haue his ſubjects and the followers of his doctrine knowne from the Turks and other Mahometans, he commanded that they ſhould all weare ſome red hatband, lace, or riband vpon their heads; which they religiouſly obſerue in Perſia vntil this day: whereof they are of the Turks called *Cuſelba's*, or *Red heads*. And in ſhort time he had ſo vſed the matter, that he was wonderfully both beloued and reuerenced of his ſubjects; inſomuch that his ſayings were accounted for diuine Oracles, and his commandements for Laws: ſo that when they would confirme any thing by ſolemne oath, they would ſweare by the head of *Hyſmael* the King: and when they wiſhed well to any man, they vſually ſayd, *Hyſmael* grant thee thy deſire. Vpon his coyne which he made both of ſiluer and gold, on the one ſide was written theſe words, *La illahe illalahu* Muhame *dun reſul allahe*: which is to ſay, *There are no gods but one*, *and* Mahomet *is his Meſſenger*. And on the other ſide, *Iſmaill halife lullahe*; which is to ſay, *Hyſmael the Vicar of God*.

Hyſmael exceedingly beloued and honored of his ſubiects.

1508

Whileſt *Hyſmael* was thus wreſtling for the Perſian Kingdome, *Chaſan Chelife* and *Techellis* (whom we haue a little before declared to haue bin brought out of the mountains and deſarts, into the countrey villages, and afterwards into the cities; and to haue filled the countries of Armenia and a great part of the leſſer Aſia with the noueltie of their new doctrine and opinions, firſt phantaſied by one *Giunet Siech*, and afterward reuiued by *Haider Erdebil*, *Hyſmael* his father) hauing gathred a great armie of ſuch as had receiued their doctrine, inuaded the Turks dominion. For after that *Techellis* (this cold Prophet) had with wonderful felicitie in the preſence of many prognoſticated of things to come; and *Hyſmael* the Sophi (of late a poore exiled and baniſhed man) was thought to haue grown vnto the higheſt type of worldly honors, not by mans helpe, but by vprightneſſe of life, and the fortunat paſſage of an vndoubted religion: ſuch a deſire of receiuing that new ſuperſtition poſſeſſed the minds of the people in generall, that the cities and townes thereabouts were now full of them which in token of their new profeſſion had taken vpon them the wearing of the red hat, the knowne Cogniſance of the *Cuſelba's*. Firſt they met together at the citie of Taſcia, at the foot of the mountaine Antitaurus, or as the Turkiſh hiſtorie reports, at the citie of Attalia, to the number of 10000, vpon a great Faire day; where they layd hands vpon the chiefe Magiſtrate of the citie, and executed him, ſetting his quarters vpon foure of the higheſt towers of the citie: and further perſuaded by theſe new maſters of this new ſuperſtition, to take vp armes in defence of themſelues and of their ſincere religion (as they termed it) in caſe that any violence ſhould be offered them by the irreligious Turks; they all ſwore, neuer to forſake their Captaines for any diſtreſſe, or yet refuſe any labour or aduenture for the honor of their moſt holy religion (as they

Chaſan Chelife & Techellis inuade the Turks dominions.

would haue it) in defence whereof they had alreadie vowed their ſoules and bodies. Theſe ringleaders of rebellion, ſeeing the minds of their frantick followers ſo wel prepared for their purpoſe, and repoſing a great confidence in their valour and reſolution; and withall conſidering that the mony which was bountifully brought in vnto them by the country people, partly for deuotion, partly for feare, was not ſufficient to maintain ſo great a multitude, gaue leaue by publike proclamation to their vnruly followers, to forrage the country round about them, & to liue vpon the ſpoile of them which would not receiue their new found doctrine. Wherupon they diuiding themſelues into diuers companies, and ranging vp and down the country, brought into the campe abundance of cattell, and other ſuch things as the countrey yeelded: and forthwith (their multitude ſtill increaſing) they entred into Lycaonia, a populous & fruitfull countrey, where they refreſhed themſelues many days, roaming vp and down to the great grieuance and terrour of the people; and brought ſuch a feare vpon the whole countrey, that they which dwelt in open dorps and villages, were glad to flie with their wiues, children, and goods, into the ſtrong citie of Iconium: for proclamations were in many places ſet vp in the names of *Chaſan Chelife* and *Techellis*, wherein many both ſpiritual and temporal bleſſings were in moſt ample manner propoſed to al ſuch as ſhould forthwith take part with them, and follow that their new doctrine alreadie eſtabliſhed in Perſia: but vnto ſuch as ſhould obſtinatly perſeuer in their old ſuperſtition, after they had once drawn their ſword, was threatned vtter deſtruction without hope of pardon of life. So that all the inhabitants therabouts, terrified with the terrour of this proclamation, ſome for feare of death, ſome vpon inconſtancie, ſome for ſafegard of their goods and poſſeſſions (dearer vnto them than any religion) ſome other indebted, infamous, in danger of law, beſide many fugitiue ſeruants, dayly reſorted to theſe new maſters. Not long after, whilſt the Turks were making preparation for the ſuppreſſing of this dangerous rebellion, certaine troupes of horſemen ſent from *Hyſmael*, came in good time to theſe new prophets: for *Hyſmael* in fauour and furtherance of that new ſuperſtition, had a little before by fit meſſengers exhorted them to proceed couragiouſly in their ſo religious an enterpriſe, and to joine martiall force vnto the religion they profeſſed: promiſing further, not to be wanting vnto them at their need, but to ſend them skilfull Leaders, and from time to time to furniſh them with coyne for the maintenance of that war. All this *Hyſmael* did openly in deſpight of *Baiazet*, of ſmall beginnings to ſow the ſeed of greater war. For he bearing an old grudge againſt *Baiazet* for the former wars betwixt the Turks & the Perſians, as alſo for their diſagreement in matters concerning their ſuperſtition, and prickt forward with the heat of youth, deſired nothing more in the greatneſſe of his power, and proſperous ſucceſſe of his affaires, than to haue occaſion to make war with the Turkiſh king: for which purpoſe he ſent his Embaſſadors vnto the State of Venice, to joine with them in league and amitie, in ſuch forme and ſort as they had long time before, by *Catarinus Zemes*, *Barbarus*, and *Contarenus* their Embaſſadors, concluded with *Vſun-Caſſanes* the great Perſian king his grandfather. The chiefe things that he requeſted of the Venetians, was, That they would ſend him out of Italie by the way of Syria, men skilfull in the caſting of great ordnance, and with their fleet to trouble *Baiazet* by ſea: promiſing in the meane time himſelfe to fill Aſia the leſſe with his army by land, and ſo to giue a faire occaſion vnto them, to recouer by ſea all ſuch places as they had before in the late wars loſt vnto the Turks vpon the coaſt of Peloponeſus and Grecia.

Hyſmael ſends embaſſadors vnto the Venetians, to ioyne in league with the against Baiazet

The Venetians hauing with all courteſie entertained the Embaſſadours, gaue them anſwer, That they would neuer be forgetfull of the antient league and amitie they had made with the Perſian king; the remembrance whereof was vnto their State a thing moſt pleaſant: and that they were wonderfull glad, that the new king was an enemie vnto the Turke, and had them in ſuch regard, as to participat to them the cauſes of that war: and further to promiſe vnto them thoſe things, which if his grandfather *Vſun-Caſſanes*, or his vncle *Iacup* would haue performed, he ſhould not now haue had need to make wars with the Turkiſh Emperor. But ſuch was the alteration of things & times, that as the Perſian kings then liuing at home in peace, thought it not good to ſtir whileſt *Baiazet* was buſie in Europe; ſo now their State ſtanding in far worſe condition and fortune, could not performe that which they heartily wiſhed, and moſt of all deſired; for that they thought it not good to break the league which they had not long before made with *Baiazet* the Turkiſh emperor: eſpecially then, when ſundrie warlike nations of Europe conſpiring together, and diuers mightie kings prouoked with no iniurie, but only enuying at their happie eſtate, made wars vpon them; yet neuertheleſſe were in good hope, that God would ſtand in their iuſt defence, and ſtill preſerue their ſtate, which no enemies power had for the ſpace of 700 yeares and more been able to ouercome. Wherefore they ſhould ſhew vnto their King, that they would as occaſion ſhould ſerue, and as it ſhould ſtand with the good of their State, do their vttermoſt deuoire to make him vnderſtand, that nothing was deerer vnto them than the friendſhip of ſo great a King: nor any thing more honorable, than by mutuall counſell and combined forces to aſſaile the Turke their common enemie.

Shortly after, the Embaſſadors (hauing obtained nothing more than the hope of a league to be in time concluded, and being honourably rewarded) returned with their gallies to Cyprus, and ſo from thence to Syria, where they had ſecret conference with *Petrus Zenus* (the ſon of *Caterinus Zenus*, a man famous for his embaſſage vnto *Vſun-Caſſanes* into Perſia) gouernour of the Venetian Merchants at Damaſco. Which thing *Baiazet* hauing intelligence of, and of the paſſage of the Perſian Embaſſadors that way, complained grieuouſly both by his Embaſſadors and letters vnto *Campſon Gaurus* Sultan of Ægypt, That he dealt not as a friend and confederat with him, in ſuffering theſe Embaſſadors ſo to paſſe throughout the middeſt of Syria, vnto the Chriſtians their common enemies, to ſtirre them vp to war. Whereupon all the Venetian Merchants which were at Tripolis, Aleppo, Damaſco, Berytus, and Alexandria, and eſpecially *Zenus* himſelfe, were forthwith apprehended by the commandement of the great Sultan, and carried in bonds to Caire, where they were many times inforced in chaines to anſwer vnto ſuch things as were layd to their charge, and after they had by the ſpace of a yeare endured the manifold deſpights of the proud Mamalukes, hardly obtained to eſcape with life and libertie.

The two ſeditious Prophets, *Chaſan* and *Techellis*, well ſtrengthned with the ayd of the Perſians, were now come vnto Iconium the moſt famous citie of Lycaonia; and waſting all the countrey before them, drew a great multitude of people to receiue their new doctrine. For the repreſſing of which outrages, *Orchanes* and *Mahomethes*, two of *Baiazet* his nephews (who in ſtead of their fathers *Alem Schach* and *Tζian Schach*, the ſons of *Baiazet* before dead, gouerned thoſe countries) gathered togither their forces, and diſdaining to ſuffer ſuch diſgrace by ſuch a rabble of raſcal people, in the ſight of ſo famous a city, came into the field to giue them battell. But they in their youthfull heat making too much haſt, and joyning battell in a place of diſaduantage, were by the rebels ouerthrowne and put to flight. Neither would theſe ringleaders in that victorie haue forborne to haue aſſailed Iconium, but that they wanted Artillerie and engines of war requiſit for the beſieging of cities.

Orchanes and *Mahometes two of Baiazet his nephewes ouerthrown by Techellis.*

Corcutus alſo, one of the ſonnes of *Baiazet*, hauing at the ſame time leuied a conuenient Armie about Thiatyra, Sypilus, Magneſia and Phocea, durſt not further ſtir or ſet forward againſt the rebels, although they lay diſperſed about the countrey faſt by him. Theſe new prophets with enſignes diſplaied, marching from countrey to countrey through the heart of the leſſer Aſia, entered at length into Bythinia, where neere vnto the riuer Sangarius they met with *Caragoſes Baſſa* the Viceroy of Aſia, comming againſt them with a great armie well appointed, which he had a little before raiſed vpon the bruit of the comming of theſe rebels; and had alſo commanded *Achometes* (whome the Turks call *Achmetes*) the eldeſt ſon of *Baiazet* then liuing, gouernor of the great countries of Capadocia and Pontus, to raiſe his power, and to follow at the backe of the rebels: who if they ſhould hap to be put to the worſe, would neither be able to retyre, neither to keepe the field, being ſo ſhut vp betwixt two ſo great armies. But *Techellis* by his ſpeedie comming fruſtrated theſe deſignes of the Viceroy; for marching with all ſpeed, he was vpon *Caragoſes* before he was well aware of his comming, neere vnto the mountaine Hormynus, as he was then taking vp of more ſoldiers, and daily expected the comming of others, as if he had been going againſt ſome puiſſant enemie. The Viceroy ſeeing the Rebels approch, although he had before not purpoſed to haue encountered them before he had raiſed far greater forces; thought it not now to ſtand with his honor, to refuſe to giue them battell, although his armie for moſt part conſiſted of the rude countrey peiſants, taken vp vpon the ſudden out of Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, and Bythinia, raw ſouldiers, and for moſt part vnarmed: as commonly they are which in thoſe countries are preſſed againſt their wills out of the townes and villages, and are of the Turks called Aſapi, who of the Ianizaries are ſcarcely accounted for men. But his greateſt confidence he repoſed in the approoued valour

The battell betweene Caragoſes & Techellis.

of his antient horſemen,by whoſe means he doubted not,in ſafetie to retyre out of the battel, G and to ſaue himſelfe if any thing ſhould fall out otherwiſe than wel; making no great account of the common ſouldiers, more than by them if he could, to weaken the force of the rebels: who on the other ſide (their greateſt force conſiſting of footmen) had no hope to ſaue themſelues by flight,but only by plain valour and dint of ſword. Which *Techellis* wel conſidering, exhorted his ſoldiers to remember into what countrey they were come,and that there was no cities of refuge, no new power, no other gods of defence to flie vnto, if they ſhould not that day play the men: Wherefore let vs couragiouſly (ſaid he) ſet forward againſt our enemies, and by victorie defend our liues, together with the truth of our religion, for which we haue vowed both our ſoules and bodies. He had ſcarcely ſayd thus much, but that his whole Armie,in token of cherefulnes,gaue a moſt terrible ſhout, and without further ſtay ſet vpon their H enemies. The Viceroy had placed his footmen in the maine battell in the middle, and his horſemen in the wings,thereby to haue compaſſed in his enemies: but *Techellis* had ſet all his footmen in one great ſquare battell, and his Perſian horſemen for a refuge. But the Viceroy his freſh-water ſouldiers could ſcarcely abide the ſight of *Techellis* his armie; for in the front of the battell ſtood ſouldiers throughly armed, and all the reſt of his armie with red hats vpon their heads,as if they had bin imbrued with bloud,which wonderfully terrified the Baſſa's cowardly and vnskilfull ſouldiers: ſo that hauing endured the fight ſcarcely halfe an houre, they all turned their backs and fled. The Turkiſh horſemen which had valiantly aſſailed the rebels armie on both ſides, although they had ſlaine many with their arrowes and lances, and ſomewhat diſordred the battell,for that the footmen were inforced to leaue their places, and I to preſſe ſtill on forward againſt them; yet when *Techellis* his ſoldiers (hauing ouercome the footmen, and diuiding themſelues into diuers ſquadrons) began with their long pikes to kill their horſes, and to lay hardly vnto them, they likewiſe betooke themſelues to flight alſo. Then the Perſian horſemen (which all this while had ſtood ſtill as lookers on) left their ſtandings,and following the chaſe ſlew many of the Turks in their diſordred flight: and following faſt on,incloſed the Viceroy as he was ſtaying of his horſmen,and could not for the thickneſſe of the duſt well diſcerne his enemies; ſo that he had bin there taken, if he had not been ſpeedily reſcued by his guard,and ſo deliuered from that danger. The reſt of the Turks horſmen ſaued themſelues by flight.In this battel ſeuen thouſand of the Turks footmen were ſlain, and all their enſignes taken,with great ſtore of prouiſion. K

Techellis beſiegeth Caragoſes the Viceroy, in the citie of Cutaie.

After which victorie, *Chaſan* and *Techellis* reſting their armie one day, marched to the citie of Cutaie,neere vnto the mountain Horminius: this citie is ſcituated as it were in the midſt of Aſia the leſſe,and is the ſeat of the Turkiſh Emperors Viceroy in Aſia; as Sophia in Mœſia is for his other Viceroy in Europe: for it was reported,that the country people had for feare of the preſent war conueyed thither the greateſt part of their wealth; and the rebels well knew, that the Viceroy himſelfe with his chiefe horſemen were fled thither alſo: neither doubted they,but that all the army might be greatly inriched by the wealth of that citie,if they ſhould without delay imploy their whole forces for the gaining thereof, their enemies now altogether diſcouraged with their late ouerthrow. *Techellis* alſo deeming that enterpriſe of ſo much worth as whereon to gage his whole forces,comming before the city,placed ſuch field pieces L as he had before taken in the battel,& his archers in ſuch fit places as might moſt anoy the defendants: afterward he cauſed ſcaling ladders to be ſet vp, and proclamation made thorow all his camp,That the whole ſpoile of the citie ſhould be the ſoldiers if they could take it; with promiſe of greater rewards to them that ſhould firſt recouer the top of the wals. Filled with this hope,the rebellious multitude approched the wall, fearing neither enemies force, multitude of ſhot,or danger of death;ſtriuing who ſhould firſt mount the ladders,& ſome climbing one in the necke of another,ſo to get vp by the ruins of the wal. The defendants in the meane time from aboue caſting down vpon them great ſtones, timber,fire,ſcalding water,lime,ſand, and ſuch like without meaſure: wherewith although many were ouerthrowne and cruſht to death or ſpoiled,yet others preſently ſtept vp in their place; neither was any of them ſeen,for M feare of the preſent danger to ſhrinke back or be diſcouraged: for the Viceroy on the one ſide, and *Techellis* on the other, were both eye-witneſſes of euery mans valour in that hot ſeruice: the one prickt forward with doubtfull hope,for feare to be enforced to giue ouer the aſſault ſo begun; and the other with the due regard of his honor,life,and ſtate,all ſubiect to that danger, A ger, and therefore in perſon himſelfe performed all the parts of a worthie chiefetain and couragious ſouldier. But at length the defendants wearied with the fierce aſſault of the enemie, and for moſt part wounded, *Techellis* continually ſending in freſh men, and withdrawing ſuch as were hurt, by plaine force brake into the citie in two places ouer the heapes of the dead bodies: and hauing repulſed the defendants, burſt open one of the gates, and thereby brought in his whole armie. Then began a miſerable ſlaughter of the ſoldiers and poore citiſens in euery houſe and corner of the citie. At which inſtant the Palace (whither the Viceroy had retyred himſelfe with his familie) was alſo taken: the Viceroy himſelfe with his wiues and children were there alſo taken priſoners, and the ſtately Palace built with marble, in a trice conſumed with fire.

Caragoſes the viceroy with his wiues and children taken by Techellis in the citie of Cutaie.

B The rich citie of Cutaie, the ſeat of the great commander of the Turkiſh Empire in Aſia, thus taken by *Techellis*, and his whole army both beautified and inriched with the ſpoile thereof; he perſuaded himſelfe, that it was now no hard matter for him to take the citie of Pruſa alſo, the antient ſeat of the Turkiſh Kings in Bythinia, and ſo to endanger the whole ſtate of the Turks Empire in Aſia, if he ſhould now without delay carrie the terrour of himſelfe thither, before the Turks could in that countrey make head againſt him, or the citiſens be able in ſo ſudden a feare to make any ſufficient prouiſion for the defence of themſelues and their citie; and ſo in the courſe of his good fortune to vſe the courage and cherefulneſſe of his ſouldiers. Wherefore appointing a day when he would ſet forward, he commanded all things neceſſary to be made readie for the taking of that rich citie, being neither ſtrongly walled, neither fur- C niſhed with any good garriſon for the defence thereof.

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The battell betweene Caragoſes & Techellis.

of his antient horſemen,by whoſe means he doubted not,in ſafetie to retyre out of the battel, and to ſaue himſelfe if any thing ſhould fall out otherwiſe than wel; making no great account of the common ſouldiers, more than by them if he could, to weaken the force of the rebels: who on the other ſide (their greateſt force conſiſting of footmen) had no hope to ſaue themſelues by flight,but only by plain valour and dint of ſword. Which *Techellis* wel conſidering, exhorted his ſoldiers to remember into what countrey they were come,and that there was no cities of refuge, no new power, no other gods of defence to flie vnto, if they ſhould not that day play the men: Wherefore let vs couragiouſly (ſaid he) ſet forward againſt our enemies, and by victorie defend our liues, together with the truth of our religion, for which we haue vowed both our ſoules and bodies. He had ſcarcely ſayd thus much, but that his whole Armie,in token of cherefulnes,gaue a moſt terrible ſhout, and without further ſtay ſet vpon their enemies. The Viceroy had placed his footmen in the maine battell in the middle, and his horſemen in the wings,thereby to haue compaſſed in his enemies: but *Techellis* had ſet all his footmen in one great ſquare battell, and his Perſian horſemen for a refuge. But the Viceroy his freſh-water ſouldiers could ſcarcely abide the ſight of *Techellis* his armie; for in the front of the battell ſtood ſouldiers throughly armed, and all the reſt of his armie with red hats vpon their heads,as if they had bin imbrued with bloud,which wonderfully terrified the Baſſa's cowardly and vnskilfull ſouldiers: ſo that hauing endured the fight ſcarcely halfe an houre, they all turned their backs and fled. The Turkiſh horſemen which had valiantly aſſailed the rebels armie on both ſides, although they had ſlaine many with their arrowes and lances, and ſomewhat diſordred the battell,for that the footmen were inforced to leaue their places, and to preſſe ſtill on forward againſt them, yet when *Techellis* his ſoldiers (hauing ouercome the footmen, and diuiding themſelues into diuers ſquadrons) began with their long pikes to kill their horſes, and to lay hardly vnto them, they likewiſe betooke themſelues to flight alſo. Then the Perſian horſemen (which all this while had ſtood ſtill as lookers on) left their ſtandings,and following the chaſe ſlew many of the Turks in their diſordred flight: and following faſt on,incloſed the Viceroy as he was ſtaying of his horſmen,and could not for the thickneſſe of the duſt well diſcerne his enemies; ſo that he had bin there taken, if he had not been ſpeedily reſcued by his guard,and ſo deliuered from that danger. The reſt of the Turks horſmen ſaued themſelues by flight.In this battel ſeuen thouſand of the Turks footmen were ſlain, and all their enſignes taken,with great ſtore of prouiſion.

Techellis beſiegeth Caragoſes the Viceroy, in the citie of Cutaie.

After which victorie, *Chaſan* and *Techellis* reſting their armie one day, marched to the citie of Cutaie,neere vnto the mountain Horminius: this citie is ſcituated as it were in the midſt of Aſia the leſſe,and is the ſeat of the Turkiſh Emperors Viceroy in Aſia; as Sophia in Mœſia is for his other Viceroy in Europe: for it was reported,that the country people had for feare of the preſent war conueyed thither the greateſt part of their wealth; and the rebels well knew, that the Viceroy himſelfe with his chiefe horſemen were fled thither alſo: neither doubted they,but that all the army might be greatly inriched by the wealth of that citie,if they ſhould without delay imploy their whole forces for the gaining thereof, their enemies now altogether diſcouraged with their late ouerthrow. *Techellis* alſo deeming that enterpriſe of ſo much worth as whereon to gage his whole forces,comming before the city,placed ſuch field pieces as he had before taken in the battel,& his archers in ſuch fit places as might moſt anoy the defendants: afterward he cauſed ſcaling ladders to be ſet vp, and proclamation made thorow all his camp,That the whole ſpoile of the citie ſhould be the ſoldiers if they could take it; with promiſe of greater rewards to them that ſhould firſt recouer the top of the wals. Filled with this hope,the rebellious multitude approched the wall, fearing neither enemies force, multitude of ſhot,or danger of death;ſtriuing who ſhould firſt mount the ladders,& ſome climbing one in the necke of another,ſo to get vp by the ruins of the wal. The defendants in the meane time from aboue caſting down vpon them great ſtones, timber,fire,ſcalding water,lime,ſand, and ſuch like without meaſure: wherewith although many were ouerthrowne and cruſht to death or ſpoiled,yet others preſently ſtept vp in their place; neither was any of them ſeen,for feare of the preſent danger to ſhrinke back or be diſcouraged: for the Viceroy on the one ſide, and *Techellis* on the other, were both eye-witneſſes of euery mans valour in that hot ſeruice: the one prickt forward with doubtfull hope,for feare to be enforced to giue ouer the aſſault ſo begun; and the other with the due regard of his honor,life,and ſtate,all ſubiect to that danger, A ger, and therefore in perſon himſelfe performed all the parts of a worthie chiefetain and couragious ſouldier. But at length the defendants wearied with the fierce aſſault of the enemie, and for moſt part wounded, *Techellis* continually ſending in freſh men, and withdrawing ſuch as were hurt, by plaine force brake into the citie in two places ouer the heapes of the dead bodies: and hauing repulſed the defendants, burſt open one of the gates, and thereby brought in his whole armie. Then began a miſerable ſlaughter of the ſoldiers and poore citiſens in euery houſe and corner of the citie. At which inſtant the Palace (whither the Viceroy had retyred himſelfe with his familie) was alſo taken: the Viceroy himſelfe with his wiues and children were there alſo taken priſoners, and the ſtately Palace built with marble, in a trice conſumed with fire.

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and after fiue dayes march in the plaines of Galatia, ouertooke the ſtraglers of the enemies, who wearied or wounded, were not able to hold way with the armie: all whome the Baſſa commanded to be cruelly put to the ſword. And *Techellis* to terrifie the great Baſſa, or at leaſtwiſe with a moſt horrible ſpectacle to ſtay his purſuit, cauſed *Carageſes* the viceroy, whom he had carried along with him in chains, to be cruelly impaled by the highway ſide, vpon a ſharp ſtake ſet faſt in the ground, and ſo left him ſticking for the Turks to wonder at. But *Alis Baſſa* nothing diſmaied with the horrible death of ſo great a perſonage, held on his way with more haſt than good ſpeed, exhorting his ſoldiers patiently to endure the painfulneſſe of the long march, and to ſtraine themſelues to take reuenge of thoſe rebellious theeues and robbers, who deſtroying the countrey before them, ſpared not ſo much as the Turks children, and the temples of their religion; and ſo the day following came into the plaines of Ancyra. The ſame day alſo *Achomates* came vnto the Baſſa with ten thouſand ſouldiers. *Alis Baſſa* perceiuing that he could not poſſibly with his whole armie ouertake his enemies, marching with greater ſpeed before him, and grieued at the heart to ſee them eſcape out of his hand, reſolued to prooue if he could with his horſemen ouertake them: whereupon leauing his footmen with *Achomates*, he himſelfe with eight thouſand horſe following the enemie vpon the ſpur, ouertooke the rereward of their armie at the mountain Olyga, a little from the citie of Ancyra, vnto whom he gaue an hot skirmiſh.

The battell betwixt Alu Baſſa and Techellis.

Techellis which a little before had taken a fit place for his campe, vpon the riſing of the hil, although he ſaw his men faint with long trauell and the ſcortching heat of the Sun, yet quickly perceiuing that he ſhould haue to do only with horſemen, and that in a place of aduantage; turning his army, and orderly placing his ſoldiers, as the ground and the ſhortneſſe of the time would giue leaue, valiantly receiued the impreſſion of the Turks, and with their long pikes and arrowes at the firſt repulſed them: ſo that it ſeemed they would neither haue giuen ground vnto the bragging horſemen, neither haue done any thing not beſeeming their former victories, had not *Alis Baſſa* ſent 1000 Carbines, who in troupes orderly following one another, deliuered their ſhot as thicke as haile vpon the enemy: with which ſtorme many of them being ſlain, and moe wounded, their ranks began to be ſomewhat diſordred: whereupon the other horſemen breaking in, with great ſlaughter ouerthrew the vauntgard of *Techellis* battell; in which conflict *Chaſan Chelife* himſelfe was ſlain. *Techellis* always at hand where moſt need was, euen in the midſt of the ſlaughter of his men ſet in order a new battell of his moſt readie and beſt armed ſoldiers, the only remedie in ſo great a diſtreſſe; and bringing them on into the front of the battell, oppoſed them againſt the horſemen, now (as they thought) in poſſeſſion of the victorie; commanding them by little and little to retyre vnto the mountaine, to the intent that they might ſeeme to do that by commandment of the Generall, which they were like enough to haue done of themſelues for feare: hoping that it would ſo come to paſſe, That the Turkes finding the diſaduantage of the place, would leaue ſo hardly to aſſaile them. But the Baſſa encouraged with the firſt ſucceſſe of the battell, exhorted his ſoldiers to vrge the victorie, now almoſt as good as gotten, & not to giue the enemie ſpace to recouer the ſtrength of the mountain, but valiantly to charge them, and with a little ſhort pains that day to end all that warre, to the honor of *Baiazet* their ſoueraigne, and worthie commendation of themſelues in generall. In this ſort encouraging them, he with a troupe of his beſt horſmen (to animate the reſt, and to ſhew his own valour) brake through the enemies battel: which thing he in the ſame heat, with more courage than diſcretion, attempting to perform the ſecond time, was incloſed by his enemies and ſlaine: vpon whoſe fall the fortune of the battell was in a moment changed; for the Turks, which erſt fought couragiouſly, hauing beaten backe and almoſt ouerthrown their enemies, now diſmaied with their Generals death, began to fight but faintly, & by little and little to giue ground, and at laſt turning their horſes about, fled. On the other ſide *Techellis* his ſoldiers, who but a little before had repoſed greater hope in the ſtrength of the place and the mountain, than in their weapons and valour, now incouraged with new hope, and taking heart in the faint charge of their enemies, began to thruſt forward, and with a moſt terrible noyſe crying victorie, put to flight the Turks horſemen, before wearied with long trauell, when as they had by the Generals raſhneſſe loſt a notable victorie almoſt alreadie gained. *Techellis* although he knew that the enemie could neither refreſh his horſes, nor yet with any aſſurance keepe the field, if he ſhould haue purſued him; yet hauing loſt many of his beſt ſoldiers, & the

Chaſan Chelife ſlaine.

Alis Baſſa ſlain.

A reſt of his armie ſore weakened with trauell, faſting, and fighting, determined to refreſh his wearied followers vpon the mountain Olyga. From whence after a few daies he marched ouer the riuer Halys vnto the citie of Taſcia, his old dwelling place, and ſo to the citie of Celenis, which the riuer Marſya (much ſpoken of by the Poets) runneth thorow, and is now called by the name of Maras, but as then the regall ſeat of the mountaine king *Aladeules*. The Turkes horſemen hauing thus in ſome ſmall ſort rather reuenged the iniuries done by the rebels, than obtained any victorie, returned to *Achomates*, who was then comming on with the footmen. Not long after, *Baiazet* vnderſtanding of the death of *Alis Baſſa* his Generall, ſent *Ionuſes Baſſa*, a warlike captaine, and of great experience (borne in Epirus) in his ſtead. Who as ſoone as he had receiued the charge of the armie from *Achomates*, marching forthwith into Cappadocia, and keeping the way on the right hand towards the mountaine Antitaurus, came in few B daies vnto the citie of Taſcia, the place of *Techellis* his abode: where burning and deſtroying the countrey all about, he came and encamped with his armie at the foot of the mountaine: The Baſſa had in his armie about fortie thouſand horſe and foot, well appointed, with many field pieces, and plentie of victuals which he brought with him, for feare of want in that bare country. *Techellis* terrified with his comming, hauing of late receiued no aid from *Hyſmael* the Perſian king, and wanting alſo great artillerie, and beſides that ſeeing his ſoldiers greatly both diminiſhed and diſcouraged with the late battell at Olyga, determined not vpon ſo great diſaduantage to meet his enemie in the plain field, but to keepe the rough mountains and thicke woods, hoping that if he could be able any time to keepe thoſe ſtrong places, he ſhould either C receiue ſome aid from *Hyſmael*, or by the heat of the Turks leaders take them at ſome notable aduantage. In the meane time many notable skirmiſhes paſſed betwixt the ſouldiers on both ſides: for the Turks fetching a compaſſe oftentimes about the mountains, and ſeeking for the beſt paſſages, by the eaſie riſing of the hils, came to skirmiſh with their enemies: and *Techellis* his ſouldiers on the other ſide, ſallying many times out of the woods and abrupt places of the mountains, valiantly aſſailed the Turks. After they had a long time in this ſort, as if it had bin in diſport, rather proued their forces one vpon another, than done any great matter; the Turkes prying into euery corner, at length perceiued two waies whereby their whole armie with enſignes diſplayed might without any great difficultie bee brought vnto the top of the mountaine, and ſo into their enemies ſtrength. The Baſſa hauing well viewed and conſidered the places, cauſed the Ianizaries at one inſtant to march vp to the mountaine by one of the D aforeſaid waies, and the reſt of his armie by the other: who with ſoft pace climing vp the ſteepe mountaines, with their targuets defended themſelues as well as they could againſt their enemies darts and ſhot. For *Techellis* his ſouldiers hauing before taken the high mountaines and places of aduantage, caſt downe vpon the Turks great ſtones and ſhot without number, as if it had beene out of ſome ſtrong forts. But the Turks bending certaine ſmall field peeces againſt the places which moſt anoied them, eaſily draue them from their ſtandings; the harquebuſiers ſtill following their enſignes, ſhrouded cloſe vnder the targuetiers, and deliuered their deadly ſhot as ſhowers of raine vpon their enemies. Whoſe deſperat approch *Techellis* perceiuing, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and with all his armie retired farther off into the higher mountaines and rougher woods. E The night following, perceiuing that by the euill ſucceſſe of the former skirmiſh he had loſt a great part of his credit and ſtrength, he with great ſilence forſooke the woods, and paſſing quite ouer the mountains fled into Armenia, then part of the Perſian kingdome. Neither did the Turks perceiue their departure vntill it was light day, and that their ſcouts entring the thick woods, and finding the enemies baggage, with ſome wounded ſouldiers not able to flie, brought newes vnto the Baſſa of the enemies departure and of his ſpeedie flight into Armenia. Which thing, when he by them that were taken, vnderſtood to be certainely true, fretting and chafing like a mad man, that he had not preſently vpon the enemies retreat beſet the wood round, he ſent his horſemen forthwith to purſue them: but all in vaine, for *Techellis* was by direct and knowne waies gone into Armenia. Some few ſtraglers F not able to make ſo much haſt as the reſt, were ouertaken by the Turkes horſemen, and brought backe to the Baſſa.

Ionuſes Baſſa ſent by Baiazet, Generall of his armie againſt Techellis.

Techellis thus put to flight, *Ionuſes* cauſed ſtrait inquiſition to be made through all the cities of the leſſer Aſia, for all ſuch as had profeſſed the Perſian religion: and them whom he found to haue borne armes in the late rebellion, he cauſed to be put to death with moſt exquiſit torments, and the reſt to be burnt in their foreheads with an hoat yron, thereby for euer to bee G knowne; whom together with the kinsfolkes and friends of them that were executed, or fled with *Techellis*, he cauſed to be tranſported into Europe, and to be diſperſed through Macedonia, Epirus, and Peloponeſus: for feare leſt if *Techellis* now fled into the Perſian Kingdome, ſhould from thence returne with new forces, they ſhould allſo againe repaire vnto him, and raiſe a new rebellion. This was the beginning, courſe, and ending, of one of the moſt dangerous rebellions that euer troubled the Turkiſh empire: wherin all, or at leaſtwiſe the greateſt part of their dominions in Aſia, might haue beene eaſily ſurpriſed by the Perſian King, if hee would thorowly haue proſecuted the occaſion and oportunitie then offered.

The remainder of *Techellis* his followers, flying into Perſia, by the way lighting vpon a Carauan of merchants laden with ſilkes and other rich merchandiſe, tooke the ſpoile thereof: H for which outrage comming to Tauris, the captaines were all by the commandement of *Hyſmael* executed, and *Techellis* himſelfe to the terrour of others burnt aliue.

Techellis burnt at Tauris.

1509.

A great earthquake at Conſtantinople.

The next yeare (which was the yeare 1509, the fourteenth day of September) chanced a great and terrible earthquake in the citie of Conſtantinople and the countries thereabouts: by the violence wherof, a great part of the wals of that imperiall citie, with many ſtately buildings both publike and priuat, were quite ouerthrowne, and thirteene thouſand people ouerwhelmed and ſlaine. The terrour whereof was ſo great, that the people generally forſooke their houſes and lay abroad in the fields: yea *Baiazet* himſelfe, then very aged and ſore troubled with the gout, for feare thereof remoued from Conſtantinople to Hadrianople; but finding himſelfe in no more ſafetie than before, he left the citie and lay abroad in the fields in his I tent. This earthquake indured by the ſpace of eighteene daies, or (as the Turkes Hiſtories report) of a moneth, with very little intermiſſion; which was then accounted ominous, as portending the miſerable calamities which ſhortly after happened in the *Othoman* family. After this earthquake enſued a great plague, wherewith the citie was grieuouſly viſited, and for the moſt part vnpeopled. But after that the earthquake was ceaſed, and the mortalitie aſſuaged, *Baiazet* cauſed the imperial citie to be with all ſpeed repaired, and to that purpoſe gaue out commiſſions into all parts of his dominions for the taking vp of workemen: ſo that there were at once in work eightie thouſand workmen, who in moſt beautifull manner in the ſpace of foure moneths againe repaired the ruines of that great citie.

The children of Baiazet.

Baiazet had by his many wiues, eight ſonnes and ſix daughters, which liued to be men and K women growne; and the ſons all Gouernors in diuers prouinces of his large empire: whom the Turkiſh Hiſtories reckon vp in this order, *Abdullah Zelebi*, *Alem Scach*, *TZiban Scach*, *Achmet*, *Machmut*, *Corcut*, *Selim*, and *Muhamet*. Yet *Antonius Vtrius* a Genoway, who long time liued in *Baiazet* his court, and (as he of himſelfe writeth) waited in his chamber at the time of his death, reckoning vp the ſonnes of *Baiazet*, maketh mention but of theſe ſix, *Sciemſcia*, *Alemſcia*, *Achomates*, *Mahometes*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*: naming the forenamed by names ſomething differing from the other. *Sciemſcia* the eldeſt, Gouernor of Caramania, for his towardlineſſe moſt deerely beloued of his father, died of a naturall death before him, and was of him and his ſubiects greatly lamented. *Alemſcia* died in like manner, of whoſe death as ſoone as he was aduertiſed, by mourning letters written in blake paper with white charactes (as their manner of wri- L ting is, in certifying of heauie news) he caſt from him his Scepter with all other tokens of honor, and cauſed general mourning to be made for him in the court, & through all the citie of Conſtantinople, by the ſpace of three daies; during which time all ſhops were ſhut vp, all trading forbidden, and no ſigne of mirth to be ſeene: and for a certaine ſpace, after the manner of their ſuperſtition, cauſed ſolemne ſacrifices to be made for the health of his ſoule, and 7000 aſpers to bee giuen weekely vnto the poore. His dead bodie was afterward with all princely pompe conueyed to Pruſa, and there with great ſolemnitie buried. *TZihan* Gouernour of Caria, and *Mahomet* Gouernor of Capha, vpon their fathers heauie diſpleaſure, were by his commandement both ſtrangled,

M Of his other foure ſons, *Achmet*, otherwiſe called *Achomates*, *Machmut*, or *Mahometes*, *Corcut*, or *Corcutus*, and *Selymus*: the ſecond (namely *Mahometes*) was of greateſt hope and expectation, not giuen to ſenſualitie or voluptuous pleaſure, as *Achomates* his eldeſt brother, neither altogether bookiſh as was *Corcuthus*, nor yet of ſo fierce and cruell a diſpoſition as *Selymus*: but of ſuch a liuely ſpirit, ſharp wit, bountifull diſpoſition, and princely carriage of himſelfe, A ſelfe, that in the iudgement of moſt men, he ſeemed already worthie of a kingdome. Which immoderat fauor of the people, cauſed his elder brother *Achomates*, yea and *Baiazet* alſo himſelfe, to haue him in no ſmall iealouſie, as if he had affected the empire; and was in ſhort time the cauſe of his vntimely death: which thing he nothing doubting, haſtned (as fatal things are) by ſuch meanes as he leaſt feared might haue procured any ſuch mortall diſtruſt or danger.

Moſt of *Baiazet* his children were by diuers women, yet *Achomates* and this *Mahometes* were by one and the ſame mother: for which cauſe, *Mahometes* tooke greater pleaſure in him than in any his other brethren, although it were anſwered with like loue againe. *Achomates* was Lord and Gouernor of Amaſia; and this *Mahometes*, of Magneſia; who deſirous to ſee the manner of his brothers life and gouernment, diſguiſed himſelfe with two of his familiar and faithfull friends, as if they had bin religious men, of that Order which the Turks call *Imaliers*.
B [Theſe men are for moſt part comely perſonages, born of good houſes, who in cleanly attire made after an homely faſhion, do at their pleaſure wander vp and down from towne to town, and countrey to country, noting the diſpoſition and manners of the people; wherof as fitteth beſt their purpoſe, they make large diſcourſes afterwards to others: they commonly carrie about with them ſiluer cymbals, wheron they play moſt cunningly, and therunto ſing pleaſant and wanton ditties: for which idle delight, they receiue mony of the people, as an alms giuen them of deuotion. Theſe are the common corrupters of youth, and defilers of other mens beds; men altogether giuen to eaſe and pleaſure, and are of the Turks called, The religious brethren of Loue: but might of right, better be tearmed, *Epicurus* his hogs, than profeſſors of any religion at all.] *Mahometes* and his two conſorts, as men of this profeſſion, trauelled vp
C and downe the countries of Pontus and Capadocia (where *Achomates* commanded) and ſo to the citie of Amaſia; receiuing for their merrie glee by the way as they went, the almes and deuotion of the fooliſh countrey people. And being at the length come to Amaſia vpon a ſolemne holiday, they awaited the comming of *Achomates* to the church: who paſſing by, ſtaid a while liſtening attentiuely vnto their pleaſant and alluring harmonie; which was for that purpoſe moſt curiouſly and skilfully before deuiſed, and by them both with their inſtruments and voices performed. When they had ended their muſicke, and according to the manner of their idle profeſſion expected his deuotion; *Achomates* being a man of a ſpare hand, commanded fiue aſpers to be giuen them in reward [which is about ſix pence of our mony.] *Mahometes* diſdaining his brothers baſe reward, as a ſigne of his miſerable diſpoſition, would in no
D wiſe diſcouer himſelfe, as he had before determined; but taking horſe, returned with ſpeed to Magneſia: from whence he wrot taunting letters vnto his brother *Achomates*, ſcoffing at his good husbandrie (no praiſe to a prince) and in contempt ſent him backe againe his fiue aſpers; which thing *Achomates* tooke in ſo euil part, as that he was neuer afrerwards freinds with him. The report of this fact was in ſhort time diſperſed throughout all parts of the Turkiſh empire, diuers men diuerſly deeming of his purpoſe therein.

Mahometes diſguiſed as a ſeafaring man, commeth to Conſtantinople, and ſo to the court.

Not long after *Mahometes* had in this ſort plaid with his brother *Achomates*, he attired himſelfe with certaine of his truſtie followers as if they had been ſeafaring men, and with a ſmall barke came to Conſtantinople, and there landing as aduenturers from ſea, tooke diligent view
E both of the imperiall citie, and of the citie of Pera ſtanding opoſit againſt it, curiouſly noting how all things were by his fathers appointment ordered and gouerned. It hapned whileſt he was thus ſtaying at Conſtantinople, that *Baiazet* had appointed a ſolemne aſſembly of all his chiefe Baſſaes at the court; which *Mahometes* was deſirous to haue the ſight of, as alſo of the faſhion of his fathers court: but as he with his companions preſſed to haue entred in at the court gate, they were by their baſe apparel taken of the porters to haue bin rude mariners, and ſo by them kept out. Wherefore conſulting what to do in that caſe, he went and preſently bought a moſt beautiful Chriſtian captiue boy, and the next day comming again to the court with two of his companions (as if they had been aduenturers at ſea) requeſted to be let in, for that they had brought a preſent for the Emperour. So finding meanes to be admitted to the preſence of
F *Baiazet*, one of his conſorts (as if he had bin a ſea captain) boldly ſtept forth, & with due reuerence offered the preſent vnto the Emperor; which he thankfully tooke, and in token thereof gaue him his hand to kiſſe, and commanded a rich garment wrought with gold to be giuen vnto him, with two others of leſſe value vnto *Mahometes* and his fellow, ſuppoſed to be the ſaid captaines followers: who all this while ſtood a farre off, as if it had been for reuerence of the

Emperour, but indeed for feare to be diſcouered. As theſe counterfeit gueſts were returning from the court in their garments of fauour, they hapned to meet with three courtiers which knew *Mahometes*; who diſmounting from their horſes, had done him honour and due reuerence, as to the ſonne of the great Emperor, had he not by ſecret ſignes forbidden them, as one vnwilling to be knowne. When he had thus ſeene his father, the court, and the imperial city, he went againe aboord, and ſo with ſpeed returned to Magneſia.

The report of this his doing, had in ſhort time filled both the citie and the court, and was at laſt brought to *Baiazets* eares: which raiſed in his ſuſpitious head many a troubleſom thought, greatly fearing, that in theſe ſlie practiſes lay hidden ſome ſecret and deſperate conſperacie, dangerous to himſelfe and his other children. Wherefore after long diſcourſe had with the three great Baſſaes then of his ſecret counſell, concerning the matter, to rid himſelfe of all feare, hee reſolued in any caſe to take him away. And therefore cauſed them in his name to write vnto *Aſmehemedi*, a gallant courtier, and alwaies neere vnto *Mahometes*, to poyſon him with a ſecret poiſon, for that purpoſe incloſed in thoſe letters ſent vnto him: with promiſe of great rewards and preferments for that his ſeruice, to be afterwards receiued from the Emperor: charging him withall, that if he could not effect the matter, he ſhould ſo conceale it, as that *Mahometes* ſhould haue no diſtruſt thereof; the leaſt ſuſpition whereof, would tend to his vtter deſtruction. This *Aſmebemedi* for ſomvnkindnes bare a ſecret grudge againſt *Mahometes*, which *Baiazet* knowing of, made choiſe of him the rather: and he on the other ſide, partly to perform the old tyrants command, and partly to reuenge his owne priuat wrong, vigilantly awaited all opportunities to bring to effect that he had in charge. At length it fortuned, that *Mahometes* hauing diſported himſelfe in his gardens of pleaſure, and being thirſtie after his exerciſe, called for drinke: *Aſmehemedi* alwaies at hand, in a gilt boule fetcht him ſuch drinke as he deſired, whereinto he had ſecretly conueied the deadly poiſon ſent from *Baiazet*. *Mahometes* hauing drunke thereof, in ſhort time began to feele himſelfe euill at eaſe, and preſently ſent for his phyſitians: who thinking that he had but ſomething diſtempered himſelfe with drinking too much cold drink in his heat, perceiued not that he was poiſoned, vntil that within ſix daies after, he died. Of whoſe death *Baiazet* aduertiſed, could not abſtain from mourning, although he himſelfe had bin the onely author thereof: and the more to manifeſt his heauineſſe, commanded all the court to mourne with him, and praiers to be made in their temples after their ſuperſtitious maner, and almes to be giuen to the poore for the health of his ſoule. His dead bodie was afterwards carried to Pruſa, and there honourably buried with his anceſtors. *Aſmehemedi* the traitour in reward of his vnfaithfulneſſe towards his maſter, was by the commandement of *Baiazet* caſt into priſon, and neuer afterwards ſeene, being there (as it was thought) ſecretly made away.

Mahometes poiſoned by Aſmebemedi.

Aſmehemedi iuſtly rewarded for his treacherie.

Now had *Baiazet* but three ſonnes left, *Achomates*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*. *Achomates* Gouernour of Amaſia, was a man both politick and valiant: but much giuen to pleaſure and delight: him *Baiazet* and moſt part of the great men of the court fauoured aboue the reſt of his brethren, except ſuch as were before corrupted by *Selymus*. *Corcutus* for his milde and quiet nature, was of moſt men beloued, but not thought ſo fit for the gouernment of ſo great an empire; eſpecially by the Ianizaries and ſouldiers of the court, for that he was (as they thought) altogether drowned iu the ſtudie of Phyloſophie, a thing nothing agreeing with their humor. Yet might *Baiazet* ſeeme to do him wrong, if he ſhould not according to his promiſe again reſtore him vnto the poſſeſſion of the empire, which he had almoſt thirtie yeares before receiued at his hands; as is before in the beginning of his life declared. But *Selymus* being of a more hautie diſpoſition than to brook the life of a ſubiect vnder the command of either of his brethren, and altogether giuen to martiall affaires, ſought by infinit bountie, feigned courteſie, ſubtil policie, and by all other means good and bad, to aſpire vnto the empire. Him therefore the Ianizaries with all the great ſouldiers of the court, yea and ſome of the chiefe Baſſaes alſo (corrupted with gifts) wiſhed aboue the reſt, for their lord and ſoueraigne: deſiring rather to liue vnder him which was like to ſet all the world on a hurly burly (whereby they might increaſe their honor and wealth, the certain rewards of their adnentures than to lead an idle and vnprofitable life (as they tearmed it) vnder a quiet and peaceable Prince.

Whileſt men ſtood thus diuerſly affected towards theſe princes of ſo great hope, *Baiazet* now far worne with yeares, and ſo grieuouſly tormented with the gout that hee was not able

to

A to helpe himſelfe: for the quietneſſe of his ſubiects and preuenting of ſuch troubles as might ariſe by the aſpiring of his children after his death, determined whileſt he yet liued (for the auoiding of theſe and other ſuch like miſchiefes) to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion in ſome one of his ſonnes; who wholly poſſeſſed of the kingdome, might eaſily repreſſe the pride of the other. And although he had ſet downe with himſelfe, that *Achomates* ſhould be the man, as wel in reſpect of his birth-right, as of the eſpeciall affection he bare vnto him; yet to diſcouer the diſpoſition of his ſubiects, and how they ſtood affected, it was giuen out in generall termes, That he meant before his death to make it knowne to the World, who ſhould ſucceed in the empire, without naming any one of his ſonnes; leauing that for euery man to diuine of, accor-ding as they were affected: which was not the leaſt cauſe, that euery one of his ſonnes with B like ambition began now to make ſmall account of their former preferments, as thinking onely vpon the Empire it ſelfe.

First of all *Selymus*, whom *Baiazet* had made Gouernor of the kingdom of Trapezond, rigging vp all the ſhips he could in Pontus, ſayled from Trapezond ouer the Euxine (now called the blacke ſea) to the citie of Capha, called in antient time Theodoſia, and from thence by land came to *Mahometes* king of the Tartars called Præcoponſes, a mightie prince, whoſe daughter he had without the good liking of his father before married: and diſcouering vnto him his intended purpoſe, beſought him by the ſacred bonds of the affinitie betwixt them, not to ſhrinke from him his louing ſon in law in ſo fit an opportunitie for his aduancement: And withall ſhewed vnto him, what great hope of obtaining the Empire was propoſed vnto him C by his moſt faithfull friends and the ſouldiers of the court, if he would but come neerer vnto his father (then about to transfer the empire to ſome one of his ſons) & either by faire means to procure his fauor, or by entering with his armie into Thracia, to terrifie him from appointing either of his other brethren for the ſucceſſor. The Tartar king commending his high deuiſe, as a kind father in law with wonderfull celerity cauſed great ſtore of ſhipping to be made readie in the Ponticke ſea, and Mœotis, but eſpecially at the Ports of Copa and Tana, vpon the great riuer of Tanais, which boundeth Europe from Aſia; and arming fifteene thouſand Tartarian horſemen, deliuered them all to *Selymus*, promiſing forthwith to ſend him greater aid if he ſhould haue occaſion to vſe the ſame. Theſe things being quickly diſpatched, *Selymus* paſſing ouer the riuer Borryſthenes, and ſo through Valachia, came at length to Danubius, and D with his horſemen paſſed that famous riuer at the citie of Chelia: his fleet he commanded to meet him at the port of the citie of Varna, called in antient time Dionyſiopolis, in the confines of Bulgaria and Thracia: he himſelfe ſtill leuying moe men by the way as he went, pretending in ſhew quite another thing than he had indeed intended: which the better to couer, he gaue it out as if he had purpoſed to haue inuaded Hungarie.

1511.

Selymus aided by Mahometes his father in law, riſeth againſt his father

But *Baiazet* a good while before aduertiſed, that *Selimus* was departed from Trapezond, and come ouer into Europe, maruelling that he had left his charge in Aſia (the rebellion of *Techellis* and the Perſian war yet ſcarce quieted) and that vpon his own head he had entertained forreine aid to make war againſt the moſt warlike nation of the Hungarians; and farther, that with his armie by land, he had ſeized vpon the places neereſt vnto Thracia, and with a E ſtrong nauie kept the Euxine ſea; he began to ſuſpect, as the truth was, That all this preparation was made and entended againſt himſelfe: for the craftie old ſire had good proofe of the vnquiet and troubleſome nature of his ſon, eſpecially in that without his knowledge he durſt preſume to take a wife from amongſt the Tartars, and afterwards with no leſſe preſumption of himſelfe raiſe an armie both by ſea and land: whereby he eaſily perceiued, that he would neuer hold himſelfe contented with a ſmall kingdome, ſo long as he was in hope by deſperat aduenture to gain a greater. Yet thinking it better with like diſſimulation to appeaſe his violent & fierce nature, than by ſharpe reproofe to moue him to farther choller, he ſent vnto him embaſſadors to declare to him with what danger the Turkiſh kings had in former times taken vpon them thoſe Hungarian wars: for example wherof he needed not to goe no further than F to his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who many times to his exceeding loſſe had made proofe of the Hungarian forces: wherefore he ſhould do wel to expect ſome fit opportunitie, when as he might with better aduiſe, greater power, & more ſure hope of victorie, take thoſe wars in hand. Wherunto *Selymus* anſwered, That he had left Aſia, inforced therunto by the iniuries of his brother *Achomates*, and was therefore come ouer into Europe, by dint of ſword

Baiazet ſendeth embaſſadors to Selymus.

and the helpe of his friends,to win from the enemies of the Mahometan religion a larger and G
better prouince for that little barren and peaceable one which his father had giuen him, bordering
vpon Hiberia and Cholchos, bare and needie people, liuing as connies amongſt the
rocks and mountaines. As for the Hungarians,whom they thought to be a people inuincible,
and therfore not to be dealt withall,he was not of that baſe mind to he daunted with any danger,
were it neuer ſo great : and yet that in his opinion the war was neither ſo difficult or dangerous,
as was by them pretended ; foraſmuch as the antient proweſſe of that warlike nation
was now much changed, together with the change of their kings ; and their diſcipline of war
not onely much decayed,but almoſt quite loſt,after that *Vladiſlaus*,farre vnlike in policie and
proweſſe,had ſucceeded the renowned *Mathias* in that kingdome. Neither had he (as he ſaid)
from his cradle learned to be afraid of death, or of the common chances of war, as knowing H
that neither God nor man would be wanting to him, who with an honourable reſolution did
aduenture vpon vertuous and worthie attempts : and that therefore hee was fully reſolued for
his owne honor(which his father had in ſome ſort blemiſhed by the immoderat aduancement
of his brethren) either to die honourably in the field in battell againſt the enemies of the Mahometan
religion,or elſe gloriouſly to extend the bounds of the Turkiſh empire : and that he
would not (though one of the yongeſt in the *Othoman* familie) be accounted inferiour to any
of his brethren in vertue and proweſſe. Thus was the Hungarian war neuer by *Selymus* entended,
notably by him pretended;and with no leſſe diſſimulation by *Baiazet* diſſuaded. The Embaſſadours,
although *Selymus* in all his ſpeeches ſhewed no token of peace : yet in his fathers
name preſented vnto him diuers gifts, thereby if it might be to appeaſe his fierce and cruell I
mind. Vnto his old gouernment they adioyned Samandria,which the Hungarians call Schenderouia,
a ſtrong citie of Seruia vpon the borders of Hungarie,with many other ſtrong towns
in the ſame countrey : they gaue him alſo threeſcore thouſand duckats, beſide a thouſand
garments of cloth and ſilke : with good ſtore of prouiſion wherewith to relieue and content
the ſouldiers by him entertained ; leaſt that they drawne farre from home in hope of ſpoile,
ſhould take it in euil part if they ſhould be ſent away emptie handed. *Selymus* in a happie time
hauing receiued theſe gifts, returned the embaſſadours vnto his father , with more doubtfull
anſwer and vncertaine hope than before : yet changing nothing in himſelfe of his former reſolution,
ſecret meſſengers and letters from his friends in the court ſtil whetting him forward K
(too much alreadie inflamed with deſire of ſoueraigntie) perſuading him to make haſt and to
repoſe his greateſt hope in his quicke ſpeed ; for that they vnderſtood,that about the time of
his ſetting forward, his brother *Achomates* was comming with a great power,being ſent for
out of Capadocia by his father.

Preſents giuen to Selymus by his fathers embaſſadours.

Baiazet would appoint his ſucceſſour whileſt be yet liued.

In the mean time *Baiazet*, moued the rather with the feare of *Selymus*,reſolued vpon that,
whereof hee had long before in his mind deeply conſidered, and now ſaid openly, That hee
would appoint his ſucceſſor,who in ſtead of himſelfe,ſpent with yeares and ſickneſſe, ſhould
bring with him the flower of youth and ſtrength of bodie, fit to gouerne ſo great an empire.
But when thoſe things were propounded vnto the ſouldiers of the court by the foure great
Baſſaes(who in all things both of peace and wars had next place vnto the Emperor himſelfe) L
it was forthwith gaineſaied by thoſe martiall men, crying aloud with one voyce, That they
would know no other Emperor but *Baiazet*, vnder whoſe conduct and good fortune they had
now ſerued aboue 30 yeres : and therfore would not ſuffer him to liue a priuat life in obſcuritie,
who with ſo many victories and ſtrong cities taken, had brought the *Othoman* empire vnto
that height of renowne and glory. They ſaid moreouer,that there was in him yet ſtrength
enough,if he would but with the reuerend honor of his age retain the maieſtie of his place,&
the glorie he had gotten with his long and happie raigne, and moſt famous victories : and that
of his children, ſuch a one ſhould vndoubtedly in his due time ſucceede in the empire, as of
right ought:only they wiſht,that the old Emperor might in the mean time liue in health with
a long and happie raign:neither needed he(as they ſaid)to feare that after his death any controuerſie
ſhould ariſe among his ſons about the ſucceſſion;for that the *Othoman* progenie vſed M
to attain the imperiall ſeat,according to the old cuſtome of their anceſtors the *Othoman* kings,
by right and order only,and not by corruption or faction. But if he would needs vpon his own
priuat good liking,or as it were by new adoption,proceed to make choice of ſuch a one as the
people & the men of war(his moſt loiall & faithfull ſubiects)could not ſo wel like of,it would

A be an occaſion of much more trouble, and happely the means to bring in that confuſion of the
State, which he thought thereby to eſchew. For then, beſide the diſlike of the people, the
other brethren would neuer endure ſo notable an iniurie, or euer be at quiet, vntil they had (as
men wrongfully caſt off and diſinherited) by ſtrong hand and endangering of all, recouered
their honour loſt by the headſtrong will of their aged father.

The ſouldiers thus before inſtructed by the friends and fauourites of ***Selymus***, (who with
mony and large promiſes had corrupted their captains and chiefe officers) ſpake theſe things
frankly, to haue deterred the old Emperor from his purpoſe. But he thinking that they had (as
he himſelfe did) eſpecially affected ***Achomates*** his eldeſt ſon, (for that they had generally protested,
That they would againſt all iniuries defend his honour, vnto whom the empire ſhould
B of right appertaine) ſaid he would make choice of ***Achomates***, if it ſhould ſtand with their good
liking. But the chiefe of the ſoldiers (who corrupted by ***Selymus***, had together ſould both their
faith and themſelues) cunningly commended ***Achomates***, and ſeemed wonderfully to like of
him; yet to accept of him for their Soueraigne, ***Baiazet*** yet liuing, they ſaid was not agreeing
with the antient cuſtome of the ***Othoman*** kings, neither for the behoofe of the men of war,
neither yet good for the ſtate of the Empire; foraſmuch as neither his brethren ***Corputus*** and
Selymus, neither the ſoldiers of the Court, could patiently endure the leaſt touch of the ſuſpicion
of infidelitie; which they muſt needs do, if he as a ſuſpicious father ſhould doubt either
of the loue or loyaltie of his moſt dutifull ſonnes, or of the faith or conſtancie of his moſt
faithfull ſeruants, whereof he had made ſo many trials. Beſides that, it ſeemed vnto them all
C vnreaſonable, that by the odious preiudice of that fact, the ſouldiers ſhould be left defrauded
of the rewards vſually granted vnto them during the time of the vacancie of the Empire, ariſing
of the ſpoile taken from them which are of religion different from the Turks. For it is a
cuſtome, that immediatly vpon the death of the Turkiſh Emperor, all the Iewes and Chriſtians
which dwell at Conſtantinople, Pera, Hadrianople, Theſſalonica, and Pruſa, eſpecially
merchants, expoſed vnto the iniuries of the Turks, are by the Ianizaries and other ſouldiers of
the court, ſpoiled of all their wares and goods, and become vnto them a prey: neither will they
giue their oath of allegeance vnto the new Emperor, vntill he haue granted vnto them all that
prey, as a bountie, and haue ſolemnly ſworne by his own head (the greateſt aſſurance that can
by oath be giuen amongſt the Turks) freely to pardon all the offenders, and for euer to forget
D all the outrages before committed. When ***Baiazet*** ſaw his men of war thus generally to oppoſe
themſelues againſt the tranſlation of the Empire to ***Achomates***, he of purpoſe to corrupt
the minds of them which were before alreadie corrupted, promiſed to giue them fiue hundred
thouſand duckats if they would ſtand fauourable to ***Achomates***, and accept him for their
Soueraigne: which maſſe of money his cuſtomers and receiuers vndertooke to leuie of the
ſame merchants ſtrangers and Iews, and to pay it as ***Baiazet*** had promiſed. Yet the ouerthwart
frowardneſſe of theſe men of war ouercame the good fortune of ***Achomates***, although the reward
promiſed were great: for why, they had in their martial minds conceiued far greater rewards
and preferments, if in ſtead of a peaceable and quiet Prince, a monſtrous tyrant of reſtleſſe
nature (as was ***Selymus***) might by their help and means aſpire to the Empire. Thus ***Baiazet***
E driuen from his hope, thought it beſt for the preſent to diſſemble the matter; and concealing
his griefe, with patience to put vp that diſhonour, vntil a fitter opportunitie were offered for
the effecting of that he ſo much deſired.

Selymus aduertiſed from his friends, with what affection and faſtneſſe the ſouldiers of the
court had in the ſecret fauour of him openly withſtood the earneſt deſire of ***Baiazet***, for the
preferment of ***Achomates***; becauſe he would no longer fruſtrat the expectation of his fauourits
by lingring and delay, or ſeem to diſtruſt the readie good wils of the men of war towards him,
left the borders of Hungarie, & with his armie marching through Thracia, incamped at length
vpon the riſing of a hill not farre from Hadrianople, from whence the neighing of his horſes
might eaſily be heard, and his tents from the high places of the city diſcouered. From thence
F he ſent a meſſenger to his father then lying in the citie, to certifie him, That for as much as he
had not of many yeares before ſeene him, he was now therefore deſirous to come vnto his
preſence to viſit him, before he croſſed the ſeas backe againe by his appointment to Trapezond:
and the rather, becauſe it might chance that he ſhould neuer ſee him againe, being now
become both aged and diſeaſed: beſides that, it much concerned (as he would haue had

Baiazet ſeeketh to prefer Achomates vnto the Empire.

Selymus marcheth with his armie toward Hadrianople.

Selymus his diſſembling embaſſage vnto his father.

him to beleeue)the quietnes of his kingdom in Aſia,and the vnitie of his children, if the controuerſies G
betwixt him & his brother *Achomates* , which could not ſafely be committed to
meſſengers, might by themſelues be diſcouered him to their father, as an indifferent hearer
and decider thereof. Wherefore he humbly beſought him to appoint him a time and place to
giue him audience in,and not to denie him leaue to come and kiſſe his hands ; which thing his
anceſtours neuer refuſed to grant to their poore friends, much leſſe to their children. *Baiazet*
who a few days before vnderſtanding of the comming of *Selymus*,& throughly ſeeing into his
deuices,had called vnto him certain of his Sanzacks or chiefe captains,with their ſelect companies
out of the neereſt parts of Grecia,and had alſo ſet ſtrong watch and ward through the
city: fearing leſt vnder the colour of parle,his ſouldiers attending about his perſon, corrupted
by *Selymus* and his friends (who euen then loded with gifts and promiſes, were ſecretly vpon H
the point of reuolt) ſhould be quite drawn away from him,and ſo he himſelfe at length be either
by open force oppreſſed,or ſecret treacherie circumuented,thought it beſt to cut him off
at once from al hope of conference or acceſſe vnto his preſence. Wherefore ſeriouſly blaming
him,that he had vpon his own head brought his armie into another mans prouince, that he in
armes required audience, and laſt of all, ſo inſolently abuſed his fathers lenitie and patience;
he by the ſame meſſenger ſent him farther word,That he ſhould not preſume to approch any
neerer vnto him,or expect any thing appertaining to peace: who guarded with forrein power
had without his fathers leaue entred into armes,and ſpoiled the countries of his friends: and
that therefore he ſhould do wel,with all ſpeed to retyre out of Thracia,yea and out of Europe
alſo, and disbanding his forces,againe to retyre himſelfe vnto his owne charge in Pontus ; in I
which doing he ſhould find greater fauor & kindneſſe with him his father,than euer he had before:
but if he would needs proceed in the courſe by him begun,that then he would no more
take him for his ſonne,but for his enemie,and before it were long, ſharply chaſtiſe him for his
malapert inſolencie,little differing from vnnatural treacherie. The meſſenger with his anſwer
diſmiſſed,it was not long after, but that *Baiazet* was by his eſpials aduertiſed, that *Selymus* the
night following was riſen with his armie,and marched directly towards Conſtantinople;whither
he was ſent for by his friends,in hope that vpon his approch with his army,ſome ſudden
tumult and vprore would to his auaile ariſe in that ſo great and populous a citie. Whereupon
Baiazet fearing leſt in ſtaying at Hadrianople,he might loſe the Imperial citie of Conſtantinople,
early in the morning by breake of the day departed from Hadrianople towards Conſtantinople. K
Vpon his departure *Selymus* peaceably entered the citie of Hadrianople,the Citiſens
fearing,that if they ſhould haue made any reſiſtance,their vnſeaſonable faithfulneſſe towards
Baiazet might haue turned to their vtter deſtruction. *Selymus* after he had a while refreſhed
his armie with the plentie of that citie, according to his former determination ſet forward
again,of purpoſe by long & ſpeedie marches to haue preuented his fathers comming to Conſtantinople.
Baiazet was yet ſcarcely come to Chiurlus, or rather Tzurulum,an antient ruinous
citie almoſt vpon the mid way betwixt Hadrianople and Conſtantinople,when warning
was giuen him of them that followed his armie, that the forerunners of *Selymus* were at hand,
cutting off the ſtraglers of his armie,and with hot ſkirmiſhing ſtayed and troubled his reereward. L
The aged Emperor more mooued than terrified with the ſtrangenes of the matter,because
his marching ſhould not ſeeme as if it were a flight or chaſe, commanded his ſtandard
to be ſet vp,and al his armie to make a ſtand,of purpoſe that if *Selymus* ſhould come on to giue
him battell,he might finde him in readineſſe. The great captaines and noblemen then preſent
with *Baiazet*,whether it were for old acquaintance,or vpon ſome new inclination of their affection,
or elſe vpon hope of new allyance and preferment, wiſhing well vnto *Selymus*,and therefore
indirectly and cunningly fauouring him, ſeemed not to like of *Baiazet* his reſolution, to
bee ſo farre mooued (as they ſaid) with the youthfull heate and lightneſſe of his ſonne,
as to ſeeke reuenge by battell, whereas the victorie it ſelfe could yeeld him nothing but ſorrow;
but the ouerthrow threatened deſtruction both to himſelfe and all them that were M
with him: the imminent euent thereof ſeemed to be ſo much the more dangerous and fearefull,
by how much he was at that time inferiour vnto his ſonne both in warrelike prouiſion
and number of men. Wherefore it were good for him (they ſaid) to moderate his anger, and
not now in the winding vp of his life to make too much haſte by a miſerable death in a woful
battell to ſtaine the whole glorie of his former life. There was (as they would haue per-

ſuaded

Selymus ouertaketh his father.

The chiefe men about Baiazet, ſecretly fauour Selymus,& diſſuade him from giuing him battell.

A ſuaded him)but one only courſe to be taken, full of wholſome policie and ſafetie; & that was, That he ſhould with ſuch ſpeed as he had begun, march on forward to Conſtantinople, that ſo *Selymus* excluded out of the citie, (his chiefeſt hope) and then not knowing which way to turne himſelfe, ſhould either of his own accord, or for feare of his fathers greater forces, think of return; and ſo with his raſcal followers more honeſtly periſh by the hands of them whoſe countries he had ſpoyled, and vpon whom he muſt of neceſſitie liue in his returne, than by the ſword of his father. The author of this counſel was *Muſtapha*, the moſt antient Baſſa of thoſe which being in greateſt authoritie about the Emperor, are only of his priuie Councel, & ſway all matters of importance concerning either peace or warre: he then vpon an vnthankfull and malicious mind loathing *Baiazet*, as one that had too long raigned, hated him alſo for certaine priuat diſpleaſures conceiued of the emulation of the other yonger Baſſa's by him promoted; B and ſecretly bare great affection to *Selymus*, both in condition and fauor reſembling his grandfather the Great *Mahomet*, by whom he was brought vp himſelfe, and him of all the ſonnes of *Baiazet* he thought moſt worthy of the Empire. This *Muſtapha* was borne in the town of Seres (neere vnto Amphipolis) the ſon of a Greeke Prieſt, a man of a ſlie, craftie, and ſubtill wit, alwayes ſubiect to corruption: which diſeaſes of mind were in him wel to haue bin diſcouered by his froward looke and ſquint eyes, the certaine notes of a nature to be ſuſpected. Next vnto this *Muſtapha* was *Boſtanges Baſſa*, born of the honorable houſe of the *Ducagina* in Ætholia, and thereof called *Ducaginoli*; a man for his couetouſneſſe, ambition, and treacherie, infamous; as the foule and miſerable end of his life afterwards declared. Vnto this man, *Selymus* had by ſecret promiſe betrothed one of his daughters, now marriageable, as a reward of his corrupt C faith. By which ſleight he had alſo allured *Aiax* (Aga or captaine of the Ianizaries, and great Maſter of the houſhold) to promiſe his aid for the obtaining of the Empire; whereunto hee ſaid he was by deſtinie called: and by his means drew other inferior captains ſecretly to fauor his quarrell; vnto whom he ſpared not to promiſe whatſoeuer might pleaſe their humours. Yea the captaines almoſt generally either corrupted with reward, or for feare following the inclination of the greater commanders, of themſelues leaned that way. Of all the reſt, onely *Cherſeogles Baſſa* (whom the Turks hiſtories call alſo *Achmet Hertezec-Ogli*) a faithful, conſtant, and vpright man, free from all double dealing and deceit, a faſt and aſſured friend vnto *Baiazet* his father in law, was of opinion, That the immoderat pride and inſolency of *Selymus*, was euen there by force of armes and ſtrong had forthwith to be oppreſſed, before he ſhould approch D any neerer vnto the Imperiall Citie, for feare of raiſing ſome further trouble or tumult there, than were well to be appeaſed; which was the thing that *Selymus* his friends moſt of all deſired. Neither was it to be thought (as *Cherſeogles* ſaid) that the naked Tartarian horſemen, although they were in number moe, would euer be able to abide the firſt charge of *Baiazet* his well armed Penſioners. As for the Ianizaries, of whoſe approoued faith and valour tried in many dangers, he had before had good experience; there was no doubt but that they would now to the vttermoſt of their power defend the perſon and honour of their aged and victorious Emperor, who had of long time ſo well of them deſerued; and alſo to reuenge his quarrel vpon diſobedient *Selymus*, who neither fearing God the iuſt reuenger of ſuch vngracious dea- E ling, neither the infamie of men, had moſt vnnaturally lift vp his ſword againſt his father, wickedly to depriue him of life, of whom he had receiued life. Wherefore he perſuaded him, in his owne iuſt quarrell to goe forth vnto his ſouldiers with cheerefull countenance, and putting them in remembrance of the benefits they had from time to time moſt bountifully receiued at his hands, as alſo of their allegeance and dutie; to make them to vnderſtand, that repoſing his truſt in their fidelitie and valour, he had reſolutely ſet downe with himſelfe, in that place before he went any further, by their faithfull hands to chaſtiſe the preſumptuous inſolencie of his vnnaturall ſonne, together with his rebellious Followers.

Cherſeogles Baſſa the only great man faithful to Baiazet, perſuadeth him to giue battell to Selymus.

But now that we are fallen into the remembrance of this *Cherſeogles*, it ſhall not be amiſſe, both for the honor of the man, and the great loue he alwaies bare vnto the Chriſtians, to ſtep F a little out of the way, to ſee the cauſe why he being a Chriſtian borne, turned Turke. For he was not (as almoſt all the reſt of the great men about *Baiazet* were) of a child taken from his Chriſtian parents, and ſo brought vp in the Mahometan religion; but being now a man grown, turned Turke: yet ſo, as that he neuer in heart forgot either the Crhiſtian religion or loue toward the Chriſtians; a thing not common among ſuch renegates. He being the ſonne of one

Cherſcogles, a ſmall Prince of Illyria neere vnto the blacke mountain, and going to be married vnto a ladie whom he moſt entirely loued, and vnto whom he was alreadie betrothed, honorably diſcended of the houſe of the Deſpot of Seruia; his intemperat father with luſtfull eye beholding the young ladie of rare feature and incomparable beautie, deſired to haue her for himſelfe: and regarding more the ſatisfying of his own inordinat deſire, than his own honor, or the fatherly loue of his ſonne, tooke her in marriage himſelfe; all his friends labouring in vaine to diſſuade him, and with open mouth crying ſhame of ſo foule a fact. Wherefore the young man, mooued with the indignitie of ſo great an iniurie, and driuen headlong with diſpaire, fled firſt to the Turks garriſons which lay not far off, and from thence to Conſtantinople; where the fortune of the man was to be wondred at: For being brought before *Baiazet*, who with cheerefull countenance entertained him, for that he was honorably diſcended, and well liked both of the man, and of the cauſe of his reuolt; ſmiling vpon him, ſaid, *Be of good cheere Noble Youth, for thy great courage is worthie of farre greater fortune than thy fathers Houſe can affoord thee; now in ſtead of thy Loue wrongfully taken from thee by thy father, (the Kinſewoman of a póore exiled Prince) thou ſhalt haue giuen thee in marriage the daughter of a great Emperour, of rare and ſingular perfection.* And not long after abiuring his religion, and changing his name of *Stephen*, to *Achomates* and *Cherſcogles*, he married one of *Baiazet* his daughters, a Princeſſe of great beautie, and deſerued to haue a place amongſt the Baſſa's of greateſt honour in the Court. Yet ſtill retaining the remembrance of his former profeſſion, with a deſire to returne thereto againe: inſomuch that he kept in his ſecret cloſet the image of the Crucifix, which he ſhewed to *Io. Laſcaris*, as to his truſtie friend, as he himſelfe reported. This man at ſuch time as the citie of Modon was taken by the Turkes, and a multitude of poore Chriſtian captiues cruelly put to death in the ſight of *Baiazet*, by earneſt entreatie ſaued the Venetian Senatours there taken: and afterward by earneſt ſute deliuered *Andreas Gritti*, being priſoner at Conſtantinople, and condemned to die; who not many yeares after was choſen Duke of Venice. He was the chiefe means wherby the Venetians to their great good obtained peace of *Baiazet*. He alſo by his great authoritie, and of his own charge redeemed innumerable Chriſtians from the ſeruitude of the Turks, and ſet them at libertie. Neither is his kindneſſe towards the furtherance of good learning to be forgotten: for at ſuch time as the foreſaid *Io. Laſcaris* the notable & learned Grecian, by the appointment of *Leo* the tenth, ſought antient works of famous writers, he procured the Turkiſh Emperors letters patents, that he might freely at his pleaſure ſearch all the Libraries in Grecia, to the great benefit of good letters. Now *Baiazet* encouraged by this mans perſuaſion (as is aforeſaid) and hearing as he lay in his pauilion, the alarme of the enemie, with the tumult and clamour of his owne ſouldiers as if they had been men affraid; and ſundrie meſſengers alſo at the ſame time comming vnto him with newes, That *Selymus* with his Tartarian horſemen had almoſt incloſed the rereward of his armie, and already taken ſome of his baggage: grinding his teeth for verie madneſſe and griefe of minde, with teares trickling downe his hoarie cheekes, got him out of his pauilion in his horſelitter, (for he was at the ſame time ſo troubled with the gout, that he was not able to ſit on horſebacke) and turning himſelfe vnto the Penſioners and Ianizaries ſtanding about him, as their manner is, ſaid vnto them,

Baiazets ſpeech to the ſouldiers and Ianizaries of the court.

Will you, Foſter children, valiant Souldiours, and faithfull keepers of my perſon, who with great fortune haue ſerued me in field aboue the ſpace of thirtie yeares; and for your faithfull and good ſeruice haue both in time of peace and warre, of me receiued ſuch rewards, as by your owne confeſſion and thankeſgiuing farre exceeded your owne expectation, and the meaſure of our Treaſures: Will you, I ſay, ſuffer the innocent Father to be butchered by his graceleſſe Sonne? And your old Emperour, tormented with age and diſeaſes, to be cruelly murthered by a companie of wilde Tartars, little better than arrant Rogues and Theeues? Shall I be now forſaken in this my heauie old age and laſt act of life? And ſhall I be deliuered vnto myne enemies, by them, by them, I ſay, who many yeares agoe with great faithfulneſſe and inuincible courage defended myne honour and right againſt my brother Zemes? *and haue many times ſince, not onely valiantly defended this Empire againſt moſt warrelike Nations, but alſo moſt victoriouſly augmented the ſame? But I will not ſo lightly beleeue that which to my no ſmall griefe is brought vnto myne eares, concerning the reuolting of myne Armie: neither if I did beleeue it, am I ſo fearefull as to be therewith diſcouraged, or to ſeeke to make ſhift for my ſelf.*

For to what purpoſe ſhould I thinke of flight? as though I could in any other place find more faithfulneſſe or ſurer defence than with you? And concerning your ſelues, what ſhould be your hope by this ſo infamous treacherie? If any of you (for I cannot beleeue that you are all ſo mad) without regard of faith, of worldly ſhame, or the feare of God, haue polluted your minds with the pernitious conceit of ſo foule a treaſon, doe you thinke to gaine greater rewards and preferments by your treacherie and villanie, than by your fidelitie and conſtancie? There be many which carefull of my perſon, perſuade me to reſerue this my ſicke and feeble bodie vnto my better fortune, and to commit my ſelfe to flight, ſo rather to ſaue my life with ſhame and infamie, than to end my dayes with honour and glorie: Which is ſo far from my thought for the apprehenſion of any feare to doe, that I will to the contrarie forthwith giue the fierce enemie battell, and in this my laſt danger make proofe of all your fidelitie and valour, and of euery one of your good wils in particular: and ſo by conduct of the Higheſt, either defeat the power and breake the ſtrength of this graceleſſe man, or elſe hauing raigned aboue thirtie yeares an Emperour, end my dayes together with them which ſhall vnto the end continue with me in their faithfulneſſe and loyaltie, although I ſhould be moſt ſhamefully and diſhonourably betrayed and forſaken of ſome of myne owne Guard: which thing though lying fame would make me beleeue, yet will I not feare it vntill I ſee the proofe thereof.

The common ſort of the Ianizaries, vnto whom the great Commanders and captaines corrupted by *Selymus*, had not for their leuitie and multitude communicated their purpoſe of transferring the Empire to *Selymus*, began to crie out as if it had beene with generall conſent, That he ſhould not doubt to ioyne battell with his enemies, and ſo to make proofe of their conſtant fidelitie and woonted valour. Which was done with ſuch a cheerefulneſſe and deſire expreſſed by great ſhouts, clapping of hands, & clattering of armor, that it ſeemed they would play the parts of reſolute ſouldiers, and that as guiltleſſe men they tooke it grieuouſly to be once ſuſpected of treaſon or infidelitie. Others alſo who ſecretly and in heart were well affected to *Selymus*, for faſhion ſake followed them with like crie: but eſpecially the great commanders both of the armie and of the Emperours Court, now changed their affection, whether it were for ſhame of the fact, or for feare of diſcouering themſelues out of ſeaſon, is vncertaine. Wherefore according to the manner of ſuch men, which through their mutabilitie and miſchieuous diſpoſition, fearing to be conuinced and diſcouered, adde vnto the preſent a ſecond and new treaſon or treacherie, to couer the former: ſo *Muſtapha* and *Boſtanges* (not daring now to ſhew themſelues for *Selymus*) to make a great ſhew of their feigned loyaltie towards *Baiazet*, departed themſelues out of his pauilion, to encourage the ſouldiers, and to martiall the battell.

The commõ ſort of the Ianizaries faithfull to Baiazet, deſire battell.

Baiazet ſicke in his chariot, by the aduice of *Cherſeogles* the faithfull Baſſa, placed his battel in this order: The Sanzacks (which are the gouernours of prouinces) with their horſemen, in number about 6000 he ſet in the front of the battell: the Spachi-oglans & Siliphtars, which are the chiefe horſemen of the court, and as it were the Emperors Penſioners, were placed as two wings on each ſide of the great ſquadron of the Ianizaries; in the midſt whereof was old *Baiazet* himſelfe. Other 4000 horſemen (ſeruants to the great men of the court) were left in the rereward, and to guard the baggage. Theſe ſlaues (for ſo indeed they are) for their apparell and furniture, yea and valor alſo, are little inferior to their maſters, by whom they are ſo ſumptuouſly maintained both for ſtrength and oſtentation. The battell thus ordered, *Baiazet* commanded the trumpets to ſound, and a red enſigne in token of battell to be diſplaied. On the other ſide, *Selymus* placing his Tartarian horſemen in both wings, and his Turks in the midſt, in manner of a halfe moone, for that he in number of horſemen far exceeded his father, did almoſt on euery ſide incloſe him, and ſo charge him. The Tartars when they were come within 100 paces of their enemies, caſting themſelues (after the manner of their fight) into great rings, emptie within in manner of a crowne, and ſo running round, that they might both backward and forward deliuer their arrowes, caſt vpon their enemies whole ſhowers of ſhot, as if it had bin haile, to the great annoyance of the Turks: when as in the meane time the other Tartarian archers further off, ſhooting their arrows not right forth, but more vpright towards heauen, which falling directly downe, ſore gauled the Turks horſes alſo. But the old ſoldiers (taught by the example of their captaines) ſerred cloſe together, and caſting their targets ouer their heads, as if it had been one whole roofe or penthouſe, receiued their arrowes with leſſe harm, and haſted with as much ſpeed as they could to come to handie blows. The penſioners

The battell betwixt Baiazet and Selymus.

alſo at the ſame inſtant brauely charged the middle of *Selymus* his battell, where his Turkiſh horſemen ſtood: and *Aiax* captaine of the Ianizaries, drawing out 700 readie harquebuſiers out of the ſquadron of the Ianizaries, with them aſſailed the hindmoſt of one of the wings of the Tartars: and the foure thouſand ſeruants left in the rereward, as deſirous as the reſt to ſhew their forwardneſſe, with great ſlaughter repulſed the other wing of the Tartars, which came to haue ſpoyled the Turks carriages. This fierce battell betwixt the father and the ſon, with doubtfull euent endured from noone vntill the going down of the Sun: *Selymus* in many places ſtill reſtoring his declining battel, and fighting himſelfe, as for an empire. But after that the Tartars, hardly charged by the harquebuſiers, were not able to abide the ſhot, eſpecially their horſes, being with the vnwoonted noiſe thereof wonderfully terrified, and ſo carrying backe their riders whether they would or no, began to flie; the reſt of the horſemen could neither by commandement, threatning, or wounds, be inforced to ſtay, but turned their backs and fled. The footmen alſo whom *Selymus* had attyred and armed after the manner of the Ianizaries, being forſaken of their owne horſemen, were now by *Baiazet* his horſemen compaſſed about and almoſt all ſlaine.

Selimus his army diſcomfited.

Selymus his armie thus ouerthrown, and himſelfe hardly beſet, was by certain troups of his Turkiſh horſemen which yet ſtayed with him, deliuered from the preſent danger; and being wounded, was mounted vpon a freſh horſe, & ſo with all the ſpeed he could fled after the Tartars. But doubting to be purſued and ouertaken by his fathers ſpeedie horſemen, he changed his horſe, and tooke another of a wonderfull ſwiftneſſe: and ſo reſeruing himſelfe to his future fortune, with a few of his followers fled to Varna, and from thence by ſea to Capha.

The horſe whereon *Selymus* fled was all cole blacke, called *Carabulo* (that is to ſay, *a blacke cloud*) whom *Selymus* as a good ſeruitour euer after exempted from all ſeruice, and had him in ſuch eſtimation, that couered with cloth of gold, he was as a ſpare horſe without a rider led after him in all his great expeditions, firſt into Perſia, and afterwards into Ægypt, where he died at Caire, and there to the imitation of *Bucephalus*, Great *Alexanders* horſe, had a monument erected for him: wherein *Selymus* ſhewed himſelfe more kind than to his owne brethren, whom he cruelly murthered, and hardly affoorded to ſome of them ſo honourable a Sepulture.

The eſtimation Selymus had of his horſe wherō he eſcaped from his father.

In this battell, of fortie thouſand which *Selymus* brought into the field, eſcaped not aboue 8000, but they were either ſlain or taken priſoners. Of *Baiazet* his armie were loſt about 700, and 3000 hurt with Tartarian arrowes: which loſſe he preſſently reuenged, with extream crueltie, cauſing all ſuch as were taken priſoners to be without mercie put to the ſword in his ſight; whoſe heads were layd together by heapes, and their dead bodies, as if they had beene towers. Of this notable battell betwixt the father and the ſon in the yeare 1511, Chiurlus, called in antient time Tzurulum, before an obſcure old ruinous citie, (or as *Iouius* calleth it, a village) became famous: but much more afterwards by the fatal deſtinie of *Selymus*; who not many yeares after, ſtrucken with a moſt loathſome and incurable diſeaſe, ended his dayes in the ſame place with an vntimely and tormenting death; God (as it is to be thought) with reuenging hand in the ſame place taking iuſt puniſhment for his former diſloyaltie towards his father, as ſhall hereafter in due time and place be declared.

Three dayes *Baiazet* lay ſtill in the ſame place where he had obtained the victorie, till ſuch time as all his ſoldiers were againe returned from the chaſe of the enemie: after that, he held on his way to Conſtantinople, and there bountifully rewarded his ſoldiers. In the mean time *Achomates* hearing of all the trouble which had happened betwixt his father and his brother *Selymus*, with the euent thereof, came with an armie of twentie thouſand from Amaſia, thorow the Countreis of Galiatia and Bythinia, vnto the citie of Scutari, called in antient time Chriſopolis (though ſome ſuppoſe it to haue beene the famous citie of Chalcedon) which citie is ſcituated vpon the ſtrait of Boſphorus, directly againſt the Citie of Conſtantinople. In this place *Achomates* encamped his armie, neere vnto the ſea ſide, expecting what courſe his father would take after ſo great a victorie. For beſide the prerogatiue of his age, and the eſpeciall loue of his father towards him, the generall affection of the vulgar people, with the good opinion he had of himſelfe, had alreadie filled his mind with the hope of the Empire. Wherefore he ceaſed not night and day to ſend Meſſengers ouer that narrow ſtrait, to Conſtantinople; and moſt earneſtly to ſolicite *Baiazet* his father, in ſo fit an occaſion to make

haſt

A haſt to diſpatch what he had ſo long before determined, concerning the reſignation of the
empire. He alſo importuned his friends and familiars in beſt maner he could to commend him
to his father, and in moſt ample ſort to extoll his graue purpoſe for tranſlation of the empire;
and to doe the vttermoſt of their deuoire, that ſeeing God and good fortune had iuſtly ouerthrowne
the raſh attempt and force of his brother *Selymus*, he by their good means might the
ſooner obtaine the empire, whereof he was the vndoubted heire.

Baiazet, who of himſelfe and according to his old good liking was altogether deſirous of
the preferment of *Achomates*, was by their perſuaſions eaſily intreated to haſten the performance
of that he had before determined for the transferring of the empire. And making no
great ſecret of the matter, commanded certaine gallies to be made ready for the tranſporting
of *Achomates* from Scutario to Conſtantinople. But the great Baſſaes with the ſoldiers of the
B court (the ſecret fauorits of *Selymus*) vnderſtanding the matter, began againe openly to reſiſt
and impugne his purpoſed determination, and to alledge the ſame reaſons they had before at
Hadrianople alleaged; in fine they ſaid plainely, That they would by no meanes ſuffer him ſo
far to diſable himſelfe as an inſufficient man to reſigne the empire, who of late had with ſo
valiant and couragious an heart fought for the honour of his crowne and dignitie; and that
therefore ſo long as he liued, they would acknowledge no other ſoueraigne but *Baiazet*: yet
for all that as they meant not thereby to cut off *Achomates* his hope, ſo neither ought he to diſtruſt
the good will of the men of war; but that he being a man of moſt approued and known
valour, might in due time with their generall good liking enioy his right, which ſhould then
C without all queſtion be due vnto him as the eldeſt ſonne of their Emperor. They ſaid moreouer,
that they had in the late battel againſt *Selymus* ſufficiently declared what minds they were
of, both towards their Emperour and *Achomates*, and what confidence they were to repoſe in
the fidelitie of their ſouldiers, who to manifeſt their faithfulneſſe and loyaltie, had not refuſed
to offer themſelues vnto the hazard of a moſt vnequall battell, yea their liues vnto death it
ſelfe. O foule diſſimulation, the couert maske of all miſchiefe, vnder which, meere treacherie
is here pretended for great loyaltie, the aged Emperour too too much flattered, *Achomates*
ſhamefully deluded, and (the man that might not as then without ſome addition of diſgrace
be named) *Selymus*, euen bloudie *Selymus*, ſecretly ſought for aboue all men to be preferred!

Baiazet willing to prefer Achomates to the empire.

Baiazet by this offwardneſſe and inſolencie of the ſouldiers againe diſappointed of his purpoſe,
D or elſe (as ſome thought) delighted with the ſweetneſſe of ſoueraigntie: for that after
the late victorie he ſeemed (as one growne young againe) neither to feele himſelfe old or vnable
ſtill to gouerne ſo great an empire; ſent word to *Achomates*, how the matter ſtood, and that
he ſhould forthwith depart from Scutari to his old charge at Amaſia, from whence he would
againe call him at ſuch time as he had with new bountie won the minds of the ſouldiers, and
procured the good liking of other the great men in court, whereby ſo great a matter and not
vſuall, might the better and with more ſecuritie be effected.

Achomates thus deceiued of his hope and expectation, grieuouſly complaining that he was
ſo mocked of his father, and contemned of the ſoldiers of the court, began to mix his new requeſt
E with words of heat and diſcontentment, and to inueigh againſt his father, for making
him a by-word (as he termed it) and a laughing ſtocke vnto the world, after he had taken the
paines to come ſo far, and that by his ſpeciall appointment. But if he proceeded ſo to doat, and
to make ſo great reckoning of the ſouldiers of the court, that in reſpect thereof he neither reregarded
his promiſe, nor that was right and iuſt; he would himſelfe by force of arms take vpon
him the defence of his own honor and right, ſo lightly eſteemed by his father, and reuenge
the diſgrace offered vnto him by others.

Whereunto *Baiazet* anſwered by the Cadeleſcher (which is a man of greateſt place and authoritie
amongſt the Turks in matters concerning their ſuperſtition, and therfore of them honored
aboue others, as the ſacred interpreter of their law) that he did neither well nor wiſely
F without iuſt cauſe to fal into ſo great rage and choller, as by his ſpeech and force to thinke to
extort that good which was only by loue and loialtie to be gained: whereas all things ſhould
be ſurely kept for him, and the empire vndoubtedly deſcend vnto him, if by vntimely haſt he
did not marre that hope which he ought by ſufferance and patient expectation to cheriſh: he
might (as the Cadeleſcher told him) learn by that late example & fortune of his brother *Selymus*,
what might be for his own good and welfare; and that it was a thing of far more danger,

deſperatly to thruſt himſelfe headlong into ſuch an action as he could not poſſibly ſee the end G
of, than moderating by reaſon his hot paſſions, to expect with patience the opportunitie of
time, and fitneſſe of occaſion, with the alteration of matters, all tending to his good.

Achomates inciteth his two ſons Amurathes and Aladin to take part with him againſt their grandfather Baiazet.

Achomates inflamed with anger and griefe of the repulſe, all the while the Cadeleſcher was
deliuering his fathers meſſage, gaue him many ſharpe taunts, and had much adoe to ſtaie himſelfe
from offering of him violence, oftentimes threatning him, that in ſhort time both his father
ſhould deerely buy the changing of his purpoſe, and the ſouldiers of the court their treacherous
dealing: and ſo ſending him away with this ſhort anſwer, he preſently roſe with his
army, and paſſing through Bythinia, cruelly ſpoiled the country in his return to Amaſia. There
daily more and more enflamed with the griefe and the indignitie of the repulſe before receiued,
he determined to inuade the leſſer Aſia: that if it ſhould ſo fall out, that he muſt needs by H
force of armes trie his right againſt either of his brethren, he might therein vſe the wealth of
that rich prouince. Whereby if it ſhould chance that he ſhould by the practiſe of any, faile of
the whole empire, yet he ſhould at the leaſt wiſe be poſſeſſed of the one halfe thereof, and bee
the readier for all euents, hauing all theſe great and rich prouinces in his power. Wherfore calling
vnto him his two ſonnes, *Amurathes* and *Aladin*, yong princes of great hope, after he had
grieuouſly complained of the vnkindneſſe of his father *Baiazet*, and of the iniuries done
againſt him by his enemies in the court, he declared vnto them, that there was now no hope
left for him to obtaine the empire, except they would forthwith enter into armes with him,
and ſo together with him defend both his and their owne right and honor, againſt the malice
and iniuries of their enemies: which he ſaid, would be an eaſie matter to do by ſurpriſing the I
leſſer Aſia, if they would couragiouſly aduenture vpon it; foraſmuch as all Piſidia, Lycaonia,
Pamphilia, with the ſea coaſt of Ionia, were not as then kept with any armie or nauie. And as
for his brother *Corcutus*, there was no great doubt to be made of him, who according to his quiet
diſpoſition would be content either to ſit ſtil, or elſe in regard of his iuſt quarrell take part
with him; or if he would needs intermeddle his quiet eſtate with the troubled, and ſo enter
into armes, might eaſily be thruſt out of whatſoeuer he poſſeſſed: as for the Gouernors of the
reſt of the prouinces, he doubted not, but that they would alſo yeeld either to his command,
or fortune. Wherefore he willed them to plucke vp their hearts as men of courage, and to go
into the countries thereabouts to take vp men, and whatſoeuer els were needfull for the wars.
Theſe gallants, of their owne youthfull diſpoſition readie enough for ſuch a matter, and now K
encouraged with their fathers perſuaſion, did what they were by him commanded, and had in
ſhort time raiſed a notable armie of voluntarie ſouldiers, of whom the greateſt part were of
ſeruile condition. But *Achomates* himſelfe, beſides his old armie which he had in former time
lead againſt the Perſian rebels, leuied new forces alſo, and called foorth into the field all the
able men that were to be found in the cities round about: and ſo running through the prouinces
proclaimed himſelfe king of Aſia, and ſuch as would not forthwith yeeld vnto him, thoſe he
and his two ſonnes in diuers places proſecuted with all hoſtilitie: by which means many cities,
eſpecially ſuch as were but weakely fortified, partly for feare, partly by conſtraint, were
deliuered ouer vnto him. L

After that, he entered with his armie into Lycaonia, and the borders of Cilicia, where by
embaſſadors and often letters hee requeſted *Mahometes* his brothers ſon (who then gouerned
thoſe countries) to aid him in his iuſt quarrell againſt them, who by craftie and ſiniſter perſuaſions
had to his diſhonour and diſgrace withdrawne his fathers good will from him, and ſo
far ſeduced him, as that he was determined to appoint another ſucceſſour in the empire, than
him his eldeſt and firſt begotten ſonne: which their malice he would (as he ſaid) preuent, and
by force of armes recouer his right, which his father knowing to be due vnto him, was about
to haue put him in poſſeſſion of whilſt he yet liued, had he not by the ſiniſter practiſe of others
beene hindered: for the recouery whereof, if *Mahometes* would out of his prouince aid
him with men and victuall, and ſo further his iuſt cauſe, he promiſed that he ſhould find a far
better vncle than he had found a father; and that his preſent friendſhip ſhould in time be moſt M
amply and bountifully requited.

Wherunto *Mahometes* anſwered, that he could not do what his vncle had required, except he
were ſo commanded by his grandfather *Baiazet*, whom alone he acknowledged for his dread
ſoueraigne: and that it was not for him to iudge, whether he did right or otherwiſe, That he

A would not in his life time reſigne the empire to his ſon. But this (he ſaid) he was not ignorant
of, that he was not to yeeld his obedience to any other, ſo long as he liued poſſeſſed of the
empire: to whom both his father *Tziban Stach* whileſt hee liued, and himſelfe alſo had giuen
their oath of obedience and loyaltie. Wherfore it were good for him to pacifie himſelfe, leſt
in ſeeking vntimely reuenge of his enemies, he ſhould to the offence of all men wrong his father:
and by too much heat and haſt ouerthrow both his hope and honour; which of right
ſhould be moſt great, if he could but in the meane time haue patience, and ſtay himſelfe a
while. *Achomates*, who expected nothing leſſe than ſuch an anſwer, but thought that *Mahometes*
would either for loue or feare haue preſently come vnto him, and now finding his requeſts
to be with greater grauitie and conſideration denied by his nephew, than they were by reaſon
B of him demanded, entered with his armie into the borders of his prouince, and with fire and
ſword began to deſtroy the country before him. Which *Mahometes* with ſuch power as he had
thinking to remedie, was by the way encountered by his vnckle not farre from Larenda, and
there ouerthrowne: and taking that city for refuge, was there certain daies beſieged by *Achomates*;
and at laſt together with his brother (then but a child) deliuer into his hands, at ſuch time
as the citie was by the fearefull citizens by compoſition yeelded vnto him. *Achomates* hauing
taken the citie with his two nephewes, cauſed *Mahometes* his counſellors, with his foſter brother,
by whoſe perſuaſion it was ſuppoſed that he had ſo anſwered his vnckle and endangered
himſelfe, to be put to death.

These proceedings of *Achomates* filled *Baiazet* with griefe and indignation, that he ſhould
C in ſo great yeres be ſet vpon by two of his owne ſons, one after the other. Yet to proue if thoſe
troubles might without more bloudſhed be pacified, he ſent his embaſſadors vnto him to reproue
him for his diſloyaltie, and to command him foorthwith to ſet at libertie his two nephewes,
Mahometes and his brother, and ſo without more ſtirre to get him againe to Amaſia:
which if he ſhould refuſe to do, then to denounce vnto him open war. But he, which by how
much the more he had after his repulſe ambitiouſly affected the empire, had reſolued with
himſelfe to deale ſo much the more cruelly in his proceedings: hauing receiued this meſſage
from his father, cauſed the chiefe embaſſadour (for that he had in franke ſpeech deliuered
his meſſage and denounced vnto him wars) to be in his own preſence put to death, and threatned
the reſt with the like, if before the going downe of the Sun they auoyded not his campe.

1512.

Baiazet ſendeth embaſſadors to Achomates.

Achomates killeth his fathers embaſſadour.

D This outrage highly offended *Baiazet*, and alienated the minds of many before wel affected
to *Achomates*; for that without any reuerence of his father and contrary to the law of nations,
he had violated the embaſſadors ſent to him for peace. Vpon the firſt bruit hereof, the ſouldiers
which then waited at the court gate, in the hearing of *Baiazet* exclaimed, that the inſolencie
of *Achomates* was not longer to be ſuffered, but forthwith by force to be repreſſed; that by
ſufferance and delay he would grow from euill to worſe; and that if *Baiazet* ſhould prolong
the time, and in fatherly ſort ſeeke by faire meanes to reclaime him, he ſhould afterwards in
vain craue the aid of his beſt ſouldiers againſt his rebellous ſon ſtrengthned by his owne long
ſufferance. *Muſtapha* alſo the chiefe Baſſa, with *Boſtanges* and others of great place (who ſecretly
fauored *Selymus*, and had cunningly cauſed theſe things by fit men to be diſperſed amongſt
E the ſouldiers) began at the firſt to mutter, and as it were to wonder at the ſtrangeneſſe and hainouſnes
of the fact, in ſuch ſlie ſort, as if they had condemned the deed done, but not the doer.
But afterward, when they ſaw that *Baiazet* was throughly heated, both by his own angry diſpoſition
and the ſpeech of the ſoldiers, and vpon the confidence of his former victory againſt
Selymus, now ready to ſeeke reuenge; they began then to heape freſh coles vpon the fire, and
bitterly to inuey againſt *Achomates*, as a traitour to his aged father and the ſtate; and withall
highly commended the fidelitie and courage of the Ianizaries and ſoldiers of the court, who
for the ſafetie and honour of their aged Emperor, were moſt preſt and readie to expoſe themſelues,
their liues, and what ſoeuer elſe they had, vnto new dangers.

So was *Achomates* by the craft and ſubtiltie of theſe great men, by the anger of his father,
F and the iudgement of the ſouldiers, proclaimed traitor; and order taken, that the ſouldiers of
the court with the Europeian horſmen, ſhould with all poſſible ſpeed be ſent againſt him into
Aſia. But when choice was to be made of ſome valiant and worthie Generall that might take
vpon him ſo great a charge, which ſeemed eſpecially to appertain vnto ſome one of the great
Baſſaes: it was ſtrange to ſee, how they all began to ſtraine courteſie at the preferment, & eue-

Achomates proclaimed traitor.

rie one to refuſe the place and diſable himſelfe, ſaying, That it were a great indignitie, that the G Emperours armie ſhould be led againſt his ſon by any of his ſeruants: and the ſouldiers (hauing their leſſon before hand) ſaid plainly, That they durſt not, nor would not draw their ſwords or lift vp their hands againſt the ſon of the Emperor, and heire apparant of the empire, except they were conducted and commanded by ſome of the *Othoman* bloud in perſon preſent with them: for ſo had his brother, long before when he rebelled in Cilicia, and now of late, *Selymus* his rebellious ſon, bin both ouerthrown and vanquiſhed, euen by the conduct of *Baiazet* himſelfe, and not by any of his ſeruants. Theſe things all tended to this purpoſe, that *Selymus* might by indirect means be reconciled to his father (whom they ſecretly fauored, although for feare of diſpleaſure they durſt not ſo much as name him but by way of diſgrace) and by this very meanes to make way for his returne to Conſtantinople, and ſo conſequently H giue him power to ſeiſe vpon the empire. For it was probably ſuppoſed, that neither *Baiazet* himſelfe, being very aged & diſeaſed, neither *Corcutus*, altogether buried in his ſtudy, would vndertake the managing of thoſe wars: ſo that of the *Othoman* familie only *Selymus* was left, to whom that charge might be committed, all the nephews of *Baiazet* by reaſon of their tender yeares, as yet vnfit for the ſame. At theſe ſpeeches of the Baſſaes and the ſoldiers, *Baiazet* as a man perplexed and in a chafe, flung away into his pallace, excuſing himſelfe by his great yeares and diſeaſed bodie: but complaining deeply, that *Corcutus* in following the vain title of learning, with a quiet contented kind of life, had in the mean time neglected other ſtudies and honorable qualities, better beſeeming his princely birth and calling. As he was thus reaſoning with himſelfe, and deuiſing what courſe to take, *Muſtapha* the old Baſſa, who all the I time of his raigne had vſed to diſburden him of his cares, hauing by way of talke drawn him into a full diſcourſe concerning the proceeding to the intended war, ſet vpon him with this craftie and premeditated ſpeech, framed of purpoſe for his deſtruction.

The crafty oration of the great Baſſa Muſtapha to Baiazet, for the bringing home of Selymus

Your Maieſtie may not (moſt dread Soueraigne) although by yeares and ſtrength of bodie you were neuer ſo well able, you may not I ſay, either tranſport your armie, or your ſelfe paſſe ouer in perſon in Aſia; leſt whileſt you are there, from place to place chaſing Achomates, *you leaue a farre more dangerous enemie behind you in Europe, who may in your abſence ſeiſe vpon Thracia, Græcia, yea and the imperiall Citie it ſelfe, deſtitute of ſufficient defendants. Doe we not heare, that* Selymus *is raiſing of new forces aboue Varna? to expect a new ſupplie of horſemen from the Tartar King* K *his father in law? And alreadie as it were houering ouer our heads? Is he not of greater ſpirit and courage, than to bee daunted or diſmayed with the misfortune of one battell? or if you ſhall ſend ouer your old beaten ſouldiers into Aſia, and call* Corcutus *into Europe with the forces he leauied the laſt yeare, who in time of your ſickneſſe may withſtand the attempts of* Selymus: *will he feare theſe freſh water ſouldiers of Aſia, or their phyloſophycall Generall, which feared not the ſouldiers of your court, the pickt and choſen men of the world, and your ſelfe a moſt worthie and victorious Emperour? You are deceiued, and (if I may be ſo bold ſo to ſay) you throughly ſee not into the doubtfull euent of things, if you thinke not, that you muſt at one time wage warre againſt two dangerous enemies, euen in the remoteſt parts of your Empire, in Aſia and Europe: For whileſt you ſhal goe about to expulſe* Achomates *out of Capadocia,* Selymus *neerer at hand, and awaiting all opportunities; will by and by* L *at your backe, raiſe a moſt dangerous warre in the very heart and chiefe ſtrength of your Empire. But if you, mooued with the greatneſſe and due conſideration of the danger, ſhall goe about to defend Thracia, and for that purpoſe retaine with you the moſt approoued and faithfull ſouldiers of the court, you ſhall ſee all Aſia on a fire before your face: neither will* Achomates *make an end of waſt and warre, vntill ſuch time as he hath drawne the Empire of Aſia vnto himſelfe. Wherefore if it be not to be imputed to your fault but to your fate or fortune, that two begotten of your ſelfe, ſhould by your ſelfe and the conſent of all men be iudged traitours vnto your crowne and dignitie; whereof the one through raſhneſſe, the other vpon pride and vaine diſcontentment, hath riſen vp in armes againſt you: Why doe you not in ſo doubtfull and perplexed a matter, preferre ſafe and ſound adviſe before that which masketh vnder the ſhew of maieſtie and honour? and whom you cannot both at one* M *time correct and be reuenged vpon, to ſet vpon them as occaſion ſhall ſerue when they are together by the eares betwixt themſelues? This is the onely hope of your ſafetie, this is the onely way, if you ſhall reſolue (as the common prouerbe ſaith) to driue out one naile with another, and ſo to ouercome your enemies. Moderate a while your hot deſire of reuenge, and for the preſent diſſemble your*

A *grieſe; grant vnto one of them pardon, and in ſhew take him into your grace and fauour, imploy him againſt the other: ſo ſhall you without danger, howſoeuer it ſhall fall out; perſecute the one whom you loue not, with the hazard of the other whom you truſt not: and at your pleaſure oppreſſe him to whome you ſhall commit your enſignes and armie; the hands of your faithfull and truſtie ſouldiers being euer at your appointment ready to take reuenge. So ſhall you with ſecuritie make an end of this warre, expoſing vnto the danger him whom you had rather to ouercome (as your enemie) by him whom you wiſh alſo to periſh.*

Muſtapha had ſcarce made an end of ſpeaking, but the other Baſſaes (as they had before agreed amongſt themſelues) began where he left, & with all their cunning labored to perſuade B *Baiazet* to call home his ſon *Selymus*, and to make him Generall of his armie againſt his brother: ſaying, That he had already indured ſufficient puniſhment for his former diſloyalty, and that therefore it was like that he as a well corrected child would from thenceforth containe himſelfe within the compaſſe of his moſt dutifull obedience: whereas *Achomates* proud of his birth-right, hauing of late violated his fathers embaſſadors, and filled all Aſia with rebellion, was not like to be brought to any reaſonable conformitie, vntill he were by force of armes pluckt downe, and ſo made to know himſelfe, in like maner as was his brother *Selymus* of late. *Baiazet* ſeeing that in reſoluing of a matter of ſo great conſequence, *Cherſcogles Baſſa* (his ſon in law, and the onely faithfull counſellor then about him) ſat all ſilent, hanging the head, as a man not of the ſame opinion with the reſt, ſtood a great while in doubt what to reſolue vpon: C he could not ſo eaſily forget the late iniuries don againſt him by *Selymus*, it was yet freſh in memorie, how that he had out of Aſia inuaded Europe, ſurpriſed Hadrianople, giuen him battell, indangered his perſon with his Tartarian horſemen, and that onely by the goodneſſe of God he had obtained the victorie: on the other ſide, his Maieſtie contemned, his nephews impriſoned, his embaſſadors violated, the cities of Aſia ranſacked, and all thoſe goodly countries preſently ſmoking with the fire of rebellion, ſo filled his old heart with anger and indignation, as that he deſired nothing more than to be reuenged. Whileſt hee was thus ſtrugling with his owne thoughts, and doubtfull what to do, the vnfaithfull Baſſaes by deepe deceit and trecherie (*Cherſcogles* moſt inſtantly perſuading the contrary) ouercame him ſo far, as with his own hand to write letters to *Selymus*, promiſing him, that forgetting al iniuries paſt, he would D vpon the hope of his loyaltie, receiue him into his former grace and fauor, and make him Generall of his armie, if he would without delay repaire to Conſtantinople, and ſo paſſe ouer into Aſia againſt his rebellious brother *Achomates*.

Whileſt theſe things are in doing at Conſtantinople, *Corcutus* aduertiſed by letters from his friends of the weake eſtate of his aged father, and by what perſuaſions he had bin induced (after *Achomates* was proclaimed traitour) to call vnto him *Selymus*, and to make him Generall of his army, came downe out of Magneſia to Phocis, and there imbarking himſelfe in his gallies, ſailed to Conſtantinople: where being arriued, he went preſently to the court, attended vpon with a great number of his friends and fauourits; and entring into the priuie chamber, E humbled himſelfe before his father, and kiſſed his hand: and after much talke had betwixt them of diuers weightie matters, is reported to haue ſpoken vnto him as followeth.

Corcutus commeth to Conſtantinople.

It is now aboue thirtie yeares paſt (moſt reuerend father, and dread Soueraigne) ſince that I (being choſen and proclaimed Emperour by the prerogatiue of the ſouldiers of the court, by generall conſent of the citizens of this imperiall citie, and by the graue Iudgement of the wiſe and graue Baſſaes of the Court) haue cheerefully and willingly, and as I may truely ſay, with mine owne hand deliuered from my ſelfe vnto your Maieſtie the poſſeſſion of this moſt glorious Kingdome and Empire: Which thing what worldy wight would haue done? but either a mad man, or elſe a moſt kind and louing ſonne? Vnto which ſo rare an example of a religious and louing heart, I was not by any feare F *or conſtraint enforced, but onely by regard and contemplation of your owne ſacred perſon, and the due conſideration of my dutie. Neither did it in the courſe of ſo many yeares, euer repent me of that my ſingular kindneſſe and dutie done, when as I contenting my ſelfe with ſuch things as you had vnto me aſſigned, and with the generall commendation of my well doing, as well as with a kingdome, thought this your great eſtate and higheſt type of worldly honour, not to be compared with the quiet contentment of my pleaſing ſtudies; when as I accounted it a vaine thing, and not beſeeming the re-*

Corcutus his oration to his father Baiazet.

ſolution of a ſetled and quiet mind, to long after theſe worldly things, which being had and enioyed to the full, worke no full contentment in the inſatiable deſire of man: and that ſurmounting vertue, and the ſweet, ô moſt ſweet meditation of heauenly things promiſed vnto my contemplatiue and rauiſhed mind, things of far more worth and maieſtie than all the kingdomes and monarchies of the world. But whileſt I was tracing this path, little regarding wordly honour, or the glorie of an empire, and was for pure deuotion and deſire of knowledge trauelling into the furtheſt part of Arabia, vnto the Altar of our moſt ſacred Prophet Mahomet, *and ſo to the Indians, as to men of a more exact knowledge and ſincere profeſsion; you in the middeſt of my trauell drew me out of Ægypt by the long hands of the Ægyptian Sultan, backe againe into Phrygia; commanding me, that eſchewing the manifold dangers (which in my long trauell I muſt needs haue fallen into) I ſhould from thenceforth haue more regard of my life and health, and to expect the fruit both of my loyalty towards you, and of your fatherly loue towards me: as if you had been then of opinion, that the time would come, when for the euill diſpoſition of ſome, an innocent man, deuoted vnto the ſtudie of wiſedome and learning, might be a ſtay both vnto your ſelfe and the whole* Othoman *familie. Since which time I haue euer both dutifully obeyed your commaund, and with as much care and integritie as I poſsibly could, diſcharged my charge: and in the late Perſian warre, raiſed and brought into the field mine armie, wherewith I defended the frontiers of my prouince from the incurſions of the Barbarians. But after that they were vanquiſhed, and by your forces driuen out of the leſſer Aſia, and that my vnnaturall and graceleſſe brethren, the one of them in Europe, as a moſt deſperate recreant, had in plaine battell aſſailed the perſon of your moſt ſacred Maieſtie (his reuerend father, farre ſpent with age, and then grieuouſly tormented with the gout) of purpoſe to haue at once depriued you both of your life and empire: And the other in Aſia ſeeking by like diſloyaltie and moſt horrible treaſon there to poſſeſſe himſelfe of a Kingdome, had beſieged and taken priſoners his brothers ſonnes your nephewes, young Princes of great expectation, your faithfull and louing ſubiects, and proceeding further, had ſet al that part of your empire on a broile: I thought my ſelf in duty bound to repaire hither vnto your imperiall Maieſtie, for that I ſaw it came to paſſe, not without the prouidence of the moſt Mightie, that I might at ſuch time eſpecially requeſt the iuſt reward of my due deſert of you my moſt reuerend and louing father, the moſt religious obſeruer of Equitie and Iuſtice: when as you hauing had too great proofe of the infidelitie of my vnnaturall brethren, might moſt fitly and moſt commodiouſly performe that which you vpon great reaſon might now grant vnto me your dutifull and obedient ſonne, although my former deſerts had merited no ſuch thing. Wherefore moſt gracious, I humbly pray and beſeech you by all your fatherly loue and affection towards me, and my knowne loyaltie towards you, to vouchſafe before the comming of* Selymus, *to haue regard of mine honour, with the ſtate of your Empire: for when he ſhall once in armes breake in, he will at a trice cut off all hope of pacification; and ſupported by the men of warre, confound all things at his pleaſure: for I heare, that the very guarders of your perſon, and chiefe commanders of your armies, altered in diſpoſition towards you, doe but expect the good offer of time, when they may willingly ſalute for their Emperour and Soueraigne, him, whome your good fortune of late full ſore againſt their wills, ouerthrew in open field. Wherefore that Empire whereof I was ſometime poſſeſſed, and for the rare deſert of mine antient loyaltie towards you, is of good right due vnto mee, reſtore to mee againe whileſt you may, and whileſt it is yet in your power, in this ſudden and momentarie occaſion now preſented. For your Maieſtie ſhall in vaine fauour my moſt iuſt and vpright claime, after that you (hauing at once receiued into the imperiall Citie a moſt deſperat aud ambitious man) haue for euer loſt your libertie, together with your ſelfe.*

***Baiazet** comforteth Corcutus, and promiſeth to reſign to him the empire, after that Selymus was paſſed ouer into Aſia.*

Corcutus with tears ſtanding in his eies hauing ended his ſpeech, the aged Emperor moued with a fatherly affection, and the reaſonable perſuaſion of him, his onely loyall and moſt kind ſon, comforted him vp with good words, and willed him to be of good cheere; and withall diſcouered to him the very ground of his reſolution, in calling home of *Selymus*: telling him farther, That he could be well content to reſigne to him againe the empire, but that it was not in his power ſo preſently to do, for feare of the ſouldiers of the court; who had (as he ſaid) of late withſtood him in the like motion, and would againe with tooth and naile gaineſay it, if he ſhould but giue the leſt occaſion for them to ſuſpect any ſuch matter: but that by the plot now laied, *Selymus* ſhould vnder the title of honour bee drawne out of Europe, together with the ſouldiers of the court, into Aſia againſt *Achomates*, both barres vnto his preſent deſire for transferring of the empire; in whoſe abſence it ſhould be in his power freely to diſpoſe therof

A at his pleaſure: which he promiſed preſently to reſigne vnto him, ſo ſoone as they were once paſſed ouer into Aſia. Which thing once done, although it were not altogether to their liking, yet feared he not, that either the captains or ſoldiers, who had of late ſo honorably and faithfully defended him againſt *Selymus*, ſhould now for his ſake diſlike of *Corcutus*, or attempt any thing not beſeeming the glorie of their late deſert: but rather hoped, that if his two vnnatural and rebellious ſons, *Achomates* and *Selymus*, ſhould once ioyne battel (as it was moſt like they ſhould) that either the one or both ſhould by the iuſt iudgement of God periſh for their ſo great diſobedience, murdred by the hands one of another. *Corcutus* not much diſliking of his fathers purpoſe, and reſting himſelfe wholly vpon his fauor, thought it not good further to argue the matter his father had ſo well conſidered of; but taking his leaue, returned to his B lodging, not without hope of obtaining the Empire, and ſo remained many days after at Conſtantinople: during which time he ſought neither by gifts nor golden promiſes to procure the loue and good liking of the great Baſſa's or ſoldiers of the court; for that he as a plain vpright man, thought it not good by ſuit and corruption (the great promoters of the vnworthie) to ſeeke for that at their hands, which was of right due vnto him by his fathers fauor & promiſe.

In the mean time *Selymus* his faſt friends aduertiſing him of the comming of *Corcutus* to the court, aduiſed him to make haſte, and with all ſpeed poſſible to come to Conſtantinople; for that it was to be feared, leſt *Baiazet* being verie aged, and withal eaſie to be drawn away, might by the perſuaſion of *Corcutus* be induced to alter, yea and perhaps quite breake off the courſe before well ſet for his moſt readie preferment. Vpon which news, *Selymus* attentiuely waiting C vpon nothing more than to haue acceſſe vnto his friends in court, and before reſolued, at his firſt comming thither not to ſpare for any coſt in corrupting the men of warre, and ſo to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the Empire; made now no ſtay, but with certaine troupes of horſemen, commanding the reſt to follow after, came with wonderfull celeritie to Conſtantinople. *Corcutus* with the great Baſſa's and Courtiers, and moſt part of the ſoldiers of the court, going to meet him at the gates of the citie, at his entrance receiued him with a kiſſe (as is the manner of the Turks) and brought him through the midſt of the citie, all the people running out by heapes to haue a ſight of the man, of late in euery mans mouth for his deſperat rebellion, but now welcommed with much thundering ſhot in token of triumph, and the ioyfull acclamation of men, women, and children, and people of all ſorts. So that it eaſily appeared, that all the D hatred before conceiued againſt him, for his late outrage againſt his father, was now quite forgotten; and that he would in ſhort time before his other brethren aſpire vnto the Empire.

The next day after, *Selymus* came to the court, and hauing acceſſe to his father, fell proſtrate before him and kiſſed his feet, and with the greateſt ſhew of humilitie poſſible, craued of him pardon for his diſloyaltie. O deepe diſſembler, and traitor of all other moſt treacherous! of late in field with ſword drawn to haue ſlaine his aged father, but now proſtrate at his feet; and within an houre mounted perforce into his imperiall ſeat!

The old Emperour ſmiling vpon this Crocodile, in moſt kinde manner tooke him vp, and courteouſly ſaid vnto him:

Baiazets craftie ſpeech vnto his ſonne Selymus.

Thy faults, ſonne Selymus, *are ſo much the leſſe, for that they haue found ſpeedie repentance,* E *wherefore I doe the more willingly grant thee pardon: but from henceforth endeauour thy ſelfe, that God who hath giuen thee a notable ſpirit and courage, may alſo be thought to haue indued thee with a good and well diſpoſed minde. There is a martiall matter readie, worthie thy hardneſſe, wherein thou mayſt ſufficiently manifeſt vnto the world thy forwardneſſe and courage: there when time ſerueth let it appeare.*

The craftie diſſimulatiō of Selymus.

Shortly after was called a Councell for the wars, but eſpecially for the chuſing of a Generall to goe againſt *Achomates*: the honour of which place when many would haue giuen to *Selymus*, he began with great diſſimulation to refuſe, making as though he would not in any caſe be preferred before his brother *Corcutus*, to whom he would (as he ſaid) willingly giue place, both in reſpect of his yeares and learned diſcretion, who could no doubt with greater authoritie and wiſedome mannage that war: as for himſelfe, now he had obtained his fathers F gracious pardon and fauour, he could well content himſelfe with any corner of the Empire, were it neuer ſo little.

But *Corcutus* and his friends, who had repoſed all their hope and all their deuiſes in the departure of *Selymus* with the ſoldiers of the court; as if they had with great modeſtie contended on both ſides, again perſuaded him, yea and inſtantly requeſted him not to refuſe that honour, by generall conſent without any diſgrace to his brother, giuen to him as to a worthie G Chiefetaine of great experience in martiall affaires. So *Selymus* with wonderfull cunning deluding *Corcutus* and his fauorits, whileſt he ſeemeth craftily to refuſe the thing he moſt deſireth, is by the general conſent of all parts choſen Generall of the armie to go againſt his brother *Achomates*. Which was no ſooner made knowne vnto the ſouldiers, eſpecially the Ianizaries and other ſouldiers of the court; but they before inſtructed, with loud acclamations ſaluted him not for their Generall onely, but for their ſoueraigne Lord and Emperor alſo: and ſo without further delay put themſelues in armes to defend and make good that they had done, if any better diſpoſed ſhould ſeeme to withſtand them or diſſent from them.

Selymus by the ſouldiours thus ſaluted Emperour, at firſt made ſhew as if hee had beene halfe vnwilling to take vpon him the Empire; and ſo began faintly to refuſe it, as mooued ſo H to doe by the due reuerence and regard of his father, yet liuing. But after a while he ſuffered himſelfe to be entreated: and then commending himſelfe and his cauſe wholly to the men of warre, to binde them vnto him the faſter, promiſed beſide the particular fauours he owght them, to beſtow a right great and generall largeſſe amongſt them: which he afterwards accordingly performed.

After that, he requeſted the chiefe Baſſa's and commanders of the armie there preſent, to go forthwith vnto his father, and to take ſuch order (ſeeing it was the mind of the whole army it ſhould be ſo) that the Empire might by his good will, without further trouble or tumult, be forthwith transferred vnto him.

I *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa, in whoſe wylie head all this matter was (to his owne worthie deſtruction) firſt hammered; whether it were vpon a new fineneſſe of his owne, or that *Selymus* (as it was giuen out) had threatned to kil him, except he would go and ſhew all the whole proceſſe of the matter to his father: comming as a man diſmaied to *Baiazet*, (who awaked with clamour and tumult of the ſouldiers, was come out of his chamber, into the open roomes of his Palace) in few words deliuered vnto him this moſt vnwelcome meſſage, as followeth:

The blunt ſpeech of Muſtapha to Baiazet, perſuading him to reſigne the empire to Selymus.

Emperor (ſaid he) *the men of war haue in their Councell ſaluted* Selymus *both their Generall and Emperour, which their choice they require thee to ratifie, being readie preſently to breake into the Court to kill vs both, if thou ſhalt refuſe forthwith to reſigne the Empire. They all with one conſent requeſt that of thee, which they haue alreadie put into the hand of another. Wherefore it is a thing of farre more* K *danger, to ſeeke to recouer that thou haſt alreadie loſt, than willingly to yeeld that which is alreadie taken from thee, ſeeing it is not by any force or policie to be regained. They in armes, in furie, and now entred into rebellion, thinke vpon ſome greater miſchiefe.*

Baiazet troubled with feare and choler, and then too late perceiuing the treacherie of the Baſſa's, and how he had bin by them betrayed, pauſing a while at the ſtrangeneſſe of the matter afterwards in furie brake out into theſe words:

The reſolute anſwer of old Baiazet to Muſtapha and the other Baſſa's.

Falſe and Forſworne, do you thus betray me? and with ſuch monſtrous villanie requite mine infinit bountie? Why do you not alſo as murtherers take away my life, which could not endure for a while to expect the diſſolution of this my weake and aged bodie; but depoſing your iuſt and lawfull Soueraigne, muſt needs in poſt haſte ſet vp a moſt wicked and graceleſſe man to raigne ouer you? But much good do it you with your deſired Emperour, the contemner of God, and murtherer of his father: to whom ere it be long, L *you ſhall full deerely pay the price of this your perfideous dealing and treacherie againſt me. And he himſelfe beginning his Empire by moſt vnnaturall treaſon, murther, and bloudſhed, ſhall not (I hope) eſcape the heauie hand of God, the vndoubted and ſeuere reuenger of ſo great impietie and treaſon.*

Muſtapha, with *Boſtanges* and *Aiax* as falſe as himſelfe, returning backe again to the ſoldiers, ſpeaking not a word of the ſorrow and indignation of *Baiazet*, told them how that he was wel content to reſigne the Empire, and ſo had appointed *Selymus* (to whom both God and the general conſent of the men of war had already deliuered the Empire) to ſucceed him in the empire. When this their ſpeech was generally reported, they whom *Selymus* had before corrupted, began now to hold vp their heads and looke big on the matter: and others who before ſtood doubtfull what to do, ſeeing now no other remedie, in haſt joyned themſelues vnto the M ſame faction. Whileſt all things were thus diſorderly carried by the vnruly ſouldiers, *Selymus* was by them mounted vpon a couragious horſe, and ſo with all pomp conducted vp & down moſt of the faire ſtreets of the imperiall city; and with the generall voice and clamour of the people (howſoeuer their minds were for moſt part otherwiſe affected) ſaluted Emperor. And the

A the ſame day both the great Baſſa's and the ſouldiers in generall, were all ſolemnly ſworne vnto *Selymus*, as their onely Lord and Emperour.

Corcutus fleeth.

Corcutus, whether it were for griefe of his hope now loſt, or for feare of his life, although *Selymus* had promiſed to giue him the citie of Mytilene, with the Iſland of Lesbos, ſecretly embarked himſelfe, and ſo returned to Magneſia.

Baiazet of late one of the greateſt Monarchs of the world, but now thus thruſt out his empire by his ſon, deteſting both him and the treacherie of his ſubiects, and ouercome with ſorrow and melancholie, determined of himſelfe, before he were thereto enforced by *Selymus*, to forſake Conſtantinople, and to retyre himſelfe to Dymotica (a ſmall citie wholeſomely ſcituated in Thracia, not far from Hadrianople; where in former time he had for his pleaſure B beſtowed great coſt, and now as he thought beſt fitted his preſent eſtate.) Wherefore cauſing great ſtore of treaſure, plate, jewels, and rich furniture to be truſſed vp, he with fiue hundred of his houſhold ſeruants, full of heauineſſe and ſorrow, with teares trickling downe his aged cheekes, departed out of the imperiall citie, towards Hadrianople, with purpoſe from thence to haue gone to Dymotica. *Selymus* brought him about two miles vpon his way, and ſo returning againe to Conſtantinople, tooke poſſeſſion of the Palace.

Baiazet being then about ſeuentie ſix yeares old, or as ſome report full foureſcore; and beſide his old diſeaſe of the gout, ſore weakened with heauineſſe and griefe of minde, was not able to trauell aboue fiue or ſix miles a day, but was conſtrained by the extreamitie of his pain and weakeneſſe, to ſtay ſometimes two or three dayes in a place. Whileſt he was thus C traueling, *Selymus* no leſſe carefull of the keeping of his eſtate, than he had before been for the obtaining of the ſame, began now to doubt, That if he ſhould depart from Conſtantinople, and with all his Forces paſſe ouer into Aſia againſt his brother *Achomates*, *Baiazet* in the meane time might in his abſence returne to Conſtantinople, and ſo againe poſſeſſe himſelfe both of citie and the empire. Wherefore to rid himſelfe of that feare, he reſolued moſt viper like before his going to kill his father, and ſo moſt vnnaturally to depriue him of life, of whom hee had receiued life: ſuch is the cruell and accurſed nature of ambition, that it knoweth neither father, mother, brother, wife, kindred, or friend, no ſometimes not her owne children; the furie whereof was neuer in any one more pregnant, than in this moſt monſtrous and cruel tyrant *Selymus*.

Selymus practiſeth with Haman a Iew, Baiazet his Phyſition, to poyſon him.

D The readieſt and moſt ſecret way he could deuiſe for the effecting of this his damnable deuice, (which without great impietie could not be ſo much as once by him thought vpon) was, to worke it by poyſon: vpon which reſolution he ſecretly compacted with *Haman* a Iew, his fathers chiefe phyſitian, to poyſon him; promiſing him for his reward a penſion of ten duckats a day during his life. And for that men are oftentimes with terrour and feare, as well as with reward, enforced to be the miniſters of miſchiefe; he to be the more ſure of this Iew, (prone enough for gaine to doe euill) threatned him with moſt cruel death, if he did not both ſecretly and ſpeedily worke this feat, commanding him ſo ſoone as he had done it, to returne vnto him to Conſtantinople.

The deceitfull Iew moued both with the feare of death and hope of reward (two great E motiues) comming ſhortly after to *Baiazet*, and finding him very weake, ſeeming to be very carefull of him, told him, That he would prepare for him a potion, which ſhould both reſtore to him his health, and alſo ſtrengthen his weake bodie, if it would pleaſe him to take it the next morning early lying in his bed. *Baiazet* nothing diſtruſting his old phyſition whom he had ſo often and ſo long truſted, ſaid he would gladly take it. Early the next morning commeth the Iew with the deadly poyſon in a cup of gold, *Baiazet* yet ſleeping, which he ſet downe in the chaire of Eſtate, and ſo ſtood waiting vntill the aged Prince ſhould of himſelfe awake. But *Baiazet* ſleeping ſoundly (as oftentimes it chanceth when men ſleepe their laſt) and withall ſomwhat longer than ſtood with the Iewes purpoſe, he preſuming of his woonted practiſe, awaked him and told him, That the time to take the potion was almoſt paſt, and asked him if F it were his pleaſure then to take it. *Baiazet* doubting no treaſon, willed him to bring it: whereof when the Iew had taken the ſey, (hauing before himſelfe taken a preſeruatiue againſt that poyſon) he gaue it to *Baiazet* to drinke, who cheerefully dranke it vp: the phyſition commanding them that waited in his bed-chamber, and attended on his perſon, to keepe him well couered with warme clothes, and not to giue him any thing to drinke vntill he had wel ſweat.

Baiazet poyſoned by the Iew.

The death of Baiazet.

Selymus causeth two of his Fathers Pages to be put to death for mourning for their Maſter.

This curſed Iew hauing thus poyſoned the aged Prince, to auoid the danger of the fact, and
to carrie the firſt newes thereof to *Selymus*, ſecretly conueyed himſelfe away, and fled in haſte G
to Conſtantinople. But *Baiazet* attainted with the force of the poyſon, began firſt to feele
moſt grieuous gripings in his ſtomacke, the ſtrong paine whereof appeared by his miſerable
complaining and heauie groaning; in the middeſt of which torments he gaue vp the ghoſt, in
the yeare 1512, when he had raigned thirtie yeares. The Turks report that he died a natural
death: but *Antonius Vtrius* a Genoway, who at that time ſerued in *Baiazet* his chamber, & was
preſent at his death, reporteth, That vpon his dead bodie the euident tokens of poyſon were
to be ſeene. His dead bodie with all his treaſures were preſently brought backe again to Conſtantinople,
and deliuered to *Selymus*, who cauſed the bodie of his father to be with the greateſt
ſolemnitie that might be, buried in a moſt ſumptuous tombe, in a chappell neere vnto the
great Mahometan Temple, which he had before built for himſelfe at Conſtantinople: which H
Monument there remaineth at this day to be ſeene. His ſeruants were all by *Selymus* reſtored
to their places which they before held in the Court in the time of their old Maſter, excepting
fiue of the Pages of his chamber, who lamenting the death of their Maſter aboue the reſt, had
attyred themſelues all in mourning apparell: for which cauſe they were by the commandement
of *Selymus* caſt in priſon, where two of them were put to death; the other three at the
ſuit of *Solyman*, *Selymus* his ſonne, and of other two Baſſa's, were ſaued: but being ſtript of their
rich apparell, and whatſoeuer elſe they had gotten vnder *Baiazet*, they were inrolled for common
ſouldiers vnder *Sulluſtares Baſſa*. Of theſe three, *Antonius Vtrius* (the Genoway before
ſpoken of) was one, who after ten yeares miſerable captiuitie amongſt the Turks, at laſt eſcaped I
at ſuch time as *Selymus* was by the Perſian diſcomfited: and with much adoo returning
againe into Italie, wrot the hiſtorie of all ſuch things as he himſelfe had there ſeene, with the
calamities of *Baiazet* his houſe, and a great part of the tyrannous raigne of *Selymus*.

Hamon the Iew iuſtly rewarded for his treacherie.

Hamon the falſe Iew (as the ſame author reporteth) comming to Conſtantinople, and expecting
ſome great reward for his foule treaſon, by the commandement of *Selymus* had his
head preſently ſtrucke off: with this exprobation of his treachery, That opportunity ſeruing,
he would not ſticke for reward to do the like againſt *Selymus* himſelfe. Of this *Baiazet*, *Ianus
Vitalis* writeth this Elogium:

Paulus Iouius
Illuſt. virorum
Elog. lib. 4.

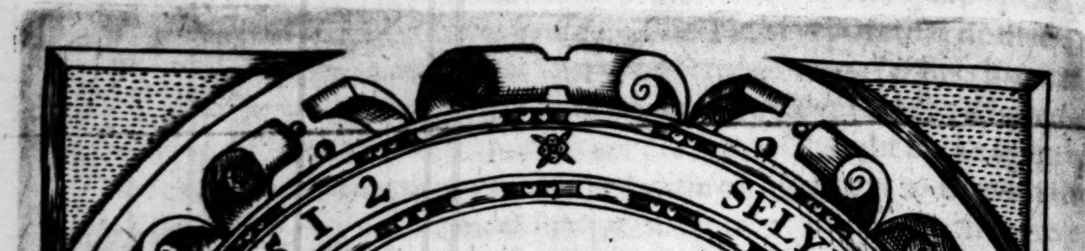
Dum rerum exquiris cauſas, & dum procul Hunnes K
  Carmannos, Cilices, Sauromataſque domas:
Baizethe, *domi proles tua te petit armis,*
  Et te per fraudes amouet imperio.
Adijcit inde nouum ſceleri ſcelus, & tibi miſcet
  Pocula lethiferis illita graminibus.
Intempeſtiuos crudelis vipera fœtus,
  Per ſua ſic tandem funera, rupta, parit.
Quid tutum eſt, cui ſint ingentia regna tyranno,
  Si timeat natos, progeniemque ſuam? L

In Engliſh thus:

Whil'ſt that thou *Bajazethes* ſeekes of things the hidden cauſe,
  And faine wouldſt bring the Hunne and Ruſſe vnder thy Turkiſh lawes:
Thy ſonne at home ſteppes vp in armes againſt thy royall Crowne,
  And by falſe treaſon and deceit findes meanes to plucke thee downe.
Whereto he addeth miſchiefe more, and ſtraight without delay,
  By poyſon ſtrong in glittering boule doth take thy life away:
The cruell viper ſo brings forth her foule vntimely brood, M
  What eat and gnaw her bellie out, their firſt and poyſoned food.
Which things may Princes hold for ſafe, that do great kingdomes ſway,
  If of their children they muſt ſtand in dread and feare alway?

FINIS. R: K.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Baiazet the ſecond.	***Emperours of Germany***		*Fredericke the third, Archduke of Auſtria,*	1440. 54.
			Maximilian the third,	1494. 25.
	Kings,	***Of England,***	*Edward the fourth,*	1460. 22.
			Edward the fifth,	1483. 0.
			Richard the third,	1483. 3.
			Henrie the ſeuenth,	1485. 24,
			Henrie the eighth,	1509. 38.
		Of France,	*Lewis the eleuenth,*	1461. 22.
			Charles the eighth,	1483. 14.
			Lewis the twelfth,	1567. 17.
		Of Scotland,	*Iames the third,*	1460. 29.
			Iames the fourth,	1489. 25.
	Biſhops of Rome,		*Xyſtus the IV,*	1471. 13.
			Innocentius the VIII,	1484. 8.
			Alexander the VI,	1492. 11.
			Pius the III,	1503. 26 days.
			Iulius the II,	1503. 9.


SELYMVS PRIMVS, TVRCARVM IMPERATOR TERTIVS: FLORVIT ANo 1512
1603

Phil. Lonicer. Turc. Hiſt. li. 1.

En Selymus, *ſcelere ante alios immanior omnes :*
In patris, & fratrum, dirigit arma necem.
In Perſas mouet inde ferox : Memphitica regna
Deſtruit : & Syros Æthiopaſque domat.
Hinc in Chriſticolas irarum effundere fluctus,
Ipſorumque imo vertere regna parat.
Cum diro victus proſternitur vlcere : Chriſtus
Scilicet eſt populi, portus & aura ſui.

Lo *Selymus*, in crueltie exceeding others farre,
His father, and his brethren both, deſtroyes with mortall warre.
The Perſian fiercely he aſſailes : and conquers Ægypts Land :
The Syrian, and the Moore likewiſe, he tam'd with mightie hand.
But purpoſing in his mad mood, the Chriſtians to confound,
And the memoriall of their name to root from off the ground,
A loathſome Canker eat him vp, and brought him to his end :
Chriſt is to his the ſafeſt Port, when he will them defend.

THE LIFE OF *SELYMVS*, FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE THIRD AND MOST WARLIKE EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

THis *Selymus*, by fauor of the great Baſſaes and men of warre whom he had before corrupted, hauing depriued his father *Baiazet* firſt of the empire, and ſhortly after of his life alſo, and now fully poſſeſſed of the empire himſelfe, firſt tooke view of the treaſures which the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors his anceſtors had before of long time heaped vp in great aboundance: out of which hee gaue vnto the ſouldiers of the court two millions of duckats; and for a perpetuall remembrance of his thankfulneſſe towards them augmented their daily wages, allowing vnto euery horſeman foure aſpers a day, and to euery footman two, aboue their wonted allowance. By which exceeding bountie, he greatly aſſured vnto himſelfe the minds of the men of warre.

1512

Shortly after he paſſed ouer with a great armie into Aſia, leauing the gouernment of the imperiall citie of Conſtantinople vnto his only ſonne *Solyman*: and marching into Galatia came to the citie of Ancyra, in hope there to haue oppreſſed his elder brother *Achomates*. But he vnderſtanding before of his comming, withal wiſely conſidering how vnable he was to withſtand his forces, fled before into the mountaines of Capadocia vpon the confines of Armenia, taking vp men by the way as he went, and praying aid of all ſorts of people, yea euen of ſuch as were but of ſmall abilitie themſelues, and vnto him meere ſtrangers; that ſo he might in beſt manner he could, prouide ſuch ſtrength as might ſerue him to make head againſt his brother, and for the recouerie of Aſia.

Selymus going into Aſia againſt his brother Achomates.

Selymus hauing ſpent that ſommer without doing any thing worth the ſpeaking of, and conſidering that he could not well winter in that cold countrey neere vnto the great mountaine Taurus, by reaſon of the deepe ſnowes and extreame cold there vſually falling; and that to go farther was to no purpoſe, foraſmuch as *Achomates* flying from place to place, and mountain to mountaine was not to be ſurpriſed, he retired backe againe into Bythinia, and ſending his Europeian horſemen downe to the ſea coaſt, and the Ianizaries to Conſtantinople; reſolued to winter with the reſt of his armie at Pruſa. At which time being wholly bent againſt *Achomates* his competitor of the empire, he for certaine yeares continued the league which his father *Baiazet* had before concluded with *Vladiſlaus* king of Hungarie, *Sigiſmundus* king of Polonia, and the Venetians. And thinking no care (no not of Children) ſuperflous which might concerne the eſtabliſhing of his empire, he called vnto him fiue of his brothers ſons, *Orchanes* the ſonne of *Alem Scach*; *Mahometes* the ſonne of *Tziban Scach*; *Orchanes*, *Emirſa*, and *Muſa* the ſonnes of his brother *Mahometes*; all young Princes of great hope, of yeares betwixt ſixteene and twentie, excepting *Muſa* who was not paſt ſeuen yeares old: Of all theſe, *Mahometes* (whom his vncle *Achomates* had a little before taken priſoner at Larenda, as is before declared, and vpon the death of *Baiazet* had againe ſet him at libertie) beeing about twentie yeares old, was for rare feature and princely courage accounted the paragon and beautie of

Selymus murthereth fiue of his brothers ſonnes.

the *Othoman* family: which great perfection, as it woon vnto him the loue and fauour of the men of war, and alſo of all the people in generall: ſo did it haſten his ſpeedie death; onely *Selymus* his cruell vncle enuying at his life. After he had got theſe poore innocents into his hands, he ſent for diuers of his great doctors and lawyers, demaunding of them, Whether it were not better that ſome fiue, eight, or ten perſons ſhould be taken away, than that the ſtate of the whole empire ſhould with great effuſion of bloud be rent in ſunder, & ſo by ciuile wars be brought in danger of vtter ruine & deſtruction? Who although they wel perceiued whereunto that bloudy queſtion tended, yet for feare of diſpleaſure they al anſwered, That it were better ſuch a ſmall number ſhould periſh, than that the whole ſtate of the empire ſhould by ciuile war & diſcord be brought to confuſion, in which general calamitie, thoſe few muſt alſo of neceſſitie periſh with the reſt. Vpon colour of this anſwer, and the neceſſitie pretended, he commanded theſe his nephewes before named, to be led by fiue of his great captaines into the caſtle of Pruſa, where they were all the night following moſt cruelly ſtrangled. It is reported, that *Mahometes* with a penknife ſlew one of the bloudie executioners ſent into his chamber to kill him; and ſo wounded the other, as that he fell downe for dead: and that *Selymus* being in a chamber faſt by, and almoſt an eye-witneſſe of that was done, preſently ſent in others, who firſt bound the poore Prince, and afterward ſtrangled him with the reſt: whoſe dead bodies were buried at Pruſa amongſt their anceſtors. The crueltie of this fact wonderfully offended the minds of moſt men, inſomuch that many euen of his martial men filled with ſecret indignation, for certain daies abſented themſelues from his preſence, ſhunning his ſight as if he had beene ſome fierce or raging lyon.

1513.

Selymus ſeeketh after the liues of Amurat and Aladin, the ſons of Achomates. his brother.

Of all the nephewes of old *Baiazet*, only *Amurat* and *Aladin* (the ſons of *Achomates*) yet remained, whom he purpoſed to ſurpriſe vpon the ſudden, and ſo to rid himſelfe of all feare of his brothers children; hauing then left none of the *Othoman* family, but them and his two brethren vpon whom to exerciſe his further crueltie. Theſe two yong Princes had a little before recouered the citie of Amaſia, from whence they were the Sommer before expulſed by their vncle *Selymus*, at ſuch time as *Achomates* their father was glad to flie into the mountaines of Capadocia. *Selymus* fully reſolued vpon their deſtruction, ſent *Vſegi* one of his Baſſaes with fiue thouſand horſemen, who by great iournies trauelling to Amaſia, might vpon the ſudden come vpon theſe two yong Princes, and take them altogether vnprouided, and as then fearing no ſuch danger: which was thought no great matter for the Baſſa to do, foraſmuch as he might with his light horſemen eaſily preuent the fame of his comming; and the citie of Amaſia where they lay, was neither well walled, nor as then furniſhed with any ſufficient garriſon for defence therof: beſide that, *Achomates* himſelfe was at that time abſent, buſied in taking vp of ſoldiers vpon the frontiers of Caramania. But *Muſtapha* the old Baſſa, by whoſe ſpecial means *Selymus* had obtained the empire (as is afore declared in the life of *Baiazet*) being priuie vnto his wicked purpoſe, and now in mind altogether alienated from him, deteſting his moſt execrable tyranny, both for the vnworthy death of *Baiazet*, his father, & the guiltleſſe bloud of ſo many yong princes his nephews by him ſhed without all pittie; and hauing compaſſion of the imminent danger whereinto theſe two brethren were now like alſo to fall, by ſecret and ſpeedie meſſengers gaue them warning of the comming of the Baſſa, and of all that was entended againſt them. Who vpon ſuch knowledge giuen, preſently aduertiſed *Achomates* their father thereof, and laid ſecret ambuſh themſelues for the intercepting of their enemies. So that within few daies afrer, the Baſſa comming with his horſemen towards Amaſia, fell before hee was aware into the middeſt of his enemies: at which time alſo, *Achomates* following him at the heeles, ſo ſhut him in with his armie on euery ſide, that moſt of his men being ſlaine, he himſelfe with diuers other captaines were taken priſoners and brought to *Achomates*, and by his commandement committed to ſafe cuſtodie.

Vſegi Baſſa taken priſoner.

Now it fortuned, that ſome of *Achomates* ſoldiers ſcoffing at the priſoners whom they had taken, told them how they had bin deceiued, and how all the matter had bin carried (ſo hard a thing it is to haue euen the greateſt counſels in court kept ſecret) boaſting, that they wanted not their friends, euen of ſuch as were moſt inward with *Selymus*, who ſecretly fauoured the better cauſe, & would not long ſuffer the cruel beaſt to rage further: all which things *Selymus* his ſoldiers reported again after they were ranſomed and returned home. But *Vſegi* the Baſſa lying ſtil in priſon, and getting certain knowledge of the whole matter, by ſecret letters gaue

elymus

A *Selymus* to vnderſtand, that *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa whom he moſt of all truſted, had ſecret intelligence with *Achomates*, and had been the only cauſe of the loſſe of his armie.

Selymus of late enuying at the great honour and authoritie of *Muſtapha*, and wiſhing him dead, (whoſe deſert he was not able, or at leaſtwiſe vnwilling to requite) cauſed him vpon this accuſation without further triall to be ſecretly ſtrangled in his ſight, and his dead bodie (as it were in ſcorne of his former felicitie) to be caſt out into the ſtreet for euery man to gaze vpon. This was the ſhamefull end of this traiterous Baſſa, who had of long time at his pleaſure commanded all things in the Turkiſh Empire, and was for riches, power, and authoritie, next vnto the Emperours themſelues: but now lieth as a dead dog in the ſtreet, no man daring for feare to caſt earth vpon him. A rare ſpectacle of the vncertaintie of worldly felicitie, and a worthie example of diſloyaltie. But *Achomates* hearing what had happened to *Muſtapha*, B in reuenge thereof in like manner executed *Vſegi Baſſa* his priſoner; and according to his courteous nature ſet all the reſt of the priſoners at libertie.

Muſtapha Baſſa ſhamefully murthered.

Vſegi Baſſa put to death.

Selymus thirſting after nothing more than the guiltleſſe bloud of his brethren and nephews, vpon whom he had againſt all right vſurped the kingdom, wherof he neuer thought himſelfe ſufficiently aſſured ſo long as any of them breathed; began with the firſt of the Spring to deuiſe with himſelfe, how he might firſt take away his brother *Corcutus*, who then liued at Magneſia, and hauing caſt off all hope of the Empire, gaue himſelfe wholly to the ſtudie of Phyloſophie, which he (ſeduced with ambition) had in euil time a little before forſaken; but now retyring himſelfe thereto againe, as to his greateſt contentment, ſpent his time in quiet con- C templation, not attempting any thing againſt his cruell brother vſurping the Empire. *Selymus* reſolued vpon the deſtruction of this harmleſſe Prince, ſuddenly commanded his captaines to make choice of 10000 horſemen to be in readineſſe within three dayes, giuing it out that he would make an inroad vpon the ſudden into Cappadocia. In the number of theſe horſemen, *Antonius Mœnaninus* a Genoway, author of this hiſtorie (as he of himſelfe reporteth) was one.

All things being in readines againſt the appointed time, *Selymus* in perſon himſelfe ſet forward with his armie from Pruſa, ſtill keeping the way on the right hand; ſo that the ſoldiers, who thought they ſhould haue marched directly into Cappadocia, and ſo to Amaſia, as it was before commonly reported; began now to perceiue by the contrarie courſe they held, that they were to go for Lydia and Ionia. When a valiant ſouldier among the reſt, who had ſome- D time ſerued one of the Baſſa's in *Corcutus* his court, by diuers circumſtances gathering the intention of *Selymus*, ſecretly conueyed himſelfe out of the armie, and being excellently well mounted, taking the neereſt way, came to Magneſia, & gaue *Corcutus* warning of the comming of his brother. *Corcutus* conſidering the great danger he was in, richly rewarded the meſſenger, and leauing his houſe in ſuch order as it was woont to be, fled with two of his ſeruants to the ſea ſide, in hope to haue found paſſage either into Creet or elſe Rhodes.

The next day after *Corcutus* was departed, early in the morning came *Selymus* to the caſtle of Magneſia before the riſing of the Sun, in hope to haue found *Corcutus* yet in his bed: but being deceiued of his expectation, he fel into a great rage, and with cruel torments examined all E his brothers ſeruants and Eunuchs, What was become of him, and where he had hid himſelf? and with much ado got it out of them, That he had warning of his commiug by a fugitiue ſoldier, and was thereupon fled, but whither they knew not. Wherefore *Selymus* ſtayed there fifteen dayes, during which time he cauſed diligent ſearch to be made all ouer the countrey, and along the ſea coaſt, for to haue apprehended him. But when after much ſearch he could heare no tydings of him, he cauſed all his brothers treaſure & rich furniture to be truſſed vp, and to be ſent by ſea to Conſtantinople. So leauing one of his captains with a thouſand horſemen in garriſon at Magneſia, he returned againe to Pruſa with as much ſpeed as he came from thence: verily ſuppoſing, that his brother was for ſafegard of his life, by ſea fled into Italie. All this while *Boſtanges*, *Selymus* his ſonne in law, lying with a fleet of gallies vpon the coaſt of Ionia, F had taken from *Corcutus* all hope of eſcaping by ſea: ſo that he was faine to hide himſelfe in a caue neere vnto the ſea ſide, not far from Smyrna; liuing in hope, that after a few days the fleet would depart, and ſo he ſhould finde ſome opportunitie to eſcape.

Selymus taketh the ſpoyle of his brother Corcutus.

After he had thus a great while in feare moſt miſerably liued with countrie crabs and other like wild fruit (a poore diet for a man of ſtate) and was with extream neceſſitie inforced to ſend his man for reliefe to a poore ſhepheards cottage thereby, he was by a country peſant diſcoue-

Corcutus taken

red to *Caſſumes*, who with too much diligence ſought after his life: and being by him apprehended, was carried towards the tyrant his brother at Pruſa. G

Right welcome to *Selymus* was the report of his taking: who as ſoone as he vnderſtood that he was within a daies journey of Pruſa, ſent one *Kirengen-Ogli* (who of his ſquint looke was called *Chior Zeinal*) to ſtrangle him vpon the way, and to bring his dead bodie to Pruſa.

This captaine comming to *Corcutus* in the dead time of the night, and awaking him out of his ſleepe, told him his heauie meſſage; how that he was ſent from his brother *Selymus* to ſee him executed, which muſt as he ſaid preſently be done. *Corcutus* exceedingly troubled with theſe heauie news, and fetching a deepe ſigh, deſired the captaine ſo long to ſpare his life, vntill hee might write a few ſhort lines vnto his brother *Selymus*. Which poore requeſt being granted, he called for pen and paper, and readily in Turkiſh verſe (for he had ſpent all his time H in ſtudie) reproued his brother of moſt horrible cruelty; vpbraiding him, that he had not only moſt diſloially thruſt his father out of his empire, but alſo moſt vnnaturally depriued him of life, of whom he had before receiued the ſame: and not ſo content, had moſt tyrannouſly ſlaine his brothers children; and now like an vnmerciful wretch thirſted after the guiltleſſe bloud of himſelfe, and *Achomates* his brethren. At laſt concluding his letters with many a bitter curſe, he beſought God to take of him iuſt reuenge for ſo much innocent bloud by him moſt vnnaturally ſpilt. And when he had thus much written, he requeſted the captaine, that it might together with his dead body be deliuered vnto *Selymus*. So without any further delay hee was according to the tyrants command preſently ſtrangled. The next day after, when the dead body was preſented vnto *Selymus*, he vncouered the face therof, to be ſure that it was he, and ſee- I ing a paper in his hand, tooke it from him: but when he had read it (for all his cruel nature and ſtony heart) he burſt out into tears; proteſting, that he was neuer ſo much grieued or troubled with any mans death as with his: for which cauſe, he commanded general mourning to be made for him in the court, & with princely ſolemnitie buried his bodie. Three daies after, he cauſed fifteen of thoſe diligent ſearchers who firſt found *Corcutus*, to haue their heads ſtruck off, and their bodies to be flung into the ſea, ſaying, That if he were by any extremitie driuen to flie & hide his head, they would not ſtick to ſerue him in like maner as they had don his brother.

The lamentable death of Corcutus.

Now of al the poſterity of *Baiazet* remained none aliue to trouble the cruel tirants thoughts but only *Achomates* and his two ſons: who vpon the approch of the Spring, ſet forward with his army from Amaſia, excited by the often letters of his friends, who aſſured him, that *Selymus* K might vpon the ſudden be eaſily oppreſſed, if he would with al expedition come to Pruſa; forasmuch as the Ianizaries & Europeian horſmen, the vndoubted ſtrength of his army, were at that time abſent, and he himſelfe as one hated both of God & man, could not in ſo ſudden and vnexpected danger tel what he were beſt to do, or which way to turn himſelfe: wherfore they willed him without delay to haſten his comming, and not to expect the milder weather of the Spring, leſt in the mean time *Selymus* ſhould call together his diſperſed forces: God (they ſaid) did oftentimes offer vnto men, both the opportunitie and meanes to do great matters if they had the power to lay hold thereon, and therefore he ſhould do well now by celeritie and courage to ſeeke to better his euil fortune, which but a little before had bereft him of his fathers L kingdom; for if Summer were once come on, he muſt either gain the victorie by plain battell, which would be a hard matter, or els get him packing out of Capadocia and all Aſia the leſſe.

Achomates, who before had promiſed vnto himſelfe better ſucceſſe, as well for the great ſtrength he had of his own, as for the new ſupplie of horſemen he had procured from *Hyſmael* the Perſian king, but eſpecially for the hope he had, that *Selymus* generally hated for his late crueltie, ſhould in the time of the battell be forſaken of his owne ſouldiers; yeelded to the perſuaſion of his friends, who with many pleaſing words ſet before his eies glorious things, eaſie to be ſpoken, but hard to bee effected. Wherefore, when hee was come into Galatia with ſomewhat more than 15000 horſmen, hauing for haſt left his footmen by eaſie marches to come after him: *Selymus* aduertiſed of his comming, by ſpeedie meſſengers ſent for his horſemen to Pruſa. In the mean time whiles he is leuying other common ſouldiers, & expe- M cting the reſt of his forces; fortune which alwaies fauored his attempts, did then alſo auert the danger prepared for him by the vnfaithfulnes of his followers, & ſhewed to him the open way to victorie. For *Achomates* ſecret friends which were in *Selymus* his campe, continuing firm in their good wil toward him, did earneſtly by letters perſuade him (being already ſet for-

A ward,and now come as far as Paphlagonia)to make haſt,and to come before *Selymus* his forces were come together : for that he had ſent for the Ianizaries and Europeian horſemen,and did with all ſpeed and diligence make all the preparation he could poſſibly; which for all that would all come too late, if he ſhould vpon the ſudden come vpon him before he were prouided. Which letters being by chance intercepted,gaue *Selymus* certain knowledge both of his brothers purpoſe and comming, together with the treaſon intended againſt him by his owne ſeruants : wherefore executing them who had writ thoſe letters,he in their names cauſed others to the ſame effect to be written to *Achomates*, perſuading him with all ſpeed poſſible to come ſtill on,and not to ſtay for his footmen, for that *Selymus* might eaſily be oppreſſed with a few troups of horſmen,if *Achomates* would with ſpeed but come and ſhew himſelfe vnto his friends and fauorites: who vpon the firſt ſignall of battell would raiſe a tumult in the B armie,and vpon the ſudden kil *Selymus*, vnaduiſedly going too and fro in the battell. Which letters ſo written, *Selymus* cauſed to be ſigned with the ſeales of them whom hee had before executed,and found means to haue them cunningly deliuered to *Achomates*, as if they had bin ſent from his friends: who giuing credit to the ſame, and preſuming much vpon his owne ſtrength,doubted not to leaue his footmen,who followed eaſily after him, vnder the conduct of *Amurath* his ſon; and came and encamped with his horſemen neere vnto the mountaine Horminius,vpon the banke of the riuer Parthemius. *Selymus* alſo departed from Pruſa,and hauing receiued into his army ten thouſand Ianizaries (but a little before come ouer the ſtrait) ſent before *Sinan Baſſa*, Generall of his Aſian horſmen,to know & make proofe of the ſtrength of his enemies. The Baſſa not knowing as yet where *Achomates* lay,neither of what force he C was,being deceiued by the darkneſſe of the morning,fell into a place of diſaduantage, where he was ſet vpon by *Achomates*,and hauing loſt ſeuen thouſand of his men,was glad with other eight thouſand which were left,to flie backe vnto *Selymus*.

Treaſon againſt Selymus diſcouered.

Sinan Baſſa diſcomfited by Achomates.

For all this loſſe,was not *Selymus* diſcomforted,or doubtfull of the victorie, but forthwith marched on forward to the riuer Elata, which runneth directly out of the mountaine Horminius into Pontus,watering moſt large fields vpon the right hand, which at this day are called the plaines of the new land.So did *Achomates* alſo,who although he knew his brother to bee euery way too ſtrong for him,yet being incouraged with the late victorie,and in hope that his friends in *Selymus* his army (whom he vainly ſuppoſed to haue bin yet liuing)would in the very D battell doe ſome notable matter for him, and that victorie would follow his iuſt quarrell; reſolued neither to retire backe,neither to expect the comming of the reſt of his army. The riuer was betwixt the two campes,and the number of both armies certainly diſcouered ; yet could not *Achomates* (to whom the open fields offered a ſafe retreat vnto the reſt of his army) poſſeſſed with a fatal madneſſe,be perſuaded (conſidering the greatneſſe of the danger)in time to prouide for the ſafetie of himſelfe and his army, carried headlong(as it ſeemed)by ineuitable deſtinie to his fatall deſtruction, which preſently after enſued.

Selymus a little before the going downe of the Sun,with his army paſſed ouer the riuer Elata,and gaue generall commandement through all his campe, that euery man againſt the next day ſhould be ready for battell : and in a wood not far off placed a thouſand horſemen in ambuſh, E vnder the leading of *Caraglis*,his wiues brother,a valiant yong gentleman, whom his father had a little before ſent from Taurica vnto his ſon in law with a choſen companie of Tartarian horſmen : vnto him *Selymus* gaue in charge,that when the battell was ioyned,he ſhould ſhew himſelfe with his horſemen vpon the backe of his enemies,and there to charge them.

Selymus with his army paſſeth ouer the riuer.

As ſoone as it was day,*Selymus* in a great open field put his armie in order of battell,placing his horſemen in two wings,ſo that all his ſpearmen were in the right wing, & the archers and carbines in the left : in the maine battell ſtood the Ianizaries with the reſt of the footmen. On the other ſide *Achomates* hauing no footmen,diuided his horſemen into two wings alſo.

Whileſt both armies ſtood thus raunged, expecting but the ſignall of battell, a meſſenger came from *Achomates* to *Selymus*,offering in his maſters name, to trie the equitie of their F quarrel in plain combat hand to hand : which if he ſhould refuſe, he then tooke both God and the world to witnes,that *Selymus* was the only cauſe of al the guiltles bloud to be ſhed in the battel,& not he : whereunto *Selymus* anſwered,that he was not to trie his quarerl at the appointment of *Achomates*:& though he could be content ſo to doe,yet would not his ſoldiers ſuffer him ſo to aduenture his perſon & their own ſafety:& ſo with that anſwer returned the meſſenger backe againe to his maſter, giuing him for his reward a thouſand aſpers.

Achomates hauing receiued this anſwer, without further delay charged the right wing of his G brothers armie, who valiantly receiued the firſt charge: but when they were come to the ſword, and that the matter was to be tried by handie blowes, they were not able longer to endure the force of the Perſian horſemen; who being well armed both horſe and man, had before requeſted to be placed in the formoſt ranks, by whoſe valor the right wing of *Selymus* his armie was diſordered, and not without great loſſe enforced to retire back vpon their fellows. Which thing *Selymus* beholding, did what he might by all means to encourage them againe; and preſently brought on the left wing with their arrowes and piſtols, in ſtead of them that were fled: and at the ſame time came on with the Ianizaries alſo, who with their ſhot enforced *Achomates* his horſemen to retire. *Achomates* himſelfe carefully attending euery danger, with H greater courage than fortune came in with freſh troups of horſemen, by whoſe valor the battell before declining was againe renewed, and the victorie made doubtfull: but in the fury of this battell whileſt he was bearing all downe before him, and now in great hope of the victorie, *Canoglis* with his Tartarian horſemen riſing out of ambuſh, came behind him, & with great outcries cauſed their enemies (then in the greateſt heat of their fight) to turne vpon them: at which time alſo the footmen ſtanding cloſe together aſſailed them afront, and the horſemen whom the Perſians had at firſt put to flight, now moued with ſhame, were againe returned into the battell: ſo that *Achomates* his ſmall army was beſet, & hardly aſſailed on euery ſide. In fine his enſignes being ouerthrown, and many of his men ſlain, the reſt were faine to betake themſelues to flight. Where *Achomates* hauing loſt the field, & now to late ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe I by flight, fell with his horſe into a ditch, which the rain falling the day before, had filled with water and myre: and being there knowne and taken by his enemies, could not obtain ſo much fauour at their hands as to be preſently ſlaine, but was reſerued to the farther pleaſure of his cruell brother. *Selymus* vnderſtanding of his taking, ſent *Kirengen* (the ſame ſquint-eyed captaine which had before ſtrangled *Corcutus*) who with a bow ſtring ſtrangled him alſo. His dead bodie was forthwith brought to *Selymus*, and was afterwards by his commandement in royall manner buried with his anceſtors in Pruſa.

Achomates ſtrangled.

Amurat and Aladin the ſons of Achomates, fly, the one into Perſia, and the other to Egypt.

Now *Amurat*, *Achomates* his ſonne, vnderſtanding vpon the way by the Perſian horſemen (who ſerred together, had againe made themſelues way through the Turks armie) of the loſſe of the field and the taking of his father, returned backe againe to Amaſia: and there after K good deliberation, reſolued with his brother to betake themſelues both to flight; he with the Perſian horſmen paſſing ouer the riuer Euphrates, fled vnto *Hyſmael* the Perſian king: but *Aladin* the yonger brother paſſing ouer the mountain Amanus in Cilicia, fled into Syria, and ſo to *Campſon Gaurus* the great Sultan of Ægypt.

After this victorie, *Selymus* hauing in ſhort time and with little trouble brought all the leſſer Aſia vnder his obeiſance, and there at his pleaſure diſpoſed of all things, determined to haue returned to Conſtantinople; but vnderſtanding that the plague was hot there, hee changed his purpoſe, and paſſing ouer at Callipolis and ſo trauelling through Grecia, came to Hadriaonple, where he ſpent al the reſt of the Summer, and all the Winter following: and afterward when the mortality was ceaſed, returned to Conſtantinople; where it was found, that an L hundred and threeſcore thouſand had there died of the late plague.

Hyſmael the Perſian king, whoſe fame had then filled the world, hearing of the arriuall of *Amurat*, ſent for him, and demanded of him the cauſe of his comming. The diſtreſſed young prince, who but of late had loſt his father, together with the hope of ſo great an empire, and now glad for ſafegard of his life to flie into ſtrange countries, oppreſſed with ſorrow, by his heauie countenance and abundance of teares, more than by words, expreſſed the cauſe of his comming: yet in ſhort ſtrained ſpeech, declared vnto him, how that his father, his vncle, with the reſt of his couſins, all princes of great honour, had of late been cruelly murdred by the vnmercifull tyrant *Selymus*: who with like fury ſought alſo after the life of himſelfe & his brother, the poore remainders of the *Othoman* familie, who to ſaue their liues, were both glad to M flie, his brother into Ægypt, and himſelfe to the feet of his imperiall Maieſtie.

Hyſmael moued with compaſſion, and deeming it a thing well beſeeming the greatneſſe of his fame, to take the poore exiled prince into his protection and to giue him reliefe, willed him to be of good comfort, & promiſed him aid. And the more to aſſure him thereof, ſhortly after

gaue

A gaue him one of his owne daughters in marriage. For it was thought, that if *Selymus* (for his tyrannie become odious to the world) ſhould by any meanes miſcarrie (as with tyrants commonly falleth out) that then in the *Othoman* Familie, forſhaken with his vnnaturall crueltie, none was to be preferred before this poore Prince *Amurat*: beſides that, it was ſuppoſed, that if he ſhould inuade him with an armie out of Perſia, that vpon the firſt ſtir, all the leſſer Aſia mourning for the vnworthie death of *Achomates*, would at once reuolt from him, who for his crueltie and ſhamefull murthers had worthily deſerued to be hated together both of God and man.

Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring *Hyſmael* furniſhed *Amurat* his new ſonne in Law with ten thouſand horſemen, willing him to paſſe ouer the riuer of Euphrates at Arſenga, and to enter into Cappadocia, as well to make proofe how the people of that Countrey B were affected towards him, as of the ſtrength of the enemie: after whom he ſent *Vſta-Ogli*, the moſt famous Chiefetaine amongſt the Perſians, with twentie thouſand horſemen moe, with charge, That he ſhould ſtill follow *Amurat* within one dayes journey: and he himſelfe with a farre greater power ſtayed behinde in Armenia, doubting to want victuall, if he ſhould haue led ſo great an army through thoſe vaſt, barren, and deſolate places, whereby he muſt of neceſſitie paſſe.

Amurat marching through the leſſer Armenia, and entering into the borders of Cappadocia, had diuers townes yeelded vnto him by his friends, ſome others he tooke by force, which he either ſacked or elſe quite raſed; and brought ſuch a generall feare vpon the inhabi-C tants of that prouince, that the people ſubmitting themſelues vnto him all the way as he went, it was thought he would haue gon directly to Amaſia, had not *Chendemus* (an old warlike captaine whom *Selymus* had left for his lieutenant in Aſia) with a great armie come to meet him at Sebaſtia, which at this day is called Siuas. This *Chendemus* had alſo long before aduertiſed *Selymus* both of the preparation and comming of the Perſians, as ſoone as he had learned by his eſpials, That they were paſſed the riuer Euphrates. Vpon which news *Selymus* came preſently ouer into Aſia, and commanding all his forces to meet together at Pruſa, had with wonderfull celeritie leuied thereabout fortie thouſand common ſoldiers. Which ſo ſoon as *Amurat* vnderſtood, as wel by ſuch priſoners as he had taken, as by aduertiſement from his friends, although he was verie deſirous to haue fought with *Chendemus*, yet doubting that if *Selymus* D ſhould with his wonted celeritie come againſt him, he ſhould be intangled in the ſtraits of the mountaine Antitaurus, he retyred backe againe to *Vſta-Ogli*. But *Selymus*, who all that yeare had in his haughtie thoughts beene plotting ſome ſuch notable exployt as were worthie his greatneſſe, ſtanding in doubt whether he ſhould by ſea and land inuade Hungarie, the Rhodes, or Italy, at that time ſore ſhaken with ciuile wars; hauing now ſo fit an occaſion giuen him by the Perſian, to the great joy of all Chriſtendome, conuerted himſelf wholly vnto the Eaſt, and in thirtie dayes march came to Arſenga. Where joyning his armie with *Chendemus*, when he vnderſtood that his enemies hauing harried the countrey, were againe retyred; prickt forward with the griefe of the iniurie, and deſire of reuenge, with hope of victorie he reſolued E to follow after them foot by foot, and forthwith to enter into Armenia the greater, the principall prouince of the Perſian Kingdome.

1514.

Amurat ſpoileth Capadocia.

Selymus reſolueth to inuade the Perſian.

But the difficulties of this notable expedition, which were in Councell propounded by them which had beſt knowledge of thoſe countries, were great and many; all which by his owne good hap and inuincible courage, he himſelfe afterwards ouercame: for the ſouldiers which had in ſhort time alreadie marched by land out of Illiria, Epirus, and Macedonia, into Cappadocia, muſt of neceſſitie in this long expedition take vpon them new labours: they were to endure the ſharpe and pinching cold of the huge mountaine Taurus, and by and by after the moſt vehement and ſcortching heat in the plaines of Armenia the leſſer, with extreame thirſt, hunger, and moſt deſperat want of all things: and well the more, for that the Perſians in F their retreat ſpoyling the country as they went, had vtterly deſtroyed all that might ſerue for the vſe of man, of purpoſe to leaue nothing to their enemies but want of all things, if they ſhould purſue them: beſides that, his moſt expert Captaines ſtood in no ſmall doubt of the pettie Princes of Armenia the leſſe, and the mountaine King *Aladeules*, whom they were to leaue behinde them at their backes, without any great aſſurance of their friendſhip, who they well knew would leaue them, if any thing ſhould happen otherwiſe than well to *Selymus*,

either in the battell, or for want of victuals, or in the ſtrait paſſages. For they were to be re- G
lieued with victuals from the Armenians: and *Aladeules* forces then in readineſſe, were neither
for number nor power to be contemned; who alſo with caſtles commodiouſly placed, and
ſtrong garriſons, at his pleaſure commanded all the ſtraits, paſſages, and entrances which led
out of Capadocia into Armenia and the Perſian kingdome: for all the mountaine countreys
were vnder his command, and his kingdome ſtretched from the mountaines called Scodriſci
neere vnto Pontus, all alongſt the great mountaine Taurus vnto Amanus, which diuideth Ci-
licia from Syria.

Amongſt the reſt, old *Chendemus* Viceroy of Natolia, a man of great experience, and of all
others in greateſt credit, fauour, and authoritie with *Selymus*, perſuaded him to ſtay a while in
Capadocia, and there to refreſh his Europeian ſouldiers alreadie wearie of their long trauell, H
and ſo to expect the comming of his enemies. And to perſuade him from the dangerous ex-
pedition into Perſia, ſpake vnto him as followeth:

Chendemus Baſſa diſſuades Selymus from going any further againſt the Perſians.

It is not to be thought (moſt mightie and inuincible Emperour, that the Perſians are fled for feare,
becauſe they retyred before they ſet eye vpon vs their enemies: it is a fineneſſe, and they plainly go about
to entrap vs, whiles they by flight make a falſe ſemblant of feare. Know we not what cunning heads,
what able bodies Perſia breedeth? Will they feare the naked Turkiſh light horſeman or archer, which
with their couragious barbed horſes and themſelues ſtrongly armed, feared not the Scythian ſhot? or (if
that be too little) which by their valour haue vanquiſhed ſo many nations, and gained vnto their King
ſo great and large an Empire? Thinke you, that you haue either greater or better forces than had long I
agoe Caſſumes *your vncle, or Great* Mahomet *your Grandfather; who diuers times prouing their*
Forces againſt this enemie, where more than once put to the worſt, I my ſelfe then ſeruing in their camps
neere vnto Trapezond and the mountaines of Nicopolis. I will not denie, but that the great ordnance
which you carrie with you may ſtand you in great ſtead, ſo that fit place may be found to beſtow ſo many
field pieces in: but thus ſcortched ground, the frozen and abrupt mountains, with the vaſt and ſolitarie
plaines beyond them, terrifie me, whom all the armed Forces of our enemies in places of great aduan-
tage could not diſmay. You muſt fight not onely with your valiant enemies, but with the difficulties of
nature alſo. Neither may your Maieſtie giue any credit to the Armenians or Aladeules, *Princes of*
moſt doubtfull faith: although at your firſt ſetting forward they ſhew a faire face, and ſeeme neuer ſo
friendly: for they will but expect and await ſome fit occaſion to take you at an aduantage, and ſo to ſet K
vpon you when you leaſt feare them. But admit you were aſſured of victorie, O with how much warme
bloud of your beſt ſouldiers ſhall you buy the ſame? with what other ſouldiers, with what other Forces
will you defend Grecia, if the Chriſtian Kings hearing that you for enlarging your Empire, or deſire of
fame being gone into the furtheſt part of Armenia, ſhall in the meane time inuade you? Wherefore if
it be better and more wiſedome, with ſafetie to defend your owne, than with danger to ſeeke for that is
other mens; if Princes of greateſt policie haue repoſed the glorie of their victorie, not in the greatneſſe
of the ſlaughter of their enemies, but in the ſafetie and preſeruation of their owne ſouldiours: ſpare to
obiect your ſelfe and your armie to moſt manifeſt danger, and vnaduiſedly to commit all at once to the
hazard of good fortune: which being a moſt tickle and vnconſtant miſtreſſe, if ſhe ſhall but once dallie L
with your dangerous attempts, you ſhall through your raſhneſſe in farre ſhorter ſpace tumble down head
long from the type of ſo great maieſtie, than you haue thereunto a while agoe by your rare vertues wor-
thily aſpired.

Selymus as he was of a rough and fierce nature, ſo would he haue all things done according
to his own deuice and direction; and though he were not a little moued with this ſpeech of ſo
graue a counſellor and moſt expert commander, and ſaw many of his captains troubled with
the imagination of the future danger; yet in a fume refuting ſome little of that which *Chen-*
demus had ſayd, he diſmiſſed the Councell, proteſting openly, that he would proceed in his
intended purpoſe, hap what hap ſhould, from friend or foe: although that old fellow were (as M
he ſaid) ſo careful of his life, that he feared to die an noble death. Which *Selymus* had no ſooner
ſaid, but preſently others about him, accuſtomed to ſerue his humor, which enuied at the glo-
rie and wealth of old *Chendemus*, tooke hold vpon theſe words, and beginning with the great-
neſſe of his forces, the valour of his ſoldiers, the ſtore of his artillerie, with his own inuincible
fortune, made eaſie matters of all the former difficulties, and with great words labored to ex-

A tenuat all that the graue Baſſa had before ſaid concerning the prowеſſe and power of the enemie. After that, they began to diſcredit *Chendemus*, ſaying, That he (being a martiall man, and of knowne reſolution in all his moſt warlike actions) had not ſaid as before, for want of courage, of any diſtruſt he had of the victory, but of purpoſe to hinder that moſt honorable expedition, and to cut off all hope of victorie, which was (as they ſaid) as good as alreadie gotten; being before loded with *Amurat* his great promiſes, and the gold of Perſia. Wherefore they wiſhed him to beware of the ſlie old Fox his wyles and treaſon, and to proceed on in his expedition ſo much the more boldly: and not to thinke that his ſoldiers would refuſe any danger or labour, ſo long as they ſaw courage in himſelfe, but would be readie (as they ſaid) to vndertake the moſt deſperat difficulties of war, and deſired nothing more, than to be conducted B into thoſe far Countries, where by their martiall prowеſſe and valiant acts they might make their Emperor *Selymus* equall with the great *Alexander*, and themſelues comparable to his Macedonians. And to worke the vtter deſtruction of this moſt faithful counſellor without all recure, theſe falſe flatterers ſuborned bold faced accuſers, who falſly and ſhamefully affirmed, that he had receiued great ſums of mony from *Amurat*, and did not therfore in time go againſt the Perſian robbers, whereby all the former calamities hapned (as they ſaid) to that prouince. For which pretended cauſes, *Selymus* commanded *Chendemus* without further hearing to be ſlaine: but indeed to terrifie others from like libertie of ſpeech, and withall to teach them, to deeme thoſe deuices and counſels as moſt excellent, which their Soueraigne ſhould as it were by diuine inſpiration finde out himſelfe, and ſo to accept of them without contradiction. The C ſudden death of this moſt faithfull counſellor *Chendemus*, ſtrucke an exceeding feare into the minds of all men, for that ſo honorable a perſonage, of late in ſo great credit and fauour with his Soueraigne, was without hearing executed; whom they had known as a man of great account, both for his prowеſſe and policie, to haue ſtood faſt on *Selymus* ſide, firſt in his warres againſt his father, and of late againſt his brother: not doubting but that *Selymus*, by nature cruell and ſuſpicious euen of trifles, would with like tyrannie not ſpare men of meaner calling, which ſpared not his deareſt and moſt antient friends.

Chendemus Baſſa by the commandement of Selymus ſlaine.

Selymus marching from Arſenga, came to the confines of the leſſer Armenian kings, and of *Aladeules*; where by his Embaſſadors he requeſted the kings of thoſe nations (who were then in armes) that they would ioyne their Forces with his againſt the Perſian, and to go with him D into Armenia the great: promiſing that when the wars were happily ended, he would giue vnto them all ſuch territorie as ſhould chance in thoſe wars to be taken from the enemie, as a reward of their aid. But theſe poore Kings, which hated both *Hyſmael* and *Selymus* for their manifold iniuries they dayly receiued in the frontiers of their dominions, lying in the midſt betweene them, (as commonly it falleth out, that the weakeſt goe to the walls) craftily expecting the euent of this war, would not openly ſhew themſelues, but anſwered, that they had taken vp armes for no other purpoſe, but for the defence of themſelues and their kingdomes. Not meaning in that doubtfull war to beare themſelues as enemies vnto either of thoſe great Princes their friends and neighbours, of whoſe iuſt grieuances they were not able or worthie to determine: yet if he would without hoſtilitie in peaceable manner paſſe through their Do- E minions, they promiſed to giue free paſſage vnto him and his armie; and after he was entered into Armenia the greater, to releeue him with ſuch prouiſion of victuall as their bare Countries could affoord.

Selymus thus deceiued of this his firſt hope, (for why, he thought thoſe poore kings would at the firſt either for loue or feare haue bin readie to haue done him all the ſeruice they could) diſſembled his griefe for the preſent, as wholly bent againſt *Hyſmael*: fearing that if he ſhould by word or deed offend thoſe neuter Princes, he ſhould haue them at his backe his moſt aſſured & vndoubted enemies. Wherfore paſſing the mountains called Scodriſci, he came in eight days vnto the great mountaine called Moſchij, which the famous riuer Euphrates, with his mighty ſtreame and hugie broken bankes, ſeparateth from the great mountain Antitaurus, and F with perpetuall ſteepe ridges runneth into Iberia & Colchis, and on the Eaſt diſcouereth Armenia the greater. Here *Selymus* with enſignes diſplaied marching alongſt the banke of the riuer, departed not from the ſame, for feare to lacke water in that hot and drie country; and ſo held on his way directly Eaſtward, leauing the countrey of Armenia the leſſe vpon his left hand, and the frontiers of the kingdome of *Aladeules* on the right, vntill he came vnto the mountaine Periardo. This great mountaine, famous by the riſing of two great and notable Riuers out of it, is for the wonderfull fertilitie of all things, of the barbarous people called Lepeus, which is to ſay, fruitfull: for Euphrates and Araxis there running out of two diuers and contrarie marſhes, with many armes, water and enrich that champain and dry country. *Selymus* hauing made ſo great a journy, and yet not able ſo much as by report, to vnderſtand what was become of *Hyſmael* his ſo great and populous army, which he knew was but a little before departed out of Capadocia; as a man in doubt and halfe afraid, ſtayed and incamped his armie at the head of the riuer Euphrates, and from thence ſent out his ſcouts euery way, if happily they could intercept ſome which might giue him knowledge of his enemies. But the Armenians, whether it were for feare of the comming of the Turks, or that *Hyſmael* their king had ſo commanded, were all before fled out of that part of the countrey whereby *Selymus* was to paſſe with his army; and hauing forſaken their houſes, had carried away with them, or elſe by fire deſtroyed whatſoeuer might ſerue for the vſe of man. G H

Selymus ſendeth out his Scouts, who do returne with bad newes.

The Turkiſh ſcouts after they had by the ſpace of two dayes ſcoured vp and downe the countrie, returned back again to *Selymus*, not hauing taken ſo much any as one man; ſhewing vnto him, That all things were deſtroyed before him, and nothing left but wilde fields and a moſt deſolate country, without any appearance of man or beaſt: and that they were of opinion, that either the Armenian guides were deceiued in the way, or elſe had of purpoſe brought them into ſuch deſart places, whereas wanting paſture for their horſes, and food for men, they muſt needs together periſh with hunger. Which their preſent feare was greatly increaſed by the weake kings whom they had left behind them at their backs; but eſpecially *Aladeules*, who either for ſhame or feare had a few dayes at the firſt holpen the Turks with victuals, but after they were farther entred into Armenia, performed nothing of that he had before moſt faithfully promiſed: ſeeking therein the fauor of *Hyſmael*, who he thought would with the ſame good fortune vanquiſh the Turks, that he had not long before the greateſt part of the Eaſt. *Selymus* perplexed in mind, began now to ſuſpect treaſon, to feare famin, to dread the deſarts and forſaken places, and with griefe of minde to call to remembrance all that old *Chendemus* his faithfull counſellour had before moſt truly told him: for all that, he ſhewed himſelfe vnto his ſoldiers with cheerefull countenance, as a man nothing diſmaied: which his firme conſtancie ſeemed to promiſe vnto their diſcouraged minds good ſucceſſe, with ſpeedie victorie. Wherfore calling vnto him his guides, and ſuch as beſt knew the countrey; and vnderſtanding by them, that on the right hand beyond the mountaine Periardo lay the moſt fruitfull countrey of all Armenia, he roſe with his army, and compaſſing the hil toward the North, turned down toward the riuer Araxes, and aboue the citie of Coy paſſed his armie ouer the riuer, his footmen by little bridges, and his horſemen by foords: for Araxes, vntill it haue receiued ſuch riuers as fall into it out of the marſhes of Periardo, runneth but with a ſmall ſtreame, and is in ſome place eaſie to be paſſed ouer. I K

Selymus paſſeth ouer Araxes.

Selymus had ſcarcely well got ouer the riuer, and incamped his great armie, when *Vſta-Ogli* (who hauing joined his forces with *Amurat*, lying incamped not far off, and fearing leſt the citie of Coy and the vnprouided citiſens ſhould by the ſudden comming of the enemie be oppreſſed) quickely roſe with his armie, and ſet forwards to meet the Turkes: for that citie of all others in that country, for freſh fountains and riuers, moſt pleaſant (wherein the Perſian Kings for the great plentie of all manner of fruit, and wholſomeneſſe of the aire, leauing Tauris, were woont to ſpend moſt part of the Summer) had then in it many rich citiſens & ſumptuous buildings, which *Vaſta-Ogli* thought good betimes to reſcue, and not with diſhonour to loſe that rich citie, looking as it were vpon it, and leauing it vnto the enemie, to ſuffer him there to refreſh his hunger-ſtarued ſoldiers with plentie of all things. *Caſsimus* an Armenian borne, and preſent in thoſe wars, did by many probabilities (as *Iouius* writeth) ſhew vnto him, That this citie of Coy was in antient time that moſt famous citie which was called Artaxata, which *Domitius Corbulo* deſtroyed. Neither did *Hyſmael* himſelfe (although he had but a little before ſent the greateſt part of his forces againſt the Coraxeni, who were then riſen vp againſt him in rebellion; as he that made no great reckoning of the Turks, or euer thought that they durſt haue come ſo far into Armenia) make any delay, but forthwith as ſoone as he had heard of the comming of *Selymus*, came alſo in perſon himſelfe vnto his armie. L M

By chance *Vſta-Ogli* (who contrary to all mens expectation had vntill then ſhunned to fight, or come in ſight of his enemies, of purpoſe with leſſe danger and loſſe of men to ouerthrow them afterwards, being ſore weakned and almoſt ſpent with long trauell and want of victuals) lay then incamped neere the citie, when as the Turkes ſcouts, vpon the comming of *Hyſmael*, perceiued by the great riſing of the duſt, and by the neighing of the Perſian horſes, that ſome greater power was at hand. Which ſo ſoone as it was noyſed in the Turkiſh campe, they began to reioyce exceedingly, and to conceiue the firſt hope both of their ſafetie and victorie; glad, that now meeting with their enemies, they ſhould either by victorie turne their labour, toyle, famine, and extremities wherewith they had of long time ſtriuen, into eaſe and plentie of all things, or elſe by honorable death end all their miſeries at once: for many of the horſemen, eſpecially of them that came out of Europe, whoſe horſes were ſtarued for want of forrage, and the common footmen ſpent with long trauell, and grieuouſly troubled with the flix, (who trauelling in the extreame heat of the Sun, had for moſt part liued vpon crabs and other wild fruits, with a bad ſupping made of meale and vinegre, and almoſt deſpairing to get the ſight of their enemies) began now to die in euery corner.

Hyſmael as ſoone as he was come within ſight of his enemies, repoſing great confidence as well in the valor of his ſoldiers, as in his own rare fortune, the more to terrifie them, thought it good forthwith to giue them battell: whereupon he ſent an herauld vnto *Selymus*, accompanied with certain skilfull ſoldiers, which ſhould in beſt ſort they could take view of the number and force of their enemies, of their artillerie, and in what ſort they lay incamped: and to tell him, That foraſmuch as he had no title vnto Armenia, nor that the Turks had at any time claimed any intereſt therein, he could not but maruell, why he had againſt all right entred with his armie into his dominion: but if he happely vpon a vaine preſumption, to the imitation of *Alexander* of Macedon, ſhould thinke ſo much of the world his own, as he could by the ſword and his own good fortune win, he ſhould then make himſelfe readie againſt the next day to make proofe of his fortune, and the forces of others not inferiot to his owne.

Hyſmael ſends an herauld to Selymus.

Whereunto *Selymus* anſwered, That the freſh remembrance of the manifold iniuries done to the Turks by the Perſians, was ſuch, as might giue him juſt cauſe to take vp armes: for as much as long ago both his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, and his vncle *Caſſumes*, and euen of late his father *Baiazet*, and he himſelfe alſo in his wars againſt his brother *Achomates*, had receiued great wrong and diſhonor from the Perſians. All which things, although they were of themſelues important, yet he eſteemed not of them as ſufficient cauſes of warre, but onely ſought after his enemy *Amurat*, his brothers ſon, who had of late ſpoyled Capadocia: whom if he would quietly and friendly deliuer vnto him, as the mutuall lawes of amitie and friendſhip amongſt Princes for the maintenance and preſeruation of their eſtates and kingdomes required, then he would withdraw his forces, and peaceably returne into his kingdome: otherwiſe, he threatned with fire and ſword to deſtroy, not the frontiers of Armenia, but euen the heart of Perſia. And ſo diſmiſſing the herauld, both the armies for that day lay ſtill in their trenches, expecting the dreadfull euent of battell.

Selymus his anſwer vnto Hyſmael.

The next day *Selymus* by perſuaſion of his captaines brought his armie into the open field, and in order of battel ſet forward againſt his enemies, which lay about two miles off, thinking that *Hyſmael*, a prince of ſo great name, would without delay accept of battel: yet what ſtrength the Perſian king was of, what number of men he had, what manner of horſemen, how armed, and with what weapons, he could not certainly learne: for beſide that the Perſians are by nature ingenious and ſubtill, the ſoldiers generally ſo reuerenced and loued *Hyſmael* their king, that no one was found to haue gone from him to the Turke: whereas many reuolted from *Selymus* to him, as it was afterwards learned of the Perſian captaines.

The order of Selymus his battell.

Selymus, who had at that time 80000 horſemen vnder his enſignes, placed *Chaſan Baſſa* his lieutenant general of Europe, with his Europeian horſemen in the right wing; and *Sinan Baſſa* with his Aſian horſemen in the left: and before them both the Acanzij, which are voluntary horſemen the forerunners of the Turks armie, who in hope of ſpoile follow the Turks wars out of all countries: in the middle battel he placed the Aſapi or common ſoldiers, which baſe and halfe naked people, as men of little worth or eſtimation, are commonly thruſt into the front of the Turks battels, to receiue the firſt furie of the enemie, and to blunt their ſwords, more than for any other good ſeruice: directly behind them he beſtowed his great artillerie, guarded with 4000 horſemen: laſt of all followed himſelfe with his choſen pentioners and

Ianizaries compaſſed about with ſmal field-pieces, and his carriages, as with a double trench: G for he had (as their manner is) ſo inuironed himſelfe round with his ſadled camels made faſt one to another with long chains, that they ſtood him in ſtead of a ſtrong trench, from whence he might ſpeedily relieue any part of his diſtreſſed armie; and in caſe of extremitie being in the midſt of his ſtrength, might as out of a ſure fort repreſſe the furious aſſault of his enemies. He alſo commanded his footmen in the vauward of his battell, that vpon the approch of the enemies horſe, they ſhould ſpeedily withdraw themſelues aſide into two parts, leauing ſpace for the great ordnance which was placed behind them to play in the middle between them. On the contrarie part ***Hyſmael***, who by the Turks fugitiues vnderſtood all the deuices of his enemies, calling vnto him the chiefe commanders of his armie, ſhewed vnto them, That there was no doubt of the victorie, ſo that they could ſhun the furie of the great artillerie: which H he aſſured them would eaſily be done, if when they ſaw the Turkiſh footmen diuide themſelues, they would alſo in like manner withdraw themſelues into two parts, and giue place to the furie of the great ordnance: for which purpoſe he cauſed two great enſignes to be diſplaied, whereunto they ſhould at the time appointed retyre, the one for himſelfe and thoſe whom he conducted, the other for ***Vſta Ogli*** and the reſt of his armie.

Hyſmael with thirty thouſand Perſians giueth battell to Selymus with three hundred thouſand Turks.

Hyſmael (as ***Iouius*** reporteth) had in his army about thirtie thouſand horſmen, without any footmen, amongſt whom were ten thouſand men at armes, reſolute gentlemen of great experience, all gallantly mounted vpon couragious barbed horſes, and themſelues brauely armed, both for the ſhew and the terrour of the enemy; their weapons were a good lance, a ſure ſcimitar, I and a horſemans mace; the reſt were armed with ſtrong cuiraſſes and head-pieces, and were either archers on horſebacke, or elſe vſed light horſemens ſtaues, made of aſh after the Spaniſh faſhion, wherewith they ſerued at the halfe ſtaffe. As for guns they had none, in which thing only and number of men, they were inferior to the Turks. But ſuch was the inuincible courage and noble mindes of the Perſians, that contemning the huge multitude of their enemies (who were in number about three hundred thouſand) and making no great reckoning of their great artillerie, they doubted not with ſo few to giue them battell.

Hyſmael hauing giuen the ſignall of battell, came on with his armie, exhorting his ſoldiers then to remember the honour they had long before gotten in many battels, and couragiouſly to follow him their Soueraigne, whom they by their worthie ſeruice and many victories had K made the greateſt Monarch of the Eaſt; telling them, that they ſhould haue now to doe but with naked men, whoſe weapons were but weake ſtaues and light targuets, and their horſes little poore jades almoſt dead with hunger, neuer able to abide the firſt charge of his valiant men at armes.

On the other ſide, ***Selymus*** perceiuing the comming of his enemies by the riſing of the duſt, cauſed knowledge to be giuen through his armie by his captaines and officers, that the time of battel which they had ſo long wiſhed for, was now come; wherein if they would worthily acquite themſelues againſt thoſe their proud enemies, they ſhould to their immortall fame extend the Turkiſh Empire from the Perſian ſea to the mountain Caucaſus: but if they cowardly forgetting their antient proweſſe, ſhould faint in time of battell, they were not then to L thinke by any meanes to eſcape by flight backe againe through thoſe great plaines and deſolate countries; where they ſhould by the way either ſhamefully periſh, or elſe to their perpetuall infamie be taken priſoners, and as baſe ſlaues, during their liues be enforced to ſerue the Perſian women: foraſmuch as beſide the great diſtance of the place, both the great riuer Euphrates, and the huge mountaine Taurus, and the faithleſſe king ***Aladeules***, who had ſhut vp all the paſſages, did cut off all hope from them, if they ſhould be ouercome, by any meanes poſſible to eſcape backe againe into Capadocia.

The great and mortall battell betweene Selymus and Hyſmael.

When ***Hyſmael*** was come neere with his armie, and the Aſapi vpon ſigne giuen diuiding themſelues, made place for the great artillerie to play, as was before appointed; he alſo preſently diuiding his horſmen, charged the right wing of the Turks armie, with ſuch force, that after a moſt terrible fight betwixt the half armed Turks, and the valiant Perſian men at armes, M ***Chaſan Baſſa*** the great commander of the Europian horſmen, with the formoſt of that wing being ſlain, and many more after them, he inforced all that wing to retyre vnto that place where ***Selymus*** himſelf with the Ianizaries ſtood. On the other ſide, ***Vſta-Ogli*** hauing receiued no little harm by the Turks great ordnance, becauſe he had not ſo ſpeedily cleered himſelfe & his

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A followers of that danger, as had *Hyſmael*, charged the Aſian horſemen in the left wing, and
there in bloudie battell made great ſlaughter of the enemie, but not with like good hap as did
Hyſmael: for whiles he moſt couragiouſly in the formoſt rankes aſſailed his enemies, he was
ſtruck with a ſmall ſhot and ſlaine. With whoſe fall the Turks were greatly encouraged, inſo-
much as that they which but now were glad to giue ground, and had loſt the third part of that
wing, began afreſh to renew the battell, and valiantly to withſtand the Perſians; and with their
harquebuſiers (wherwith the Perſian horſmen were wonderfully terrified) draue them head-
long vpon the Turks common footmen. The Perſians whether it were forced by neceſſitie
for that they had loſt ſo great a commander, and not wel able to gouerne their horſes terrifi-
ed with the thundring ſhot, or elſe for that the open ſide of the footmen preſented vnto them
B greater place of aduantage, ſerring themſelues together brake through the middle of the bat-
tell of thoſe Turkiſh footmen, and bearing them down before them with a mightie ſlaughter,
came to the great ordnance and there ſlew the canoniers, who diſcharging their field pieces
at all aduentures, in that great medly made a foule ſlaughter, as well of their owne men as of
their enemies. And ſo without ſtop (as victorious conquerors) made way through the midſt
of their enemies, vntill they came to the right wing: where *Hyſmael* was ſtill hardly charging
the Europeian horſemen, who hauing before loſt *Chaſan* their Generall, and beeing many of
them ſlaine or wounded, were already enforced to retire; but now charged afreſh vpon the
ſide, had much adoe to endure the fury of their enemies, but as men in extreame danger, were
glad to crie to *Selymus* for helpe.

Vſta-ogli ſlain.

C In this hard diſtreſſe, *Selymus* in two places opened his carriages, wherewith he ſtood as it
were entrenched, and preſently ſent out part of his horſmen. And by and by turning himſelfe
vnto his Ianizaries, ſaid, *This daies victorie is reſerued (moſt worthie ſouldiers) vnto your valor and
labor, wherefore now valiantly ſet forward, and as freſh and couragious men, aſſaile your wearied ene-
mies; their horſes are all on a water with ſweat, and the men themſelues faint vnder the waight of their
armor.* But yet for all that *Selymus* could ſay, the Ianizaries were not very forward, but ſtood
ſtill, as men willing in ſo great a danger to keepe themſelues within the ſafegard of their mu-
nition. Wherefore whileſt they at their leiſure ſet forward, the Perſians in the midſt of the
heat of this victorie, compaſſing in the Europeian horſemen, ſlew them downeright, *Selymus*
looking on and wiſhing in vain to help them. *Fabritius Carrettus* great Maſter of the Rhodes,
D who of all theſe things had certaine intelligence, writ to *Leo* the tenth then Biſhop of Rome,
that the Ianizaries refuſed to be commanded by *Selymus*, and were not by any perſuaſion or in-
treatie to be induced to relieue the diſtreſſed Europeian horſemen; but as men diſtruſting the
euent of the battell, choſe rather in their ſtrength to expect the ſucceſſe therof, than with moſt
manifeſt danger to expoſe themſelues vnto the violence of the Perſian horſemen, which had
as a tempeſt ouerborne the vantgard of the Turkiſh footmen.

The Perſians were now ready on euery ſide to haue aſſailed *Selymus* in his greateſt ſtrength:
when *Sinan Baſſa*, although the wing he led was ſore rent and weakned, yet following the Per-
ſians through the midſt of the heaps of the ſlaine footmen, came in, in good time for *Selymus*,
and with certain freſh troups which had eſcaped the fury of *Vſta-Ogli*, reſtored the battell be-
E fore almoſt loſt: but eſpecially by the inuincible courage of *Alis-Beg* and *Mahomet* his bro-
ther, diſcended of the honorable familie of the *Molcozzij*, which for nobilitie amongſt the
Turks is accounted next vnto the *Othomans*; both of them for courage reſembling their war-
like father *Malcozzius*, famous for that wofull expedition he made into Friuli againſt the Ve-
netians in the raigne of *BaiaZet*. *Selymus* alſo not yet diſcouraged but ſtil in hope, commanded
all the great ordnance wherewith he was enuironed, which he had reſerued as his laſt refuge,
to be diſcharged: by the violence whereof, ſuch ſlaughter was made, as well of his owne men
as of his enemies, mingled together, that what for duſt, what for ſmoake, and thundring of the
artillerie, hauing on both ſides almoſt loſt the vſe of ſight and hearing, and their horſes being
ſo terrified with the thundring report of the great ordnance, that they were not now to be ru-
F led, the battell was broken off, the victory yet doubtfull. The Turkiſh hiſtories to expreſſe the
terror of this day, number it amongſt their diſmall daies, terming it *The onely day of doome.*

The terrour of the battell betweene Selymus and Hyſmael.

Hyſmael in this furious battell, hauing receiued a wound vnder his left ſhoulder with a ſmall
ſhot, by perſuaſion of his friends withdrew himſelfe to haue his wound ſearched: which thing
vndoubtedly was the ſafegard both of *Selymus* and his army: for the Perſians by & by folow-

ing their king, left the victory, now in all mens opinion almoſt gotten. But after that *Hyſmael* perceiued the wound was not deepe, for that the ſtrengh of his armor had ſo broken the force of the ſhot, that it pierced not farre into his bodie, hee was about to haue charged the Turks afreſh: but vnderſtanding of the death of *Vſta-Ogli*, in whom for his ſingular experience in martial affaires, he had repoſed his greateſt confidence; and his captains alſo perſuading him not to make ſo light reckoning of his wound, the griefe whereof he yet felt not, being warme, but to haue regard to his owne health: he in ſeemly order ſoftly marched away in ſuch ſort, that his departure had no reſemblance of flight. And paſſing by the citie of Tauris, willed the chiefe of the citizens to open the gates of the citie to *Selymus* (if he ſhould come thither) and to receiue his garriſons, rather than by vaine conſtancie to fall into vtter deſtruction: and ſo marched himſelfe into the confines of Media.

The Perſian tents taken by the Turkes.

But the Turks intangled with many difficulties, hauing no hearts for feare, nor ſtrength for wearineſſe to purſue their enemies, yet comming to the Perſian tents, tooke them without reſiſtance: where beſide the rich pauillions wrought with needle worke of ſilke and gold, and much other pretious furniture, many noble ladies and gentlewomen were found, which after the manner of the Perſians had followed their husbands in thoſe wars, whom *Selymus* cauſed to be all freely ſet at libertie vntouched, excepting one of the wiues of *Hyſmael* whom he detained and gaue her in marriage to one of his Baſſaes. Some which were preſent at this battell, reported that amongſt the heapes of them that were ſlaine, were found the dead bodies of diuers Perſian women, which being armed, & following their husbands, died with them in the battell; whom *Selymus* cauſed to be honeſtly buried.

Thus was that notable battel fought in the Galderan fields neere vnto the citie of Coy, betwixt theſe two great princes, the ſeuenth day of Auguſt in the yeare of our Lord, 1514. In which battell *Selymus* loſt aboue thirtie thouſand men, amongſt whom was *Cheſan Baſſa* his great lieutenant in Europe, ſeuen Sanzackes, in which were the two *Malcoczian* brethren, who labouring the one to reſcue the other, were both together ſlaine. Beſide his common footmen of whom he made leaſt reckoning, he loſt moſt part of his Illirian, Macedonian, Seruian, Epirot, Theſſalian, and Thracian horſmen, the vndoubted flower and ſtrength of his army, which were in that mortall battell almoſt all ſlaine, or grieuouſly wounded.

Selymus for all this great loſſe, by the confeſſion of his enemies hauing gotten the victorie, and receiuing Embaſſadors from Coy and the cities thereabout, and the great citie of Tauris, promiſing to relieue him with whatſoeuer he needed, and to do what els he ſhould command: marched directly to Tauris, deſiring both to ſee and poſſeſſe himſelfe of that citie, as one of the chiefe pallaces of the Perſian kings. This citie is two dayes iourney diſtant from Coy where the battell was fought, & is verily thought to be the famous city called in antient time Ecbathana, about an hundred and fiftie miles diſtant from the Caſpian ſea. The citizens were readie at the comming of the Turks, and brought them great ſtore of victuals out of the gates of the citie, where *Selymus* had lodged his armie in the ſuburbs, thinking it no ſafetie to lodge within that great and populous citie, contenting himſelfe to haue the gates thereof deliuered vnto him, which he kept with ſtrong guard. Some report that *Selymus* durſt not truſt the Perſians, and therefore neuer went into the citie but diſguiſed in the habit of a common ſouldier. Yet ſome others ſay, that he did with great magnificence banquet in the ſtately pallace of the Perſian king, and there had great diſcourſe with them of Tauris concerning his late victorie. But whileſt he thus ſtaied at Tauris, and with himſelfe purpoſed to ſpend that winter in Armenia, he called together his great captains and commanders of his armie, to know how they liked therof: who fearing his diſpleaſure, wholly referred themſelues to his own reſolution. Only *Muſtapha* his chiefe Baſſa chanced to ſay, That it were good that the minds of the Ianizaries and the other ſoldiers of the court ſhould therin be known. Which his ſpeech, *Selymus* tooke in ſuch euill part, that he preſently commanded him out of his ſight, and depriued him of his greateſt honor: and the more to diſgrace him, ſent one of his ieſters after him, who in great ſcorne and deriſion comming behind him, cut of part of his tulipant that hung down as the faſhion was. But the Ianizaries vnderſtanding the matter, and much offended with the indignitie offered vnto the great Baſſa whom they deerely loued, roſe vp all together in armes, & told *Selymus* flatly, That they would not in any caſe winter ſo far from home in the enemies country: and therfore that it were beſt for him betime to conſider of the matter, for that they

The Ianizaries in mutnie againſt Selymus.

A were reſolutely ſet downe to forſake him if he would needs ſtay, and not with ſpeed returne. *Selymus* much troubled with this inſolencie of the Ianizaries, and hearing dayly, that *Hyſmael* with new ſupplies out of Iberia, Albania, and Parthia, was comming vpon him with greater power than before, and conſidering withall, with what difficulty and danger he had eſcaped in the late battell, preſerued rather by his good fortune and force of his great artillerie, than the valour and proweſſe of his ſouldiers, and withall ſuſpecting the multitude and ſtrength of the Tauriſians, of whoſe fidelitie he could make no reckoning, he changed his former determination, and reſolued againe to returne into Capadocia: whereupon hauing contrarie to his promiſe exacted a great maſſe of money from them of Tauris, he departed thence, carrying away with him three thouſand families, the beſt artificers in that citie, eſpecially ſuch as were skilfull in making of armour and weapons, and ſo with ſpeed retired towards the riuer Euphrates, B a longer way than that whereby he came: fearing to returne againe by the head of Araxis and the mountains Periardes, for meeting the Iberian and Albanian horſmen, who were reported to be then comming againſt him.

Hyſmael vnderſtanding of his departure, followed after with as much ſpeed as he could, leauing behind him for haſt his carriages and ſuch of his ſouldiers as were not able to indure ſo long and ſpeedie a march: yet for all his haſt (forſomuch as *Selymus* was gone a great way before him) he could not ouertake any part of his army, vntil he was come to the great riuer Euphrates, where *Selymus* ſtaying two daies, and hauing made diuers little boats, was paſſing ouer his footmen: which becauſe they were not ſufficient for the ſpeedie tranſportation of ſo C great a multitude, many for haſt ſwam ouer the riuer with bladders, & ſome aduentured to get ouer vpon the broken peeces of their carriages, which they had for that purpoſe burſt in ſunder. *Selymus* himſelf got ouer to the farther bank in a little boat, hauing before cauſed his horſmen with their horſes at once to take the riuer, of purpoſe to break the violence of the ſtream, whereby his footmen & cammels with their burdens got ouer with leſſe danger, and ſome of his field pieces were alſo with leſſe difficulty tranſported: yet for all the ſpeed he could make, the Georgian horſemen, the forerunners of *Hyſmael* his army, being come within ſight before the Turks were all got ouer, raiſed ſuch a feare and a ſtir all alongſt that ſide of the riuer, that two thouſand of the Turks were in their haſty paſſage there drowned, diuers field pieces left ſtic king in the mud, & much of their baggage carried away with the force of the riuer. The D Georgians contenting themſelues with ſuch things as were left, purſued them no further: for the wheeles of the Turkes carriages entangled together with the violence of the ſtreame, had ſtaied a great part of the Turkiſh traſh, floating in the riuer: and much more was in diuers places driuen vpon the ſhore, all which the Georgian horſemen eaſily drew out. *Hyſmael* in the mean time reioicing at nothing more, than that hauing chaſed away his enemies, he had alſo recouered much of the great ordnance, wherby he had before receiued ſo great hurt.

Selymus in paſſing the riuer Euphrates, receiueth great loſſe.

Selymus by ſpeedie flight thus got out of the hands of the Perſians, found his paſſing much more dangerous at the mountain Antitaurus, than he had before thought of: for *Aladeules*, the mountain king hauing now his fortune in contempt, and diligently waiting for his prey, had E with his ſauage people before taken all the ſtrait paſſages of the mountain country, who euery night in theeuiſh manner aſſailed the Turks, as they with their weake and wearie companies paſſed through thoſe rough and broken waies: and robbing their carriages, preſently fled into their haunts and places of refuge in the thicke woods and rockie mountaines. *Aladeules* himſelfe in the mean time (by whoſe fraud all this was done) euery day excuſing himſelfe, as if it had bin done againſt his will, by the rude mountaine people, enured to ſuch deſperat robberies, whom neuertheleſſe he ſaid hee would in ſhort time ſeuerely chaſtiſe ſo ſoone as hee could find the authors thereof. In the meane while, for faſhion ſake ſending a little ſpare prouiſion for certaine dayes, did euery night rob and ſpoile the Turkes by his ſouldiers, as they could take them in places of aduantage. Againſt which miſchiefes *Selymus* could neither by F policie, neither his ſouldiers by induſtrie prouide any ſufficient remedie. Wherefore diſſembling the iniuries he daily receiued, purpoſing to be thereof in time reuenged, together with the foule & trecherous dealing of the faithleſſe king, holding on his way, he with much adoo came at length to Trapezond, and from thence, to Amaſia, where he ſpent that winter in repairing his ſore weakned army, purpoſing with the firſt of the Spring to make war vpon *Aladeules* & the mountaine people, who in his returne had done him ſo great harm and iniurie.

Selymus commeth to Amaſia.

In this ſort *Iouius*, one of the great hiſtoriographers of that time, reporteth the aforeſaid wars betwixt *Hyſmael* and *Selymus*, whoſe credit in that matter other writers haue ſince for moſt part followed. Howbeit, *Io. Ant. Mananinus*, a Genoway, who ſerued in thoſe wars, doth in his book concerning Turkiſh affaires, dedicated to the French king, much otherwiſe report the ſame: which to ſatisfie the deſirous reader, I haue thought good here in few words to ſet downe, as it is by himſelfe reported.

The former hiſtory as it is reported by Io. Ant. Manauinus a Genoway preſent at doing thereof.

Selymus (ſaith he) with his armie, in number about three hundred thouſand men, being come to the riuer Euphrates, found the bridge broken downe by his nephew *Amurat*, and his enemies encamped in conuenient place on the farther ſide of the riuer, with their forces greatly increaſed by new ſupplies lately ſent from the Perſian king: ſo that there was then in the Perſian armie about ninetie thouſand men horſe and foot, the horſemen for moſt part furniſhed with two horſes a piece for ſeruice: and though *Selymus* did what he might, to know whether the Perſian king were in perſon himſelfe in the campe, or elſe (which he moſt feared) was raiſing of greater forces in Perſia, yet could he by no meanes learne the truth of that he deſired. Wherfore repairing againe the broken bridge, he firſt ſent ouer his two great lieutenants of Grecia and Natolia, who paſſing ouer the riuer, encamped themſelues as they thought conuenient. The next morning, about two hours before the riſing of the Sun, *Amurat* ſuddenly aſſailed the great commander of Grecia, *Chaſan Baſſa*, in his trenches, and by plaine force diſcomfited the Turks, and by good fortune tooke from them their tents: whereupon ſuch a terror & feare came vpon the other great commander of Natolia, that his ſoldiers thruſting themſelues for feare into the riuer, ſwam ouer with great danger, and againe ioyned themſelues with the reſt of the army. *Selymus* troubled with the great loſſe thus receiued, cauſed all his great artillerie to be placed all alongſt the hithermoſt banke of the riuer Euphrates, and becauſe the enemie ſhould not perceiue the ſame, ranged certain companies of his ſoldiers before the ordinance, as if they ſhould preſently haue paſſed the riuer: who vpon ſignall giuen, ſhould forthwith withdraw themſelues and giue place to the great ordnance bent vpon the enemie. But when fire was giuen to theſe great pieces, many of them being ouercharged, burſt in ſunder, and ſlew diuers of the Turks: many alſo of their rich horſes and mules being neere vnto the riuers ſide, and terrified with the thundring ſhot, leapt into the riuer, and were there drowned together with their riders. The Perſians alſo receiuing great loſſe, retired farther off for feare of the great artillerie. So *Selymus* without reſiſtance paſſing ouer the riuer, marched forthwith toward the enemie, whom the Perſians as men nothing diſmaied, notably incountered. The battel was of long time doubtfull, and much bloud ſhed on both ſides: and if the approch of the night had not broke off that mortall fight, the Perſian armie rather ouercharged with the multitude of the enemie, than vanquiſhed by valour, had vndoubtedly receiued a great ouerthrow; but through the benefit of the night, they without further loſſe eſcaped the purſute of the Turks. Vpon this victorie, *Selymus* left his cariages and baggage with his footmen, and taking with him only his horſemen, ſet forward with intention to haue vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the regall citie of Tauris, before the fame of the late fought battell could bee carried thither: the Perſians in the meane time being no leſſe carefull of their affaires. The day before, ten thouſand freſh horſemen well appointed, which had not yet bin in the battell, were comming to *Hyſmael*: theſe he craftily laid in the Turks way, commanding them vpon the approch of the enemie to flie as if it had bin for feare. *Selymus* in the morning hauing deſcried theſe horſemen at hand, ſuppoſing them to be ſuch of his enemies as being ouertaken with the night were not able to follow the reſt of his armie, exhorted his ſouldiers couragiouſly to purſue their diſcouraged enemies.

The Perſians ſeeing the Turkes, of purpoſe betooke themſelues to flight, & they ſuſpecting no deceit, followed faſt after them, vntill that about mid-day being wearie of the purſuit, and comming to a little riuer which was in their way, they there ſtaied to refreſh themſelues: and after they had taken a ſhort repaſt, againe purſued the Perſians, ſtill leauing behind them ſuch as were not able ſo faſt to follow, prickt forward with hope, that before night they ſhould ſurpriſe & ranſack the rich citie of Tauris. The Turkiſh horſemen thus drawn far from the footmen, the Perſian horſemen left in ambuſh, in the meane time ſet vpon the Turkes footmen, lying (as they ſuppoſed) in great ſecuritie, and with a great ſlaughter ouerthrew them: at which time they alſo tooke all *Selymus* his treaſure and great artillerie. Which ouerthrow was by

A ſpeedie poſts, about two a clocke in the night made knowne to *Selymus* (who now in his mind already conceiued the ſacking of Tauris) and withall that the fierce enemie was following him at the heeles. *Selymus* wonderfully abaſhed with this vnexpected newes, and the loſſe of his footmen, forthwith began to retire: which the ten thouſand Perſians which had before of purpoſe fled, perceiuing, now turning themſelues vpon the retiring Turks, charged them hardly: ſo *Selymus* encloſed both before and behind by his enemies, receiued a great ouerthrow: and the Turks thus hardly beſet, and almoſt deſpairing of their liues, & hauing loſt their enſignes, brake out ſidewaies betwixt their enemies and fled. *Selymus* ſeeing all deſperat and forlorne, betooke himſelfe to flight alſo with the reſt: and paſſing the riuer Euphrates, brake down the bridge which he had but a little before repaired, for feare the Perſians ſhould further purſue him; and with much trouble and no leſſe danger comming at length to Amaſia, aſſembled B thither the reliques of his diſcomfited armie. Such of the Turkes as remained behind, and were not able in flight to keepe way with the reſt, were all ſlaine by the Perſians.

The Genoway author thus concludeth his hiſtorie, That the Perſian king did not more reioice at this victorie, than did he himſelfe for the ouerthrow of the Turks, hoping in that their ſo great a confuſion, to free himſelfe of his long and miſerable thraldome, & to find a way vnto his natiue countrey parents: as afterwards he did, for flying firſt to Trapezond and there taking paſſage into Europe, hee came to Hadrianople, from whence he trauelled by land on foot to Salonica, and there chancing vpon certaine ſhips of Chriſtian merchants which had brought corne thither, he was by them tranſported into the Iſland of Chios; from whence he C joyfully returned to Genoa his natiue country, after he had amongſt the Turkes endured ten yeares captiuitie: moſt part wherof he liued as a page in old *BaiaZets* priuie chamber, and the reſt as a ſouldier of the court in the raigne of *Selymus*; and therefore well acquainted with the faſhion of the Turkes court, and manners of that barbarous nation.

Now ſhall it not (as I hope) be much from our purpoſe, here with *Iouius* a little to digreſſe in comparing theſe two great Princes *Hyſmael* and *Selymus* together, who in that time had filled the world with the glorie of their fame: that wearied with bloudie broiles, and the wonderfull chances of war, we may a little repoſe our ſelues with matter of a milder vaine, neither vnpleaſant nor vnprofitable.

Selymus and Hyſmael compared together.

These two mightie princes, as they were for royall diſcent, ſtrength of bodie, courage of D mind, riches, and power, equall, and had therby obtained like fame and renown: ſo in conditions and qualities of mind, and martiall diſcipline, they much differed. Firſt of all (beſide the mutual hatred of the one nation againſt the other, deliuered as it were by ſucceſſion frō their grandfathers and fathers) theſe two princes, and ſo likewiſe their ſubiects alſo, were at great ods about an idle queſtion of their vain ſuperſtition, the one preferring & honoring *Ebubekir*, *Homaris*, and *Ottoman*, as the moſt true and rightful ſucceſſors of their great prophet *Mahomet*: the other with no leſſe deuotion honouring *Haly*, and deteſting the three former; differing otherwiſe in few or no points of their moſt fond ſuperſtition: yet did they vnder the color and zeale of their religion (as they would haue haue it) both pretend iuſt cauſes of warre, although their euil diſſembled ambitious deſires plainly declared vnto the world, that they both ſhot E at one and the ſame marke, *viz.* By confirming their power & ſtrength, to extend the bounds of their great empires. For *Hyſmael* of purpoſe affected the fame and glory of *Darius* & *Xerxes* the antient Perſian kings, who hauing ſubdued Aſia, with great boldnes paſſed ouer into Europe; and *Selymus* the greatneſſe of *Alexander* of Macedon, who ſubuerted the Perſian empire. Which their aſpiring thoughts, masking vnder the vaile of zeale towards their religion, ſeemed not altogether vain, fortune with like indifference immoderatly fauoring their bold ambitious & endleſſe deſires. But in *Hyſmael* appeared ſuch a wonderful deuotion & grauity, that his hautie thoughts were with the reuerend maieſtie therof couered: whereas in *Selymus*, his inhuman cruelty did blot & obſcure all his other princely vertues: for he with reward & F puniſhment retained the maieſtie of his empire, but with greater fame of ſeuerity than bountie. Becauſe it was expedient in the exact diſcipline of that ſeruile gouernment, wherof the greateſt ſtrength of the *Othoman* empire conſiſteth, to vſe all rigor & ſeueritie: otherwiſe then it ſtood with the ſtate of *Hyſmael*, who leauied alwaies his armies of his nobilitie and men free born, with whom temperat iuſtice, ciuile courteſie, & popular clemencie, are of greateſt force, to win their fidelitie, faith, & loyaltie: for that there is no man wel born, which feareth not more the

Hyſmael maieſticall.

blemiſh

In this ſort *Iouius*, one of the great hiſtoriographers of that time, reporteth the aforeſaid G wars betwixt *Hyſmael* and *Selymus*, whoſe credit in that matter other writers haue ſince for moſt part followed. Howbeit, *Io. Ant. Menauinus*, a Genoway, who ſerued in thoſe wars, doth in his book concerning Turkiſh affaires, dedicated to the French king, much otherwiſe report the ſame: which to ſatisfie the deſirous reader, I haue thought good here in few words to ſet downe, as it is by himſelfe reported.

The former hiſtory as it is reported by Io. Ant. Menauinus a Genoway preſent at doing thereof.

Selymus (ſaith he) with his armie, in number about three hundred thouſand men, being come to the riuer Euphrates, found the bridge broken downe by his nephew *Amurat*, and his enemies encamped in conuenient place on the farther ſide of the riuer, with their forces greatly increaſed by new ſupplies lately ſent from the Perſian king: ſo that there was then in the Perſian armie about ninetie thouſand men horſe and foot, the horſemen for moſt part furniſhed H with two horſes a piece for ſeruice: and though *Selymus* did what he might, to know whether the Perſian king were in perſon himſelfe in the campe, or elſe (which he moſt feared) was raiſing of greater forces in Perſia, yet could he by no meanes learne the truth of that he deſired. Wherefore repairing againe the broken bridge, he firſt ſent ouer his two great lieutenants of Grecia and Natolia, who paſſing ouer the riuer, encamped themſelues as they thought conuenient. The next morning, about two hours before the riſing of the Sun, *Amurat* ſuddenly aſſailed the great commander of Grecia, *Chaſan Baſſa*, in his trenches, and by plaine force diſcomfited the Turks, and by good fortune tooke from them their tents: whereupon ſuch a terror & feare came vpon the other great commander of Natolia, that his ſoldiers thruſting themſelues I for feare into the riuer, ſwam ouer with great danger, and againe ioyned themſelues with the reſt of the army. *Selymus* troubled with the great loſſe thus receiued, cauſed all his great artillerie to be placed all alongſt the hithermoſt banke of the riuer Euphrates, and becauſe the enemie ſhould not perceiue the ſame, ranged certain companies of his ſoldiers before the ordinance, as if they ſhould preſently haue paſſed the riuer: who vpon ſignall giuen, ſhould forthwith withdraw themſelues and giue place to the great ordnance bent vpon the enemie. But when fire was giuen to theſe great pieces, many of them being ouercharged, burſt in ſunder, and ſlew diuers of the Turks: many alſo of their rich horſes and mules being neere vnto the riuers ſide, and terrified with the thundring ſhot, leapt into the riuer, and were there drowned together with their riders. The Perſians alſo receiuing great loſſe, retired farther off for feare K of the great artillerie. So *Selymus* without reſiſtance paſſing ouer the riuer, marched forthwith toward the enemie, whom the Perſians as men nothing diſmaied, notably incountered. The battel was of long time doubtfull, and much bloud ſhed on both ſides: and if the approch of the night had not broke off that mortall fight, the Perſian armie rather ouercharged with the multitude of the enemie, than vanquiſhed by valour, had vndoubtedly receiued a great ouerthrow; but through the benefit of the night, they without further loſſe eſcaped the purſute of the Turks. Vpon this victorie, *Selymus* left his cariages and baggage with his footmen, and taking with him only his horſemen, ſet forward with intention to haue vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the regall citie of Tauris, before the fame of the late fought battell could bee carried L thither: the Perſians in the meane time being no leſſe carefull of their affaires. The day before, ten thouſand freſh horſemen well appointed, which had not yet bin in the battell, were comming to *Hyſmael*: theſe he craftily laid in the Turks way, commanding them vpon the approch of the enemie to flie as if it had bin for feare. *Selymus* in the morning hauing deſcried theſe horſemen at hand, ſuppoſing them to be ſuch of his enemies as being ouertaken with the night were not able to follow the reſt of his armie, exhorted his ſouldiers couragiouſly to purſue their diſcouraged enemies.

The Perſians ſeeing the Turkes, of purpoſe betooke themſelues to flight, & they ſuſpecting no deceit, followed faſt after them, vntill that about mid-day being wearie of the purſuit, and comming to a little riuer which was in their way, they there ſtaied to refreſh themſelues: and after they had taken a ſhort repaſt, againe purſued the Perſians, ſtill leauing behind them ſuch M as were not able ſo faſt to follow, prickt forward with hope, that before night they ſhould ſurpriſe & ranſack the rich citie of Tauris. The Turkiſh horſemen thus drawn far from the footmen, the Perſian horſemen left in ambuſh, in the meane time ſet vpon the Turkes footmen, lying (as they ſuppoſed) in great ſecuritie, and with a great ſlaughter ouerthrew them: at which time they alſo tooke all *Selymus* his treaſure and great artillerie. Which ouerthrow was by

A ſpeedie poſts, about two a clocke in the night made knowne to *Selymus* (who now in his mind already conceiued the ſacking of Tauris) and withall that the fierce enemie was following him at the heeles. *Selymus* wonderfully abaſhed with this vnexpected newes, and the loſſe of his footmen, forthwith began to retire: which the ten thouſand Perſians which had before of purpoſe fled, perceiuing, now turning themſelues vpon the retiring Turks, charged them hardly: ſo *Selymus* encloſed both before and behind by his enemies, receiued a great ouerthrow: and the Turks thus hardly beſet, and almoſt deſpairing of their liues, & hauing loſt their enſignes, brake out ſidewaies betwixt their enemies and fled. *Selymus* ſeeing all deſperat and forlorne, betooke himſelfe to flight alſo with the reſt: and paſſing the riuer Euphrates, brake down the bridge which he had but a little before repaired, for feare the Perſians ſhould further purſue B him; and with much trouble and no leſſe danger comming at length to Amaſia, aſſembled thither the reliques of his diſcomfited armie. Such of the Turkes as remained behind, and were not able in flight to keepe way with the reſt, were all ſlaine by the Perſians.

The Genoway author thus concludeth his hiſtorie, That the Perſian king did not more reioice at this victorie, than did he himſelfe for the ouerthrow of the Turks, hoping in that their ſo great a confuſion, to free himſelfe of his long and miſerable thraldome, & to find a way vnto his natiue countrey parents: as afterwards he did, for flying firſt to Trapezond and there taking paſſage into Europe, hee came to Hadrianople, from whence he trauelled by land on foot to Salonica, and there chancing vpon certaine ſhips of Chriſtian merchants which had brought corne thither, he was by them tranſported into the Iſland of Chios; from whence he C joyfully returned to Genoa his natiue country, after he had amongſt the Turkes endured ten yeares captiuitie: moſt part wherof he liued as a page in old *Baiazets* priuie chamber, and the reſt as a ſouldier of the court in the raigne of *Selymus*, and therefore well acquainted with the faſhion of the Turkes court, and manners of that barbarous nation.

Now ſhall it not (as I hope) be much from our purpoſe, here with *Ionius* a little to digreſſe in comparing theſe two great Princes *Hyſmael* and *Selymus* together, who in that time had filled the world with the glorie of their fame: that wearied with bloudie broiles, and the wonderfull chances of war, we may a little repoſe our ſelues with matter of a milder vaine, neither vnpleaſant nor vnprofitable.

Selymus and Hyſmael compared together.

Hyſmael maieſticall.

Theſe two mightie princes, as they were for royall diſcent, ſtrength of bodie, courage of D mind, riches, and power, equall, and had therby obtained like fame and renown: ſo in conditions and qualities of mind, and martiall diſcipline, they much differed. Firſt of all (beſide the mutual hatred of the one nation againſt the other, deliuered as it were by ſucceſſion frō their grandfathers and fathers) theſe two princes, and ſo likewiſe their ſubiects alſo, were at great ods about an idle queſtion of their vain ſuperſtition, the one preferring & honoring *Ebubekir*, *Homaris*, and *Ottoman*, as the moſt true and rightful ſucceſſors of their great prophet *Mahomet*: the other with no leſſe deuotion honouring *Haly*, and deteſting the three former; differing otherwiſe in few or no points of their moſt fond ſuperſtition: yet did they vnder the color and zeale of their religion (as they would haue haue it) both pretend iuſt cauſes of warre, although E their euil diſſembled ambitious deſires plainly declared vnto the world, that they both ſhot at one and the ſame marke, *viz.* By confirming their power & ſtrength, to extend the bounds of their great empires. For *Hyſmael* of purpoſe affected the fame and glory of *Darius* & *Xerxes* the antient Perſian kings, who hauing ſubdued Aſia, with great boldnes paſſed ouer into Europe; and *Selymus* the greatneſſe of *Alexander* of Macedon, who ſubuerted the Perſian empire. Which their aſpiring thoughts, masking vnder the vaile of zeale towards their religion, ſeemed not altogether vain, fortune with like indifference immoderatly fauoring their bold ambitious & endleſſe deſires. But in *Hyſmael* appeared ſuch a wonderful deuotion & grauity, that his hautie thoughts were with the reuerend maieſtie therof couered: whereas in *Selymus*, his inhuman cruelty did blot & obſcure all his other princely vertues: for he with reward & puniſhment retained the maieſtie of his empire, but with greater fame of ſeuerity than bountie. F Becauſe it was expedient in the exact diſcipline of that ſeruile gouernment, wherof the greateſt ſtrength of the *Othoman* empire conſiſteth, to vſe all rigor & ſeueritie: otherwiſe then it ſtood with the ſtate of *Hyſmael*, who leauied alwaies his armies of his nobilitie and men free born, with whom temperat iuſtice, ciuile courteſie, & popular clemencie, are of greateſt force, to win their fidelitie, faith, & loyaltie: for that there is no man wel born, which feareth not more the

blemiſh of infamie than the heauines of puniſhment: ſo that it was not to be maruelled, if *Hyſmael* G
by ſuch honorable vertues did mightily defend the glorie of his maieſty and renowne.
Vnto theſe his rare vertues, was alſo ioined a comlineſſe of face (the faireſt gift of nature) wel
beſeeming ſo great a monarch: for he was well colored, quicke eyed, yellow bearded, & that
which amongſt the Perſians is accounted the ſigne of antient nobilitie, hooke noſed, and was
withall exceeding eloquent: by which good gifts, he wonderfully won to himſelfe both the
Selymus tyrannicall.
eies and hearts of ſuch as beheld him. But in *Selymus*, his ſtern countenance, his fierce and piercing
eies, his Tartar-like pale color, his long muſtacho's on his vpper lip, like briſtles, trild back
to his neck, with his beard cut cloſe to his chin, did ſo expreſſe his martial diſpoſition & inexorable
nature, that he ſeemed to the beholders, to haue nothing in him but miſchiefe & crueltie.
Which diuerſitie of countenances was alſo accompanied with no leſſe diuerſity of affections, H
Hyſmael courteous.
and ſo conſequently with farre vnlike manner of gouernment. For *Hyſmael* was of nature
courteous and affable, eaſie to be ſeen and ſpoken withall, doing nothing that beſeemed his regall
function, but in the ſight of all men: his maner was to dine openly in the companie of his
nobility, delighting much in hauking and hunting, accompanied with his noble men and the
Embaſſadors of forraine princes: He would oftentimes run, leape, and proue maſteries with
his chiefe courtiers, being himſelfe a moſt excellent horſman & cunning archer: in his exerciſes
he was ſo popular, that he would not ſtick openly to bathe himſelf & ſwim in his princely
bathes: his wiues, the beautifull daughters of his nobility or neighbor princes, ladies of great
chaſtitie, he neither loathed nor diuorced, after the antient manner of the Perſian kings, who
alwaies vſed moſt tenderly to loue and cheriſh their wiues, doing them all the honor poſſible I
in court, as partakers of all their fortune; and carried them, their children, nurſes, & richeſt furniture
into their fartheſt warres, to their great trouble and charge, by the preſence of ſo deere
Selymus churliſh.
pledges the more to encourage their minds in time of battell. Whereas *Selymus* contrariwiſe
did al things in ſecret, eating his meat alone without any company, attended vpon with his pages
and eunuches only, and ſatisfying natures want with ſome one ſimple diſh of meat: he ſeldome
went abroad but to the church, vpon the friday the Turks chiefe Saboth; and then ſo
beſet with his penſioners and other ſouldiers of the court, that although he vſed to ride alone
mounted vpon ſome couragious horſe, yet was it a hard matter by face to know him among
ſo many armed men, who with great pride and inſolencie kept backe the beholders: hee was
ſeldome ſeen abroad in the city, chuſing rather for his recreation to paſſe ouer in his gally into K
Aſia, and there alongſt the ſea coaſt to take the aire: his wiues he would not ſuffer to come to
court, neither vſed their companie but for procreation ſake, and that (as was thought) without
any great good countenance or familiarity; for that he being not greatly giuen to women, but
more delighted with vnnaturall pleaſure, thought a mans bodie and mind to be not a little
weakned with the allurements of women: wherefore he ſeldome reſorted to the cloiſter of
choice paragons in the middeſt of Conſtantinople, ſhut in on euery ſide with high and blind
wals. Thoſe dainty pieces, either taken from their Chriſtian parents, or by chance ſurpriſed by
pirats, are there moſt curiouſly kept by antient matrons and old eunuches, by whom they are
with all diligence inſtructed in the principles of the Mahometan law, and to read the Arabian L
tongue, and withall, cunningly and comely to ſing, play, daunce, and ſow: but *Selymus* of all
others vſed ſeldome to ſee their allurements, as a man not greatly delighted with women, or
deſirous of many (and oftentimes vnfortunate) children, hauing but one ſon (*Solyman*) by the
daughter of *Muhamet* a Tartar king, who afterwards by the ſufferance of God, proued a great
plague to the Chriſtian commonweale. Such ſpare time as he had from his ſerious & weighty
affaires, he vſed to ſpend in walking in his gardens with ſome of his Baſſaes or other great
courtiers, & in beholding & noting the noblemens children there ſporting themſelues, would
diſcourſe & conſult of many things of great importance. Some houres he would ſpend in the
bathes, and in reading the hiſtories of his anceſtors & other forraine princes: imitating therein
his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who cauſed almoſt all the hiſtories of the famous princes M
of the world to be tranſlated into the Turkiſh language, & their liuely counterfeits to be with
cunning hand drawn, that by their worthy examples he might be the more inflamed to extend
his fame and glory. He would many times ſcoffe at the great buſines of his father *Baiazet*, who
(as he ſaid) was ſo drowned in the ſtudie of *Auerroes* (determining nothing certainely of the
nature of the ſoule) and the motions of the heauens, that he deſired rather the name of a ſharpe

diſputer,

A diſputer amongſt the idle profeſſors of Philoſophie, than of a renowned chiefetaine amongſt
his valiant ſouldiers and men of war.

One of the Perſian embaſſadors finding him pleaſantly diſpoſed, demanded of him, why he
did not weare his beard long, as his father *Baiazet*, and other great princes of that age had don,
therby to ſeeme vnto their ſubiects of greater maieſtie: to whom he anſwered, That he liked
not to carrie about with him ſuch an vnneceſſarie handful, whereby his Baſſaes might at their
pleaſure lead him vp and down the court, as they had done his father: noting therby, that *Baiazet*
whileſt he yet liued, had bin too much ouerruled by the Baſſaes; which he could by no
means indure, following no mans aduiſe but his owne in whatſoeuer he tooke in hand.

But to come vnto the Perſians themſelues, they in their warres had great diſaduantage of
B the Turks: for as they were ſtrong in horſmen, ſo were they deſtitute of expert trained footmen,
by whoſe only meanes the Turks haue atchieued their greateſt victories, and performed
their greateſt wars. Beſide this, it was a great want in the Perſians, that they had not the vſe of
guns, againſt whoſe fury no ſufficient reſiſtance can be made, or force of man oppoſed: as appeared
by the lamentable example of *Vſun-Caſſanes* at Artenga, & now of *Hyſmael* in the Calderan
fields, whoſe victorious armies of horſmen were in both places put to the worſe by the
terror and violence of the Turks artillerie. For the naked Turkiſh horſeman is not to be compared
with the Perſian man at armes; who comes into the field armed with a ſtrong cuiras, a
ſure head-piece, and a good targuet: whereas the Turkiſh Europeian horſemen, altogether
naked, vſe only a ſquare or crooked buckler, wherewith they do ſcarcely couer themſelues:
C and the Aſian horſemen, bucklers made of ſoft reeds, wound round, and couered with ſome
kind of ſilke. The Perſian horſemen alſo, wearing their pouldrons and gauntlets, and bearing
ſtaues of good aſh, armed at both ends, fight with them as occaſion ſerueth at the halfe ſtaffe,
after the maner of the Numidians, and with doubling and redoubling their often thruſts from
on high, doe eaſily wound or kill the vnarmed Turks, with their horſes: whereas the Turkiſh
horſemen, after the manner of the Grecians, couching their ſtaues in their reſts, do at the firſt
courſe moſt commonly breake the ſame, being made of light and brittle firre, and ſo preſently
come to their ſcimitars, or horſemans maces, being in all other things far inferior to the Perſian
man at armes. As for the Turkiſh archers on horſeback, they are in no reſpect to be compared
with the Perſians, who well mounted and ſurely armed, and vſing both greater & ſtronger
D bowes, ſhoot more deadly arrows, & ſo make ſmall account of the Turks. So that al things
well conſidered, the Perſian armie, deuoted to their king, as well for the great and firme opinion
conceiued of his high courage and diuine ſpirit, as for that they were to him by faith obliged,
although it was in number far inferior, yet had it bin of the Turkes inuincible, if it had
not bin ouerwhelmed by the cruell, cowardly, and murthering artillerie, and wonderfull multitude
of men. The cauſe why *Hyſmael* out of ſo many great & large prouinces then vnder his
obeiſance (able in antient times with their multitude to couer the face of the earth, & to drink
the riuers drie) brought now ſo ſmall an army againſt the Turkiſh Emperor, breaking into the
heart of Armenia, was, for that *Hyſmael* to win the hearts of the people by bounty, had remitted
a great part of his cuſtoms and tributes, ſo as then ſtood beſt with his policie, hauing but
E lately aſpired to the kingdome, and thruſt downe his neere kinſmen, the poſterity of *Vſun-Caſſan*
and *Iacup*, the rightfull inheritors thereof: ſo that his coffers being emptie, & wanting money,
the ſinews of war, he was not able to raiſe ſo great an army as otherwiſe he might out of
thoſe populous kingdoms & countries, yeelding plentifully all things neceſſarie for mans vſe.
Whereas with *Selymus* it was far otherwiſe: whoſe horſemen, footmen, captaines, canoniers,
both at ſea and land, officers of peace and wars, receiued their daily wages and monthly paies in
readie money, of his treaſurers and paymaſters: for defraying of which charge he neuer wanted
coyne, hauing an ineſtimable maſſe of money alwaies in ſtore in the ſeuen towers at Conſtantinople:
and his yerely tributes and reuenewes ſtill exceeding all his charges by a fourth
part. The ſtrength of the Perſian king conſiſted in three kind of ſoldiers: the firſt were they
F which were accounted ſouldiers of the court: the ſecond, ſuch as were by cuſtome and dutie
bound to ſerue him in his wars: and the third, ſuch as were ſent to him from the princes his
neighbors and confederats. Thoſe which were accounted ſouldiers of his court, had their certain
ſtipends, and were altogether maintained of the kings charge; of whom, according to the
old cuſtome of the Perſian kings, they at certaine times receiue armor, horſes, apparell, tents,

The Perſians better horſmen than the Turks

The cauſe why Hyſmael came with ſo ſmal an armie againſt Selymus.

and wages, euery one as he is in place and degree. And being attended vpon with a gallant and ſtrong garriſon of theſe, he maintaineth the maieſty of his court, eſpecially when he rideth in prograce. The nobilitie and antient gentlemen of his country, who hold lands and poſſeſſions diſcended vnto them from their anceſtours, or holden by the gift of the king, are ſent for in time of wars, and are of dutie bound to performe ſuch like ſeruice as the nobilitie and gentlemen of Italie, France, and Spaine do vnto their soueraignes: theſe hardly amount to the number of twentie thouſand, whereof it is well if the third part come well armed; the reſt content themſelues with head-pieces and iacks, and vſe for their weapons either horſemens ſtaues or bowes, which they can moſt cunningly handle, diſcharding their arrows very neere vnto that they aime at, either forward or backward. They which come vnto him from forrein princes, confederat or tributary, are commonly ſent from the kings and princes of Iberia, Albania, and the countries bordering vpon Media, and Armenia; who being halfe Christians, beare a mortall hatred againſt the Turkes. *Hyſmael* the Perſian king had then vnder his dominion theſe great and famous countries, Armenia the greater, Sulthania, Perſia, Aſſyria, Meſopotamia, Media and Partia: whereof Armenia is the chiefeſt, famous for the great citie Tauris, called in antient time Ecbathana: this countrey yeeldeth vnto the Perſian king his beſt footmen; but his choice horſemen come from out of Perſia, and eſpecially from Scyras, called of old Cyripolis: next vnto them are from Aſſyria; the chiefe citie whereof is Bagadat, called in antient time Babylon. The Medes and Parthians are of all others accounted the beſt archers next vnto the Scythians.

The countries ſubiect to Hyſmael.

1515

Selymus with a new armie entreth into Armenia.

But now to returne againe from whence we haue a little too farre ſtrayed. *Selymus* after his great expedition againſt *Hyſmael*, wintering at Amaſia, by his lieutenants and captaines in Europe and Aſia, raiſed ſuch a power, that with the firſt of the Spring he entered again into the confines of the Perſian kingdome, with a greater army than before, and that ſomewhat ſooner than the extreame cold of that part of Armenia (ſubiect to the ſnowie mountaine Taurus) would either well ſuffer, or that the enemie thought it had beene poſſible for him to haue ſo done. There was vpon the further ſide of the riuer Euphrates a ſtrong towne called Clamaſſum, ſcituate a little aboue that place where the riuer Melas (much celebrated by the Grecian Poets) falleth into the riuer Euphrates; which towne for the commodious ſcituation thereof, ſtanding vpon the firſt entrance of the paſſage into Armenia the great, the Perſians had furniſhed with a ſtrong garriſon: this towne *Selymus* thought good in any caſe to be maſter of, by taking whereof, and of ſome other holds thereabout, he ſhould open a faire way for himſelfe into his enemies countrey. *Hyſmael* at the ſame time was gone with all his power againſt the Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and other ſauage people dwelling neere vnto the Caſpian ſea, then vp in arms againſt him: which wiſhed opportunitie *Selymus* taking, and making a bridge ouer the riuer Euphrates, paſſed ouer with his armie, came before the towne, and laid hard ſiege to the ſame before his enemies were well aware of his comming. The Turkes at their firſt approch compaſſing the citie round with their huge multitude of harquebuſiers and archers, draue the defendants from the wals; and ſtill without reſt or intermiſſion bringing on freſh men, as *Selymus* had before taken order, and others at the ſame time breaking open the gates, and in diuers places ſcaling the wals, enforced the defendants to forſake their ſtandings, and to retire themſelues into the market place; where although they were before ſore ſpent with labor & wounds, yet did they there with wonderfull courage a great while notably withſtand the multitude of their enemies ſtill ſwarming in, and in defence of their countrie, like reſolute men, fought it out vnto the laſt man.

Selymus hauing taken and ranſacked Clamaſſum, with two other ſmall caſtles which the defendants had for feare before abandoned, although he was with a deadly hatred & ambitious deſire prickt forward againſt *Hyſmael*, and thirſted after nothing more than the ſubuerſion of the Perſian kingdome: yet he thought it not good further to enter into Armenia, before hee had out of thoſe forreſts and mountains chaſed the mountain king *Aladeules*, who but the yere before had moſt trecherouſly done him and his armie ſo many iniuries in his return from the Perſian expedition. For *Aladeules* not without cauſe fearing his owne eſtate, as ſoone as he vnderſtood that *Selymus* had againe taken the field, and that he was come to the riuer Euphrates, and ſo to Clamaſſum, ſpeedily aſſembling his forces, had in ſhort time raiſed a great armie for the defence of himſelfe and his Kingdome: purpoſing that if *Selymus* ſhould goe farther

A into Armenia,then after his wonted maner to looke on as a beholder, and by the euent of the
war,to take occaſion of prey,and by ſhutting vp the paſſages of his country, at his pleaſure to
rob and ſpoile the Turkes in their returne. Wherefore *Selymus* leauing a garriſon at Ciamaſſum,
retired backe againe ouer the riuer Euphrates vnto the mountaine Antitaurus, where it
was reported that his enemies lay.

Aladeules his kingdome.

This *Aladeules* (as is aforeſaid) ruled ouer the rude and ſauage mountaine people, inhabiting
the great mountaines Taurus and Antitaurus: which mountaines as it were linked together
one to another,run from the mountains called Scodriſci, and the borders of Capadocia,
with a perpetuall riſing,through many large prouinces and countries vnto the great mountain
Amanus,and vttermoſt bounds of Cilicia. The people of this countrey were by nature fierce
B and warlike, more famous for nothing than for the want of all things; who as men dwelling
in a rough and bare countrey, could little or nothing profit by husbandrie: yet in ſuch places
as would beare any paſture, they had their breed of horſes and cammels, and did with all diligence
vſe graſing;but the greateſt part of their liuing conſiſted in hunting & ſtealing. Theſe
are ſuppoſed to haue had their beginning from the Galatians, Capadocians, Armenians, and
the old inhabitants of Aſia the leſſe,which by long and continuall wars in former ages,and eſpecially
by the lamentable irruption of the Scithians,were inforced to forſake their cities and
dwellings,and for ſafegard of their liues to flie into thoſe rough and deſolat mountains. Theſe
diſtreſſed people ſearching euery hill and euery dale, and following the opportunitie of the
riuers and fountaines, but eſpecially the mildeſt temperature of the aire, and fauorable aſpect
C of the Sun,built in many places poore countrey villages,and afterwards diuers faire townes:
where in proceſſe of time they growing to better eſtate, there riſe vp ſome amongſt them,
which ouerruling the reſt,ambitiouſly tooke vpon them the name of kings,deſiring to be had
in regard, and to bee feared of their neighbours, although they commanded but ouer rough
woods and ragged rockes. Neere vnto the confines of *Aladeules* kingdome is the citie Orpha,
which many ſuppoſe to haue bin the famous citie Edeſſa, becauſe that as yet there remaineth
certaine monuments of *Baldwin* in latine letters, who after his brother *Godfrey* was poſſeſſed
of Ieruſalem,is reported to haue taken Edeſſa,and there raigned. Not far from thence is alſo
the antient citie Amyda, which at this day is called Caramida, ioyning vpon Meſopotamia:
which countrey lying betweene the two great riuers Euphrates and Tygris, is now called
D Diarbecha. The chiefe citie of *Aladeules* kingdome was Maras,ſo called as may be thought of
the faire riuer Marſias running through it out of the mountaine Cælene, taking the name of
Marſias,ouercome by *Apollo*,and made famous by the verſes of many learned Poets. But *Aladeules*,
after he ſaw that *Selymus* with his armie was entered into the frontiers of his kingdom,
and drawing neere vnto him,brought downe all his horſemen,in number about fifteene thouſand,
from the mountains into a faire large valley;commanding his footmen, whereof he had
great ſtore, to keepe the mountaines on the right hand and the left: where hauing the high
rockie mountaines and ſtrait paſſages much for his aduantage, hee determined in that place
which he had long before choſen and fortified,to expect the comming of his enemies. *Selymus*
conſidering the diſaduantage of the place, although he perceiued the victorie could not
E without great loſſe of his men be obtained, and before perſuaded that his enemies would neuer
haue willingly bin drawne to battell: yet made no doubt to aduenture his fortune,preſuming
vpon the multitude and ſtrength of his armie. Wherefore he commanded *Sinan Baſſa*
the Eunuch (whom he had made generall of the Europeian horſemen in ſtead of *Chaſan Baſſa*
before ſlaine) with a ſquare battell to charge the enemie afront, foraſmuch as the place would
not ſuffer him to range his battell in length, nor to vſe any wings: and hee himſelfe with his
Ianizaries and Aſian horſemen followed after in the rereward. Neither were the ſouldiers of
Aladeules vnmindfull of themſelues or of their king, who valiantly fought in the head of the
battell,but hauing ſpent their arrowes, did couragiouſly receiue the furious aſſault of the
Turkes: and ſtanding cloſe to them,ſtill keeping the aduantage of the ground,did with ſuch
F force repulſe them,that the old beaten ſouldiers of the Turks,ſeemed little or nothing to preuaile
either with their multitude or valor: for the Turks by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe of the
place,could not incloſe them on either ſide, and were beſide grieuouſly wounded by *Aladeules*
footmen,who ſtanding vpon the ſides of the hils with their darts and arrowes from aboue,
ouerwhelmed the Turks in the vally. When *Selymus* ſaw that *Aladeules*,contrary to his

Selymus aſſaileth Aladeules.

expectation made ſtrong reſiſtance, and valiantly withſtood his forces, he drew certaine com- G
panies of harquebuſiers out of his own ſquadrons, and ſent them to relieue their fellowes:
and at the ſame inſtant commanded the Ianizaries for all the danger to mount the hill. Then
the mountain people terrified with the ſtrangenes of the ſhot, and not able to abide the force
therof, by and by turned their backs, and by knowne waies fled into their ſure haunts, in the
mountians & woods faſt by: yet the greateſt ſlaughter fell amongſt theſe footmen, who when
they ſaw the horſmen put to flight, & the Ianizaries comming vp the hils againſt them, did
with much difficultie, by ſteepe and broken waies clamber vp the high mountains: as often-
times it falleth out, that both the ſtrength of mens legs and other their wonted forces faile
them moſt, when ſurpriſed and ouercome with ſudden feare, they deſire to run & flie faſteſt.
The Turks hauing them in chaſe, had the killing of them vntill the going down of the Sun. H
The horſmen with the king, vpon their ſwift horſes, wel acquainted with thoſe rocks & rough
ways, with little loſſe retired themſelues into the further & ſtronger palces of the mountains.

Aladeules flies into the mountaines.

Aladeules after this diſcomfiture, finding himſelfe in all things far inferiour to his enemie,
thought it beſt by protracting the war, to wearie him out: wherfore as the Turks purſued him,
and burnt the poore country cottages ſtanding in their way, hee ſtill fled from mountaine to
mountaine, neuer offering battell or ſhewing himſelfe, but in places of great aduantage: and
therefore *Selymus* fearing leſt in that barren rough and vnknowne countrey, he ſhould either
want victual, or by ſome other means be intrapped, if he ſhould ſtil with his whole armie fol-
low after his ſtrong enemies, vpon the ſeuenth day left off to purſue them any further. And en- I
camping himſelfe in the moſt conuenient place of that countrie, ſent *Sinan Baſſa* with his
light horſemen, who carrying with them certaine daies victuals, ſhould ſtill at the heeles fol-
low the enemie, and with all ſpeed and policie poſſible hunt after the king himſelfe. *Selymus*
in the meane time curiouſly inquiring of the countrey captiues after the ſtrength of *Aladeu-*
les, & what means he had to maintain the war, found, that he had taken with him his beſt men
both horſe and foot, and had commanded the countrie people to forſake the villages, of pur-
poſe to leaue all deſolat to the enemie: and hauing ſurely intrenched himſelfe vpon a certain
ſtrong rock (whither he had before conuaied great ſtore of prouiſion) was reſolued not to giue
battell vnto his enemies, vntill he had drawn them into the impregnable ſtraits of the moun-
tains, where their hugie multitude ſhould little auaile them, but to increaſe their owne loſſe. K
Another cauſe there was alſo (as they ſaid) for that he feared to be betraied by *Alis Beg* his
kinſman, Generall of his horſemen, who firſt fled in the late battell, whoſe vnfaithfulnes and
hatred might ſeeme to proceed of a iuſt ground, for that *Aladeules* had in former time treche-
rouſly murthered his father, vpon a iealous ſuſpition of his aſpiring vnto the kingdome.

Selymus vnderſtanding all this, cauſed the captiues to haue their yrons ſtruck off, and in ſtead
of their gyues lading them with gifts and promiſes, ſent them to *Alis Beg* with ſecret letters
and rewards, to perſuade him in ſo fit a time to reuenge his fathers death, which thing if hee
would perform by ſome notable exploit vpon *Aladeules*, he ſhould both purchaſe vnto him-
ſelfe great credit with *Selymus*, and alſo the kingdom. Theſe homely meſſengers according as
was giuen them in charge, hauing imparted the matter to *Sinan Baſſa*, within few daies had ſo
wrought, that *Alis Beg* (whom the deſire of a kingdome together with *Selymus* his rewards L
prickt forward to ſeeke reuenge) was eaſily drawne to ioine hands with *Selymus*. And when
he could no other way hurt *Aladeules*, who miſtruſting all things, warily looked vnto himſelf,
he found the means to go ouer to *Sinan Baſſa*, carrying after him a great part of *Aladeules* his
beſt horſemen: by whoſe means the reſt alſo which remained being with rewards corrupted,
one companie after another came at laſt all ouer vnto the Baſſa. *Aladeules* circumuented with
this vnexpected trecherie, which neuer before thought it poſſible that his men ſhould all ſo
ſuddenly haue forſaken him & reuolted to the Turks, was now glad to repoſe all his hope in
ſecret flight. But *Sinan Baſſa* & *Alis Beg*, hardly purſuing him as he fled through the mountains &
hiding himſelf in rocks & the thick woods, at laſt drew him out of a caue, being betraied by M
the country peaſants. *Aladeules* being brought to *Selymus*, was within a few daies after put to
death, & his head in great deriſion afterwards caried about through all Aſia the leſſe: & after-
ward by way of barbarous oſtentation, ſent by *Selymus* to the Senat of Venice, as a loathſome
teſtimony of his victory. *Aladeules* thus dead, *Selymus* reduced al his kingdom to the form of a
prouince, which he diuided into three parts, & after the maner of the Turkiſh gouernment, ap-

Aladeules taken & brought to Selymus, is put to death.

A pointed to euery part a Sanzacke: yet ſo, that ***Aliu Beg*** ſhould be chiefe ouer the reſt, with ſuch
ſoueraigntie, as that hee wanted nothing of a king but the name onely. And for the better go-
uernment of all things in that new gained kingdome, hee left ***Sinan Baſſa*** there all the reſt of
that Summer; with commandement, that after he had ſet all things in good order, he ſhould
winter at Iconium; and he himſelfe with a ſmall traine returned to Conſtantinople, for he had
heard, that whileſt he was buſied in his wars againſt ***Hyſmael*** and ***Aladeules*** in Armenia, that the
Hungarians had made diuers incurſions into Seruia, and ſpoiled that countrey. Wherefore for
feare of loſing Samandria (which ſtanding neere to Danubius, for the conuenient ſcituation
thereof is reputed the bulwarke of Seruia and Thracia) hee ſent ***Ionuſes Baſſa*** then Gouernor
of Boſna with eight thouſand horſemen, who paſſing the riuer Savus entered into Croatia as
B far as Catinum: and at the ſame time tranſported another army ouer Danubius into Hungarie,
to the intent that the Hungarians at one inſtant beſet with double danger, ſhould be inforced
to feare their owne State; and withall to ſhew vnto the World, of what ſtrength and power
the ***Othoman*** Emperours were. Deeming it to concerne much, both for the preſent, and
the time to come, to the daunting of the Chriſtians; if hee ſhould by his happie attempts
make it knowne, that hee could at once eaſily and readily maintaine ſo many and ſo puiſ-
ſant armies, and wage ſo great warres in diuers parts of the world, and ſo far diſtant one from
another.

Selymus inuadeth Hungarie.

In the end of the yere, when he had thus with double inuaſion repreſſed the Hungarians, he
ſpent the Winter following at Hadrianople and Conſtantinople, in making of greater prepa-
C ration for war than euer hee had before from the beginning of his raigne. For he was aduerti-
ſed, that the great monarchs of the North his neighbors, namely ***Maximilian*** the Emperour,
Vladiſlaus King of Hungarie, and ***Sigiſmundus*** king of Polonia, with the princes of Germanie,
had combined themſelues together to make warre vpon him. But after he had learned by his
ſure intelligencers (whom he had with great charge ſent into all parts of Europe, diligently to
obſerue what was done in the courts of thoſe great princes) that all the great meetings of the
Chriſtian Princes proued nothing but glorious words and ſumptuous banquets; he being rid
of that vaine feare (God ſo appointing) turned himſelfe and all thoſe his wonderfull prepara-
tions againe toward the Eaſt, to the great quiet of Chriſtendome in generall.

Yet leſt happily in the abſence of himſelfe and of his armies, the Chriſtian Princes might
D take occaſion to inuade his dominions, he ſtrengthened the frontiers of his empire with moſt
ſtrong garriſons, and left his ſonne ***Solyman*** (who afterward proued the ſcourge of Chriſten-
dome) at Hadrianople with a ſtrong power, and ***Pyrrhus Baſſa*** his tutor (a man of great wiſe-
dome and gouernement) at Conſtantinople. This great Baſſa was of Cilicia, a natiue Turke
borne, which was a thing accounted ſtrange, foraſmuch as the great Baſſaes were alwaies cho-
ſen of the Chriſtian bloud. After that, he ſent ***Cherſeogles*** (whom of all others he moſt truſted)
with his armie into Bythinia, and made ***Zafferus*** an Eunuch Admiral of his nauie, which he had
but a little before built, and with a wonderfull labour and charge rigged forth. Then ſtaying
a few daies at Conſtantinople to ſee the young ſouldiers, but then choſing Ianizaries, hee de-
parted thence and went to his old armie, lying with ***Sinan Baſſa*** at Iconium, purpoſing to haue
E againe inuaded the Perſian.

1516

Selymus goeth to Iconium.

When he was come thither, he vnderſtood that ***Campſon Gaurus*** Sultan of Ægypt (with a
great armie leuied in Ægypt and Iudea) was come into Syria; giuing it out that he would aid
the Perſian king his confederat, & with al hoſtilitie enter into Cilicia, if ***Selymus*** ſhould farther
proceed to inuade ***Hyſmael*** the Sophi his friend & allie. ***Selymus*** perplexed with theſe news, &
fearing that if he ſhould once paſſe ouer the riuer Euphrates, ***Campſon*** lying ſo neere in readi-
neſſe, ſhould forthwith breake in at his back into Aſia by the mountain Amanus, and ſo indan-
ger that part of his dominion, ſtaied at Iconium, & ſent his embaſſadors with great preſents to
Campſon to pacifie him, if it might be. The chiefe men in this embaſſage were the Cadeleſ-
F cher, a man of great account amongſt the Turks, and of them exceedingly reuerenced for the
opinion they had of his great knowledge in the Mahometan ſuperſtition, who afterward wrot
the Commentaries of this war; & ***Iachis*** a great captain. The ſcope of whoſe embaſſage was,
to intreat ***Campſon***, that he would not hinder or diſturbe ***Selymus*** from making war vpon the
Perſian king; who had ſo often and ſo forcibly inuaded his dominions in Aſia, and by bring-
ing in a new forme of ſuperſtition, had corrupted and altered the moſt certain grounds of the

Mahometan religion. And if they found him reſolutely ſet downe and not to be by any conditions G
remoued,then with all poſſible diligence to learne his ſtrength and farther deſignes,
ſo far as by any means they could, and with all ſpeed to make their returne.

The cauſes mouing Campſon to fal out with Selymus.

But *Campſon* now far ſpent with age,and liuing in the height of worldly bliſſe,although he
knew it fitter for him at thoſe yeres to giue himſelfe to eaſe & quietneſſe,than to thruſt himſelfe
into wars and other princes quarrels; yet thought this expedition to be for many cauſes
both good and neceſſarie. Firſt,he deadly hated the man for his inhumane crueltie,and therfore
could neuer be perſuaded to renew the league with him which he had in former time
made with his father *Baiazet*: beſides that,he deſired to abate and repreſſe his audacious inſolencie,
grown already by his proſperous ſucceſſe beyond the bounds of reaſon: for *Selymus*
hauing taken Tauris,ouerthrowne the Perſians,and ſlaine *Aladeules*,began now to ſeeme terrible H
to all the princes that bordered vpon him, and there were many which ſaid hee was another
Alexander,who whileſt other princes ſate ſtill as men a ſleepe, did in the mean time plot
in his victorious mind,the monarchie of the whole world. But aboue all things, the feare of
the loſing of Syria,and conſequently the loſſe of all his kingdome (the quickeſt motiue for
ſtirring vp of the ſuſpitious mindes of the greateſt princes) moſt inforced *Campſon* to take in
hand this war: for as much as the goodly kingdomes of Ægypt, Iudea,and Syria, oppreſſed
with the intollerable gouernment of the proud Mamalukes, and therefore leſſe faithfull to
the Ægyptian kings, were in danger to reuolt to the Turks, if the Perſians ſhould by any miſchance
or fortune of war be of the Turks vanquiſhed. For which cauſe *Campſon* in the beginning I
of this war,ſolicited by the Perſian embaſſadors,had made a firme league and confederation
with *Hyſmael*;and alſo moued with the miſerie of the wofull yong prince *Aladin* the ſon
of *Achomates*,was in mind perſuaded, that the cruel Turkiſh tyrant might by his and the Perſian
kings forces,eaſily be thruſt out of his empire in Aſia and Europe. For *Aladin*, who after
the death of *Achomates* his father,fled to *Campſon* the Sultan of Ægypt (as is before declared)
had liued three yeares as a forlorne and diſtreſſed prince in the Ægyptian court, and by all
means he could deuiſe incited the Mamalukes to reuenge the iniuries and cruelty of his vncle
Selymus. The eldeſt ſonne alſo of the late king *Aladeules*,a goodly yong prince,hauing at once
loſt his father,his kingdome,and whatſoeuer he had elſe,was in good time fled to the Ægyptian
king,and had ſo filled the minds of all men with the indignation and deteſtation of *Selymus* K
his exceeding crueltie, that the princes of the Mamalukes of their owne accord came to
Campſon,humbly beſeeching him to take vpon him ſo iuſt a war: and if by reaſon of his great
yeares he ſhould think himſelfe vnable to indure the trauell thereof,it would then pleaſe him
yet to giue them leaue of themſelues to take the matter in hand,for the repreſſing of the inſolencie
of that great and wicked tyrant.

The order of the Mamalukes.

Theſe Mamalukes far excelled the Turkes,not onely in ſtrength of bodie, ſkilfull riding,
and goodly armor,but alſo in courage and wealth. Beſide that, they had not forgotten with
what ſmall power they had vnder the leading of *Caitbeius* their great Sultan,ouerthrown the
Turks great armies in Cilicia,firſt at Adena,and afterward at Tarſus,where they tooke priſoners,
Meſites Palæologus the great Baſſa,and *Cherſeogles*, *Baiazet* his ſon in law: by which victorie
they grew into ſuch a proud and vaine conceit of themſelues,as if they had bin the onely L
ſouldiers of the world, able of themſelues to vanquiſh and ouercome whomſoeuer they
ſhould ſet vpon. Theſe ſo valiant ſouldiers, were for the moſt part of the poore people called
in antient time *Getæ*, *Zinchi*,and *Baſtarnæ*,born neere vnto the Euxin ſea and the fens of Mæotis,
eſpecially on that ſide where the riuer Corax falleth into the Euxine ſea: which countrey is
of latter time called Circaſſia,of the people called Gercitæ neere vnto Cholchis. Theſe miſerable
and wretched people, the Valachians, Podolians, Polonians, Roxolanes and Tartars,
dwelling by Taurica (pulled from their mothers breaſts, or by other violent meanes ſurpriſed)
were ſold to merchants,who culling out the beſt for ſtrength of body,or aptneſſe of wit,
conuaied them by ſea to Alexandria,from whence they were continually ſent to the great M
Sultan of Ægypt: and by his appointment were at Caire (after the old manner of that people)
deliuered to maſters of fence and ſuch other teachers, who carefully inſtructed them, beeing
ſhut vp in their ſchools,in all manner of feats of actiuitie: where after they were become able
to bend a ſtrong bow, and taught cunningly to ſhoot, leap,run,vault,ride,and ſkilfully to vſe
all manner of weapons, they were then taken into pay, and receiued into the number of the

kings

A kings horſemen or Mamalukes: and ſuch of them as prooued cowardly or vnapt,were made
ſlaues vnto the reſt. So that they ſeeing all honor, credit,and preferment, laied vp in martiall
prowesſe,did with all diligence and courage imploy themſelues to militarie affaires,and ther-
in ſo well profited,that oftentimes they which at the firſt were but bare and baſe ſlaues, of the
meaneſt of the Mamalukes,by many degrees of ſeruice riſe at length to the higheſt degrees of
honour. All theſe Mamalukes were the children of Chriſtian parents, from the time of their
captiuitie inſtructed in the Mahometan ſuperſtition: for no man borne of a Mahometan fa-
ther,or of a Iew,could be admitted into the number of the Mamaluke horſemen: which was
ſo ſtraitly obſerued,that the honor of a Mamaluke horſeman neuer deſcended vnto the ſons
of the Mamalukes,yet might they by law inherit their fathers lands,poſſeſſions,and goods:by
B which reaſon the ſonnes of the Sultans themſelues neuer ſucceeded their fathers in the king-
dom. Hereby alſo it came to paſſe,that many Chriſtians of looſe life,or condemned for their
notorious offences,flying thither,and abiuring the Chriſtian religion,and ſuffering themſelues
to be circumciſed,being men meet for the wars,grew by degrees to great honor: as did *Tan-
garibardinus* the ſonne of a Spaniſh mariner,who by his forwardneſſe and induſtrie grew into
ſuch credit and authority with *Campſon* the great Sultan,that almoſt all things were done by
his aduice and counſell;& was diuers times by him employed in moſt honorable ſeruice,be-
ing ſent embaſſador both to *Baiazet* the Turkiſh Emperour,and to the State of Venice, about
matters of great importance. Yet his impietie eſcaped not the hand of God, for at length by
the enuie of the court he was brought into diſgrace,thruſt out of his place, & caſt into priſon,
C where he,loaded with cold yron, moſt miſerably died. Neither was it to be maruelled if the
Mamalukes were growne to that exceſſe of wealth, foraſmuch as the Ægyptians and Syrians
being miſerably by them oppreſſed, were not ſuffered to haue the vſe either of horſe or ar-
mour,neither admitted to any matters of counſell; but being impoueriſhed and brought low
with heauie impoſitions and daily iniuries of the Mamalukes,gaue themſelues wholly to the
trade of marchandiſe,husbandrie,and other mechanicall occupations:ouer whom the Mama-
lukes had power and command,as imperious maſters ouer their ſeruants, & would with grea-
ter inſolencie than is to be beleeued abuſe the poore countrey people, beating and ſpoiling
them at their pleaſure;and not ſo contented,rauiſhing their wiues and daughters without re-
dreſſe. The Ægyptians (a people in antient time much renowned for their valor and prowesſe)
D were by theſe maſterful ſlaues kept in this miſerable thraldome and ſlauerie about the ſpace
of three hundred yeares. For after the declination of the Romane empire, that rich countrey
falling into the gouernment of the Conſtantinopolitan Emperors,the Ægyptians ſoone wea-
rie of the proud and auaritious ſoueraigntie of the Greekes, called in the Saraſins, by whoſe
help they expulſed the Greekes,and after choſe the General of the Saraſins for their king,af-
ter whoſe name the Ægyptian kings were of long time called Caliphes,as they had of antient
time been called by the names of *Pharo* and *Ptolomey*.

The imperious gouernment of the Mamalukes in Egypt,Iudea, and Syria.

The laſt of theſe Caliphes raigned at ſuch time as the Chriſtians vnder the leading of
Godfrey and *Bohemund*,paſſing as conquerors through Aſia and Syria,erected the kingdome of
Hieruſalem. He being inuaded by *Almericus* ſixt king of Hieruſalem,and finding himſelfe too
E weake,praied aid of the Sultan of Syria,who ſent him *Sarraco*, a valiant captain,with a ſtrong
power to aid him: but *Sarraco* no leſſe vnfaithfull than couragious, trecherouſly ſlew the
Caliph,in whoſe aid he came, and tooke vpon himſelfe the kingdome. After *Sarraco* ſuccee-
ded *Saladine* his brothers ſonne, who vtterly extinguiſhed the name and authoritie of the
Caliphes in Ægypt, whom *Sarraco* had yet left as high Prieſts. This *Saladine* oftentimes van-
quiſhed the Chriſtian armies in Syria and Iudea, and at length quite ouerthrew the kingdome
of Hieruſalem,as is in the former part of this Hiſtorie to be ſeene. *Saladin* dying,left the king-
dome of Ægypt to his brother, whoſe poſteritie ſucceſſiuely raigned of long time there,vn-
till the time of *Melechſala*. This *Melechſala* (laſt of the free borne kings,and of the poſteritie
of *Saladine*)had great and mortall warres with the Chriſtians,wherein hauing loſt moſt of his
F beſt ſoldiers,and repoſing no great confidence in the Ægyptians,thought good to ſtrengthen
himſelfe with a new kind of ſouldiers, meere ſlaues bought for money. For at that time the
Tartars breaking into Armenia and Capadocia, and ouerrunning the people called Comani
ioyning vpon Capadocia, made generall ſpoile of that people, as of priſoners taken by law
of armes. Of this baſe people, *Melechſala* for a little money bought a great multitude,

The beginning of the gouernment of the Mamalukes in Egypt.

which he tranſported into Ægypt, and furniſhed them with armes: by whoſe proweſſe he not only defended the frontiers of his kingdome, but alſo beſieged *Lewis* the French king in his trenches not far from Damiata, called in antient time Heliopolis, or Peluſium, and ſhortly after in plaine battel tooke him priſoner, as is long before declared. But in the pride of this victorie, *Melechſala* was by the conſpiracy of theſe his new ſouldiers ſlaine: in whoſe place they ſet vp one *Turqueminius*, a deſperat fellow of their owne companie, honouring him with the title of the great Sultan of Ægypt. *Turqueminius* of a baſe ſlaue now become a great monarch (after the maner of men) forgetting his old companions which had ſo highly promoted him, and hauing them in great diſdaine, was by one of them (called *Clotho*) ſuddenly ſlaine; for which fact he was by thoſe baſe ſouldiers, his companions, choſen Sultan in his place: who for the ſhort time of his raigne did much for the confirming of that ſeruile monarchie: yet was he at length ſlaine alſo by *Bandocader*, ſometimes one of his fellow ſeruants, who alſo ſucceeded him in the kingdom. After him in long order ſucceeded many valiant men of the ſame ſeruile ſtate and condition, whom for breuitie I wittingly paſſe ouer. Amongſt the reſt, *Caitbeius* (of whom wee haue before ſpoken in the life of *Baiazet*) was for wealth and martiall prowes moſt famous; who according to the maner of his predeceſſors, did with greater bountie and care maintain that ſeruile gouernment, than any of them who had before him raigned in Ægypt: and was for his notable gouernment and noble acts iuſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt princes of that age. After whoſe death great troubles aroſe in that ſeruile monarchie about the ſucceſſion. Whereby the Mamalukes drawne into diuers factions, ſome ſeeking to prefer one, and ſome another, had in foure yeares ſpace with ciuile wars ſore weakned their eſtate, and ſlaine diuers of their greateſt princes which had aſpired vnto that kingdome. For appeaſing of which miſchiefes, tending to the vtter ruine of their kingdome, the great courtiers and chiefe men amongſt the Mamalukes with one conſent offered the kingdome to *Campſon Gaurus* (or as the Turks call him) *Canſanes Gauris*, of whom wee now ſpeake, a man of great integritie and courage, and altogether free from ambition. He, terrified with the dreadfull example of ſo many kings whom he had ſeene in ſhort time miſerably ſlaine by the ambitious aſpiring of other proud competitors; when hee was ſore againſt his will hoiſt vp vpon the ſhoulders of the nobilitie and chiefe ſouldiers, and ſo carried into the court, as their manner was, began earneſtly to refuſe the kingdome, and to withſtand their choice, excuſing himſelfe as vnfit for ſo hie a place; and with teares ſtanding in his eyes, beſought the other great lords his friends, that they would forbeare to thruſt him, well contented with his priuat life, into that glorious place ſubiect to ſo many dangers; and the rather, for that he neither had mony to giue bountifully vnto the ſouldiers of the court, as other the Ægyptian Sultans had accuſtomed, neither held that ſufficiencie and authoritie as was requiſit for repreſſing of ſuch violent & ſeditious tumults as were too riſe in that troubleſome time and confuſion of all things.

The moderat and happie gouernment of Campſon.

The nobilitie on the other ſide perſuaded him, That he would not vpon a fooliſh obſtinacie or vaine modeſtie refuſe the offer of his preſent good fortune, but couragiouſly to take vpon him the gouernment of the ſtate, now ſore ſhaken with ciuile diſcord, together with the regal dignitie, which was with the generall good liking of all men ſo frankely offered vnto him. At laſt they all by ſolemne oath promiſed vnto him, That they would with all their power, policie, and wealth, maintaine and defend the maieſtie of his ſtate; and that the men of war ſhould not demand their wonted largeſſe, before the ſame might by his receiuers and treaſurers be raiſed of his cuſtomes and other reuenewes of the crowne. By which perſuaſions *Campſon* incouraged, ſuffered himſelfe to be ſaluted Sultan, and ſo tooke vpon him the gouernment. Afterwards, when he had giuen vnto the men of war ten millions of duckats, by the name of a largeſſe, and by his moderat gouernment had cauſed men generally to haue his proweſſe and wiſedome in admiration, he did with ſuch policie and dexteritie reforme the ſhaken ſtate of that kingdome, before rent in ſunder with ciuile wars, taking away by poiſon and other ſecret deuices, ſome few, the chiefe authors of ſedition, that for the ſpace of ſixteen yeares neither tumult nor noiſe of war was at any time heard of in all Syria or Ægypt: worthie vndoubtedly the name of a moſt excellent and fortunat Prince, if when he had by ſingular wiſedome and policie eſtabliſhed the generall peace and proſperitie of his kingdome, hee could haue there contented himſelfe to haue liued in quiet, and in the winding vp of his life not raſhly haue thruſt himſelfe into the dangerous quarrels of other princes.

The

A The Cadeleſcher and *Iachis* (*Selymus* his embaſſadours) departing from Iconium, came in few daies to *Campſon* the great Sultan, who then lay incamped neere vnto the riuer Orantes, at this day called Farfar. Theſe embaſſadors entertained by *Campſon* with greater bountie than courteſie, and ſhortly after their comming hauing audience in his pauilion, did with moſt temperat and calme ſpeech deliuer their embaſſage. To whom *Campſon* anſwered, That it was the antient cuſtome of the Ægyptian Sultans (foraſmuch as they held the chiefe place in their religion) with all care and induſtrie to keepe the other Mahometan Kings and people in peace and concord amongſt themſelues; whereof he for his part had been alwaies moſt deſirous: and was for no other purpoſe come with his army into his prouince of Syria, than to perſuade *Selymus* to peace. Who if he would needs wilfully proceed in his intended wars againſt *Hyſmael* B the Perſian king, his friend and confederat, he would then do what ſhould ſtand with his honour and place, and not longer ſuffer all to goe to wracke, for the vaine pleaſure and furie of one inſolent and ambitious man. He ſaid alſo, That he had of long time before ſeene into *Selymus* his inſatiable, fierce and troubleſome diſpoſition, who hauing moſt vnnaturally procured the death of his good father the old Emperor *Baiazet*, and ſlaine his brethren, Princes of great valour; ſeuen of his nephewes, princes of no ſmall hope; with many other of his beſt friends and faithfull counſellors; could make no end of his ambitious tyrannie. Wherefore they ſhould tell *Selymus*, that one and all the conditions of peace ſhould be, if he would from thenceforth deſiſt from inuading of *Hyſmael*, and reſtore to *Aladeules* his ſon, his fathers kingdome, which had of long been vnder the defence and protection of the Ægyptian Sultans, as C of right and reaſon hee ought to doe: hee ſhould in ſo doing, beſide his fauor and friendſhip which might greatly ſtand him in ſtead, reape greater fame and glory by an aſſured and honorable peace, than by doubtfull and dangerous warre.

Campſon his anſwer to the embaſſadors of Selymus.

The Embaſſadors, although they knew right well that *Selymus* would not for any threats giue ouer his enterpriſe or lay downe armes, yet to the intent they might the ſooner be diſpatched, and ſo in time aduertiſe *Selymus* of the Sultans ſudden comming, ſeemed wonderfully to like of his motion for peace, and to giue good hope by their reaſonable perſuaſions to induce *Selymus* to like thereof: foraſmuch as they were of his ſecret counſell, and men able to doe much with him; whereby they truſted (as they would haue had the Sultan to beleeue) it would eaſily be brought to paſſe, that thoſe ſparks might be quenched, which all things ſtanding D vpright had not as yet kindled the fire of war. So they being by *Campſon* rewarded, and hauing leaue to depart, trauelling day and night, returned to *Selymus*, who was then come to Cæſarea.

Campſon alſo remouing from Orantes, came into Comagena vnto the famous city of Aleppo, which citie is probably ſuppoſed to haue bin built of the ruines of the antient citie Hierapolis, by *Alepius* the Emperor *Iulianus* his lieutenant, who in that prouince did many notable matters, and called that new built citie after his owne name. It is ſcituate neere vnto the riuer Singa, which riſing out of the mountaine Pierius, with many turnings and windings runneth thorough Comagena, and being but a ſmall riuer, falleth at length into the riuer Euphrates. This citie *Hyalon* king of the Tartars tooke and burnt, at ſuch time as the Chriſtian princes of E the Weſt made warre with the Ægyptian kings, for the kingdomes of Syria and Ieruſalem. Which calamitie notwithſtanding, it was againe repeopled; and is at this day a famous city, for the commodious ſcituation thereof much frequented with merchants from the furtheſt parts of the world. It is ſcarce fiue daies iourney from Tripolis and Berytus, the great ports of Syria, and is alſo neere vnto the Turks and Perſians: ſo that the riches of the Eaſt are hither commodiouſly conuaied out of Turkie, ouer the mountaine Amanus which parteth Cilicia from Syria: and ſo likewiſe out of Perſia and Meſopotamia ouer the riuer Euphrates, where the citie Bytha of late time bounded the kingdome of the Ægyptian Sultans, from the Perſian.

F *Selymus* vnderſtanding by his embaſſadors (who had diligently noted all things in the Sultans camp) both of the comming, and of the number of his enemies, and alſo enformed of the Sultans proud anſwer, who had ſo peremptorily preſcribed to him ſuch vnreaſonable conditions as pleaſed himſelfe: thought good to alter his purpoſe, and now to conuert his forces another way than he had before determined. For that to enter farther into Armenia, leauing ſo puiſſant an enemy as *Campſon* at his back, ſeemed a thing too ful of danger: and to giue ouer

Selymus conuerteth his forces from the Perſians againſt Campſon.

the enterpriſe he had with ſo great care and charge vndertaken, at the appointment and pleaſure G of another man, ſtood neither with his honor or ſtate. Wherfore in a matter ſo doubtful, he reſolued vpon a notable and neceſſarie point, well fitting the greatneſſe of his mind. Hee made ſhew as if he would haue gon directly againſt the Perſian, as he had before determined; and that the more certaine report of this his purpoſe might be carried to *Campſon*, he ſent before part of his armie with his carriages to the citie Suaſſia, in old time called Sebaſta, it ſtandeth in the frontiers of the Perſian kingdome, where the great riuer Euphrates pent vp with the rocks of the mountaine Taurus, breaketh againe violently forth into Meſopotamia: but turning himſelf vpon the right hand, purpoſed to paſſe the mountain Taurus, & breaking ſuddenly into Comagena to come vpon the Sultan before hee were well aware of his comming. Wherefore calling vnto him his truſtie Ianizaries, with the other ſouldiers of the court, hee H openly with cheerfull countenance declared vnto them what he had reſolued to doe with the reaſons of the alteration of his former determination: perſuading them, that the victorie would eaſily be atchieued, if they as couragious ſoldiers would with all celeritie (before the Mamalukes could perceiue they were returned) get vp to the top of the mountaines, and recouer thoſe difficult paſſages; not fearing the vaine names and titles of the Mamalukes. *For why* (ſaid he) *the ſtrength of thoſe horſemen is long ſince decayed and gone: the old Mamalukes, who in the time of* Caitbeius *were of ſome fame and reputation, are all dead. You ſhall in battell meet but with a ſort of gallant horſebreakers rather than ſouldiers, which can cunningly manage their horſes in ſport, to the pleaſure of the beholders, but know not how to encounter the enemy, or to indure to be wounded:* I *who as carpet Knights effeminat with long peace, and corrupted with exceſſe and delicacie of their great Cities, neuer ſaw their foes intrenched, or armed enemies, neither haue heard the ſound of a trumpet, but at plaies or ſhewes. Wherefore you are to make but ſmall account of them, being furniſhed with no ſtore of ordance or ſtrength of footmen. But as the reuerend interpretours of our ſacred Lawes and Religion, hauing orderly performed all their obſeruances, do diuine vnto vs all happineſſe: ſo you as men full of hope, ſet forward cheerefully vnto moſt aſſured victorie ouer your proud enemies. For God no doubt fauoureth the quarrell of men iuſtly prouoked, and offereth meanes of victorie to ſuch as take vp iuſt and neceſſarie armes. Yet to ouercome the enemie, and to enioy victorie indeed, wholly conſiſteth in the courage and valour of them which deeme nothing better or more honourable than to ſpend their liues for the honour of their Prince and Countrey.* Heere the Ianizaries ſhaking their weapons, K forthwith cried out with cheerefull voice, That he ſhould lead and conduct them whitherſoeuer hee would: ſaying, That they were readie as couragious men, to ouercome all the difficulties of thoſe hard paſſages, and patiently to endure all the labors and dangers incident to that warre.

Selymus encourageth his ſouldiers to goe againſt the Mamalukes.

Selymus, by the mountaine people hauing found out the eaſieſt paſſages, reſolued to paſſe ouer the mountaine with his armie in three places: and ſo appointing three great companies of the common ſouldiers and country people, for the opening of the ſtrait paſſages; hee commanded the rough and vneuen waies to bee made plaine and ſmooth, for the tranſporting of his ordnance, and the broken paſſages to be caſt euen, that ſo his baggage and carriages might the better paſſe: and the more to encourage his ſouldiers to take paines, he promiſed preſent reward to all ſuch as in tranſporting of his ordnance, ſhould take any extraordinarie paines. L Whereby it came to paſſe, that the ſame being of the ſmaller ſort bearing bullet of no great height, was in ſhort time by the cheerfull labour of his ſouldiers, drawne ouer thoſe great hils and dales: ſo that in fiue daies all his armie with his baggage and carriages were got ouer the mountain Taurus, and come into the plaines of Comagena. For that mountaine where it taketh the name of Amanus, which is almoſt in the middle where the riuer Euphrates parteth the mountaine Taurus, and the Bay Iſſicus, is neither exceeding high, or yet impaſſable: for as it commeth neerer the ſea, it is not ſo rough as elſewhere, but is in many places inhabited and tilled by the mountaine Cilicians, a fierce kind of people accuſtomed to labor and toile, M who are now called Caramanians, which is to ſay, the inhabitants of the blacke mountaines; for that the burnt rocks of the mountaine ſeeme a far off to be blake.

Alis-Beg which bettraied *Aladeules*, whom *Selymus* had a little before ſent for, as ſoone as the armie was come downe into the frontiers of the enemies country, with a ſtrong power of his light horſmen, ſpeedily ouerran all that country which is at the foot of Amanus and Taurus: therby to vnderſtand of the country people & ſuch as they could take priſoners, where Cam-

A *ſon* lay with his armie; and alſo by keeping the paſſages to doe what might poſſibly be done, that *Selymus* his comming might not be knowne to the enemie.

But *Campſon*, who with no leſſe vanitie than pride had fondly flattered himſelfe, onely by the authoritie and greatneſſe of his name to haue terrified *Selymus*, and ouerruled him at his pleaſure; could not be perſuaded that he was come ouer the mountaine Amanus, vntill certain newes was brought him, that he was encamped with a moſt puiſſant armie within two daies march of him. With which vnexpected newes being ſore troubled, and in the midſt of that danger to ſeeke counſell, as one which began rightly to conſider of his owne ſtrength, and the ſtrength of his enemie; began then to doubt what were beſt for him to doe, and in great perplexitie ſometime hoped well, and by and by was as a man halfe diſcouraged and diſmaied. B And now become exceeding carefull both of his honour and himſelfe, hee began to doubt, whether it were better for him to giue place to ſo great a danger, and ſhunning battell to retire with his armie into places of more ſafetie; or elſe couragiouſly to abide the comming of his enemies, and to hazard the fortune of a battell, although it were vpon great diſaduantage; foraſmuch as he reputed it farre more honorable, after the example of his predeceſſors from whom he had receiued that great kingdom (both gotten and kept by martiall prowеſſe) to die with honor in the field, than by ſhamefull and vnwonted flight, either to blemiſh their militarie glorie continued aboue the ſpace of 300 yeares, or for loue of a ſmall remainder of life, being now 77 yeares old, to ſeeme willing to reſerue vnto obloquie and ſhame his laſt dayes, depriued of all honour and reputation.

The wholeſome counſell of Gazelle for protracting the warre.

C There were amongſt his chiefetaines many, which preferred wholeſome counſell before that which was in ſhew more glorious: but aboue all others, one *Iambard* ſyrnamed *Gazelles* (ſometimes the follower of great *Caitbeius*) a valiant man of great honor, for his long experience in martiall affaires, and at that time gouernour of Apamia. He, as he was of opinion, That to fight with the Turks armie, conſiſting for moſt part of expert ſouldiers, with ſo ſmall a power, were a thing of deſperate danger; ſo was he alſo, that it were good ſpeedily to retire, and to chuſe the citie of Damaſco, as the fitteſt place for thoſe wars: foraſmuch as the Turks army could make no haſt after them, by reaſon of their footmen and carriages, ſo that they might at eaſe and with ſafety retire; and there calling together all the Mamalukes which were in gariſon in Iudea and Ægypt, and entertaining the Arabians their neighbors, to protract the D war vntill Winter, when as they might eaſily diſtreſſe the enemie for want of victuall. And that it was not to be feared, that Aleppo, if it were furniſhed but with a reaſonable garriſon, could by & by be taken of the enemy, who had but ſmal field peeces not fit for batterie. Beſide that, in ſhort time aid would come from the Perſians out of Meſopotamia, yea & *Hiſmael* himſelfe hearing of the Turkes expedition into Syria, was like ynough to breake into Aſia the leſſe: neither would the Christians refuſe to furniſh them with great artillerie from the Iſlands of the Rhodes and Cyprus againſt that common enemie, if they were thereto in time requeſted. All which things being laid together, he ſaid, the Sultan might afterward vpon euen hand goe into the field, if he ſhould thinke it ſo much to concerne his honor, to giue his enemies battell. But for as much as the greateſt wars, which at the firſt had moſt violent and moſt E furious motions, by the politicke enemies delay, did moſt commonly in time grow calme, he ſhould not therefore make too much haſt to aduenture the fortune of battell: for that the errours of war, which many times chanced through the ouerſight or raſhneſſe of the chiefetains, might wel of good men be lamented & deteſted, but hardly or neuer recouered or amended.

Gazelles his graue and conſiderat ſpeech had much moued both the Sultan and others: yet the cheerfulneſſe of the ſouldiers, and fooliſh hardines of the Mamalukes did ſo fill *Campſons* eares, that he could not hearken to ſo good and wholeſome counſel: for as ſoone as they heard certainly of the comming of the Turks, they began to leape and dance, and to reioice among themſelues, that the time was come wherin they might make proofe of their valor, and win to themſelues honor. For now (as they ſaid) was come that time they had long wiſht for, where- F in they would by notable ſlaughter of their enemies, aduance the honor and maieſty of *Campſon* their Sultan far aboue the fame of *Caitbeius*: and ſome euen of the chiefe men about *Campſon*, vpon flatterie and vaine oſtentation, alledging how honorably and with what ſmall labor they had before ouerthrown the Turks great armie at Taurus; perſuading him, that the victorie would eaſily and without any great danger be gotten. But eſpecially *Cajerbeius* Gouernor of Aleppo and of the prouince of Comagena (who after his war ended, was in reward of his G foule treaſon, by *Selymus* vnworthily preferred to the greateſt honours of Ægypt) extolling with glorious words the faithfulneſſe, courage, and valour of the Mamalukes, and extenuating the power and ſtrength of the enemie, forced his wits to the vttermoſt to ouerthrow the wholſome counſell of *Gazelles*.

A ſecret grudge between Campſon and Cayerbeius gouernor of Comagena.

For this *Cayerbeius* for all his faire face bare a grudge in heart againſt *Campſon*, becauſe hee had ſome few yeres before poiſoned his brother, whom he had in jealouſie, being a man next to himſelfe of greateſt power, wealth, and authority amongſt the Mamalukes, and withall of an aſpiring mind. Whereupon *Cayerbeius* afterwards thinking it good to looke to himſelfe, and doubting the like practiſe to be intended againſt himſelf, being, as the maner of that kingdom was, ſummoned to a parliament at Caire, faigned himſelfe ſicke, and would not come: wherwith H *Campſon* was not a little offended, yet for a time he thought it beſt to diſſemble the matter, & to wait ſome fitter opportunity for the taking away of that proud man, ſo forgetful of his duty, and bearing himſelfe againſt his ſoueraigne, as if he had bin an abſolute king in his own prouince: this he thought might moſt couertly be brought to paſſe, if he ſhould vpon the occaſion of the preſent war (as it then fel out) or els vnder the color of going in perſon himſelfe to the riuer Euphrates, come to Aleppo: for it was the manner of the antient Egyptian Sultans, not to account themſelues worthie of the name of a Sultan or great Generall, before they had, as *Caytbeius* had of late done, encamped their army vpon the ſide of the riuer Euphrates at the citie Byrtha (which ſtanding vpon the banke of the riuer, retaineth at this day both the antient I name and fame) and there with ſolemne pompe had in the ſight of the armie forced their horſes into the riuer to drinke: giuing to vnderſtand by that ceremonie, the greatnes of their empire, & that they were readie by force of arms to proue, that all thoſe countries were theirs which lay alongſt the riuer Euphrates, from the mountain Taurus vnto the deſerts of Arabia. But the conſideration of this war letted that he did not at his firſt comming oppreſſe him, becauſe he deemed it to ſtand beſt with his preſent affaires: and not yet knowing the purpoſe of *Selymus*, to expect the motions of the Turks and Perſians, and to defer the execution of his wrath againſt *Cayerbeius*, vntill the end of the war; for feare leſt the other Mamalukes, diſmaied with the hainouſneſſe of the ſudden fact, ſhould either reuolt from him, or els raiſe ſome mutinie or rebellion in that populous citie. Fot *Cayerbeius* had by his courteſie and bountie K many ſtrong companies in the army faſt bound vnto him: and beſide that, was of greateſt credit and authority with them of Aleppo, hauing in his keeping a ſtrong citadell, built vpon the riſing of an hill in the midſt of the citie, which he kept with a ſtrong and ſure garriſon.

But whiles *Campſon* doth thus ſlowly and conſideratly purpoſe his deſtruction, many of the Sultans ſecret friends, to him more officious than faithfull, ſecretly aduiſed *Cayerbeius* to beware of the Sultan, and by ſome good means in time to prouide for his owne ſafetie. He vnderſtanding of the danger, and thinking all delay deadly, ſent ſecret meſſengers vnto *Selymus*, diſcouering vnto him the cauſe of his griefe, and promiſing as occaſion ſhould ſerue to come ouer vnto him, and to deliuer into his power the caſtle with the heart of the citizens, and all the ſtrength of his owne horſemen; thereby to prouide for his owne ſafetie, to reuenge his L brothers death, and to further his victorie againſt *Campſon*: and for performance of promiſes on both ſides, required ſecret hoſtages to be giuen. By the ſame meſſengers he alſo aduertiſed him, what ſtrength the Sultan was of, perſuading him in any caſe to make haſt to giue him battel before he had gathered any greater power. *Selymus* nothing doubted to condiſcend to all that the traitor had requeſted, promiſing of himſelfe farre greater things than euer he had required: aſſuring himſelfe of the victorie, if his enemie ſhould loſe ſo much of his ſtrength by the reuolt of ſo great a commander.

Campſon enforced by the generall conſent of his ſouldiers, and the violence of his ineuitable deſtinie, then at hand, reiecting the good and faithfull counſell of *Gazelles*, at ſuch time as *Selymus* was reported to be at hand; reſolued according to the counſell of the traitor *Cayerbeius*, to dare him battell. He lay conueniently incamped vpon the riuer Singa, almoſt ten miles M from the citie, in ſuch ſort as that his ſoldiers might vſe the benefit of the riuer, and remoued from the houſes and pleaſures of the citie, might yet neuertheleſſe be eaſily relieued with the ſtore and plentie thereof.

The Mamalukes notable ſouldiers.

The Mamalukes were ſcare in number twelue thouſand, but euery one of them, according

A as he was of greater place or calling,ſo had he attending vpon him mo ſeruants, wel furniſhed
with horſe and armor. A goodly and inuincible armie, it the battel might haue been tryed by
true valour. The Mamalukes wearing their beards long and rough, with graue and ſterne
countenance, hauing ſtrong and able bodies, vſed ſuch cunning in all their fights and battels,
that after they had giuen the firſt charge with their launces,they would by and by with wonderfull
actiuitie vſe their bows and arrows,caſting their targuets behind them;and forthwith
the horſmans mace,or crooked ſcimitar,as the manner of the battell or place required. Their
horſes were ſtrong and couragious,in making and ſwiftneſſe much like vnto the Spaniſh Iennets;
and that which is of many hardly beleeued, ſo docible, that at certaine ſignes or ſpeeches
of the rider, they would with their teeth reach him vp from the ground a launce, an arrow,
B or ſuch like thing; and as if they had known the enemie,run vpon him with open mouth,
and laſh at him with their heeles,and had by nature and cuſtom learned,not to be afraid of any
thing. Theſe couragious horſes were commonly furniſhed with ſiluer bridles, guilt trappings,
rich ſaddles,their necks and breſts armed with plates of yron: the horſeman himſelfe
was commonly content with a coat of maile or a breſt-plate of yron. The chiefe and wealthieſt
of them vſed headpieces; the reſt a linnen couering of the head,curiouſly folded into manie
wreathes, wherewith they thought themſelues ſafe ynough againſt any handie ſtrokes:
the common ſouldiers vſed thrumb'd caps, but ſo thicke that no ſword could pierce them.

The order of Campſon his battell.

Campſon of all his armie made foure battells: The firſt was committed to *Cayerbeius*, becauſe
it was in his owne prouince where the battell was to be fought. The ſecond was led by
C *Sybeius*, who for his wonderfull actiuitie was of them called *Baluano*, which in their language
ſignifieth a tumbler, or one that ſheweth feats of actiuitie: he was gouernour of Damaſco, a
man of ſingular faith and valour. Theſe two great Commanders were appointed at once to
charge both the wings of the Turks armie. After them followed *Gazelles* with the third battell,
to ſecond either the one or the other of the two formoſt, as need ſhould require. *Campſon*
himſelfe led the fourth,all gliſtering in guilt armour, behind the reſt almoſt a mile and a
halfe. The laſt was left for defence of the campe.

The order of Selymus his battell.

But *Selymus* according to his woonted manner ſo ordered his battell, that his Aſian horſemen
were in the right wing, his Europeian horſemen in the left, his Ianizaries and artillerie
in the maine battell; before whom in the middle betweene the two wings he placed his moſt
D valiant and gallant penſioners,amongſt whom,contrarie to his woonted cuſtome, he choſe to
ſerue that day.

Cayerbeius as ſoone as he was come neere the enemie, in token of his braue courage, gaue a
hot charge vpon the Europeian horſemen; and by and by, as if he would haue compaſſed in
that wing,wheeled a great way about behind them: where chancing vpon a great company of
ſcullions,drudges,and other baſe people that followed the campe, with an infinite number of
camels and carriages,he made there a great ſtir with little ſlaughter,that as a valiant and cunning
traitor he might in the ſelfe ſame time ſatisfie the expectation of his valour and of his
treaſon togither. In the other wing, the gouernor of Damaſco,to enter vpon the open ſide of
the enemie,forbearing to charge him afront,and turning about his troups on the left hand,entred
E ouerthwart their ranks; where the Mamalukes fought with ſuch furie,that hauing made
great ſlaughter of the Aſian horſemen,they brake in amongſt them, as if it had been a raging
floud,bearing all down before them,vntil they came to the enſignes in the midſt of that wing:
neither could *Muſtapha* the Beglerbeg(who was by birth a Hungarian, & *Selymus* his brother
in law) neither the Imbrahor-Baſſa(or maſter of the houſe)though they did what they might
to withſtand him, after the firſt were ouerthrowne, ſtay the reſt, but that they would needs
turne their backs and flie. So *Sybeius* as a valiant conqueror hauing cut in two peeces the right
wing of the enemies battell, and thruſting in betwixt the battell of the footmen and the backs
of the penſioners,brought a great terror and feare vpon the whole maine battell. The matter
was now brought to extreame danger; for *Selymus* by the breaking in of *Sybeius* was almoſt
F cut off from his footmen,in whom he had repoſed his greateſt confidence. And now the Ianizaries
were hardly charged by *Gazelles*,who following the fortune of *Sybeius*, had ſet vpon
the head of the enemies battell. The Aſian horſemen alſo being put to the worſe, and cut in
pieces,found no meanes how to reſtore againe their diſordered battell.

In this extremitie *Sinan Baſſa* in good time came in with his horſemen: by his comming, for that he had bin but lightly charged by *Cayerbeius* the traitor, and had brought with him many G freſh troups of horſemen, the fury of the Mamalukes was repreſſed, the Turks againe encouraged, and the victorie ſhortly after wrung out of the Mamalukes hands; the great artillery being by the commandement of *Selymus* at the ſame time diſcharged amongſt them, by the terrible thundring whereof, the Mamalukes horſes ſomewhat troubled, could ſo well as before be ruled: neither could the men themſelues, although they were of wonderful courage, much preuaile, being on euery ſide oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies. Yet in that diſtreſſe beeing nothing diſmaied, although they were by *Cayerbeius* and their good fortune forſaken, they were not to ſeeke either of courage or direction: but ſetting themſelues cloſe togither, they brake through the midſt of their enemies, with great ſlaughter of the Europian horſemen, and hurt of the penſioners; and ſo with ſpeed fled towards the campe and citie. H After whom followed *Sinan Baſſa* with the readieſt and freſheſt troupes of his horſemen: for *Selymus* (who that day in the extreame heat, for his wonderfull paines, courage, and direction, ſeemed vndoubtedly greater than himſelfe) riding vp and downe, called earneſtly vpon his ſouldiers to vrge the victorie, and with all ſpeed to purſue their flying enemies.

The death of Campſon.

Campſon had now (his deſtinie ſo leading him) ſet forward, of purpoſe to come to the relief of his men ſent before; or if the Turks ſhould be ouercome, to be partaker of the victorie: when vpon the way he vnderſtood by them that fled, That *Cayerbeius* was reuolted, his armie ouerthrown, and the terror ſo great, as that the flight of his ſoldiers was not now poſſibly to be ſtaied: beſide that, to augment the feare, it was reported, That the multitude of his enemies, I and force of their artillerie was ſo great, that they were not then to be encountred. With which heauie news, the proud old man, who in the perpetuall courſe of his good fortune had neuer taſted of euill hap, was readie for ſorrow and griefe of minde to haue ſunk down to the ground. And forthwith his own men, and the enemy purſuing them, comming vpon him, who in their headlong courſe without regard ouerthrew whomſoeuer they met, euery man making ſhift for himſelfe, without reſpect of others harmes: he being a corpulent man of great yeres, and beſide the heauineſſe of his armor, troubled alſo with a rupture, ouercome with heat and griefe of mind, fainted in that great preiſe, and ſo falling down, was without regard troden to death, after he had with great maieſtie gouerned the kingdomes of Ægypt, Iudea, and Syria, many yeres. The valiant Tetrarchs of Damaſco and Tripolis, whileſt others fled for life, either K to the campe or to the citie of Aleppo, labouring in the hindermoſt of their flying troupes to repreſſe the force of their purſuing enemies, where both fighting honorably ſlain. *Selymus* erecting a few tents in the ſame field wherein the battell was fought, and keeping moſt part of his armie in armes, ſlept not all that night, but ſtood faſt as a man not yet aſſured of his victory or good fortune; fearing leſt men of ſo great valour as were the Mamalukes, ſhould in the couert of the night returne and ſet vpon him in his campe: for he knew right wel, that they were ouercome and put to flight, rather by the treacherie of *Cayerbeius*, and furie of his great ordnance, than by the valor of his ſoldiers. But *Gazelles* and the other Mamalukes, after they certainly vnderſtood of the death of *Campſon*, hauing giuen their horſes a ſhort bait, departed in haſt from Aleppo to Damaſco. L The next day *Selymus* remouing with his armie, took the rich tents of his enemies full of all princely ſtore, which he gaue vnto his ſoldiers for a prey: and marching from thence to Aleppo, had the citie peaceably deliuered vnto him by *Cayerbeius*, where he fauorably tooke the citiſens into his protection; and the more to win their hearts, granted vnto them greater priuiledges than they had in former time enioyed.

Aleppo deliuered to Selymus by Cayerbeius the Traitor.

In this battell were ſlaine not aboue a thouſand Mamalukes, but of their ſeruants and followers a great number; moe being ſlaine in the flight than in the fight, when as their horſes fainting for heat, and dying vnder them for thirſt, many of them were inforced to betake themſelues to their feet, and ſo were eaſily ſlaine of euery baſe horſeman. For a great number of goodly horſes died there, which being foggie fat, and delicately brought vp in cold ſtables, could not endure the vehemencie of the heat, and that vnacquainted trauell: for that day all things were burnt with the ſcortching heat of the Sunne. M

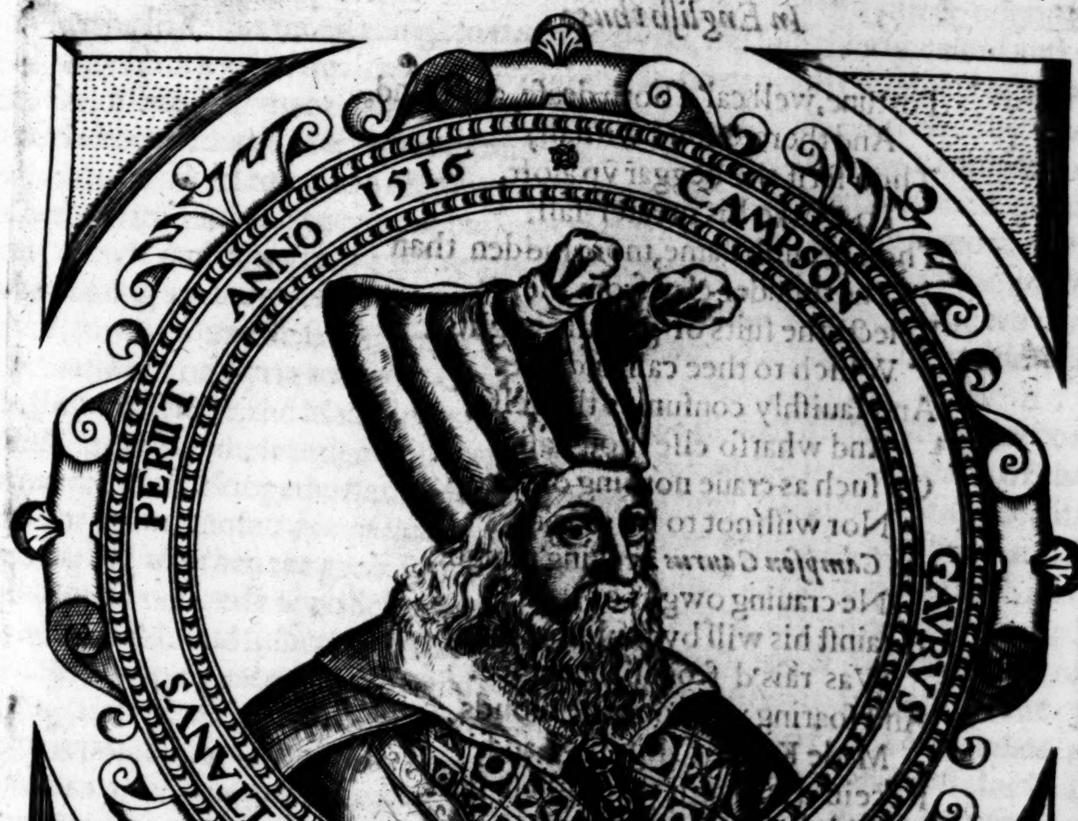
This famous battell was fought the 17 of Auguſt, in the yere of our Lord 1516, the verie ſame day (which is ſtrange to tell) whereon but two yeares before, he had obtained the victorie againſt *Hyſmael* the great Sophie in the Chalderan fields. *Selymus* loſt in this battell three thouſand horſemen: whereby it may eaſily be gathered, That he had there receiued a notable

A dle ouerthrow of his horſemen, if *Sinan Baſſa* in the left wing (which by the treaſon of *Cayerbeius* eſcaped with ſmall loſſe) had alſo happened vpon his *Syberius*, as the other Generall did.

The dead bodie of *Campſon* found two dayes after without any wound appearing thereupon, was by the commandment of *Selymus* laid forth in open place for all men to behold; that ſuch as beleeued him yet to liue, and to be gone to repaire his armie at Caire, might be out of all hope of his returne; and others that were alreadie reuolted, might thereby be the more confirmed, as now out of all feare of him. Not long after, when the dead bodie began to putrifie and grow noyſome, and to conuince the fame of his eſcape, had lien open to the view of all men by the ſpace of three dayes, it was without any funerall pompe or ſolemnitie, ſimply buried in the moſt antient Temple of Aleppo. Of the riſing and fall of this great man, *Ianus* B *Vitalis* hath written this Elogium or Epitaph.

The dead bodi. of Campſon laid out for all men to view.

CAMPSON GAVRVS
Sultan of Ægypt.



Law: Iohnson: ſculp:

Fortuna cæcâ, & ſurda, verè diceris,
Et mente vna prædita.
Ad alta tollis ſcamna in imo conditos,
Vt mox cadant profundius.

Paulus Iouius lib. 4. Elog. virorum illuſt.

Moroſa tu mortalium appetentium
Votum, omne fulmine ocyus
Fugas, deinde ſe nihil petentibus
Benignitate prodigis.
Campſon *vt ille* Gaurius, *nil ambiens,*
Nil te proterua flagitans,
Inuitus imperator or a Ægiptia
Tumultuoſa militum
Ex fece plebis factus inſolentia,
Supra volabat nubila,
Inter receptus altiora ſydera
Mox excidens altiſſimus,
Abſumptus armis hinc & hinc rebellibus,
Grauis ſenecta pondere
Fit ludus atrox impotentis alea
Tuaque pernicacia,
Amiſit & cum vita, opes quas maximo
Cum regno habebat maximas.

In Engliſh thus:

Fortune, well cal'd both deafe, and blind,
And thereto fond withall,
Thou ſetſt the beggar vp aloft,
To worke his greater fall.
Thou peeuiſh dame, more ſudden than
The thunder clap from hie,
Reiects the ſuits of greedie wights,
Which to thee call and crie.
And lauiſhly conſumes thy ſelfe,
And whatſo elſe thou haſt,
On ſuch as craue nothing of thee,
Nor wiſh not to be grac't.
As *Campſon Gaurus* ſeeking nought,
Ne crauing owght of thee:
Againſt his will by ſouldiers rage,
Was rais'd from baſe degree.
And ſoaring vp aboue the clouds,
Made King of Ægypts Land,
Receiu'd amongſt the higheſt ſtars,
Did there in glorie ſtand.
But forthwith falling thence, oppreſt
With rebels, war, and age:
Became the ſcorne of thine ore'thwart
Moſt fierce and fickle rage.
And ſo with life, together loſt
A world of wealth alſo:
Which with his ſtately kingdome great,
He greateſt did forgo.

Selymus comming to Damaſco.

Selymus hauing receiued the citie of Aleppo into his obeiſance, ſent *Ionuſes Baſſa* before M him with a great part of his light horſemen, to purſue his flying enemies to Damaſco, whither he himſelfe in few daies after came alſo with the reſt of his armie, when hee vnderſtood that his enemies were departed thence and fled to Caire. They of Damaſco, thinking it not to ſtand with their good to ſtay the courſe of his victorie, and with their liues to hazard the

A the great wealth of that rich citie: without delay preſently opened vnto him the gates at his
comming. By whoſe example other cities alongſt the ſea coaſt mooued, eſpecially Tripolis,
Berytus, Sydon, and Ptolemais, ſending their Embaſſadours, and receiuing in the Turks garriſons,
yeelded themſelues in like manner.

Not long after, *Selymus* held a great Councel in his camp, which then lay vnder the wals of
Damaſco: for he would not bring his ſoldiers into the citie for troubling the quiet and populous
ſtate thereof, togethet with the great trade of merchandiſe, which at that time was with
wonderful ſecurity kept there by merchants of diuers countries, comming from far, euen from
the remoteſt parts of the world. And in the camp ſuch was the military diſcipline of that moſt
ſeuere Commander, that the ſouldiers (knowing the victorie to giue them no whit the more
B libertie) ſuffered the fruitfull orchards and gardens of the citizens, in the moſt plentifull time
of Autumne, to reſt in ſafetie vntouched, without any keeper. By which ſeuere and ſtrait gouernment
he ſo politickly prouided againſt all wants, that his camp was in all parts furniſhed
with plentie of all things neceſſarie, and that at prices reaſonable. There taking vnto him men
skillfull in the laws and cuſtomes of the countrey, and calling before him the embaſſadors of
all the cities of the countrey, he heard and decided the greateſt controuerſies of the Syrians,
appointed Gouernors ouer the prouinces and cities, took view of the tributes and cuſtoms,
and abrogated many cuſtomes & tributes due vnto the old Sultans, which ſeemed either vnreaſonable
or grieuous to the people; therby to gain the fame of a iuſt & bountiful conqueror.

Notable diſcipline in Selymus his armie.

When he had thus ſet all things in order in Syria, and ſufficiently reſted and refreſhed his
C army; and eſpecially his horſes which with long and continuall trauel were grown maigre and
leane: he of nothing more deſirous than of the conqueſt of Ægypt, and the vtter ſubuerſion
of the Sultans ſtate and Mamalukes gouernment; ſent before *Sinan Baſſa* into Iudea with fifteene
thouſand horſemen, and a ſtrong regiment of harquebuſiers ſelected out of the Ianizaries
and other ſouldiers, to trie the paſſage of that countrey, and to open the way for him to
Gaza, which was thought would be vnto him very troubleſome, by reaſon of the wild Arabians
roaming vp and downe that countrey. The citie of Gaza ſtandeth neere the ſea towards
Ægypt, not far from the ſandie deſarts, whereby men with much difficultie and dangerous
trauell paſſe out of Syria and ſo to Caire.

In the meane time, the Mamalukes who vnder the conduct of *Gazelles* were come to Caire,
D with all the reſt of their order which were thither aſſembled from all parts of the kingdome,
entring into counſel together (as it often falles out in time of danger & diſtres) without al contention
or enuie, choſe *Tomombeius* (of the Turks called *Tuman-bai*) a Circaſſian borne, to bee
their king. He was then the great Diadare, and by his office next in honor and power vnto the
Sultan; whoſe proweſſe & policie was ſuch, that he only in the opinion of all the Mamalukes
was thought able and ſufficient to ſtay and vphold the afflicted & declining ſtate of their kingdome.
He by their general conſent and good liking promoted to the ſtate of the great Sultan,
thinking (as truth was) his owne maieſtie, and the remainder of the Mamalukes hopes, to be
wholly repoſed in arms, and the fortune of battell: began with great carefulneſſe and ſingular
induſtrie to prouide armor, weapons, and horſes from all places; he alſo cauſed great ſtore of
E ordnance to be caſt, and muſtered great companies of ſuch of his ſlaues as ſeemed meet for the
wars: beſide that, he entertained for pay, many of the Moores and Arabians his neighbors.
He alſo for great reward, hired men skilfull of the countries, to go through the deſarts of the
Palmyrens into Meſopotamia, and ſo to *Hyſmael* the Perſian king with letters earneſtly requeſting
him to inuade the Turkes dominions in Aſia the leſſe, or with all ſpeed to breake into
Comagena, being by the departure of the enemy left bare and deſtitute of ſufficient gariſons:
and farther to aduertiſe him, That *Selymus* who then lay in the borders of Iudea, might eaſily
be incloſed with their two armies, and ſo be vanquiſhed, or for want of victuals diſtreſſed: and
the rather, for that there was no fleet of the Turkes vpon that coaſt, able from ſea to relieue
their armie by land, or yet to tranſport them thence in caſe they ſhould by chance of war be
F diſtreſſed, & ſo thinke to return. In which doing, he ſhould both relieue the Ægyptian Sultan
his friend and confederat, for his ſake brought into ſo great danger, and alſo without any great
trouble or perill notably reuenge himſelfe of ſo many ſhamefull iniuries as he had before receiued
from that his moſt capital enemy. Whilſt *Tomombius* doth theſe things, *Sinan Baſſa* the
forerunner of *Selymus*, hauing eaſily repulſed diuers companies of the wild Arabians, who in

Tomombeius by the generall conſent of the Mamalukes choſen Sultan of Ægypt.

Gaza yeelded to Sinan.

manner of theeues and robbers lay vpon the paſſages, had now opened the way, and was come to Gaza: where the citiſens, although they were in heart faithfull vnto the Mamalukes, yet for that to ſhut their gates againſt the Baſſa, and to ſtand vpon their guard without a ſufficient garriſon, ſeemed a matter both perrilous and vnreaſonable, forthwith yeelded their city vpon reaſonable compoſition; and with the plentie thereof relieued the Turks Baſſa, giuing him great (but diſſembled) thanks, that by his means and the good fortune of *Selymus*, they were deliuered from the cruell bondage of the Mamalukes: promiſing for the remembrance of ſo great a benefit, for euer to remaine his faithfull ſeruants. *Sinan* commending their readie good will, required of them all ſuch things as he wanted, or had occaſion to vſe; which they ſeemed willingly to deliuer: and ſo lodged his armie neere vnto the walls of the citie, within the defence of the gardens, purpoſing in that place to expect the comming of *Selymus*.

In the mean time (as he was a man of great experience, and moſt skilfull in martial affaires) he ſought by all means to get knowledge of that deſart and vnpeopled countrie, not inhabited for lacke of water; and eſpecially of the nature of the great ſands whereby *Selymus* was with his armie to paſſe: he alſo woon by rewards the inhabitants of the countrey thereabout, by large offers, to procure vnto him the fauour of the Chieftaines and leaders of the Arabians, neere vnto thoſe places; and alſo to eſpie what the Mamalukes did at Caire, and wherein they repoſed their chiefe confidence, and forthwith to giue him knowledge thereof.

On the other ſide, the citiſens of Gaza, in heart enemies vnto the Turks, as dayly feeling the grieuances of the preſent armie, aduertiſed *Tomombeius* of the comming of *Sinan Baſſa*: and that that power of the Turks armie might eaſily be oppreſſed before the comming of *Selymus*, if a ſtrong power of Mamalukes were ſent thither vnder the conduct of skilfull leaders: promiſing, that if the Mamalukes would at an appointed time vpon the ſudden in the night ſet vpon the ſleepie Turks, they would at the ſame inſtant ſallie out of the citie vpon the campe, and there with fire and ſword doe what harme they could for the ouerthrow of the enemie.

Of this deuice, *Tomombeius* and the Mamalukes liked well, and ſo without delay ſent *Gazelles* ſix thouſand choſen horſmen, and a great number of the Arabians, to performe the exploit vpon *Sinan*: for *Gazelles*, in that his wholeſome counſell had been by *Campſon* and others reiected, (who being ſtraitway deſirous of battell, had raſhly caſt themſelues and the whole State into ſo great calamitie) and afterwards in the greateſt danger of the battell hauing performed all the parts of a politique and valiant Chiefetaine, was growne into ſuch credit, that all men held a great opinion both of his valour and direction.

Sinan aduertiſed of the comming of Gazelles, goeth ſecretly to meet him.

But he was ſcarcely well ſet forth, when aduertiſement was giuen vnto *Sinan* by his Syrian intelligencers, That the Mamalukes with the Arabians were comming thorow the ſandie Deſarts, vpon the ſudden to oppreſſe him; and that they would be with him before two dayes were expired, foraſmuch as they had ſet forward vpon the ſpur, without any carriages or baggage to let them. Which ouerture in good time giuen, as it was the ſafegard of *Sinans* armie, ſo was it of greateſt importance and moment, for the obtaining of the full conqueſt of Ægypt afterward. But *Sinan Baſſa*, although he knew nothing of the treacherie of them of Gaza; yet as a man of a prouident and ſubtill wit, ſuſpecting that ſuch a thing might happen, becauſe he would not at once haue to doe with a double enemy, reſolued to go and meet the Mamalukes vpon the way, and to giue them battell. Wherefore with great ſilence diſlodging his armie betwixt tenne and twelue of the clocke in the night, he ſet forward and marched out of ſight of the citie about fifteene miles toward Ægypt. There was neere vnto that place a little low village, wherein trauellers vſed commonly to lodge, for the commodiouſneſſe of a liuely and plentious ſpring which there riſeth: there by chance both *Sinan Baſſa* had purpoſed to ſtay, and *Gazelles* in like manner had alſo determined to reſt a few houres to refreſh his armie, that he might by night, after he had wel refreſhed his horſes, come vnlooked for vpon his enemies at Gaza: when newes was brought to both the Generals almoſt at one inſtant, by the forerunners of both the armies, That the enemie was at hand.

Gazelles not a little troubled with that vnexpected news, for that he perceiued himſelf diſappointed of his purpoſe; and vnable to fight with his enemies in plaine battel, eſpecially his horſes being ſore wearied with trauell, was inforced vpon the ſudden for the ſafegard of himſelfe and his followers, to reſolue vpon a new reſolution: yet nothing diſcouraged, with cheerfull countenance and liuely ſpeech exhorted his ſoldiers to make themſelues readie for

battaile,

A battell, & that which they could not by policie bring to paſſe, they ſhould now by plain force
performe. *Sinan* on the other ſide hauing ſomewhat ſooner ſet his men in order of battel than
had *Gazelles*, foraſmuch as hee had before at good leiſure taken order what hee would haue
done, if it ſhould come to the point of batell: with conſtant looke and long perſuaſions full
of hope, encouraged his ſouldiers to fight. But the concluſion of all his ſpeech was, That they
ſhould play the men, and not once thinke of flight, foraſmuch as all places about them would
be ſhut vp, and become impaſſable, if they obtained not the victorie: and that aboue all things
they ſhould perſuade themſelues, that no one of them could that day periſh, but ſuch as the
immortall God had by the ineuitable law of fatall Deſtinie appointed to die: and that with
like hazard valiant men found life in the middeſt of their enemies weapons, that cowards by
B immutable Deſtinie found death in their ſafeſt flight.

The battell betweene Sinan Baſſa and Gazelles.

The Baſſa had placed his harquebuſiers in the wings of his battell, which were raunged of
a great length in thin ranks, thereby to vſe their peeces at more libertie, and with more eaſe to
incloſe the enemie: in the middle were placed the horſemen to receiue the firſt charge of the
Mamalukes. *Gazelles* approching the enemie, ſent before the troups of the Arabian light horſ-
men to trouble the wings of his enemies battell, and with a ſquare battell of his Mamalukes
charged the middle battell of the Turks. The battell was a great while moſt terrible, and the
victorie doubtfull: for although the Turks in number far exceeded, yet were they not able to
indure the armed and couragious Mamalukes, but were gald to giue ground; and quite diſor-
dered by the breaking in of the Mamalukes, as men diſcouraged, began to looke about them
C which way they might flie: when by the commandement of *Sinan*, the harquebuſiers, who
with the firſt volley of their ſhot had repulſed the Arabians, wheeling about, encloſed all the
enemies battell. By which means both men and horſe were a far off ſlaine, with the multitude
of the deadly ſhot: where true valor helped not them, ſo on euery ſide incloſed. For where any
troupe of the Mamalukes preſſed forward vpon the Turks, they quickly retired, and in all pla-
ces of the battell as much as they could ſhunned to encounter their enemies with their horſe-
men, labouring onely to gaule them with ſhot. *Gazelles* ſeeing his horſes ſpent with extreame
wearineſſe, and that he was not to expect any further help, his Arabians beginning now to fall
from him; and alſo conſidering, that many of his moſt valiant ſouldiers were either ſlaine or
wounded, and hauing alſo himſelfe receiued a great wound in his necke, he with the reſt of his
D armie made way through the midſt of his enemies; and hauing loſt diuers of his enſignes, fled
backe againe to Caire through the ſame ſandie deſerts whereby he came. In this battell was
loſt the Gouernor of Alexandria, and *Orchamus* Gouernor of Caire (both men of great account
among the Mamalukes) and beſide them a great number of Arabians, with a thouſand or more
of the Mamaluke horſemen. Neither got *Sinan* a ioyfull or vnbloudie victorie hauing loſt
aboue two thouſand of his beſt horſemen, and amongſt them certaine commanders, men of
great marke.

The Turkes wearie of this battell, which had endured from noone till night, and many of
their horſes fainting vnder them, were not able to purſue their enemies, and therefore encam-
ped themſelues in the ſame place where the battell was fought, neere vnto the fountaine. The
E day following they at leiſure gathered the ſpoile, and cutting off the heads of their enemies,
which were eaſily knowne by their long and rough beards, faſtened them vp vpon the Date
trees growing thereby, as well in witneſſe of their worthie labour, as by that ſtrange and hor-
rible ſpectacle to feed the eyes of their fierce Emperour, who was ſhortly after to paſſe that
way, and ſo to manifeſt vnto him the victorie of that day.

In the meane time they of Gaza vpon the riſing of the Sun, perceiuing the Turks camp left
emptie, as men not able longer to diſſemble their couert trecherie, and vainly ſuppoſing that
Sinan Baſſa vpon ſome knowledge of the comming of the Mamalukes, had for feare retired
back into places of more ſafetie, ſuddenly ſet vpon ſuch as were left in the camp, which were
for moſt part ſick and weake men (yet in number many) whom they moſt cruelly ſlew: & pre-
F ſently after ſet vpon 2000 of the Turks horſmen, ſent from *Selymus* to *Sinan*, which by chance
were come thither the ſame day, enquiring with great carefulneſſe what was become of the
Baſſa and his armie; and ſpoiling them of their carriages, put them to flight: who after that
diſcomfiture, ſuppoſing the Baſſa (whom they had thought to haue found at Gaza, tarrying
for the comming of *Selymus*) by ſome miſhap or policie of the enemy to haue been loſt, with

all his armie,and therefore fearefully retiring,were vpon the way miſerably ſlain by the Arabians: neither had any one of them eſcaped, if they had not met with *Iuleb* the Gouernor of Achaia at the citie of Rama: for hee was alſo ſent from *Selymus* to *Sinan Baſſa* with a ſtrong companie of Græcian horſemen, by whoſe comming the fury of the Arabians was well repreſſed. Yet theſe pilfering people ſtill calling forth to the prey more and more of their leaders which dwelt in the mountaines adioyning,and being growne to a great armie,ouertooke the Turks at a village called Carasbara, where they inforced them to fight in a place of great diſaduantage. For the Arabians hauing before taken certain ſtraits,which cloſed in the paſſage at the further end of a large vally,ſhewed themſelues at once,before,behind,and on both ſides of the Turkes: their weapons were bow and arrowes, and long ſpeares armed at both ends, which they nimbly handled,after the manner of the Moores. Theſe weapons they moſt skilfully vſed vpon their ſwift horſes,and both in their charge & retreat wounded their enemies deadly.So that the Turks in number few,and for their horſemens ſtaues inferior to their enemies,durſt not offer to charge them;but keeping cloſe together, hardly defended themſelues ſtill making way as they might: and had vndoubtedly bin brought into extreame danger to haue bin vtterly loſt,had not *Iuleb* with foure peeces of arttillerie which he brought with him for his defence,driuen them which kept the ſtraits from their high places,and ſo opening the way, with all ſpeed brought thorow his men: which ſtraits once paſſed, and comming into the open fields, he with more ſafetie marched forward,skirmiſhing a far off with the enemie with his archers and harquebuſiers,and diſcharging his field pieces where he ſaw the greateſt and thickeſt troups of thoſe wild people.

On the other part,the Arabians diſperſedly houering about them in troups,were ſtil in the taile of the army,and ſuch as were wounded or weak and could not follow the reſt,they ſlew; and ſought by all means to hinder their iourny,not ſuffering them(circumuented with ſo many dangers)either to refreſh themſelues, or to take any reſt. This was vnto the Turks a moſt diſmall day,for many of them tormented with thirſt,and weakned with wounds and extream labour,gaue vp the ghoſt; and now no helpe remained in this deſperat eſtate, being ſtill beſet and hardly laid too with the multitude of thoſe fierce and deſperat enemies:when ſuddenly a great number of other Turks came to them in the mid way vnlooked for, being now in deſpaire and euen at the laſt caſt: for *Selymus* hauing left the Imbrahor-Baſſa with a ſtrong armie vpon the borders of Perſia,for the defence of Syria and Aſia,and hauing ſent for new ſupplies of ſouldiers to Conſtantinople,which ſhould with a great fleet be tranſported into Syria,had now remoued from Damaſco: and the better to prouide for victuals and forrage, which began now to grow ſcant in that waſted countrey;euery day ſent before great troupes and companies of his armie,as it were at certaine appointed times.

Selymus doubting Sinan Baſſa to haue bin loſt becommeth melancholie.

So *Iuleb* deliuered of the preſent danger by the comming in of theſe freſh ſoldiers,met with *Selymus* the next day,and in order told him all that had hapned vnto him and his firſt troupes at Gaza and Rama,and all the way after: and alſo what they ſuppoſed by coniectures to haue chanced to *Sinan Baſſa* with his armie,for the manifold wiles of ſo dangerous enemies. With which newes *Selymus* became exceeding melancholie, and thereupon thought it not good to goe any further,before he perfectly knew how all ſtood with *Sinan*: in whoſe fortune he had repoſed all the hope of his good ſucceſſe in that ſo great an enterpriſe. But whileſt he was in this dumpe,ſuddenly came the Syrian ſpies, who declaring vnto him all that *Sinan Baſſa* had done,conuerted that melancholie paſſion into no leſſe ioy and gladneſſe: for hee ſaw that by that victorie,Ægypt was laid open vnto him,and his deſires as good as halfe accompliſhed in leſſe time than euer he expected.

News of Sinans victory comforteth Selymus.

The next day after,he remoued with his armie to Rama,and by the way as he went(to the terror of others)burnt the dwellings together with the wiues and children of thoſe Arabians, who but a little before had done ſo much harm to his men in their paſſage. And from thence ſending before his footmen to *Sinan Baſſa* at Gaza,he himſelfe with his horſemen turned out of the way vpon the left hand to Ieruſalem,to viſit that moſt antient and famous citie,ſo much renowned both for the antiquitie thereof,and the fame of the religion of the Iewes. That vnpeopled and deſolate citie lay then defaced with the hugie ruins of the old ſacred and ſtately buildings;not inhabited by the Iews,the antient inhabitants therof(who for their inexpiable guilt,as men exiled out of the world,haue no countrey or reſting place) but for moſt part by

a few

A a few poore Chriſtians, who to the great ſcorne and ſhame of the Chriſtian name, payd yerely a great tribute vnto the Sultan of Ægypt, for the poſſeſſion of the ſacred Sepulchre: when as the Chriſtian Princes, flouriſhing at that time with glorie, power, and wealth, could not by any motiue of immortal glory or fame, be incited to reuenge ſo great an iniurie; but deeming it (as ſhould ſeeme) better agreeing with their ſtate, to ſpend their time in idle vanities, or mortall war one againſt another, than in the quarrell of the moſt true and Chriſtian religion.

Selymus hauing reuerently worſhipped the antient monuments of the old Prophets, and done eſpeciall ſacrifice vnto his great prophet *Mahomet*; gaue vnto the Chriſtian prieſts keepers of the place (as vnto good and deuout men) mony to maintain them for ſix months: and ſtaying at Ieruſalem but one night, marched in foure dayes to the reſt of his armie at Gaza: B where by the way he had continuall skirmiſhes both day and night with the Arabians: for they according to their wonted manner were deſperatly at hand in euery place, and where the ſtraitneſſe of the ways inforced the Turks to extenuat their ranks, there would they be readie to skirmiſh with them, and ſuddenly vnlooked for come to handie-blowes; and when they came into the vallies, they tumbled down from the mountains great ſtones vpon them, which they had for that purpoſe before prouided. At which time the Turks harquebuſiers, in whom they had greateſt confidence, ſerued them to little purpoſe: for the weather was ſo tempeſtuous and extreame moiſt with continuall raine, that the pouder in their flaskes became wet and vnſeruiceable, and hardly could they keepe fire in their matches. Yet by the valiantnes of the Ianizaries the matter was ſo vſed, that neere vnto the perſon of the Emperour no great harme C was done by thoſe naked robbers: for climebing vp the hils with pikes in their hands they droue them from their ſtandings, and enforced them to abandon the ſtraits and high places.

But *Sinan Baſſa* (who after his victorie returning to Gaza, had put to death the authours of the late reuolt, confiſcated their goods, and exacted of the people in generall a great ſum of money, as the iuſt puniſhment of their falſe treacherie) hearing now of the comming of *Selymus*, went to meet him with his victorious ſouldiers, furniſhed with the ſpoyles of their enemies. Whome *Selymus* moſt honourably receiued, and gaue generally to the Captaines, and particularly to the moſt valiant of the common ſouldiers, garments of ſilke, with a great ſum of money in reward of their good ſeruice.

1517
Sinan Baſſa goeth to meet Selymus, as hee was comming to Gaza.

After that, he ſtaied but foure days at Gaza, for that he thought it not good to giue any long D time of breathing vnto his diſcouraged enemies, now twice ouerthrowne; or to ſuffer the new Sultan (not yet well ſetled in his kingdom) to grow ſtronger by new preparations and ſupplies raiſed in the moſt populous and plentifull country of Ægypt. Which to let, although it required great haſte in ſetting forward, and ſerued as ſpurs vnto him, naturally haſting to glorie and renowne; yet was his armie to be refreſhed after ſo long and painfull trauell, & great prouiſion to be made for the carriage of water vpon camels all the way through the drie, ſolitarie, and ſandie deſarts. For betweene Gaza and Caire lie vaſt vnpeopled and barren ſands, which moued by the wind, riſe vp in billows in manner of a wrought ſea, ſo troubleſome, that oftentimes it is not poſſible to ſee for duſt: and the light ſands in many places gauled deepe with the winde, wonderfully troubleth the wearie paſſengers. But ſuch a ſudden calme enſued E the great rain which fell but three dayes before, that *Selymus* vnto his great good fortune wanted nothing that he could wiſh, for the happie conduct of his armie: for the aire was become ſo calme, that there was no blaſt of wind to raiſe the ſand to trouble their ſight; and withall, ſuch plentie of water was found almoſt in euery place, by reaſon of the abundant rain, which being not yet ſunke far into the ſand, afforded them water in ſuch plentie, if they digged but two foot deep, that the ſoldiers commonly thought it needleſſe to carrie any bottle of water for feare of thirſt. Yet for all that, the wild Arabians failed not in all that paſſage, on euery ſide to houer about the Turks armie (as hawks ouer their prey) and ſuffered none of them to ſtraggle out of order, or ſtay behind the armie, but they were ſtraitway ſnatcht vp & ſlain. Againſt whom *Selymus* prouided an eaſie remedie, by placing his field pieces in diuers parts of his ar- F mie, which by the direction of the leaders (as euery man hapned to be neereſt vnto the danger) were forthwith diſcharged vpon the roaming enemie. And in the rereward of his army were placed ſtrong companies of harquebuſiers, for defence of the weake and feeble ſoldiers, who could but ſoftly follow the armie, and were therefore moſt ſubiect to danger.

By this meanes *Selymus* with ſome ſmall loſſe receiued from the Arabians, in eight dayes march drew neere to Caire, *Sinan Baſſa* going before him, who with his Europeian ſouldiers ſtill kept one daies iourney before. There is a village about ſix miles diſtant from the citie of Caire called Matharea, famous for the plentie of moſt excellent balme: with liquour of all others moſt fragrant and ſoueraigne, diſtilled out of low trees there planted, whoſe vttermoſt rind the people cut with yuorie kniues to giue the liquor paſſage: which baulme for the notable vertues thereof, being not elſewhere to be had, mens diſeaſes and wanton deſires haue made of a wonderfull price. Into that place neere vnto a village called Rhodania, had *Tomombeius* conuaied all his new and old prouiſion of artillerie; and had drawne deepe ditches ouerthwart al the field, & croſſe the high way, which he had cloſely couered ouer the weak hurlds and earth, as if it had bin firme ground. And he with his Mamalukes (in number about twelue thouſand) and a great multitude of Arabian horſemen lay in places conuenient, of purpoſe that when the Turks battels ſhould approch, they ſhould firſt feele the force of his great ordnance, before they came within the ſhot of their arrowes, and forthwith vpon great diſaduantage, with all his forces ſuddenly to ſet vpon them diſordred and intrapped. All which things were ſo cunningly and ſo politiquely contriued and done, that there was none in the Sultans army which doubted of the good ſucceſſe of that day: and a great miſchiefe had vndoubtedly befallen the Turks, had not fortune which fauored *Selymus*, and frowned vpon *Tomombeius* (or more truly to ſay, the fatall period of that kingdome ſo requiring) by the falſe treacherie of a few fruſtrated the great endeauors of the Mamalukes.

Tomombeius ſeekes to inſtrap the Turks.

There was in the Sultans armie among the ſoldiers of the court, foure Epirot Mamalukes, who grieued to ſee *Tomombeius* (contrary to their deſires) preferred to the kingdom by others of a contrary faction; whether it were vpon a malicious diſpoſition, or vpon hope of reward and better entertainment, or for that in ſo great a declination of their kingdome, they thought it good to ſeeke for new friends of more aſſurance, fled ſecretly to *Sinan Baſſa*, as to a moſt famous captaine, and one of their owne nation. For this great commander *Sinan*, *Selymus* his right hand, was borne in a poore country village of Epirus, in the mountain countrey of Ambracia; whom a wonderfull miſchance preferred to that height of credit and wealth: for it is reported, that a ſow kept in the houſe wherein he was borne, bit off his genitories, being then but a child, as he lay by chance ſleeping in the ſhadow; and being made of greater eſteem by that miſhap, was by them which tooke vp delicate minions for the Turkiſh Emperor, brought to Conſtantinople, and preſented to the great Emperour *Mahomet*, *Selymus* his grandfather: where fortune by the fatall direction of his good hap, aduanced him to his appointed honors, whome ſhee had long before diſmembred. By theſe fugitiue Mamalukes, *Selymus* and *Sinan* were inſtructed of all the deuices of the enemie, and eſpecially what ſtratagems *Tomombeius* had with great cunning and policie deuiſed: whereinto they muſt needs fall, if they ſhould go directly on and not forſake the highway. Wherefore guided by the ſame fugitiues, they fetcht a great compaſſe on the left hand, and by an vnuſed way, before it was day, hauing eſcaped the front of their enemies campe, with all the dangers prepared for them; they came and ſhewed themſelues at their backs in order of battell, with their great artillerie readie bent, becauſe they were deſirous without delay to ioyne battell.

The comming of Selymus by an vnexpected way makes great cõfuſion in Tomombeius campe.

Tomombeius now too late perceiuing that his plot was diſcouered by the treaſon of ſome of his owne people; although he was therewith aboue meaſure grieued, for that all that he had with ſo great induſtrie and the labour of ſo many men brought to paſſe, was through ſpitefull fortune made fruſtrat, and in a moment brought to nought; yet for all that, as he was a man of an inuincible courage) preſently entred into his wonted and deepe deuices, and calling to him his chiefe commanders, quickly told them what he would haue done. Now in this ſhort moment of time he was to do many things at once; the ſignall was to be giuen for the ſoldiers to mount their horſes, and to make themſelues readie, the order of his campe was to be changed, his battel to be ordred, his ſoldiers to be encouraged, and all his great ordnance, as the caſe required, quite the contrarie way to be turned: all which things, as they could but hardly and troubleſomely by one commander be directed, ſo were they haſtily and diſorderly at once done by many. But aboue all other things, the great concourſe of people for turning & remouing the great artillerie, moſt troubled the wel ordring of the reſt: for many of them were hugie yron pieces of great weight, made faſt in ſtocks of wood, with rings & yron claſpes, after the old and rude manner of ſhip ordnance, which for their exceeding aud ponderous weight, could

A could not be out of their places remoued, but by the ſtrength of many horſes, and the great
labour of men, with leauers and roules put vnder them: and ſuch as were mounted vpon carriages
when they were drawne through all parts of the campe, with the great clamour of the
diſordered and haſty people, ſome drawing, ſome thruſting forward the ſame, with their tumultuous
ſtir and doings, wonderfully troubled the other ſouldiers as they were mounting
to horſe and repairing toward their enſignes. But two things maruellouſly helped theſe difficulties,
the ſoldiers cheerfulneſſe, & conſtancie, which was ſuch as paſſeth credit: for they did
not vpon any apprehenſion of feare faile either in hope or courage, as oftentimes it hapneth in
ſudden accidents, wherin euen the old approued ſoldiers do many times faile of their wonted
valor. And although they were twice ouercome in battell, yet ſtill they were of greater ſpirit
B and confidence, as men deſtitute neither of courage or skill, but onely of fortune.

Wherefore *Tomombeius* hauing with much adoo ordered this battell, and his ſoldiers with
great cheerfulneſſe deſiring the ſignall to be giuen, commanded all the multitude of his Arabians
to compaſſe in the wings of the enemies battell behind, and ſo to skirmiſh with them:
that ſo (if it were poſſible) the Turks horſemen might with the danger of the doubtfull fight
with ſuch an vncertain enemie, be diſordered before he ſet forward to charge them with his
troups: and withall commanded his great ordnance (which was now turned vpon the enemy)
to be preſently diſcharged. So did the Turks likewiſe, diſcharging at once from a conuenient
diſtance both their greater & ſmaller ordnance, and ſpeedily recharging them, brought them
within an arrow ſhot; ſo that for a good ſpace they lay beating the one the other on both ſides
C with their great artillerie onely: in which manner of fight the Ægyptian canoniers were almoſt
all ſlaine, and many of their field pieces broken by force of the enemies ſhot. For *Selymus*
had in his camp many excellent and skilfull canoniers, whom he had with great entertainment
allured out of Italie and Germanie: and eſpecially of thoſe refuſe Iewes, which by the zeale
of king *Ferdinand* being driuen out of Spaine, afterwards to the ſhame of the Chriſtians, diſperſed
thoſe rare and deadly deuices through the Eaſt. The chiefe of theſe canoniers was one
Iacobus è Regio Lepidi, a cunning enginer, who but a litle before ouercome by the Turkes rewards,
abiuring the Chriſtian Religion, reuolted vnto the Mahometan Superſtition.

Chriſtian canoniers ſerue the Turks againſt the Egyptians.

But after that the Mamalukes had brought the matter to battel on both ſides, they gaue out
a moſt hideous and dreadfull crie, and with exceeding fury aſſailed the Turks in three places:
D for *Selymus* ſtill keeping his wonted order, approched his enemies with his battel in forme of
an halfe Moone. *Muſtapha Baſſa* had the leading of the Aſian horſemen in the right wing: and
Ionuſes Baſſa, of the Europeians in the left: he himſelfe ſtood in the maine battel with the ſquadron
of his truſtie Ianizaries, and great ſtore of artillerie: but *Sinan* the Eunuch Baſſa, General
of the field, led after him a great number of moſt valiant horſemen, drawne out of euery troup
to be ready againſt all the vncertaine euents that might happen in the battell, vnto whom hee
ioyned fiue hundred harquebuſiers, Ianizaries, men of wonderfull courage and actiuitie, ſelected
out of *Selymus* his owne ſquadron, to relieue ſuch part of the army as ſhould chance to be
moſt preſſed by the enemie.

The order of Selymus his army.

Sinan Baſſa Generall of the field.

So almoſt at one time, whileſt *Tomombeius* ſtood in the maine battell againſt *Selymus*, and
E the wings of the Mamalukes with equall battell encountered the wings of the Turks, and the
Arabians alſo valiantly charging them in the rereward as they had in charge, foure ſharp battels
were at once made in diuers places. It is reported by ſome that were preſent in that battel,
that what for the clamor & crie of ſoldiers, what for the noiſe of drums and trumpets & ſuch
like inſtruments of war, what for the thundering of ordnance, clattering of armor, and riſing
of the duſt, all mens minds were ſo confounded and abaſhed, that running on headlong as men
furious & deſperat, when neither their ſpeeches could be heard their tokens known, their enſigns
ſeen, or captains vnderſtood, miſtaking one another in that hurly burly, they ſlew many
of their friends in ſtead of their enemies: for neuer battels met together with greater hatred,
neither did euer two great kings with leſſe care of their perſons & ſafety more reſolutely or
F deſperatly make ſhew of their ſtrength & courage: for both of them with like danger both of
themſelues and of their armies, ſeeing plainly that they had put both their liues & kingdoms
to the hazard of a battell, promiſed vnto themſelues no other hope of ſafetie, but what they
ſhould obtaine by victory. *Gazelles* deſirous both of honor and of reuenge, to requite the Europeian
horſmen with like ſlaughter as he had before receiued from them not far from Gaza,

with

Sinan Baſſa with moſt of his followers ſlaine by Bidon.

with wonderfull fury aſſailed *Ionuſes Baſſa*, and at the firſt encounter brake his firſt rankes, and G ouerthrew certain of his guidons: at which time the Arabians preſſing couragiouſly in at their backes, enforced thoſe victorious troupes, which in all battels had hitherto carried away the priſe (the very flower of Tracia, Theſſalia, Epirus, Macedonia, and Grecia) to flie and ſhew their backs, which neuer enemie had before that time ſeene. At which time *Sinan Baſſa* carefully attending euery accident, came ſpeedily in with his moſt valiant troupes of freſh men, vpon the ſide of the enemie, and reſtored againe the battell, now declining and fouly diſordered. But whileſt *Sinan*, who in this his laſt worthie labor had interrupted the manifeſt victory of *Gazelles*, was with an inuincible courage valiantly fighting in the head of his battell, he was by the comming in of the couragious captaine *Bidon* with his Mamalukes, ouercharged and ſlaine. His moſt valiant followers alſo laboring to reſcue and carry away his dead bodie, were H by *Gazelles* vnfolding his troupes (that ſtanding thin, they might at more libertie vſe their ſwords, in which manner of fight the Mamalukes far excelled the Turks) for moſt part ſlaine, and the reſt put to flight: and that choſen companie of fiue hundred of the moſt valiant Ianizaries, now deſtitute of their horſemen, when they had moſt couragiouſly done what was poſſible for men to doe, being compaſſed round with the Mamalukes horſemen, were all in a trice cut in pieces and trodden vnder foot. Thus reſteth this Eunuch Baſſa in the bed of fame, who liuing, had the leading of this moſt warlike Emperour *Selymus* his greateſt armies in his moſt dangerous warres.

Muſtapha in the other wing of the Turks battell comming on couragiouſly with his Aſian horſemen, did ſore preſſe the left wing of the Ægyptians (whereof *Helymus* the Diadare, and I *Giapal*, two valiant captaines, had the leading) who but a little before had receiued great harme by the great ordnance which was diſcharged out of the middeſt of *Selymus* his battell ouerthwart the field: which *Muſtapha* perceiuing, and deſiring to blot out the old infamie he had before receiued, did fiercely preſſe vpon them, ſo diſordered, and with his whole troups ouerthrew their broken rankes, and gliſtering in his bright armour, with a loud voice encouraged his Aſian ſouldiers, exhorting them that day with valiant proweſſe or honorable death, to recouer their antient honor of late loſt in the fields of Aleppo.

Muſtapha with his Aſian ſouldiers ouerthroweth the left wing of the Sultans armie.

At the ſame time alſo *Tomombeius* breaking through the middle battell of the Turks horſemen, was entered into the ſquadron of the footmen, with his crooked ſcimitar giuing many a deadly wound, himſelf being a valiant big made man, and of great ſtrength. The Arabians had K alſo in a ring incloſed the vttermoſt parts of the Turks armie, & in many places inforced them to turne their battell vpon them, being ſore charged with a doubtfull fight both before & behind: when *Selymus* ſet forward with his battel of footmen, and his ſquadron of Ianizaries, his laſt and moſt aſſured refuge in that his hard diſtreſſe, whoſe inuincible force, neither the couragious barbed horſes nor their victorious riders were able to abide: for part of them with their harquebuſiers, and the reſt with their pikes, had ſo ſtrongly ſet the front of their battell, that nothing was able to ſtand whereſoeuer that firme battell, linked together as if it had been but one whole entire body, ſwayed. Yet was this cruell battell continued with diuers fortune on both ſides, from foure a clocke vntill the going downe of the Sunne; neither was there any part of their armies, which had not with diuers ſucceſſe and change of fortune, endured the fury L of that battell: for both the victors and the vanquiſhed being enraged with an implacable hatred one againſt another, fought deſperatly as men prodigal of their liues: the Mamalukes diſdaining to haue the victory wrong out of their hands by them whom they had in ſo many places diſcomfited, and the Turks taking it in no leſſe ſcorne, that they, whom but of late they had ouercome & vanquiſht in two great battels, ſhould now the third time make ſo ſtrong reſiſtance. So that on both ſides their fainting hands and bodies both wearied and weakned with wounds, ſupported only with anger & obſtinacie of mind, ſeemed yet ſufficient to haue maintained that bloudie battell vntill the next day, if the darkneſſe of the night now comming on, had not made an end of that dayes ſlaughter.

Tomombeius vndoubtedly vanquiſhed, and fearing to be vtterly ouerthrown, firſt cauſed a retreat M to be ſounded, that his Mamalukes which were indeed not able to withſtand the Ianizaries, might not ſeeme to be put to flight, but rather as men commanded, to retire. Which he thought to concern much both for the encouraging of his ſouldiers, and for the keeping of his own credit & eſtimation with his ſubiects: for now the ſelfe ſame fortune which had deceiued

A his firſt hopes, ſeemed vnto him (as it fareth with them in diſtreſſe, ſtill hoping for better) to
promiſe him more proſperous ſucceſſe, if he were not diſcouraged: but reſeruing ſuch re-
mainders of his forces as were left, he ſhould againe couragiouſly renew the war.

The battell thus broken off by the approch of the night, the Turks as victors enioying the
tents and great artillerie of their enemies, purſued the Mamalukes vntill midnight, who held
on their way to Caire, in manner as if they had fled. This great battell was fought vpon a
Thurſeday, the 24 day of Ianuary, in the yere 1517. The Diadare was taken in the flight mor-
tally wounded, and with him the valiant captaine *Bidon*, hauing in the battell one of his legges
broken in the knee with a faulchion ſhot, wherewith his horſe was alſo ſlaine vnder him. *Sely-
mus* commanded them both the next day to be ſlaine, either for that their wounds were ſup-
B poſed to be incurable, or els for that it was his pleaſure, with the death of thoſe two honorable
perſonages to appeaſe the angrie ghoſt of *Sinan Baſſa*, whoſe death he wonderfully lamented.

Selymus cauſeth the Diadare & the valiant captaine Bidon to be ſlaine.

The Turks although they ſtill preuailed, yet was their armie greatly impaired euen in their
proſperous ſucceſſe and fortunat battels: the fourth part of their armie was conſumed with
ſickneſſe and the ſword, and that dayes labour had tyred a great number of their horſes, be-
ſide the long journey they had before endured. For which cauſes *Selymus* was enforced to
ſlacke ſomewhat of his accuſtomed haſte: for as yet he had no experience of the diſpoſition
of the Ægyptians which dwelt at Caire; neither could he vnderſtand by any certaine report,
where *Tomombeius* ſtayed, or vpon what reſolution he reſted. Which things not throughly
knowne, he thought it not good to commit himſelfe and his armie into that moſt populous
C and ſpacious citie: but ſtaying foure dayes at the village of Matharea and Rhodania, carefully
prouided for his wounded ſouldiers, and cauſed the bodies of ſuch as were ſlain to be buried;
but the dead carkaſſes of his enemies he left to the birds of the aire and beaſts of the field.
And afterward remoouing his campe thence, that he might more commodiouſly water, he
came to the plaines betweene old Caire and Bulach.

In the meane while *Tomombeius*, nothing diſcouraged with ſo many miſhaps, gathering to-
gether the Mamalukes from all places, encamped his armie commodiouſly between the new
citie of Caire and the riuer Nilus; he alſo armed eight thouſand Æthyopian ſlaues (which
kind of men he had not before vſed, for the remembrance of their old rebellion:) beſide
that, he opening the old armourie, put arms into the hands of the Mamalukes ſons, & Moores,
D (his vaſſals) into the hands of the Iewes and Arabians alſo, and couragiouſly prepared for a
greater and more mortall war than before. But foraſmuch as there were many difficulties in
the managing thereof, hauing almoſt loſt all his great artillerie, with many of his moſt valiant
horſemen ſlaine in the former battels; he in his troubled minde did ſo caſt the doubtfull
hopes of his laſt deuice, (which cruell neceſſitie wrung from him) that foraſmuch as he had
by manly force nothing preuailed in open field, he would now altogether vſe policie; as he
which of late hauing vnfortunatly made proof of his ſtrength, his forces yet al whole, thought
it not good again to aduenture the fortune of a battell: neither was he in hope if he ſhould ſo
do, to be able with his ſmall power and deſperat ſupplies to protract the war vntill the heat of
Summer, as he deſired. Wherefore he reſolued by night to aſſaile the Turkes campe, and if
E poſſibly he could, to ſet it on fire. For which his deuice he ſeemed to haue two reaſons:
whereof the one conſiſted in the ſpeedie execution, that he might deſperatly attempt to doe
ſome notable exployt in the night, before the enemie ſhould perceiue the weakeneſſe of his
power, which was not great, and ſcambled vp on the ſudden; as alſo before he himſelf ſhould
grow into contempt with the naturall Ægyptians; who deſiring nothing more, than to caſt off
the ſeruile yoke of the Mamaluke gouernment, with wauering mindes expected but ſome fit
occaſion to rebell: The other was, That by the benefit of the night he might auoyd the dan-
ger of the great ordnance; which in ſudden accidents, and eſpecially in the darkeneſſe of the
night, ſerueth to little or no purpoſe: in which kinde of ſtrength he had before to his great
loſſe learned, that his enemies were too good for him. But theſe his reaſonable policies, when
F all things were in readineſſe to haue put the ſame in execution, were in like manner as the firſt,
ouerthrowne by the treaſon of ſuch as ſecretly reuolted from him to the enemie.

Tomombeius his purpoſe diſcouered to Selymus.

For *Selymus* vnderſtanding the whole plot by certain Mamalukes (which hauing the kings
euill fortune in contempt, as it commonly falleth out with men in miſerie, dayly forſook him)
commanded his armie to be always in readineſſe, and making great fires in diuers parts of his

campe, kept moſt carefull and vigilant watch. By which his diligence it came fitly to paſſe, G that the night following, *Tomombeius* approching his campe, was repulſed, with no ſmall loſſe of his firſt troupes which vnaduiſedly were gone on too farre: and had no doubt that night thereby receiued his laſt ouerthrow, but that he wiſely miſdoubting the vnwoonted light of the fires ſhining in all parts of the campe, in time called backe his haſting troups, which were themſelues with more haſte than good ſpeed marching into the verie mouth of the Turkes great artillerie, bent of purpoſe vpon them.

Tomombeius diſappointed of his purpoſe, by perſuaſion of his Chieftains retired to Caire: for the Mamalukes ſtill put to the worſe in plaine field, thought it beſt to proceed in another manner; perſuading him, with the whole ſtrength of his armie to man all the conuenient places of that great citie, otherwiſe expoſed to the enemies pleaſure, and ſo to keepe the Turkes H from entring. For they as men brought to this extremitie, that they muſt now fight for their dwellings, liues, wiues, and children; thought it more honorable, and better agreeing with their antient glorie, ſo to do in their ſight, and in the entrance of their houſes, than elſewhere further off. Wherefore the Mamalukes comming home to Caire, furniſhed all their families and flat roofes of their houſes, with all manner of weapons: euery one of them now humbly requeſting the Ægyptians their neighbours, to take vp armes againſt the Turkes their antient and mortall enemies, and not to ſuffer themſelues to be cowardly ſlaine, their goods ſpoyled, and their wiues and children carried away into moſt miſerable captiuitie; foraſmuch as the mercileſſe and greedie enemie, if he ſhould once get the victorie, would no whit ſpare them, although they ſhould as neuters ſtand looking on, and helpe neither partie: for victorie (as I they ſaid) alwayes full of inſolent pride, would know no friend but ſuch as with reſolute hand did their vttermoſt deuoire in time of danger for the obtaining thereof.

The Egyptians diuerſly affected toward the Mamalukes.

There were many of the wealthieſt of the Ægyptians, who as they thought the change of the ſtate would be hurtfull to their trades and wealth, ſo were they readie in all they could to helpe the Mamalukes their old lords: ſo on the other ſide there were many of the middle ſort of the citiſens, and a far greater multitude of the baſeſt ſort of the vulgar people, who hauing little or nothing to loſe, liued in hope now to make a gaine of other mens loſſes; and withall, remembring what miſerie and ſlauerie they had endured about the ſpace of three hundred yeares, vnder the proud gouernment of the Mamalukes, kept themſelues cloſe in their houſes, expecting the laſt euent of wars; and ſecretly reioycing in their hearts, that the time was K come (God ſo appointing) wherein their outragious and cruell maſters ſhould be iuſtly and worthily puniſhed for their oppreſſion and hard dealing; and that which gladded them the more, was, That the reuenge ſhould be taken by the hazard of other mens liues, with which wiſhed ſpectacle they well hoped ſhortly to fill their deſirous eyes.

Tomombeius with much labour and greater care, fortified all the gates and entrances of the citie, appointed vnto euery ſtreet a particular captain, in euery publique place encouraged the people, omitting nothing that could poſſibly be done or deuiſed; and that which in ſo great a calamitie and danger was of all other things the hardeſt, with cheerefull countenance and vndaunted courage made ſhew of greateſt hope. The Mamalukes alſo, beſide the neceſſitie (which in caſes of extremitie is of power to encourage and make deſperate the faint hearted L coward) prouoked with emulation, ſtraue amongſt themſelues, who ſhould beſt performe all the duties of worthie captaines and ſouldiers: for euery one of them according to his conceit and deuice, cauſed great ditches or great timber logs to be caſt ouerthwart the ſtreets; ſome in couert trenches ſet vp ſharpe ſtakes, whereupon the enemie falling vnawares might be gaged, otherſome according to their ſtore, furniſhed the windowes and fronts of their houſes in the greateſt and moſt open ſtreets, with harquebuſiers: all which things with many moe, were done with ſuch celerity, that none of the beſt and moſt honorable of the Mamalukes refuſed to handle a ſpade or a mattocke, or to put his hand to any other baſe labour; ſo that nothing could be ſooner deuiſed, but it was forthwith performed.

The diſcription of the great city of Caire.

This great and antient citie of Caire was not compaſſed with any walls, yet were there M diuers gates and entrances which led vnto it: whereof one broad ſtrait ſtreet came directly from the Eaſt gate vnto the caſtle and middle of the citie; the reſt were ſo narrow and crooked, that by them no great artillerie could poſſibly be brought, or ſoldiers enter without great danger. Into this place eſpecially had *Tomombeius* conueied his chiefeſt ſtrength; for that he knew his

enemies

A enemies muſt of neceſſitie come in that way for the largeneſſe of the ſtreets;the other parts of
the citie he kept with leſſe garriſons.But the innermoſt part where the caſtle ſtood, was kept
with a verie great & ſtrong garriſon of moſt valiant ſoldiers : that whither ſoeuer the clamor
of the enemie or danger of the battell ſhould call, they might ſpeedily from thence come
with reliefe. For why,that citie of all others the greateſt,could not with ſo ſmall power as *Tomombeius*
then had, be in euery place & entrance ſufficiently defended: for within the circuit
of Memphis (now called Caire) are contained three great cities, which ioined one to another
with ſtragling bridges,make one citie, whereof the greateſt and moſt populous, is at this day
called New Caire. It lieth in length ſix miles,alongſt the riuer Nilus,from which it is equally
diſtant a mile : the breadth thereof,exceedeth not a mile and a quarter.In the midſt therof
B is a caſtle ſtanding vpon a little riſing ground,ſomewhat higher than the reſt of the city;more
notable for the beautie and greatneſſe thereof,than for the manner of the fortification: for in
it were many princely gardens, a faire ſtreet with many large galleries, diuers faire tilt-yards
and courts, with ſtately chambers opening euery way : the vtter part thereof was garniſhed
round about with towers,fortreſſes, and beautifull battlements,from whence all parts of the
citie,the riuer Nilus running by, and the high Pyramides,were moſt pleaſantly to be ſeene.
Not far from this princely pallace, is a lake made by the hand of man,the water wherin deriued
from the riuer Nilus,is on euery ſide incloſed with moſt ſtately buildings ; and is a place
of wonderful pleaſure,when as a man ſtanding at a window may take both fiſh & foule,wherof
there is in the lake great ſtore. Another lake there is far greater and fairer than this,in form
C of a triangle, in the vttermoſt part of this new citie of Caire toward Bulach: it is filled at the
riſing of Nilus by a great ſluce made of ſtone with yron floudgates, and being ioyned to the
great riuer by a broad channel,is able to beare ſmall boats and barges ; wherin gentlemen for
their diſport vſed to ſolace themſelues both by day & night in courting their miſtreſſes.The
houſes were all gallantly built afront al about the lake,with porches garniſhed with open galleries,
and paued with ſmooth marble euen to the brim of the lake! there the citizens in their
more proſperous times vſed to row vp and downe in boats,and with pleaſant muſicke to delight
the liſtening eares of the hearers.On the Eaſt ſide of this lake ſtood a moſt ſumptuous &
ſtately pallace,the late worke of queene *Dultibe* wife of the great Sultan *Caietbeius*, for maner
of the building and inward beautie far exceeding the other proud buildings of this pleaſant
D place:for the wals gliſtered with red marble,and pargeting of diuers colors, yea all the houſe
was paued with checker and teſſeled worke;the windowes and gates were made of alablaſter,
white marble,and much other ſpotted marble;the poſts & wickets of maſſie yuorie, checkered
with gliſtering black ebonie, ſo curiouſly wrought in winding knots,as might eaſilier ſtay
than ſatisfie the eies of the wondering beholder : neither was the furniture in it inferiour to
the magnificence of the building,but ſuch as might fitly anſwer both a princes ſtate,& a womans
quaint deſire. All which things ſhortly after (*Selymus* hauing obtained the victorie)carried
to Conſtantinople;not ſparing the very wals,but plucking them down,ſo to take out the
curious ſtones whole. Beſide the goodly buildings about that lake, in euery place of New
Caire was to be ſeene the faire houſes of the chiefe Mamalukes, more commended for their
E commodiouſneſſe,than for the manner of their building. The reſt of the buildings of the city
was but low,repleniſhed with the common ſort of baſe people.There are yet extant in diuers
places of the citie,three churches of the Chriſtians;wherof one is holden in greater reuerence
than the reſt,for the fame of a low vault in the ground, where it is reported the virgin *Mary*
flying the fury of *Herod*,to haue repoſed herſelfe with her child *Chriſt Ieſus* the Sauiour of the
World : another dedicated to the virgin *Barbara* : and the third to S. *George*,which amongſt
thoſe nations are of great fame.Vnto the citie of New Caire, the citie of Bulacha is ioyned
almoſt with continuall buildings. It is of an high and ſtately building, lying cloſe vnto the
riuer Nilus,and was in Summer time frequented by the Mamalukes and other noble men,that
they might at their pleaſure from their high places behold the inundation of that famous riuer.
F There land all the ſhips which come vp the riuer;yet the great meeting of the merchants
is at New Caire.On the other ſide of the riuer ouer againſt Bulach, are many cottages made
of hurdles and leaues of Date trees,the dwellings of poore fiſhermen and watermen. A little
aboue Bulach is old Caire,which is alſo ioyned vnto the new city with continual buildings;
yet diſtant from it about two miles and an halfe, and ſtandeth alſo faſt by the riuer of Nilus.

The pyramides of Egypt.

Ouer againſt it in the midſt of the riuer is an Iſland, notable for the pleaſantneſſe of the gardens and banqueting houſes therin: in it is an antient temple, famous for the loue of king *Pharaos* daughter and the danger of *Moſes* (a moſt antient hiſtorie, yet euery where there ſtill freſh in memorie.) But moſt part of the buildings of old Caire, are now grown into gardens & rude ruins. It is ſuppoſed by many probable coniectures, that there ſomtime ſtood the antient citie of Memphis. Vpon the banke of the riuer, the late Sultan *Campſon* built a ſumptuous tower, ouertopping the caſtle in new Caire, to conuay water thither out of Nilus; which being by many wheeles and ingenious deuiſes forced into the top therof, and there receiued into great ciſterns, was from thence by pipes of ſtone & lead, conuaied into all places of the kings great pallace at new Caire. About fiue miles diſtant from old Caire on Affricke ſide, ſtand the Pyramides, monuments of the barbarous Ægyptian kings vanitie; whoſe proud names and titles Time hath worne out of thoſe huge and wonderfull buildings, of purpoſe made for the vaine eterniſing of their fame and endleſſe wealth; ſo that of them it may now well be ſaid,

Miramur periÿſſe homines? monumenta fatiſcunt:
Interitus ſaxis nominibuſque venit.

What wonder we that men doe die? the ſtately tombes do weare:
The verie ſtones conſume to nought, with titles they did beare.

Within them are the ſepulchers of the old Ægyptian kings, diuided into chappels, garniſhed with ſtone of great price curiouſly wrought. Yet are thoſe places loathſome of ſmel, and for darkneſſe thereof, dreadfull to behold: for as men go downe to come into them by a narrow way, almoſt ſwarued vp with rubbiſh, their lights are oftentimes put out with the dampe of the earth and ſwarmes of remiſe flying about their eares. Some hauing got to the tops of them, report, that the watch tower of Alexandria, and the mouth of the riuer Nilus where it falleth into the ſea, is from thence well to be ſeene: and that for the great height of them, a man cannot ſhoot an arrow ſo high as the midſt of the lower tower wheron the ſpire ſtandeth. Of theſe outragious buildings, are written many ſtrange and almoſt incredible things, as that an hundred thouſand men ſhould be occupied continually by the ſpace of twentie yeres, in building of one of them: during which time, the charges for roots, garlike, and onions only, amounted to 1600 talents of ſiluer. Theſe wonderfull Pyramides only excepted, nothing is in the three cities more to be wondered at than the multitude of the people, who in number almoſt incredible go vp and downe euery ſtreet: but for moſt part ragged and torne, for that they which held any wealth, durſt not make any ſhew therof for feare of the Mamalukes. The common people did then generally liue with mutton, hens, and riſe, whereof the countrey yeeldeth plentie: neither had they as yet the knowledge of the curious but vnwholeſome forced diſhes, and prouocations of gluttonie, which other nations had to their great coſt and hurt inuented. But againe to our purpoſe.

Selymus encourageth his ſouldiers to the winning of Caire.

When *Selymus* vnderſtood aſſuredly, that *Tomombeius* was retired into Caire, and that the Mamalukes hauing thither aſſembled all their ſtrength, were reſolued there to proue the vttermoſt of their fortune: he with his army drew neerer vnto the citie, exhorting his ſoldiers to ſet downe themſelues that day for euer to vanquiſh and ſubdue their enemies, whom they had ſo many times before ouerthrown; & now a little to force themſelues for the gaining of the rewards due to their former labors and victories: which (as he ſaid) would be ſo many and ſo great, as they had not the full thereof before in their immoderat deſires imagined. Telling them moreouer, that there was but a few good ſoldiers left with the deſolat Sultan, who alreadie wounded and terrified, and not able longer to keep the field, had made choice to end their days in the fight & arms of their wiues and children. Beſide that, he made them beleeue, that he was voluntarily ſent for by the Ægyptians, deadly enemies vnto the very name of the Mamalukes, whoſe vtter deſtruction they earneſtly expected: and had therefore promiſed him for the rooting vp of that wicked & cruell kind of men, to aſſaile them as occaſion ſerued out of their houſes, & ſo to further his victory: yet neuertheles he ſaid, That the accompliſhment of the whole matter, & to make a ful conqueſt, conſiſted in the ſubduing of thoſe weak remainders of the vanquiſhed & ſcattered army; foraſmuch as they were not to be accounted as men

quite

A quite ouercome, which did yet liue in hope, with weapons in their hands, poſſeſſed of the chiefe citie and ſeat of their Empire. Wherefore that they ſhould thinke, That in the fortune of that day, reſted the good or bad eſtate and condition of all their liues, honours, and fortunes. Aſſuring them, that it would be a matter but of ſmall labour and trauell, to bring it to a wiſhed end, if they would in that new kinde of fight (as they had alwayes valiantly in other battels vnder his conduct) but reſolue with themſelues, that they would ouercome.

This his ſpeech much inflamed the minds of his ſouldiers, but the hope of ſo great a prey much more: ſo that being in good order and readie, they expected but the ſigne of the aſſault. When *Selymus* entering by the gate called Baſuela, did at one inſtant thruſt in his horſemen at diuers places of the great citie; but his Ianizaries he brought in by the greateſt and largeſt B ſtreet. At the firſt entrance of the citie, horſemen encountred with horſemen, and made a bloudie fight in the narrow ſtreets and lanes: but the footmen placing their culuerins & falcons before, and ſuddenly diſcharging them where they ſaw the thickeſt troupes of their enemies, cleered the ſtreet directly before them. But when they came to the barricado's & trenches, and were by force to remooue the timber logges and other like things lying croſſe the ſtreets, and ſo to paſſe the trenches, the Mamalukes on the other ſide valiantly withſtanding them; they fought with ſuch force and obſtinacie on both parts, that in the memorie of man was neuer a more fierce and cruell battell ſeene. For both the Mamalukes and the Turkes in that fight ſhewed the vttermoſt of their ſtrength and power: not ignorant, that in that, as in the laſt, they were to fight not for honour onely, but euen for their liues and empire; when as C greateſt rewards, or elſe extreame miſerie, were by dallying fortune on both ſides propounded both to the vanquiſhed and vanquiſher. At theſe barricado's the Turks receiued great loſſe, as alſo at the trenches; for they vnaduiſedly running on, the hindermoſt ſtil bearing forward the foremoſt, tumbled by heapes one vpon another into the couert trenches, and were there miſerably impailed vpon the ſharpe ſtakes, for that purpoſe before ſet vp by the Mamalukes. The women alſo and children, with manly courage threw downe ſtones and tyles, and ſuch other things from the tops of their houſes, and out at their windowes, vpon the Turks: and they on the other ſide as they could eſpie them, fetcht them off from thoſe high places with their harquebuſies, or elſe violently brake into the houſes from whence they were aſſailed, and there fought with diuers ſucceſſe. But moſt part of the Ægyptians, diligently obſer- D uing the fortune both of the one and of the other (accounting them both for enemies) with diuers affection aſſailed ſometimes the Turks, and ſometime the Mamalukes, ſeeming ſtill notably to helpe that part whom they ſaw for the time to haue the better. Many cruell and moſt terrible incounters were at once made in diuers places of the citie: for as they croſſed from ſtreet to ſtreet, ſomtime the one, and ſomtime the other hapned vpon new troups of enemies, and they which as victors purſued their enemies afront, were by others following them at the heeles, ſlain downright; ſo that in the victorie no man could aſſure themſelues of ſafetie. The lanes and ſtreets (a moſt horrible thing to behold) did ſo flow with the bloud of them which lay by heapes ſlaine, that the duſt which at the firſt roſe wonderfull thicke, was quite layd, as with a plentifull ſhoure of raine: the aire was darkned with the ſmoke of ſhot, and ſhoures of E arrowes: and ſuch was the clamour of the people and ſouldiers, the clattering of armour, and report of the artillerie, that the earth ſeemed to tremble, and the houſes to fall downe.

A moſt mortall battel fought in Caire.

This dreadfull and doubtfull fight endured two whole dayes and nights without intermiſſion: yet ſo, that the Mamalukes in number few, and not able to endure ſo long labour & watchings, giuing ground by little and little, and forſaking their firſt munitions, retyred themſelues further into the citie. The third day, beſet with the greateſt dangers that could be, as to loſe themſelues with all that they had, (which commonly enforceth mens courages in their laſt attempts) they renewed the battell with ſuch reſolution, that they conſtrained the Turks to retyre a great way, and for haſt to leaue behind them certaine of their field pieces. With which repulſe it is reported, that *Selymus* diſpairing of victorie, commanded to ſet fire F vpon the houſes; mooued thereunto with iuſt diſpleaſure againſt the Ægyptians, for that *Ionuſes Baſſa*, now his greateſt man of war, had euen before his face receiued a dangerous wound in his head, by a ſtone caſt out at a window.

A long and terrible fight.

Now were the houſes pittifully burning, and the Ægyptians weeping and wailing cried for mercie. The Turks themſelues fought but faintly, expecting the ſound of the retreat: when newes was ſuddenly brought by many at once, that the enemies in the other ſide of the citie, were by *Muſtapha Baſſa* enforced to retire, and afterward had betaken themſelues to flight, as to their laſt refuge. For *Muſtapha* by the ouerture of the Ægyptians and fugitiue Mamalukes, was directed to a faire broad ſtreet, where the Mamalukes had left their horſes readie ſadled and bridled; that if the worſt ſhould chance, they might thither retire, & taking horſe, ſpeed themſelues to ſuch places of refuge as they had before thought vpon. All theſe horſes, reſerued by the Mamalukes as their laſt refuge, *Muſtapha* tooke away, hauing before put to flight the garriſon which kept them, which was but weake, conſiſting for moſt part of horſe-boies, & muletors; as ſafe enough in ſuch a place of the citie as was leaſt to be ſuſpected and feared.

This accident (as it oftentimes falleth out in great and vnexpected miſchances) did not a little daunt the courage of the Mamalukes: who now ſeeing themſelues hardly beſet, and that dreadfull battell by no other hope or helpe maintained, but onely by courage; being in their own iudgement ouercome, betooke themſelues to flight. Moſt part of them haſting to the riuer of Nilus with *Tomombeius* (who in that battell had all in vaine proued the vttermoſt of his proweſſe and policie) being tranſported ouer the riuer in boats, fled into the country of Segeſta: others of them hid themſelues in the houſes of the Ægyptians, and in the loathſome corners of the citie. A thouſand fiue hundred of the better ſort of the Mamalukes fled vnto the greateſt Temple of their vain Prophet: where after they had a great while valiantly defended themſelues as out of a ſtrong caſtle, becauſe they would not yeeld themſelues but vpon honourable conditions, at laſt ouercome with thirſt, wearineſſe, and wounds, together with the

Caire taken by Selymus.

furie of the great artillerie, they yeelded themſelues to the pleaſure of the conqueror: part of whom the furious ſouldiers ſlew in the porch of the ſame Temple, and the reſt within a few daies after were ſent downe the riuer to Alexandria, there to be afterwards murthered.

Selymus hauing thus gained the victorie, forthwith ſent part of his armie to quench the fire then raging, and cauſed proclamation to be made through al the city, That all the Mamalukes which would yeeld themſelues within twelue houres, ſhould bee taken to mercie; but vnto ſuch as yeelded not within the appointed time, ſhould remaine no hope of life. Vnto the Ægyptians alſo that ſhould reueale the hidden Mamalukes, he propoſed rewards: but to ſuch as ſhould conceale them, he threatned to impaile them vpon ſtakes, and hauing ſold their wiues and children to burne their houſes: vpon which proclamation, many of the Mamalukes before crept into corners, came forth and yeelded themſelues, & were forthwith caſt into yrons. All which were ſhortly after, contrarie to his promiſe, moſt diſhonourably murthered in priſon, becauſe (as it was giuen out) they ſought means to haue eſcaped. Many of the Ægyptians which would not breake the bonds of faith and fidelitie with the Mamalukes their old *lords*, beeing appeached by their malitious neighbours, moſt conſtantly died for their *friends*, for whoſe ſake they had vowed themſelues to death.

With this victorie the Turks growing inſolent, ranſackt euery place of the citie, drew out the Mamalukes that had hid themſelues, and ſlew them, rifled the houſes of the Ægyptians, as wel friends as foes, & left nothing ſhut vp or in ſecret. And ſome there were, which at one time in the ſame houſes raged with couetouſneſſe, crueltie and luſt; euery man fitting his own humour, whereunto hee was by nature or cuſtome inclined: for that in time and place of ſo great libertie, moſt men, but eſpecially the common ſouldier, flattereth himſelfe to the full, making conſcience of nothing, but meaſuring all thing according to his inſolent and diſordered appetite. The ſame day that *Selymus* tooke Caire, *Gazelles* (who but a little before by the commandement of *Tomombeius*, was gone to Thebais, to aſſemble the Arabians and to entertain new ſupplies) came to Caire; but finding all loſt, and ſeeing no poſſibility either by force or policie to preuaile, and therefore thinking it not good againe to proue the fortune of war, which had ſo often with contrary courſe fruſtrated the endeuours both of himſelfe and his partakers, he came to *Selymus*, vpon his faith before giuen for the ſafetie of himſelfe and his followers (which were three Arabian captains, & a number of good horſmen) & being admitted to his preſence, in the midſt of his greateſt captaines boldly ſpake vnto him as followeth:

Gazelles his ſpeech to Selymus.

If fortune, whom by thy great valour thou haſt woone to bee thy friend, had not enuied our felicitie, thou ſhouldeſt not haue (moſt noble Selymus*, at this time, after that all things haue giuen place vnto thy valour) matter whereby thou mighteſt excell others in worthineſſe of mind alſo. Whilſt*

we

A *we were in arms againſt thee for our liues and kingdom, our wealth and ſtate yet ſtanding whole, we alwaies as men proudly preſuming vpon their owne vaine ſtrength, made little account of thee or the name of the Turkes; yea to ſay the truth, we hated thee as became enemies: But now that wee haue to the vttermoſt of our power made proofe of thy force, and haue in all battels beene put to the worſe; admiring both thy wonderfull and diuine prowesſe, and moſt proſperous victories (not giuen thee without the prouidence of the immortall God) wee humbly come vnto thee by thy goodneſſe to better our hard and aduerſe fortune: that thou by ſparing and pardoning thy vanquiſhed and yeelding enemies (by which onely vertue men come neereſt vnto the gods) maieſt extend thy name and fame aboue the bounds of the reſt of thine immortall glorie. Wee haue faithfully ſerued* Tomombeius, *ſo long as hee held the ſtrength and maieſtie, yea but the name of a king, or liued in any countenance: but ſeeing hee is* B *(his Deſtinie ſo requiring) driuen out of his countrey, and wandereth the deſarts, with vncertaine report whether he liue or not; wee come vnto thee, rather as men of him forſaken, than ſuch as haue forſaken their Prince; readie to ſhew vnto thee our loyaltie and valour in our better condition and ſtate: if we may by thy goodneſſe, changing our hard fortune, liue and ſerue vnder thy worthie conduct.*

Selymus, for that he right well knew *Gazelles* both for his vertue and valor, wherewith valiant men win credit euen with their greateſt enemies, and alſo deſiring to ioyne in league and friendſhip with the Arabians (or rather Alarbes) whom he knew of all others to be moſt to be feared, receiued them all courteouſly: appointing vnto euery one of them an honourable pen- C ſion, and perſuading them to forget their old eſtate, willed them to looke for far greater things of his bountie. Not long after, when as the Moores and wild Arabians, with certaine Mamalukes that were fled to the citie of Achaſia, made incurſions into the country about Caire, and oftentimes did cut off the Turkes which went any thing far from the citie to ſeeke abroad for forrage, he ſent *Gazelles* with part of his armie to repreſſe them: who hauing quickly won and ſackt Achaſia, and ſlaine moſt part of thoſe aduenturers, to his owne great praiſe, and the wonderfull contentation of *Selymus*, honorably returned in leſſe time than was expected.

In the meane time, *Tomombeius* in the countrey of Segeſta (which is on the other ſide of Nilus towards Cyrenaica) miſerably beſet with ſo many miſchiefes, began to make head againe. There were come vnto him a ſtrong companie of Mamalukes from Alexandria, which D he had by letters ſent for out of the garriſon of that citie, and many others had followed him in his flight from Caire. And there were not wanting many great men amongſt the Arabians and Moores (the inhabitants of that countrey) which promiſed him their helpe and furtherance. Beſide that, many of the Ægyptians, whoſe houſes and families were become a prey & booty vnto the inſolent Turks, promiſed him, That if he would by night come to Caire, they would raiſe ſuch a tumult in the citie, as ſhould eaſily worke the confuſion of the Turks; forasmuch as they all hauing endured moſt horrible indignities and villanies, could no longer abide thoſe moſt inſolent men to rage and raign ouer them. They ſent him word alſo, that the Turks huge army was now brought to a contemptible number, moſt part of them being ſlain in the battell at Caire: and the reſt being for the greateſt part brought to extreame weakneſſe E with wounds and ſickneſſe. For which cauſes, as *Tomombeius* his forces increaſed daily, ſo hope alſo, which neuer failed the poore vanquiſhed and diſtreſſed king, began now alſo to reuiue in his inuincible heart, aboue the condition of his miſerable eſtate. So that fawning fortune, which euen then moſt cruelly and deſpightfully went about vtterly to ſupplant him (of all other diſtreſſed princes moſt miſerable) ſeemed but then firſt to change her frowning countenance, and to promiſe vnto him more happie and proſperous ſucceſſe.

Albuchomar diſcouereth to Selymus the power of Tomombeius, and the trecherie of them of Caire.

Whileſt *Tomombeius* was making this preparation, one *Albuchomar*, an Ægyptian, for authoritie and wealth the greateſt man by far in all the countrey of Segeſta, whether it were to auert the miſerie of the preſent war out of his countrey, or elſe by the pleaſure of his reuolt to gain the good liking of *Selymus*, vpon whom all things ſeemed to fawne, came and certified him F both of *Tomombeius* his ſtrength, & of the new practiſes of the citizens of Caire. Whereupon *Selymus* cauſed ſtrong watch and ward to be kept in all places of that great citie: and ſuch citizens as he ſuſpected to fauor *Tomombeius*, he ſhut vp into the caſtle, which being before abandoned by *Tomombeius*, was then together with the citie in his poſſeſſion: and placed al alongſt the Riuer, boates furniſhed with men and artillerie, to keepe and defend the farther banke of Nilus, and to impeach *Tomombeius* his paſſage ouer. Yet conſidering with himſelfe, with how great danger he had ſo many times fought with thoſe deſperat enemies, and what a difficultie it would be to intercept *Tomombeius*, (protracting the war in thoſe vaſt and vnknowne countries, and ſtill preparing greater forces, without whom he could nothing aſſure himſelfe of all his former victories) to prooue if he might be woon by clemencie and bountie, he reſolued to ſend Embaſſadours vnto him, to perſuade him to lay downe armes, and after ſo manie ouerthrowes, at length to acknowledge the fortune of the victor: and withall to promiſe him vpon the faith of a Prince, That if he would come in and ſubmit himſelfe, he ſhould of the curteſie and bountie of the conquerour, vpon conditions reaſonable repoſſeſſe that his late Kingdome, which he ſhould neuer be able by force to regaine. But if he would needs deſperatly proceed to make head againe, forgetting his offered grace, together with his own diſabilitie, he ſhould afterward when the matter was againe tried by battell, by his owne iuſt deſert neuer more find at the hands of his angrie enemie, any regard of his princely ſtate or dignitie.

The cauſes moouing Selymus to ſend Embaſſadors to Tomombeius.

For *Selymus* ſeeing himſelfe by the courſe of his victories drawn into a far country, and not without cauſe fearing with ſo ſmall a power as he had left, to be oppreſſed in that ſo great and populous a citie, euen with the verie multitude, men of doubtfull faith; thought it better by ſome honorable compoſition to aſſure himſelfe of ſome great part of that he had woon, than by going on, to thruſt himſelfe with his armie into new dangers, with the hazard of all. Beſides that, he was certainly aduertiſed, That the Mamalukes before fled into diuers countries, were in euery place leuying new ſupplies of horſemen: and that the fleet which gone into the Arabian gulfe againſt the Portugals, was dayly expected at the port Suezzia, wherein were three thouſand Mamalukes, vnder the leading of *Amyraſes* and *Ray Salomon*, two expert captaines, with great ſtore of good braſſe ordnance: by which good helpes *Tomombeius* ſtood in faire poſſibilitie to recouer his former loſſes, and to returne againe to Caire, whither he was by his ſecret friends moſt earneſtly inuited. But aboue all things, the care he had of the Perſians moſt induced him to think of peace: for feare that if the Baſſa whom he had left at the mountain Taurus, ſhould not be able to withſtand the forces of the Perſian King, he ſhould ſo be excluded out of Aſia the leſſer, and Syria alſo, before his fleet could from Conſtantinople arriue with new ſupplies of men and victuall at Alexandria.

Selymus his embaſſadors ſlaine by the Mamalukes.

Wherefore he ſent certaine of the moſt reuerend of his Turkiſh Religious, and with them ſome of the moſt honorable Ægyptians, Embaſſadors to *Tomombeius*: who paſſing ouer Nilus, into the country Segeſta, were without further hearing, with more than barbarous crueltie ſlaine by certaine Mamalukes which chanced vpon them: thinking thereby to gratifie *Tomombeius*, as yet not knowing of any ſuch matter, and to manifeſt their affection towards him, as alſo that they were not deſirous of any peace with the Turks.

This proud and inſolent fact vtterly brake *Selymus* his patience, and ſhortly after made an end of that mortall war, together with the honour of the Mamalukes. For he being a man of an hot and cruell nature, euen when he was nothing at all mooued, could by no means brooke that his enemies, ſo often vanquiſhed and put to flight, ſhould ſo lightly reiect his offers vnto them as the caſe ſtood, both honorable and profitable; and that worſe was, violate his Embaſſadors againſt the law of Nations, moſt religiouſly kept euen amongſt the moſt barbarous and ſauage people. Wherefore prouoked by ſo great an iniury, he carefully prouided for all things neceſſarie for his expedition into Segeſta againſt *Tomombeius*. And becauſe it ſtood not with his honour (as he tooke it) nor with the good of the preſent ſeruice, to paſſe the riuer by boats, he gathering together all the ſmall veſſels and lighters he could poſſibly, made therof a large and ſtrong bridge ouer Nilus.

Tomombeius vnderſtanding by his eſpials, and from his friends at Caire, of the preparations of *Selymus*, & of the bridge he had made, fearing alſo the reuolt of the country people, whom he probably ſuſpected to be alienated frō him, by the reuolt of *Albuchamar*, a man of ſo great power and authoritie amongſt them; determined once again to proue the fortune of battell, which had ſo often deceiued his expectation. For he iuſtly meaſuring of his own ſtrength, and finding himſelfe in all things inferior to his mightie enemie, wel ſaw that he was neither able to protract the wars, neither in open field to abide his comming with all his forces; and to flie further into the deſarts, was as he deemed it, nothing elſe but to make ſhipwrack of that ſmall remainder that was left of his honour and credit. Wherefore by the aduice of his beſt captains

A (which was the laſt indeuot both of himſelfe and of the Mamalukes) he departed betime out of the prouince of Segeſta with foure thouſand Mamalukes, and twice as many Moores and Arabians, and trauelled day and night without intermiſſion to come to the riuet Nilus. By that deſpetat attempt to deceiue the Turks, ſuſpecting no ſuch thing from their vanquiſhed & weak enemy: as alſo by celeritie to preuent the fame of his comming; hoping ſo by his ſudden & vnexpected approch to ouerthrow that part of the Turkes army which ſhould firſt paſſe the riuer, before they could poſſibly be relieued from the other ſide. Neither was hee deceiued in the computation of the time, which he hauing before exactly caſt, with the maner of his trauell, fel out ſo fitly, that he came to the place he deſired, euen at ſuch time as the Aſian horſmen were come ouer the bridge, as he had before gueſſed. The harbengers & B pages of *Selymus* his chamber, which were gone ſomthing further than the reſt, to make choice of the moſt commodious place for the erecting of the Emperors pauilion; by the riſing of the duſt, firſt perceiued the comming of the enemie: and *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa aduertiſed therof, ſuddenly raiſed an alarum: which ſo vnexpected a matter brought a great feare both on them which were already paſt ouer, & alſo on them that were on the further ſide of the riuer.

Tomombeius diſtreſſeth the Turks in paſſing the bridge made ouer Nilus.

Tomombeius preſently aſſailing his enemies, as yet but putting themſelues in order, and repairing to their enſignes, at the firſt onſet ſlew ſuch as made reſiſtance, and the reſt he diſcomfited and put to flight. Neither was *Muſtapha* the great commander (although he did what poſſibly he could, by his owne example to haue incouraged them) able either by his own inuincible courage or other perſuaſion, after his firſt rankes were ouerthrowne, to repaire his C diſordered battell, or ſtay the flight of his men: for in that ſo hot and ſudden a skirmiſh all was full of tumult, ſlaughter, doubtfulneſſe, and feare; and all alongſt the banke of the riuer, both aboue & beneath the bridge, were to be ſeen fearfull companies of the Turks, ruthfully looking vpon the riuer, and crying vnto their fellowes on the other ſide for helpe. Many forced by the furious enemy, tooke the riuer and there periſhed: others ſtriuing at the end of the bridge, to returne that way, and ouerborne by their fellowes or others continually ſent from the further ſide, or els amazed with feare, fel into the riuer, & were there drowned: the bridge was ſo broad, that foure horſemen abreſt might eaſily paſſe ouer at once, and ſo great numbers of them in ſhort ſpace bee conueyed ouer. But when the great ordnance (the Turkes chiefe ſtrength) was alſo to be tranſported, fewer troupes of horſemen were ſent ouer, than either D the greatneſſe of the preſent danger, or ſuddenneſſe of the chance required. Neither did their great artillerie as then ſtand them in any ſtead, for that it could neithet ſo ſpeedily be conueied ouer, nor without great hurt be diſcharged from the hither banke to the further, by reaſon of their owne men ſtanding betweene them and the enemie.

In the meane time *Selymus*, who in the beginning of the skirmiſh came downe to the riuers ſide, filled a great number of boats and other ſmall veſſels with his Ianizaries with their harquebuſies, and withall haſted his horſemen ouer the bridge to relieue their fellowes diſtreſſed on the further ſide: in which boats the nimble watermen vſed ſuch diligence in landing of ſome, and preſently in fetching ouer of others, that in ſhort time they had tranſported diuers bands of thoſe moſt ready and valiant ſouldiers: whoſe comming wonderfully comforted the E Aſian ſoldiers, euen now at the laſt caſt, and readie to haue giuen ouer. *Canoglis* alſo, the Tartar kings ſon and *Selymus* his brother in law, encouraging his horſemen to take the riuer, with loſſe of ſome few of his men recouered the further ſide, to the great admiration of the beholders: which in that nation was not ſo much to be maruelled at, as they which by troupes with their horſes had oftentimes ſwam ouer the great riuers Taurus and Volga, no leſſe dangerous than was the riuer Nilus.

Tomombeius at the ſame time, for that he ſaw ſpeedy victorie to conſiſt in one thing eſpecially, ſerring his troupes together, ſtrained himſelfe with might and maine to haue gained the head of the bridge, that by plucking away ſome few of the firſt boats, he might ſhut in his enemies already come ouer; and by cutting the cables wherby the boats were faſtened to the F banke, all the bridge with the Turks vpon it, might be born away with the force and violence of that great riuer: whereupon riſe a moſt cruell and deadly fight; for the reſolute Mamalukes in the front of their battell fought valiantly; and *Muſtapha* well conſidering the danger, had drawn to that place both his enſignes & his beſt ſoldiers: ſo that there was fought ſuch a fight, as a matter of ſo great conſequence required: the Mamalukes plainly ſeeing, that if they could

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obtain the place, they ſhould ſhortly after with little ado, ouerthrow all the former victories of their enemies. And the Turks no leſſe ignorant, that except they kept the bridge whole, they were all but loſt men that were already come ouer, and that the reſt of the army together with their Emperor ſo far from home, and in the midſt of his enemies, muſt of neceſſity ſhortly after run the ſame fortune. But *Muſtapha* well relieued by the Ianizaries and the Europeian horſmen, which were now come ouer in great number, not only receiued his enemies charge, but preſſing vpon them, gained ground, and by little and little inforced them to retire. This is that *Muſtapha* the Hungarian, and *Baiazet* his ſonne in law, which for his owne glory and perpetuall fame, built that notable, ſtately, and ſumptuous ſtone bridge (of the ſpoiles of this victorie) ouer the riuer Stremon, which at this day men paſſing ouer into Thracia, wonder at, as at a worke beſeeming the greatneſſe of the Roman Empire.

Tomombeius, to giue a time of breathing to his Mamaluks, who, their horſes for wearines now fainting vnder them, were not able longer to ſhew their wonted courage; & deſirous by them againe to proue the vttermoſt fortune of the battel, exhorted the Moores & Arabians, a while to charge the enemy, which thing they after the maner of their fight valiantly performed: and ſhortly after, the Mamalukes hauing a little breathed themſelues & their horſes, came in afreſh and renewed the battel; with ſuch fury, that *Selymus* doubting the victorie (although hee was by his moſt faithful counſellors perſuaded to the contrary) yet doubted not to aduenture the bridge, and in perſon himſelfe to go and relieue his diſtreſſed ſouldiers: who by his comming in, encouraged, and in the ſight of their Emperor deſiring euery man for his part by ſome notable ſeruice to deſerue both credit and preferment, repreſſed the fury of the enemie; who in ſhort time after, by the comming on of certain freſh companies of Ianizaries, were notably repulſed, and ſo at length put to flight: whom the horſmen which were not in the battel, purſued all the fields ouer. At length alſo the Tartarians (who carried away with the force of the ſtream, were ſomwhat long before they could recouer the farther bank & come to their enemies) were now come in alſo, and with their ſwift horſes following the chaſe, augmented the ſlaughter. But *Selymus* aboue all things deſirous of ***Tomombeius***, preſently commanded ***Muſtapha*** the great Baſſa, ***Gazelles***, and ***Cayerbeius***, with certaine freſh troupes of light horſemen, to purſue him at the heeles, and if it were poſſible not to ſuffer him to eſcape: for ſo long as hee liued, he could not aſſure himſelfe of any thing he had yet gotten. Theſe vigilant captains not vnmindfull of their charge, following faſt after him, ouertooke him the next day at the ſluce of a great deepe fen, where he had a little reſted himſelfe and his followers, being then about to cut off a wodden bridge, ſo to haue hindered the enemies purſuit. Some of his followers being there ſlaine, and ſome taken, he was againe inforced to flie. The third day when he had almoſt loſt all his men, and was come with ſome few into the territory of the Secuſſan prince, theſe great captains ſtill eagerly purſuing him, and denouncing vnto the poore country people which dwelt in villages thereabout, all extremities and tortures, if they did not with moſt diligent watch and ward ſo keep the paſſages of thoſe mariſhes, as that he ſhould not poſſibly eſcape; he was ſo beſet on euery ſide, that for ſafegard of his life he was glad to hide himſelf all alone in a foule deepe mariſh: where ſhortly after he the poore Sultan was by the diligent ſearch of the country peaſants found out, hidden among the flags & bulruſhes, ſtanding in the water vp to the ſhoulders, who deliuered him miſerably bound vnto the Turks. Shortly after he with certaine captaines & other of his chiefe friends taken in that flight, was brought to Caire. *Selymus* before reſolued to put him to death, and the rather for the iniurie done to his embaſſadors, would not ſuffer him to come into his preſence, but commanded him to be tortured, ſo to haue cauſed him to haue reuealed the great treaſures of ***Campſon*** his predeceſſour, which were thought to haue bin by him hidden: in which moſt horrible & exquiſit torments it is reported, that he with great conſtancie & ſterne countenance vttered nothing but certain deep ſighes & grones, ouercomming with patience the tyrannie of the proud conqueror: who after that, commanded him in baſe and ragged apparell, with his hands bound behind him, as a theefe or murtherer condemned to die, to be ſet vpon a foule leane cammel, & ſo to be caried in deriſion through al the publick & notable places of the citie; that the Ægyptians might ſee him, whom they but a little before had adored for their king, by change of fortune caſt into extream miſery, by moſt ſhameful death to end both his life & empire together: when they had thus deſpightfully led him as it were in triumph, & brought him to the chiefe gate of the

The Mamalukes giue a freſh charge vpon the Turks.

The Mamalukes put to flight.

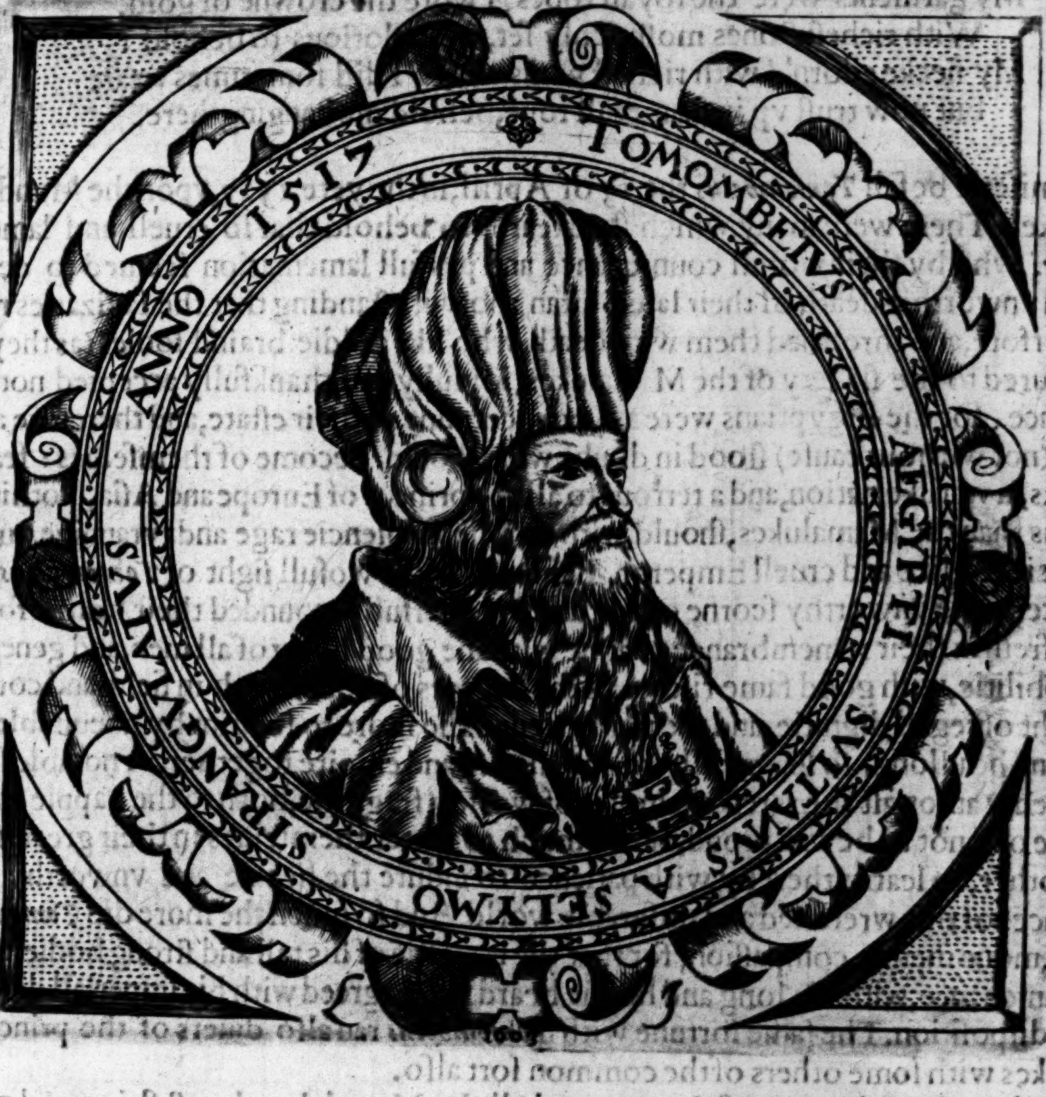
Tomombeius taken & brought to Selymus.

Tomombeius tortured.

A citie called Baſuela, they there openly ſtrangled him with a rope: and that he might be the better ſeene, and become more contemptible to all that paſſed that way, they hanged him vp by the necke vpon an yron hooke in an arch of the ſame gate, and ſo left him to the worlds wonder. ***Palearius*** propounding him as a mirrour both of the better and worſe fortune, for all men to looke vpon, aptly deſcribeth both his happineſſe and miſery in theſe few verſes following:

The miſerab end of Tomombeius laſt Sultan of Egypt.

TOMOMBEIVS, THE LAST
Sultan of Ægypt.



Paulus Iouius lib. 4. Elog. virorum Illuſtr.

Non fuit in toto, Rex æquè Oriente beatus:
Nec magis in toto Rex Oriente miſer,
Quam dolor Ægypti, olim Tomombeius, *auro*
Ingenti, atque armis, & ditione potens,
Captus ab hoſte fero, miſerum ſimul atque beatum,
Exemplo potis eſt, commonuiſſe ſuo.
Quid rides temerè? quid fles? vis te cohibere?
Et natum poſthac te meminiſſe hominem?
Mi trabeam induto, gemmis auroque corona
Cingebat, fulgens & diadema caput.

Mi quandam ornabant pretioſa monilia collum, G
Nunc, fractam vili reſpice fune gulam.

In Engliſh thus.

In all the Eaſt a king more bleſt was no where to be found,
  Nor in the Eaſt one more accurſt liu'd not vpon the ground,
Than *Tomombeius*, Ægypts griefe, ſometime for ſtore of gold,
  Of power great for martiall force, and kingdome he did hold.
But taken by his cruell foe, may good example be
  Both to the happie and diſtreſt, of mans vncertaintie. H
Why do'ſt thou fondly laugh? Why do'ſt thou vainly crie?
  Canſt thou from henceforth ſtay thy ſelfe, and thinke th'art borne to die?
My garments were the royall robes, I wore the crowne of gold,
  With richeſt ſtones moſt richly ſet, moſt glorious to behold:
My necke adorn'd with richeſt gems which I did ſometimes weare:
  but now truſt vp in ſhamefull rope, behold me hanging here.

The Ægyptians in doubt of their eſtate bewaile the death of Tomombeius.

This miſerie befell *Tomombeius* the 13 of Aprill, in the yere 1517, vpon the Munday in Eaſter weeke. There were many which ſhed teares to behold that ſo cruell and lamentable a ſpectacle, who by their wofull countenance and pitifull lamentation ſeemed to deteſt that foule and vnworthie death of their late Sultan: notwithſtanding that the Ianizaries reproued them therfore, and threatned them with death, who like giddie braind fooles (as they termed them) enured to the ſlauery of the Mamalukes, ioyfully and thankfully accepted not of their deliuerance; for the Ægyptians were as yet vncertaine of their eſtate, and therefore as men in ſuſpence (not without cauſe) ſtood in doubt what ſhould become of themſelues: fearing leſt the Turks, a warlike nation, and a terrour to all the princes of Europe and Aſia, nothing more courteous than the Mamalukes, ſhould with no leſſe inſolencie rage and tyrannize ouer them, vnder their warlike and cruell Emperor. Beſides that, the wofull ſight of *Tomombeius* hanging in the gate, as the vnworthy ſcorne of fortune, wonderfully wounded their hearts: for why, it was yet freſh in their remembrance, that he with the good liking of all men, and general fauor of the nobilitie, with good fame riſe vp all the degrees of honor both in field and court, vnto the height of regall dignitie; and therfore grieued the more to ſee him by ineuitable deſtinie caſt downe headlong, ſo ſhamefully to end his life and empire together. A notable ſpectacle vndoubtedly amongſt the rareſt examples of worldy fragilitie, both to the happie and vnfortunat: the one, not to be too proud, or too much to flatter themſelues in their greateſt bliſſe; and the other, to learne thereby with patience to indure the heauie and vnworthy changes and chances of this wretched and miſerable world. And ſo much the more did *Tomombeius* ſo hanging, moue men to compaſſion, for that the maieſtie of his tall and ſtrong bodie, and reuerend countenance, with his long and hoarie beard, well agreed with his imperiall dignitie and martiall diſpoſition. The ſame fortune with *Tomombeius* ran alſo diuers of the princes of the Mamalukes with ſome others of the common ſort alſo.

Tomombeius thus taken out of the way, and all the Mamalukes almoſt ſlaine, and no power of the enemie to be heard of in all Ægypt to renew the war: *Selymus* diuiding his forces, ſent them forth with his captaines, to take in the countries and prouinces of Ægypt lying further off. They of Alexandria after the battel of Caire hauing thruſt out the gariſon, and eaſily ſurpriſed the caſtle of Pharus (which the weake defendants choſe rather vpon hope of preſent reward to deliuer, than with doubtfull euent to defend) yeelded themſelues many daies before vnto the Turks. Damiata alſo, called in ancient time Peluſium, opened their gates, and ſubmitted themſelues to the victors. There was no citie betwixt the riuer of Nilus and the borders of Iudea and Arabia, which yeelded not to the obedience of *Selymus*. The kings alſo of Affricke bordering vpon Cyrenaica, tributaries or confederats of the Ægyptian Sultans, ſent their embaſſadors with preſents to *Selymus*.

There remained now none but the wild Arabians (a people neuer to be tamed) & eſpecially they of Affricke, who hauing loſt many of their friends and kinſmen in aiding *Tomombeius*, A would not (as it was thought) ſubmit themſelues vnto the Turkiſh obedience. This wandering kind of people, liuing for moſt part by theft, had filled the countries from Euphrates, where it runneth by the Palmyrens, with all the inner parts of Ægypt and Affricke vnto the Atlantick ſea, with huge multitudes of men; and being diuided into many companies vnder diuers leaders haue no certain dwelling places, but liue an hard and frugall kind of life in tents and waggons, after the manner of the Tartars: their greateſt wealth is a good ſeruiceable horſe, with a launce or a bundle of darts: they were alway at diſcord & variance amongſt themſelues, by reaſon whereof they could neuer agree for the expulſing of the Mamalukes, who otherwiſe had not bin able to haue ſtood againſt them, if they ſhould haue ioined their forces together. So that the late Ægyptian Sultans ſeemed to hold their ſtate and empire among ſo populous B a nation, rather by their diſcord than their own ſtrength: wherefore *Selymus* hauing now by fit men, vpon his faith before giuen, allured many of their chiefetains and greateſt commanders to Caire, honorably both entertained and rewarded them. By whoſe example others moued, came alſo in daily: and hauing receiued their rewards, gaue the oath of their alleageance to *Selymus*. Others which could by no faire promiſes or words be won, being cunningly intercepted by other captains, and deliuered to *Selymus*, indured the paines of their vaine obſtinacie and malice. The other remote nations toward Æthyopia, as they had in former time rather acknowledged the friendſhip than the command of the Ægyptian Sultans, ſo now induced with the fame of the victorie, eaſily ioyned in like amitie with the Turke.

Selymus cunningly reduceth the Arabians to his obedience.

About the ſame time, *Selymus* ſent certaine troupes of horſemen to Suezzia, a port of the C red ſea (of old called Arſinoe) about three daies iourney from Caire: in which port *Campſon* the great Sultan (a little before the comming of the Turks) had with infinit charge and foure yeares trauell built a ſtrong fleet againſt the Portingals, who by their conqueſts in India had taken away all the rich trade of the Indian marchandiſe into the gulfe of Arabia, to the great hinderance of the Ægyptian kings cuſtomes: ouer which fleet (a little before the beginning of the Turkiſh warres) *Campſon* had appointed one *Amyraſes* and *Ray Salomon* Generals, with a ſtrong power of Mamalukes and great ſtore of ordnance, againſt the Portingals. Theſe valiant captains hauing yet done nothing in the ſeruice they were appointed vnto, as they lay at Gidda (the port of the famous citie of Mecha, wherein is the temple of their great Prophet *Mahomet*) vnderſtanding of the death of *Campſon*, and of the comming of *Selymus* into Ægypt, D fell at variance betwixt themſelues; one of them being willing to continue his obedience towards the new Sultan, & the other no leſſe deſirous to follow the good fortune of the victor. Whereupon a mutinie ariſing among the ſoldiers, *Amyraſes*, who fauored *Tomombeius*, was inforced to flie to Mecha. But ſhortly after, *Ray Salomon* requiring to haue him, & threatning al hoſtilitie except he were forthwith deliuered, he was apprehended by them of Mecha, fearing to haue Gidda their port ſpoiled, and ſo ſent back again to the fleet. *Ray Salomon*, that he might be Admirall alone, his aſſociat being taken out of the way, and by ſome notable fact to inſinuat himſelfe into the fauor of the conqueror, cauſed *Amyraſes* in the night to be caſt ouerboord: and giuing to the ſoldiers two months pay, and ſwearing them to the obedience of *Selymus*, in few daies ſailing came backe again to Arſinoë, where leauing the fleet, he came di- E rectly himſelfe to *Selymus* at Caire, of whom he was graciouſly receiued. After that, all the princes which were before tributaries or confederats to the late Sultans of Ægypt, euen to the confines of *Dauid*, the moſt mighty king of Æthyopia (whom ſome call *Presbiter Iohn*) without delay entred into the like ſubiection or confederation with the Turks.

Ægypt, with all the prouinces thereunto belonging, thus brought into ſubiection, *Selymus* about the beginning of Iuly, ſayled downe the riuer of Nilus to Alexandria (*Cortug-Ogli*, a famous pyrat of Halicarnaſſus, ſitting at the helme of his gallie) there to take view of his fleet but lately come from Conſtantinople with new ſupplies both of men and victuals, ſent from *Pyrrhus Baſſa* and his ſonne *Solyman*: which after he had well ſurueyed, and diligently viewed the wals of the citie, and of the caſtle of Pharos, he returned againe to Caire. In the meane F time, the Mamalukes in durance at Alexandria, were by his commandement murthered euery mothers ſonne, in the entrance of the priſon. At which time alſo aboue fiue hundred families of the nobleſt and richeſt of the Ægyptians were commaunded to remooue from Caire to Conſtantinople, and a great number of women and children, of the race of the Mamalukes, were tranſported thither alſo in ſhips hired for that purpoſe. Into this fleet beſides the kings

Of this Cortug-Ogli ſee more in the life of Solyman.

treaſure and riches, he conuaied all the publicke and priuate ornaments of that moſt rich and G
famous citie ; with ſuch a couetous and greedie deſire of ſpoile, that the verie marble ſtones,
commended either for the excellencie of the workemanſhip,or beautie of the ſtone, were vi-
olently rent out of the maine walls,to his great reproch and infamie. Lying at Caire, he with
great pleaſure beheld the riſing of the riuer Nilus, which had then ouerflowed the countrey
next vnto it ; and that with ſuch a deſire,that he moſt curiouſly enquired of the old countrey
men the meaſure aud nature of the riuer: for by the diuerſitie of tbe riſing therof (which they
by certain markes and meaſures well find out) they prognoſticat ſometime aboundant plenty,
ſometime extreame dearth,and ſometime reaſonable ſtore : when as the violent riuer mode-
ratly or furiouſly breaking out, ſome while ſo drowneth the greateſt part of the country,that
all the ſeed ſeaſon it lyeth vnder water,and at another time floweth ſo ſparingly,that in many H
places it ſcarce layeth the duſt , thereby foreſhewing an vndoubted dearth:ſo that the Ægyp-
tians then aſſure themſelues of plentie, when as Nilus keeping a meane, pleaſantly riſeth nei-
ther to the higheſt or loweſt markes of his inundation.

Cayerbeius the traitor made gouernour of Caire and Egypt.

The Mamaluke kingdome,together with the name of the Mamalukes, thus ouerthrowne,
and the conqueſt of Ægypt ſo happily atchieued,*Selymus* reſolued to make his returu into Sy-
ria,and the rather,for that it was reported, That *Hyſmael* the Perſian King was comming with
his armie into Meſopotamia, and ſo like enough to breake into Comagena. Wherefore ha-
uing as he thought good,diſpoſed of all things,he left a ſtrong garriſon of his beſt ſouldiers
in Caire,and appointed *Cayerbeius* that notable traitor,his deputy and great commander ouer
all that great and new gotten kingdome of Ægypt, now conuerted into the forme of a pro- I
uince, as it remaineth at this day. Which honourable preferment ſo vnworthily beſtowed,
exceedingly both grieued and troubled *Ionuſes* the great Baſſa, before enflamed with the
hope and iuſt deſire thereof: for now that *Sinan Baſſa* was dead,he puffed vp with the eſtima-
tion of his owne worth and valour,and proud of the wound he had of late receiued in the pre-
ſence of *Selymus* at the entring of Caire,and to the vttermoſt of his power,ſuffering no man to
grow neere him in credit and eſtimation,thought himſelfe the onely man now left,to whom
of all others,that eſpeciall and honourable charge ſhould in the iudgement of *Selymus* and of
the whole armie of right be committed. Neither wanted he the generall good liking of the
men of war,for immediatly after he was recouered of his wound,(when he in the moſt mag-
nificent houſe of the Diadarie at Caire (which he in the victorie had rather of himſelfe vſur- K
ped,than by the gift of *Selymus* obtained)daily kept princely cheere for all commers(no ſmall
meanes to gaine the loue of the common ſouldiers) and gaue frankly to them all ; to ſome
horſes,to ſome beautifull ſlaues ; to ſome money,plate,jewels,rich garments,faire armor,and
ſuch like ; he woon vnto himſelfe ſuch fauour and credit,that whenſoeuer he ſhould (as the
manner was)go to the caſtle vnto the Emperor,he was brought thither with a great and good-
ly traine of his fauourits and followers,as the man in all mens iudgement deſigned to the go-
uernment of that great and rich kingdome. All which things higly offended the mind of *Se-
lymus*,who as he was apt to ſuſpect,and cruell where he feared, ſo did he alſo (in ſecret) enuie
great vertues,accompanied with too much honour and power.

Ionuſes enuieth at the preferment of Cayerbeius.

Ionuſes ſeing *Cayerbeius* the traitour thus vnworthily promoted, ouercome with griefe and L
indignation (who as a man of a proud and hautie mind, tooke it as done to his owne diſgrace)
yet colouring his inward diſcontentment by counterfeiting himſelfe ſicke for certaine daies
came not abroad ; neuertheleſſe ſtill more and more tormented both with the iniurie (as hee
tooke it) done to himſelfe,and the vnworthie preferment of the traitor, he could not ſo well
contain himſelfe,but that in his choler ſome words fel from him,wherby his diſcontentment
was perceiued.It hapned that *Cayerbeius* comming of courteſie to viſit him,and in the heat of
the day familiarly calling for drinke(which was water and Sugar,)after the manner of the Æ-
gyptians)immediatly after he had drunke, felt ſuch grieuous and vnwonted gripings and tor-
mentings in his ſtomacke and bellie,that many ſuppoſed him to haue beene poyſoned by the
Baſſa : yet was he by the power and vertue of a more ſoueraigne and effectuall remedie pre- M
ſerued. Which report, whether it were true or no,was vncertaine : but certaine it is, that it
ſanke further into the mind of *Selymus*, than any man would haue thought. He had now alſo a
little before heard,that many of thoſe rich Ægyptian families,which he had before comman-
ded to be remooued to Conſtantinople, had for great ſummes of money obtained of *Ionuſes*
(who

A (who had the whole ordering of that matter) that they might quietly and in ſafetie remaine ſtill in their owne countrie. Of which his couert dealing, great probabilitie was alledged by ſuch as repined at his honour, and ſecretly accuſed him, That thoſe princelike and exceſſiue charges and expences, which he was not able poſſibly to maintaine of his ordinarie penſion, were royally ſupported with the embeſeled ſpoile and reuenewes of that new gotten Kingdome. Which malicious ſuggeſtions, as they tended to the lightening of his credit, ſo alſo another crime (whether it were of fraudulent dealing or negligence, or other further reſpect, is vncertaine) comming in the necke of the other, wrought his vtter diſgrace, and finall confuſion: for *Selymus* after the manner of great princes (who more ſeuerely to puniſh the former offences, notably diſſembling their preſent anger, expect but the occaſion of ſome new B crime) with vigilant eye waiting vpon his words and deeds, proſecuted him with a mortall and deadly hatred, with a full purpoſe to deſtroy him.

A few daies before it was certainly reported that *Selymus* would againe returne into Syria, the ſoldiers appointed to be left in garriſon at Caire, alledging the great diſtance of the place, and the greater dangers they were to expect, with the labors by them already indured, requeſted of the bountie of their moſt fortunat Emperour, that they might haue their wages augmented. Which thing *Selymus* (neuer ſparehanded to his men of war) eaſily granted, commanding *Ionuſes* the ſtately Baſſa, that the ſum they required, might be added to their accuſtomed wages, and ſo entered into his accounts for the wars. But he carried headlong with diſcontentment, made neither the treaſurers nor paymaſters acquainted with any ſuch matter as *Selymus* C had before commanded: of purpoſe, that the garriſon ſouldiers deceiued of their greater wages promiſed them by the Emperor, might euen at the firſt begin to hate and contemne *Cayerbeius*, as authour of ſo great an iniurie; that ſo the ſtate of Caire, and of that new gotten kingdome, diſquieted by the mutinie of the garriſon ſouldiers, *Selymus* inforced to change his former purpoſe, ſhould in ſtead of that ſtrange Gouernour (hated of the Ægyptians for his late treaſon, and not beloued of the garriſon ſoldiers, becauſe he was to them a ſtranger) of neceſſitie ſend ſome of his owne Baſſaes, a Turke, for the better ſtay and aſſurance of that wauering and mightie prouince. But all theſe things (as commonly wicked purpoſes haue their foule euents) fell out in fine far otherwiſe than he had in his troubled mind before conceiued. For *Selymus* being departed out of Ægypt, and now on his way almoſt as far as Ieruſalem, the D garriſon ſouldiers at Caire, the pay day being now come, and receiuing no more but their old accuſtomed wages, moued with that euill dealing (as contrarie to the Emperors promiſe and their generall expectation) began with more furie and rage than euer *Ionuſes* had before imagined, openly and inſolently to inſult and threaten the treaſurer and paymaſters, and with open mouth to raile vpon *Cayerbeius* their Gouernor. With which ſo inſolent and opprobrious ſpeeches hee aſtonied (as one not yet acquainted with the faſhions of the Turkiſh garriſons) together with the paymaſters, in beſt manner they could excuſed themſelues vnto the ſouldiers, requeſting them not to thinke ſo hardly of them who were altogether innocent in the matter, and with patience to vnderſtand the truth of the cauſe; wherein if they ſhould on E their part find any fraudulent or euill dealing, they craued no fauor, either refuſed any puniſhment. Thus *Cayerbeius* and the paymaſters ſeeking by all meanes to auoyd both the ſuſpition and the preſent danger: and the mutinous ſouldiers no leſſe haſtening to find out by whom they were ſo abuſed, and to be thereof reuenged, it was at laſt with much adoe agreed, That truſtie meſſengers ſhould forthwith be ſent to *Selymus*, who was not yet gone out of Iudea, to vnderſtand of him the truth of the matter.

Selymus commandeth the wages of his ſoldiers to be left in garriſon at Caire, to be augmented.

Theſe ſpeedy meſſengers hauing with wonderful celeritie diſpatched their iourney, ouertooke *Selymus* with his armie a little from Lariſſa in Iudea: and admitted to his preſence, orderly declared vnto him both the complaints of the ſouldiers, and the carefulneſſe of *Cayerbeius* and the paymaſters to excuſe the matter, together with the danger they were in, with all the other accidents whatſoeuer which had hapned ſithence the time of his departure from F Caire. Which complaint ſo incenſed the mind of *Selymus* with new paſſions of anger and choller, being already ſore alienated with former diſpleaſures, that he without farther delay commanded *Ionuſes Baſſa* to be brought before him to anſwer the matter: who although he were inwardly ſtrucken with the guilt of his owne conſcience, and ſurpriſed with a deadly feare, which appeared in his colour as pale as aſhes, ſeeing in the angrie face and countenance

Selymus calleth for Ionuſes Baſſa to anſwere the matter.

The anſwer of Ionuſes Baſſa.

The death of Ionuſes the great Baſſa.

of his ſoueraigne the moſt certaine tokens of his heauie diſpleaſure: yet as he was a man of G great ſpirit, anſwered boldly, That he had forbidden the ſoldiers wages to be augmented, contrary to his maieſties command, not vpon any euil meaning to haue inuerted that mony to his own vſe, neither thereby to haue drawn any man of purpoſe into diſgrace, as was by ſome his malicious enemies ſuggeſted but; vpon great reaſon, therby to prouide for his maieſties cofers wonderfully emptied with thoſe late wars: beſide that, the conſtant report of new troubles like to ariſe out of Perſia, gaue good occaſion for him to ſpare vnneceſſarie charges: Wheras on the other ſide, as he ſaid, the garriſon ſouldiers were already inriched with the plentifull ſpoiles of Ægypt, & in a moſt goodly city poſſeſſed the ſumptuous houſes & lands of the Mamalukes, feeding vpon the goods of the Ægyptians, & had already receiued both greater pay & more bountiful rewards from him, than euer any ſoldiers had from any his predeceſ- H ſors the *Othoman* kings: in which caſe, if they were not paſt al modeſty, they might wel enough take it in good part, if they were ſomthing reſtrained in their vnreaſonable requeſts. He alledged moreouer, that great princes which retain their ſoldiers in reaſonable pay in time of peace and war, ought ſometime for warlike diſcipline, to require of them a moderation of their deſires; leſt whileſt they all ſtriue with greedineſſe for their priuat gain, there want mony afterwards in the common treaſurie to maintain a greater and more neceſſarie charge, wars ſtill riſing vpon wars; ſeeing that no commander, were he neuer ſo valiant or fortunat, euer did any great matter in wars, if he wanted coine, the moſt proper inſtrument & very ſinues of war, anſwering vnto his other moſt heroicall parts & ſufficiencie. But as he was yet thus ſpeaking, *Selymus* full of wrath and indignation interrupted him; for if he ſhould haue ſuffered him in I longer diſcourſe to haue recounted his former deſerts & worthy ſeruice done, aſwell in the time of his father *Baiazet*, as of late euen in his owne preſence, he was like enough to haue had of them that were able to do moſt with him, interceſſors for him: and ſo without further delay, cauſed him euen there in his own preſence to be executed: ſaying moreouer, that others which would arrogantly preſume to preſcribe vnto their ſoueraignes what they had to do, ſhould for euer after by the example of that moſt inſolent ſeruant, be admoniſhed of their duty and condition. It is reported, that the ſouldiers in deſpight of *Selymus* wonderfully lamented the vnworthie death of this ſo worthy a man: for he, beſide his notable & rare valour, ſo many times to his great honor in ſundry battels approued, had by the dexteritie of his Grecian wit, comelines of perſonage, militarie eloquence, & gallant maner of liuing, ſo won the loue and K fauor of all men, that there was few or none in all the army which did not acknowledge himſelfe ſome way indebted & beholden vnto him, & did therfore condemne the Emperors crueltie. They then began to tel how *Muſtapha* ſyrnamed *Caloger*, a man of wonderful credit and authority both with *BaiaZet* & himſelfe, was in the heat of his furie ſlain without hearing: and that in like maner of rage, old *Chendemus* a man of greateſt honor & integritie of life, and of all the chiefetains which came out of the great Emperor *Mahomets* nurſerie, the moſt skilful, had bin for his graue and wholſome counſell onely, without cauſe murthered: neither was then *Boſtanges* his ſon in law forgoten: neither *Cherſcogles* (the one moſt honourable for the great place, he held in court and the marriage of *BaiaZets* daughter, and the other a man of no leſſe marke being his great Admiral, & bearing himſelfe high vpon his infinit wealth, but more vp- L on his wife one of the daughters of *Selymus*) both which two noble gentlemen about 2. yeres before had their heads ſtrucke off, no man wel knowing wherfore; and their dead bodies caſt out at the court gate, to the terror of the beholders, as a miſerable ſpectacle of their own miſerie and the Emperors cruelty. Yea the remembrance of his old tirannie (renewed as it were with this late outrage) preſented a freſh vnto al mens eys the reuerent old Emperor *BaiaZet* his father, with his two brethren, *Achomates* & *Corcutus*, by right both called vnto the empire before himſelfe; with many other yong princes of the Bloud, of great hope & expectation, who as all men knew, periſhed through the vnnaturall and execrable cruelty of this moſt mercileſſe man. So that men generally did both feare him and hate him. Foraſmuch as he without all feare of God or regard of worldly ſhame, accounted no practiſe wicked, or deuiſe deteſtable, M that might ſerue for the better eſtabliſhing of his kingdome, and had ſet downe in his minde, (long before corrupted with ambition and tyrannie) That it was far better for the aſſurance of his eſtate, to be feared of all than beloued of many: and therfore ſpared no mans life, of whom he had but the leſt ſuſpition. Howbeit that the ſeueritie by him vſed againſt this ſo great a man

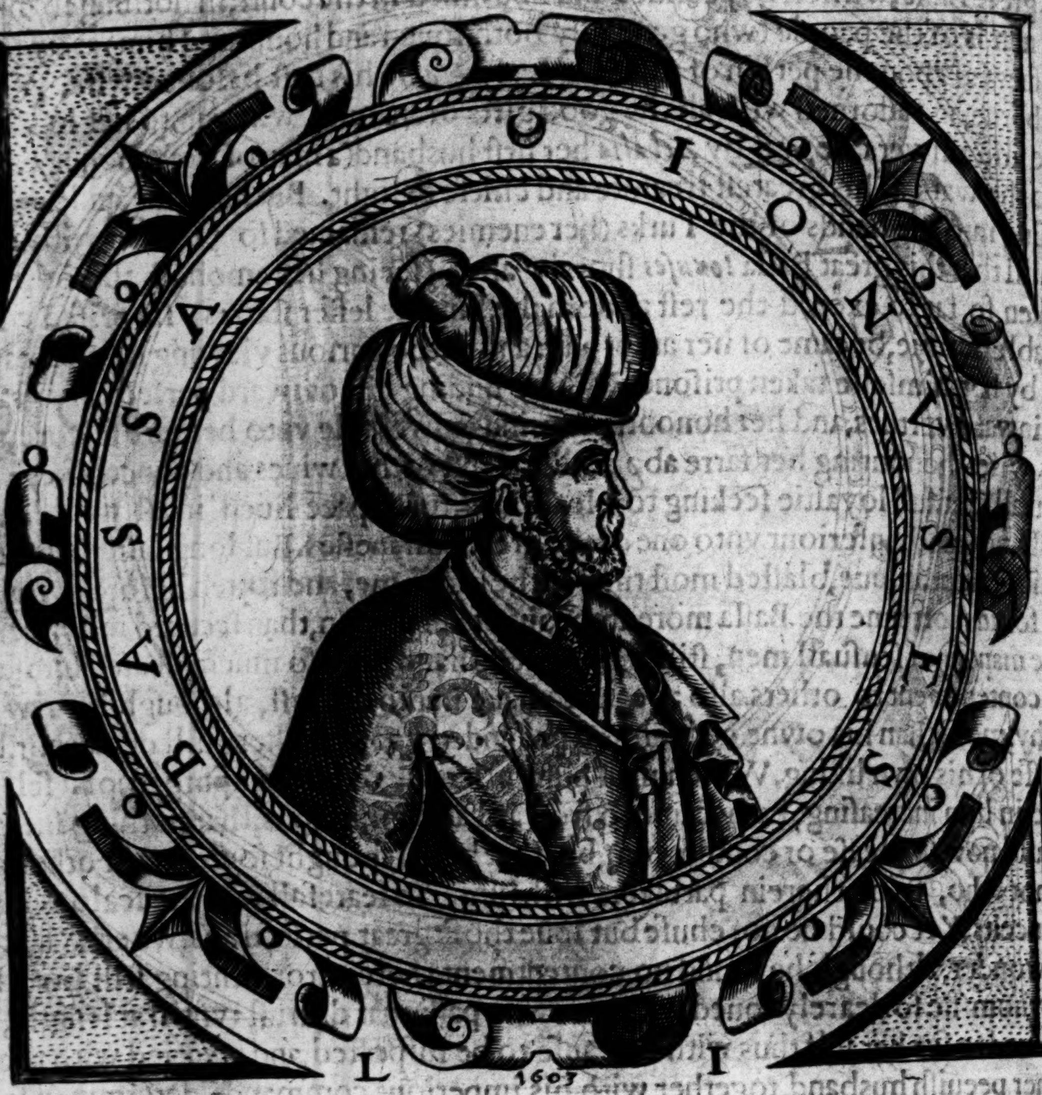
and

A and ſo gracious with the people, may in ſome ſort be excuſed, as iuſtly moued thereunto by
the preſumptuous and malicious dealing of the proud Baſſa vnder-hand, contrary to the
charge giuen him by his lord, to the peril of thoſe his great but late conqueſts both in Ægypt
and Syria.

This great Baſſa, whileſt he yet liued and flouriſhed in the court, in nothing ſo much offen-
ded the minds of the people (who generally both loued and honoured him) as by the crueltie
by him ſhewed vpon the perſon of the faire Lady *Manto* his beſt beloued wife. Who being a
Greeke borne, and adorned with all the good gifts of nature, whereunto her louely conditi-
ons were alſo anſwerable, was by *Zebalia* her firſt husband (a man of great honor) carried with
him into the wars, as his greateſt treaſure and chiefe delight. But he ſlaine, and ſhe by misfor-
B tune falling into the hands of the Turks (her enemies) remained ſo priſoner with them for a
time; vntill that this great Baſſa *Ionuſes* ſhortly after (ſeeing her amongſt the other captiues
there taken, ſo far to exceed the reſt as doth the Sun the leſſer ſtarres) ſurpriſed with her in-
comparable beautie, became of her amorous: and in too curious viewing of the captiue La-
die, was by her himſelfe taken priſoner. Where finding her outward perfections graced with
no leſſe inward vertues, and her honourable mind anſwerable vnto her rare feature, tooke her
vnto his wife; honouring her farre aboue all the reſt of his wiues and concubines: and ſhee
againe in all dutifull loyaltie ſeeking to pleaſe him, for a ſpace liued in all worldly felicitie
and bliſſe, not much inferiour vnto one of the great Sultaneſſes. But long laſteth not the Sum-
mer fruit of wanton loue, blaſted moſt time in the bloſſome, and rotten before it be well ga-
C thered: for in ſhort time the Baſſa more amorous of her perſon, than ſecured in her vertues, and
after the manner of ſenſuall men, ſtill fearing leſt that which ſo much pleaſed himſelfe, gaue
no leſſe contentment to others alſo: began to haue her in diſtruſt, although he ſaw no great
cauſe, why, more than his owne conceit, not grounded vpon any her euill demeanor, but vpon
the exceſſe of his own liking. Which mad humor (hardly to be ouer purged) of it ſelf ſtil more
and more in him increaſing, he became ſo froward and imperious, that nothing ſhe could ſay
or do could now ſo pleaſe or content him, but that he ſtil thought ſome one or other, although
he wiſt not who, to be therein partakers with him. So fearefull was the iealous man of his
owne conceits. Yet could he not chuſe but loue thoſe great perfections, whereat he could not
enough wonder, although he found no contentment therein, tormenting ſtill both himſelfe
D and her whom he ſo dearely loued with his owne paſſionat diſtruſt: vntill at length, the faire
ladie grieued to ſee her ſelf thus without cauſe to be ſuſpected, and wearied with the inſolent
pride of her peeuiſh husband, together with his imperious commands, determined ſecretly to
depart from him, and ſo to returne againe into her owne country. Which her purpoſe ſhe diſ-
couered vnto one of her Eunuches, to whom ſhe had alſo deliuered certaine letters to be by
him conuaied vnto ſuch of her friends, as whoſe helpe ſhe was to vſe in her intended flight:
which letters the falſe eunuch opened, &ſo for the more manifeſting of the matter deliuered
them vnto the Baſſa his maſter. Who therewith inraged, and calling her vnto him, forthwith
in his furie, with a dagger ſtabd her to the heart and ſlew her: ſo together with the death of
E his loue, hauing cured his tormenting iealouſie. The liuely counterfeits of theſe two ſo no-
table perſonages thus vnworthily ſlaine, the one by the imperious commaund of his ſoue-
raigne, and the other by the cruell hand of her husband, thou maieſt in the pages following
behold, as they are by *Boiſardus* expreſſed.

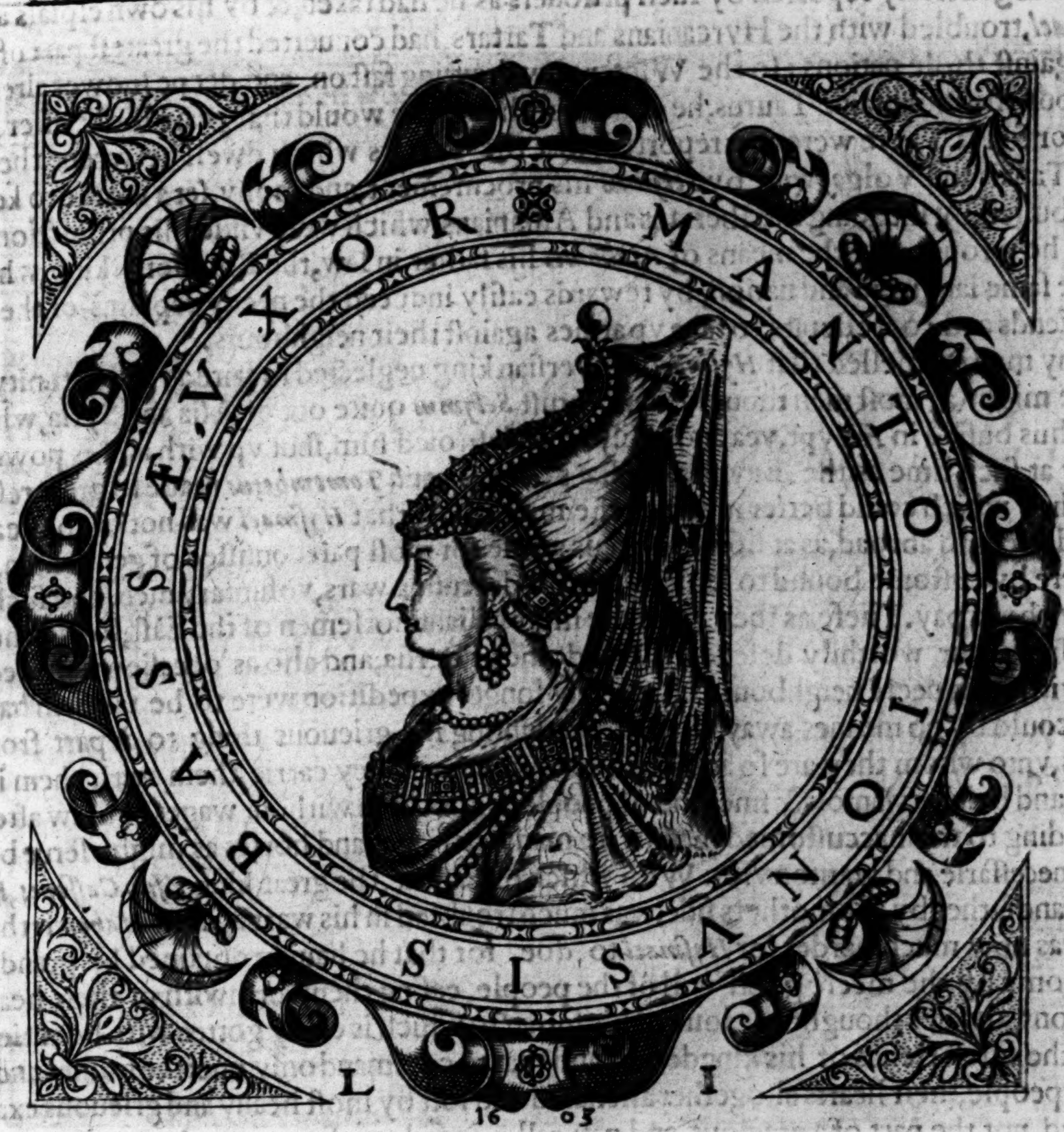
Ionuſes Baſſa iealous of his faire wife Manto.

The faire ladie Manto cruelly ſlain by her iealous husband.



Reijce Sultani titulos, Nilotica Memphis
Quos confert: erit hic inuidioſus honos.
Regna Tomombeo, Campſon, *cum rege reliquit*
Virtutis Selymus *dicit id eſſe tuæ.*

Reiect the Sultans titles, which proud *Memphis* doth thee ſhow:
From ſuch great honours oftentimes doth greateſt danger grow.
That *Campſon* with great *Tomombey* loſt both their ſtate and fame:
Vnto thy valour, *Selymus* doth yet aſcribe the ſame.



Formam ſi ſpectes, nihil eſt formoſius iſta:
Pectoris & caſti gratia rara fuit.
Sed dum diſſimuli vixit male iuncta marito:
Infelix miſera morte perempta iacet.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

If feature braue thou do'ſt reſpect, thou canſt none fairer ſee,
Nor in whoſe chaſt and conſtant breſt, could greater graces lie.
But whilſt miſmatcht ſhe liu'd to mourne, inthral'd to iealous braine,
Vnhappie ſhe with cruell hand, was by her husband ſlaine.

But leauing this great Baſſa with faire *Manto* vnto their reſt, his courſe thus run, to returne againe vnto *Selymus*; who now come into Syria, was by letters from the Himbracor-Baſſa or maſter of his horſe (whom he had left vpon the frontiers of his kingdome to attend the motions of the Perſians) aduertiſed, That the Perſian preparations which had raiſed ſuch a hoat rumor of wars in the beginning of Winter, was growne cold in the heat of Sommer; and that he had ſeene in all the time of his abode in thoſe quarters, none but certaine ſtragling companies, making ſhew as if ſome greater power had bin comming, which had many times made ſudden roads into the countrey, with whom he had ſundry times proſperouſly encountered;

and

& it was generally reported by ſuch priſoners as he had taken,& by his own eſpials alſo,that *Hyſmael*,troubled with the Hyrcanians and Tartars,had conuerted the greateſt part of his forces againſt thoſe nations: ſo the Winter now drawing faſt on, and deepe ſnowes alreadie fallen vpon the mountaine Taurus,he could not though he would that yeare looke after Aſia the leſſe,or Syria.There were that reported, that the Tartars which dwell betweene the two riuers,Tanais and Volga, were by *Selymus* his procurement,and mony,ſet a worke to keep *Hyſmael* buſied,by inuading the Iberians and Albanians,which were vnder his protection:which thing he wrought by the means of *Mahomet* his father in law,the Boſphoran king,who being of the ſame language and nation, by rewards eaſily induced the needy captains of the Tartars his friends and confederats,to take vp armes againſt their neighbours.

The cauſe why Hyſmael inuaded not Selymus wholey buſied in the Egyptian warr.

Many men maruelled that *Hyſmael* the Perſian king neglected ſo faire an opportunity,wherby he might(as moſt men thought)haue thruſt *Selymus* quite out of Aſia and Syria,whileſt he was thus buſied in Ægypt,yea and eaſily haue deſtroied him,ſhut vp with all his power,eſpecially at ſuch time as the Ægyptian Sultans *Campſon* and *Tomombeius* made ſo great reſiſtance. But they which could better iudge of the matter,ſaw that *Hyſmael* was not of ſo great power and ſtrength abroad,as at home: for his armie for moſt part conſiſted of gentlemen,or ſuch as were by cuſtome bound to ſerue him in his defenſiue wars,voluntary men, and ſuch as ſerued without pay.Theſe as they were the moſt valiant horſemen of the Eaſt,ſo did they with ſingular valour worthily defend the kingdome of Perſia,and alſo as occaſion required,make war with their neere neighbours: but if any longer expedition were to be taken in hand, that they could by no meanes away withall,accounting it a grieuous thing to depart from their wiues,vnto whom they are ſo addicted,that oftentimes they carrie them with them into the wars;and being a wanton & fine kind of people,are not able without wages to draw after them according to their accuſtomed manner,ſo many carriages and horſes as might ſerue both for their neceſſarie and wanton vſes. With which difficultie,the great king *Vſun Caſſanes*,*Hyſmael* his grandfather by the mothers ſide,was much troubled in his wars againſt *Mahomet* the great: but was now much harder for *Hyſmael* to doe, for that he hauing obtained his grandfathers kingdome by the meere good will of the people, eaſing them forthwith of their heauie impoſitions,alwaies thought the loue of his ſubiects(which is eaſily gotten with bountie and iuſtice)the ſureſt riches of his kingdome; and that to command only ouer the bodies and goods of his people,their hearts altogether alienated and loſt by moſt heauy and grieuous exactions, ſeemed not the part of a gracious and naturall prince,but of an outragious and momentarie tyrant. Whereas *Selymus* on the contrary part,who had by force,miſchiefe,and moſt deteſtable practiſes ſtept vp into his fathers ſeat,had after the manner of the *Othoman* kings repoſed his greateſt and moſt aſſured ſtrength in a ſeruile & mercinarie kind of men, whom he might for pay as his owne creatures, at his pleaſure draw farre from home, and as he beſt liked lead them from place to place,and countrey to countrey,for the enlarging of his empire,and eterniſing of his name: and therefore according to the qualitie of his people,deemed true and ready power to conſiſt only in money,and the ſeueritie of his owne command; whereby he had learned with moſt happie ſucceſſe, in ſhort time to obſcure all the victories of the former *Othoman* kings,with the greatneſſe of his owne.

1518

All the Winter following,*Selymus* ſtaied with his armie in Syria,ſpending the time in viſiting the ports & cities of that prouince, and ſetting of things in order, for the better aſſurance thereof. But vpon the approch of the Spring, when he certainly vnderſtood,that by the procurement of *Leo* the tenth,then biſhop of Rome,the Chriſtian Princes were entered into conſultation to make war vpon him, and that ſupplications with great ſolemnitie were made for that purpoſe, and honourable embaſſadors ſent into all prouinces to ſtir vp the greateſt kings of Chriſtendome againſt him, he (leauing *Gazelles* his lieutenant in Syria) by great iournies returned to Conſtantinople: from thence as at hand to behold the deuiſes and motions of Chriſtian Princes his enemies. In the mean time, fearing no alteration to ariſe in the prouinces of Syria and Ægypt,foraſmuch as he well ſaw,that *Cayerbeius* and *Gazelles*,his lieutenants, being at deadly hatred betwixt themſelues (as well for old grudges, as for the late treaſon of *Cayerbeius*,the great cauſe of the ruine of the Mamalukes kingdome)would neuer agree in one againſt him, but rather with a certaine emulation ſtriue betwixt themſelues with diligence, faithfulneſſe,& moderation,who ſhould deſerue beſt in well gouerning the prouinces by him

committed

1519.

A committed to their charge, as indeed they did during the ſhort time of his raigne.

Selymus being arriued at Conſtantinople, and purpoſing from thenceforth to turne all his forces vpon the Chriſtians, cauſed wonderfull preparation to be made for his wars, but eſpecially at ſea: whereby it was thought, that he would haue either attempted the ſtrong Iſland of the Rhodes (a great moat in his eye) or elſe ſome part of Italie. But as he was hatching this miſchiefe, or ſome other of no leſſe importance, and in the meane time delighted himſelfe with viſiting the cities of Grecia and Thrace, and ſolaced himſelfe in the pleaſant countrey about Hadrianople, he was ſuddenly attached with the hand of God, and ſtrucken in the reins of his backe with a canker: which melancholie and deuouring maladie contemning all cure, did by little and little ſo eat and corrupt his body, as that he before ſo much honored, became B now loathſome and odious both to himſelfe and others.

Selymus purpoſing to inuade the Chriſtians, ſtrucke in the reines of his backe with a canker.

As he lay thus languiſhing, his incurable diſeaſe ſtill increaſing, leaning his head in the lap of *Pyrrhus* the Baſſa, whom of all others he moſt loued, ſaid, *O Pyrrhus, I ſee I muſt ſhortly die without remedie.* Whereupon the graue Baſſa tooke occaſion to diſcourſe with him of many matters: and amongſt others, that it would pleaſe him to giue order for the well beſtowing of the great wealth taken from the Perſian merchants in diuers places of his empire: perſuading him to beſtow the ſame vpon ſome notable hoſpitall for reliefe of the poore. To whom *Selymus* replied, Wouldſt thou *Pyrrhus*, that I ſhould beſtow other mens goods, wrongfully taken from them, vpon workes of charity and deuotion, for mine owne vaine glorie and praiſe? aſſuredly I will neuer doe it: nay, rather ſee they be againe reſtored vnto the right owners. C Which was forthwith done accordingly: to the great ſhame of many Chriſtians, who minding nothing leſſe than reſtitution, but making *ex rapina holocauſtum*, doe out of a world of euill gotten goods cull out ſome ſmall fragments, to build ſome poore hoſpitall, or mend ſome blind way; a poore teſtimonie of their hot charitie.

1520

Selymus lying thus ſicke to death, and rotting aboue the ground in his tent, as he was vpon the way going to Hadrianople, ſent before *Pyrrhus* and *Achmetes*, two of his greateſt Baſſaes, to prouide for the ſolemniſing of the great feaſt, which the Turks call *Bairam* (and is as it were their Eaſter) purpoſing to come after himſelfe at leiſure, as his weake bodie would giue him leaue: and kept with him onely *Ferhates*, the third of his greateſt Baſſaes and priuie Counſellors. But ſuch was the furie of his foule diſeaſe, continually attainting him with intollerable D paines, that ſhortly after the departure of the other two Baſſaes, hee breathed out his cruell ghoſt, in the moneth of September, in the yeare 1520: neere vnto the citie Chiurli, in the ſelf ſame place where he had ſomtime moſt vnnaturally aſſailed his aged father *Baiazet*, with purpoſe to haue ſlaine him, had not the fortune of the old Emperor in a great battell preuailed both againſt his force and the treaſon of his owne people. Thus intending the miſchiefe he could not performe, cut off by a loathſome and vntimely death, he to the great ioy of all Chriſtendome ended his daies, when he had liued ſix and fortie yeares, and thereof raigned eight: which time of his raigne was nothing elſe but a moſt horrible and dreadfull time of bloudſhed. His dead bodie was afterwards ſolemnly by his ſon *Solyman* buried in a new temple at Conſtantinople, which he to the imitation of his father and grandfather, had for that E purpoſe before built. Vpon his tombe is ingrauen in the Greeke, Turkiſh, and Sclauonian Tongues, this ſhort Epitaph.

The death of Selymus.

The iuſt iudgement of God.

Hic maximus adſum Selymus, *qui orbem domui.*
Non bella relinquo, ſed pergo inquirere,
Non vlla me fortuna potuit euertere:
Licet oſſa iacent, animus quærit.

Phi. Lonicerus Turcicæ Hiſtoriæ, Tomo primo, li. primo.

F *In Engliſh thus:*

Lo here I lie great *Selymus*, which held the World in feare:
  The World I leaue, but not the wars, which I ſeeke, though not here.
No fortunes force, or victors hand, could take from me the ſpoiles:
  And though my bones lie buried here, my ghoſt ſeekes bloudie broiles.

He vſed commonly to ſay, That nothing was ſweeter than to raigne without feare or ſuſpition of his kindred. A little before his death, he commended his ſon *Solyman* to *Pyrrhus Baſſa*, ſtraightly charging him, that after his death he ſhould leaue the Perſian, and turne his forces altogether vpon the Chriſtians. And the more to incenſe him to the effuſion of bloud, he left him the liuely counterfeit of himſelfe hanging at his bed ſide, with ſundrie bloudie precepts breathing forth his cruell and vnmercifull diſpoſition. G

lymus before s death commendeth the tuon of his ſon yman to Pyrs the Baſſa.

H

Tabulæ Epigraphe.

Soldanus Selymus Othomanus, *Rex Regum, Dominus omnium Dominorum,*
Princeps omnium Principum, Filius & Nepos Dei. S.S.S.

Ad dextram, verſus Græca lingua ad ſcripti in hunc ſenſum.

I

Tutus vt imperij Princeps ſibi ſceptra capeſſat,
Anxia ne dubio corda pauore premat,
Ne putet eſſe nefas cognatum haurire cruorem:
Et nece fraterna, conſtabilire domum.
Iura, Fides, Pietas, regni dum nemo ſuperſit,
Æmulus, haud turbent religione animum.
Hæc ratio eſt, quæ ſola queat regale tueri
Nomen, & expertem te ſinit eſſe metus.

K

Ad ſiniſtram lingua Sclauonica.

Te ſemel aduerſus peccantem, mitis haberi
Ne ſtudeas, pœna vindice tutus eris.
Protinus enſe reſcindendum, putreſcere ſi quid
Incipiet, clemens rex malè ſceptra gerit.
Ad veniam facilis, peccanti porigit anſam
Qua ſe ſuſtentans, ad noua damna ruat.

L

Ad Calcem tabulæ lingua Turcica.

Qui non ipſe ſua Princeps haſtilia dextra,
Agmen in aduerſum marte fauente iacet.
Sed refugit ſæuis caput obiectare periclis
Dum grauia impauido, prælia corde ſubit:
Iſte ſciat vanis belli ſeſe artibus uti:
Et votis nunquam fata fauere ſuis,
Nulla ſibi ſperet, ſuſcepti commoda belli,
Hoſtiles acies quiſquis adire timet. M

The

The Inſcription of the Table.

Sultan *Selymus Othoman* King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Prince of all Princes, the ſonne and nephew of God.

On the right hand of the Table were written Greeke Verſes to this ſence.

The Prince that ſafely ſeekes to raigne, and hold his ſtate in quiet reſt,
Muſt neuer ſuffer troubled care to harbour in his princely breſt:
Nor thinke it ſinne to ſpill the bloud of his moſt neere and deareſt kin,
Not of his brother, ſo there by aſſured ſafetie he may win.
Law, Faith, Deuotion, and ſuch like, to breake them all he muſt not ſpare,
Nor conſcience make of any thing, to rid him from aſpiring care.
This is the way and onely meane that may protect a princes State,
And ſet him ſafe without all feare, whileſt none may liue whom he doth hate.

The bloudie & tyrannical precepts left by Selymus to his ſon Solyman, which hee afterwards moſt aſſuredly kept as is to be ſeene in his life following.

On the left hand of the Table was written in the Sclauonian tongue,

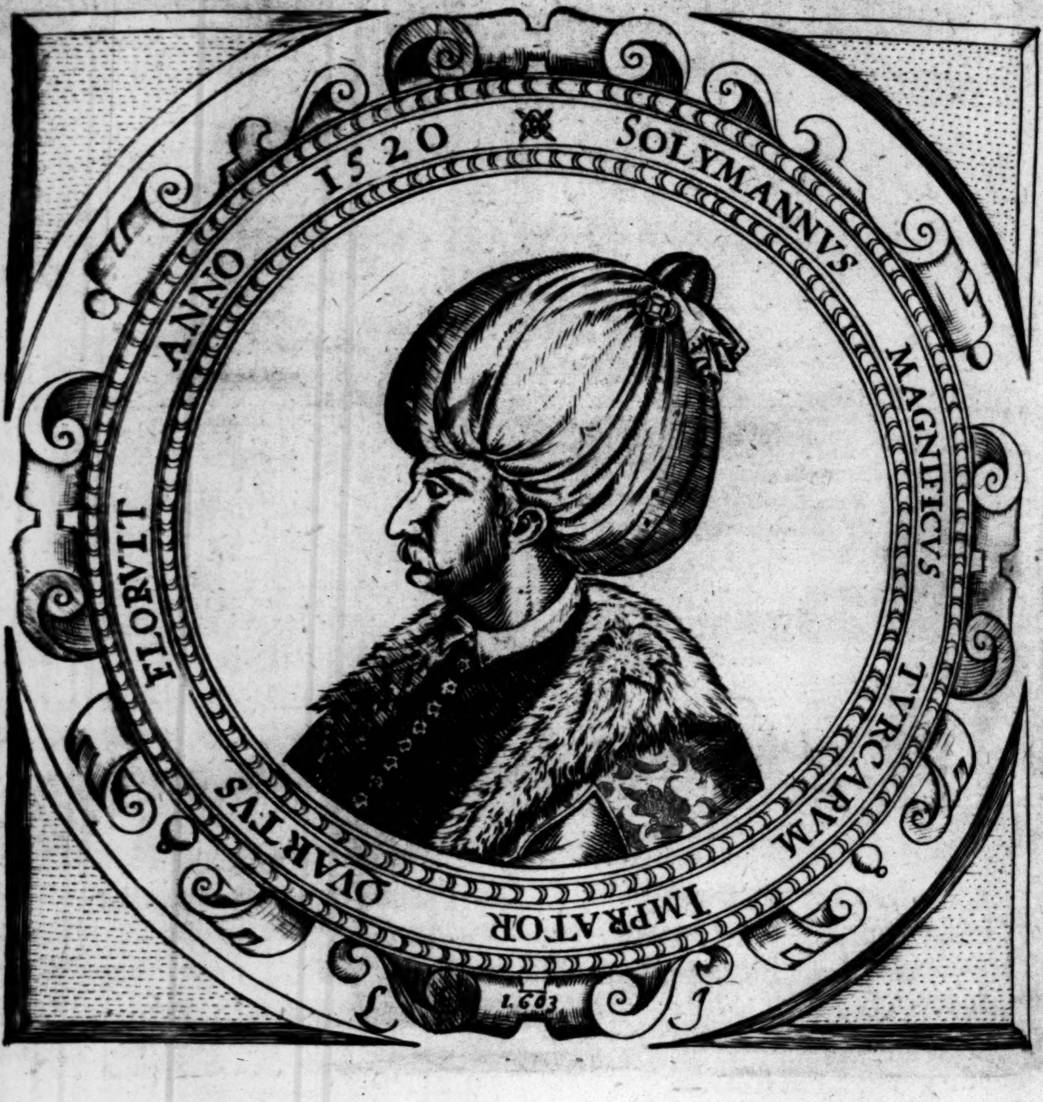
Of him that ſeekes to worke thy woe, deſerue not to be counted kind:
But take him for thy mortall foe, and plague him with reuenging mind.
The rotten lym is cut away for feare of doing further harme:
The gentle prince doth beare ſmall ſway, if no abuſe can make him warme.
Forbearance makes men more offend, and to preſume of further grace,
It doth but ſtrength to rebels lend, to thruſt their ſoueraigne out of place.

At the lower end of the ſame table was written in Turkiſh verſe.

What Prince in perſon dareth not in open field to meet his foe,
And there with vnapplauded heart, his deadly darts himſelfe to throw:
But hides his head for feare of harme, and ſhuns the danger of the field,
When martial minds with courage bold withſtand their foes with ſpeare & ſhield:
Let him well know, how that in vaine he beareth armes but for a ſhow,
And that the honour of the field will neuer ſuch a coward know.
Ne let him hope to gaine the ſpoile by any warres he takes in hand,
That feareth with couragious mind his enemies forces to withſtand.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Selymus the firſt	Emperours of Germany		Maximilian the firſt,	1494.	25.
			Charles the fifth.	1509.	39.
	Kings,	Of England,	Henrie the eighth.	1509.	38.
		Of France,	Lewis the twelfth,	1497.	17.
			Francis the firſt,	1514.	32.
		Of Scotland,	Iames the fourth,	1489.	25.
			Iames the fifth,	1513.	32
	Biſhops of Rome,		Iulius the II,	1503.	9.
			Leo the X,	1513.	8.


SOLYMANNVS MAGNIFICVS TVRCARVM IMPERATOR QVARTVS
FLORVIT ANNO 1520
1.683

Phil. Lonicer.
Hiſt. Turc. li. 1.

Imperij Solyman *patrij moderatur habenas,*
Regnaque Chriſtianum cladibus vſque metit.
Antiquam capit ille Rhodon, Naxumque Parumque
Tyrrheni infeſtat Littora curua maris.
Pannonios multo populatur milite fines,
Et cingit muros clara Vienna tuos.
Inclyta Sigethi dum mœnia concutit armis,
Cogitur, hinc Stygiam nudus adire domum.

His fathers Empire *Solyman* doth rule with mightie power,
And Chriſtian kingdomes ceaſeth not with ſlaughter to deuour.
The antient Rhodes, with Naxos Iſle, and Paros he did take,
And on the coaſts of Italie did wofull hauocke make:
Faire Hungarie with armies great he often did annoy,
And with a world of men had thought Vienna to deſtroy.
But whileſt to Sigeth he laied ſiege, in hope the ſame to haue,
Cut off by death in his great pride, went naked to his graue.

THE LIFE OF *SOLYMAN*, THE FOVRTH AND MOST MAGNIFICENT EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

THe death of *Selymus* was with all carefulneſſe concealed by *Ferhates* the only Baſſa then preſent, for feare leſt the Ianizaries and ſouldiers of the court getting knowledge thereof, ſhould after their wonted manner in the time of the vacancie of the empire, C ſpoile the merchants and ſtrangers in places where they lay in garriſon, and eſpecially in the imperial citie; and not ſo contented, after their accuſtomed inſolencie preſcribe vnto the greateſt Baſſaes at their pleaſure. For preuenting whereof, *Ferhates* diſpatched a truſtie meſſenger with letters in poſt to *Solyman* the only ſonne of *Selymus*, then lying at Magneſia; certifying him of the death of his father; and that he ſhould deſerue well of his peaceable ſubiects by haſtening his comming to Conſtantinople, whileſt all things were yet in good order, in time to repreſſe with his preſence the feared diſordered proceedings of his men of warre.

D *Solyman* hauing to his great content peruſed the Baſſaes letters, as one deſirous enough of the empire; yet conſidering the cruel diſpoſition of his father (who vpon a meere iealous conceit of his aſpiring mind, and for certain words by him let fall in diſlike of his fathers extream dealing, had practiſed moſt vnnaturally to haue taken away him by poiſon: which danger he eſcaped only by the carefulneſſe of his mother, who miſdoubting the worſt, cauſed the poiſoned rich ſhirt ſent to him from his father, to be firſt worne by one of his chamber, whereof he in ſhort time after died) and alſo that the letters were ſigned onely by *Ferhates*, and the newes not ſeconded from any of the other Baſſaes: fearing ſome hidden and ſecret plot of his father tending to his deſtruction, durſt not aduenture to remoue from his charge, but returned the meſſenger as one to whom hee gaue little or no credit. Ten daies thus ſpent, and the death of E *Selymus* nothing as yet ſuſpected; *Ferhates* vnderſtanding by his meſſenger the warineſſe of *Solyman*, and that he expected more aſſured aduertiſement, ſent preſently vnto the other great Baſſaes *Pyrrhus* and *Muſtapha* at Hadrianople, that they ſhould without delay repaire vnto the court: vnto whom at their comming hee declared the death of the Emperour. Which after they had ſeene to be true, they by another ſecret and ſpeedie meſſenger aduertiſed *Solyman* again therof, confirming thoſe letters with all their hands & ſeals: wherby *Solyman* now aſſured of his fathers death, preſently put himſelfe vpon the way, and by long and painfull iournies in few daies came to Scutarium, called in antient time Chriſopolis, ouer againſt Conſtantinople. Where he was met with the Aga or captain of the Ianizaries, and by him tranſported in a gallie ouer that ſtraight paſſage to Conſtantinople; where at his landing the Ianizaries by the appointment of their captaine were readie to receiue him, knowing as yet nothing of the death of *Selymus*, vntill that *Solyman* being now in the midſt of them, the captaine with a loud voice ſaid vnto them, *Behold your Emperor*. Whereupon they all with great acclamation cried out, *Long liue the great Emperor Solyman*: which conſent of the men of war, is vnto the Turkiſh Emperours the greateſt aſſurance of their eſtate. And ſo with much triumph he was by them

Solyman hardly perſuaded that his father was dead.

brought into the roiall pallace, and placed in his fathers ſeat in the yeare 1520: in which yere alſo *Charles* the fift was choſen Emperour of Germanie. The Ianizaries diſappointed by the Baſſaes of the ſpoile of the merchants, eſpecially Chriſtians and Iewes, receiued of the bountie of *Solyman* a great largious; and in the beginning of his raigne had their accuſtomed wages ſomewhat augmented alſo, to their wonderfull contentment.

Solyman was about twentie eight yeares old when hee began to raigne, and was at the firſt ſuppoſed to haue bin of a mild and peaceable diſpoſition: ſo that the princes to whom the name of *Selymus* was before dreadful, were now in hope that a quiet Lamb was come in place of a raging Lyon. But in ſhort time they found themſelues in their expectation far deceiued; and eſpecially the Chriſtian Princes bordering vpon him, vnto whom he became a far more dangerous enemie then was his father before him, conuerting his forces moſt part of his long raigne vpon them, which *Selymus* had almoſt altogether imployed againſt the kings of Perſia, and Ægypt, the greateſt Princes of the Mahometan ſuperſtition.

Gazelles gouernour of Syria rebelleth againſt Solyman.

The firſt that felt his heauie hand was *Gazelles* Gouernour of Syria: who preſently vpon the death of *Selymus*, thinking himſelfe now diſcharged of the oath of obedience which hee had giuen to *Selymus*, but not to his ſucceſſors; and earneſtly deſiring to reſtore again the kingdome of the Mamalukes lately ouerthrowne, gathered together the remainder of the diſperſed Mamalukes, which ſpeedily reſorted vnto him out of all parts of Aſia and Africke: and alluring with rewards the leaders of the wild Arabians, with great numbers of the countrey people of Syria, diſcontented with the Turkiſh gouernment, entred into open rebellion, and by force of armes draue the Turkes garriſons out of Byrtha, Tripolis, and diuers other cities of Syria, taking them into his owne poſſeſſion. And the better to effect that hee had taken in hand, he ſent embaſſadors to Caire, vnto *Cayerbeius*, who had of *Selymus* receiued the gouernment of Ægypt, the vnworthie reward of his horrible treaſon; perſuading him by any means to take reuenge of the iniurie and wrong before done to the Mamalukes, and by killing of the Turkes garriſons to make himſelfe Sultan of Ægypt, and reſtore againe the kingdome of the Mamalukes, offering him therein the vttermoſt of his deuoire and ſeruice. But *Cayerbeius*, either not truſting *Gazelles* his old enemie, or aſhamed by new treaſon to augment his former diſhonor, or els (which was moſt like) miſdoubting his owne ſtrength in performance of ſo great an enterpriſe; after he had attentiuely heard what the embaſſadours had to ſay, cauſed them preſently in his own ſight to be put to death as traitors, and with all ſpeed certified *Solyman* therof: who without delay ſent *Ferhates Baſſa* with with a ſtrong army into Syria. Which thing *Gazelles* hearing, and hauing in his power moſt of the cities of Syria, retired himſelf with all his armie into the ſtrong citie of Damaſco; whither at length, *Ferhates* the great Baſſa by long march came alſo. *Gazelles* reſolued to trie the fortune of the field, and ſo either by ſpeedy victorie or honourable death to end the matter, rather than to ſuffer himſelfe to be ſhut vp within the wals of the citie (vpon the comming of the Baſſa, valiantly iſſued forth with all his power, and gaue him battell; which for the ſpace of ſix houres was moſt cruelly fought, and many ſlaine on both ſides. At length *Gazelles* being oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies (being eight times more in number) and hardly aſſailed on either ſide, was enforced to fight in a ring, and there performing all the parts of a worthie Generall and valiant ſoldier, honotably died together with his Mamalukes in the midſt of his enemies, leauing vnto them a bloudie victory. *Gazelles* thus ſlaine, the citie of Damaſco with all the country of Syria without any more adoe yeelded again vnto the Turks obedience, which the Baſſa took in ſo good part, that he would not ſuffer his ſoldiers to enter into the city, then richly reſtored with commodities of all ſorts, brought thither by merchants out of diuers parts of the world.

Gazelles ſlaine.

Syria thus pacified, the Baſſa went to Caire in Ægypt, and there commending *Cayerbeius* for his fidelitie, confirmed him in his gouernment; and enuaying againſt the cruelty of *Selymus* (ſo to pleaſe the Ægyptians) wiſhed them to hope for all happineſſe vnder the peaceable gouernment of the new Sultan *Solyman*. And ſo when he had ſet all things in order in both the prouinces of Syria and Ægypt, returned againe to *Solyman*.

The yeare next following, *Solyman* by the counſell of *Pyrrhus Baſſa* his old tutor (a mortall enemie vnto the Chriſtians) and by the perſuaſion of the Ianizaries reſolued to beſiege the ſtrong citie of Belgrade, otherwiſe called Taurunum, ſcituat vpon the borders of Hungarie, where the riuer Sauus falleth into Danubius. Which city his great grandfather *Mahomet* (ſurnamed

named the Great, and before him the warlike *Amurath*) had with al their power, long time before to their great loſſe and diſhonour, vainly attempted. Wherein vntill that time were reſerued the enſignes, then taken from the Turks, to their no ſmall griefe, with other trophies of the glorious victories of the worthie captaine *Huniades*, and the great King *Matthias Coruinus* his ſonne. Wherefore *Solyman* ſending his armie before, was come as far as Sophia, a citie in Seruia (the place where the Turks great lieutenant in Europe is alwaies reſiant) before that the Hungarians were aware of his comming: for they liuing at eaſe all the time that *Vladiſlaus* raigned, and now ſleeping in ſecuritie vnder the young King *Lodouicus* his ſonne, a man of no experience; who contenting himſelfe with the title of a King, ſuffered himſelfe to be pilled and poled by his nobilitie and great clergie men (inuerting all the wealth of the land to their owne priuat gaine) that he was not able to raiſe any ſufficient power to go againſt his puiſſant enemie; eſpecially his nobilitie, in whoſe hands reſted the wealth of his kingdome, promiſing him much, but performing indeed nothing. *Huniades* with his hardie ſouldiers, the ſcourge and terror of the Turks, was dead long before; ſo was alſo *Matthias* that fortunat warriour: after whom ſucceeded others giuen to all pleaſure and eaſe; to whoſe example the people faſhioning themſelues, forgot their wonted valour, and gaue themſelues ouer to ſenſualitie and voluptuous pleaſure: ſo that *Solyman* without let, preſented his armie before the citie of Belgrade, and with batterie and vndermining in ſhort time became Lord thereof, hauing loſt few of his people in that ſiege. How much the loſſe of that ſtrong citie concerned the Chriſtian common wealth, the manifold and lamentable miſeries which afterwards inſued by the opening of that gap, not vnto the kingdom of Hungarie only, but to all that ſide of Chriſtendom, did, and yet doth, moſt manifeſtly declare. It was woon by the Turkes the nine and twentieth day of Auguſt in the yeare, 1521.

Belgrade woon by Solyman.

1522

After the taking of the ſtrong citie of Belgrade, *Solyman* returning to Conſtantinople, brake vp his armie and there lay ſtill almoſt all the yeare following. During which time, hee cauſed great preparation to be made at Calipolis and other his ports, for rigging vp of a great fleet: which cauſed the Italians, Venetians, and them of the Rhodes, to looke about them, as men carefull of their eſtates, fearing that thoſe forces would ere long bee imployed againſt ſome or all of them.

Philippus Villerius choſen great maſter of the Rhodes.

About the ſame time *Philippus Villerius* a man of great wiſedome and courage, then following the French court, was in his abſence by the knights of the Rhodes choſen Great maſter of that honourable companie: who embarking himſelfe at Marcelles, after a long and dangerous iourney (being not without the knowledge of *Solyman* hardly laied for at ſea by *Cortug-Ogli* a famous pyrat of the Turkes, whoſe two brethren the knights of the Rhodes had but a little before ſurpriſed at ſea and ſlaine; and then held the third in priſon) arriued in ſafety at the Rhodes, where he was with great ioy and triumph receiued.

The great Baſſa, by whoſe graue aduiſe *Solyman* was contented in all his waightie affaires to be directed, conſulting with the other Baſſaes, of diuers great exploits which was firſt to be taken in hand, for the honor of their Emperour and inlarging of his empire, were of diuers opinions concerning the beſieging of the Rhodes. *Pyrrhus* the Baſſa of greateſt account, diſſuaded the taking in hand of that action, as too full of difficultie and danger: producing for proofe thereof the example of the great Emperor *Mahomet*, *Solymans* great grandfather; by whom it was vnfortunatly attempted, and in fine ſhamefully abandoned. But *Muſtapha* next in place and reputation to *Pyrrhus*, extolling the power and fortune of *Solyman*, ſaid, That the greatneſſe of their Emperor was not to be concluded within the attempts of his predeceſſors as well appeared by the late taking of Belgrade; from whence firſt *Amurath*, and after him, *Mahomet*, two of the moſt warlike Princes of the Turks, had with great diſhonour been repulſed: and ſhould no doubt with like good fortune preuaile againſt the Rhodes alſo, being able (if need were) to bring more men before it than were ſtones in the wals thereof. Which he ſo confidently affirmed, with extenuating the power of the Rhodians, that hee ſeemed to make no doubt of the good ſucceſſe of that war: preſumptuouſly affirming, that vpon the firſt landing of *Solymans* great armie, they of the Rhodes would without delay yeeld themſelues and their citie into his hands.

Amongſt others of great experience, whoſe opinions *Solyman* was deſirous to haue, before he would take ſo great a matter in hand, was the famous pirat *Cortug-Ogli*, a man of a miſchieuous and cruell nature; but of great experience in ſea matters. Who preſented to *Solyman* by *Muſtapha* and *Ferhates*, two of the greateſt Baſſaes, going before him, after due reuerence done, and commanded to deliuer his opinion, ſpake vnto *Solyman*, as followeth:

Cortug-Ogli the great perſuadeth Solyman to beſiege the Rhodes.

The greatneſſe of your deſerts (moſt mightie and puiſſant Emperour) maketh me (beeing by you ſo commanded) at this time frankly to ſpeake what I thinke may be for the glorie and honour both of your Maieſtie and Empire. I daily heare the pittifull lamentation of the miſerable people of Mitylene, Eubœa, Peloponeſus, Achaia, Caria, Lycia, and all alongſt the ſea coaſt of Syria and Ægypt, bewayling the ſpoyle of their countries, the rauſacking of their cities, the taking away of their cattell and people, with other infinite and incredible calamities, which they dayly ſuffer of the croſſed Rhodian pyrats, no man withſtanding them: Many a time haue theſe wretched people holden vp their hands to mee for helpe, moſt inſtantly requeſting mee to bee a meane for them to your imperiall Maieſtie, whereby they might be protected from the iniurie, rapine, and ſlaughter of theſe cruell rouers. Wherefore in their behalfe I beſeech your ſacred Maieſtie, by the moſt reuerend name of the holy Prophet Mahomet, *and by your owne moſt heroicall diſpoſition, to deliuer your afflicted ſubiects from theſe their moſt cruell enemies, and at length to ſet them free from the furie, captiuitie, and feare, of theſe pyrats, more grieuous vnto them than death it ſelfe: and conſider with your ſelfe, that this iniurie and inſolencie tendeth not ſo much to the hurt of your poore ſubiects and oppreſſed people in priuate, as to the diſhonour and diſgrace of your imperiall name and dignitie; which if any other Chriſtian King or Prince ſhould offer, your Maieſtie I know would not ſuffer vnreuenged: And will you then ſuffer theſe robbers, cut-throats, baſe people gathered out of all the corners of Chriſtendome, to waſte your countries ſpoile your Cities, murther your people, and trouble all your ſeas? For who can paſſe by ſea to Tripolis, Damaſco, Alexandria, Caire, Chalcide, Lesbos, Chios, nay vnto this your imperiall citie of Conſtantinople, without moſt certaine and manifeſt danger of theſe rouers? What haue we heard euerie Spring this many yeares, but that the Rhodians had taken ſome one or other of your Ports, led away your people into moſt miſerable captiuitie, and carried away with them the rich ſpoiles of your countries? And that which is of all other things moſt diſhonourable, this they doe vnder your noſe, and in your ſight, in the middeſt and heart of your Empire. Pardon mee I beſeech you moſt Mightie Emperour, if I too plainely ſpeake what I thinke: For whatſoeuer I ſay, I ſay it to no other end, but that you ſhould now at length doe that which ſhould many yeares agoe haue beene done. Wee your moſt loyall ſubiects may not, nor ought not, for the increaſe of our Mahometan Religion, and for the enlarging of your Empire and Honour, to refuſe to aduenture our goods, our bodies, our liues, to all hazard and danger whithout exception. If you likewiſe be carried with loue of glorie and renowne, or rauiſhed with the deſire of neuer dying Fame; in what warres can you more eaſily gaine the ſame, or better imploy vs your ſeruants, than in vanquiſhing and ſubduing the Rhodes, the reputed bulwarke of Chriſtendome, which onely keepeth vs from their countries? But ſome will perhaps ſay, your anceſtours haue in former times vnfortunately attempted that citie: ſo did they alſo Belgrade iu Hungarie: yet hath your happie fortune to your immortall fame brought the ſame vnder your ſubiection, beeing farre more ſtrongly fortified than it was in times paſt: and doe you then deſpaire of the Rhodes? Caſt off ſuch vaine and needleſſe miſdoubt. The Turkiſh Empire hath alwaies growne by aduentures and honourable attempts: Therefore make haſt to beſiege it both by ſea and land. If your ſubiects mourning vnder the heauie burthen of the Chriſtian captiuitie, built it with their owne hands for the Chriſtians; cannot they now at libertie, deſirous of reuenge, and fitted with opportunitie, with like hands deſtroy the ſame? If it pleaſe you to vouchſafe but to looke into the matter (moſt dread Soueraigne) you ſhall ſee that there is a diuine occaſion by the procurement of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *preſented vnto your moſt ſacred Maieſtie, now that the Chriſtians of the Weſt are at diſcord and mortall warre amongſt themſelues. Your Maieſtie is not ignorant, that in managing of wars, the opportunitie of the time is eſpecially to be followed; and that when occaſion ſerueth, all remiſneſſe and delay is to be carefully auoided: the changes of times are moſt tickle, and if you ſuffer your good hap now to paſſe ouer, you ſhall perhaps in vaine afterwards purſue the ſame when it is fled and gone.*

Solyman by nature an ambitious yong prince, prickt forward thus alſo by the perſuaſions of *Cortug-Ogli* and others, ſeeking their further credit and preferment by fitting his ambitious humor: but moſt of all by the inſtigation of the Baſſa *Muſtapha*, reſolued to go in perſon himſelfe

A ſelfe againſt the Rhodes. And firſt to make ſome proofe of what ſpirit and courage *Villerius* the new choſen Great Maſter was of, in whoſe ſufficiencie the greateſt part of the defence of the citie was ſuppoſed to conſiſt: to him by way of a little cold friendſhip, he ſent a meſſenger with this ſhort Letter thus directed:

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, greateſt Emperour of Conſtantinople and Trapezond, moſt Mightie King of Perſia, Arabia, Syria, and Ægypt; Lord of Aſia and Europe; Prince of Mecha and Aleppo, Ruler of Hieruſalem; and Maſter of the Vniuerſall Sea: to the reuerend Father, *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Maſter of the Rhodes, and Legat of Aſia,
B greeting.

I am glad of thy kingdome and new promotion, which I wiſh thou maieſt long and happily enioy, for that I hope thou wilt in honour and fidelitie exceed all them which before thee ruled in the Rhodes: from whom as my anceſtours haue withdrawne their hand, ſo I after their example ioyne with thee in amitie and friendſhip. Ioy thou therefore, my friend, and in my behalfe reioyce of my victorie and triumph alſo: for this laſt Summer paſſing ouer Danubius with enſignes diſplayed, I there expected the Hungarian King, who I thought would haue giuen me battell; I tooke from him by ſtrong hand Belgrade, the ſtrongeſt citie of his Kingdome, with other ſtrang holds thereabouts: and hauing with fire and ſword deſtroyed much people, and carried away many moe into captiuitie, as a triumphant conque-
C *ror, breaking vp mine armie, am returned to my imperiall citie of Conſtantinople, from whence farewell.*

Solymans letter to Villerius, Great maſter of the Rhodes.

The Great Maſter hauing read theſe Letters, and well conſidered of the ſame, perceiued forthwith *Solymans* meaning, and that peace was offered him in words and ſhew, but war in deed and meaning. Which becauſe he was readie by force to repulſe, he rewarded the Turks meſſenger, and ſent backe with him another of his owne, a priuat perſon. For the Rhodians did ſeldome vouchſafe to ſend any honourable embaſſadours to the Turkiſh Emperours (with whom they for moſt part liued in hoſtilitie) either the Turkes to them. By this meſſenger he anſwered *Solymans* Letters with other of like vaine, as followeth:

D **Philippus Villerius Lilladamus**, Great Maſter of the Rhodes, to the Turke.

I right well vnderſtand your letters which your meſſenger brought vnto me. The friendſhip you write of, is as pleaſing to me as diſpleaſing to Cortug-Ogli *your ſeruant, who went about to haue intercepted me vpon the ſudden, as I came out of France: but failing of his purpoſe, ſtealing by night into the Rhodian Sea, he attempted to haue robbed certaine merchants ſhips bound from Ioppe to Venice: but ſending my fleet out of my hauen, I ſtaied his furie, conſtrained the pyrat to flie, and for haſt to leaue behind him the priſes he had before taken from the merchants of Crete. Farewell, from the Rhodes.*

The anſwer of Villerius to Solymans letters.

By this anſwer **Solyman** perceiued, that he was well met withall in his owne fineneſſe, and
E that he ſhould not ſo eaſily carrie the Rhodes, as he had before done Belgrade. Yet being fully in himſelfe reſolued to trie his fortune therein, he called vnto him certaine of the chiefe commanders of his warres, to whom he opened his whole determination in this ſort:

Although I doubt not, worthie chiefetaines, but that you are of the ſame mind now that you haue beene alwaies of, in the inuading of other Nations; yet I haue thought it good in matters tending to the common glorie, and good of vs all, to vſe your generall aduice and counſell. Since the time that my father left this world, wee haue made warre with diuers Nations and people. The Syrians by nature vnconſtant, and prone to rebellion, we haue by force reduced to their former obedience. The Sophi, that mightie king, nephew vnto the great King Vſun-Caſſanes, *by his daughter the ſiſter of king* Iacup, *in heart and deed our mortall enemie, not contented with the kingdomes of Aſſyria, Media, Armenia the greater, Perſia, and Meſopotamia, wee haue with our forces ſhut vp within the compaſſe of his owne dominions. The laſt yeare running through Hungarie, both on this ſide and beyond Danubius wee tooke Belgrade the ſtrongeſt fortreſſe in that Kingdome: And whatſoeuer elſe wee attempted, wee ſubdued. Yet for all that (to ſpeke plainely of my ſelfe) my minde greater*

Solymans Oration to his men of war, declaring his purpoſe of beſieging the Rhodes.

in conceit than my Empire, and the bloud of Othoman, *findeth no contentment in theſe victories. For whatſoeuer you haue yet done, although it be great, yet I deeme it all but little, in regard of your worth: my deſire carrieth me further. This haue I alwaies aboue all things moſt earneſtly deſired, to ſet vpon the Rhodes, and vtterly to root out all the ſtrength and forces, yea the very name of thoſe Rhodian ſouldiers. And haue not you alſo no leſſe than my ſelfe deſired the ſame? How often haue I heard you crying out, The Rhodes, The Rhodes? I haue expected the time that beeing diſcharged of other warres, I might heere employ my whole ſtrength and power. That we ſo long deſired, is now come: there was neuer greater opportunitie of good ſucceſſe offered, a great part of the walls of the citie of the Rhodes now lying euen with the ground; which cannot in ſhort time bee repaired, eſpecially in their want of coyne. Beſide this, the garriſon in the caſtle is but ſmall, and their aid from France farre off, which wil either come too late when the citie is loſt, or that which I rather beleeue, neuer. For neither will the the French King (being at mortall warres with the Germane Emperour, and Lord of Italie) ſuffer his ſtorehouſes to be diſfurniſhed, or his ports bared of the neceſſarie defence of his ſhipping. Neither doe you beleeue that the Spaniards (diſtreſſed at home with famine, warre, and ciuile diſcention) will eaſily come hither out of Sicilia and Campania with ſupplies of men and victuall. But you may perhaps thinke, that great danger is to be feared from the Venetian fleet, and the Iſle of Crete, which I aſſure you is not ſo: for I know (although I will not now manifeſt the ſame) how I haue preuented that miſchiefe. Wherefore couragious ſouldiers (borne to the ſubauing of all Chriſtendome, much more of the Rhodes) with cheerefull hearts follow me your ſoueraigne againſt theſe your moſt perfidious and cruell enemies. How long I pray you will you ſuffer that ſtaine and diſgrace to ſticke vpon the* Othoman *Familie, and generally vpon all the name of the Turkes, which theſe Rhodians caſt vpon vs the laſt time they were beſieged? Which was not ſo much done by their valour, as by the vnfortunate counſell of my great grandfather* Mahomet, *calling home* Meſithes Palæologus *his Generall in that war, for one vnluckie aſſault. But admit that their valour gained them victorie, will you therefore alwaies ſuffer theſe pyraticall excurſions vpon our Maine and Iſlands? The ranſacking of cities and countries? The carrying away of your cattell and richeſt ſubſtance? The captiuitie and ſlaughter of your wiues and children? The ſlauerie of your neereſt friends and kinſmen. So helpe me great* Mahomet *it ſhall not ſo be: I vow in deſpight of Chriſt and* Iohn, *in ſhort time to ſet vp mine enſignes with the Moone in the middle of the market place of Rhodes. Neither doe I ſeeke any thing vnto my ſelfe, more than the honour of the enterpriſe; the profit I giue vnto you my fellow ſouldiers, their coine, plate, iewels (which is reported to be great) their riches and wealth is all yours, to carrie home with you vnto your wiues and children. Wherefore let vs now with all our forces and courage ſet forward to the beſieging of the Rhodes.*

Solymans purpoſe thus made knowne, and the ſame with one accord of all his captains well liked: *Pyrrhus* the eldeſt Baſſa and of greateſt authoritie, who at the firſt diſſuaded the warre, ſtanding vp in the middeſt of the reſt, ſaid:

I cannot but much admire the great wiſedome and rare vertues of our young Emperour, who ſo wiſely and aduiſedly hath declared all the deepe counſels of a worthie chiefetaine in taking of warre in hand. Bleſſed be Mahomet, *thrice and foure times bleſſed is this empire, bleſſed is our eſtate, and bleſſed are we with ſuch a Prince, which carrieth with him in his warres not onely men and habiliments of warre, but moſt deepe wiſedome and policie. Which wholeſome manner of proceeding, if we had alwaies before our eyes, and would follow, we ſhould in ſhort time bring vnder our ſubiection not the Rhodes onely, but all the kingdomes of the Chriſtians. Yet beſide that which our Emperor hath moſt carefully and conſiderately deuiſed, mine age and experience would exhort you, by gifts, promiſes, rewards, and all other means whatſoeuer, to corrupt if it were poſſible the very chiefe and principall citizens of the Rhodes, thereby to enter into their moſt ſecret deuices and counſels: which how it may be wrought, I will in few words giue you to vnderſtand. I as a man indifferent, deſirous of peace and quietneſſe, will by meſſengers and letters induce the Great Maſter to ſend ſome honourable embaſſage to our dread Soueraigne, which if I can once bring him vnto, then let me alone with the reſt.*

Solyman maketh preparation againſt the Rhodes.

This counſell of the old Fox pleaſed all the hearers wel, but aboue others the emperor himſelfe, who gaue him in charge with all diligence and ſpeed, to proue what he could doe: the other captains he commanded to prepare the greateſt forces they could, both for land & ſea ſeruice.

A ſeruice. Which preparation was ſo great both at Conſtantinople and other places, that it could not long be kept ſo ſecret, but that newes therof was brought to the Rhodes the fourth day of Februarie: which newes dayly increaſing and ſtill confirmed by more certaine reports, *Villerius* the Great Maſter for more certaine intelligence, ſent a Chriſtian of Epidaurus, who could perfectly ſpeake the Turkiſh language, as a ſpie to Conſtantinople; who by ſecret letters from thence gaue him knowledge that the Turks were preparing a great fleet, and raiſing a mightie armie, aduertiſing him alſo of a wonderfull proportion of artillerie prepared for batterie: but againſt whom was not commonly knowne, ſome deeming it to be for the inuaſion of Italie, ſome for the Rhodes, others ſuppoſing it to be for Ciprus or Corcira: which diuerſitie of coniectures, made many (whoſe conceits auerted from themſelues the fortune B of that war) to be more careleſſe and ſecure. But whilest euery man was of opinion, that it was made againſt any man rather than himſelfe, certaine aduertiſement was giuen to the Rhodians from diuers places by Letters from their friends and confederates, That the Turkes did with extraordinarie diligence keep ſtrait watch and ward in all their ports thereabouts along the ſea coaſt, otherwiſe than they were before accuſtomed: which ſeemed to prognoſticate ſome farther matter than the defence of their frontiers. *Villerius* carefull of his charge, as the marke whereat the enemie aimed, prouided with all poſſible diligence great ſtore of victuall, armor, weapons, ſhot, powder, and whatſoeuer elſe neceſſarie for the defence of the citie.

Villerius prepareth to make reſiſtance againſt the Turkes.

The new wals of the citie, and Auergne fortreſſe, by *Baſilius* enginier to the Emperour *Charles* the fift (a worke begun in the time of *Fabritius Caractus* the late Grand maſter, but not C yet finiſhed) was now with all diligent labour ſet vpon, euery man putting his helping hand vnto ſo neceſſarie a worke. Whileſt theſe things were with ſo great endeuour and labor a doing, a meſſenger came from Conſtantinople, (ſent from the old Baſſa *Pyrrhus*) a ſharpe witted and cunning fellow, who with much filed ſpeech in moſt ample manner doing his meſſage, by the way, painted forth the great towardlineſſe and courteous nature of the Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman*, with the great commendation of *Pyrrhus* Baſſa his maſter: deliuering from both of them letters vnto the Great Maſter of this purport.

Solyman by the grace of God King of Kings, Lord of Lords, &c. to the reuerend father *Philippus Villerius Liladamus*, Great Maſter of the Rhodes, and Legat of Aſia, greeting.

D *I am certainly informed that my letters are deliuered vnto thee; which for that thou vnderſtoodeſt them aright, I cannot expreſſe how much it pleaſed me. Truſt to it, that I am not contented with the victorie I got at Belgrade; I hope for another, nay I aſſure my ſelfe thereof, which I will not hide from thee whom I am alwaies mindfull of. Farewell from Conſtantinople.*

Solymans letters to Villerius.

Pyrrhus, great Counſellour to the mightie Emperour *Solyman*, to *Philippus Villerius Liladamus*, Great Maſter of the Rhodes and Legat of Aſia, greeting.

E *Your Letters, greater in meaning than character, I haue deliuered vnto our moſt mightie Emperor: but the bearer thereof I would not ſuffer to come to his preſence, leſt hee ſhould be too much offended with ſo baſe a meſſenger. Vnto whom from henceforth ſend men of worth commendable for their yeares and diſcretion, with whom his Maieſtie may (if he ſo pleaſe) conferre and conclude of matters concerning the common good: which thing if you ſhall doe, it ſhall neither repent you of the doing thereof, nor me of my counſell. The meſſenger I ſend, bringeth letters vnto you alſo from our great Emperour; to whoſe diuine excellencie how you are to anſwer, you are alreadie admoniſhed. Farewell from Conſtantinople.*

Pyrrhus Baſſa his letters to Villerius.

Theſe letters being openly read, drew the minds of the Rhodians diuerſly. Such as altogether wiſhed for peace, meaſuring others after their owne plaine meaning and integritie, commended the counſel of *Pyrrhus*, ſaying, That he being an old man of great experience, was not ſo deſirous of our quiet, as of the quiet of his prince & country: and therfore wiſhed by wiſdom to order that which the yong prince ſought for by war, fearing the vncertainty of mans fragilitie, the common chance of war, the violence of fortune, which hath oftentimes in a moment with a handfull of men ouerthrowne moſt mightie kings with their ſtrong armies. G The perſuaſion of theſe men tooke ſuch effect, that one of the knights of the Order called *Raimund March*, a Spaniard a noble gentleman of great courage, and very eloquent, skilfull alſo in the Turkiſh tongue, and then Muſter-maſter, was appointed to haue been ſent Embaſſadour vnto the Turkiſh Emperour. Many there were of a contrarie oinion, which ſuſpecting fraud and deceit, ſaid it were good to beware of the enemies counſell: asking, to what end this embaſſage were? For ſhould wee proclaime warre (ſay they) againſt the moſt mightie tyrant, not yet our profeſſed enemie, who writeth all peace? Or ſhould we intreat for peace, no war as yet proclaimed; that he which as yet is afraid himſelfe, may now vnderſtand that he is of vs feared? Beſides that, with what ſecuritie, with what face can our Embaſſadors go, vnrequeſted H of the Turkiſh Emperor, without his ſafe conduct thorow thoſe countries which we daily burn & ſpoile? But they ſhall ſhew *Pyrrhus* the great Baſſaes letters forſooth, his protection, his credit and authoritie ſhall defend them from all iniurie and wrong; as though the ſeruant ſhould preſcribe laws to his maſter, & ſuch a ſeruant as is moſt like vnto his maſter (that is) cruel, falſe of faith, a hater of all Chriſtians, but eſpecially of vs Rhodians: whom the mercileſſe tyrant hauing in his power, with his nauy & army in readines, ſhall with cruel torture inforce to diſcouer vnto him our prouiſion, the ſecrets of our city and Order. This opinion of the wiſer ſort, was greatly confirmed by the too much curioſitie of the meſſenger which was ſent, who with all diligence enquired of the ſtate and ſcituation of the citie, of the number and I ſtrength of the Order. Wherefore in concluſion he was ſent backe againe accompanied but with one priuat ſouldier to carrie the Great maſters letters vnto the Turkiſh tyrant: the tenure whereof was thus:

Philippus Villerius Great Maſter of the Rhodes, vnto the Turke greeting.

Villerius his anſwer to Solymans letters.

That you are mindfull of me grieueth me nothing; and I am alſo mindfull of you. You repeat your victorie in Hungarie, wherewith not being contented you hope for another: nay you promiſe and aſſure your ſelfe thereof, before you haue attempted the war. Beware you deceiue not your ſelfe; mens expectations neuer deceiue them more than in warres. Farewell, from the Rhodes. K

The other letters written to *Pyrrhus*, were to this effect:

Philippus Villerius Liladamus Great Maſter of the Rhodes, to *Pyrrhus* the Baſſa.

Villerius his anſwer to Pyrrhus the Baſſa his letters.

I haue adviſedly conſidered thy letters, with the behauiour and diſpoſition of thy meſſenger. As I contemne not thy counſell, ſo I will not follow the ſame, whileſt my men of warre do ſpoile the countries and ports of thy lord and maſter, which I beare withall, by reaſon of the iniuries they haue ſuſtained of the Turkiſh pirats. But I will call them home, and will ſend Embaſſadors vnto thy great Lord: ſo that thou before ſend me ſafe conduct vnder thy maſters great ſeale, for their ſafe comming and returne. Farewell, from the Rhodes. L

But theſe letters were neuer deliuered vnto the great Turke, or the Baſſa: for as ſoon as the Turkiſh meſſenger was come ouer into the maine, he preſently tooke horſe, which was there in readineſſe for him, and poſted towards Conſtantinople with as much ſpeed as he could, leauing the Chriſtian meſſenger his companion behind him, who returning backe againe to the Rhodes, and telling what he had heard and ſeene, gaue them all great occaſion to diſpaire of peace: whereupon *Villerius* ſent into Crete to hire certain companies of Cretenſian archers.

Villerius aduertiſed of the comming of the Turkes fleet.

In the meane time aduertiſement was giuen vnto the Great maſter by letters from the Iſland M of Naxos, That the Turks were readie to put their fleet to ſea with the firſt appearance of the new moone: which thing they moſt ſuperſtitiouſly obſerue in the beginning of all their great actions. The ſame newes was brought alſo by certaine merchants of the Iſland of Pathmos, who came to the Rhodes with a great ſhip laded with corne from Euboea, vnder the colour, of the ſale whereof, they (by the commandement of the Turkes, to whom they were tributaries)

A ries)diligently noted all that was done in the citie, ſhortly to be beſieged. The great maſter
with no leſſe diligence, ſent diuers of his ſmall gallies amongſt the Iſlands and alongſt the
maine,to learne what might be of the enemies doings. *Ioannes Lupus* one of the knights of the
order,and captaine of one of theſe gallies, meeting with a great ſhip of the Turks laded with
corne,tooke her and brought her home to Rhodes. But *Alphonſus* captaine of another of the
gallies,lying in harbour in one of the Iſlands,and ſuffering his men to ſtraggle too far into the
land,was ſet vpon by a Turkiſh pirat and taken.

About the ſame time the Turks by often fires made vpon the maine in the night ſeaſon,
gaue ſigne vnto the Rhodians,that they were deſirous to haue ſome parly with them, as their
manner was. Wherupon one *Menetan* a French man,one of the knights,by commandement of
B the reſt of the Order,was ſent with a gallie well appointed to the maine to ſee what the mat-
ter might be,and with him was ioined *Iacobus Xaycus* a paymaſter for the gallies,that he might
of the inhabitants of the place,and his friends there dwelling,diligently enquire of all things
concerning the intended warre: for this *Xaycus*, beſides that he was a ſkilfull ſea man and one
that knew the coaſt well,had alſo good experience in ciuile affaires,and was wonderfully be-
loued & made of by the Turkiſh merchants whoſe language he had perfectly learned. Draw-
ing neere the ſhoare,he found the Turkiſh merchants making merrie vpon the main,with their
carpets,cotten wooll, and ſuch like merchandiſe about them as they vſed to exchange with
the Rhodian merchants for woollen cloathes: vnto theſe merchants he gaue due ſalutations,
gaging his faith for their ſafetie, & they likewiſe to him. But being requeſted to come aſhore
C to make merrie vntill one of his familiar and old acquaintance might be ſent for,who as they
ſaid was not far off, he anſwered, that he could not ſo doe, except they would firſt deliuer a
pledge for him a ſhipboord. The perfidious Turks laughing as it were at his needleſſe feare,
willingly ſent their merchandiſe,& a pledge aboord the gallies. *Xaycus* then going aſhore, and
embracing the Turkiſh merchants which met him: vpon a ſigne giuen,was forthwith beſet on
euery ſide and taken priſoner,and by poſt horſes conuaied with all ſpeed to Conſtantinople,
where he was with moſt exquiſit torments that could be deuiſed for any man to endure, en-
forced to confeſſe whatſoeuer his cruel enemies could deſire. After *Xaycus* was by treache-
rie thus loſt, then began their prouident wiſedome to be highly commended, which were
the occaſion,that the decree made for ſending embaſſadors vnto the Turke, was againe re-
D uoked. The hoſtage giuen for *Xaycus*, being brought to the Rhodes and examined, was found
to be a ſimple countrey fellow whom the Turkes had of purpoſe well apparelled to deceiue
the Rhodians: who frankly and plainly according to his ſimple knowledge, anſwered to all
things that were of him demanded; as that the Turks were making great preparation for ſea,
vpon the coaſts of Caria and Lycia, and had taken vp many ſouldiers in the countries therea-
bouts to ſend into the frontiers of his dominions towards Syria, for defence of the ſame a-
gainſt the Perſians. All which was true: for *Solyman* to put the Rhodians out of all ſuſpition
of inuaſion (whom he knew carefully to obſerue his doings) ſent the ſouldiers whom he had
leuied in the countries neereſt to the Rhodes, far away againſt the Perſian, as if he had meant
nothing againſt the Rhodes,and ſo vpon the ſudden to ſet vpon them with his armie brought
E out of Europe, before they were aware. But this his deuiſe ſerued to ſmall purpoſe; for the
great Maſter perceiuing by many circumſtances,but eſpecially by that late calamitie of *Xaycus*
that the Rhodes was the place the Turkiſh tyrant longed after; & fearing that delay might
bring farther danger,cauſed a ceſſation from al other buſines to be proclaimed,vntil all things
neceſſary for defence of the citie were accompliſhed: watch & ward was kept in euery ſtreet,
the great artillerie planted vpon the wals and bulwarks, companies appointed for the defence
of euery place, the publick armorie of all warlike prouiſion was open, all the ſtreets were ful
of men carrying weapons,ſome to one place,ſome to another. At which time a general muſter
was taken by the chiefe men of the Order, where were found about 5000 men able to beare
armes,among whom were 600 knights of the Order,& 500 ſouldiers of Crete,the reſt were
F for moſt part mariners,able bodies,who in the time of the ſiege did great ſeruice,encouraged
by their ſea captains: the Iſland people which repaired into the citie,ſerued to little other pur-
poſe but to dig and carry earth vnto the rampiers:and the citizens (except it were ſome few of
the better ſort) were for the moſt part weak and of ſmal courage,nor able to indure any labor
or paines,and yet hardly to bee kept in order and gouerned, great ſpeakers, but ſmall doers,

greater

The carefulne of the Gran Maſter.

greater in ſhew than in deed. The Great Maſter hauing carefully prouided and ordered all things needfull for defence of the citie, and fearing nothing more than the faint hearts of the citizens, cauſed them all to be called together; for incouragement of whom, hee ſpake vnto them as followeth:

Villerius his Oration vnto the Rhodians,

Valiant Gentlemen and worthie Citizens, wee heare that the Turke our mortall enemie is comming againſt vs, with a huge armie raiſed of diuers Nations: from whoſe naturall crueltie and wonted periurie except we defend our ſelues by force, one and the ſelfe ſame danger is like to befall me, my knights, and you all. For we haue with common conſent and hand grieuouſly ſpoiled him both by ſea and land, and you are by booties taken by ſtrong hand out of his dominions, inriched: and at this day we keepe his people in grieuous ſeruitude, and he ours; but he iniuriouſly, and we moſt iuſtly: For his anceſtours (wearie of the darke dennes and caues of the mountaine Caucaſus, their naturall dwelling) without right, title, or cauſe, incited onely with couetouſneſſe, ambition, and the hatred of our moſt ſacred religion, haue driuen the Chriſtians out of Syria: and afterwards oppreſſed the Grecians in Grecia; where not contented to haue deſtroyed the people, with one ſimple kinde of death (as barbariſme is euer cruell and mercileſſe) they haue with moſt exquiſit and horrible torments butchered many thouſands of that Nation. All whom, this wicked proud youth (whoſe miſchiefe exceedeth his yeares) an euill neighbour to all men, not contented with the dominions of Arabia, Syria, Ægypt, the greateſt part of Aſia, and of many other places moe, ſeeketh in tyrannie, murther, ſpoile, periurie, and hatred againſt Chriſt and Chriſtians, farre to excell: and forceth himſelfe to the vttermoſt of his power, to take from vs our Iſlands, and to ſubdue the Chriſtian Countries; that ſo at length being Lord of all, and commander of the World, hee may at his pleaſure ouerthrow the Chriſtian cities, kill the Chriſtians, and vtterly root out the Chriſtian name, which hee ſo much hateth. For the repulſing of which intollerable iniurie, wee haue eſpecially choſen this Iſland of the Rhodes for our dwelling place, becauſe the ſame ſeemed more commodious than any other for the annoying of this barbarous Nation. We haue done what in vs lay, holpen by you: we know by proofe your great valour and fidelitie, which we now haue not in any diſtruſt. Wherefore I will not vſe many wordes to perſuade you to continue in your fidelitie and loyaltie, neither long circumſtance to encourage you to play the men: ſithence worthie mindes are not with wordes either encouraged or diſmayed. But concerning my ſelfe and my Knights of the Order, I will ſpeake a few words. I with them, with whom (as I hope) the Chriſtian Princes and other my knights of the Weſt will in good time ioyne their forces, are moſt readie and preſt to defend your ſelues, your children, your wiues, your goods, the monuments of your anceſtours and ſacred Temples, dedicated to the ſeruice of our God. Which opinion, that it may remaine firme and fix in your minds, if nothing elſe, my faithfulneſſe in your warres, my bodie not yet altogether ſpent, but able enough to endure paines and trauell, the nobilitie of theſe worthie knights of the Order, their loue towards you, and their hatred towards your enemies were ſufficient to confirm: but beſide this, the ſtrength of this citie, which this noble Order hath with infinit charges ſo notably fortified with ditches, wals, towers, and bulwarkes, againſt all the force and furie of Artillerie, is ſuch, as that no citie may worthily bee compared, much leſſe preferred before the ſame. It is wonderfully ſtored with all kind of weapons and warrelike prouiſion: we haue layed vp plentie of wine, fleſh, and corne, in vaults, ſo that neither wet weather nor wormes can attaint the ſame: of wood and wholeſome water not to be taken from vs, things neceſſarie for men beſieged we haue plentie, and able men ynow for the defence of the citie. All which things promiſe vnto vs aſſured victorie, and ſuch end of the warre as we wiſh for. Beſides this, Neceſſitie, which giueth courage euen vnto cowards, will enforce vs to fight. Yet ſtandeth on our ſide true Religion, Faith, Conſcience, Deuotion, Conſtancie, the loue of our Countrey, the loue of our Libertie, the loue of our Parents, Wiues, Children, and whatſoeuer elſe we hold deare: Whereas they bring with them the proud command of their captaines, Infidelitie, Impietie, Inconſtancie, a wicked deſire of your bondage, of your bloud, and the bloud of your parents, wiues, and children. Out of doubt (beloued citizens) our good God will not ſuffer ſo many good vertues to be ouercome by their foule vices. Wherefore be you in minds quiet and ſecure, and trouble not your ſelues with forboding feare of your enemies; onely continue in the fidelitie and loyaltie which you haue alwaies kept inuiolate and vnſpotted toward this ſacred and honourable fellowſhip, in moſt dangerous warres, and hardeſt chances of fortune: and if need ſhall ſo require, with couragious hand ſhew your valour againſt your enemies, and make it knowne vnto the Spaniards, French, Italians, Hungarians, and Engliſh, That the Rhodians are of power to daunt the Turkiſh pride, and to auert their fleets and armies from Italie, which they haue ſo many yeares threatned with fire

A *and ſword: and will no doubt thither with all ſpeed haſten and come, if (that which my mind abhorreth to ſpeake) they ſhould here preuaile. Neither will his ambitious youth, in courage, falſhood, and cruelty exceeding* Hannibal, *imitate him in that, that hauing ouerthrowne the Romans in the great battell at Cannas, knew not to vſe his victorie: but he will preſently with more than* Cæſars *celeritie, bring forth the treaſures his father got in Egypt, and with great fleets and huge armies inuade Apulia, Calabria, and Scicilia: from whence he will foorthwith breake into France, and afterwards into Spaine, and other Chriſtian Countries, raging through them with all kind of crueltie. But I am carried away further than I purpoſed, and then need is; For your fidelitie and valour (moſt worthie citizens) to endure the ſiege, and repulſe the enemie, is ſuch, as needeth not my perſuaſion; and of greater reſolution, than that it can be ſhaken with the dangers incident to men beſieged: yet the grea-* B *teſt and moſt forcible miſeries of all, which is hunger and thirſt, I aſſure you, you ſhall neuer feele; which pinching calamities for all that, ſome people (in faithfulneſſe, courage, and valour nothing comparable to you) haue neuertheleſſe moſt conſtantly endured. For they of Petelinum, beſieged by the Carthaginenſians, for want of victuall, thruſt their parents and children out of the citie, the longer to hold out the ſiege, and liued themſelues with hides and leather ſod or broyled, and leaues of trees, and many other homely things, by the ſpace of eleuen moneths: and could not be ouercome vntill they wanted ſtrength longer to ſtand vpon the wals, & to hold their weapons in their hands. They of Caſilinum, beſieged by* Hannibal, *held out vntill a poore mouſe was ſold for much money. You muſt of neceſſitie keepe watch and ward in your Stations; if your houſes chance to be beaten downe with the enemies artillerie, you muſt haue patience: for why, they ſhall be repaired againe, and it is not a matter of ſuch* C *importance, that we ſhould therefore yeeld vnto our enemies, in whoſe courteſie and fidelity no aſſurance is to be repoſed. For beſides that he is by nature cruell and vnfaithfull, he can by no meanes be gentle and faithfull towards vs, which haue done him ſo much harme, who onely (as he himſelfe ſaith) haue oftentimes to his griefe interrupted the courſe of the victories of him the conqueror both of ſea and land; whom he hath ſo many times aſſailed by open force with all his ſtrength, wit, craft, deceit, and pollicie: yet alwaies hitherto in vaine, Almighty God ſtill protecting vs, whom aboue all things (moſt deare citizens) I wiſh you to ſerue and call vpon, for except he keepe and defend the city, the watchmen do but watch in vaine.*

This cheerfull ſpeech wonderfully encouraged the hearers, eſpecially the vulgar ſort, eaſily carried away with pleaſing words. But whileſt they in their iolitie dreame of nothing but D of triumph and victorie, the wiſer ſort poſſeſſed with care, ceaſed not to do what in them lay, to procure, That the good commonly forewiſhed, might in fine come to effect. Among others *Clement* Biſhop of the Greekes, a man both for his place and deuout manner of liuing had in great reputation amongſt them, laboured earneſtly by dayly exhortations, to perſuade the Greekes his countriemen in that great and common danger with heart and hand to ioin with the Latines in defence of the citie: for although the gouernment was altogether in the Great Maſter and his Knights, which were Latines, yet the people both of the Iſland and citie were for moſt part Greekes, who liked not altogether ſo well of the Latine gouernment, but that they did many times repine thereat. Howbeit the matter was at that time ſo ordered by the E good perſuaſion of the Biſhop, & good gouernment of the Great Maſter, that they all agreed as one man to ſpend their liues in defence of the citie; and were ſo far from feare of the comming of the barbarous enemie, that many of the vulgar people, in whom appeareth commonly more heat than wit, wiſhed rather for his comming than otherwiſe. But looke what they had fondly wiſhed, proued afterward to their coſts ouer true. For within a few nights after, the Turks by fire made in the night time vpon the maine, gaue ſigne of parley vnto the Rhodians. Whereupon a gallie well appointed, with a long boat, was preſently ſent forth to ſee what the matter was: which drawing neere vnto the ſhore, was hailed by a Turke, accompanied with a troupe of horſemen, deſiring the captaine of the gallie to ſend ſome on ſhore, with whom they might more conueniently parley: which thing the captaine refuſing, What, ſaid the Turke, art thou afraid of *Xaycus* fortune? to whom the captain in threatning manner anſwered againe, *Xaycus* whom you haue contrary to your faith and oath taken, troubleth me not; neither am I afraid of you, whom I truſt not; but if you haue any thing to ſay let me heare it, or els get you further off, otherwiſe I will ſpeake to you by the mouth of the cannon. Then one of the Turkes comming to the water ſide, laid downe letters vpon a ſtone, ſaying, that in them was contained that they had in charge: which ſaid, he preſently ſet ſpurs to his horſe, G and departed with the reſt of his companie. The captaine ſending out his long boat for theſe Letters, found them directed in this ſort:

Solyman, by the grace of God King of Kings, Lord of Lords, moſt mightie Emperour of Conſtantinople and Trapezond, &c. vnto the reuerend father *Philippus Villerius Liladamus*, Great Maſter of the Rhodes, to his knights, and all his people in generall.

The purport of which Letter was as followeth:

Solymans threatening letters to the Rhodians.

The compaſſion I haue of my diſtreſſed ſubiects, and the great iniurie you doe me, hath mooued me to wrath. Wherefore I command you without delay to yeeld vnto me the Iſland and citie of the Rhodes, H *willingly and charitably graunting you leaue ſafely to depart with all your riches, or to tarrie if you ſo pleaſe vnder my obeiſance, your libertie and religion in no part infringed with any tribute or impoſition. If you be wiſe, preferre friendſhip and peace before bloudie warre: for vnto them which are by force ſubdued, are reſerued all extremities which the miſerable vanquiſhed vſe to ſuffer of the angrie conqueror: from which neither your owne force, nor forreine aid, nor huge wals, which I will vtterly ouerthrow, ſhall be able to defend you. Fare you well. All which ſhal aſſuredly be performed, if you ſhall make choice rather of my friendſhip, then of my force: wherein you ſhall neither be deceiued nor circumuented. I take to witneſſe God the Creator of heauen and earth, the foure writers of the Euangelicall hiſtorie, the fourſcore thouſand Prophets deſcended from heauen, and amongſt them our higheſt Prophet Mahomet, the reuerend ghoſts of my father and grandfather, and this my ſacred and imperiall head. From* I *our pallace at Conſtantinople.*

When theſe letters were openly read in the counſell chamber at the Rhodes, ſome were of opinion, That it was good to anſwer the Turkiſh tyrant roundly, therby to giue him to vnderſtand that they were not afraid of his threats: otherſome thought it no wiſedome with hard words to prouoke ſo great an enemie to further diſpleaſure. Thus whilſt euery man would haue framed an anſwer according to his owne diſpoſition, in concluſion it was agreed vpon, to giue him no anſwer at all.

The ſame day thoſe letters came to the Rhodes, which was the fourteenth day of Iune, one K of the Turks great commanders at ſea with thirty gallies, the forerunners of the Turkiſh fleet, arriued at the Iſland of Chos, famous in antient time for the birth of *Hippocrates* the great phyſition, and the wonderfull picture of *Venus* left there vnperfect by *Apelles*, which for the excellencie thereof neuer man durſt afterward take in hand to perfect: which fruitfull and pleaſant Iſland was then at the arriuall of the Turks, part of the dominion of the Rhodes. The Admiral of this fleet here landing his Turks, began to burn the corne which was then almoſt ripe, with the countrie villages round about. With which iniurie, *Preianes* Gouernour of the Iſland (a man of great courage and valor) moued, with a choſen companie of footmen, and certain troups of horſemen, ſuddenly ſet vpon the Turkes, in diuers places diſperſed abroad far into the countrie, with ſuch a terrible crie of the countrie people, and inſtruments of war, L that the Turks being therewith amazed, ran away as if they had bin mad, and were many of them ſlaine without reſiſtance; and had not the gallies lien neere the ſhore, to receiue them that were able to flie thither, there had not one of them which landed eſcaped the hands of the Iſland people. The Turks hauing receiued this loſſe, left the Iſland, and put to ſea againe.

The Rhodians for feare of the Turkes deſtroy their ſuburbes and places of pleaſure without the citie.

The Rhodians for the moſt part now aſſured and out of doubt of the comming of the Turks, by the perſwaſion of *Gabriel Pomeralus* vicemaſter, and other men of great experience, pluckt downe the ſuburbes of the city, & laid them euen with the ground, their pleaſant orchards alſo & gardens neere to the citie, they vtterly deſtroied; the great maſter for example ſake beginning firſt with his owne, being a place of great delicacie, lying vnder the wals neere M to the French Bulwarke: & taking into the city all ſuch things as they thought needful for the induring of the ſiege, they vtterly deſtroied al the reſt, were it neuer ſo pleaſant or commodious, within a mile of the town, leauing all that ſpace as euen and as bare as they could poſſibly make it, to the intent, that the enemy at his comming ſhould find nothing neere the city wherof to make vſe. But whilſt the pleaſures & delights of the ſuburbs are thus in defacing, another

more

The feare of the countrey people.

A more heauie and wofull ſight preſented vnto the eies of the citizens, filled the city with greater mourning and penſiueneſſe than did the comming of the enemy. The miſerable multitude of the poore countrey people, ſome bringing wood, ſome corne, ſome cattell, ſome foules, and other ſuch neceſſaries as they had out of the countrey into the city (for ſo the Great Maſter had commanded) after whom followed great numbers of women and children weeping, with diſchiueled haire, ſcratching their faces and tearing themſelues after the manner of the countrie, wringing their hands, and caſting vp their eies to heauen, beſeeching God with heauie countenance and flouds of teares to defend the noble citie of the Rhodes, and themſelues from the fury of their enemies. Which multitude of country people with their prouiſion being packt vp into narrow roomes in the houſes of the citizens, and their cattell ſtaruing for B want of fodder, afterwards corrupted the aire; whereof inſued rotten agues and the flix, during the time of the ſiege. But after the city was giuen vp, ſuch a plague and mortalitie followed, as deſtroied great numbers of the Turkes and poore Chriſtians, which knowing not whether to go, choſe rather there to die, than to forſake their natiue country.

The Generall of the Turkiſh fleet which landed in the Iſland of Chos, and was of purpoſe ſent by *Solyman* to prouoke the Rhodians to battell at ſea; before he with his whole power came to beſiege the Iſland, came daily with twentie gallies halfe thoſe narrow ſeas ouer, betwixt Lycia and the Rhodes, leauing the reſt of his fleet riding at anchor at the promontorie called Gnidum (not far from the citie of Rhodes) readie to aid him as need ſhould require: this manner of brauerie he vſed many daies together, hoping thereby to allure the Rhodians C out of their hauen to giue him battell; knowing, that if he ſhould therein obtaine the victorie, it were at that time little leſſe than the taking of the citie, or if hee could by cruell fight but weaken the forces of the Rhodians, hee ſhould therein doe his maſter good ſeruice, and greatly further his victorie by diminiſhing the number of the defendants. When he had madaies without intermiſſion in this proud manner come halfe ſeas ouer, and ſometimes paſſing further came and lay at the mouth of the hauen, as it were daring them to fight: the Rhodians not wont to be ſo braued at their owne doores, moued with the intollerable inſolencie of this proud Turke, by their continuall importunitie cauſed the Great Maſter to call a counſell, to conſider whether they ſhould fight with this fleet of the Turks or not. The counſellors by the appointment of the Great Maſter aſſembled: the Chancellor, a man of great authori- D tie and ſpirit, famous for his noble acts both at home and abroad, and chiefe of them which were of opinion this fleet of the Turks was to be fought withall, ſaid:

The Chancellor his ſpeech perſuading the Rhodians to fight with the Turkes gallies

So great diſgrace was not longer to be ſuffered, but preſently reuenged: For (ſaid he) *the hugie fleet of the Turkes, I doe not ſay at whoſe force and ſight, but at whoſe very name many men doe tremble and quake (which for all that is vnto vs no great noueltie, for euery yeare we heare of the like) is as a head to be ioyned vnto theſe pyraticall gallies, as members; and then will it be moſt expedient (which will be a moſt eaſie thing for vs to doe, hauing the better both for ſtrength of ſhipping and number and valour of men) to giue that great head ſuch a blow and wound, by cutting off theſe limbes, that it ſhall euer after ſtagger and faint for want of ſtrength: or elſe there is no other fleet at all prepared againſt vs to follow this, and then this diſcomfited we ſhall be at quiet. Which thing in my iudgement (though others which feare their owne ſhadowes and the falling of heauen, ſay otherwiſe) is moſt like to be true: for the great Turke is not ſo ſottiſh to come hither, the fitteſt time of the yeare being ſo farre ſpent, in the latter end of Iune, to beſiege this citie, and ſuch a citie as hee knoweth to bee moſt ſtrong, wanting nothing that is needfull, and thorowly manned with valiant ſouldiers, from whence his anceſtours haue beene with loſſe and ſhame repulſed: when as the remainder of the Sommer will bee ſpent before he can encampe himſelfe and place his batteries; and Winter time as you know is vnfit for euery ſiege, eſpecially in this Iſland, wherein they can find no hauen or harbour to reſt in. Wherefore on God his name let vs ſet vpon our proud enemies: and let vs not for a few threatening words ſent vnto vs from a fearefull youth, vpon a fineneſſe and policie leſt we ſhould follow the tayle of his fleet bound for ſome other place, ſit ſtill like cowards within our wals with our hands in our boſomes, as men which for feare and dread durſt not ſhew their heads. Which our cowardiſe and want of courage we forſooth call* Fabius *his policie: But I would to God we were like* Fabius, *but I feare we ſhall proue more like* Antiochus, *the Ætolians, the Vitellians, all whoſe courage conſiſted in words, vainly hoping to gaine the victorie by ſitting ſtill and wiſhing well. But the helpe of God is not to be gotten with womens prayers and* *ſupplications or theſe faint-hearted polices, which cowards call aduiſed counſell . but victorie is gained by aduenturing and expoſing our ſelues to danger and perill.*

With theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches he ſo moued the multitude , which commonly conceiueth moſt courage vpon the greateſt vncertainties, that they deſired that they might fight; ſaying, That they would waſh away that foule diſgrace with the bloud and ſlaughter of their enemies: for why, they wanted not weapons, courage, or hands (as they ſaid) to do it withall.

For all this, the grauer ſort of the counſel (without whoſe conſent the maſter might in ſuch caſes doe nothing) thought it not good in ſo dangerous a time to aduenture any great part of their forces, which they ſhould afterwards want for the defence of their city. The Turkiſh Generall deceiued of his expectation, and perceiuing that the Rhodians would not be drawne forth to battel at ſea, withdrew his fleet twelue miles off, vnto a place called Villanoua; where caſting anchor and landing his men, he burnt the corne all thereabouts which was now almoſt ripe, but forſaken of the people as a thing deſperat: as for the people themſelues, they were all fled, and had retired themſelues either into the citie of the Rhodes, or elſe into ſtrong caſtles in other places of the Iſland.

The worthie commendation of the Great Maſter.

At the ſame time certain troupes of horſemen ſent forth to haue skirmiſhed with the Turks that were burning of the corne, were by a meſſenger ſent from the Great Maſter, commanded to retire: for the prouident Generall ſought by all meanes to reſerue his ſoldiers for greater dangers, which he juſtly feared in the expected ſiege: during which time he ſhewed himſelf a moſt politicke captaine and braue ſoldier, he would many times by day eat his meat with his ſoldiers, as one of them, & moſt part of the night keep watch himſelfe, walking vp and down, reſting himſelfe when hee was wearie vpon ſome ſtone or piece of timber, or other homely ſeat, as it chanced. In time of aſſault he was alwaies more forward and aduenturous than the graue counſellors wiſhed, fearing neither ſhot nor enemie: yet did he alwaies more commend diſcreet counſell grounded vpon reaſon, than proſperous actions commended but by their euents. And that which a man would wonder at, amongſt ſo many cares in middeſt of ſuch diuers & dangerous chances, he carried alwaies ſuch a grace and maieſty in his cheerful countenance, as made him to be of the beholders both reuerenced and loued. All the time he could ſpare from the neceſſarie cares of his weighty charge, from aſſaults, & the naturall refreſhing of his body, he beſtowed in praier & ſeruing of God; hee oftentimes ſpent the greateſt part of the night in the church alone praying, his head piece, gorget, & gantlets lying by him: ſo that it was often ſaid, that his deuout prayers and carefulneſſe would make the city inuincible.

The Turks fleet deſcried at ſea troubleth the Rhodians.

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At this time ***Preianes*** Gouernor of Chios (of whom we haue before ſpoken) a man comparable with any of the captains of that age, an excellent ſoldier both by ſea and land, valiant & thereto fortunat, of an inuincible courage, brought vp in the wars from his childhood; when hee had by the ſpace of two or three daies hid himſelfe in the rockes at ſea, for feare of the Turks great fleet, came by night in a ſmall pinnaſſe to the Rhodes, hauing deceiued the Turks watch: at whoſe comming the Rhodians wonderfully reioyced, for the ſoldiers repoſed greater confidence in no man, than in him: and if any great exploit were to be don, him the Maſter truſted aboue any other: he alwaies in armes during the ſiege, incouraged the ſouldiers, ſear- D ched the watch, ſuruaied the bulwarks, repaired the breaches, & ſuch labors as others accounted extream miſeries, he cheerfully indured, as if they had bin but his pleaſures and recreations. At the ſame time alſo, ***Gabriel Martiningus*** of Brixia, a moſt skilfull enginier, came to the Rhodes out of Creta; by whoſe induſtrie and cunning, 55 mines which the Turkes did with infinit labor and charge make (by reaſon of the ſpringing of the water, and hardneſſe of the rockes) during the ſiege, were all by countermines diſappointed and defeated.

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ſupplications or theſe faint-hearted polices, which cowards call aduiſed counſell . but victorie is gained by aduenturing and expoſing our ſelues to danger and perill.

With theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches he ſo moued the multitude, which commonly conceiueth moſt courage vpon the greateſt vncertainties, that they deſired that they might fight; ſaying, That they would waſh away that foule diſgrace with the bloud and ſlaughter of their enemies: for why, they wanted not weapons, courage, or hands (as they ſaid) to do it withall.

For all this, the grauer ſort of the counſel (without whoſe conſent the maſter might in ſuch caſes doe nothing) thought it not good in ſo dangerous a time to aduenture any great part of their forces, which they ſhould afterwards want for the defence of their city. The Turkiſh Generall deceiued of his expectation, and perceiuing that the Rhodians would not be drawne forth to battel at ſea, withdrew his fleet twelue miles off, vnto a place called Villanoua; where caſting anchor and landing his men, he burnt the corne all thereabouts which was now almoſt ripe, but forſaken of the people as a thing deſperat: as for the people themſelues, they were all fled, and had retired themſelues either into the citie of the Rhodes, or elſe into ſtrong caſtles in other places of the Iſland.

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paſſe ouer, all men of themſelues ſufficient to haue taken vpon them the whole charge.

A Turkiſh woman ſlaue, conſpireth to fire the citie.

The enemie was not buſier without the citie in placing his batterie, but traiterous minds were as buſie within to haue betraied the ſame. A Turkiſh woman, ſlaue to one of the rich citizens, had conſpired with certaine other her complices, at ſuch time as the Turks ſhould giue aſſault vnto the towne, at one inſtant to ſet on fire the houſes wherein they dwelt in diuers places of the citie, that the defendants drawne from the wals to quench the fire, the Turkes in the meane time might the more eaſily enter. But this treaſon was in good time reuealed, and the offenders worthily executed.

The painfulneſſe of the Turkes pioners.

The Turks deceiued by the Chriſtian mariners.

The Turks had not as yet placed their batterie, when as they tooke a certaine hill, whereon ſtood the church dedicated to ***Coſmus*** and ***Damianus***, directly ouer againſt the Engliſh ſtation: from thence (as it ſeemed, rather for exerciſing of their ſoldiers than for any great harm they could do ſo far off) they began with ſmall battering pieces to ſhoot into the citie: and afterwards they began to dig mines, and to caſt vp trenches: for the performance of which kind of worke, and for the filling vp of the towne ditches, they had brought with them fiftie thouſand pioners, men better acquainted with country labor and keeping of cattell, than with wars; which being inforced vnto their labor day and night, ſomtime with ſtripes and ſomtime with death, did with incredible celeritie bring that to paſſe, which was before thought impoſſible. They cut waies through the moſt hard ſtony rocks, raiſing the plains as hie as mountains, with earth brought two miles off, and laying the mountains euen with the plaines, & yet they neuer wrought in ſafetie, but were miſerably rent in ſunder with the great ordnance out of the towne: and that which moſt of all troubled them, the Rhodians ſallying out vpon thoſe ouer-labored people, hauing neither courage nor skil to defend themſelues, but truſting only to their heeles, ſlew great numbers of them, and not of them only, but of others alſo appointed for their defence, whom the Rhodians (taking courage of their feare) fiercely purſued & ſlew down-right. And when many others iſſuing out of the campe in great companies, thought to haue relieued their fellowes, the great ordnance before of purpoſe placed to moſt aduantage, ſo thundred from the wals among the thickeſt of them, that the ground lay couered with the bodies and weapons of the dead Turks. With which manner of fight, after the Rhodians had twice or thrice troubled the enemy, the Turks for their more ſafety wrought moſt vpon their mounts by night, keeping moſt ſtrong watch for defence of their pioners, which for more aſſurance they doubled in the day time, and bent their artillerie againſt the places which the Rhodians vſed to ſallie out at: which did not ſo much keep them in, as the feare of weakning themſelues by often ſallies, knowing that one man was vnto them a greater loſſe, than vnto the enemie an hundred. Amongſt others which in the beginning of this great ſiege forced the vttermoſt of their deuices to the deſtruction of the Turks, were certain mariners, who hauing the Turkiſh language perfectly, by leaue of the Graund Maſter (diſguiſing themſelues in the habit of Turkes) departed by night out of the hauen in a ſmall boat, loaded with apples, plums, peares, millons, grapes, & ſuch other fruits as the time of the yeare afforded; and in the darkneſſe came along the coaſt, vnto that part of the Iſland wherunto the paſſage was out of the main. There as if they had bin Turks come from the maine, they landed their commodities, which the Turkiſh ſoldiers bought greedily. When they had thus ſold their fruits, and in ſelling therof diligently noted the ſpeech and talke of the ſoldiers concerning the ſiege, and were now readie to depart, certaine Turks which greatly diſliked the hard beginning of this ſiege, ſeeing themſelues if they did but ſtir, in danger to be ſet off with ſhot out of the towne, earneſtly requeſted the mariners to take them with them into the maine: which to doe, at the firſt the marriners diſſembling, refuſed, as a thing dangerous; & beſides that, their boat was too little to receiue ſo many as would willingly haue gone with them. Yet with much adoe, they ſuffred themſelues to be intreated to take in ſeuen or eight, ſuch a number as they could wel maſter; who in hope of paſſing ouer into the maine, were (contrary to their expectation) brought priſoners to the Rhodes, where they were by ***Preianes*** brought vp to the top of the higheſt tower of S. *Iohns* church, from whence they might ſee all about the country, and well deſcrie all the maner of the Turks camp, which they ſimplie diſcouered vnto the captain, and whatſoeuer els they were demanded: and amongſt other things confeſſed, that the ſouldiers were greatly diſcontented with the ſiege, hauing in the beginning thereof loſt ſo many men, and that they were readie to riſe in mutinie againſt their captaines, and would hardly by them

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A be commanded out of their trenches and cabbins, ſaying, that all they did was but loſt labour; and that they ſhould find it another peece of worke to win the Rhodes, than they had at Belgrade: wherefore if they were wiſe, they ſhould in time depart before they had receiued further harme both from the enemie, and for want of neceſſaries, wherewith the ſouldiers began alreadie to be pinched. Al which was then ſuppoſed to haue bin ſpoken by the captiues to pleaſe him in whoſe power they now were: yet it appeared afterwards to be all true. For *Pyrrhus Baſſa* conſidering the troubled ſtate of the camp, & the general diſcontentment of the ſoldiers, whom he was at that time gladder to pleaſe than to puniſh, writ vnto *Solyman* at Conſtantinople, That if he would the ſiege ſhould goe forward, he ſhould without delay come in perſon himſelfe to the campe, for that the ſouldiers without regard of ſhame were ready to B riſe in mutinie and to abandon the ſiege, refuſing to be commanded by their captaines.

In the meane time whileſt *Solyman* prepareth himſelfe to ſet forward, the Turkiſh captaines vnderſtood by certaine fugitiues (whereof in all wars ſome are to be found) that the high ſteeple of S. *Iohns* church ſerued them of the towne for a watch tower: for which cauſe, and for deſpight of the Croſſe ſtanding vpon the top thereof, they laboured nothing more, than with continuall ſhot to beat downe that tower; which whileſt they were doing with great diligence, *Solyman* himſelfe came into the campe the 28 day of Auguſt in the afternoone: where finding in his armie all the ſignes of cowardiſe and feare that could be ſpoken of or deuiſed, and nothing done according to the command of ſuch as he had appointed for that charge, but all things out of order, he tooke more griefe to ſee that great diſorder, than he did pleaſure C and good hope of two hundred thouſand ſouldiers which were in his armie. Yet, for all that he was inwardly chafed with the heat of youth and indignation, againſt his owne people as well as the Rhodians, he moderated himſelfe betwixt his owne rage and the offence of his ſouldiers, and calling them together, cauſed them to be diſarmed, not leauing among them ſo much as a ſword: and compaſſing them in with fifteene thouſand harquebuſiers whom hee had brought with him well appointed, hee ſtept vp into his royall ſeat, there ſet on high for that purpoſe; where ſitting downe, he pauſed a good while without any word ſpeaking, as if he had conſidered with himſelfe, whether he ſhould onely puniſh the authors of the mutinie, or elſe with the puniſhment of many to reuenge ſo foule a ſedition, little differing from open rebellion. But following of himſelfe the milder reſolution, he thought it ſufficient to correct D the multitude and common ſort of ſouldiers with ſharpe and bitter words: and after generall ſilence made, brake out into this chollericke ſpeech.

Solyman commeth into the campe.

Slaues (quoth he) *for I cannot find in my heart to call you ſouldiers, What kind of men are you now become? are you Turkes? men woont both to fight and ouercome? Verily I ſee the bodies, countenances, attire, and habit of my ſouldiers; but the deeds, ſpeeches, counſels and deuices of cowardly and vile traitors. Alas how hath my opinion deceiued mee? that Turkiſh force and courage is gone, the valour and ſtrength both of bodies and mindes, wherewith the Arabians, Perſians, Syrians, Egyptians, Seruians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Epirotes, Macedonians and Thracians were ſubdued, is loſt: forgetting your countrey, your oath, the command of your captaines, your obedience, and all other warlike* E *diſcipline; you haue againſt the Maieſtie of my Empire refuſed to fight, like cowards betaken your ſelues to flight, for vaine feare of death and danger, not beſeeming men of warre. If any man ſhould at home but haue named the Rhodes in your feaſts, amongſt your pots, in your aſſemblies or great meetings, you could then with your tongues bragge to pull it downe, you had much adoe to hold your hands: here, when I would make proofe of your force and courage, it is nothing. But you thought perhaps, that the Rhodians ſo ſoone as they ſaw your enſignes before their gates, would ſtraight way yeeld themſelues and their Citie into your power: Let all men ceaſe ſo to ſay or thinke, and beleeue me that know the truth, This baſe and infamous denne (which you ſee) is full of moſt cruell beaſts, whoſe madeſſe you ſhall neuer tame, without much labour and bloudſhed. Yet ſhall wee tame them; for why nothing is ſo wild but at length it may be tamed; which except I bring to paſſe, I am fully* F *reſolued and haue vowed vnto my ſelfe, Either heere to die, or ſpend my daies; And if euer I doe or ſay otherwiſe, let this my head, my fleete, mine armie, and Empire, bee for euer accurſed and vnfortunate.*

Solymans chollerick Oration to his ſouldiers.

And ſo without further ſpeech, deſiring rather to be accounted of his ſoldiers gentle than ſeuere, he pardoned them all their former offences, and ſwore them all againe to his obedience. This mutiny ſo appeaſed, all things were afterwards done with better ſucceſſe, and greater care both of the ſouldiers and commanders. Firſt, they planted in diuers places twelue great bombards, wherewith they threw vp ſtones of hugie weight into the ayre, which falling downe into the citie, might breake downe the houſes and whatſoeuer elſe they lighted vpon: with the fall of one of theſe, the Great Maſter was like to haue bin ſlaine. Howbeit this proued a deuiſe of more terror than danger, for with 200 ſuch ſhot were but ten men ſlaine; which thing amongſt others, *Apella* a traiterous fugitiue declared vnto the enemy, with whom he had intelligence, as he himſelfe confeſſed being taken vpon ſuſpition and examined: for which his treaſon he was juſtly executed.

Apella a traitor

The Turks batterie.

The force of the batterie was more feared, wherein the Turks had planted fortie great pieces of batterie, and amongſt them twelue Baſiliskes (ſo aptly named of the ſerpent *Baſiliſcus*, who as *Plinie* writeth, killeth man or beaſt with his ſight) with theſe pieces the Turks battered the wals continually, but lying ſomewhat far off, did no great harme.

At the ſame time alſo *Solyman* cauſed batterie to be laid againſt the tower of S. *Nicholas*, ſtanding vpon a narrow piece of ground pointing far into the ſea, defending the hauen vpon the right hand, where ſometime ſtood the great Coloſſus of the Sun, accounted the greateſt amongſt the ſeuen wonders of the world. Which caſtle was both ſtrongly and ſumptuouſly built at the charges of the Dukes of Burgondie, as appeared by their armes there engrauen in many places in marble. This tower was valiantly defended by *Guido* a French man, who had the charge thereof, with 200 ſouldiers, amongſt whom were 30 knights of the Order.

The Turks artillerie planted againſt the tower, was by the skilfulnes of the Chriſtian canoniers in ſhort time diſmounted with ſhot from the tower, and many of the gunners ſlaine: ſo that they were glad to ſurceaſe any more to batter the tower by day, but lying ſtill all the day they began to batter the ſame by night, wherein they preuailed no more than they had before done in the day time; for the defendants warily obſeruing ſuch places as were likeſt for the enemie to place his batterie in, did ſo aptly place their ordnance againſt the ſame, and to ſo good purpoſe, that the Turks ſwore, their doings were by ſome meanes diſcouered vnto the enemies. So when they had in vaine beſtowed 500 great ſhot, and made a ſmall breach which they durſt not once attempt to enter, they ſhamefully abandoned that place alſo.

Al this while *Pyrrhus* was buſie in working of mines to vndermine the citie, two and thirty of which mines the defendants fruſtrated with countermines; in which kind of worke many were loſt on both ſides: yet for all the carefulneſſe of the Chriſtians, the Engliſh bulwarke, was vndermined by the enemie, & vpon the fourth of September part thereof blown vp, with ſuch violence, that vnto them in the city it ſeemed at the firſt to be a generall earthquake; and therewith diuers Engliſh men were there ouerwhelmed. The Turks attempting preſently to enter, were by the Grand Maſter and his followers with great ſlaughter repulſed.

The Engliſh bulwarke blowne vp.

But *Muſtapha* the Baſſa comming on with freſh ſupplies, and crying out of the cowardiſe of them which retired, renewed the aſſault: where for a while was fought a moſt ſharpe & cruell fight, the leaders cheerfully encouraging their ſoldiers, and they likewiſe doing what was poſſible for men to doe. All mens eares were filled with the thundering of the ſhot, noiſe of trumpets and drums, and crying of men. And vnto the Turks it ſeemed that ouer their heads it rained deadly ſhot, ſtones, and fire: for the townſmen and women mingled with the ſoldiers caſt downe vpon the Turks, fire, ſtones, timber, and whatſoeuer els came to hand: ſo that they vnable longer to indure the courage and force of the Chriſtians, turned their backs and ran away by heaps, not expecting any ſigne of retreat, euery man ſeeking to ſaue one: among whom as they fled, the great ordnance ſhot off from the wals made wonderfull ſlaughter. At this aſſault of the Turks were ſlaine (as ſome write) almoſt 2000, and among them the maſter of the Turks ordnance, a man whom *Solyman* greatly loued: which victorie the Chriſtians gained not without ſome loſſe; for beſides ſome few others that were ſlaine, fiftie knights of the Order (men worthie of eternall memorie) there ended their daies alſo.

The Turks aſſault the Engliſh bulwarke the ſecond time, and are againe repulſed.

The fift day after (which was the ninth day of September) *Solyman* by the perſuaſion of *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa, commanded a freſh aſſault to be giuen to the Engliſh Bulwarke, which was attempted by the Turkes with greater reſolution than the firſt. Seuen enſignes of the Turks were broken in by the ruins of the bulwarke, & had inforced the defendants, oppreſſed

with

A with number to giue ground, when the Graund Maſter comming in with the enſigne of the Order,guarded with a companie of moſt valiant knights, draue them out againe by force, and made good the place. *Muſtapha* ſeeing his men retire, couragiouſly reſtored the battell by bringing on of new ſupplie,and other captains with threats, ſtrokes,and terrour of death, enforced the ſouldiers (who had before turned their backs)now againe to fight. So that there began a more cruell fight than had before been from the beginning of the ſiege ; which was vnto the Chriſtians more dangerous,for that they were ouerwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkiſh ſhot. But in that extremitie no man regarded either danger,or life,only this they remembred,That thoſe were their barbarous enemies, whom they muſt either victoriouſly ouercome,or die therefore : with which furie the aſſault was continued by the ſpace of three B houres,vntill at length *Muſtapha* with his Turks diſcouraged,with the loſſe of 2000 of their fellowes,and of three great noble men,whom *Solyman* eſpecially fauored,and ſore beaten by the Spaniards out of their flankers,were inforced to retire. Few of the Chriſtians in reſpect of ſo many enemies, were ſlaine : yet had the enſigne of the Order bin then loſt, *Ioachimus Cluys* the enſigne bearer hauing both his eies ſhot out, had not *Emericus Ruiaulx* an Auernois, and one of the knights of the Order, with incredible courage reſcued the ſame.

After this ſecond aſſault,falling out ſo vnluckily vnto the Turks, *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa began to grow in contempt with *Solyman* : and *Pyrrhus* to keepe his credit by doing ſomething, with continuall batterie of 17 great pieces, did batter the mount neere vnto the Italian bulwarke. At which time alſo *Caſſius* Gouernor of Bythinia, another of the Turks great commanders, C laboured by vndermining to haue ouerthrowne the French bulwarke : ſo glad they were to attempt any thing to content their imperious great lord and maſter. But the indeauors of *Caſſius* was by countermines through the careful diligence of *Gabriel Chierus*, hauing charge of thoſe workes, fruſtrated : and *Pyrrhus* in the other place after hee had by hot aſſault ſlaine them which were appointed for the defence thereof, and gained the mount, and brought a great feare vpon the citie, was againe with great loſſe ſhamefully repulſed, and by the commandement of *Solyman* cauſed to retire. At this aſſault the Gouernor of Eubœa, *Solyman* his Lieutenant generall, a man of great honour (if any of the Turks ſlaues are ſo to be accounted) was ſlaine, for whoſe death *Solyman* was exceeding penſiue and heauie.

Muſtapha Baſſa falleth into diſgrace with Solyman.

Muſtapha the Baſſa finding himſelf in diſgrace with *Solyman* for the two vnfortunat aſſaults D by him giuen at the Engliſh ſtation, determined if it were poſſible by a third to recouer his loſt credit : and for his better ſucceſſe therein, agreed with *Achimetes* another great commander, at the ſame time to aſſault the Spaniſh bulwarke : according to this reſolution *Achimetes* hauing with a mine ſuddenly blowne vp a great part of the wall of the Spaniſh ſtation, in the thicke of the duſt and ſmoke, preſently entered his men, who by the ruins of the wall recouered the top of the rampiers. *Muſtapha* alſo at the ſame inſtant hardly charged the Engliſh, ſo that in both places was made a hard and doubtfull fight. *Muſtapha*, deſiring nothing more than with better ſucceſſe now to redeeme his former diſhonour, did what he might to incourage the ſoldiers, calling vpon them by name, and putting them in remembrance of their former victories. The Rhodians on the other ſide mindfull of their former honour, with the E greatneſſe of the preſent danger, valiantly repulſed the enemie, and forced him with ſhame to retire. In this aſſault many Engliſhmen were ſlaine, and *Preianes* alſo ſore hurt, hauing before ſlaine many of the Turks. *Muſtapha* beſide the loſſe of his men, had alſo two of his enſignes taken by *Chriſtopherus Vauldericke*, Commendator of the German knights. *Achimetes* hauing won the top of the wals, had there ſet vp the Turkiſh enſignes ; but by the valiantnes of the defendants, & by means of certain ſmall pieces of ordnance, by *Martiningus* aptly placed in the houſes before the new made breach, and by force of ſhot out of the flankers on both ſides of the breach, wherof none fell in vaine, he was again inforced to forſake the wals and to retire.

The Engliſh bulwark aſſaulted the third time by Muſtapha.

The Turks enſignes aduan[illegible] to the top of the wals, are againe caſt downe.

The three and twentieth day of September, the Turkiſh captaines hoping by meanes of a mine which they had made againſt the Auergne bulwarke, to enter and win the citie ; appro- F ching the wals with great multitudes of ſouldiers, ready to haue entred vpon the blowing vp of the mine, which being met with a countermine out of the citie, wrought not ſuch effect as was by them expected : ſo that hauing receiued ſome harm, ſtanding in a place of great diſaduantage, and done nothing, they returned again into the camp. Yet all the expert captains probably coniecturing that the wal might be inwardly ſhaken by the mine, though it were not by

them

Another breach mad in the wals.

them outwardly perceiued, cauſed that part of the wall to be moſt violently battered all the G reſt of that day and night following: and by the fury of their artillerie, made a faire and large breach. All that night was heard in the Turkes campe an vnwonted clattering of weapons, and of men running too and fro, as if there had bin ſome great matter a doing; which the Rhodians coniecturing (as the truth was) to be a ſigne of ſome great aſſault to be ſhortly giuen.

Solyman reſoluing the next day with al his force to aſſault the new made breach, after he had by himſelfe in a melancholly mood walked vp and downe in his tent a great part of the night, ſent for the chiefe commanders of his army, to whom he declared his mind as followeth:

Your valour and wiſedome (worthie captaines) needeth not any exhortation, yet the deſperate madneſſe of our enemies maketh me to ſpeake vnto you theſe few words. Who whileſt they yet doe, as from H *the beginning, as men without reaſon deſperatly defend their citie rent with our artillerie, ſhaken with our mines, their Churches and houſes beaten downe about their eares, wearied and worne out with ſlaughter, labour, and wounds, which muſt needs befall men ſo oftentimes aſſaulted, they worthily ſeeme vnto our ſouldiers men of inuincible force and courage; which opinion to haue remoued, much concerneth the happie and wiſhed ſucceſſe of our aſſault. Wherefore I would haue you with effectuall perſuaſion and bountifull promiſes to hearten on our men to the winning of this citie. Beſides this, you ſhall open vnto them my purpoſe and intent, and that they ſhould not thinke that they are brought hither to beſiege one citie; but that in taking this one, they ſhall vpon the matter make a way into all the dominions of the Chriſtians. Heere be the kinſmen, aliance, and friends of all the Kings, Princes, and Potentates* I *of Chriſtendome: heere is all our enemies treaſure, the ſpoile whereof promiſed vnto our ſouldiers may ſerue to great purpoſe to encourage them forward: here is the ſtore of ordnance, armour, and other warlike prouiſion which ſhall both furniſh vs, and in time to come miſerably confound the reſt of the Chriſtians. We ſhall beſide this, enioy a moſt goodly and rich citie, with a hauen of all others moſt commodious, from whence all things neceſſarie for war may at all times as occaſion ſhall require, by land and ſea be ſupplied: which as they ſhall be to vs things of great importance, ſo ſhall we deſpoile our enemies of far greater. This is their caſtle, ſtorehouſe, treaſurie, and armorie: this is the very receptacle and place of refuge for all ſuch as trouble the Turks by ſea: from hence ſhall we haue free ſcope and paſſage into Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, and many other Chriſtian countries. But as for your ſelues valiant captaines, when as I conſider how that you haue within theſe few moneths by your valour and wiſedome ſubdued vnto my Empire the ſtrong citie of Belgrade, which my great grandfather* Mahomet *that mightie* K *Emperour could not with all his power get; I reſt in great hope that theſe fierce and obſtinate Chriſtians ſhall not long be able to defend themſelues in theſe their dens and lurking places.*

Hauing ended this ſpeech, the captaines euery one vnto his companie, made knowne what the great Emperors will and pleaſure was, and open proclamation made thorow all the camp, wherein the ſpoile of that rich city was all granted vnto the ſouldiers, as a prey and reward for the paines they were to take.

Solyman heauie with ſleepe and care, laied himſelfe downe vpon his pallat to take his reſt. But the Great Maſter (to whom the vnaccuſtomed ſtirre of the enemie portended ſome great matter) all that night in armes painefully viewed euery part of the citie, cheerefully encouraging his ſouldiers to remember, That they did watch for the ſafetie of their countrey, their L liues and libertie. It fortuned the ſame night, that a poore Chriſtian ſeruing a Turke in the campe, calling ſecretly vnto the watchmen vpon the wals, gaue them warning that the Turks prepared the next day to giue a generall aſſault vnto the citie. Which thing when the Great Maſter vnderſtood, becauſe he would haue nothing done raſhly or fearefully (as it commonly happeneth in things done vpon the ſudden) called together his Knights, and ſpake vnto them, as followeth.

The Great Maſter his oration vnto his knights

I am glad ſacred companions and fellowes in armes, that the time is come when in one battell getting vnto your ſelues great honour, and defending your countrey, you may bee iuſtly accounted the M *worthie defenders and reuengers of the Chriſtian commonweale and name. The people againſt whome wee are to fight to morrow, aſſaileth vs onely preſuming vpon their multitude: But if wee meaſure valour, not by number, but by courage and proweſſe, vndoubtedly a few reſolute men will eaſily ouercome a multitude of cowards. You know your enemie, and the manner of his fight: you are to fight*

(moſt

A *(moſt worthie knights) with them whom you haue alwaies vanquiſhed at ſea, and in iuſt battell ſometimes ouercome by land, at ſuch time as with their whole power they aſſaulted your wals: omitting in the meane time many hot skirmiſhes, wherein you euer put them to the worſt: Wherefore you and they in the aſſault to morrow ſhall haue ſuch courage, as conquerors and men conquered vſe to haue. Neither will they fight, becauſe they dare fight, but becauſe the great tyrant and violent command of their captaines enforceth them thereunto. Wherefore remembring what you are by birth, what opinion the Christian commonwealth hath conceiued of you, where you are, and what you haue taken vpon you; take vp your armes with iuſt furie and indignation, and fight againſt them, following one franticke youth, as if you ſaw your ſlaues bearing armes againſt you: whereunto you are inforced, not onely by the indignitie of the wrong by them offered, but alſo by neceſſitie, which of it ſelfe is of power to make cowards valiant and hardie.* B *For here we are in an Iſland from whence we cannot eſcape, and in a citie, whoſe rent and battered walls doe not ſo much protect and defend vs, as our weapons; wherefore to morrow we muſt heere either vanquiſh them, or die therefore: to morrow ſhall giue vnto vs either ioyfull victorie, or a moſt honourable death.*

As he was yet thus ſpeaking, newes of approch of the enemie cauſed him to make an end: and euery man haſted with ſpeed vnto the place of his charge. The enemie comming faſt on, with a moſt horrible crie (as their manner is) fiercely aſſailed the citie in fiue places, where the Engliſh, Spaniſh, Italians, Narbonenſes, and Auergnoys had their ſtations. To the aſſault of euery of which places, *Solyman* had appointed ten thouſand Turkes. *Muſtapha* the Baſſa C calling vpon the name of his great Prophet *Mahomet*, and promiſing vnto the ſouldiers the rich ſpoile of the citie, fiercely aſſailed the Engliſh ſtation, from whence he had beene three times before ſhamefully repulſed. *Pyrrhus* the other great Baſſa, with like furie aſſaulted the Italian ſtation. In both places was maintained a cruell and deadly fight, the Turks fighting for the prey, and the Rhodians for their liues and libertie. Neither was there any, of what degree or order ſoeuer, which did not that day fight for the defence of the citie. The prieſts and religious were not then exempted, but fought among other ſouldiers; women, children, and with them the aged fathers, beyond the ſtrength of their bodies and courage of their minds, brought weapons vnto the defendants, ſome ſtones, which they had digged out of the ſtreets, ſome burning pitchbarrels, ſome hoops with wild fire, ſome ſcalding oyle, ſome boiling pitch: D which being caſt down vpon the enemies, troubled them ſo, as nothing was more feared; for vpon whomſoeuer it fel, it ſtucke faſt, and ſo ſcalded their bodies, that they were glad to caſt down their weapons to teare off their clothes, wherewith many of them rent off the skin and fleſh alſo. All which things fel ſo thick vpon the Turks, as if it had rained fire & ſtones, beſides the deadly ſhot, which amongſt ſuch a multitude of enemies neuer fel in vain. The Great Maſter hauing a careful eye ouer euery part of the city, after he had well relieued the Italian ſtation, which was at the firſt hardly diſtreſſed by *Pyrrhus*, left there *Antonius Monterollus*, one of the knights of the Order, with ſuch company as he thought conuenient for the ſafety of that place, & went himſelfe with the reſt vnto the Engliſh ſtation, which was then hardly laid to by the Baſſa *Muſtapha*. But whileſt he was there buſied in repulſing the enemie, & had now well E relieued the place, a ſudden crie ran alongſt the wals, that the Spaniſh bulwarke was already poſſeſſed by the enemy: with which heauy news he was not a little troubled, but leauing there *Emericus Gombaulus*, one of the knights of the Order, with a choſen companie of ſoldiers for the defence of that place; he with his guard haſted vnto the Spaniſh ſtation, which he found by a wonderful chance already taken by the enemy. In the beginning of the aſſault, certain Turks to ſhun the danger of the ſhot, had for feare hidden themſelues at the foot of this bulwarke, among the ſtones, which had before bin beaten downe with the batterie: in the meane time, other Turkes of the ſame regiment, vnder the leading of the valiant captain *Achimetes*, hotly charged the Spaniards on the right hand of the bulwarke, not medling with the bulwarke it ſelfe, as a thing of greateſt ſtrength: the valiant ſoldiers appointed for the defence of the bul- F wark, ſeeing their fellows & countrymen diſtreſſed faſt by them on the right hand, could not indure to ſtand ſtil as lookers on, but left the bulwark, & went to the place ſo hardly aſſaulted: where whilſt they were valiantly incountring the enemy, the cowardly Turks who had before hid themſelues for feare, hearing al ſtill ouer their heads, & therby gueſſing (as the truth was) that the defendants were drawn thence to another place more diſtreſſed, to color their feare, & proue

The Turks aſſault the city in fiue places at once.

The Rhodians valiantly defend the citie.

The Spaniſh bulwarke taken by the Turks.

proue their good fortune, like tall fellows, crept out of the holes wherein they had before for G
feare hidden themſelues, and ſecretly crawling vp the battered wals of the bulwarke, got into
it before they were diſcouered: where finding none but a few ſoldiers (who buſied in remouing
of a great piece vnto a place more conuenient for the annoying of the enemie, had
laid downe their weapons) they ſuddenly ſet vpon them, ſlew them, ouerthrew the Chriſtian
enſignes, and ſo became maſters of that ſtrong fort. The Turks without ſeeing that, wonderfully
commended the valor of thoſe men, and blaming themſelues of cowardiſe, made great
haſt through the midſt of the towne ditch to get vp into the bulwarke to helpe their fellows.
But in going through the ditch, they were ſo cut off with ſhot on both ſides out of the flankiers,
that few of them could get vp into the deſired bulwarke. And the great Maſter with a
crew of valiant ſouldiers, nothing fearing the armed enemie, now in poſſeſſion of the bulwark
ouer their heads, with great reſolution ſcaled the ſame. In the mean time *Hugo Caponus*, a Spaniard, H

The Spaniſh bulwarke again recouered.

and *Menotius* a Frenchman, both knights of the Order, with a companie of Cretenſian
ſouldiers brake into the bulwarke by a gate which the Turks had not as yet boulted, and being
once got in, they made of the Turks a quicke diſpatch; for whom they ſlew not with the
ſword, they inforced to miſchiefe themſelues for haſt backe again ouer the wals. The bulwark
thus again recouered, which had bin two hours in poſſeſſion of the enemie, and the citie deliuered
of a wonderfull feare, the Great Maſter (well worthie of that name) leauing a ſufficient
number of ſouldiers for the keeping of that fort, went with the reſt of his companie vnto the
place where the Spaniards with the reſt of the defendants ſore charged by *Achimetes*, & now
wearied and almoſt ſpent, had much adoe to hold out: who incouraged with the ſight of the I
Great Maſter, as if victory had attended vpon him, with great cries and ſignes of ioy valiantly
and with great ſlaughter repulſed their enemies, as if they had bin freſh men. Long it were
to recount the deadly fight and hard aduentures which befell at the aſſault of the other two
ſtations of the Auergnoys and Narbonenſes: but the Turks were in euery place put to the
worſt, and lay by heapes ſlaine in the ditches and breaches of the towne. *Solyman* from his

The Turks giue ouer the aſſault

ſtanding (for that purpoſe made of high maſts) beholding the miſerable ſlaughter of his men,
and no hope of gaining the city, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, a thing welcome both to the
Rhodians and the Turks. In this terrible aſſault, which endured by the ſpace of ſix houres, diuers
of the knights of the Order were ſlain, eſpecially of the French and Spaniſh nation, with
150 common ſoldiers, all worthie of eternall fame: and of the Turks (as they which write K
moſt modeſtly report) 20000. The yong tyrant was ſo much offended with the ſhameful repulſe
he had receiued at this laſt aſſault, that he fel into a rage againſt all them which had perſuaded
him to enter into that action, but eſpecially againſt the great Baſſa *Muſtapha*, whom he
accuſed as an vnfaithfull counſellor, and chiefe perſuader of that vnluckie war; who flattering
him in his vain humor, by extolling his forces aboue meaſure, & falſly extenuating the power
of the enemie, aſſuring him that vpon the firſt approch of his armie they would yeeld themſelues
without reſiſtance, had drawne him into that dangerous expedition, like to ſort to the

Solyman in his furie commandeth the two great Baſſaes, Muſtapha and Pyrrhus to be put to death.

great diſhonor of himſelfe & all the *Othoman* familie: for which doing he adiudged him worthy
of death, and in great furie commanded the executioner without further delay to put him
to death in his preſence. Which dreadfull doome ſo ſuddenly and vpon ſo light an occaſion, L
giuen vpon a man of ſo great mark and qualitie, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the minds of all there
preſent, that none of them durſt ſpeak one word againſt the rigor of that ſentence, or ſo much
as let a ſigh in pittying of his caſe. The executioner now ready to giue the fatal ſtroke, *Pyrrhus*
the moſt antient of all the Baſſaes, moued with compaſſion, and preſuming of his great fauor
with the tyrant, whom he had from his childhood had the charge and gouernment of, ſtept
forth, and appealing vnto his mercie, earneſtly requeſted him to ſpare his life. Wherwith *Solyman*
was ſo filled with wrath and indignation, that for his preſumption, and for ſending for
him to Conſtantinople, to come to that dangerous ſiege, he commanded him to be executed
alſo. All the reſt of the counſellors ſeeing the danger of theſe two great men, fel downe at the M

The Baſſa's ſpared at the interceſſion of the other counſellors.

feet of the fuming tyrant, crauing pardon, ſaying, That the enemies ground had alreadie drunk
too much of the Turkiſh bloud, and was not to be further moiſtened with the bloud of two
ſuch noble perſonages and worthie counſellours. *Solyman* moued with this generall interceſſion
of his great men, pauſing a little vpon the matter, the heat of his fury being ſomething ouer,
ſuffered himſelfe to be intreated, and granted them their liues: vnto *Pyrrhus* for his great

age

A age and wiſedome, and to ***Muſtapha*** for his wiues ſake, who was the tyrants naturall ſiſter ſometime the wife of ***Boſtanges***.

All the time of this ſiege, the Turks great fleet, furniſhed with men and all manner of war-like prouiſion, lay before the entrance of the hauen without doing any thing at all: for the Admirall being no man of warre, ſeeing the mouth of the hauen chained, and the caſtles vpon the entrance full of ordnance, and ſtrongly manned, durſt not attempt either to enter the hauen, or beſiege the caſtle: for which his cowardiſe, and for that he had negligently ſuffered prouiſion both of victuall and munition to be conueied into the citie during the time of the ſiege, to the great reliefe of the beſieged, he was by ***Solyman*** adiudged to die a moſt cruell death: but by the mediation of ***Achimetes***, one of his beſt men of warre, the ſeueritie of B that ſentence was changed into a puniſhment, vnto any noble mind more grieuous than death it ſelfe: for he was by ***Solymans*** commandement, openly ſet vpon the poupe of the Admirall gallie, and there as a ſlaue receiued at the hands of the executioner a hundred ſtripes with a cudgell, and ſo with ſhame was thruſt out of his office.

Solyman diſplaceth his Admirall and puniſheth him as a ſlaue.

After that ***Solyman*** had in ſo many places with all his power ſo long time in vain beſieged the Rhodes, his haughtie courage began to quaile, ſo that he was vpon point to haue raiſed his ſiege and left the Iſland, yea the griefe he had conceiued, went ſo neere him, that he many times fainted and lay ſpeechleſſe, as if he had bin a dead man. The remembrance of ſo many vnfortunat aſſaults, the death of ſo many worthy captaines, the loſſe of ſo many valiant ſouldiers (ſufficient to haue ſubdued a great kingdome) ſo much grieued him, that a great while C after he ſhunned the companie of men, and would not ſuffer himſelfe to be ſpoken withall: vntill at length he was againe by ***Abraham*** his minion, a man in whom he tooke ſingular pleaſure, recomforted, and perſuaded to continue the ſiege; for that Time (as he ſaid) which worketh all things, would at length tame the fierceneſſe of his enemies, whome the ſword could not vpon the ſudden ſubdue. In the meane time ***Solyman*** for his pleaſure, and to ſhew vnto the Rhodians, that he purpoſed not to depart, began to build a ſumptuous caſtle vpon the top of the mount Philermus in the eye of the citie. During which time diuers letters were ſhot into the citie with Turkiſh arrowes out of the campe, wherein many of ***Solymans*** moſt ſecret counſels were reuealed, and the reuolt of a great man promiſed, which the Rhodians by many circumſtances gathered to haue been ***Muſtapha***, who could not eaſily forget the iniurie ſo lately D offered vnto him by ***Solyman***: needs it muſt be ſome of ***Solymans*** ſecret counſell, otherwiſe he could not haue reuealed ſo great ſecrets as it were out of the boſome of ***Solyman***. But ſee the chance, at the very ſame time, tidings came vnto ***Solyman***, that ***Cayerbeius*** the Gouernour of Ægypt, was dead: in whoſe place ***Solyman*** ſent ***Muſtapha*** to Caire as Gouernour of Ægypt, by that honourable preferment again to pleaſe his diſcontented mind, after which time no more letters came into the citie.

Solyman exceedingly grieued with the repuls and loſſe receiued at the ſiege of the Rhodes, was vpon point to haue left the ſame.

Now the Turks began to make faire wars, their terrible batterie began to grow calme, and for certaine daies it ſeemed by the manner of their proceeding, that they purpoſed rather by long ſiege than by aſſault to take the town. Neuertheleſſe the enemies watching day & night E in their trenches, vſed all the policie they could, ſometimes offering vnto the ſouldiers vpon the wals great rewards, if they would yeeld vp the citie, and ſometimes threatening them as faſt: and to breed a diſlike amongſt the defendants, they would oftentimes ſay that ***Solyman*** deſired onely to be reuenged vpon the Latins, without meaning any harm vnto the Greekes.

It was now the beginning of October, and Winter began to grow faſt on, great raine, with terrible thundring & lightening, & mightie tempeſts, heauens threats, then fel ſo aboundantly, that the Turks before wearied in bodie with labour and wounds, were now alſo in minde diſcouraged. And that more increaſed their feare, the ſea was growne ſo rough, that the Admirall was not able in that open and dangerous ſea longer to ride it out with his gallies: but was inforced to ſlip his ankers, and as he might to run his gallies on ground. In theſe troubles wherewith both ***Solyman*** himſelfe and all his armie were at furtheſt of their wits, and almoſt F quite diſcouraged, ***Achimetes*** one of his moſt valiant and expert captains came to comfort him and promiſed if he would continue the ſiege, in ſhort time to make him an open way into the citie: vpon confidence whereof, ***Solyman*** to encourage his fainting ſouldiers, now ſcarce able for cold and lacke of courage to hold their weapons in their hands, cauſed them to be aſſembled before his pauilion, where from a high place, he comforted them in this ſort:

Achimetes, promiſeth to make a way for Solyman into the citie.

Solyman comforteth his ſouldiers and perſuadeth them with patience to endure the ſiege.

I am not ignorant (moſt valiant ſouldiers) what great things you indure for mine honour, and the glorie of mine Empire. This continuall threatnings of the heauens, this immoderate raine, this terrible thunder end lightening, the coldneſſe of the weather, the want of neceſſaries, with the manifold miſeries of this long ſiege, doe much perſuade me, to giue you leaue to lay downe armes and to take your reſt. But firſt let vs conſider if vnto men of courage it be not a diſhonour, for the tedioufneſſe of raine and tempeſt, to leaue vnto our enemies the victorie alreadie in our hands, and ſhamefully to forſake our trenches, forts, mounts, ouertopping not onely the wals of the citie, but mating the heauens, with ſuch other like works made with my infinit charge and your great trauell, all for the taking of this citie. Truely this warre either ſhould not haue beene taken in hand at all, or being once begun, is to bee ended for the honour of the Othoman *empire. Which for ſo much as it could not be accompliſhed in Summer; the reputation of mine empire in common, and the regard of the commoditie of euerie one of you in priuat, enforceth me to performe it in Winter. For if wee ſhall from hence depart with our armie, who doubts but the enemie, not onely for deſire of reuenge, but alſo ſtrained by neceſſitie, hauing loſt all hee had of his owne, will prey vpon your countries, houſes, and goods, and will bring you, your wiues, and children, into a farre more miſerable ſlauerie and bondage, than that wherein he himſelfe now is? Wherefore I aduiſe you to continue the ſiege, and neuer to depart before you haue attained vnto the end of your deſires. And admit there were no neceſſitie in the matter, yet the honour and fame of the action ought to impoſe vpon you a reſolution both of bodie and mind to indure the ſiege: For the eies and countenances of all nations, eſpecially the Chriſtians, are fixed vpon you; whom when they ſhall vnderſtand not to be able to indure the field one Winter, they will of right call you Summer birds, which ſo ſoone as any ſtorme ariſeth looke after your houſes and places of repoſe. It is reported, that the Grecians for a ſtrumpet beſieged Troy ten yeares; and ſhall not the Turkes, vexed and oppreſſed with ſlaughters, robberies, inuaſions both by ſea and land, and that more is with the ſeruitude of 214 yeares, endure one Winters ſiege? They will ſay, that the terror of your name is but vaine, and that fame hath encreaſed the ſame (as many other things moe) which not ſeene, are more feared in far countries amongſt men of ſmall experience: And that now euerie man may ſafely enough abide your force, which make your inuaſions rather vpon a furie and brauerie than vpon any good reſolution, which in all kind of war (but eſpecially in beſieging of cities) is moſt neceſſarie: whereof many being by naturall ſcituation and fortification impregnable, time hath with her handmaides, Famine and Thirſt, ouercome and vanquiſhed, as it ſhall doe this citie of the Rhodes: againſt which beloued in armes there is a ſecret miſchiefe prepared, which may not in this open audience be publiſhed; for it is as neceſſarie that the vulgar ſort ſhould be ignorant of ſome things, as to know the ſame.*

Many thought, that this was ſpoken rather of policie than vpon any good ground: and although his hot perſuaſion had little moued the cold courage of his deſpairing ſouldiers, yet the regard of dutie in that moſt loyall nation, with the greedie expectation of ſo great a ſecret, ouercame all other difficulties; ſo that they departed (at leſtwiſe in ſhew) contented to indure whatſoeuer ſhould befall.

Achimetes winneth the Vaumures of the Auergne bulwark, raiſeth a ſtrong penthouſe againſt the wall, and ſo vndermineth the ſame.

Achimetes authour of this great expectation, and the onely hope of *Solymans* ſucceſſe, came oftentimes and aſſailed the Vamures of the Auergne ſtation, which although they were not verie high, yet were they alwaies valiantly defended by the Rhodians. It fortuned, that this warlike captaine dayly attempting the Vaumures, in the end by force obtained the ſame, and ſo peſſeſſed of the place he ſo much deſired, deſperatly kept it vntill greater helpe came running in, who with wonderfull expedition (with matter for that purpoſe before prepared) clapt vp a ſtrong and defenſible couering in manner of a penthouſe againſt the towne wal, betwixt the wall and the Vaumure, vnder which they ſhrowded themſelues from the defendants; which was an eaſie matter for ſuch a multitude to do, the ditches of the towne in that place being now filled vp ſo high, that the defendants could not out of the flankers ſcoure the ditch, nor yet without manifeſt danger come to caſt any thing downe vpon them from the top of the wals: for the Turks harquebuſiers which lying vpon their mounts, higher than the battered wals of the citie, ſuffered none to appeare vpon them without danger. So that the Rhodians who erſt thought themſelues at great quiet, were now ouertaken with a ſudden and an vnexpected miſchiefe: which at the firſt filled the citie with feare and heauie ſilence, which ſtraightwaies after brake out into pittifull outcries and lamentations. The Turks lurking vnder their penthouſe, laboured with mattocks and pickaxes to dig vp the foundation of

the

A the wall; and ***Preianes*** forward and couragious to do what might be done threw downe vpon the Turks, fire, ſcalding oyle, burning pitch, wild-fire and ſuch things. But when the miſerable men which ſhrunke from the worke for feare of the fire, were againe beaten forward by their imperious commanders, and preſently ſlaine if they made any delay, and freſh men ſtill thruſt on in ſtead of ſuch as were hurt or ſlain: the fatall worke begun the ſeuenth day of October, went apace forward, with the great and continuall labour of theſe wretched ſlaues. A great number of the common ſouldiers whom the Turks call Aſapi was imployed in this worke: of whom *Solyman* in this ſiege of the Rhodes, and other his expeditions, made not much more account but as of pioners to worke in mines and to caſt vp trenches, and oftentimes with their bodies to fill towne ditches to make a way for the Ianizaries to paſſe ouer vpon: they by B the conſtraint of ***Achimetes*** vndermined the wall, and as they wrought, ſhoared vp the ſame againe with timber, whereunto they afterwards ſet fire, hoping by that means to ouerthrow the wal; which falling not out according to their expectation, for that they had not far enough vndermined it, they aſſaied with great hooks and ſtrong ropes to haue pulled it downe. But the Rhodians with their great ordnance from the Auergne bulwarke, quickly put them from that mad worke with great ſlaughter, and fruſtrated all their long labor. ***Achimetes*** thus diſappointed of his purpoſe, ſtood in great doubt whether he ſhould giue ouer the enterpriſe, for that he ſaw he laboured in vain, or elſe in that dangerous place to expect ſome better hap, the onely meane to ſaue him from the tyrants heauie diſpleaſure; who as he knew meaſured all things by the euent. ***Solyman*** vnderſtanding by ***Achimetes*** that the wall (although it was not C ouerthrown as was expected) was yet ſore ſhaken and weakned with vndermining, cauſed his batterie to be planted againſt that part of the wal ſo vndermined: which ſo many waies weakned, & now ſore battered, fell downe daily more and more. For remedie wherof, the Rhodians laboured day and night to raiſe a new wall, in ſtead of that which was beaten downe.

The miſerable ſtate of the common ſoldiers of the Turks; and the ſmall account is made of them.

At the ſame time, *Solyman* perſuaded by the generall opinion of all his great captaines, that the citie was that day or neuer to be taken, determining to giue another generall aſſault, cauſed proclamation to be made thorow his camp: wherein he gaue the ſpoile of the citie vnto his ſouldiers, and the more to encourage them, ſpake vnto them in few words, as followeth:

Fortune at length valiant ſouldiers, hauing notably proued your courage and patience, now offereth D *vnto you the worthie rewards of your labour and paines. The victorie and wealth of your enemies which you haue ſo much deſired, is now in your hands. Now is the time to make an end of this mungrell people, of whom more are ſlaine than left aliue; and they not men, but the ſhadowes and ghoſts of men, feeble and ſpent with hunger, wounds, wants and labour; who will I know reſiſt you, not becauſe they ſo dare, but becauſe of neceſſitie they ſo muſt, enforced thereunto with all extremities. Wherefore now reuenge your ſelues of the faſhood, crueltie, and villanies of theſe Chriſtians, and make them a wofull example to all poſteritie, that neuer man hereafter preſume to offer iniurie to a Turke, in whatſoeuer ſtate he be. The way is already open into the citie, there is a faire breach made whereby thirtie horſemen may at once enter, nothing wanteth but courage in you to aſſaile the ſame.*

Solyman encourageth his ſouldiers to a freſh aſſault.

E The ſouldiers encouraged with this ſpeech of their Emperour, made great ſhew of cheerfulneſſe, and promiſed to doe their vttermoſt deuoire, threatning vnto the Chriſtians moſt horrible death and miſerable captiuitie.

In the meane time, the great ſhot flying continually thorow the breach, did beat downe many houſes in the citie; but the countermure new built againſt the breach ſtanding vpon a lower ground, it ſeldome toucht, to the great good of the Rhodians. The ratling of the falling houſes, the horrible noiſe of the enemie, with the thundering of the great artillerie, wonderfully terrified the miſerable citizens: in euery place was heard the lamentation of women and children, euery thing ſhewed the heauineſſe of the time, and ſeemed as altogether loſt and forlorne. The day thus troubleſomely ſpent, the night followed much more troubleſome; and F after the night, the day of aſſault of all other moſt dreadfull: for with the dawning thereof, the gliſtering enſignes of the enemie were ſeene flying in the wind, and the Turks cheerfull with the hope of ſpoile and victory, haſted towards the breach with great outcries and ſongs, after their countrey manner: and there before one of the gates of the citie called S. ***Ambroſe*** gate, ſet downe a great number of their enſignes deckt with garlands, in token of victory.

The diſtreſſed eſtate of the Rhodians and their couragious reſolution therein.

Turks great fleet alſo at the ſame time ſayling too and fro before the hauen, made ſhew as if it would haue aſſailed the citie on that ſide: who had ſeen the citie ſo beſet, would haue ſaid that it would at one inſtant haue bin beſieged both by ſea and land; and to moſt mens iudgements, it ſeemed that the Rhodian ſtate ſhould that day haue taken end & bin deſtroied. Yet for al theſe extremities, the Rhodians were nothing diſcouraged, but looking vpon their weapons as the onely remainders of their hopes, not regarding any danger, vpon the alarme giuen came running out of their houſes by heaps vnto the wals, like deſperat men oppoſing their bodies in ſtead of their battered wals againſt their enemies in defence of their countrey. There needed neither exhortation nor command of captaine, euery man was vnto himſelfe a perſuader to fight valiantly in defence of the citie; and one of them propounded vnto another the cruell death, the miſerable ſeruitude, the mockes and taunts they ſhould indure, if they ſhould chance to come into the proud enemies hand: all which was to be auoided either by honorable victorie or death. The Turks conducted by *Achimetes*, fiercely aſſailed the breach, which was by the Rhodians (ſtanding vpon the ruins of their wals valiantly defended. In the meane time the diſmaied matrons and maidens, ſome in their houſes, with heauie hearts expected the wofull deſtruction of the citie & themſelues, otherſome in the Churches with floods of tears and lamentable cries, poured forth their praiers to the Almightie, crauing his helpe in that their hard diſtreſſe, and to protect them againſt their barbarous enemies. The deadly fight at the breach, was on both ſides with great courage and force maintained. The Turks were in good hope forthwith to win the city, if they did but a little more ſtraine themſelues: & therfore to terrifie the Rhodians the more, oftentimes in their fighting gaue out moſt terrible outcries: and the Rhodians accounted the Turks as good as vanquiſhed, for they being ſo many in number, and in a place of ſuch indifferency, had not yet preuailed: beſide that, they were greatly incouraged with the greatneſſe of the common danger, and the ſight one of anothers valor, ſo that by their inuincible courage the Turks were inforced ſhamefully to retire. The Rhodians ſeeing their enemies turne their backes, gaue a great ſhout in deriſion of them: the Turks diſdaining that they in number many (and now victors, if they ſhould with a little reſolution maintain the aſſault they had begun) ſhould be ſo derided of a handfull of men as good as already vanquiſhed, with great indignation returned again to the breach, & more furiouſly aſſailed the Rhodians than at the firſt. At which time the citie had vndoubtedly bin taken, had not they which defended the ends of the wal, yet ſtanding on both ſides of the breach, out of their baricadoes with their ſhot ouerwhelmed the Turks thronging in at the breach; & others with murthring ſhot out of the flankers of the new built wal ſo cut them in ſunder, that a greater ſlaughter for the time was hardly in any place ſeen. *Achimetes* beholding the wonderfull ſlaughter of his ſouldiers, and that he fought with great diſaduantage and loſſe, againſt deſperat men, who reſoluing to die, feared no danger, gaue ouer the aſſault, and againe retired: leauing behind him in the breach and town ditch, the carkaſſes of fiue thouſand of his dead Turks beſides many more which afterwards died vpon the hurts there receiued.

The Turks trouble the Rhodians with continuall alarms, and by caſting vp of trenches get into the city

This aſſault was giuen vnto the town the laſt day of Nouember, a day dedicated to S. *Andrew*: after which time the captains of the Turkiſh army, although they diſpaired not of the victorie, yet terrified with ſo great ſlaughter of their men, reſolued with one accord no more to attempt the city with any notable aſſault; but by ſundry great trenches to be made thorow the midſt of the ruins of the wals, to get into the city; & with matoks & pickaxes to ouerthrow the new made wall and another barricado which the defendants had made within the ſame: and in the mean time whileſt this was in doing, to keepe the Rhodians ſtill buſied with continuall skirmiſhes and alarmes. This deuiſe put in execution by the wonderfull labor of ſuch a multitude of people, ſerued the enemie to greater purpoſe than all that he had before done: who daily ouerthrowing or deſtroying the new fortifications which the Rhodians made in ſtead of them which were before ouerthrown, and by little & little creeping on further, draue the defendants to that extremity, that they were glad to pul down many of their houſes, therwith to make new fortifications, and to make their citie leſſe, by caſting vp of new trenches: ſo that in ſhort time they were brought to that point, that they could not wel tel which place to fortifie firſt, the enemie was now ſo far crept within them: for the ground which the enemie had thus gained within the city, was almoſt 200 paces in breadth, & 150 paces in length.

Solyman, although he did now aſſure himſelfe of the victorie, and was by nature cruell and

Parley offered by the Turks to the Rhodians.

Secret parley reiected.

The great Maſter at the inſtance of h̄s people ſendeth embaſſdours to Solyman.

deſirous of reuenge; yet perſuaded by ***Achimetes*** and ***Caſſius*** (two of his moſt valiant captaines) that for the inlarging of his empire, nothing was better than the fame of clemencie: commanded ***Pyrrhus*** the old Baſſa to proue if the Rhodians might by parley be drawne to yeeld their citie vpon reaſonable conditions. Whereupon the Baſſa ſent one ***Hieronimus Monelia***, a Genoway, vnto the wals, who crauing of the defendants ſafe conduct, ſaid he had ſomething to ſay tending to the common good of the diſtreſſed city. Al mens minds were preſently filled with expectation of ſome great matter, & he commanded to ſpeake. Who anſwered, that he might not deliuer his meſſage openly, but would either by ſpeech in ſecret, or by letters deliuer the ſame vnto one ***Mathias de Via*** his countryman, one of the citizens of the Rhodes. When ***Fra. Fornonius***, one of the knights of the Order, a Frenchman of a chollericke diſpoſition, whoſe great courage was well ſeene in all that ſiege (hauing as it is reported, with ſhot out of Saint ***Georges*** tower himſelfe ſlaine 500 Turks during the time of that ſiege) being now preſent, and moued with indignation to heare a motion made of priuat conference with the enemie: bent his piece vpon the meſſenger, & cauſed him forthwith to depart without doing his meſſage. Many who in time of the aſſault feared not any danger, but were altogether become deſperat and careles of themſelues, after that they had vnderſtood that the enemie had offered parley, and that they began to conceiue ſome hope of life: reſorted vnto the Great Maſter, requeſting him, that he would prouide for the ſafetie of his louing people, whoſe warlike forces was with many aſſaults ſore weakned, the citie beaten downe about their eares, and moſt of them which were left, either wounded or ſick. They had (as they ſaid) now ſufficiently proued both their force and fortune: wherefore he ſhould do well, to beware, leſt while he were too long in conſulting, the enemie ſhould conceiue a further indignation in ſeeing his offers refuſed. With theſe and ſuch ſpeeches they inforced the great maſter to ſend embaſſadors to ***Solyman.*** The men that were ſent, were ***Anthonius Groleus*** a Frenchman, enſigne bearer for the Order, a man of great reputation for his wiſedome and experience; and with him ***Robertus Baruſius***, a man of great grauitie, and skilfull in the Greeke tongue: for whom was receiued as pledges, a kinſman of the great captaine ***Achimetes***, and a certaine Epirot which fled out of the city vnto the Turks, becauſe one of the Grecian captaines had ſtruck him with his open hand, a man of a ſharpe wit, and one that could perfectly ſpeake the Greeke, Turkiſh, and Italian tongues, as appeared to his great credit amongſt the enemies, beeing had of them in great regard although he was not knowne whileſt he dwelt in the citie, that he was any ſuch man. After that came alſo ***Solymans*** enterpreter, for he himſelfe could ſpeak no other language more than his owne, accounting it a great diſgrace, and againſt the ***Othoman*** empire to vſe any other language. The embaſſadors admitted vnto ***Solymans*** preſence, told him, That they were ſent to know, for what cauſe he had ſent to require parly? Who in a flaming heat, as if he had known nothing thereof, ſaid there was no ſuch matter: and commanding them preſently to void his campe, ſent them away with letters to the Great Maſter and the citizens, to this effect.

Solymans letter ſent to the great maſter and the Rhodians, by their embaſſadours.

If I had not compaſſion of humane infirmitie, which oftentimes tumbleth headlong mens ambitious and hautie minds, into moſt dangerous and vnneceſſarie miſchiefs, truly I would not haue directed vnto you theſe letters at this time; but as you haue well deſerued, perſecute you with death and moſt miſerable ſeruitude: which how eaſie a thing were it for me to doe, you your ſelues know. But hauing now ſufficiently tried my force, if you be wiſe make proofe of my clemencie. You haue already ſatisfied your owne furie, your owne mad humour: and now adviſe your ſelues, lay your hand vpon your heart, and without delay yeeld your ſelues as I command; your liues I giue, I giue you your wealth, and more than that, your choice to tarrie there ſtill, or to depart: Refuſe not the grace frankly offered, which was of you to haue bin moſt heartily deſired. It ſhall not alwaies be lawful for you (as at this preſent) to make choice of both. From our campe.

Vpon the returne of the embaſſadors, the poore of all ſorts flockt together to the Great Maſter his houſe not far from the breach: where after the multitude of the common people was diſmiſſed, and the chiefe of the burgers ſent for, the imperious letter of the Turkiſh tyrant was openly read before the knights of the Order, and the better ſort of the citizens. Whereunto the Great Maſter accounting it both honor enough, and ſufficient tearme of life honorably to die, anſwered in this ſort.

The Great Maſter his opinion concerning that Solyman demanded by his letters.

You heard (ſacred fellowes in armes, and valiant citizens of the Rhodes) theſe imperious and ſorrowfull letters: whereunto how we are to anſwer, requireth no great deliberation: we muſt as reſolute men either yeeld or die, all hope of the victorie is gone, except forraine aid come. Wherefore if you will follow my counſeil, let vs with weapons in our hands, vntill the laſt gaſpe and the ſpending of the laſt drop of our bloud, like valiant men defend our faith and nobilitie receiued from our anceſtours, and the honour which we haue ſo long time gotten both at home and abroad: and let it neuer be ſaid, that our honour died but with our ſelues. G

This ſpeech of the great Maſter ſeemed vnto many, heauier, than the imperious commandement of the Turkiſh tyrant: and a great while men ſtood ſilent, heauily looking one vpon another, many with changing of their countenance and outward geſture, more than by words expreſsing what they thought in heart. At length a certaine Greeke prieſt, with great compaſſion of mind (as it ſeemed) and teares trickling down his cheeks, brake forth into theſe words: H

A notable ſpeech of a Greeke prieſt, perſuading the Great Maſter to yeeld.

And I would alſo hold my peace, if I were a priuat man; and not firſt of all in ſo great and troubled Aſſemblie, broach mine owne opinion. But foraſmuch as the regard of our common preſeruation, can wring a word out of no mans mouth; and all men know, that now is the time to ſpeake and ſay what euery man thinketh beſt, which ſhall neither alwayes nor long bee graunted vnto vs; I will not let it now ouerpaſſe and ſlip away: Wherefore let vs ſuppoſe, that no command of a moſt mightie prince beſieging vs, were come vnto vs, but that I were reaſoning as a priuate man with his neighbour, or one friend with another by the fire ſide, or in our cups without care, without any great affection to either partie, as men indifferent, not liking or hating (as men oftentimes do of princes affairs which concerne them nothing) and then (as I hope) my ſpeech ſhall be vnto you neither vnpleaſant nor vnprofitable. We Greekes and Latines, with ioyned armes, haue now theſe ſix moneths withſtood our deadly enemies, not onely abroad before our wals, but alſo in the very bowels of our citie, without any forreine helpe: which as wee haue of long time all vainely looked for, ſo are we now euery one of vs out of hope thereof. And yet our enemie either mooued with the ſecret goodneſſe of God, or elſe ignorant of our ſtrength and forces, ſpent with wounds, ſlaughter, ſickneſſe, and perpetuall labour, doth voluntarly offer that vnto vs, which was of vs to be moſt of all deſired and earneſtly ſued for. Your publicke and priuate treaſures, the bodies of your ſelues, your wiues and children hee keepeth vnuiolated; he taketh from vs onely the citie, which he hath for moſt part alreadie beaten downe and taken. Worthie Great Maſter, and you moſt valiant knights, I haue knowne proweſſe and valour in many battels at ſea, but eſpecially in this ſiege; whereof ſeeing there is no more vſe in this our deſperate eſtate, I doe appeale vnto your wiſedom and diſcretion. Since all is now the conquerours, in that he leaueth vnto vs our liues and goods, that is to be accounted gaines, and the yeelding vp of the citie and Iſland no loſſe, which the victorious enemie alreadie commandeth: which although it be a heauie matter and grieuous vnto the nobilitie, yet your fortune perſuadeth you thereunto. Wherefore if you be to be mooued with any compaſſion, I account it better to yeeld, than to bee ſlaine our ſelues, or to ſee your wiues and children by law of arms to be led away before your faces into miſerable captiuity and ſeruitude. If any Chriſtian compaſſion remaine in your warlike mindes, I beſeech you ſeeke not the vtter deſtruction of this innocent people, who (I may with modeſtie ſay) hath not euill deſerued of you, whom Chriſt Ieſus, whom the enemie himſelfe, would haue preſerued. That I ſay this which I ſpeake vnto you for Chriſtian charitie, and for no other cauſe, let this be a ſufficient teſtimonie, That ſo long as you were able to reſiſt by your owne power, or hoped for aid from forreine princes, I neuer ſpake word, or once thought of yeelding: but now ſeeing the fatall ruine of all things about vs, our common eſtate brought vnto the vttermoſt extremitie, our deadly enemie in the heart of our citie, no hope, and that the warre cannot longer bee protracted; I wiſh you to yeeld, and for my part had rather make choice of peace than war, and to proue the enemies fauour, than his furie. I K L

Moſt of them there preſent, were of the ſame mind with the prieſt. But as nothing can bee ſo reaſonably ſpoken as to content al men, ſo this ſpeech was not of them al liked: ſome there were (though not many) which conſidering the harmes they had done vnto the Turkes, and doubting with what ſafetie they might yeeld themſelues into the power of that faithleſſe people, had rather to haue fought it out to the laſt man, and ſo to haue left vnto them a bloudie victorie. Amongſt theſe, one bold ſpoken fellow ſtept forth, and in preſence of them all diſſuaded the yeelding vp of the citie, in this ſort: M

I haue

A moſt reſolute ſpeech of a common ſoldier, diſſuading the yeelding vp of the Rhodes.

I haue not beene with any thing more vnacquainted, than to deliuer my opinion before princes, or in ſuch great and publicke aſſemblies, being alwaies more deſirous modeſtly to heare other mens opinions, than impudently to thruſt foorth mine owne. But now, ſeeing extreame neceſſitie will not longer ſuffer me to keepe my woonted courſe of ſilence, I will frankly ſpeake my mind, and tell you what in my opinion is to be anſwered vnto the heauie meſſage and imperious command of the moſt perfidious tyrant. This cruell enemie hath ouerthrowne our wall, and is entred three hundred foot and more within our citie, and as a moſt troubleſome gueſt liueth and conuerſeth with vs as it were vnder the ſame roofe. Such as liſt not longer to indure ſuch an vnwelcome gueſt and troubleſome neighbour, perſuade you becauſe he is troubleſome, to giue him all: but (worthie and ſacred knights) I am of farre different opinion; neither doe I thinke a poſſeſſion of two hundred and fourteene yeares is ſo lightly to bee deliuered vp, and the ground forſaken: but rather that this troubleſome intrudor is in like manner to be himſelfe troubled, and with deadly skirmiſhes continually vexed: whom after wee had by force of armes and vndaunted courage, maugre his head, held out fiue moneths, at length he brake into our city, not by any valour in himſelfe, but holpen by time, which tameth all things: and ſince his firſt entrance it is now almoſt fortie daies, in which time for all his haſt, hee hath ſcarcely got forward a hundred and thirtie paces, hindered by the blockes we haue laied in his way, and will not ceaſe continually to lay, if we be wiſe men and mindfull of our former valour. Deſtroy me you heauenly powers, before I ſee with theſe eies theſe ſacred knights to yeeld vp this famous citie of the Rhodes, the antient bulwarke of Chriſtian religion, vnto our mercileſſe enemies, polluted with the infamous ſuperſtition of Mahomet: *who beſides the inſatiable thirſt they haue of our bloud, how faithleſſe and miſchieuous they are by nature, if we know not, we need not make example of our ſelues, but we may take example by the calamitie of Conſtantinople, the late miſerie of Eubœa, and that which later was, of Methone, as alſo by the Mamalukes at Caire, miſerably ſlaine contrary to the league, contrarie to the faith and promiſe by the Turkiſh Emperour himſelfe before giuen. What, doe you not remember how the death of the moſt noble captaines at Belgrade was of late procured by the faſhood, craft, and deceit of the ſame faithleſſe miſereants? Let vs then, being men of wit and vnderſtanding, truſt theſe mad beaſts, let vs giue our ſelues into their power, which haue no regard of right or reaſon, of religion or any thing elſe: whoſe couetouſneſſe and crueltie it is hard to ſay which is greater, which for theſe many yeres haue plotted and laboured nothing more, than how by policie or force they may vtterly root out the very name of the Rhodians, which they ſo deadly hate. They keep vs ſhut vp and beſieged now the ſixt moneth, feeling together with vs extream dangers and endleſſe labour, ſlaine by heapes before our wals and fortreſſes, and cannot be remoued hence with thunder, leghtening, ſtormes, tempeſts, and all the calamities of Winter, a time which giueth intermiſſion of all warre, both by ſea and land; ſo deſirous they are of reuenge, and greedie of our bloud: and that not altogether without cauſe, for we haue alſo ſhed theirs, and gladly would ſtill ſo do, if it lay in our power. But ſeeing it ſeemeth good vnto God otherwiſe, and that we are ſurpriſed with ineuitable neceſſitie, yet let vs whileſt we are at libertie, and haue power our ſelues, by honorable death amongſt the Chriſtian enſignes, eſchew the torments and reproches which our cruell enemies hope to inflict vpon vs: ſo ſhall we enioy eternall fame and glorie, prepared both in heauen and earth for ſuch as honourably die in defence of their prince and country: which honour it becommeth not them to enuie vnto thy moſt noble name and vertue, worthie Grand Maſter, which hauing for many yeares enioyed the commoditie and profit of peace, and greatly enriched by bountie of this ſacred militarie Order, refuſe now to beare this laſt burden of warre.*

At theſe words an antient Greeke, for his wiſedome and diſcretion of great reputation both with the Greekes and Latines, perceiuing his countreymen wrongfully touched, and the deſperat holding out of the citie vainly perſuaded, tooke hold, and interrupting this yong gallant, in anſwer of that he had ſaid, ſpake as followeth:

The former ſpeech notably anſwered by a Greeke, and the yeelding of the citie vrged.

That griefe of minde and deſperation can make men rather eloquent than wiſe, as you haue many times heard before this, ſo you might this day perceiue alſo, moſt valiant gentlemen: for aduiſed modeſtie neuer falleth into obloquie, neither confoundeth falſhood with truth; it deſireth not the ſlaughter of the citizens, it perſuadeth not furie, nor exhorteth men to madneſſe: but it is by nature ſo engraffed in many, that when they cannot by their owne wiſedome and policie deliuer themſelues from their troubles, they yet ſeeke to draw others into the fellowſhip of the ſame danger: ſo greedie haue malice and miſerie alwaies been of companie. But if you (worthie Commaunder) will giue me alſo leaue to ſpeake, a man amongſt his countrymen not of meaneſt place and authoritie, which thing both the preſent calamitie and vrgent neceſſitie might of you eaſily obtaine, I would alledge ſuch reaſons, and lay downe ſuch matter, as ſhould not only refell the copious and glorious words of this ſharpe witted Orator, ſcrapt together of purpoſe to flouriſh out the matter, but alſo ſuch as might ſtirre your mind to that which is honeſt, profitable, and neceſſarie; expulſing hatred, feare, trouble, or deſpaire. This Gentleman, whom we all know, not onely to bee a vehement Orator, but ſometime a man moſt terrible, whereas for all his great words he is by nature mild, and ſo mild, that he neuer had the heart to kill, nay not ſo much as lightly to wound any one of them whom he calleth barbarous, mad, cruell, whoſe perfidious dealing he deteſteth, whoſe crueltie he accurſeth, whoſe manner of liuing he exclaimeth againſt, as altogether without law, without reaſon, without order, without regard: and now in time of truce, and whileſt the ſhowers of arrowes, yron bullets, fire and ſtones doth ceaſe, creeping out of his caue, maketh much adoe, and keepeth a great ſtirre; and not knowing in what danger he is, doth now with glorious words vall vpon death, whereof he hath hitherto ſhewed himſelfe too much affraid, and all forſooth (as hee ſaid) leſt hee ſhould be enforced to endure the mocking and ſcorning of the enemie. But this is meere pride, not Chriſtian fortitude or humilitie. But our enemie neither threateneth nor purpoſeth any ſuch matter, nothing ſo perfidious or cruell as he would make him, rubbing vp the ſlaughter at Caire, Eubœa, Methone, and Conſtantinople, cities taken either by force or warlike policie, and not yeelded by compoſition, vpon faith giuen betwixt the beſieger and the beſieged: who becauſe he would ſpare vs, will not ſuffer vs to doe that whereby we ſhould vndoubtedly periſh. But whereof proceedeth this new found clemencie? This vnwonted fauor toward the people of the Rhodes? I am not of the tyrants priuie counſel, neither euer curiouſly ſought after the reaſon of another mans bountie, but am glad to receiue it when I need it. Yet for all that, I will not diſſemble what I thinke in a matter ſo doubtfull: he is willing (as I ſuppoſe) in this ſiege and conqueſt of the Rhodes, to ſhew vnto other nations whom he purpoſed to inuade, both his power and his patience: leſt alwaies ſatisfying his cruell nature, he ſhould make deſolation in places he would raigne ouer, and ſo for euer alienating the minds of men, be inforced to fight with all men with fire and ſword: by which rigour he hath not ſo much hurt his enemie as himſelfe. For this cauſe (as I ſuppoſe he leaueth vnto vs life and goods, leſt whileſt hee in going about to take them from vs by force, and we ſeeking to keepe them by deſperatneſſe, we ſhould both fall into great deſtruction, no leſſe lamentable vnto the conqueror than to the vanquiſhed. Beſides that, if he ſhould kill all here, truly he might then enter the breaches of the citie on the bodies of the dead, no men now left aliue to reſiſt him. But Lerus is ſhut vp, Arangia is ſtrongly fortified, Lyndus is by ſcituation impregnable: heere he knoweth are weapons, armour, and men; here he muſt begin a new warre, except he will haue the remainder of your warre, the fatall plague of his empire, to prey ſtill vpon his ſubiects: all which ſtrong places he ſhall haue without ſlaughter, without bloudſhed (as reaſon is) if he ſhould let you and vs poore wretches depart in ſafety with a little traſh. Except theſe worldy conſiderations haue moued him to mercy and compaſſion: then out of doubt it is wrought by diuine power and the ſecret fauour of God towards vs, and of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus crucified. Whereunto if you be men well aduiſed, if religious, if mindfull of the dutie of Chriſtians, it becommeth not you to oppoſe any obſtacle, and with the ruine of your ſelues to deſtroy this miſerable people, which for this halfe yeares ſiege, hath ſcarcely had ſo much reſt as might ſuffice the neceſſitie of nature, ſtanding for you in battell, induring both wounds and death for your honour and victorie: by whoſe faithfull labour and diligence you haue bin alwaies holpen both at home and abroad; whether you inuaded the Turke by land in Mytilene, Naupactus, Methone, Patras, or other parts of Peloponeſus; or els by ſea thruſt him out of the poſſeſſion of the Ionian or Ægeum: whereby it may appeare euen vnto a blind man, how iniurious it is, and farre from truth, to obiect vnto vs, That inioying the fruits of peace, we refuſe the charges of warres; nay we neuer refuſed warres. But now it is come to that point, that if we would neuer ſo faine make warres, we are not able ſo to doe, the flower of our youth being ſlaine: and the ſmall remainder that is left, not onely weakened in bodie with wounds, ſickneſſe, watching, and reſtleſſe labour; but alſo in mind diſcouraged, whileſt all things fall out proſperouſly to our enemies, and to vs aduerſe: the greateſt and beſt part of our great artillerie beeing broken with continuall vſe, which if it were whole, we could haue thereof ſmal vſe or profit, for want of pouder, which not only this city now wanteth, but alſo your ſtrong holds, Lerus, Lyndus, Halicarnaſus, Arangia. I was neuer deſirous or curious to look into other mens doings, much leſſe into your maner of war: but yet (Great Maſter) you cannot deny, but it is ſo, who haue cauſed ſoldiers to be brought from thence hither openly, and gunpowder ſecretly: by which policie you haue withſtood your forrein enemy theſe ſix months, & deceiued the trechery of one or two domeſtical traitors. But I gladly admit we haue al theſe

things,

A *things, I ſtand not vpon the truth, I ſay not what moſt men ſay, but I ſpeake to pleaſe a few: and ſuppoſe we wanted neither armour nor courage, I would then aske you this, whether they would aduiſe you to vſe them to your defence, or to your deſtruction? For vnto both it cannot be, no more than at once to bee a freeman and a ſlaue. To vſe them to your deſtruction, that were madneſſe and ſenceleſſe pride, hatefull to God and man; you ſhould therefore vſe them to defence: but how ſhall we defend a citie (I doe not ſay, as the truth is) alreadie loſt and poſſeſſed by the enemie, wherein he raigneth, raungeth, and turneth all vpſide downe? but hauing the wals battered downe, a great breach in the Spaniſh ſtation, and another not like, but euen now as good as made in the Italian ſtation, how ſhall we be able to keepe this vnfortunate towne, battered and rent at the French, Engliſh, and Auergne ſtations, and the tower of S.* Nicholas? *Which if it were not ſo battered and bared of al warlike prouiſion, but ſound and thorowly furniſhed with* B *munition and victuall, yet neceſsitie enforcing, and reaſon perſuading, you ought to forſake it, forſomuch as all power of further reſiſtance is taken from you. Doe you not ſee how eaſily and almoſt without any trouble the enemie (by meanes of the caſtle he hath new built vpon the mount Philermo, not paſt two miles diſtant) can take from you all manner of prouiſion both by ſea and land, and reſtraine you from going out or in? Truely notable gentlemen, honourable for your martiall prowesſe, you ſee and haue long agoe foreſeene theſe things better than I, altogether ignorant in martiall affaires, altogether buſied in the trade of merchandiſe, and caring for my family; yet ſuffer me to ſay the truth. All the powers whereby this kingdome ſtood, are departed and gone; againſt the force of our enemies no policie of force remaineth; and to expect armies of angels or ſouldiers from heauen, and other ſuch like miracles, is in my iudgement more and more to prouoke God to anger, although in his anger he bee vnto vs mercifull.* C *Wherefore being deſtitute of all worldly helpe, let vs as we may, prouide for our ſafetie. I beſeech thee (worthie Great Maſter) by theſe my aged teares, by the naturall pietie ingrafted in thy noble nature, expoſe not this miſerable citie to the ſpoile of the enemie, our old and middle aged men to the ſword, our wiues and daughters to be rauiſhed, our boyes and youths to the vnnaturall filthineſſe of our barbarous enemies, and to be corrupted with the mad and groſſe opinion of the vngodly Mahometane ſuperſtition. I would (noble knights) you had ſeene with what teares, with what mourning our heauie families and children crying about their mothers, ſent vs hither, and what praiers they made for vs at our departing: I would you knew with what minde and how great hope they expect their ſafetie from your clemencie and aduiſed reſolution.*

D This ſpeech of the aged Greek might haue moued a heart of flint: but the Great Maſter, who in his countenance ſhewed a greater courage than his preſent ſtate required, commanding euery man to his charge: after the matter had bin thus moſt part of the night diſcourſed, gaue then no other anſwer, but, That he would be carefull of all their well doing. The next morning he ſent for ***Preianes***, ***Martiningus***, & a few other of the greateſt iudgement & experience, by whom he was fully reſolued, that the citie in ſo many places by the enemie laid open and ſhaken, was not poſſibly to be long defended: whereupon he cauſed a common counſell to be called of all the knights of the Order together with the burgeſſes of the citie: where after long debating, whether they ſhould fight it out to the laſt man, or yeeld vpon ſuch conditions as was to be obtained: it was by generall conſent concluded, that the city ſhould be yeelded, E and thereupon a decree made which was by the Great Maſter pronounced. Whileſt theſe things were thus in doing, a truce was taken with the enemy for foure daies, but full of feare & danger. During which time, diuers of the Turks preſuming vpon the truce, came by great companies to behold the wals & rampiers of the citie: wherwith ***Fornouius*** the Frenchman (of whom mention is before made) being ſore moued, in his choler without further command diſcharged a tire of great ordnance among the thickſt of them, contrary to the truce taken. At which time alſo the Rhodians receiued into the citie ſecretly by night a ſhip loaded with wines out of Crete, & in her ***Alphonſus*** a Spaniard, chiefe pilot of the Rhodian gallies, & with him 100 voluntary ſouldiers all Latines, all which went out of Crete without the knowledge of the Venetian Senat: for at that time the Venetians were in league with ***Solyman***. The Turks F iuſtly offended with the breach of the truce, and the taking in of new ſupplies, which they ſuppoſed to haue bin far greater than in truth they were; without command of any captain or enſigne diſplaid, in great numbers thruſt in thorow the ruines of the breaches into the city as farre as the rampiers and baricadoes new made, and furiouſly aſſailed the defendants: In which conflict many were ſlaine and wounded on both ſides. But after the Turkes had to

The Great Maſter reſolued that the citie was not to be defended, calleth a common counſell of al his knights, and the burgeſſes of the citie.

A truce taken with the Turks for foure daies.

their

A barbarous fact

their coſt againe made proofe of the courage of their enemies, as without commandement they began that skirmiſh, ſo of themſelues they brake it off and retired. After the truce was thus broken, the captaine of the Turkes fencers, a bloudie cruell fellow, hauing taken three Chriſtians priſoners, cut off their hands, eares, and noſes, and ſent them ſo diſmembred into the citie with letters to the Great Maſter, charging him with the vniuſt breach of the truce, barbarouſly threatning within three or foure daies to make like example of him to all poſteritie. Amongſt others none was more troubled with this ſudden and vnexpected breach of the truce, than ***Robertus Peruſinus***, ***Raymundus Marchet***, and ***Raymundus Lupus***, three knights of the Order, men of ſingular wiſedome and grauitie, embaſſadours at that time in the Turkes campe: whom the barbarous people in their furie had vndoubtedly ſlaine or put to torture, if they had not feared the like meaſure to haue bin ſhewed to their hoſtages in the citie. But after that ***Nicholaus Vergotus***, and ***Georgius Sandriticus***, two of the Burgeſſes of the citie, were come into the campe with articles containing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians were contented to deliuer vp the citie, all their furie and rage was quickly appeaſed. ***Solyman*** for his greater maieſtie and the more terror of theſe meſſengers, beſet round about with his great armie, & guarded about with his Ianizaries in their richeſt attire & gliſtering armor, gaue them audience: who admitted to his preſence, with great humilitie offered vnto him in writing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians would yeeld vp vnto him the citie. The chiefe points whereof were, That the Churches ſhould remaine vnto the Chriſtians inuiolated: That no children ſhould be taken from their parents: That no Chriſtian ſhould be inforced to forſake his religion and turne Turke: That ſuch Chriſtians as would tarrie ſtill in the citie, might ſo do at libertie, without paying any tribute for the ſpace of fiue yeares: That all they which would depart might go with bag & bagage, furniſhed with conuenient ſhipping and prouiſion as farre as Crete, & to carrie with them ſo much great ordnance as they pleaſed; and that the Chriſtians ſhould appoint a reaſonable day for the time of their departure. Al which articles ***Solyman*** condeſcended vnto and ſolemnly ſwore faithfully to performe the ſame. But how they were indeed performed the writers of that age do much vary: it ſhould ſeem they were neither altogether kept, nor broken, but ſo performed as pleaſed the conqueror: certaine it is, that many great outrages were through militarie inſolencie committed by the proud Turkes vpon the poore Chriſtians, contrary to the mind of ***Solyman***. ***Iacobus Fontanus*** a Ciuilian, and at that time one of the judges of the city (out of whoſe writings this hiſtorie is for moſt part collected) reporteth, That the Turks not expecting the departure of the Chriſtians, brake into the citie vpon Chriſtenmas day, by the gate called Coſquinium, polluted the Temples, ſhamefully abuſed the Chriſtians, & made hauock of all things: and that he himſelfe, falling into their hands, after he had with ſuch mony as he had, redeemed himſelfe, hauing not ſufficient to content all their greedy deſires, was by them hardly intreated & grieuouſly beaten. The Great Maſter by the counſell of ***Achimetes***, putting on ſuch ſimple attire as beſt beſeemed a vanquiſhed man that was to humble himſelfe before the conqueror, went out of the citie into the camp, attended vpon with a few knights of the Order: where after he had waited in the raine moſt part of the day, before ***Solymans*** tent, at laſt he had a rich gowne caſt vpon him, & ſo brought into the proud tyrants preſence. Where after they had a while at the firſt, with piercing eies one earneſtly beholden the other; the Great Maſter humbling himſelfe before him, was in token of grace admitted to kiſſe his hand, and welcomed by ***Solyman*** in this ſort.

Solyman his ſpeech vnto the Great Maſter.

Although (ſaid he) *I might worthily and iuſtly infringe the articles I haue preſcribed concerning the yeelding of the Citie, with thy moſt wicked croſſed compiers, the people of the* Rhodes, *and thee eſpecially ſuch a capitall enemie, from whoſe deſerued puniſhment, neither faith nor oath ought to ſtay a moſt iuſt conquerour: yet I haue determined to bee not onely gratious and mercifull vnto thee ſo great an offender, deſeruing exemplarie puniſhment, but alſo liberall and bountifull: who if thou wilt by weldoing amend the grieuous tranſgreſſions of thy former life, I promiſe vnto thee moſt honourable entertainement, great preferment, and the higheſt places in my Empire, in my armie in time of warre, and in counſell in time of peace. Not to refuſe this mine offer, both thy preſent eſtate perſuadeth thee, and the Chriſtians (whoſe quarrell thou tookeſt vpon thee to defend againſt me, with better beginning than ſucceſſe) deſerue at thy hands no better: for what ſhould let thee forſaken of all thy friends, a man as it were betraied and vanquiſhed, to caſt thy ſelfe into the perpetuall faith*

and

A *and protection of a moſt mightie and mercifull conquerour, of himſelfe offering thee this vndeſerued grace and fauour.*

Whereunto the Great Maſter preſently anſwered:

Moſt Mightie and gracious Emperour, your offered fauours before your other worthie captaines, I deſerue not; neither is my preſent eſtate and deſert towards you ſuch, as that I dare or ought to refell the ſame: yet I will ſpeake freely in the middeſt of your victorious armie, a man vanquiſhed in preſence of the conquerour, whoſe great mercie I neuer deſpaired of, and whoſe faith I neuer doubted: I had rather now I haue loſt my ſoueraigntie, forthwith to loſe my priuat and vnfortunate life; or elſe for euer
B *hereafter to liue in obſcurity, than of my people to be accounted a fugitiue rather than a vanquiſhed man: For, to be vanquiſhed is but chance of warre, and of ſo great a conquerour no ſhame to him that is conquered: but afterwards to forſake his owne people and to turne to the enemie, I account it ſhamefull cowardiſe and treacherie.*

The reſolute anſwere of the Great Maſter to Solyman.

Solyman maruelling at the courage and maieſtie of the hoarie old prince, in his ſo great extremitie, diſmiſſed him, and ſent him again into the citie, guarded with his owne guard, vntill he was come into his pallace: and vnto euery one of the knights attending vpon the Great Maſter, was giuen a rich garment, in token of *Solymans* fauor. Within a few daies after *Solyman* comming into the citie, went to viſit the Great Maſter alſo: whom he found buſie in pac-
C king vp his things againſt his departure. Here when the Great Maſter falling downe vpon his knees would haue worſhipped him, he would in no caſe ſuffer him ſo to do: but with his hand putting aſide his vaile of maieſtie (which manner of reuerence the Turkiſh Emperors giue only to God, and their Great Prophet *Mahomet*) tooke him vp and ſaluted him by the name of Father. To whom the Great Maſter for his wiſedome and deſcretion now to him no leſſe admirable, than he was before in time of war for his valour and courage, ſpake in this ſort:

Solyman commeth into the citie vnto the Great Maſter.

If my fortune and ſucceſſe had beene anſwerable to my heart and courage, I ſhould heere be in this citie, rather as a victorious conquerour than a man conquered. But ſithence the fatall Deſtinies would needs ouerthrow the Rhodian eſtate, I am glad that you are the man before all other by fortune aſſigned,
D *of whom I ſhall receiue both force and grace. And vnto you, amongſt many other your rare and worthie praiſes, this ſhall not be the leaſt, That you vanquiſhed the Rhodes and ſhewed mercie. By this meanes you haue ioyned vnto your dreadfull power, the fame of clemencie and courteſie: an honour not of the higheſt to be deſpiſed, by which alone wee come neereſt vnto God. Wherefore I doubt not but you will keepe the conuentions of the late peace inuiolate, which your owne clemencie perſuaded you to grant, and neceſſitie inforced vs to take. I ſhall now bee an eternall example of the Turkiſh Emperours clemencie and vertue, more than if I had by and by at the firſt yeelded my ſelfe: Obſtinate wilfulneſſe hath made thy glorie and mercie now famous thorow the whole World, and vnto the Worlds end.*

The ſpeech of the Great Maſter to Solyman.

E Whereunto *Solyman* by his interpreter, anſwered:

It is to me a great pleaſure, that God at length hath put into thy mind to make choice of peace before warre, which I would thou couldeſt haue liked of from the beginning: then truely thou ſhouldeſt at this time haue receiued of my great and mightie Maieſtie, more good than thou haſt indured harme: Which that I haue done vnto thee, not for any hatred, but onely for deſire of Soueraingntie, thou mayſt gather by this, That I ſuffer thee and thine to depart hence at libertie, with all your wealth and ſubſtance: for I make not warre, thereby to heape vp wealth and riches; but for honour, fame, immortalitie, and enlarging of mine Empire. For it is the propertie of a king royally deſcended, by ſtrong hand to take from others, and to inuade others; not vpon a greedie and couetous mind, but for the honourable
F *deſire of rule and ſoueraigntie: which whileſt my neighbour withſtandeth, I count it enough by force of armes to remoue him.*

The notable anſwere of Solyman to the great Maſter.

But the tyrant (as many ſuppoſed) ſpake all this by way of diſſimulation, hauing as it was commonly bruted, giuen order for the rigging vp of a great ſhip, & certain gallies, for the ſudden

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dentranſporting of the Great Maſter and the knights of the Order to Conſtantinople,which G
report ſeemeth to haue bin but feigned either of malice, or elſe by ſuch as leaſt knew ***Solymans***
mind:for if he had ſo purpoſed,who ſhould haue let him,hauing them al in his power.
Iouius in his little treatiſe ***Rerum Turcicarum*** dedicated to ***Charles*** the fifth,reporteth that hee
himſelfe heard ***Lilladamus*** the Great Maſter ſay,That when ***Solyman*** entered into the Rhodes
attended vpon with thirtie thouſand men,there was not any man heard to ſpeake a word, but
that the ſouldiers went as if they had bin obſeruant Friers: and that when hee came to aske
leaue of ***Solyman*** that hee might depart,he was ſo courteouſly vſed of him, that turning himſelfe
to ***Abraim*** the Baſſa, whom hee aboue all men loued,ſaid,Truely I cannot but grieue to
ſee this vnfortunat old man,driuen out of his owne dwelling, to depart hence ſo heauily.

The Great Maſter embarking himſelfe with his knights and ſuch other as were willing to H
depart, in veſſels and gallies prepared for that purpoſe, departed out of the Iſland on Newyeares
day at night: and after long and dangerous trauell by ſea in that Winter weather,landed
at laſt at Meſſana in Sicilia, from whence,he afterwards ſailed into Italie, and ſo trauelled
to Rome where he was honorably receiued by ***Adrian*** the ſixt of that name then Biſhop there,
a Hollander borne,ſometime ſchoolemaſter to ***Charles*** the fiſt, and his Vicegerent in Spain;
who if he had bin as forward in the ſhort time of his Papacie to haue relieued the Rhodes,as
hee was to maintaine ***Charles*** his quarrell againſt the French king, it is not vnlike but that famous
citie had been relieued,and the Iſland in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians at this day. Thus
Solyman,whileſt the Chriſtian princes were at diſcord amongſt themſelues,to his great glory
and no leſſe griefe of all good Chriſtians, entered the Rhodes the 25 day of December,a day I

Solyman entreth into the Rhodes on Chriſtenmas day, in the yere 1522.

dedicated vnto the natiuitie of our Sauiour Chriſt,in the yeare 1522, after it had bin by the
Knights of the Order valiantly kept and defended againſt the Infidels by the ſpace of 214
yeares,ſince the time they by force tooke it from the Infidels in the yeare 1308: and now being
ſo long holden as was poſſible,againſt all the power of the Turks,was yeelded vp when it
had bin ſix moneths beſieged. At this ſiege ***Solymon*** loſt a great part of his army; for beſides
them that were ſlaine at the aſſaults,which were many,thirtie thouſand died of the flix.

Solyman ſendes Ferhates Baſſa againſt Alis-beg the mountaine prince.

Whileſt ***Solyman*** thus lay at the ſiege of the Rhodes, ***Ferhates Baſſa*** Gouernor of the Marches
of the Turkiſh empire,alongſt the riuer of Euphrates, by the commandement of ***Solyman***
went with a great army againſt ***Alis-Beg***, whom the Turks called ***Schach***, ***Suar-Ogli***, that is to
ſay,king ***Suar*** his ſon: which ***P. Iouius*** corrupting, calleth him by the name of ***Saxouar-Oglis***. K
This ***Alis*** after he had betraied his vnckle ***Aladeules*** the mountaine king, vnto ***Sinan Baſſa***,was
by ***Selymus*** left chiefe Gouernor of that large and wild country alongſt the borders of Armenia
and Capadocia,wanting nothing of the honour of a king but the name onely, as is before
declared in the life of ***Selymus***. ***Solyman*** jealous of his honour, and fearing leſt hee ſhould take
vpon him the abſolute gouernment of that countrey (which indeed of right belonged vnto
him, the children of ***Aladeules*** the late king, being now all dead) and ſo to make himſelfe
king,eſpecially if he ſhould ioine in friendſhip with the Perſian king: after the manner of ambitious
men, purpoſed by any meanes to haue him taken out of the way: and had therefore
ſent ***Ferhates*** to eaſe him of that care.The Baſſa without making any ſhew of hoſtilitie,marching
with his army along the confines of his countrey,as if it had beene but to looke to his L
charge,when he was come as neere as he could to ***Alis***, without miſtruſt,thought good to aſſay
if he could by policie bring that to paſſe which he was otherwiſe with great danger to attempt
by force.Wherfore faining himſelfe to be extream ſicke, he ſent embaſſadors to ***Alis***,
requeſting him as a friend to vouchſafe to come vnto him being at the point of death, vnto
whom he had many things of importance from the great Emperour to impart, and would if
he ſhould die, leaue with him all his charge vntill ***Solyman*** ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe thereof.

Alis and his foure ſonnes treacherouſly ſlaine.

Alis, who from his youth had alwaies honoured the Turkiſh Emperors and faithfully ſerued
them,miſtruſting no harme came to the Baſſa,accompanied with his foure ſonnes; whom
the faithleſſe Baſſa without regard of infamie, cauſed preſently to be put to death with their
father: and ſo reducing all that country into the manner of a prouince,vnder ***Solymans*** obeiſance, M
came to him with twentie thouſand men, about the time that the citie of the Rhodes
was yeelded vp. This is the faithleſſe dealing of the Turks,not with the Chriſtians onely,but
with them of their owne ſuperſtition alſo: vſing it as no ſmall policie, vtterly to extinguiſh
the nobilitie of all countries ſubiect to their ſeruile tyrannie.

Solyman returneth to Conſtantinople.

A *Solyman* after he had thus ſubdued the Rhodes, and diſpoſed of the Iſland as he liked beſt,
returning to Conſtantinople, brake vp his armie, and for the ſpace of three yeares after followed
his pleaſure, not doing any thing worthy of remembrance. During which time and many
yeres after, the rich and flouriſhing country of Italie,(ſometime miſtreſſe of the world, was
miſerably afflicted and rent in pieces by *Charles* the fift(then Emperor)and *Francis* the French
king, the one enuying vnto the other the glorie of the Empire: and he not content therwith,
ſeeking with immoderat ambition to make himſelfe lord of all Italie: moſt of the other Chriſtian
princes and ſtates being at the ſame time either by the one or by the other, drawne into
the fellowſhip of that war, to the great trouble and ſore weakning of the Chriſtian commonweale.
Whereupon *Solyman* waiting all occaſions that might ſerue for the inlarging of his empire,
B and annoying of the Chriſtians, thought it now a fit time for him to ſet his foot into Hungarie,
wherinto he had alreadie laied open a way by the taking of Belgrade. He knew right
well that *Lewes* then king of Hungarie was but yong, altogether vnacquainted with the wars,
commanding ouer his headſtrong ſubiects (eſpecially his rich prelates and nobility) no otherwiſe
than pleaſed themſelues, being himſelfe rather by them altogether ouerruled: beſides
that, he was in good hope, that the other Chriſtian princes neere vnto him, either carried away
with regard of their owne eſtate, would not, or els before vnto himſelfe by league faſt bound,
could not affoord vnto him any great aid or ſuccour: the Germanes hee knew would make
ſmall haſt vnto ſuch wars as ſhould yeeld them much danger, and but ſmall pay. As for the
princes of the houſe of Auſtria, *Charles* the Emperor, and *Ferdinand* his brother, although they
C were ioyned vnto the young king with the neereſt bonds of alliance (*Lewis* hauing married
Mary their yongeſt ſiſter, and *Ferdinand, Anne*, king *Lewis* his ſiſter) yet was there as he thought
ſmall helpe to be expected from them; *Charles* hauing his hands full in Italie, and *Ferdinand*
altogether careful of himſelfe: and that *Sigiſmund* king of Polonia would for the yong kings
ſake breake the antient league he had with the Turkiſh Emperors, he could hardly be perſuaded:
as for other Chriſtian princes farther off, he ſtood not in any great doubt. Thus hauing
with himſelfe ſingled out this young prince the Hungarian king, whom he had in his greedie
mind already deuoured, he ſet forward from Conſtantinople, and was come on his way as far
as Sophia in Seruia with a mightie armie of two hundred thouſand men before that the Hungarians
had any knowledge of his comming (ſo blind and ſenceleſſe was that ſtate, which
D now ſleeping in ſecuritie, had long before loſt thoſe eies which euer watcht, and neuer ſpared
coſt or paines to keep the ſame in ſafety) in ſtead of whom were others come in place, ſharpe
of ſight, and too too prouident for that concerned their owne aduancement, but blind as beetles
in foreſeeing this great and common danger (wherwith they were ſhortly after all quite
ouerwhelmed) vntill it was now brought home vnto their own dores. The yong king of himſelfe
but weake, by reaſon of his youthfull yeres, and nothing ſtrengthned by them for whom
he had moſt done, and ſhould haue bin his greateſt ſtay, was wonderfully diſmaied with the
fame of the approch of ſo mightie an enemie: yet the better to withſtand him, he ſent embaſſadours
with all ſpeed vnto the Chriſtian Princes his neighbors, requeſting their aid againſt
the common enemy, but all in vaine. In the mean time, after the antient manner of his country
E he gaue out generall ſummons for the aſſembly of his counſell for the warres: whether his
great ſtipendarie prelats (of duty bound to appeare) came with their troupes of euill appointed
horſemen, and not halfe full, who alſo deliuered in leſſe ſummes of money by far, than of
right they ſhould haue done, towards the maintenance of the charge of that common warre.
And the temporall nobilitie, forgetting the warlike diſcipline of their famous anceſtours, as
freſh water ſoldiers which had ſeen the Turkiſh emperor in his ſtrength, & but litle acquainted
with ſome light ſkirmiſhes or ſmall inuaſions, in their vain brauerie made light account
of the Turks, proudly vaunting, That although they were in number but few, yet they would
eaſily ouerthrow the great numbers of them, if euer they came to handie ſtrokes. But aboue
all the reſt, one *Paulus Tomoreus*, Archbiſhop of Colocia, ſometimes a Minorit, who had before
F bin in diuers light ſkirmiſhes againſt the Turks, with great inſolencie did ſo confidently brag
and boaſt of the victorie he vainly dreamed of, that in his ſermons vnto the ſoldiers, and in
open talke with the nobilitie (if he could haue done ſo much as he vaunted of) it ſhould ſeem
that he himſelfe had been enough to haue ouerthrowne the Turks whole armie.

But when all the kings army was aſſembled, and a generall muſter taken, there was hardly

Solyman vpon the diſcord of the Chriſtian princes and diſordered ſtate of Hungarie, taketh occaſion to inuad that kingdome.

1526

Solyman commeth againſt Lewis king of Hungarie.

The vanitie of of Tomoreus.

den tranſporting of the Great Maſter and the knights of the Order to Conſtantinople, which G
report ſeemeth to haue bin but feigned either of malice, or elſe by ſuch as leaſt knew *Solymans* mind: for if he had ſo purpoſed, who ſhould haue let him, hauing them al in his power. *Iouius* in his little treatiſe *Rerum Turcicarum* dedicated to *Charles* the fifth, eporteth that hee himſelfe heard *Lilladamus* the Great Maſter ſay, That when *Solyman* entered into the Rhodes attended vpon with thirtie thouſand men, there was not any man heard to ſpeake a word, but that the ſouldiers went as if they had bin obſeruant Friers: and that when hee came to aske leaue of *Solyman* that hee might depart, he was ſo courteouſly vſed of him, that turning himſelfe to *Abraim* the Baſſa, whom hee aboue all men loued, ſaid, Truely I cannot but grieue to ſee this vnfortunat old man, driuen out of his owne dwelling, to depart hence ſo heauily.

The Great Maſter embarking himſelfe with his knights and ſuch other as were willing to H
depart, in veſſels and gallies prepared for that purpoſe, departed out of the Iſland on New-yeares day at night: aud after long and dangerous trauell by ſea in that Winter weather, landed at laſt at Meſſana in Sicilia, from whence he afterwards ſailed into Italie, and ſo trauelled to Rome where he was honorably receiued by *Adrian* the ſixt of that name then Biſhop there, a Hollander borne, ſometime ſchoolemaſter to *Charles* the fift, and his Vicegerent in Spain; who if he had bin as forward in the ſhort time of his Papacie to haue relieued the Rhodes, as hee was to maintaine *Charles* his quarrell againſt the French king, it is not vnlike but that famous citie had been relieued, and the Iſland in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians at this day. Thus *Solyman*, whileſt the Chriſtian princes were at diſcord amongſt themſelues, to his great glory and no leſſe griefe of all good Chriſtians, entered the Rhodes the 25 day of December, a day I
dedicated vnto the natiuitie of our Sauiour Chriſt, in the yeare 1522, after it had bin by the Knights of the Order valiantly kept and defended againſt the Infidels by the ſpace of 214 yeares, ſince the time they by force tooke it from the Infidels in the yeare 1308: and now being ſo long holden as was poſſible, againſt all the power of the Turks, was yeelded vp when it had bin ſix moneths beſieged. At this ſiege *Solymon* loſt a great part of his army; for beſides them that were ſlaine at the aſſaults, which were many, thirtie thouſand died of the flix.

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ſance, came to him with twentie thouſand men, about the time that the citie of the Rhodes was yeelded vp. This is the faithleſſe dealing of the Turks, not with the Chriſtians onely, but with them of their owne ſuperſtition alſo: vſing it as no ſmall policie, vtterly to extinguiſh the nobilitie of all countries ſubiect to their ſeruile tyrannie.

Solyman returneth to Conſtantinople.

Solyman after he had thus ſubdued the Rhodes, and diſpoſed of the Iſland as he liked beſt, returning to Conſtantinople, brake vp his armie, and for the ſpace of three yeares after followed his pleaſure, not doing any thing worthy of remembrance. During which time and many yeres after, the rich and flouriſhing country of Italie, ſometime miſtreſſe of the world, was miſerably afflicted and rent in pieces by *Charles* the fift (then Emperor) and *Francis* the French king, the one enuying vnto the other the glorie of the Empire: and he not content therwith, ſeeking with immoderat ambition to make himſelfe lord of all Italie: moſt of the other Chriſtian princes and ſtates being at the ſame time either by the one or by the other, drawne into the fellowſhip of that war, to the great trouble and ſore weakning of the Chriſtian commonweale. Whereupon *Solyman* waiting all occaſions that might ſerue for the inlarging of his empire, and annoying of the Chriſtians, thought it now a fit time for him to ſet his foot into Hungarie, whereinto he had alreadie laied open a way by the taking of Belgrade. He knew right well that *Lewes* then king of Hungarie was but yong, altogether vnacquainted with the wars, commanding ouer his headſtrong ſubiects (eſpecially his rich prelates and nobility) no otherwiſe than pleaſed themſelues, being himſelfe rather by them altogether ouerruled: beſides that, he was in good hope, that the other Chriſtian princes neere vnto him, either carried away with regard of their owne eſtate, would not, or els before vnto himſelfe by league faſt bound, could not affoord vnto him any great aid or ſuccour: the Germanes hee knew would make ſmall haſt vnto ſuch wars as ſhould yeeld them much danger, and but ſmall pay. As for the princes of the houſe of Auſtria, *Charles* the Emperor, and *Ferdinand* his brother, although they were ioyned vnto the young king with the neereſt bonds of alliance (*Lewis* hauing married *Mary* their yongeſt ſiſter, and *Ferdinand*, *Anne*, king *Lewis* his ſiſter) yet was there as he thought ſmall helpe to be expected from them; *Charles* hauing his hands full in Italie, and *Ferdinand* altogether careful of himſelfe: and that *Sigiſmund* king of Polonia would for the yong kings ſake breake the antient league he had with the Turkiſh Emperors, he could hardly be perſuaded: as for other Chriſtian princes farther off, he ſtood not in any great doubt. Thus hauing with himſelfe ſingled out this young prince the Hungarian king, whom he had in his greedie mind already deuoured, he ſet forward from Conſtantinople, and was come on his way as far as Sophia in Seruia with a mightie armie of two hundred thouſand men before that the Hungarians had any knowledge of his comming (ſo blind and ſenceleſſe was that ſtate, which now ſleeping in ſecuritie, had long before loſt thoſe eies which euer watcht, and neuer ſpared coſt or paines to keep the ſame in ſafety) in ſtead of whom were others come in place, ſharpe of ſight, and too too prouident for that concerned their owne aduancement, but blind as beetles in foreſeeing this great and common danger (wherwith they were ſhortly after all quite ouerwhelmed) vntill it was now brought home vnto their own dores. The yong king of himſelfe but weake, by reaſon of his youthfull yeres, and nothing ſtrengthned by them for whom he had moſt done, and ſhould haue bin his greateſt ſtay, was wonderfully diſmaied with the fame of the approch of ſo mightie an enemie: yet the better to withſtand him, he ſent embaſſadours with all ſpeed vnto the Chriſtian Princes his neighbors, requeſting their aid againſt the common enemy, but all in vaine. In the mean time, after the antient manner of his country he gaue out generall ſummons for the aſſembly of his counſell for the warres: whether his great ſtipendarie prelats (of duty bound to appeare) came with their troupes of euill appointed horſemen, and not halfe full, who alſo deliuered in leſſe ſummes of money by far, than of right they ſhould haue done, towards the maintenance of the charge of that common warre. And the temporall nobilitie, forgetting the warlike diſcipline of their famous anceſtours, as freſh water ſoldiers which had ſeen the Turkiſh emperor in his ſtrength, & but litle acquainted with ſome light ſkirmiſhes or ſmall inuaſions, in their vain brauerie made light account of the Turks, proudly vaunting, That although they were in number but few, yet they would eaſily ouerthrow the great numbers of them, if euer they came to handie ſtrokes. But aboue all the reſt, one *Paulus Tomoreus*, Archbiſhop of Colocia, ſometimes a Minorit, who had before bin in diuers light ſkirmiſhes againſt the Turks, with great inſolencie did ſo confidently brag and boaſt of the victorie he vainly dreamed of, that in his ſermons vnto the ſouldiers, and in open talke with the nobilitie (if he could haue done ſo much as he vaunted of) it ſhould ſeem that he himſelfe had been enough to haue ouerthrowne the Turks whole armie.

Solyman vpon the diſcord of the Chriſtian princes and diſordered ſtate of Hungarie, taketh occaſion to inuad that kingdome.

1526

Solyman commeth againſt Lewis king of Hungarie.

The vanitie of of Tomoreus.

But when all the kings army was aſſembled, and a generall muſter taken, there was hardly found fiue and twentie thouſand men in all, horſe and foot. So that the fooliſh hardineſſe of G *Tomoreus*, and others ſo forwards to giue the Turks battel, was of moſt wiſe men diſliked. The old ſouldiers and men of great experience ſaid plainly, That it was meere folly and madneſſe with ſuch a handfull of men to giue battell vnto the enemie, who would bring eight times ſo many moe into the field as they were. Wherefore ſome wiſhed, that the yong king ſhould be withdrawn from the eminent danger: among whom *Stephanus Verbetius*, a noble captain, of all the reſt beſt acquainted with the Turkiſh wars, gaue counſel, that the perſon of the yong king ſhould for the ſafety of the common ſtate, whatſoeuer ſhould happen, be kept out of danger in the ſtrong caſtle of Buda. But the vnruly ſoldiers with open mouth impugned his wholſome counſell, and ſaid plainly, That except the king himſelfe did lead them, they would not at all fight. Of which opinion was alſo the raſh prelat *Tomoreus*, perſuading them with all ſpeed to H giue the enemie battell, and that the noble yong king vnder the protection of Almighty God ſhould in perſon himſelfe go & giue the ſignall of battell againſt his enemies. The king ouer-ruled by this vnlucky counſell, vpon a brauerie without reaſon ſet forward with his army, and came to a place called Mohatchz or Mugace, which is a little country village not far from Danubius, almoſt in the middle between Buda and Belgrado. And now *Balybeus* with 20000 horſemen (the forerunners of the Turkiſh army) was at hand, at which time the commanders and captaines of the kings armie, entred into counſell, Whether it were better to incamp their armie within their waggons alongſt the riuer of Danubius, and ſo to expect the comming of *Ioannes Sepuſius*, countie of Cilia, and Vayuod of Tranſyluania (who was then ſaid to be comming towards the king with his Tranſyluanian horſemen, of all other fitteſt to haue incoun- I tered the Turkes, or els to march on forward, and preſently to giue them battell: But *Tomoreus*, who now commanded all, knowing that vpon the comming of the Vayuod, hee was to giue place, and himſelfe to be commanded, (which vnto ſo proud a man was no ſmall griefe) for the maintenance of his credit and reputation, and to carrie away the glorie of the victorie he ſo vainely hoped for, could not abide to heare of any delay; but haſting headlong to his owne deſtruction, did with ſuch vehemencie impugne the wholſome counſell of others, who would haue expected the comming of the Vayuod, that he by his franticke perſuaſions, drew on the vnaduiſed yong king into moſt apparent and manifeſt danger. For *Balybeus* diuided his horſemen into foure battels, which by turnes skirmiſhed with the kings armie without intermiſſion, and gaue the Hungarians no leiſure to reſt either day or night, but continually whee- K ling about, kept them in ſo ſtrait, that no man could without great danger go to water his horſe at the ſide of Danubius, which was faſt by, or once to ſtir out of the campe, but were inforced to dig pits for water in places where they lay: with which neceſſitie *Tomoreus* was enforced to put the armie in order of battell, and there was now no remedie, but he muſt of neceſſitie fight for the honor of his prince and country. His battell was ranged all in length, and his horſmen not altogether (as it was thought) vnfitly placed here and there by troups among his footmen, leſt the Turks (being in number eight to one) ſhould with their multitude compaſſe them round, and ſo inforce them to fight as it were in a ring: for now was *Solyman* come alſo with all his huge armie. The Hungarian tents defended with a ſmall garriſon, were left a little from the armie on the right hand, incloſed round about with wagons, one chained to a- L nother: neere vnto the which, *Tomoreus* Generall of this vnluckie battell, had not altogether vndiſcreetly placed a troupe of choſen horſemen for defence of the kings perſon against all vncertain euents of the battel. But this day (vnluckie to the Hungarian name, but vnto the king himſelf moſt fatal and vnfortunat) ouerthrew that his purpoſe, deuiſed too late for the ſafetie of the kings perſon: for at the firſt incounter the Hungarians, although they had receiued no harme by the Turkiſh artillerie (being mounted too hie, of purpoſe as it was thought, the gunners being for moſt part Chriſtians) were eaſily beaten down and ouerthrowne, oppreſſed by the multitude of their enemies, eſpecially *Tomoreus* with the reſt of the prelats & nobility being almoſt all ſlaine together, & the Hungarian horſmen alſo either ſlaine or but to flight. All things going thus to wracke, a companie of Turks aſſailed the camp, which was hardly defen- M ded by the weake garriſon. Which thing the troupe of the choſen horſmen appointed for defence of the kings perſon, beholding, could not be ſtaid, but that they would needs help them which defended the camp. The yong king ſeeing all his armie diſcomfited, & himſelf forſaken of the horſmen which he was in hope ſhould haue garded him, betook himſelf to flight.

Wholſome counſel not followed

The battell of Mohatchz

Tomoreus ſlain.

King Lewis drowned in a ditch.

But as he was making ſhift for himſelfe, thinking to haue paſſed ouer a fennie ditch, his horſe A in plunging out, fell backwards vpon him into the ditch; where being heauie loaden with armour not able to helpe himſelfe, hee was in the middeſt of the filthie ditch in the mud moſt miſerably drowned. Some few horſemen eſcaped out of the battell, the reſt were either ſlain or taken priſoners. This woful battell neuer ſufficiently to be lamented, as the ground of the miſeries of that worthy kingdome, was fought the 29 day of October in the yeare 1526.

Solyman hauing obtained this victorie, marched on directly to Buda, the regall ſeat of the Hungarian kings, which was deliuered to him with the caſtle, vpon condition, that he ſhould not violate any man either in perſon or goods, and at his departure to leaue the ſame againe vnto the Hungarians: all which things he (according vnto their requeſt) faithfully performed. B Being entred into the caſtle, he wonderfully commended the ſame, but lodged not therein, becauſe it is by their antient law forbidden the Turkiſh Emperor to lodge within any walled place which is not his owne. Wherefore he returned and lodged in his campe alongſt the riuer of Danubius.

The heads of ſlaine Chriſtian biſhops and captaines preſented to Solyman.

Whileſt ***Solyman*** lay thus at Buda, ſeuen bloudie heads of the Biſhops and greateſt of the nobilitie (ſlaine in the late battell at Mohatchz) were preſented to him, all ſet in order vpon a wodden ſtep: wherat he ſmiled, to ſee his courtiers laying their right hands vpon their breſts, and bending their bodies as if they had done them great obeiſance, to ſalute them by name, and in deriſion to welcome them by the names of valiant Popes. But afterwards, when he had more particularly enquired what euery one of them was, it is reported that he moſt of all de- C teſted ***Ladiſlaus Salcanius*** the great Biſhop of Strigonium, for his miſerable couetouſneſſe, that being a man of infinit wealth, refuſed to ſpare part therof vnto his ſoueraigne, requeſting the ſame at his great need. ***Tomoreus*** he blamed of inconſiderat raſhneſſe, for that he being a clergie man, would buſie himſelfe ſo far in matters not belonging to his vocation: on the contrary part, he commended ***Franciſcus Perenus*** Biſhop of Veradium, a man honorably deſcended, for his wiſe counſell (though it was not followed) for that he had heard it reported, that he as a true prophet foretelling the common ſlaughter enſuing, had ſharply ſaid in the counſell at ſuch time as ***Tomoreus*** would needs fight with the Turks, & was not by any means to bee remoued from that his fatall opinion, That he did foreſee what that their Frier-like Generall would the next day doe; and that he would with ſo great an enterpriſe effect no more, but D to make one holiday the more in the Chriſtian kalenders, in remembrance of 30000 Hungarian martyrs, moſt miſerably ſlaine of the Turkes in an vnequall battell, for defence of the Chriſtian faith and religion (for at that time, they which willingly expoſed themſelues to death in defence of the Chriſtian faith, were all accounted for martyrs.) ***Georgius Sepuſius*** and the others, he called raſh fooles, that would aduenture with ſo ſmall ſtrength to incounter ſo ſtrong an enemy. At ſuch time as the counterfeits of king ***Lewis*** and ***Mary*** his wife were ſhewed vnto him, he honorably ſaid, That he was ſorrie for the yong king, that it was his euill hap to haue ſo vnaduiſed counſellors in a matter of ſo great importance, as to perſuade him againſt all reaſon to fight at ſo great diſaduantage: & that he came not into Hungarie to take his kingdome from him, but only to reuenge the wrongs done vnto him by the Hungarians: and that E if he had eſcaped the danger of the battell, he would aſſuredly haue againe reſtored vnto him the kingdome of Hungarie, contenting himſelfe with ſome ſmall tribute: and that it ſhould haue bin vnto him honor enough to haue ſaued the nephew of ***Sigiſmund*** king of Polonia his confederat, ſo ſtrongly allied with the honorable houſe of Auſtria. Al which he commanded to be told to ***Marie*** the Queene, who was for feare fled from Buda to Poſſonium. Which might perhaps all ſeeme to haue bin either diſſemblingly ſpoken, or falſly reported of the equitie and courteſie of the barbarous king, if he had not ſhortly afterwards to the ample declaration of his bountie and liberalitie, without any deſert, giuen the ſame kingdom of Hungar to ***Ioannes Sepuſius***, not borne of any royall bloud, and then retaining the mind of a very enemie. After that, he took away three goodly images of braſſe of antient workemanſhip, which F were placed in the entrance into the kings pallace, by that renowned king ***Mathias Coruinus*** the great fauourer of rare qualities and vertues: theſe images repreſented the formes of ***Hercules*** with his club, of ***Appollo*** with his harpe, and ***Diana*** with her bow and quiuer: all which hee placed in the tilt-yard at Conſtantinople, as a trophie of the Hungarian victorie. Howbeit theſe images were ſince taken downe by the perſuaſion of the Mufti, and molten (as contrary

The Biſhop of Veradium too true a prophet.

The honourable ſpeech of Solyman concerning his comming into Hungarie.

to their ſuperſtition) and great ordnance made of them. He carried alſo away with him three G
pieces of artillerie of moſt excellent and curious workmanſhip; and certain braſen pillars of
chamfred worke, which ſupported the Chapiters of the gates. He taried at Buda about twen-
tie daies: in which time to ſatisfie the cruell nature and greedie deſires of his ſouldiers, hee
ſent out diuers troupes of horſemen into the countrie thereabout, by whom all the countrey
betwixt Rab and the riuer of Tibyſcus was, by that ſudden and vnexpected incurſion ſo de-
ſtroied, that it is reported that aboue an hundred and fiftie thouſand people of all ſorts were
either ſlaine or led away into moſt miſerable captiuitie. All which done, he returned againe
by the ſame way he came, to Conſtantinople.

Ioannes Sepuſius, Vayuod of Tranſiluania, aſpireth to the kingdome of Hungarie.

About the ſame time *Ioannes Sepuſius* Vayuod of Tranſyluania, with a great power came
now too late into Hungarie to haue aided the king: but glad, as was thought, of his death, as
tending to his owne aduancement; forasmuch, as he was now (the king beeing dead without H
iſſue) a man of greateſt account among the nobilitie of Hungarie. Wherefore as one of a deep
and reaching wit, and in great hope to obtaine the kingdome, hee began cunningly to labour
diuers of the noblemen one by one, and inſtantly to requeſt them, that at the next parliament
they would not betray the honour of their countrey, in ſuffering the royall dignitie of that an-
tient kingdome to be transferred vnto a ſtranger, of ſuch a nation as happily loued them not:
for why, the Hungarians ought well to remember what great calamities they had receiued in
former times, in chuſing forreine kings and ſtrangers to rule ouer them, and in following their
vnfortunat enſignes againſt the Turks; which thing the wofull miſeries of times paſt might I
notably prooue: which either *Sigiſmundus* of Bohemia, or *Ladiſlaus* the firſt, of Polonia,
by their vnfortunat battels, once at Nicopolis, againe at Gulumbarium, and laſt of all at Var-
na, had brought vnto the Hungarians. But to ſpeake, nay once to remember the harmes recei-
ued by the long cowardiſe of *Ladiſlaus*, or this late raſhneſſe of his ſonne King *Lewis*, would
make any noble minde to bluſh and be aſhamed: vnder whoſe gouernment all militarie diſ-
cipline, and the glory of Hungary, might well be thought to be vtterly loſt. And he ſaid there
remained of the nobilitie of Hungarie, men honourably deſcended of moſt antient houſes,
worthie of the kingdome, which bare noble mindes, and were of ſufficient courage, diſcreti-
on, and power, in this time of common heauineſſe to reſtore the honor of the eſtate, and wor-
thily to defend the kingdome: amongſt whom (ſaid he) I would not be accounted ſo baſe
minded, or heauie headed (although there bee many which for the honour of their houſes K
and wealth may ſeeme to goe before me) that I will therefore confeſſe, that any of them is
for valour, proweſſe, or fortune, better than my ſelfe, either for conducting of an army, or go-
uernment of a kingdome: for I ſhall be a king of courage and valour ſufficient, if by your fa-
uourable good will I ſhall be thought worthie of your conſent and ſufferages. The Vayuod
taking this courſe, by his earneſt ſute and labor had won the good wils of many, and ſo much
the eaſier, for that *Stephanus Bator* (a man of greateſt nobilitie among the Hungarians) was a
little before gone into Bohemia vnto king *Ferdinand*, who was then greatly buſied (by reaſon
of a parliament there ſummoned) in procuring the fauour of the nobilitie and commons of
that Realme, againſt the time of the parliament, wherein he was in good hope to bee choſen
king; as he was in ſhort time after.

At the ſame time the Hungarians were with great ſolemnitie celebrating the funerall of L
their late king: whoſe dead bodie after the departure of *Solyman* from Buda, was found whole
by the demonſtration of one *Cotriſcus* one of the ſquires of his bodie, who was preſent when
he was drowned, and ſo was brought out of the fens of Mohatchz to Alba Regalis, where it
was with great pompe buried amongſt the ſepulchres of the other kings of Hungary his pre-

King Lewis buried.

deceſſours. Which ſolemne funerall once ended, the generall militarie parliament (by the au-
thoritie and voice whereof the kings of Hungarie were by their antient lawes and cuſtomes
to be choſen) was called: in the ſhutting vp whereof, *Iohn* the Vayuod hauing in that common
heauineſſe no competitor, nor any of the greateſt nobilitie which durſt ſtand againſt him, was
with the great applauſe and conſent of all there preſent choſen king. To whom forthwith *Pe-* M
trus Berennus came and preſented the antient crowne of the kingdome of Hungarie, which
was in his keeping, made after an homely faſhon of pure gold, with which the lawfull kings
of Hungary vſed alwaies to bee ſolemnly crowned. It is reported, that it was the crowne of
Stephanus firſt King of Hungarie, and was by an antient cuſtome alwayes kept in the Caſtle
of

Iohn Sepuſius the Vayuod choſen and crowned king of Hungarie.

A of Vicegrade. And ſo *Iohn* the Vayuod was orderly crowned, and conſecrated by the hands
of *Paulus* Biſhop of Strigonium, lately choſen in ſtead of *Ladiſlaus Salcanius*, ſlaine in the battel
at Mugace, & by the hands of *Stephanus Brodaricus* Biſhop of Vacia, whom he choſe for his
Secretarie. And vnto *Americus Cibachus* he gaue the honour of the Vayuod of Tranſyluania,
being but a little before choſen Biſhop of Veradium. In his preferment, he was greatly holpen
vnto the kingdome by the nobilitie which followed him out of Tranſyluania, men of great
B account both in peace and warre: amongſt whom deſcended of the Hungarian bloud, were
chiefe, *Stephanus Verbetius*, *Paulus Antandrus*, *Gregorius Peſchenius*, *Nicholaus Gleſſa*, and *Ianus*
Docia. But whileſt this new king is in this ſort buſied in rewarding his friends, and ſtrengthening
himſelfe in his kingdome, he was aduertiſed that *Ferdinand* his competitor of the Hungrian
kingdome was choſen king of Bohemia: who out of the old controuerſie betwixt *Mathias*
Coruinus and *Fredericus* the Emperors great grandfather, alleadged great claime vnto
that kingdome, deriued from the time of *Ladiſlaus*, who was reported to haue beene poiſoned
at the time of the ſolemnization of his marriage, through the ambition and malice of *Georgius*
Pogibracius; who affecting the kingdome of Bohemia, ſhortly after obtained the ſame. And
now it ſeemed that the time was come, wherein *Ferdinand* made greater with the kingdome
C of Bohemia, and ſtrengthened with the power of his brother *Charles* the Emperour, not forgetting
his right, might vpon good ground lay claime vnto the kingdome of Hungarie, vnto
him (as hee pretended) of right belonging euer ſince the time of *Albertus* the Emperour.
Neither did *Ferdinand* beſide the ſtrength of Auſtria and Bohemia, want the furtherance of diuers
of the princes of Hungarie: hauing in his court many of vnquiet ſpirit, halfe fugitiues,
deſirous of change, which enuied at the Vayuods royall preferment (as if it had beene taken
from themſelues, more worthie thereof than he) by the raſh and tumultuous fauor of the vulgar
people. For beſides *Bator*, who in moſt mens iudgement might moſt worthily haue required
and obtained the kingdome, there were others alſo almoſt of like nobilitie and valour, as
Valentinus Turaccus, *Stephanus Maylatus*, *Ianus Scala*, *Gaſper Scredius*, *Baltaſor Pamphilus*, and *Ferentius*
D *Gnarius*; to whom alſo was ioyned *Paulus Bachitius* borne in Seruia, a valiant Gentleman,
who being entered into the Mahometan religion, to auoid the Turkiſh ſlauerie, got away
vnto the Chriſtians, and hardly eſcaped from the battell of Mohatchz. By the perſuaſion of
theſe noblemen, *Ferdinand* of his owne diſpoſition readie enough to claime his right, eſpecially
a kingdome, and truſting vnto his ſtrength in Auſtria, Bohemia, Rhetia, Stiria, and Carynthia,
marched directly towards Buda. With whoſe comming, *Iohn* the new king being wonderfully
troubled, as a man beſet with want of all things, hauing neither ſufficient ſtrength
whereupon to reſt in his new got kingdome, neither any great aſſurance of the fidelitie of his
ſubiects, like enough either for feare, or of their naturall inconſtancie, to fall from him, determined
not to abide the comming of his enemie to Buda: but exhorting his captaines to follow
him, although he were glad to depart and giue place to his euill fortune for a time, with
ſuch power as he had brought with him out of Tranſyluania, & ſuch other as he could otherwiſe
E leuie, he paſſed ouer the riuer to Peſtum: and not daring any where thereabouts to reſt,
by long marches paſſed ouer the riuer Tibiſcus, and there incamped at Tocai, which was a
ſtrong caſtle vpon the further ſide of the riuer. His departure being knowne, *Ferdinand* marching
on, obtained Buda without reſiſtance: where he ſtaied a while, and conſulted with his
captaines, Whether he ſhould purſue his flying enemie, or not. But it was quickly reſolued,
That the diſcouraged enemie was to be ſpeedily purſued, before hee ſhould gather greater
ſtrength, or enter into greater policies. Wherefore *Ferdinand* committed al his armie vnto the
nobilitie of Hungarie, his friends, whom we haue before named; who marching with all ſpeed
poſſible, came to the riuer Tibiſcus: where paſſing ouer vpon a bridge made of boats which
they brought with them in waggons for that purpoſe, they came with enſignes diſplayed
vnto the caſtle of Tocai, where the king lay with his armie in order of battell. But terrified
F with the ſudden comming of his enemies, and debating with his captaines of the greatneſſe of
the danger, tooke a courſe vnto himſelfe rather ſafe than honourable: for his captaines deſiring
nothing more than to ioine battell, and in manner contemning their enemies, perſuaded
him to withdraw himſelfe a little out of the battell, and to keepe him out of danger; and if
things fel out otherwiſe than wel, to reſerue himſelf vnto his better fortunes: as for themſelues
they would moſt reſolutely fight againſt thoſe traiterous fugitiues, foraſmuch as it were great

Ferdinand king of Bohemia layeth claime to the kingdome of Hungarie.

King Ferdinand taketh Buda.

diſhonour for them, being Hungarians, a warlike people by nature, to refuſe battell being offered by the enemie. Amongſt the chieftaines of the kings armie, ***Ferentius Budo*** an old captain of great experience and courage was chiefe, to whom the King deliuered his Enſigne with his own hands, and he with great skill ordered his battell, for the number of his ſoldiers: he himſelfe ſtood in the maine battell with the Hungarians, placing the Tranſyluanians in the wings. In ***Ferdinands*** armie, ***Valentinus Turaccus*** led the maine battell with the Hungarians, vnder ***Ferdinands*** Enſigne; ſtrengthned on the one ſide with troupes of horſemen out of Styria, and on the other, with the horſemen of Auſtria. But ***Paulus Bachitius*** (according to the manner of the Turkiſh wars, wherewith he was well acquainted) with a companie of light horſemen lay cloſe in ambuſh in a conuenient place for that purpoſe, a good diſtance off, againſt the left wing of the enemies armie, readie as occaſion ſhould ſerue, to take his moſt aduantage. It was not greatly needfull for the captaines to vſe any perſuaſions to encourage their ſouldiers, readie enough of themſelues to fight. The great ordnance once diſcharged, the armies came faſt on and ioyned battell, where the wings of both battels fought with diuers fortune. The Styrian horſemen were not able to endure the force of the Tranſyluanians, but were put to the worſe. And on the other ſide, the left wing of ***Bodo*** his armie, conſiſting for moſt part of raw and vnexpert ſoldiers, was by the horſemen of Auſtria ouerthrown. At the ſame time both the main battels (being almoſt all Hungarians) fought with equall courage, and that ſo eagerly, as ſeldome had bin ſeene a more fierce or cruell battell. But by a freſh charge giuen by ***Ferdinands*** horſemen, who had now put to flight the right wing of ***Bodo*** his battell, all ***Bodo*** his army fighting moſt valiantly, was diſordred and put to flight: ***Bodo*** the General laboring to reſtore the battell, and to ſaue the enſigne to him before by the King deliuered, was by the comming in of ***Paulus Bachitius*** with his light horſemen taken. The other captaines ſeeing all loſt, and paſt hope of recouerie, betooke themſelues to flight: all the Kings Artillerie and Enſignes were taken by the enemie. The king ſeeing the ouerthrow of his armie, for ſafegard of his life fled into Polonia. ***Ferdinands*** captaines following the courſe of the victorie, entred into Tranſyluania; where the people yeelding themſelues at the firſt, all the whole prouince ſubmitted it ſelfe vnto the authoritie of ***Ferdinand***. ***Bodo*** and the reſt of the noblemen that were taken priſoners, with the enſignes taken from the enemies, were ſent to ***Ferdinand***. But when ***Bodo*** hauing his liberty promiſed, could not be perſuaded to renounce his oath giuen to king ***Iohn***, and to beare armes againſt him, he was by ***Ferdinand*** his commandement caſt into a darke dungeon, where ſhortly after conſumed with ſorrow and griefe, he miſerably ended his life.

The battell of Tocai, betweene the armies of King Iohn and king Ferdnand.

King Iohn flies into Polonia.

Ferdnād crowned king of Hūgarie at Alba Regalis.

Shortly after, ***Ferdinand*** (the Hungarians generally ſubmitting themſelues vnto him) was by their common conſent ſaluted King, and crowned with the ſame old Crowne wherewith King ***Iohn*** had bin crowned, which the ſame ***Perenus*** (a man of little conſtancie) brought vnto him; and with him was alſo crowned ***Anne*** his wife, the only ſiſter of the late king ***Lewis***. All which ſolemne ceremonies were celebrated at Alba Regalis, the vſuall place for the coronation of the Hungarian kings. ***Ferdinand*** by rare felicitie thus poſſeſſed of two kingdomes, whereunto he was not borne, returned into Bohemia, and left his deputies for the gouernement of the kingdome of Hungarie: theſe were ***Stephanus Bator***, whom he appointed viceroy, with whom he ioyned ***Paulus*** Biſhop of Strigonium, who had alſo reuolted from king ***Iohn***; and made ***Beretbſaxtus*** Secretarie, and ***Alexius Turſonus*** a Morauian, Treaſurer.

King ***Iohn*** thus miſerably diſtreſſed, and thruſt out of his kingdome by ***Ferdinand***, fled to ***Hieronimus Laſcus***, a man for his honorable diſcent and learned vertue, of great fame and reputation amongſt the Polonians: who glad of ſo honorable a gueſt, was more careful of nothing, than with all poſſible kindeneſſe and curteſie how to comfort him, wrapt vp in ſo many calamities with the loſſe of his kingdome: he frankely promiſed vnto him all his owne wealth (which was not ſmall) for the recouerie of his former eſtate; and that which more was, for the reuiuing of his former felicitie, the vttermoſt of his wit and deuice, which in the compaſſing of all great matters was accounted wonderfull. That bountifull entertainment of this poore king by ***Laſcus***, was not altogether vnpleaſant to ***Sigiſmund*** K. of Polonia, although (becauſe he would not offend ***Ferdinand***, with whom he was ioyned in friendſhip and alyance) he ſeemed to moſt men plainly to forget himſelfe, in ſhewing ſo ſmall kindneſſe vnto K. ***Iohn***, whoſe ſiſter ***Barbara*** he had ſomtime married: which was the cauſe that ***Laſcus*** forgot no point of curteſie in entertaining his gueſt, and yet the credit of ***Sigiſmund*** with king ***Ferdinand*** not toucht. But

when

A when they had ſpent almoſt a month in conſultation & debating of matters too and fro, *Laſcus* accuſtomed with his deep wit ſharply to reaſon, and aduiſedly to determine of moſt weighty cauſes, at laſt reſted vpon this one point, That ready helpe in ſo hard and deſperat a caſe was only to be hoped for of the Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman*: being of opinion, that he being a moſt mightie prince and of an honorable diſpoſition, anſwerable to his greatneſſe, would not reiect the humble praiers of an oppreſſed and exiled king: eſpecially, if that being by his mer- B cie and power reſtored, he could be content for ſo great a benefit to hold his kingdome, as of the bountie of the *Othoman* kings. For *Laſcus* ſaw that *Solyman* (ſo great and proud an Emperour) was not ſo deſirous of kingdomes (whereof he had ſo many as could not eaſily be reckoned, then commanding ouer a great part of the world) as of glory and renowne, wherewith he vnderſtood him to be wonderfully delighted aboue all other kings of the Eaſt, naturally carried away with that windie vanitie. This counſell (as in effect it proued) was vnto king *Iohn* wholeſome and reaſonable, if a man do but reſpect the poore eſtate of a king, ſo greatly wronged, liuing in exile, but reſpecting the Chriſtian common weale, it was vndoubtedly moſt dangerous and lamentable, for one mans particular profit to bring the whole ſtate into moſt dreadfull and horrible danger: but the ſicke minds of worldly men, liuing in ſmall hope of C doing wel, & at the point of deſparation, refuſe no worldy remedies, be they neuer ſo doubtfull or dangerous. And not long after, vpon rhis reſolution with the king, *Laſcus* deſirous by noble actions to encreaſe the honor of his name, tooke the matter vpon him, and went as embaſſadour from the exiled king to *Solyman* to Conſtantinople. The report was, that *Sigiſmund* did not only not ſtay him, but ſecretly gaue him his ſafe cōduct with letters of credence, wherin he commended him vnto the Baſſaes & other great men in *Solymans* court, deſcended of the Polonian bloud, as his faithfull and louing ſubiect ſent thither vpon an extraordinary and ſpeciall embaſſage. *Laſcus* as ſoon as he was come to Conſtantinople, with wonderful dexteritie had in ſhort time won the fauor, not of the Baſſaes only, but of the other courtiers alſo; preſenting them with ſuch gifts as might for the fineneſſe and rareneſſe thereof, rather than D for the value (as he thought) be moſt acceptable and pleaſing to their wiues: for amongſt that barbarous and corrupted people nothing is better welcome than gifts, whether they proceed of ſimple good will, or other reſpect, is no great difference. Amongſt the great Baſſaes at that time of greateſt power and authoritie, was *Luſtebeius*, or rather *Lutzis*, who had married *Solymans* ſiſter; and *Abraham* borne at Parga, a baſe village in Acarnania, brought vp in the court from his childhood with *Solyman*: he was then viſier or chiefe of the Baſſaes, and keeper of the Emperors ſeale, and was by his office to ſubſcribe all ſuch grants or letters as paſſed from the Emperor: by which his great place, and the ſpeciall fauor he had with *Solyman*, he in magnificence, power, & authoritie, far exceeded all the reſt of the Baſſaes, doing whatſoeuer pleaſed himſelfe; & that with ſuch ſoueraigntie and the good liking of *Solyman*, that it was commonly ſaid, he was the commander of his thoughts. *Laſcus* thus inſinuated into the court, and oftentimes talking with the Baſſaes without an interpretor, for that he could wel ſpeake the E Sclauonian tongue (the familiar ſpeech of the Turkiſh courtiers) earneſtly ſolicited the kings cauſe, wonderfully commending him: for at his firſt comming, after he had ſaluted *Solyman*, & was about to haue declared the cauſe of his comming, he was after the manner of the Turkiſh court referred to the Baſſaes: for *Solyman* vſed not to admit any Chriſtian to talk with him in his court. *Laſcus* requeſted of *Solyman*, by the Baſſaes, That king *Iohn* wrongfully thruſt out of his kingdom by *Ferdinand* duke of Auſtria, & the treaſon of certain of the Hungarians, might by the Turkiſh power be again reſtored vnto the kingdom of Hungary, which he would hold by homage of the Turkiſh Emperor, as of right belonging vnto him, ſince the time that *Solyman* with victorious hand reuenging his wrongs & ſubduing his enemies, had by law of arms (fortune ſo iudging) gained the ſame. Promiſing that king *Iohn*, who for his worthines was by the generall good liking of the Hungarians lawfully choſen to be their king, and ſo after the F antient maner of that kingdom crowned, if he were now receiued into *Solymans* protection, & by him reſtored, ſhould neuer forget ſo great a benefit, but alwaies moſt faithfully and thankfully to honor the maieſtie of *Solyman*, paying him ſuch yerely tribute as it ſhould pleaſe him to impoſe, and to make it knowne to all men, that he was his vaſſall. Which thing if it would pleaſe him to grant, it ſhould be no leſſe honor & glory to *Solyman* himſelf, than profitable and comfortable vnto the diſtreſſed king. For beſide, that heroical kings are compared vnto gods,

Laſcus counſelleth king Iohn to craue aid of Solyman.

Laſcus goeth Embaſſador for king Iohn to Solyman.

Abraham Baſſa.

Laſcus his requeſt of Solyman in the behalfe of K. Iohn

rather for giuing than receiuing:it was eaſie to be ſeen,how greatly it did concerne the profit G
of the *Othoman* kings to bee neighboured with a weake and tributarie king, rather than with
Ferdinand,a prince of great power, lately choſen king of Bohemia, ſupported by the ſtrength
of his brother *Charles* the Emperor,commanding ouer the warlike nation of the Germanes ;
which was as much difference as was betwixt the maintenance of a continuall heauie warre
vpon his borders,and the ſafe enioying of a moſt aſſured peace.Beſide that, it concerned the
Turks to beware,that ſuch things as they had got by the ſword,they ſhould alſo by the ſword
defend,&not to ſuffer any one to grow greater than the reſt in riches and power.For it might
ſo fall out,that *Charles*,growne to be a prince of mightie power, might draw the reſt of the
Chriſtian princes to ioine with him in the common cauſe of the Chriſtian religion, & in that
quarrell,as the Chriſtian kings of Europe had in former time done,with vnited forces to ſeeke H
to recouer againe what they had before loſt; whoſe force it would bee hard to withſtand.
Theſe things being ſharply deliuered,& by the Baſſaes againe reported to *Solyman*,who ſtanding at a ſecret window,had before heard them as they were by *Laſcus* to the Baſſaes declared;it was no great labor to perſuade the Turkiſh Emperour,of himſelf deſirous of glory and
ſoueraigntie, againe to vndertake the Hungarian war, and to grant king *Iohn* his requeſt,promiſing according to the ſucceſſe of the victorie,to giue him that he deſired,ſo that he would
faithfully performe what he had promiſed,and not ſhew himſelfe therefore vnthankfull.

Solyman granteth Laſcus his requeſt.

In the meane time,*Ferdinand* vpon great reaſon thinking it neceſſarie by all means poſſible
to confirme himſelfe in poſſeſſion of the kingdome of Hungarie : and fearing no force but the
Turks,determined to proue *Solymans* diſpoſition, and to ſeeke for his friendſhip;hoping by I
reaſonable meanes to compaſſe it, by ſhewing vnto the barbarous prince (not altogether abhorring from the commendation of iuſtice)his antient title and claime, and that hee was by
the antient lawes of the countrie right heire thereof: thinking that *Solyman* hauing obtained
ſo many victories,and ruling ouer ſo many kingdomes,would now at length giue himſelfe to
peace,as a man contented with his glorie already gotten. His deſire was,to be receiued into
his friendſhip,and to ioine with him in league vpon the ſame conditions which *Ladiſlaus* and
his ſon *Lewis* had for certain yeares before obtained of the *Othoman* kings,and *Sigiſmund* king
of Polonia then alſo with like quietneſſe inioied.Wherfore hauing found out a fit man,whom
he might ſend vpon this embaſſage to Conſtantinople (one *Ioannes Oberdanſcus*, a Hungarian) K
he furniſhed him accordingly, and gaue him gifts,ſuch as hee thought good to beſtow vpon
the great Baſſaes. But when *Oberdanſcus* was come vnto Conſtantinople, he found *Solyman*
harder to bee intreated than hee had before hoped, and the Baſſaes altogether vnwilling to
heare of any league: for although he was courteouſly receiued of *Solyman*,and moſt patiently
heard,whileſt he both eloquently and diſcreetly before the great Baſſaes,deliuered his embaſſage;yet in the ſhutting vp of all,he receiued no more but a proud and inſolent anſwer;for
Solyman ſaid,it was far from the manner of his anceſtors,to receiue them into grace and fauor
which had done iniurie vnto the *Othoman* name : wherefore that *Ferdinand* had done impudently to inuade another mans kingdome,and to thinke to hold it to himſelfe; foraſmuch as
his old title and claime which he ſtood ſo much vpon, was altogether extinguiſhed and loſt L
by law of armes,by his late victorie againſt king *Lewis*; for which cauſes he adiudged him vnworthie of his friendſhip and fauor,purpoſing ſharply to reuenge the wrong he had receiued;
and proclaiming war,to come againe into Hungarie with ſuch a power as ſhould be ſufficient
to inuade *Ferdinand* either in Auſtria or Germanie. Wherfore in ſtead of friendſhip and league
he denounced vnto him all the calamities of war : and ſo commanded the embaſſadour with
ſpeed to depart from Conſtantinople. But *Oberdanſcus* when hee was come backe againe as
farre as Vienna,and had there told the kings lieutenants,of the threatning words of *Solyman*,
and that he would ſhortly come thither with his armie, he was not of any of them beleeued,
but reputed for a vaine man. Wherefore to ſhun the hatred of them which miſtooke truth
for falſhood, hee made haſt to come vnto *Ferdinand*, who was then at Spires,labouring for M
voices to further his ſuit,for that at the next aſſemblie of the ſtates of the empire, which was
then at hand for the coronation of his brother *Charles*, he himſelfe as he well hoped,was to be
choſen King of the Romanes. The newes brought by *Oberdanſcus*, did not a little trouble
King *Ferdinand*, foreſeeing as it were what would happen : for that the Turkiſh tyrant vſed
not lightly to breake ſuch promiſes, but to performe them to the vttermoſt : and that more
encreaſed

Ferdinand ſendeth an embaſſador to Solyman.

Solymans anſwer to Ferdinands embaſſadour.

increaſed his care, he knew he ſhould come in euill time to craue help of the Germans, for the defence of his kingdome in Hungarie againſt ſo mightie an enemie; eſpecially his brother
A Charles the Emperour being buſied in his wars in Italie, and he himſelfe wanting money the only means to raiſe an armie to withſtand the Turke. The Spring now come, and all things freſh and greene, *Solyman* altering nothing of his former determination, hauing leuied an army of an hundred and fifteene thouſand men, ſet forward from Hadrianople, his European horſmen going before him conducted by *Abraham* the great Baſſa, and *Achomates Michael-Ogli*, Generall of the Acanzij or voluntarie horſemen: and his Aſian ſouldiers led by *Behrambeius Baſſa* following after him; he himſelfe with his Ianizaries and ſouldiers of the court keeping in the middle. And marching on in this ſort, came in fifteene daies to Belgrade, where King *Iohn* accompanied with *Laſcus* and ſuch of the Hungarian nobilitie as tooke his part, came vnto him,
B of purpoſe to make himſelfe knowne vnto him which was to protect him, and doing him all the honour he poſſibly could, to requeſt him to proceed to reuenge his quarrell. *Solyman* with graue and yet friendly countenance, raiſing himſelfe a little from the cuſhion whereon he ſat, gaue him his right hand, proteſting, That nothing could happen vnto him better, or that he more deſired of God, than to be able to relieue diſtreſſed Princes, eſpecially ſuch as were wrongfully oppreſſed by his enemies: wherfore he willed him to be of good comfort, promiſing of his bountie frankly to beſtow vpon him whatſoeuer he ſhould in that war win with the ſword from the enemie. King *Iohn* obtained this rare fauor of *Solyman* by the earneſt mediation of *Abraham* the commanding Baſſa, whom he had before at Conſtantinople by his embaſſador *Laſcus* ſo woon with gifts and requeſts, that he thorowly tooke vpon him the de-
C fence of the kings cauſe: wherein *Laſcus* was eſpecially holpen by *Aloyſius Grittus* the Duke of Venice his ſon, who then followed the Turks campe, and was for his fathers ſake and the great ſufficiencie hee held himſelfe, had in great reputation amongſt the Turks, and in ſuch fauor with *Abraham*, who did all in all with *Solyman*, that he could perſuade him to any thing he would. For this *Aloyſius Grittus*, borne and brought vp in Conſtantinople, and wonderfull eloquent in the Turkiſh tongue, had by the honourable carriage of himſelfe, and the great port he kept in his houſe, ſo thorowly poſſeſſed *Abraham* (that all commanded) that he would many times bring *Solyman* himſelfe ouer the hauen to Pera, to ſolace himſelfe in *Grittus* his pleaſant gardens and banquetting houſes, which he had there moſt ſumptuouſly made after the Italian manner: whereby to his great profit he obtained to be the chiefe man in receiuing of the Turks cuſtomes.

1529

Solyman commeth into Hungarie with a great armie.

King Iohn commeth to Solyman at Belgrade.

D The fame of *Solymans* comming directly from Belgrade to Buda, ſo terrified the citizens of Buda, that they almoſt all forſooke the citie and fled vnto other places further off, ſome to Strigonium, ſome to Alba Regalis, ſome to Poſſonium: ſo that at his firſt comming he entered the citie (almoſt deſolate) without any reſiſtance: the caſtle holden by a garriſon of Germans, he commanded to bee beſieged. The captaine of the caſtle was one *Thomas Nadaſtus*, a man of great account among the Hungarians, both for the honor of his houſe, & his qualities anſwerable to the ſame, graced with ſingular learning: he perceiuing his ſoldiers diſmaied with the ſight of ſo great an armie, and willing to ſurrender vp the caſtle, as beſeemed a valiant captaine, forbad his ſouldiers to haue any talke with the enemie, commanded the great
E artillerie to be bent and diſcharged vpon the Turks: and ſeeing his ſouldiers ſlacke and timorous, reproued them of cowardiſe and treaſon, threatning them with ſhamefull death if they did not hold out the ſiege to the vttermoſt, & ſhew themſelues valiant men, both for the honor of their country, & of king *Ferdinand* whoſe pay they receiued, & of whoſe bounty they were to expect rewards and preferments anſwerable to their deſerts. But they miſdoubting by the running too & fro of the Turks, that the caſtle was vndermined, & ſmelling, or at leſtwiſe imagining themſelues to ſmell the ſent of the gunpouder, which they ſuppoſed to be in the mine, & doubting to be preſently blown vp, were ſtruck with ſuch a ſudden feare, that neither the fear of future puniſhment, neither the ſhame of ſo foule a fact, nor the reuerence of ſo worthy a captain could ſtay them, but that they would needs without further delay deliuer vp the
F caſtle: which when they could by no means perſuade the reſolute captain to conſent to, but that he ſtil with ſtern countenance exclaimed againſt their cowardiſe and treaſon, they laied hands on him, & bound him hand & foot, & ſo preſently concluded with the enemy to yeeld to him the caſtle, ſo that they might in ſafety depart thence with bag & baggage: which their

Solyman enters Buda, without reſiſtance, and beſiegeth the Caſtle.

requeſt *Solyman* granted. But when the garriſon ſoldiers (in number about 700) were about to G
depart with their baggage towards Poſſonium, as was before agreed: and the Ianizaries comming
into the caſtle, hauing looſed the captaine, were about to let him goe alſo; *Solyman* aduertiſed
of the trecherie of the garriſon ſouldiers, and of the fidelity of the captaine, changing
his mind, iudged ſuch villanous minded men vnworthy of his mercy, & in deteſtation of their
perfidious dealing with their captaine, gaue them all to his Ianizaries to bee ſlaine: but to the
captaine himſelfe he offered honorable entertainment, which when he refuſed, *Solyman* courteouſly
ſent him away, holpen therein by the commendation of king *Iohn*, although his ſiſter
was married to *Stephanus Maylat* his deadly enemie. Which bloudie execution done by the
commandement of the bloudie tyrant, the Turks ſaid was not only lawfully done, but alſo to
the immortall glorie of his name in the execution of iuſtice; which might peraduenture ſeem
reaſonable, if the perpetuall hatred of that moſt barbarous nation againſt the Chriſtians gaue H
not iuſt occaſion of ſuſpect, that it proceeded rather of their antient malice, than of any regard
of iuſtice. For why ſhould the Germans, who had offended to his great good, and therefore
obtained his ſafe conduct, be thought worthy of ſo cruell death? when as *Solyman* himſelfe in
puniſhing the periurie of another, ran into wilfull periurie himſelfe, peruerting the commendation
of iuſtice which he ſo much deſired, by his moſt bloudie and vniuſt ſentence.

Solyman contrarie to his promiſe cauſeth the garriſon ſouldiers after they had deliuered the caſtle, to bee ſlaine.

Buda the chiefe citie of Hungarie thus taken by *Solyman*, he reſolued forthwith to beſiege
Vienna the chiefe citie of Auſtria: in good hope, that by the carriage away of that, the other
cities of leſſe ſtrength both of Hungarie and Auſtria would without any reſiſtance be yeelded I
vnto him. Wherefore he ſent before him *Achometes* with the voluntarie horſemen, who according
to the manner of the Turkiſh wars, running thorow the heart of Hungarie, & entring
with fire and ſword into Auſtria, paſſed by Vienna, miſerably burning and deſtroying the
country before him as far as Lyntz. The poore people not knowing where to hide themſelues
from the fury of their enemies, nor of whom to craue helpe, fled as men and women diſmaid,
carrying with them their beloued children, the vnfortunat pledges of their loue, and what els
they could, as things ſaued out of the midſt of the fire. For whatſoeuer fell into the enemies
hand, was loſt without recure: the old men were ſlain, the yong men led away into captiuitie,
women rauiſhed before their husbands faces, and afterwards ſlain with their children, young
infants were ript out of their mothers wombs, and others taken from their breſts were cut in
pieces, or elſe thruſt vpon ſharpe ſtakes, yeelding vp againe that breath which they had but a K
little before receiued; with many other incredible cruelties, which were then by the merciJeſſe
enemie committed. *Solyman* himſelfe ſhortly after followed theſe forerunners, and ſetting
forward with all his armie from Buda towards Vienna, by the way tooke the caſtle of
Altenbourg, whether by force or compoſition, is diuerſly reported: of the garriſon ſouldiers
there placed by king *Ferdinand*, he reſerued 300 Bohemians, whom he commanded to follow
his campe. He alſo aſſaulted the little city of Neapolis ſeuen times in one day, and was as often
repulſed: but being loath to ſpend any longer time about a towne of ſo ſmall importance
he forſook that, & held on his way to Vienna, whither he came about the ſix & twentie day of
September, and incamped in fiue places round about the citie, with ſuch a world of people,
that vnto them which viewed his campe from the higheſt tower in Vienna, it ſeemed that the
ground was for the ſpace of eight miles all couered with the multitude of his tents and people. L
King *Ferdinand*, who from the time that he had by his embaſſadour *Oberdanſcus* receiued
the hard anſwere from *Solyman*, alwaies ſtood in doubt of his comming; and beſide his
owne forces (which were not great to oppoſe againſt ſo mightie an enemie) craued aide of
the Chriſtian Princes his neighbours, eſpecially of the Princes of the Empire: Who granting
him aide againſt the common enemie, appointed *Fredericke* Countie Palatine of Rhene
and Duke of Bauaria, Generall of their forces. But whileſt the Germaines after their manner,
ſlowly ſet forward, and made leſſe haſt than the greatneſſe of the preſent danger required;
Solyman comming in the meane time, had ſo belaied the Citie, that it was not poſſible for the
Duke *Fredericke* by any means to get into it, but was glad to ſtay with his armie at Chremſe M
about twelue miles from Vienna. A few daies before by good hap, vpon the report of the
loſſe of Buda, twentie thouſand ſoldiers horſemen and footmen out of diuers countries, were
in good time come to Vienna: Amongſt theſe, the chiefe Commaunders was *Philip* the
Paulſgraue, Duke *Frederickes* nephew (a young Gentleman of great courage and hope,
ſent

Auſtria ſpoiled by the Turks.

Altenburge taken.

Solyman commeth to Vienna

Vienna badly fortified.

A ſent thither but a little before with a few companies of horſemen and footmen by *Fredericke*
his vncle, who was comming after with a greater power himſelfe, but was now ſhut out of the
city by *Solyman*) *Nicholaus* countie of Salma, the L. *William Rogendorff*, ſteward of the Kings
houſhold, *Ioannes Cazzianer*, a noble man of Croatia, and afterwards Gouernor of Vienna: and
next vnto them, *Nicholaus Turrianus*, *Ioannes Hardecus*, *Leonardus Velſius*, *Hector Kamſack*, men
both for their birth and valour of great account amongſt the Germans. The citie of Vienna as
it was of ſome good ſtrength toward the North, by reaſon of Danubius, ſo in other places it
was at that time neither by art nor nature ſtrong. The ditches, ſuch as they were, were alto-
gether drie, and eaſie to be paſſed ouer: the wals of bricke, built round without any flankers,
and neither high nor thicke, but after the antient ſimple manner of fortification of cities: for
B before that time neither had king *Ferdinand*, fearing no enemie, neither they of Vienna, who
had not of many yeares ſeene an enemie, had any care to fortifie the citie: but as men altoge-
ther buried in ſecuritie, and nothing fearing the comming of ſo mightie an enemie (although
they were therof before admoniſhed by *Oberdanſcus*) had not ſo much as caſt vp any rampire
or bulwarke, more than at the gate of Carinthia, wheron they might conueniently place their
great ordnance: ſo that of 100 great pieces, and 300 others of leſſe charge, which might
haue wonderfully annoyed the enemie, a great part ſerued to no vſe, for want of conuenient
place to mount them vpon. Yet as the ſudden comming of the enemie, and the ſhortneſſe of
the time gaue leaue, ſuch bulwarkes as they could vpon the ſudden, they caſt vp, and planted
their ordnance thereon. The citie was diuided into diuers quarters, and to euery part a ſtrong
C garriſon appointed for the defence thereof, all the gates of the citie were mured vp, except
ſuch as were of purpoſe reſerued to ſallie out at. Now had *Abraham* the great Baſſa encamped
himſelfe vpon a high hil, where ſtood a ruinous caſtle, from whence he might ouerlooke all
the citie, yet ſo, as that he lay out of the danger of gun ſhot. *Becrambeius*, *Solymans* great com-
mander in Aſia, lay at the gate called Purgatoria, neere the church of *S. Vlderich*. In the third
campe towards the riſing of the hils, lay *Michael-Ogli*, towards the church of *S. Vitus*. At the
Scottiſh gate toward Danubius, lay the Aſapi, with diuers companies of the Ianizaries: which
with ſhot out of their trenches, ſuffred no man to appeare vpon the wals in that quarter with-
out moſt manifeſt danger, and poured ſuch ſhowers of arrowes ouer the wals into the citie,
as if they had fallen out of the clouds, that hardly could any man ſtir in the citie vnarmed, but
D hee was forthwith wounded. *Solyman* himſelfe lay neere vnto S. *Markes* church, compaſſed
about with the Ianizaries and other ſouldiers of the court, defended alſo with the brick wals
of the gardens thereabouts. Whileſt the Turks were thus incamping themſelues, the Chri-
ſtian defendants oftentimes fortunatly ſallied out vpon them, and ſlew many of them. In one
of which ſallies *Wolfgangus Hagen* a valiant captaine, with certain old ſoldiers of the Spani-
ards was ſlain, fighting moſt valiantly at the gates of the caſtle: and in another skirmiſh *Chri-
ſtophorus Zetlitz* a man of great courage, ſallying out of the city with 500 horſemen, euen vn-
to the enemies trenches, was intercepted and taken with ſix others of his company; who were
all compelled by the Turks to carrie ſo many heads of their ſlain fellowes vpon poles, and ſo
E preſented vnto *Solyman*: of whom he inquired many things as wel concerning *Ferdinand* him-
ſelfe, and where he was, as concerning the princes which had the charge of the city, whether
they were in hope to defend the ſame againſt his mightie power or not. Whereunto *Chriſto-
phorus* aptly and wiſely anſwered, although not altogether ſo truly, That king *Ferdinand* lay
not far off at the citie of Lintz, expecting the aſſembly of a great armie: and that the princes
of Germanie, Bohemia, Morauia, and of diuers other places were comming vnto him, with
great aid; ſo that if he would but ſtay a little vntill his forces were come together, he ſhould
then ſee whether of them were of greater ſtrength and power: foraſmuch as it would not be
long before the king would come and giue him battell: as for the princes in the citie, he ſaid
he knew no more of their minds, but that both they and all the ſouldiers from the higheſt to
the loweſt, had ſolemnly ſworne to defend the citie, and not to giue it ouer, vnto the laſt man,
F repoſing their hope not in the wals and fortreſſes thereof, but in their weapons and valor, be-
ing men of great reſolution, and not eaſily to be vanquiſhed or diſcouraged. With which an-
ſwere although *Solyman* was a little moued, yet diſſembling his preſent heat, ſaid, he had he-
therto made war againſt diuers nations, and alwaies had the victorie, whereof he doubted not
now alſo: but as for him, and the others taken with him, they knew they were in his power to

ſaue

Solyman releaſeth the Chriſtian princes without ranſome.

ſaue or kill at his pleaſure: yet to make them know that he could ſhew mercie vnto his vanquiſhed enemies, he frankely granted them their liues and liberty: charging them, that after they were again returned into the citie, they ſhould in his name wiſh the defendants of themſelues to yeeld vp the city, which it was impoſſible for them long to defend againſt his mightie power, which neither the ſtrong city of Belgrade, nor the famous citie of the Rhodes were able to withſtand; and to accept of ſuch reaſonable conditions as he ſhould grant vnto them; promiſing, that amongſt other things proceeding of his infinit bountie, he would take order, that they ſhould in ſafetie depart thence with bag and baggage: in which doing, they ſhould well prouide for the ſafety of themſelues and of their goods by flying vnto his mercy in time, before the fury of the war was growne to further extremitie: all which it would be too late to expect after the victorie, when nothing was to be hoped for but cruell death, murther, and miſerable deſtruction. Wherefore it were good for them well to conſider of the matter, and not fooliſhly to refuſe that was now frankely offered them of mercie, which they ſhould not afterwards obtaine with any prayers or tears: for why, he was reſolutely ſet down (as he ſaid) not to depart thence before he had taken the citie. When he had thus ſchooled them, he gaue vnto euery one of them three hungarian duckats, & ſo ſent them away. They being receiued into the city with great ioy, made relation vnto the princes and great captains, of all the threatning and proud ſpeeches of the Turkiſh tyrant: which they tooke in ſuch diſdaine, that they would not vouchſafe to returne him any anſwer. *Solyman* not a little diſpleaſed, that his great words were ſo lightly regarded, by way of deriſion ſent word to the citie, That if they wanted help, he would ſend them the 300 Bohemians, whom he tooke in the caſtle of Altenburg: to whom anſwere was returned by them of the citie, That they needed no helpe from him, wherefore he might diſpoſe of his priſoners as he thought good. By this, *Solyman* perceiued, that Vienna was not to be won with words, nor the defendants to be diſcouraged with great lookes, wherefore he begun to vſe his force, & with ſuch ordnance as he had brought with him, to batter the wals: which becauſe it was not great, but fitter for ſeruice in field than for batterie, did not much more harme than to beat down the battlements & ſuch like ſtandings, made of timber and boords in manner of galleries, hanging here & there ouer the wall, for the ſmall ſhot to play out of, a ſimple deuiſe in ſtead of flankers. His great artillerie prouided for batterie was comming vp the riuer of Danubius, which he daily looked for; but by good hap, *Wolfgangus Hoder*, a forward captaine, hearing of the Turkes comming vp the riuer, went out of Poſſonium with certain ſmall veſſels wel appointed, & meeting with the Turks, ſet vpon them with ſuch courage & reſolution that he ſlew many of them, and ſunke diuers of their boats and pinnaces, amongſt whom were they which were bringing vp *Solymans* great pieces for batterie to Vienna; which was there all ſunke in the riuer, with the boats that brought it. By this good ſeruice, *Solyman* was diſappointed of his great artillerie, and the citie deliuered of a great danger. So *Wolfgangus* hauing made great ſpoile amongſt the Turkes, and loſt ſome few men, returned with victorie to Poſſonium. Yet another part of the Turks fleet comming vp to Vienna, at the firſt comming brake downe all the bridges: for a little aboue the citie, the riuer of Danubius diuiding his channell, maketh diuers Iſlands, which by ſundrie bridges are ioined together, ouer which lieth the way from Auſtria vnto the citie. This fleet ſo kept the paſſage, that no man could without danger either by water or by land go in or out of the citie. *Solyman* hauing loſt all his pieces for batterie, & ſeeing how little he preuailed with his field pieces, fel to vndermining of the city, hoping by that means to ouerthrow the wals, and to make a way for his men to enter. This work, as the Turks chiefe hope, was with wonderful labor & diligence attempted in 15 ſundry places: which was not ſo ſecretly done, but that is was by drums laid vpon the ground, by baſons filled with water, & ſounds made into the earth perceiued by the defendants, and ſo with countermines met withall, that moſt part of thoſe works were vtterly fruſtrated, & in them 8000 of his Turks either ſlaine or buried quicke.

Eight thouſand Turkes loſt in the mines.

Solyman to buſie the defendants that they ſhould not ſo perfectly diſcouer his mines, diuided his army into foure parts, appointing them orderly to ſucceed one after another in giuing alarums to the town, that filling their eares with continuall noiſe, he might keep them alwaies occupied. In the midſt of which hurly burly his mine-workes went forward with all ſpeed poſſible, neither was he in that his expectation deceiued: for one of the mines brought to perfection vnperceiued by the defendants, and ſuddenly blown vp, ſhook and ouerthrew a great

The wals of Vienna blown vp.

part

A part of the wall neere vnto the gate which leadeth towards Carinthia; whereat the Turkes gaue a great ſhout, as if the citie had now bin taken, and withal couragiouſly ſtepping forward, preſſed in on all ſides, by the ruines of the wall to haue entred the breach, charging the defendants with their ſmall ſhot and Turkie arrowes as thicke as haile. Who on the contrarie part like reſolute men ſtood in the face of the breach, with more aſſurance than the wall it ſelfe, receiuing them with deadly ſhot and puſh of pike, in ſuch furious manner, that the Turks for all B their multitude, vnable longer to maintaine the aſſault, began to retyre. Which thing *Solyman* perceiuing, ſent in new ſupplies, and ſo renewed the aſſault before giuen ouer, but with no better ſucceſſe than before: for hauing receiued a great ouerthrow, as men forgetting both dutie and martiall diſcipline, they retyred, not expecting any ſigne of retreat. At this aſſault ſo many of the Turks were ſlaine, that the ground neere vnto the town lay couered, and the ditches filled with their dead bodies. Not long after, the wall was blowne vp in two places more, ouer againſt S. *Clares* church; by which breach, being not verie great, the Turks ſeeking to haue entred, made a bloudie fight with the Germans which defended that place; which they ſought ſo deſperatly to haue entred, that without regard they thruſt one another vpon the points of their enemies weapons; who gliſtering in good armour, readily receiued them C being for moſt part naked men, and ſlew them without number, and ſo inforced them againe diſorderly to retyre, hauing before filled both the breaches with their dead carkaſes. Three dayes after enſued a moſt cruell fight, when as another part of the wall (neere vnto the gate of Carinthia, and not far from the firſt breach) was ſo ſuddenly ouerthrowne, that the Turks thorow the new made breach ſeeing the Chriſtians as they ſtood readie to come to the defence thereof; and likewiſe the Chriſtians them, now approching; for eagerneſſe and haſt on both ſides threw away their pieces and bowes, and came to handie blowes in the middle of the breach; the Turks with their ſcimiters, and the Germans with their long ſwords. At which time, as the Chriſtian captaines encouraged their ſoldiers with cheerefull perſuaſions; ſo the Turkiſh commanders enforced forward their Turks both with words and wounds. The aſ-D ſault began ſo terrible, that it was thought a more fierce and deadly fight was neuer ſeen from the beginning of the world: which was with great reſolution maintained by the Turks, for that many of their moſt valiant horſemen forſaking their horſes, thruſt in with their targets and ſcimiters, or elſe with their launces amongſt the Ianizaries and other footmen, and there fought moſt deſperatly. At laſt, after this furious fight had endured by the ſpace of 3 houres, and many of the Turks beſt captaines and ſoldiers lay dead vpon the ground by heapes; the Turks ſeeing no hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the aſſault, and retyred to their campe.

The Turkes repulſed from the breach.

A moſt terrible aſſault.

The Turks the third time repulſed.

Long and tedious it were to recount euery aſſault giuen during the time of that dreadfull ſiege, with euery particular accident not vnworthie the remembrance, which for breuity wittingly I paſſe ouer. Yet among the reſt, the moſt valiant leader (though afterward vnfortunat) the Lo. *William Rogendorffe* is not to be forgotten, who oftentimes perceiuing many of the Turks ſtragling diſorderly abroad in the countrey, one day vpon the ſudden ſallied out vpon E them with certain troups of horſemen, with ſuch violence, that at the firſt onſet he ouerthrew them, and hauing them in chaſe, did ſuch ſpeedie execution, that of 5300 ſcarce 140 eſcaped his hands: after which time his name became terrible vnto the Turkes. *Solyman* was exceedingly grieued with the often & bloudie aſſaults by him in vain giuen to the city; but purpoſing now to proue the laſt and vtmoſt of all his forces, he called to him the chiefe Commanders of his army, whom at the firſt he ſharply reprooued as men of no courage, which being many times as good as poſſeſſed of the victorie, had moſt cowardly, contrarie to the maner of that victorious nation, turned their backes vpon their enemies, in the breaches alreadie halfe woon: wherefore he willed them to pluck vp their hearts, & to make all things readie for a new aſſault, wherin he expected that they ſhould with couragious forwardnes and reſolution, recompence their late cowardiſe: for why, he accounted it a great diſhonor to forſake the ſiege F begun; wherfore they ſhould reſolue the next day as victorious conquerors to take the city, or elſe there as faint hearted cowards to end their days. The next day after this heauie charge giuen, which was the fifteenth of October, the great commanders of the Turks army with all their forces aſſailed the citie, thruſting their men into the breaches by heaps, as if they would, if no way elſe, yet with verie multitude (if it had bin poſſible) haue diſcouraged or ouerborne the Chriſtians: they were come to handie blows, and the fight was in euery place moſt terrible,

The Lo. William Rogendorffe.

Vienna againe aſſaulted.

ble, the Chriſtian defendants ſtill repulſing them with greater courage than they were able to G aſſaile them. Beſides that, to the great aduantage of the defendants, many pieces of their great ordnance skilfully mounted in places moſt conuenient, and continually diſcharged among the thickeſt of their enemies as they preſſed on, made of them ſuch ſlaughter, and ſo cut them off, that being thorowly diſcouraged, they ſhrunk backe, and could no by any threats or command of their captaines be thruſt forward; chuſing rather to be ſlaine of their own captaines (as ſome of them were) than to be rent in ſunder with the murthering ſhot of the Chriſtians. So that the captaines ſeeing now no other remedie, gaue ouer the aſſault and retyred, leauing behind them many thouſands of their dead Turks in the towne ditches.

The Turks repulſed.

The next day after this aſſault, ***Solyman*** deſpairing to win the city, and fearing the comming of King ***Ferdinand*** and the Countie Palatine with a ſtrong armie, as it had been to him reported, conſidering alſo that Winter was now comming faſt on, determined to raiſe his ſiege: and H to colour the diſhonour thereof, he ſent certaine of the chiefe priſoners which he had taken, richly apparelled, with their purſes full of money, into the citie, to tell the captaines, that he came not with purpoſe either to beſiege or take the city, but to reuenge the wrongs done vnto him by his enemie king ***Ferdinand,*** and to haue fought a battell with him for the kingdom of Hungarie: whom foraſmuch as he could not draw vnto Vienna, he would remooue thence to ſeeke for him, as his capitall enemie: wherefore they ſhould do well to yeeld themſelues; which if they would, he promiſed not to enter their citie, but to receiue both the citiſens and ſoldiers into his protection, reſeruing vnto them their liues and goods, with perpetuall freedome. Which his offer the defendants ſcornfully refuſed, as proceeding of meere deſparation. I The next night following, ***Solyman*** with more than barbarous cruelty cauſed all the priſoners in his armie to be ſlaine; which pittifull outcries was of the ſouldiers heard into the city, not knowing what the matter ſhould be, vntill that the next day after the departure of the enemy, they found the dead bodies of men, women, and children in all places of the campe wallowed in their owne bloud, a moſt lamentable ſpectacle to behold. ***Solyman*** purpoſing to forſake the ſiege, cauſed ***Abraham*** the great Baſſa to ſhew himſelfe in order of battell, as if he would haue giuen a freſh aſſault: in the meane time he himſelfe roſe vpon the ſudden with the reſt of his armie, and returned towards Buda in ſuch haſt, that he neither put any garriſon into ſuch places as he had taken, neither demanded of them any tribute. After whom the Baſſa followed, keeping himſelfe a dayes journey behind him: and ſo in fiue dayes he arriued with all his K armie at Buda, 32 Germane miles from Vienna.

Solyman raiſeth his ſiege.

This ſiege was giuen ouer by ***Solyman*** about the ſixteenth of October, wherein he is reported to haue loſt eightie thouſand men, amongſt whom was his great Lieutenant of Aſia, with many other of his forward Captaines and beſt ſouldiers. Of the defendants few or none of name were loſt; but of the countrey people it is ſuppoſed that there was aboue ſixtie thouſand ſlain nnd carried away into captiuitie: all the country about Vienna was miſerably ſpoiled, all their trees and vines being by the Turks cut downe to the ground. ***Solyman*** according to his promiſe reſtored Buda vnto king ***Iohn***; who by ſolemne writing acknowledged himſelfe his vaſſall, and to hold the kingdome of Hungarie of him as his lord and ſoueraigne. Vnto him ***Solyman*** ioyned ***Aloyſius Grittus*** as his Legat, to helpe him to prouide ſuch things as L ſhould be needfull for the defence of that kingdome.

80000 Turkes loſt at the ſiege of Vienna.

Solyman reſtoreth the kingdome of Hungary to K. Iohn.

It hapned one day whileſt ***Solyman*** lay at Buda, and had giuen king ***Iohn*** with diuers of the nobilitie of Hungarie acceſſe into his pauilion, that he fell earneſtly in hand with king ***Iohn,*** to pardon ***Paulus*** biſhop of Strigonium, and ***Petrus Perenus*** (who had taken part with king ***Ferdinand***) and to receiue them into his fauor again: which men king ***Iohn*** in no caſe liked of, becauſe that they as traitors vnto their Prince and countrey, forgetting their faith and oath, had performed the like dutie to ***Ferdinand,*** as they had but a little before done vnto him at the time of his coronation: wherin he ſhewing himſelfe vnwilling to be entreated, ſaid, That their mutable minds fraught with infidelitie, would neuer containe themſelues within the bounds of loyaltie, but find occaſion to commit ſome fouler treaſon than they had before. Whereunto M ***Solyman*** ſtraining his voice a little, as one ſomewhat moued, moſt honorably replied, *Can any thing* (ſaid he) *happen vnto thee in this life better or more honorable, than if by thy kindeneſſe thine enemies ſhall be of all men accounted ingratefull, that is to ſay, men noted with eternall infamie; when as in thy ſelfe the commendation of a good and courteous Prince ſhall for euer remaine?* And ſo not

The honourable ſaying of Solyman to K. Iohn.

long

A long after, fearing the cold of Winter then approching, dangerous for his beaſts for carriage, eſpecially his camels, bred and brought vp in the hot countries of Aſia, he ſet forward to Belgrade, and ſo trauelling through Thracia, returned to Conſtantinople.

All this while that *Solyman* thus raged in Hungarie and Auſtria, *Charles* the Emperor lately reconciled to *Clement* the ſeuenth of that name, then Biſhop of Rome, with a ſtrong army beſieged Florence, by his lieutenant *Daualus*, (who might haue done much againſt the Turkes, if he had been ſo well imployed) labouring by all meanes to repreſſe the libertie of the citiſens, whereunto they had but a little before aſpired, and to bring them againe vnder the ſubiection of the familie of *Medices*, whereof *Clement* was the chiefe. Which thing with much adoo he brought to paſſe, inueſting *Alexander* the Biſhops nephew in the dukedome of Flo- B rence, and afterward giuing him his baſe daughter in marriage; forgetting his brother *Ferdinand* in the meane time, thruſt out of the kingdome of Hungarie by *Solyman*, and the dukedom of Auſtria waſted by the Turks, with the citie of Vienna in danger to haue been loſt. Which common calamities might well haue mooued both the Emperor and the Biſhop, to haue had more regard of, than by oppreſſing the libertie of one free citie, to ſeeke how to ſerue their owne priuat reſpects.

The yeare following, which was 1530, *Solyman* with great ſolemnitie and triumph, after the Turkiſh manner, circumciſed three of his ſonnes, *Muſtapha*, *Muhamet*, and *Selymus*, at Conſtantinople.

1530

Solyman circumciſeth his three ſonnes.

Solyman hardly diſgeſting the diſhonour he had before receiued at Vienna, and oftentimes C ſolicited by King *Iohn*, for aid againſt *Ferdinand*, who with greater ſtomacke than power ceaſed not continually to moleſt him: but moſt of all prickt forward with the inſatiable deſire of inlarging his Empire, after the manner of the *Othoman* kings, accounting his neighbor princes alwayes his enemies, and their dominions the obiects of his victories, and ſpoile for his ſouldiers; raiſed ſuch an armie, as for the greatneſſe thereof might worthily haue bin a terror vnto the world: not ſo much purpoſing the protection of king *Iohn*, which he in ſhew moſt pretended; neither the ſiege of Vienna, as was commonly bruted, as the conquering of Auſtria, Carinthia, Croatia, Styria, and the reſt of King *Ferdinands* dominions, and ſo afterwards of all Germanie. For the accompliſhment whereof, he had in his immoderat deſire prefined vnto D himſelfe the ſpace of three yeares, which the great Monarchs of Rome could not performe in more than ſo many hundreds. It was commonly reported, that the proud tyrant would many times ſay, That whatſoeuer belonged vnto the Empire of Rome, was of right his, foraſmuch as he was rightfully poſſeſſed both of the Imperiall ſeat and ſcepter of *Conſtantine* the Great, commander of the world, which his great grandfather *Mahomet* had by law of Armes woon from *Conſtantine* the late Chriſtian Emperour, whom he ſlew at Conſtantinople. And therefore both in his common talke and writings, as oft as he had occaſion to make any mention of *Charles* the Emperour, he would proudly, and as it were in diſdaine terme him by the name of the King of Spaine, but neuer by the name of Emperour.

The diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes, and the great troubles euen then ariſing in Germany E about matters of Religion, did not a little encourage the barbarous tyrant to take in hand this great expedition. King *Ferdinand* certainly aduertiſed, that *Solyman* was in perſon himſelf ſetting forward with his huge armie, ſent vnto him three Embaſſadors; whereof *Leonardus Negarola*, a noble gentleman well learned, and skilfull in diuers languages, was chiefe, with rich Preſents, and reaſonable offers to entreat with him for peace. Who meeting him vpon the borders of Seruia, were by him curteouſly receiued, and patiently heard: yet obtained of him no other anſwer, but that they ſhould follow his campe, and attend his further pleaſure. The report whereof brought a generall feare vpon all Germanie, but eſpecially them of Auſtria, in whoſe freſh remembrance as yet remained the bleeding wounds of their countrey, their brethren and friends ſlain, their wiues and children led away into captiuitie, their goods & cattel loſt, their houſes and fields burnt, and thouſands of other grieuous calamities which they had F endured in the late inuaſion of the Turks. *Charles* the Emperor had in verie good time a little before, for a while well appeaſed the diſſention then ariſing in Germanie about matters of religion; putting them in hope of a free and generall Councell to be holden for the deciding of all ſuch matters: & in a great aſſemblie of the States of the empire to be holden at Ratisbon, ſhewing the greatneſs of the imminent danger, ſo puiſſant an enemie threatning vnto them all

King Ferdinand ſends Embaſſadors to Solyman the calamities of war, with the manifold miſchiefe like to enſue, if they ſhould in ſo vnfit time fall at varience amongſt themſelues: offering with great reſolution, to goe in perſon himſelfe with all his old expert ſoldiers, in defence of the common Chriſtian cauſe; ſo much preuailed with the Princes of the Empire, and the Embaſſadors of the free States, that they highly commended his forwardneſſe, and all other matters for that time ſet apart, agreed all with one conſent, at a prefixed day to ſend vnto Vienna ſuch warlike forces as they had in any time before ſet forth for the defence of the Chriſtian religion, & the maieſtie of the Empire. Wherupon he wrot vnto *Alphonſius Vaſtius* (his lieutenant generall in Italie, and one of the greateſt captaines of that age) that he ſhould without delay call together the old captaines, and to leuie ſo many companies of harquebuſiers as they poſſibly could; and with them and the Spaniſh ſoldiers to repaire forthwith vnto him into Auſtria. He alſo enioyned *Andreas Auria* his Admirall, that he ſhould with like diligence rig vp a ſtrong fleet of gallies & merchants ſhips, and to go againſt the Turks Nauie into Grecia. At the ſame time he ſent for his choice horſemen out of Burgondie and the Low-countries, and many noble gentlemen and old ſouldiers out of Spaine: for the guard of his owne perſon he entertained twelue thouſand Germanes, ſuch as had longeſt ſerued in his wars in Italie, ouer whom commanded *Maximilian Herberſtene* and *Tamiſius*, both famous captaines. At the ſame time *Clement* the ſeuenth then Biſhop of Rome, although his coffers were greatly emptied by the late Florentine wars, which had coſt him ten hundred thouſand duckats; yet to make ſome ſhew of his deuotion in ſo dangerous a time, with the great good will he bare vnto the Emperor; after he had with grieuous exaction extorted from the Clergie a great maſſe of money (whereunto his rich Cardinalls contributed nothing, as if it had bin a thing vtterly vnlawfull for them, in ſo good a cauſe to haue abated any jot of their pontificall ſhew in the court of Rome) ſent the young Cardinall *Hippolitus Medices* his nephew, being then about twentie yeares of age, a man indeed fitter for the wars than for the Church, as his Legate vnto the Emperour, accompanied with mo good captaines than clergie men, and his coffers well ſtuffed with treaſure: whoſe comming to Ratisbone was vnto the Emperor and the Germanes verie welcome; for beſides that hee was a young gentlemen of verie comely perſonage, and exceeding bountifull, he entertained for thoſe wars (beſides the companie he brought with him) eight thouſand Hungarian horſemen, of all others beſt acquainted with the Turkiſh wars.

The preparation of Charles the emperor againſt Solyman.

Strigonium beſieged by King Iohn.

King *Iohn* vnderſtanding, that the formoſt of *Solymans* great armie were come as far as Samandria in Seruia, thought it now a fit time to wring from king *Ferdinand* ſuch townes as hee yet held in Hungarie; wherefore he ſent *Aloyſius Grittus* (whom *Solyman* had left as a helper for his eſtate) to beſiege Strigonium, which is a citie of Hungarie ſcituat vpon the ſide of Danubius, about thirtie miles from Buda, the caſtle thereof was at that time holden with a ſtrong garriſon of king *Ferdinands*: whereunto for all that *Grittus* layed ſuch hard ſiege both by the riuer and by land, that the defendants doubting how they ſhould be able to hold out, eſpecially if *Solyman* ſhould take that in his way, as it was moſt like he would; ſent for reliefe to *Cazzianer*, a warlike captaine then gouernor of Vienna, and General of all King *Ferdinands* forces: by whoſe appointment certaine ſmall frigots were ſent downe the riuer of Danubius, from Poſſonium, well manned; who ſuddenly ſetting vpon the Turks fleet (which ſo kept the riuer, that nothing could that way poſſibly be conueyed either in or out of the caſtle) ſhould by their vnexpected comming open that way. But *Grittus* hauing intelligence thereof by certain Hungarians, which though they ſerued King *Ferdinand*, made no great account to flie ſomtime to the one part, ſomtime to the other, as beſt fitted their purpoſe; preſently reſolued to ſend his fleet vp the riuer, and by his ſudden comming to oppreſſe his enemies, in like ſort as they had thought to haue done him. And the more to encourage his ſoldiers, he promiſed great rewards to all ſuch as ſhould performe any extraordinarie piece of ſeruice in that action: and ſo hauing thorowly furniſhed all his fleet with good ſoldiers, but eſpecially with Turkiſh archers, ſent them vp the riuer to ſeeke their enemies: who fearing no ſuch matter, as men ſurpriſed with the ſame miſchiefe they had prepared for others, were at the firſt exceedingly diſmayed; yet conſidering that they were reaſonably wel prouided for their comming (although they yet wanted ſuch helpe as *Cazzianer* had appointed to ſend them) they thought it a great ſhame to flie, and therefore putting themſelues in order of battel, came down the riuer, & with great courage encountred their enemie. There began a ſharpe & cruell fight, many being ſlain

A and wounded on both ſides: but at laſt they of Poſſonium not able longer to endure the deadly ſhot of their enemies, and eſpecially of the Turkiſh archers, (who with their arrowes ſore gauled both the ſoldiers and the mariners) they turned their backs and fled: in which fight of ſixtie frigots which came from Poſſonium, only thirteene eſcaped, with *Corporanus* the Generall, all the reſt being either ſunke in the fight, or elſe taken by the enemy, being run aſhore and forſaken by the Poſſonians, truſting more vnto their legs by land, than their oares by water. Beſides this loſſe of the Frigots, there was ſlain of the Poſſonians almoſt fiue hundred. After this victorie, *Grittus* hoping that they in the caſtle of Strigonium, diſpairing now of reliefe, and fearing the comming of *Solyman*, would not long hold out, left off to batter or vndermine the caſtle, (wherewith he perceiued he little preuailed) purpoſing by lying ſtill, and keeping them in the caſtle from all reliefe, to inforce them in time to forſake the place. Thus whileſt the diuided Hungarians with their owne hands inconſiderately ſought one anothers deſtructi- B on, with the ruine of their countrie; *Solyman* the great enemie of all Chriſtians was readie at their backs to deuoure both the one and the other, as in few yeares after he did.

Much about this time the old Spaniſh ſoldiers in Italie, drawne together by *Vaſtius*, as the Emperor had before commanded, were come to the Alpes. In this campe, of one ſort of men and other, was about 20000, whereof almoſt the third part was not ſeruiceable: for the old ſoldiers enriched with the long wars in Italie, and the ſpoyle of the rich country of Lumbardie, wherein they had of late bin billited, brought with them all their old gotten ſpoyles and ſubſtance, not forgetting ſo much as their women, and whatſoeuer elſe ſerued their pleaſure: for carriage whereof they drew after them a great multitude of carriages and vnneceſſa- C rie people, all which ſerued for no other vſe but for the ſoldiers pleaſure, and to conſume victuals. Which their licentious wantonneſſe *Vaſtius* deſiring to reforme, gaue ſtrait commandment thorow all the campe, That they ſhould leaue behind them all ſuch vnneceſſary bagage, and appointed what carriages ſhould ſuffice for euery companie. Whereat the ſouldiers began at the firſt to murmure, and preſently after to ariſe vp in mutinie: for many of the captains being rich, and diſliking of that long and dangerous expedition, couertly incited the common ſoldiers to crie out vpon *Vaſtius* the Generall, for their pay alreadie due. Which thing once put into their heads, and the matter ſet on foot, quickly grew to that heat, that they all with one voice ſaid flatly, That they would go no foot further before they had receiued their pay. *Vaſtius* although he well perceiued that tumult to be raiſed by ſome of his enemies, which D ſought thereby to lighten his credit, was glad for all that for the preſent to diſſemble the matter, & yeelding to the neceſſitie of the time, to content the mutinous ſoldiers with one months pay, promiſing them their full contentment, at ſuch time as they ſhould come vnto the emperor: and ſo when he had with much ado appeaſed that tumult, he ſet forward into Germany.

Mutinie among the Spaniſh ſoldiers.

Immediatly after the Spaniards followed the Italians, who with ſuch cheerfulneſſe offered themſelues to that ſeruice, that euery captain brought with him twice ſo many in his companie as was expected: ſo that *Vaſtius* (who before doubtfull of their forwardneſſe in ſo dangerous a war, eſpecially in the aid of the Germans, of whom they had in the late wars receiued great harmes, had by great and earneſt perſuaſions induced diuers of the nobilitie, and others of the better ſort, to enter into that honourable action, in hope that they would draw after E them great numbers of their friends and tenants, as indeed they did) was now glad to ſend backe again many of the common ſoldiers, by reaſon of the multitude; and alſo to his great diſcredit, and the offence of many, full ſore againſt his will to diſplace moſt part of thoſe forward gentlemen, whom he had but a little before made captaines; who to their, no ſmall charge had gallantly furniſhed themſelues according to their degrees and places: for the Emperor had then appointed what number of Italians he ſhould bring; and alſo giuen commandement, That reiecting the reſt, he ſhould commit the leading of them onely to thoſe old expert captaines, of whoſo valour and diſcretion he had before had good experience. There were *Martius Columna*, *Petrus Maria Rubeus*, *Philippus Torniellus*, *Ioannes Baptiſta Caſtalius*, *Fabritius Maramaldus*, *Pyrrhus Stipcianus*, and *Camillus Columna*, being all men of great worth, and F approoued faith towards the Emperor.

In theſe Italian companies were fourteene thouſand ſelect footmen, beſide many other braue men who voluntarily reſorted from diuers places to Vienna. After theſe footmen followed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* with two thouſand horſemen, and certaine troups of Grecians and Spani-

ards, and with them came many noble gentlemen out of all parts of Italie, who had before G
bin great commanders, but now ſerued as priuate gentlemen voluntarily without charge or
pay; accounting it a great ſhame to tarrie at home as cowards, and not to be preſent in that religious
war.

The Emperour alſo about the ſame time hauing taken view of his horſemen come out of
the Low-countries moſt excellently appointed, and ſhipping his great ordnance, whereof hee
had bought great ſtore at Nurembergh, departed downe the riuer from Ratisbone to Lyntz.
The riuer of Danubius neuer carried ſo many veſſels and ſoldiers ſince the time of the great
Roman Emperors, as it did at that preſent: and yet beſides them which went down the riuer
by ſhipping, the pleaſant bankes on both ſides were filled with great companies of horſemen
and footmen paſſing all alongſt the riuer vnder their colours, with their drums and trumpets H
ſounding, which altogether made the moſt glorious ſhew that a man could well behold vpon
earth.

1532.

Solyman commeth into Hungarie.

Gunza beſieged by the Turks.

The huge armie of Solyman.

Solymans proud letters vnto the emperor Charles and king Ferdinand.

In the meane while, ***Solyman*** in ſix and fiftie days march come to Belgrade, thruſt ouer the
great riuer Sauus by bridges made in diuers places, an infinit number of his horſmen into Hungarie;
and leauing Danubius on the right hand, turning a little vpon the left, marched directly
towards the rich countrie of Stiria, called in antient time Valeria, and now Stiermarke. By the
way as he went he came to the little towne of Gunza, which one ***Nicholas Iuriſchitz*** (a man of
an inuincible courage) kept with a ſmall garriſon of his owne. This towne ſtandeth in a Plain
not far from the citie of Sabaria, built ſquare, and but of a ſmall compaſſe, not verie ſtrongly
walled, a poore obſcure thing, neuer famous till now by the great diſhonour that the Turkiſh I
Emperor ***Solyman*** there receiued. ***Abraham*** the chiefe Baſſa (who ſo abſolutely commanded
among the Turks, as if ***Solyman*** had receiued him into the fellowſhip of the Empire with himſelfe)
was very deſirous to ſaue this captain ***Nicholas***, for that he knew him to be a man of great
courage, and was familiarly acquainted with him at ſuch time as he lay Embaſſadour at Conſtantinople:
wherfore he attempted firſt by gentle perſuaſions and large offers, and afterwards
by moſt terrible threats, to induce him to yeeld the town to ***Solyman***. But finding him ſo reſolutely
ſet downe, that he was neither by faire nor foule means, but only by force to be remoued
out of his town; he incloſed the ſame round about with the huge armie of the Turkes,
and by mines ouerthrew the walls in three places. Which ſudden breach whileſt the gariſon
ſouldiers moſt valiantly defended againſt the furious aſſault of the Ianiziaries on the South K
ſide of the towne, the Baſſa planting his field pieces vpon the hils on the North ſide, did from
thence grieuouſly annoy the defendants: who fiercely aſſailed by their enemies before, and
beaten with the great ordnance behind, were grieuouſly diſtreſſed. Wherwith the worthy gouernor
ſomwhat troubled, though not much diſcouraged, ſuddenly of timber and boords raiſed
vp a curtaine twelue foot high, at the backs of his ſoldiers, wherewith they were ſo couered
from the ſight of their enemies, that they could not make any certain ſhot at them, but only
at that curtaine at all aduentures, not doing any thing ſo great harme as before: and with
deſperat and reſtleſſe labor, in deſpight of all the Turks great power, repaired the breaches, in
as ſtrong manner as at the firſt. In the meane time 200 of the Turks horſemen ſtragling from
the campe, and ſeeking after bootie into the countrey as far as Neoſtat, were by the Hungarian L
horſemen intercepted, and all ſlaine or taken; whoſe heads the Hungarians brought to
Vienna, and the more to encourage the ſoldiers which daily repaired thither, in token of good
lucke ſet them vp vpon ſtakes vpon the walls of the citie. Then was it certainly known of the
priſoners, that ***Solyman*** had in his campe fiue hundred thouſand men, and three hundred field
pieces, which were not of greater bigneſſe but that a camell might well carrie one of them,
being taken from the carriage: for why, ***Solyman*** purpoſing by deſtroying the countrey before
him, to draw the Emperor vnto battell, had (as they ſaid) brought no greater pieces of batterie
with him. Which report of the priſoners was alſo confirmed by the Embaſſadours of
king ***Ferdinand***, whom ***Solyman*** gaue leaue to depart at Gunza, giuing to euery one of them a
gowne of veluet and a piece of plate, with letters vnto the Emperour and king ***Ferdinand*** his M
brother; wherein proudly vſurping the titles of many kingdomes, he moſt inſolently wrot
himſelfe lord & ſoueraign of almoſt all countries and nations. But the effect therof was, That
he was come into Hungarie, to reuenge the wrongs which they had done vnto King ***Iohn*** his
friend and vaſſall; and would with fire and ſword enter their countries, and by the power of

God

A God and his great Prophet *Mahomet*, the fauourers of iuſt quarrels, giue them battell, if they
durſt meet him: wherfore if they would as valiant & couragious princes meet him in the field,
he would in one battell end that quarrell with them, and in reward of the victorie either win
or loſe the empire of the World. When *Solyman* had thus a great while layen at the ſiege of
Gunza, and thereto giuen diuers ſharp aſſaults, being ſtill with great loſſe and diſhonor repulſed,
he in the ſpace of foure daies caſt vp neere vnto the towne ditch two great mounts of faggots
and earth, as if they had bin two great mountaines, of ſuch height, that they onertopped
not the wals only, but euen the higheſt towers in the towne; (by which wonderfull worke the
greatneſſe of the Turks army might eaſily be coniectured:) one of theſe great mounts he caſt
vp directly againſt the face of the town, and the other at a corner of the ſame, to flankier along
B the wall; from whence he did with his ſhot not onely beat them which appeared vpon the
wals for the defence therof, but them alſo which vpon occaſion went too & fro in the ſtreets.
Theſe mounts being with incredible celeritie brought to perfection, the town ditch filled vp,
and many of the defendants either ſlaine or wounded vpon the wals, the Turkes gaue a moſt
furious aſſault at the place which was before ſhaken with the mine: againſt whom the valiant
captain as need was in that extreame danger, oppoſed all the ſtrength he had left. But the
Turkes ſtill preſſing on with their infinit multitude, were got vp to the top of the walls with
eight enſignes, from whence they had repulſed the defendants: which being all either wounded
or wearied, ſhrouded themſelues vnder the defence of their penthouſes, being nether able
nor of courage to make further reſiſtance, ſo that the wals were now abandoned, & the town
C there left without defendants: when ſuddenly ſuch a great clamor was made by the loud outcries
and lamentation of the women and children and other fearefull people, that the Turkes
which had recouered the top of the wals, ſtrucken with a ſudden feare, thinking the towne to
haue bin full of ſouldiers, ſtood as men aſtonied & diſmaid, whereupon the defendants began
again to take courage, and to ſhew themſelues: at whoſe ſight the Turks poſſeſſed with a needleſſe
feare, forſooke the wal, & could not by any perſuaſions or threats of their captaines bee
brought on againe to the aſſault. The town was that day in all mens iudgements defended by
the mightie power of God, and not by the ſtrength of man. It grieued the proud tyrant aboue
meaſure, that ſo baſe a towne ſhould ſo long hold out againſt all his power, ſo that oftentimes
in his rage he would threaten to raſe it down to the ground, & not to leaue any ſigne thereof
D remaining: which he would vndoubtedly haue in time performed, had not **Abraham** the great
Baſſa (by whoſe counſell he was altogether directed) otherwiſe perſuaded him: who waiting
a fit time, when his choller was paſt, told him, that it was not worth his name & greatnes, to
ſpend his time & forces vpon ſo ſmal a town of no importance, by raſing wherof he ſhould
neither get honor nor profit: for why, no man would maruell, if he with ſo puiſſant an armie
ſhould take ſo ſmall a thing, eſpecially by long ſiege, wherby the ſtrongeſt places are inforced
to yeeld; & when he had ſo taken it, it would be accounted a greater honor for ſo little a town
to haue holden out ſo long, than for him to haue with ſo great forces in long time conſtrained
it: but if it ſhould otherwiſe fall out, as the chances of war are vncertaine, that hee ſhould by
any occaſion be conſtrained to leaue it, he ſhould thereby get no ſmall diſhonor: wherefore it
E were more wiſedome to ſpare his ſoldiers labor in ſo ſmall a matter, whereof he was not to expect
either honour or profit, & for to reſerue them for his greater deſignes, & not vainely to
ſpend his forces & time in beſieging of ſo baſe a village, from whence he might now depart
with leſſe diſhonor than he could afterwards, when he had proued the vttermoſt of his forces,
and yet in the end glad peraduenture to forſake it: wherfore it were more for his honour to
raiſe his ſiege, & calling the Gouernor of the town vnto him, to giue him the town as it were
of bounty, than to ſpend ſo many good men as he muſt needs caſt away in the winning of it by
force: with theſe & like reaſons the Baſſa preuailed ſo much with *Solyman*, that *Nicholas* the
worthy gouernor of the town was by a herauld at arms ſent for to come to the great Baſſa, *Solyman*
diſdaining (as it ſhould ſeem) to ſpeake with him himſelf. The gouernor being ſent for,
F though he was grieuouſly wounded, & in ſmal hope of life, yet ſtoutly refuſed to com to any
parly, except he were firſt wel aſſured both by ſafe conduct & good hoſtages for the ſafety of
his perſon, & that nothing ſhould be exacted of him, not befitting his religion & honor: which
ſtout anſwer cauſed *Solyman* & the Baſſa to think, that his ſtrength was not yet ſo weakned, but
that he was ſtill able to hold out the ſiege: and thereupon, that he required for his ſafetie was

Abraham Baſſa perſuadeth Solyman to leaue the ſiege of Gunza.

forthwith granted, aud two men of great account ſent for hoſtages for him into the citie with G
Solymans ſafe conduct. Which being receiued, the Gouernor went forth, and was by **Abraham**
the great Baſſa honoraby receiued into the campe, and commanded to ſit downe by him

The Gouernor commeth to the Baſſa.

in his tent: where he was by him firſt by the way of courteſie demanded, whether he had recouered
his old infirmitie wherewith he was troubled at ſuch time as he was ſent embaſſador
vnto **Solyman** at Conſtantinople? After that, whether the wounds he had receiued in the laſt
aſſault, were dangerous or not? But laſt of all, & that which moſt concerned the matter, vpon
what hope he alone had ſo long and ſo obſtinatly withſtood the mightie Sultan **Solyman**,
when as all his neighbours round about him had ſo willingly ſubmitted themſelues? ſaying
further, that he maruelled much why hee repoſed any confidence in the lingring king **Ferdinand**.

His anſwer to the Baſſa.

Whereunto the Gouernor modeſtly anſwered, That he was (thanks be to God) well deliuered H
of his old diſeaſe, and that his wounds were without danger: but as concerning his
holding out, he ſaid, that he for his great wiſedome knew, that it was the duty of a good ſoldier
valiantly to withſtand his enemies, & not to be troubled with any euill hap, or diſcouraged
with any chance of war: as for himſelfe, he ſaid, when mans helpe failed, he had repoſed
his full truſt in God, by whoſe power he had bin hitherto preſerued, which as he well hoped
ſhould neuer faile him at his need: and that king **Ferdinand** was not ſo far off, but that he would
before it were long be there preſent with a great army: wherfore he did not greatly maruel,
that he was not relieued before that time, foraſmuch as many lets and occaſions might chance
which might hinder the kings purpoſe, conſidering that fortune always by nature vnconſtant,
was in nothing more like vnto her ſelfe in her vnconſtancie, than in martiall affaires. The Baſſa I
wondering at the inuincible courage of the Gouernor, ſaid, That although the great Emperor
Solyman might now at his pleaſure vtterly deſtroy the towne, with all that therein was, yet being
by nature of a moſt honorable and mild diſpoſition, and a great louer of valiant and couragious
men, had commanded him in his name to giue him that town, & the liues of all them
that were in it, as a reward of his valour ſhewed in the defence thereof: yet ſo, that hee ſhould
ſweare obedience vnto him, and receiue ſome few Turks into the towne, in token that he had
yeelded the ſame. The politicke Gouernour knowing that of 800 valiant ſouldiers, hee had
ſcarcely a third part left, and them alſo ſore weakned with wounds and want of reſt, thought
it neceſſarie to make his peace in beſt ſort hee could: for what could haue hapned vnto him
more wiſhedly, than with his great honor to keep the town ſtil, & with the loſſe of a few pleaſing K
words to deliuer himſelfe, with ſo many of his friends, from extream feare and perill?
and ſo in all his talke ſhewing no ſigne of feare, and with great words ſetting forth the ſtrength
of his garriſon (which was indeed brought to an extreame weaknes) ſaid he was ready at the
firſt to haue yeelded vp the towne, for the old acquaintance he had with him at Conſtantinople,
but was alwaies letted by the Germans and Spaniards which were there in garriſon, fierce
and cruell ſoldiers, whoſe hard hearts were (as he ſaid) hardly intreated to ſuffer him at that
time to come out of the citie into the campe: wherfore he could promiſe to be a friend to all
ſuch Turks as ſhould paſſe that way, and to relieue them with ſuch things as his waſted country
could affoord; and further in token of his ſubmiſſion, to ſet vp one of **Solymans** enſignes in
the chiefe tower of the city: but as for receiuing any Turks into gariſon, in token that he had L
yeelded vp the towne, he was willing ſo to do, but that he was greatly afraid they ſhould bee
euill intreated by the Germans & Spaniards, who deadly hated the Turks: whereof it was to
be thought, that new wars would eftſoone ariſe. In concluſion, he ſo cunningly vſed the matter,
that the great Baſſa was contented with this ſmall token of ſubmiſſion, that he ſhould receiue
in at one of the gates of the citie, one of **Solymans** captains with ten Ianizaries: which being
don accordingly, & they courteouſly for a while entertained & again diſmiſſed, the great
Baſſa held himſelfe with that ſimple ſubmiſſion well contented: when as the Gouernor had
neither German nor Spaniard as then in garriſon.

Solyman departeth from the ſiege of Gunza.

So when **Solyman** had with his great armie
lien at the ſiege of Gunza by the ſpace of 28 daies, and in that time to his great loſſe aſſaulted
the ſame thirteene times, he roſe with his army, glad of a little fained ſubmiſſion for the ſafegard M
of his honor: and leauing Vienna on the right hand, whither moſt part of the Chriſtian
armie was aſſembled, took the way on the left into Carinthia, and ſo came to the riuer Mura,
and from thence to the citie Graria. This turning of **Solymans** out of the way from Vienna,
where he knew his enemies lay, put al feare out of the minds of the Chriſtians, which they had

A before not without cauſe conceiued,inſomuch,that he but a little before feared as a prince of great pride and power,ſhamefully repulſed at the little town of Gunza,and now ſhunning his enemies at Vienna, began to grow into contempt as if he had beene running away for feare. Which diſgrace the Turks ſought by diuers excuſes to couer, as that the ſtrong citie of Neoſtat lay betwixt him & Viena,which could neither without much difficultie be taken,nor danger left enemy behind him: beſides that,Winter began to approch, which cauſed him (as the Turkes gaue it out) to content himſelfe with the ſpoile of the rich countries betwixt the riuers of Savus and Dranus,and ſo in good time to returne againe to Belgrade. But they which ſeemed to ſee farther into the matter,were of opinion,That *Solyman* vnderſtanding by his eſpials,and ſecret aduertiſement from his friends, that the Princes of Germanie had with one B conſent ioined their forces with the emperors,brought out of Italy,Spaine,and the low countries,which at his ſetting forth he leaſt feared ; and that the Chriſtian army in number great, conſiſted not of raw ſouldiers,but for the moſt part of ſuch as had been trained vp in warres, men both for courage and ſkill nothing inferiour to his Ianizaries and beſt men of war;choſe rather to take the ſpoile of the countrey,as he might with ſafety,than to aduenture his perſon and ſtate to the hazard of a moſt doubtfull and dangerous battell.

Caſon ſent with 15000 horſmen to ſpoile Auſtria

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Michael-Ogli* by the commandement of *Solyman*, ſent *Caſon* with 15000 of his voluntarie horſemen (who in *Solymans* expedition againſt Vienna, had run thorow the countrey of Auſtria as far as Lyntz)charging him without ſtay to ſpoile all the country far and neere which lyeth between Danubius and the Alpes,thereby to learne C what he could of the ſtate and ſtrength of the Emperours camp ; and by doing all the harmes he could poſſibly,to leaue a moſt lamentable remembrance of the Turks being in Auſtria. *Caſon* was of himſelfe forward enough, and deſirous of the ſpoile : but ſo much the more, for that he was by the former road into that countrey become both famous and rich : wherefore diuiding his horſemen into three companies not far diſtant one from another, hee ſuddenly oppreſſed an infinit multitude of all ſorts of people in the fields and countrey villages as hee went;all which he either ſlew without mercie,or carried away as miſerable priſoners. Thouſands of men and women tied together in chains and ropes, were by the cruell Turks enforced to run as faſt as their horſes;the countrey villages were all burnt downe to the ground,and in them the poore children of the Chriſtians, whoſe parents were either ſlaine or carried away D captiues: ſo that al the country euery way almoſt for the ſpace of 150 miles,was couered with ſmoke and fire, within three miles of Lyntz ; where king *Ferdinand* then lying, was glad to get himſelfe farther off to Strabinga,where his brother *Charles* the Emperor lay. This cruell Turke according to his charge, hauing with fire and ſword without compaſſion wrought all the woe he could poſſible vpon the poore Chriſtians, and now loded with the ſpoile of the country and multitude of priſoners,began to returne the ſame way he came, thinking to find *Solyman* either at the ſiege of Gunza,where he left him, or neerer hand at Neoſtat comming towards Vienna. But he as is aforeſaid, riſing with ſmall honour from Gunza, and fearing the power of the Chriſtians,was quite gone another way as far as Gratia, the Metropoliticall city of Stiria, ſtanding vpon the riuer of Mura ; which turned to the vtter deſtruction of *Caſon* and E all his followers : for as ſoone as it was perceiued by the burning of the countrey all about, that the Turks were come neere to Lyntz,the Chriſtian captaines with their companies went out of the campe,ſome one way ſome another, as was thought moſt conuenient for the meeting with of theſe miſchieuous Turkes,which neuer reſted in one place : wherein they vſed ſuch diligence in taking the paſſages,that it was not poſſible they ſhould eſcape vnfought withall. Foure companies of Spaniſh and Italian horſemen vnder the leading of *Lewis Coue* a valiant captain,firſt lighting vpon them in a valley neere vnto Neoſtat,and deſperately charging them,were by the Turks for moſt part ſlaine: But *Caſon* perceiuing how he was on euery ſide laied by the Chriſtians in the vallies betwixt Neoſtat,Sabaria,and Veſprinium,the night following with more than barbarous crueltie ſlew foure thouſand of the Chriſtians he had be- F fore taken priſoners, becauſe hee ſhould not be hindered by them in his flight ; and diuiding his armie into two parts,about midnight began to ſet forward, vſing the benefit of the night to haue eſcaped from his enemies out of theſe vallies wherein he was encloſed. One part of this army led by *Feriſes* taking the way Southward,did with incredible labor cut a way thorow the thicke and ouergrown woods(a thing thought altogether impoſſible) and ſo with little

4000 Chriſtian captiues murdred by Caſon.

Caſon diſcomfited by the Palatine,and ſlaine.

tle or no loſſe came to *Solyman* into Styria. *Caſon* with the other part of the armie breaking
out of the valley of Storamberg,chanced vpon the Palatine(Generall of the forces ſent from G
the German Princes)who with ten thouſand footmen and two thouſand horſemen, and certaine
field pieces brake the battell of the Turkes,and ſlew of them a great number: in which
conflict *Caſon* his chiefe enſigne was taken.He fighting moſt valiantly in the rereward to giue
others time to eſcape, was himſelfe there ſlaine: whoſe gallant head-piece preſented afterwards
to the Emperour,confirmed the report of his death.They which eſcaped from the *Palatine*,in
their flight fell into the hands of *Lewis*,and the Marqueſſe of Brandenburg,by whom
they were ſlaine like beaſts. The Hungarian horſemen led by *Valentinus Turacus*,lighting vpon
them which fled from *Lewis* and the Marqueſſe,had the killing of them for the ſpace of
ſeuen miles; and of all others did vpon them the cruelleſt execution, following them hard
at the heels with their freſh horſes, and fiercely inſulting vpon them in their owne language. H
Thoſe few diſperſed Turks which eſcaped the fury of the Hungarians, fell into the hands of
the countrey people about Veſprinium and the lake of Balaton,which came out on euery ſide
in hope of ſpoile, who ſhewed them ſmall fauour: ſo that of 8000 which were with *Caſon*,
it was thought not one returned to *Solyman*.

The ſlaughter of the Turkes.

The Emperour vnderſtanding that *Solyman* was gone as farre as Gracia in Stiria,called his
chiefe captains together into the caſtle of Lyntz,to know their opinions,whether it were beſt
to follow the enemie into Stiria or not. The cities of Lyntz, Gracia,and Vienna,are ſcituat almoſt
in forme of a triangle: but from Lyntz to Gracia is three good dayes journey of bad I
rough way by horſe. Some ſaid it was beſt to fight with the Turks in that vneuen mountaine
countrey,where the Turks chiefe ſtrength conſiſting in the multitude of his horſemen,ſhould
ſtand him in ſmall ſtead,but ſhould be inforced to trie the battell with his footmen, wherein
he was inferiour to the Chriſtians. This counſell although it had in it many difficulties, yet
for that it proceeded from the moſt approoued captaines,ſo mooued the Emperour, that he
preſently ſent *Apontius* a Spaniard (the moſt famous captaine *Antonius Leua* his lieutenant)
to take view of that paſſage: who ſhortly after returned againe to Lyntz, bringing word that
all the countrey as he went was deſolat and for feare forſaken of the inhabitants: but concerning
the place of the enemies abode,he could learne no certaintie. Whereupon it was by generall
conſent concluded,that they ſhould all goe to Vienna, whither all the ſtrength of the
Germans was already aſſembled,there to take a general view of the armie,and to giue the enemie K
battell if he ſhould againe returne. Some there were of great courage which openly diſliked
of that going to Vienna; ſaying,that the Emperour ſhould rather in that diſtreſſe of the
prouinces of Stiria and Carinthia purſue his enemie,than turne out of the way to Vienna. But
others of greater judgement, whoſe opinion preuailed, ſaid, It was one thing to inuade, and
another thing to defend: ſo that the Emperour might with honor enough encampe himſelfe
in the fields of Vienna, and from thence to expect and deride the baſe expedition and vaine
brags of his proud enemie,who a far off challenged him into the field,and then like a coward
durſt not come neere him.

Charles the Emperour his power at Vienna.

The Emperor comming to Vienna,and taking a generall view of the armie,found therein
two hundred and ſixtie thouſand men, whereof 90000 footmen, and 30000 horſemen were
accounted old expert ſoldiers,& of them many whole companies and bands, of ſuch as had
before bin Generals, Captains Lieutenants, Antients,or other officers and men of marke in L
other armies,and now were content to ſerue as priuat men. It was thought that ſo many worthy
captains and valiant ſouldiers,were neuer before in the memorie of man aſſembled together
into one camp: for the princes and free cities had not ſent thither common ſoldiers,but
their choſen and approued men; ſtriuing as it were amongſt themſelues, who ſhould ſend the
beſt. All the flowre and ſtrength of Germanie from the riuer of Viſtula to the Rhene, & from
the Ocean to the Alpes,was by the princes of the empire and free cities either ſent thither,
or of themſelues voluntarily came thither. A thing neuer before heard of, that all Germanie
ſhould as it were with one conſent,be glad to take vp arms for their cōmon ſafety,in defence M
of their honor and libertie; eſpecially againſt people brought out of the furtheſt parts of Aſia,
Syria, and Ægypt. Beſide the great number of Spaniards, Italians,and Burgundians; the Bohemian
campe lay not farre off,ſtrengthened with them of Silicia and Morauia. There were
alſo ſome troupes of Polonian horſemen,not ſent thither by publicke authoritie,but ſeruing

A as voluntary men: king *Sigiſmund* winking thereat, who as he was carefull not raſhly to break the league he had made with *Solyman*; ſo leſt he ſhould ſeeme careleſſe of the Chriſtian common cauſe, by notable diſſimulation left place for ſuch of his ſubiects as would (as if it had bin without his knowledge) to ſhew their valour in the moſt honourable warre.

The order of the Chriſtianitie.

The Chriſtian army ready to receiue the enemie, lay in a great field neere vnto Vienna, in this order: three great ſquadrons of pikemen, ſtanding one ſquadron a great way diſtant from another, were ſo placed againſt the enemie with like and equall front, that all the horſemen diuided into two parts, might well bee receiued into the great ſpaces betwixt the three ſquadrons: for it was not thought conuenient to oppoſe ſo ſmall a number of horſmen in open field without the footmen, againſt almoſt 300000 of the Turks horſemen. The right wing B of the horſemen was led by the Emperor himſelfe, and the left by king *Ferdinand*. Before and behind, and on euery ſide of the three ſquadrons of pikes, ſauing in thoſe places which were left open for the horſemen, about thirtie paces off, were placed twentie thouſand nimble harquebuſiers ranged in length, and but fiue in a ranke; ſo that whileſt the firſt diſcharged, the ſecond, and after them the third, and ſo the reſt readily and orderly comming on, might without let deliuer their bullets vpon their enemies: neither was it thought any diſaduantage to place them ſo thin, for that if they found themſelues by the enemies oppreſſed, they might eaſily retire amongſt the pikes, ſtanding faſt at hand. Before the harquebuſiers was planted the great ordnance, whereof the Emperor had ſuch ſtore, and ſo well placed, that he could there-C with (as with a moſt ſure trench) haue compaſſed in his whole army. Only the Hungarians, men well acquainted with the manner of the Turks fight, choſe to lie in the open field in two great wings, vnder the leading of their two valiant captaines *Valentinus* and *Paulus*. Many noble gentlemen beholding this goodly army, wept for ioy, conceiuing a moſt aſſured hope of victorie, if the proud enemy durſt with all his forces ioine in battell. But *Solyman*, who by all means ſought with his great number of horſemen to keep the wide and open fields, certainly aduertiſed both of the Emperors ſtrength and the manner of his lying, got him ouer the riuer of Mura, and at Marpurge by bridges which he made on the ſudden, paſſed ouer the great riuer Dranus. And ſo he which that Summer held almoſt all the world in ſuſpence, with the doubtfull expectation of the ſucceſſe of thar war; hauing with all that his huge power where-D with he threatned the world, done nothing at all worth the remembrance, but was in euery place either ouercome, or els ſhamefully repulſed; left Stiria, and returned the ſame way hee came, directly betwixt the riuers of Sauus and Dranus, to Belgrade, and ſo to Conſtantinople; leauing here and there ſome remembrance of his barbarous crueltie, and ſtil looking behinde him if the Emperour were not at his heeles: at ſuch time as a few Dalmatian and Croatian horſemen did ſtill purſue the taile of his army. It is reported, that he carried a way with him 30000 Chriſtians into captiuitie, beſides many thouſands of poore countrey people ſlain by the mercileſſe Turks; but eſpecially by *Caſon* and his followers: and ſo to his eternall infamy was twice in the ſpace of a few years driuen out of Germanie. The Emperor vnderſtanding of *Solymans* departure, determined with all ſpeed to returne into Italie; although king *Ferdinand* E his brother moſt earneſtly intreated him before his departure, in ſo fit a time to imploy thoſe great forces againſt king *Iohn*, who now as it were forſaken of *Solyman*, might eaſily with ſo puiſſant an army haue bin thruſt not only out of Buda, but alſo quite out of the kingdome of Hungarie, wherein he was by *Solyman* as his vaſſall placed. But the Emperour, for that Winter began now to approch, and the plague was got into the camp, yea euen into his court, continued in his former purpoſe of departing into Italie: yet yeelding ſo far vnto his brothers requeſt, as to leaue behind him all the Italians, who ioyned with king *Ferdinands* own forces, were thought ſufficient for the accompliſhment of the Hungarian warre.

Solyman returneth.

Ouer theſe Italians, one *Fabritius Maramaldus* was by the meanes of *Alphonſus Victius* appointed Generall: but no order taken for the paiment of their wages, whereby the ſouldiers F might be the more incouraged to take in hand that warre, and alſo kept in obedience. Which thing at the firſt much offended the minds of the other captains, thinking themſelues diſgraced by the preferment of *Maramaldus*, a man of no greater account than themſelues: but as ſoon as it was known abroad, the vnder captains & officers of the bands, led with the credit and fauor of their old captains, ſaid plainly, That they would not go into Hungarie, except either King *Ferdinand* would in perſon goe him ſelfe, or elſe one of the great Commanders, *Vaſtius*

or

The Italians left for the aid of king Ferdinand, ariſe in mutinie.

or *Leua* were appointed for their Generall: and the common ſouldiers ſaid flatly, that they would aske leaue to depart, except they had three moneths pay, which they knew well they ſhould neuer get of that poore king, already brought vnto great wants. *Vaſtius* to appeaſe this mutinie, trauelled greatly with his ſoldiers, perſuading them to remember the faith of ſoldiers, and by their conſtant perſeuerance to maintaine the honour they had got by their cheerfull comming: telling them, That valiant ſouldiers neuer wanted pay, furniſhing themſelues by their victories with all things neceſſary from the enemy. And as for *Maramaldus* their Generall, they had no iuſt cauſe to miſlike him being an old captain of great experience, for courage and policie not inferior to any of the greateſt Commanders, and placed by the Emperors owne appointment as a man moſt ſufficient, whoſe judgement they ought not in any caſe to diſlike. When *Vaſtius* had with theſe and ſuch like reaſons well appeaſed the tumultuous ſouldiers, and was gone out of the camp into Vienna, to take further order for the remedying of all difficulties, night the nurſe of ſedition came on, whoſe darkneſſe excluding all modeſty and feare, gaue further ſcope and place vnto the mutinous ſouldiers inſolencie. By chance there was at that time brought out of the citie into the campe very courſe, hoarie, moulded bread, which ſome of the ſouldiers hauing brought, and thruſting it vpon the points of their ſpeares, ſhewed it vnto their fellowes in great choller, railing againſt king *Ferdinand*, which in his owne kingdome in the beginning of the war had made no better prouiſion, but with ſuch corrupt and peſtilent bread to feed them being ſtrangers, which were onely for his defence and quarrell to aduenture their liues. And but a little before, a certaine Spaniard, beeing but a common ſouldier, comming into the Generals tent, and caſting the like bread down at the feet of *Vaſtius*, bitterly curſing the Emperour and king *Ferdinand*, had raiſed a wonderfull tumult: wherefore the Italian ſouldiers flocking together out of their tents, gaue many hard ſpeeches concerning their pay, their victuals, and the difficulties of the Hungarian war. There one *Titus Marconius* of Volaterra, a man of a troubleſome ſpirit, but reaſonably well ſpoken, was by the other ſouldiers ſet vp vpon a great heap of ſaddles, that he might be the better heard, and by diuers ſeditious captains requeſted frankly to ſpeake his mind, ſo far as he thought concerned the ſafety and welfare of them all. Where it is reported that he ſpake vnto them in this ſeditious manner as followeth:

The ſeditious oration of Titus Marconius, to the mutinous Italians.

And ſhall the Spaniards (ſaid hee) *beloued companions and fellowes in armes, as you haue heard, goe into Italie? and to our great hurt againe returne into their old Wintering places? and that which I am aſhamed to ſay, as notable gueſts lie with our wiues? and wee Italians as baniſhed men fight this Winter with yce and ſnow in Hungarie? and that forſooth for a moſt beggarly King, and him alſo to the Hungarians a forrener and meere ſtranger, againſt a naturall borne Prince, of his ſubiects well beloued and ſtrongly backt with the power and wealth of the Turkiſh Emperour? And that which might iuſtly grieue any couragious mind, vnder the conduct of* Maramaldus, *who oftentimes blinded with anger and haſtie crueltie, hath ſo furiouſly thruſt vs thorow with his ſword, that hee ſeemeth not more to deſire the name of a captaine for any thing, than for the killing and murthering of vs now his ſouldiers. Neither can I beleeue that you, who haue oftentimes beene captaines and antients your ſelues, will be ſo mad, as to ſerue vnder a common captaine, without hope of any pay, of any prouiſion, of victorie, or returne. Truely it delighteth me not ſo much to haue come hither for the honour of the Italian name (no more reckoned of than a ruſh) although I haue eleuen times ſerued; as it doth this day aſhame mee to ſee this ſhamefull end of the warre, ended before it was well begun. But in Regall dignitie is no ſhame, nor equitie in rewarding the ſouldier: for Kings now adayes make account of ſouldiers onely according to their neceſſitie; this is it alone that giueth vs pay, this is that getteth vs loue, this is it maintaineth our reputation: all which, peace once by victorie obtained, leeſe their grace. So fareth it with vs at this preſent (fellow ſouldiers) the Emperour and his brother king* Ferdinand, *deliuered from the feare of a moſt dangerous warre, to eaſe themſelues of this multitude of vs, ſeeke to thruſt vs into Hungarie as beaſts to the ſlaughter, by the ſpending of our bloud hoping to purchaſe vnto themſelues victorie; and by the loſſe of vs to take no harme themſelues, though the Turks and Hungarians ſhould with ſword and famine vtterly deſtroy vs, ſhut vp with the yce of Danubius and the ſnow of the Alpes. But peraduenture you vnderſtand not theſe deuiſes, no more than you vnderſtand what this terrible and bloudie* * *comet, ſhooting his beames towards Italie, pretendeth. Verily it is not fatall either to* Solyman *or* Cæſar, *but rather threatneth vnto vs death and*

At this very time a great blazing ſtar was ſeene in the firmament at Vi- [illegible] *deſtruction; for they with like counſell full of ſafetie and diſcretion, would not open any way vnto their owne deſtinies, but warily withdrew themſelues one from the other, and ſhunned all the dangers of the field. Wherefore if it were lawfull for them, without any blemiſh of their Maieſties, ſo notably to prouide to keepe themſelues out of danger, when as on each ſide halfe the world lay as a reward of the victorie; ſhall not we looke to our ſelues, that we be not thruſt thither from whence appeareth no hope of returne, but with vtter deſtruction, when as we may do it without offence, and by good right, eſpecially ſeeing no pay is offered vs. Thus you ſee what a goodly end is made of this notable war, wherein only we the Italians, in ſtead of commendation and reward, reape iniurie and diſgrace: and are peraduenture of purpoſe exiled into Hungarie, that this floure of chiualrie being drawne out of Italie, and ſent far out of the way, colonies of Spaniards and Germanes may be placed in our ſteads. Truly it ſeemeth hard dealing, to be ſent out of the way into a barbarous countrey, where we ſhall find all hoſtilitie, and no place of refuge to receiue vs, being diſtreſſed. Beſides this, we ſhall alſo whether we wil or no, feele how heauie and intolerable it will be both to our bodies and minds, to endure the miſeries of this Winter and dangerous war: and in the meane time, with no ſmall hearts griefe imagine what things our children, our brethren, our kinſemen, yea our wiues, ſuffer at home of the Spaniards and Germanes. Wherefore worthie companions, it concerneth vs more at this time to haue a good foreſight, than valiantly to fight. The occaſion preſented vnto vs for our ſafety and welfare, ſtandeth vpon a tickle point, it muſt be done without delay, and we muſt hie vs hence before that the Spaniards truſſe vp their baggage; and ſo preuenting the emperors formoſt companies, come firſt our ſelues into Italie: for if we ſhall ſtay but a little to conſult vpon the matter,* Vaſtius *and our other proud commanders will preſently be here, the verie betrayers of the Italian bloud, who for their owne gaine and our miſchiefe, haue brought vs into theſe ſtraits; who I know will moſt earneſtly entreat vs, and with many ſubtelties ſeeke to ſeduce vs, by offering vs great pay, and whatſoeuer elſe we ſhall require; which will all prooue but words. But you, if you be men, refuſe to talke with them, as with your common enemies, or rather in reuenge of their old iniuries kill them. Here wanteth not in this aſſemblie valiant men, for courage and integritie of life their betters far, which can leade you forth, order your battell, and fortunatly vſe this your courage and forwardneſſe. Wherefore if you be wiſe ſet forward reſolutely, and good fortune no doubt will attend you in your haſt; for the full accompliſhment of your deſire conſiſteth in your haſt onely.*

8000 of the Italians in mutine, forſake their captaines, and returne into Italie.

Marconius had no ſooner made an end of this mutinous ſpeech, but the tumultuous ſouldiers in euery band began highly to commend and approoue the ſame, and by and by ſuch a confuſed noyſe was heard through all the aſſemblie, as vſeth to riſe amongſt the diſcontented vulgar people, readie to riſe in armes: but the drums preſently ſtriking vp a march, they made no longer ſtay, but without delay pluckt vp their enſignes, and forward they goe directly towards Neoſtat. In this tumult, in ſtead of their old captaines, which either were not then preſent, or refuſed to go with them, they choſe others to be their Leaders: who once named by the ſeditious multitude, might in no caſe without danger refuſe to take the charge vpon them, were they neuer ſo vnwilling. Theſe were *Montebellius*, *Nerius*, *Melcarius*, *Sanctius*, and the two twins of Millan, called *Gluſſani*: who drew after them eight thouſand ſouldiers; the reſt partly for ſhame, and partly for feare, ſtayed ſtill with *Maramaldus* their new appointed General. When they were thus gone, *Vaſtius* and diuers other great companies hearing thereof in the citie, poſted after them ſix miles, and at length ouertaking them, requeſted them to ſtay, and not to diſhonour themſelues with ſo foule a fact; telling them that their pay was readie for them; and omitting nothing wherewith they might haue bin moued to ſtay, mingled their prayers with grieuous threats: but they reſolutely ſet downe, would neither heare nor ſtay; but as men inraged with furie and their owne guiltie conſcience, with ſterne looks diſcharged ſome ſmall ſhot vpon them. Whileſt *Vaſtius* would there haue ſtayed the companie, and did what he poſſibly could by threatning and otherwiſe, to haue terrified their leaders, and to haue brought them backe, he was oftentimes in danger to haue bin ſlaine. In the end hee was glad to forſake them, and to returne as he came. King *Ferdinand* by this ſudden departure of the Italians, for that time diſappointed of all his hope of recouering the kingdome of Hungarie from king *Iohn*; in great choller wrot vnto his ſubiects of Styria and Carynthia, whereby the Italians were to paſſe, That they ſhould ſhew them no manner of curteſie in their paſſage: whereupon inſued great hurt on both ſides. Yet for all that, theſe Italians in deſpight of what could be done, at length recouered Tiliauentum in the borders of Italie, where they disbanded

Charles the emperor returneth into Italy.

ded themſelues,and returned euerie man to his owne dwelling, leauing King **Ferdinand** vnto G his owne forces. The Emperour alſo breaking vp his armie at Vienna, and purpoſing now as before,to returne into Italie,appointed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* to go formoſt with the light horſemen,with whom alſo he went himſelfe: after him followed *Vaſtius* with the Spaniards; two dayes after came the Cardinall, whoſe traine was of all the greateſt: laſt of all followed the mercinarie Germanes: in which order he returned in ſafetie into Italie.

This was the end of thoſe wonderfull preparations made by the two great monarchs *Solyman* and *Charles* the fift, in the yeare 1532, which held the world in great ſuſpence with the fearefull expectation of ſome maruelous alteration; and ſo much the more, for that at the ſame time appeared a great blazing ſtar by the ſpace of fifteene dayes. All which for all that, H God ſo appointing,ſorted to far leſſe harme than was of moſt men feared.

Auria goeth againſt the Turks.

Now whileſt *Charles* the Emperour was thus in armes againſt *Solyman* in Auſtria, *Andreas Auria* by his appointment,with a fleet of thirty fiue tall ſhips and fortie eight gallies,wherein he had embarked twentie fiue thouſand good ſouldiers well appointed, did in the meane time wonderfully annoy the Turks in Peloponeſus. With this fleet *Auria* departing from Meſſana in Sicilia, and paſſing alongſt the coaſt of Italie,into the Iönian,neere vnto the Iſle of Zacynthus met with *Vincentius Capellius* the Venetian Admirall, with a fleet of ſixtie gallies ſet forth by the Venetians for defence of their Territorie: who offered vnto *Auria* all poſſible kindeneſſe, but excuſed himſelfe,that he could not ioyne with him in that war againſt the common enemie, by reaſon of an old league betwixt the Turks and the Venetians, which *Solyman* I had but a little before renewed. So that at that time the Venetians ſtood as men indifferent betwixt *Charles* the Emperour and *Solyman*, offering like kindeneſſe to both, but taking part with neither, yet in readineſſe to fall out with either, if they ſhould by ſea or land offer any iniurie to their State: wherein they bare themſelues ſo indifferent, that it was thought, that they at one and the ſelfe ſame inſtant aduertiſed *Auria*, That *Hymerales* the Turkes Admirall lay with his fleet of ſixtie Gallies euill appointed, in the Bay of Ambracia, where hee might eaſily be ſurpriſed; and gaue likewiſe warning to him of the comming of *Auria* with a ſtrong fleet, wiſhing him in time to prouide for his better ſafetie, by retyring his fleet into ſome other place of more aſſurance: which he preſently did; for knowing himſelf too weak, hee departed from Ambracia, to the ſtrong hauen of Calcide. Which thing with other like, K well conſidered,might giue iuſt cauſe to any Chriſtian heart,to bewaile the ſtate of that time, wherein the Chriſtian Princes being either in mortall wars amongſt themſelues,or intangled by *Solyman* with leagues of no aſſurance,omitted the faireſt opportunitie that could haue been wiſhed for the abating of the Turks greatneſſe: for if the Venetians ioyning their forces with *Auria*,had in time purſued the Turkiſh Admirall, it was like,that not onely all *Solymans* power at ſea had bin vtterly diſcomfited; but alſo moſt part of Grecia,mindfull of their antient empire and libertie, and then readie to haue rebelled, and ioyned hands with the Chriſtians, might haue been recouered out of the Turkiſh thraldome; yea and the Imperiall city of Conſtantinople greatly indangered,few or none being left for the defence thereof,beſide yong Ianizaries and effœminate Eunuchs, the heartleſſe keepers of the Turkes Concubines; *Solyman* L himſelfe being then far off in Hungarie, and hauing drawne with him the greateſt ſtrength of his Empire.

Auria beſiegeth Corone in Peloponeſus.

Auria taking his leaue of the Venetian Admirall, with much honour done at ſea on both ſides; was ſhortly after aduertiſed,That the Turks Admirall was fled to Calcide. Wherefore now out of hope to do any good againſt him, he directed his courſe to Corone (which is a ſtrong citie vpon the coaſt of Peloponeſus, about twelue miles diſtant from Modon) with purpoſe to beſiege it: which when he had well viewed,and conſidered of the ſtrength thereof,he laid ſiege thereto both by ſea and land,battering it moſt terribly at one time with fourteen great pieces of artillerie by land, and a hundred and fiftie by ſea, ſo that a more terrible batterie had not beene lightly heard of: for all that, the Turks valiantly ſtood vpon their defence, and manfully repulſed the Italians, which vnder the leading of the Countie of Sarne M aſſaulted the citie by land. The Turkiſh garriſons lying about in the countrey of Peloponeſus,did what they might to haue relieued the citie; who by the valour of the ſaid Countie were diſcomfited,and *Zadares* their chiefe leader ſlaine: whoſe head,with others of the ſlain Turks,were ſet vpon ſtakes,to the terror of the defendants.

A At length the Turks wearied with aſſaults, and terrified with the thundring ſhot which neuer ſeaſed, and driuen alſo from their greateſt ſtrength towards ſea, by the deſperate aſſault of certaine reſolute Chriſtians, whom they had now full ſore againſt their wills receiued as it were into their boſomes; fearing alſo to want victuall and pouder, if they ſhould longer hold out without any hope of relief, yeelded the citie and caſtle to *Auria*, vpon condition that they might in ſafetie depart thence with bag and baggage. Corone thus taken, and a ſtrong garriſon of Spaniards there placed, and the Chriſtian Greeks which dwelt in the citie ſworn vnto them, *Auria* put to ſea with his fleet, and ſailing againe by Zazinthus, came to Patras another antient citie of Peloponeſus, which he eaſily tooke and ranſacked: for the Turks diſtruſting the ſtrength of the Citie, had ſtrongly intrenched themſelues neere vnto the Caſtle; which B place alſo, together with the caſtle, they in ſhort time yeelded to *Auria*; couenanting, that they, & eſpecially their wiues, might with their garments only depart in ſafetie into Ætolia: which was by *Auria* ſo preciſely performed, that when three thouſand of them paſſed along through the armie of the Chriſtians, ranged on both ſides, and ſome of the ſouldiers began rudely to handle ſome of the women, and to take from them ſome of their jewels, he cauſed them preſently, to the terror of others, to be hanged. *Auria* leauing his armie at Patras, with commandment to follow him by land, ſailed alongſt the coaſt of Peloponeſus, vntill he came to the ſtrait of Naupactum, now called Lepanto, which is the entrance into the gulfe of Corinthia, parting Peloponeſus from Ætolia, with a ſtrait ſomewhat narrower than the ſtrait of C Helleſpont. Vpon this ſtrait ſtood two caſtles, the one called Rhium, vpon the coaſt of Peloponeſus, and the other Molycreum in Ætolia, which *Baiazet* had wonderfully fortified, and ſtored with ordnance for the keeping of that ſtrait. *Auria* threatning all extremitie vnto the captaine of the caſtle on Peloponeſus ſide, if he did enforce him to plant his batterie, ſo terrified him, that he without delay yeelded vnto him the caſtle; couenanting onely, That he and his ſoldiers might in ſafetie depart thence: which granted, and the Turks departed, *Auria* gaue the ſpoile of the caſtle vnto his ſoldiers which came with him by ſea: whereby he ſo offended the mindes of the other ſouldiers which came by land from Patras, that they were about to haue forſaken him. The other caſtle vpon Ætolia ſide was not ſo eaſily taken, being valiantly defended by a garriſon of old Ianizaries, appointed for the keeping thereof. Yet in D the end by furie of the ordnance a breach was made, wherby the Chriſtians forcibly entring, ſlew three hundred of the old garriſon ſoldiers, not taking any one to mercie: the reſt fled into a ſtrong tower in the midſt of the caſtle, where ſeeing no remedie but that they muſt needs fall into the hands of their enemies, they deſperatly blew vp themſelues, and the tower, with a great part of the caſtle, with gunpouder, in ſuch ſort, that it ſeemed all the ſea coaſt to haue bin ſhaken with an earthquake; and the gallies which lay a bow ſhoot off, were almoſt ouerwhelmed with ſtones blown out ſo far off. The great ordinance taken in this caſtle was valued at 70000 duckats; whereof certaine pieces of a wonderfull greatneſſe, with Arabian letters written vpon them, were afterwards by *Auria* brought to Genoa; and in remembrance of the victorie, mounted vpon the bulwarke at the mouth of the hauen. All theſe things thus E happily atchieued, *Auria* ſtrongly fortified the citie of Corone, ſtoring it both with munition and plentie of victuall, committing the defence thereof to *Mendoza* a valiant Spaniard, with a ſtrong garriſon of Spaniards; promiſing of his owne charge to relieue him whenſoeuer he ſhould need, if the Emperor ſhould defer to do it. The ſtrait of Naupactum laid open, *Saluiatus* with the gallies of Malta ſcoured all alongſt the gulfe of Corinth, doing great harme vnto the Turks which dwelt on both ſides of the gulfe, ſpoyling and terrifying them euen as far as Corinth. Not long after, Winter now approching, *Auria* receiuing letters from the Emperor, of *Solymans* departure out of Hungarie, returned with his fleet loaded with the ſpoile of the Turks, to Naples, and ſo from thence home to Genoa.

Corone yeelded to Auria by the Turks.

Patras taken & ranſacked by Auria.

Auria returneth to Italie.

In the beginning of the Spring following (which was the yere 1533) it was rifely reported F that the Turks were comming with a great fleet toward Peloponeſus: and not long after, *Mendoza* gouernor of Corone, by letters aduertiſed *Peter* of Toledo, Vizroy of Naples, That he was both by ſea and land hardly beſieged by the Turks; and that he would to the vttermoſt of his power valiantly defend the citie, ſo long as he had any prouiſion of victuall: Wherfore he moſt earneſtly requeſted, That if the Emperour would haue the towne kept, hee ſhould in time ſend him reliefe, whereupon the oppreſſed Grecians taking heart, were like ynough to

1533.

The Turks beſiege Corone.

Auria ſent by the emperor to relieue Corone.

to rebell,and to helpe to expulſe the Turks quite out of Peloponeſus. But aboue all things he forgot not to craue ſpeedie aid of *Auria*,and to put him in minde of the faithfull promiſe he had made to relieue him at his need. Vpon this newes,*Charles* the Emperor commanded *Auria* his Admirall,to rig vp a conuenient fleet for that ſeruice,promiſing forthwith to ſend vnto him twelue gallies, which he had new built in Spaine. Hee alſo requeſted the Knights of Malta to aid him with their gallies againſt that common enemie. Wherefore *Auria* hauing with wonderfull celeritie rigged vp thirtie tall ſhips, and as many gallies, came to Naples to take in his ſoldiers: there the old garriſons of the Spaniards which for want of pay were riſen in mutinie againſt the great commander and Generall *Vaſtius* and the Viceroy, and had riſeled the citie of Auerſa, and done no little harme all about in the countrey of Campania, were again pacified by a pay giuen vnto them,and preſently embarked for Corone,vnder the command of *Rodericus Macicaus* their General; at which time alſo *Fredericke* of Toledo the Viceroy's ſon,with a companie of braue gentlemen went aboord,vowing vnto the ſacred war that their firſt ſeruice.The knights of Malta came thither alſo with their gallies. But whilſt theſe things were a doing,*Auria* to incourage them of Corone,for feare leſt they diſpairing of help, ſhould fall to ſome hard compoſition with the Turkes; ſent *Chriſtopher Palauicine* a reſolute yong gentleman of an inuincible courage, with a moſt ſwift gallie to Corone: who by daylight paſſing through the midſt of the Turks fleet,ſafely recouered the hauen,to the great joy of the beſieged Chriſtians: and ſhortly after when he had well viewed all things he was ſent for,with the ſtrength and manner of the enemies lying,and filled the minds of the defendants with aſſured hope of ſpeedie reſcue; about noon time of the day he ſuddenly brake out again through the midſt of his enemies, and as it were miraculouſly eſcaped in ſafetie, for all that they could do,although they ceaſed not to giue him chace ſo long as they were in any hope to haue ouertaken him. *Auria* departing from Naples,came to Meſſana,where he certainly informed of the enemies force both by ſea and land,with the number of their gallies,and ſeeing that the chiefe hope of relieuing of the citie conſiſted in celeritie, ſtaied not for the gallies he expected out of Spaine, but held on his courſe towards Grecia: for it was told him,that the enemies fleet dayly increaſed,by the comming in of the Turkiſh pirats; and that *Aſſem-Beg* (otherwiſe called the Moore of Alexandria, an arch pirat) was ſtill looked for, in whoſe good directions the Turkiſh captaines repoſed the greateſt hope of their victorie. When he was come as far as Zazynthus, he was informed by the Venetians, That *Luſtibeius Baſſa* (or rather *Lutzis Baſſa* the Turks great Admirall,and *Solymans* brother in law) with *Solyman* of Acarnania,and the Moore (men for their skil at ſea,of great fame and reputation)lay before Corone, with 80 gallies manned with diuers companies of the old Ianizaries; ſo that it was thought a matter of exceeding perill for him to aduenture to relieue the town, except he tooke the aduantage of ſome proſperous gale of winde. Wherefore *Auria* to haue yet more certain knowledge of the enemies fleet,ſent before him *Chriſtopher Palauicine* with one gallie,again to view the manner of the enemies lying: who paſſing the promontorie of Acrites, ſaw all the Turkes great fleet lying in verie good order before the citie: and ſo returned to *Auria*, confirming that the Venetians had before reported, and that the Turks fleet was greatly increaſed, & lay readie as it ſhould ſeem to giue him battell as ſoon as he ſhould approch the citie. For all that, *Auria* nothing diſmaid with the greatneſſe of the Turks fleet,made no ſtay,but ſtil kept on his courſe, and with a faire gale of winde paſſing the promontorie of Acrytes, came directly towards Corone. Two great gallions,of all the fleet the moſt warrelike ſhippes,came formoſt; whereof the one was *Auria's* own,which he had built with a wonderfull charge;and the other was of Sicilia. Theſe two great ſhips were appointed by *Auria* to turne a little vpon the left hand; and at ſuch time as the enemie ſhould ſet forward from the ſhore, to caſt anchor betwixt both the fleets; that as occaſion ſhould ſerue, they might as out of two ſtrong Caſtles, beat the Turks gallies with their great ordnance, wherewith they were for that purpoſe wonderfully ſtored. Next vnto theſe great gallions followed the other warlike ſhips with ful ſails: after whom came the gallies in three ſquadrons, wherof *Saluiatus* had the leading of the right wing, which conſiſted of the Biſhop of Rome's gallies & them of Malta: in the left wing and neere vnto the enemie, commanded *Antonius Auria*: and in the middle was *Auria* himſelfe. At the firſt ſight of the Chriſtian fleet, the Turks mooued not from the ſhore, but diſcharged their ordnance at them afar off, and then begun to ſet forward and to draw neerer; eſpecially the

The order of Auria his fleet before Corone.

A the Moore, who with greater courage than the reſt, aſſailed the ſide and rereward of the fleet: for the Chriſtians keeping on their courſe right forth to Corone, and turning nothing to the left hand, as was before appointed, ſeemed as if they had fled; and ſo much the more, for that the gallies in the right wing, for feare of the Turkes great ordnance, did fet a great compaſſe farther off into the ſea, and many of the middle ſquadron and of the left wing alſo, had diſorderly thruſt themſelues in amongſt the ſhips, although they had receiued little or no harme of the enemies great ſhot.

The Chriſtian fleet diſordred.

In this confuſion of the Chriſtian Nauie, the Moore requeſted *Lutzis* the Admirall, not to let ſlip ſo faire an occaſion, wherein the Chriſtian fleet might eaſily haue bin ouerthrowne: but whileſt *LutZis* doth ſlowly and conſideratly ſet forward, *Auria* in the meane time had put B his fleet again in order, and with a faire wind was come to Corone. Two of the ſhips by the way falling foule one on another, ſtaid behind, being not able to keep way with the reſt: about which all the Turks gallies preſently flockt, and tooke the leſſer of them, killing all the Spaniards they found therein. Out of this they boorded the greater, and with a bloudie fight had woon the forecaſtle & waſt of the ſhip: when *Auria*, accounting it no ſmal diſhonor to haue his ſhips ſo ſurpriſed at his heeles, cauſed all his gallies to turne againe vpon the enemie, to reſcue thoſe ſhips. The Turks ſeeing that, and with the Weſternly wind by little and little fallen down ſo far with the ſhips, that they were come within the danger of the ſhot of the town, began with great ſtir to forſake the ſhips, and to betake themſelues to their oares, and ſo in manner C of flight withdrew themſelues. Whom *Auria* purſued a good way to Modon, thundring in their poupes with his great ſhot, which he liberally beſtowed amongſt them: whileſt in the mean time *Antonius Auria* came to reſcue the two diſtreſſed ſhips. There the Spaniards which but a little before had hardly maintained their cloſe fights, began now as men reuiued, to ſhew themſelues, and couragiouſly to make reſiſtance: and they which came with *Antonius Auria* to their reſcue, entring with wonderful celeritie on euery ſide, ſlew and tooke 300 Ianizaries, which with great courage had entred thoſe ſhips, and were there left by the ſudden departure of their fellows. Amongſt whom was taken one *Ioſuphus* an old captain of 1000 Ianizaries; to whom *Auria* after he was come to Corone, gaue a faire ſuit of apparell & a chain of gold, and ſo ſet him at libertie without any ranſome; thereby to prouoke the Turks to the D like kind of curteous dealing with the Chriſtians. *Aſſam-beg* the pyrat, and the other captaines of the Turks fleet, wonderfully blamed *Lutzis* the Admirall, for that he would not then fight with the Chriſtians, when as he was thereto moſt earneſtly requeſted both by the Captains and ſoldiers in generall, and had a faire opportunitie of victorie offered at ſuch time as the Chriſtians fleet was diſordred: but he excuſed himſelfe, ſaying, That it was giuen him in ſpeciall charge from *Solyman* the Emperor, That he ſhould in any caſe reſpect the ſafetie of his nauie, and not to come to the hazard of a battell. The Turks which beſieged the citie by land, vpon the approch of the Chriſtian fleet, forſooke their trenches and fled: at which time *Mendoza* the gouernor ſallying out, tooke great ſtore of victuall and warlike prouiſion which the Turks had for haſt left behind them. So *Auria* to his great honor hauing driuen the Turks E from Corone both by ſea and land, furniſhed the citie with ſtore of corne, wine, victuall, pouder, and ſhot; and committed the defence thereof to *Macicaus* and the companies of the mutinous Spaniards which he had brought from Naples: comforting the Greeks, and exhorting them, patiently for a while to endure thoſe calamities of war; telling them that the Emperor would the next Spring make war againſt the Turks both by ſea and land in Peloponeſus, and free them from the Turkiſh bondage. And ſo imbarking the old garriſon of Spaniards, departed from Corone, and came before Modon, where he lay as it were brauing the Turks Admirall, hoping thereby to draw him out of that ſtrong harbor to battell. But when he ſaw that the enemie could by no meanes be allured out of his ſtrength, or aſſailed as he lay, he departed thence to Corcyra, and ſo backe againe to Meſſana in Sicilia.

Auria arriueth at Corone.

The Turks fleet flies to Modon.

Corone relieued by Auria.

Auria returneth, and before Modon braueth the Turks fleet.

F Within a few dayes after, *Aſſam-beg* the Moore of Alexandria and moſt famous Pyrat, lying in wait for the Merchants ſhips of Venice comming out of Syria with merchandiſe, by chance met with *Hieronimus Canalis* vpon the coaſt of Crete: where in the night time was fought betwixt them a fierce and cruell battell; wherein of the Moores thirteene Gallies, foure were ſunke, three taken, and the reſt hauing loſt moſt part of their rowers, fled to Alexandria. In this fight was ſlaine three hundred Ianizaries which were going to Caire, and a thou-

The Moore of Alexandria wel beaten, & taken by Canalis the Venetian.

thouſand other Turks: of all them that was taken, there was ſcarcely one ſaued, but the Moore himſelfe, who grieuouſly wounded in the face, for ſafegard of his life was glad to diſcouer himſelfe: for the Venetians maintaining their ſtate by trade & traffique, do of all other ſhew leſt fauor vnto pyrats. When the Moore had made himſelfe knowne vnto *Canalis*, there was great care taken for the curing of his wounds, and either of them began with notable diſſimulation to excuſe the matter to other, ſaying, That they were both deceiued by the likeneſſe of the gallies, & miſtaking of their friends for enemies: when as for all that, they knew one another right well. For the Moore ſaid, that he tooke thoſe Venetian gallies for to haue bin part of *Auria* his fleet: and *Canalis* excuſed himſelfe, by ſaying, that he miſtooke him for *Barbaruſſa*, who a few yeares before had ſurpriſed three of the Venetian gallies. Yet the Venetians doubting how *Solyman* would take the matter, by their embaſſador ſought to excuſe what was done, as a thing happening by errour and miſchance: of which excuſe *Solyman* accepted, and ſaid moreouer, that *Canalis* had done wel and ſouldier like, to repulſe by force the wrong that was offered him. Three of the emperors gallies ſtaying behind the reſt of the fleet, were neere vnto the promontorie Palinurus, vpon the coaſt of Apulia, intercepted and carried away by *Sinam*, ſurnamed the Iew, a notable pyrat of that time alſo.

The garriſon ſouldiers of Corone deſire of their general to be brought to ſome ſeruice.

Macicaus gouernour of Corone goeth out to ſurpriſe Andruſſa.

The Winter following, the Spaniards and Greeks in Corone began to want victuals, eſpecially wine and fleſh: for the Turks had ſo blocked vp the city, that nothing was to be had out of the countrey; wherefore the ſouldiers requeſted *Macicaus* their Gouernour and Generall, to lead them forth to ſome piece of ſeruice againſt the enemie, forſomuch as they were not to hope for any relief elſwhere before April, wiſhing rather valiantly to die like men in fight againſt the Turks, than to languiſh within thoſe dead wals for want of victuall. But *Macicaus* mindfull of his charge, ſought by many reaſons to diſſuade them from ſuch purpoſe, ſhewing them what an offence it were raſhly to depart out of the city committed to their cuſtody, which might be vnto them dangerous, although they ſhould ſpeed neuer ſo wel; & that thoſe wants which they rather feared than felt, would well enough be ouercome by ſparing and patience: and therefore told them plainly, that he was reſolutely ſet downe to keep the city for the Emperor, and to indure all hardnes, rather than to incurre the infamie, That he had forſaken the citie, and betraid his garriſon. Yet for all this, the matter was ſo vrged by *Didacus Touarres* and *Hermoſilla*, both great captains, and by the generall importunitie of the ſoldiers, that *Macicaus* was inforced to yeeld to their deſire, and to promiſe them to goe: yet earneſtly proteſting, that he did it altogether againſt his will, rather inforced than perſuaded vnto that, whereof he had no great hope of ſucceſſe. Among other that were ſo forward in this action, was one *Barbatius*, a moſt valiant Greeke, who could perfectly ſpeake the Turks language, and of all others beſt knew the by-waies and ſecret paſſages of the countrie: he vndertooke to bee their guide, and by vnknown waies to bring them vnto the enemies vndiſcouered in the dead time of the night, when as they feared no ſuch matter. So *Macicaus* commending the cuſtodie of the citie to *Liſcanius* and *Mendeſius*, with charge that they ſhould ſuffer no man to goe out of the city after his departure, for feare of giuing any knowledge vnto the enemy, ſet forward about ten a clocke in the night towards Andruſſa, *Barbatius* being his guide, who ſhunning the common beaten waies, brought them by ſecret and vncouth paths that night halfe the way to Andruſſa: but vpon the riſing of the Sun he brought them into a ſecret woody valley, where they reſted and refreſhed themſelues all that day, and ſetting forward againe at night, came to Andruſſa before day. In this towne, which was of no great ſtrength, lay one *Caranus*, a warlike captaine with three thouſand footmen, whereof the one halfe was of the Ianizaries; and in the ſuburbes lay *Acomates* with a thouſand choſen horſemen, with which garriſon the Turks kept all that ſide of Peloponeſus in awe. *Macicaus* brought by his guide vnto the place where his enemies lay, went directly to the towne to haue ſurpriſed it: *Hermoſilla* in the meane time ſtanding ſtill with certain companies of Spaniards ouer againſt the place where the horſemen lay. But this could not be don with ſo great ſilence, but that ſome of the horſeboies being awake, diſcouered them by the fire in their matches; who firſt awaked the negligent watchmen, and afterwards raiſed an alarme in the ſuburbs: whereupon *Hermoſilla* couragiouſly ſet vpon the horſemen, beeing altogether vnreadie, and ſlew many of them before they could arme themſelues, and ſet fire alſo vpon the ſtables wherein the Turks horſes ſtood, with the rage whereof many of the Turkes periſhed, with their horſes and armour. Great and terrible was the

A noiſe raiſed vpon the ſudden in the ſuburbs,but eſpecially of the horſes,which burnt as they
ſtood faſt tied in the ſtables,or by chance breaking looſe, ran vp and downe with their tayles
and maines on a light fire ; by occaſion whereof, an alarum was raiſed in the towne, and the
Turks to got the wals before the Spaniards could enter. ***Macicaus*** himſelf laboring to break in
at a poſterne,was ſhot in the head with a ſmall ſhot, and ſlaine: diuers others neere vnto him
were there ſlaine alſo. The Turks perceiuing the ſmall number of their enemies, ſallied out
vpon them, and enforced them to retire to ***Hermoſilla***, who had alreadie made great ſpoile amongſt
the horſemen,by whoſe skilful direction,the Spaniards retired in ſo good order,making
many ſtands,with their harquebuſiers all drawn into the rereward,that ſuch of the Turks
as were moſt forward to purſue them,did by their death cauſe the reſt to make leſſe haſt. ***Acomates***
B with ſuch of his horſemen as had eſcaped the fire,haſted thither alſo,bringing with him
two hundred harquebuſiers, which he had cauſed his horſemen for haſt to take vp behinde
them vpon their horſes : but whileſt he ſought eagerly to be reuenged vpon his enemies,and
with too much heat preſſed on with the formoſt,he was ſhot into the bodie with a bullet and
ſlain. So the horſmen which had before receiued a great loſſe as they lay in their lodgings,accounting
it in their good haps that they were not there all ſlaine, and hauiug now loſt their
captain,ceaſed any further to purſue their enemies,but returned. The Spaniards and Greekes,
although they were wearied both with their long march and euill ſucceſſe,retired ſtill as reſolute
men,ready to fight,and ſo teturned to Corone. Preſently after,the Turkiſh garriſon remoued
from Andruſſa to Megalopolis, now called Londarium : after whoſe departure the
C Chriſtian ſouldiers of Corone came thither and buried the dead bodies of their ſlaine fellows
(which till then lay vnburied) and brought backe with them the head of ***Macicaus*** their late
General,which the Turks had there ſet vp vpon a long pole,which they honorably buried at
Corone. Not long after,the plague began to grow hot in Coron,ſo much the more grieuous,
for that it came accompanied with many other hard difficulties. For which cauſes,the Spaniards
as men at once inforced with many extremities, imbarked themſelues with all the great
ordnance,and ſuch Greekes as would go with them, in certaine ſhips which came with corne
out of Sicilia,and ſo departed, leauing the towne emptie for the Turks to come vnto.

Macicaus ſlain

Corone forſaken by the Spaniards.

It was commonly reported,that the Spaniards left Corone not without the ſecret conſent
of the Emperor,which was the rather thought to be ſo, becauſe that they which forſook the
D place,receiued thereby no diſgrace,and the Emperor himſelfe had offered to giue the towne
to ***Clement*** Biſhop of Rome,the Venetians and the knights of Malta,who all refuſed to receiue
it, as loath to be at ſo great a charge in keeping a place ſeruing for no greater purpoſe ; the
very cauſe why the emperor was ſo willing to part with it. Now ***Clement*** the great Biſhop had
by meanes of ***Aloyſius Grittus*** made a motion of a peace, to haue bin concluded for ten yeres
betwixt ***Solyman*** and the Chriſtian princes,and thereupon the towne to haue been againe deliuered
vnto the Turkes : which peace ***Solyman*** was not altogether vnwilling to grant, beeing
then wholly bent to inuade the Perſian king. ***Ferdinaud*** was alſo in good hope that his brother
Charles the Emperour, would for the yeelding vp of that towne haue couenanted with the
Turke ſome great matter for his benefit in Hungarie, which as was thought would alſo haue
E been eaſily obtained. But whileſt the Emperor drawne diuerſly with the conſideration of his
honour in keeping it,and of his profit in giuing it vp,ſtood too long in reſoluing,the towne in
the meane time was by the Spaniards (their neceſſitie daily increaſing) abandoned,and ſo left
to the Turks for nothing.

1534

Solyman now purpoſing to turne his forces againſt the Perſians,of whom he had in the frontiers
of his dominions receiued great hurt,eſpecielly in Comagene; renewed the league hee
had with the Venetians, and ſome other Chriſtian princes : but of all other his affaires with
the Chriſtians,he was moſt carefull of the intereſt he had already gotten in Hungarie. For it
was reported,that king ***Iohn*** his vaſſall induced by the continuall ſolicitations of his ſubiects,
was deſirous of peace with king ***Ferdinand***, vpon condition that hee might quietly enioy the
F kingdome during his life : and after his deceaſe it to remaine to king ***Ferdinand*** and his heires.
Wherfore ***Solyman***, that nothing ſhould be there done in his abſence without his knowledge,
ſent ***Aloyſius Grittus*** the Duke of Venice his ſon (of whom we haue before ſpoken (a man both
for the honour of his houſe, the good carriage of himſelfe, and the ſpeciall commendation of
Abraham the chiefe Baſſa,in great credit with him : with commiſſion as his Lieutenant to bee

Aloyſius Grittus the duke of Venice his ſon, Solymans lieutenant in Hungarie to ouerſee king Iohn.

aſſiſtant vnto king *Iohn*, in ſuch magnificall ſort, as that without him the king might conclude nothing in matters of ſtate, concerning either peace or warres, with any other the Chriſtian princes. With this proud commiſſion from the grand Seignior, *Grittus* entred into Tranſyluania, then a part of the kingdome of Hungarie (much about the ſame time that *Solyman* ſet forward from Conſtantinople againſt the Perſian) attended vpon with ſeuen thouſaed perſons of one ſort and other, among whom were *Vrbanus Batianus*, and *Ianus Docia*, two famous Hungarian captains with their companies, and many of the Turks Ianizaries alſo. At his firſt comming, to make his authority the more known, he ſent out his proud command vnto the great men and Gouernors of the cities of that warlike prouince, charging them forthwith to repaire vnto him as great *Solymans* deputie, authoriſed by him to heare and determine all the controuerſies and matters of ſtate concerning the kingdome of Hungarie. At that time *Americus Cibachus* Biſhop of Veradium, a man of great nobilitie and power, withall ſingularly well qualitied, was Vayuod or Gouernor of Tranſyluania, an honor next vnto the king: he vnderſtanding that *Grittus* was come into his prouince, and making ſmall haſt to welcome him, as one not greatly mooued with his comming, or much regarding the commandement of *Solyman*; wonderfully offended *Grittus*, who deſired nothing more than at his firſt enterance to haue confirmed the opinion of his authoritie in the minds of the vulgar people by the preſt and ready attendance of the Vayuod. But it was commonly bruted, that the ſtout Biſhop vpon a Chriſtian zeale deteſted the friendſhip of the Turkes, and could not well brooke that they ſhould be too much acquainted in his prouince, for feare leſt that fruitfull country abounding with men and horſes, ſhould by one means or other fall into their hands. *Grittus* was come to Baxouia when hee vnderſtood by many meſſengers, that the Vayuod was comming with a great traine, and lay about ten miles off, encamped with diuers gallant troups of horſemen, in warlike manner appointed: for the Biſhops of Hungarie being wonderfull rich, were by old cuſtome bound to keepe great numbers of horſemen, which as occaſion ſerued they vſed to bring into the field againſt the Turke; accounting it great honor with their religious hands to defend the cauſe of religion. But then eſpecially the nobility of the country wel appointed reſorted on euery ſide, on courteſie to honour and countenance their great Biſhop and gouernor, at whoſe commandement they were: inſomuch as the Biſhops retinue made ſhew of a good army. Which thing moued *Grittus* exceedingly, that he ſhould be enforced contrary to his expectation to parley with the Biſhop in the open fields, as with an enemie in ſight of all their followers. Hereof roſe enuie, a deadly miſchiefe alwaies repining at another mans honor; when as the one ſwelling with Turkiſh pride could not then abide any equall, & the other iealous of his honor, could by no means indure any ſuperior, in ſuch place as he had the ſoueraigntie of. When theſe two great men had met together in the open fields, and there dined more like enemies than friends, without any ſhew of friendſhip or good will: *Grittus* inwardly chafing at his bare entertainment, couertly threatned to be reuenged vpon al ſuch as ſhould make ſo light account of his authoritie: and immediatly as he departed from the banket, taking his cap from his head (which was after the Turkiſh manner made of a high faſhion, of rich Sables) and opening it with both his hands, ſaid, This cap wil not hold two heads, and therefore it muſt be fitted to one, and ſo put it on againe. *Ianus Docia* one of the Hungarian captains, his followers, who deadly hated the Vayuod (for that he had long time before, for his malapert ſpeech in a great aſſembly, giuen him a blow with his fiſt) tooke hold of that ſpeech of *Grittus*, as a fit occaſion for him to worke his reuenge: and ſaid, *Your honor maketh a fit compariſon, neither can this prouince containe two equall gouernors or commanders, nor you euer enioy your power and authoritie, except you doe this day with ſpeedy and manly reſolution defend both* Solymans *credit and your owne. You know not this proud beaſt* Americus, *whoſe pride and inſolencie if you but ſay the word, I will quickly put downe: for he hateth* Solyman, *he regardeth not the king, and of you hee maketh no account at all, for why, he aſpireth vnto the maieſtie of a king, and ſaith that the Vayuodſhip of Tranſyluania well beſeemeth a king; for that in this country* Decebaldus *the Dacian ſometime raigned, whom the warlike Emperour* Traian *with all the force of the Roman empire hardly ſubdued. No man can more proudly or arrogantly ſet himſelfe foorth than he, neither more craftily or cunningly diſſemble to ſerue his turne. Indeed he hath for faſhion ſake preſented your honor with a few ſimple preſents, and giuen you his hand alſo, better koown for his falſhood than his faith; to the intent that when you are once paſt his countrey, he may ſcoffe and ieaſt at your decrees: verily he deadly enuieth at*

Americus Biſhop of Veradium and Vayuod of Tranſyluania, contemneth Grittus.

Ianus Docia incenſeth Grittus againſt the Vayuod.

your

A *your honor and felicitie, and grudgeth in his heart, that you ſhould ſet down the laws of peace and war in*
Hungarie: and whereas he doth manifeſtly aſpire vnto a kingdome, hee feareth you aboue all others, leſt
you ſhould trouble his deſignes, abate his credit, and chaſtiſe his inſolency. Verily, he that thus maligneth
your happineſſe, and contemneth your authority, is not to be ſuffered, but by good reaſon to be taken away:
therby at this your firſt entrance to defend the credit of your commiſſion & honor of your name. For nothing
is more dangerous than a faithleſſe companion, and a ſecret enemy, eſpecally when you ſhall leaue
him at your backe behind you: for when he ſhall as occaſion ſerues ſhew forth his hidden malice, he ſhall
ſo much the more ſlily and deſperatly indanger your perſon. **Grittus** enraged with his ſpeech more
than before, thought it beſt to make haſt, and to vſe his authoritie to the full; he commended
Docia, and promiſed him in ſhort time to requite his good will towards him, eſpecially if he
B would by ſome notable attempt abate the Biſhops pride. It is reported, that **Grittus** gaue him
no other charge, but to take the Biſhop, that ſo hee might after the Turkiſh manner haue ſent
him in chains to Conſtantinople, & beſtowed the honor of the Vayuod vpon **Hieronimus Laſcus**
the Polonian, who in hope of that honorable preferment vnto him promiſed by king **Iohn**,
had done him great and faithfull ſeruice, as his embaſſador both vnto **Solyman**, and alſo vnto
the French king. But when king **Iohn** perceiued that he could not conueniently without manifeſt
danger place him, being a Polonian (who could ſcarcely ſpeak the Hungarian language) gouernor
ouer ſuch a warlike people; he as it were inforced by neceſſitie, preferred this **Americus**
the Biſhop of Veradium, a man of them both reuerenced and feared: Which ſo grieued **Laſcus**,
a man of great ſtomacke and experience, and thereunto excellently learned, that he would
C neuer admit any excuſe of the kings, but alwayes after complained, that he was by the king deluded.
Yet for all that, he kept himſelfe within the bounds of loyaltie, & inioyed certain lands
and townes which the king had giuen him in the borders of Polonia, and eſtranged neuertheleſſe
from him in mind, was now become one of **Grittus** his followers, hoping of his better
preferment by his means vnto **Solyman**; and for that cauſe was not ſo forward to doe the king
ſuch ſeruice as he had in times paſt. Now by the commandement of **Grittus**, a ſtrong companie
of Turkiſh horſemen, and certaine troups of Hungarians, were deliuered to **Docia**; who ſecretly
departing that night from Baxouia, came ſuddenly to the Vayuods campe, hauing a little
before by his Hungarian ſpies learned that he lay in the open fields in his tent, by reaſon
of the great heat, without any watch or guard, attended on only with his pages and houſhold
D ſeruants, as a man without feare; & that all the reſt of his retinue lay diſperſed in the countrey
villages round about. All which ſerued ſo well for **Docia** his purpoſe, that the Vayuod ignorant
of his death ſo nigh at hand (who rather contemned than feared his enemies) was ſuddenly
oppreſſed by **Docia** his ſoldiers: ſo that whileſt he was yet lying in his bed, & ſcarcely
well awaked by his chamberlaines and the noiſe of the enemie; **Docia** breaking into his tent,
cut off his head as he lay. All they which lay neere, amazed with the ſuddenneſſe of the matter,
fled away for feare, and left their horſes and other things for a prey to the Turks and other
of **Docia** his followers. **Docia** hauing done ſo great an outrage, returned to **Grittus**, preſenting
vnto him the Vayuods head, which hee brought in his hand by the eare. **Laſcus** was then preſent,
but altogether ignorant of the murder, who as a man moued with a naturall compaſſion in
E ſo ſudden & horrible a fact, and forgetting al former grudge (as in like caſe it oftentimes chanceth)
ſtood as one diſmaid, nothing reioicing at the vnworthie death of his enemy. To whom
Grittus turning himſelfe, ſaid, **Laſcus**, Doeſt thou not know this ſhauen pate, truly it is a great
mans head, but of ſuch a one as was very ambitious, rebellious, and proud. To whom **Laſcus**
replied, Truly though I loued him not, yet I thought it not ſo whileſt it ſtood vpon his ſhoulders;
diſallowing therein the crueltie of the fact. Which thing **Grittus** perceiuing, began to
repent him of that was done, & ſaid openly, that although he was worthily ſlain, yet he could
haue wiſhed rather to haue had him taken priſoner. The report of this horrible murder once
bruted abroad, the Biſhops kinſmen & friends, yea almoſt all the people of that prouince riſe
vp in arms againſt **Grittus**, to reuenge the death of the reuerend Biſhop, whom liuing they had
F both loued and feared. Neuer did any people in reuenge of a common wrong, enter into arms
with greater deſire, more heat, or quicker ſpeed: ſo that in few daies there were aſſembled together
40000 horſe and foot, vnder the leading of **Stephanus Maylat** a noble gentleman, who
of all other moſt honored the Biſhop, & in that common griefe took vpon him as chiefe, the
perſecuting of the authors of ſuch inhumane crueltie. **Grittus** perceiuing how grieuouſly the
matter

The cauſe why Laſcus the Polonian fell from King Iohn.

The Vayuod murdred in his tent by Docia, and his head preſented to Grittus.

The Tranſyluanians riſe vp in armes againſt Grittus, to reuenge the death of the Vayuod.

matter was taken, with the danger he was in, began to doubt with himſelfe what courſe were G
beſt for him to take. To go forward, and to fall into the hands of the furious people, the ſame
was preſent death; and to returne and leaue the honorable deputation he had with ſo great expectation
of all men taken vpon him, was vnto his aſpiring mind no leſſe torment than death
it ſelfe. Thus perplexed, he with all ſpeed got himſelf with his followers to the ſtrong town
of Mege, in hope to ſhreud himſelfe vntill ſuch time as the rage of the countrey people were
either of it ſelfe appeaſed (as it oftentimes falleth out in ſuch ſudden tumults) or els he ſhould
be relieued by king *Iohn*, or the Turks Sanzacks which had the charge of the frontiers of the
Turkiſh empire. The townſmen of Mege ſeeing *Grittus* accompanied with ſo many Turkes,
ſhut the gates againſt him: yet at length by the perſuaſion of the two Hungarian captains *Docia*
and *Batizanus*, they gaue him leaue to enter into the baſe town, hauing before retired themſelues
with all their ſubſtance vnto the higher towne, which in manner of a ſtrong caſtle commanded H
the lower. Here whilſt *Grittus* with all carefulnes fortifieth the place, and diſpatcheth
the meſſengers vnto his friends abroad for aid, his enemies with hideous noiſe and outcries
approching the town, at their firſt comming attempted to haue ſcaled the wals and rampiers
therof: which thing whilſt they diſorderly did, with greater fury than diſcretion, they were

Grittus beſieged by the Tranſyluanians.

eaſily repulſed, and many of them ſlaine by the Turks Ianizaries & harquebuſiers. After which
loſſe, by the direction of *Maylat* their Generall, they withdrew themſelues out of the danger
of the ſhot, & incamped on euery ſide of the town, hoping as the truth was, that their enemies
vnprouided of victuall, could not long hold the place, but muſt of neceſſitie either ſtarue with
famine, or yeeld it vp. In the mean time *Grittus* reſolutely induring all the calamities of a man I
beſieged, fell ſicke, and ſo much the more for that he could heare nothing of any aide which
he expected from his friends: for king *Iohn* glad in his mind of the diſtreſſe of the ouerſeer,
or rather competitor of his kingdom, and alſo knowing that he could not without great diſcontentment
of his ſubiects oppoſe himſelf againſt ſuch a multitude riſen vpon ſo iuſt a cauſe;
yet for faſhion ſake ſent certain troups of horſmen to his reliefe: who not altogether ignorant
of the kings mind, made ſuch haſt, as men that purpoſed not to come in time to do him good.
As for the Turks Sanzacks of Belgrade and Samandria, they enuying at his honor, flatly refuſed
to depart from their charge, to relieue him, without expreſſe command from *Solyman* himſelfe:
and *Laſcus* (before one of *Grittus* his chiefe followers, but now a beholder of his diſtres)
when he had a little before departed from him to procure him ſome reliefe, as he promiſed, K
did now in this extremity forſake him alſo. The citizens in the vpper town (who a great while
had ſtood looking on from aboue as men indifferent) perceiuing the full reſolution of their
countrymen to be reuenged, and the difficulties wherewith the Turks were incloſed, aſſailed
them alſo from the high towne. *Grittus* thus beſet on euery ſide, offered vnto the Tranſyluanians
a great maſſe of money, to ſuffer him to paſſe forward into Hungarie; but their furious
minds more deſirous of reuenge than money, were not to be moued with any gold. In fine, he
ſent rich iewels to the Gouernor of Moldauia his friend, to be ready at a certain houre when
he would ſallie out of the towne, to receiue him with certain troups of horſmen; ſo if it were
poſſible to ſaue himſelfe & his children. *Grittus* (whether it were vpon a doubtfull hope, or

Grittus taken and brought to Maylat.

vrged by ineuitable deſtinie) ſallying out of the towne at the appointed time, with *Solymans* L
commiſſion in his hand, and miſſing of the Moldauian, fell vpon *Francis Schenden* the late Biſhops
nigh kinſman, and *Maylat* his familiar friend; who furiouſly running in vpon him with
tumultuous ſpeech, violently caught from his head his rich cap of Sables, and with his horſemen
tooke him, being weake with ſickneſſe, and making no reſiſtance. His followers, eſpecially
the Turks, incloſed on euery ſide, were either ſlain or taken. But *Grittus* himſelf being brought
to the generals tent, beſet round with his armed enemies, and there examined, Why hee had
commanded the Vayuod to be ſlain, earneſtly proteſted, That he neuer commanded any ſuch
thing, and that it was done without his knowledge. Which his anſwer ſerued not his turne, all
the people crying out againſt him with one voice, that he ſhould as a ſacrifice be offered vnto

Grittus beheaded.

the Vayuods ghoſt. Whereupon he was by *Maylat* deliuered again to *Francis Schenden* to bee M
executed, who without delay cauſed his head to bee ſtrucke off. The nobilitie and the Vayuods
kinſmen (after the maner of that people) dipped ſome part of their garments in his bloud,
the longer to keep in mind the remembrance of the reuenge. This was the ſhamefull end of
Aloyſius Gritus the duke of Venice his ſon, *Solymans* deputie in Hungarie, with whom he was

in

A in ſuch credit as neuer was any Chriſtian abounding in wealth and worldly felicitie: but climing too faſt vp the euill ſtaued ladder of ambition, ſuddenly fell and neuer riſe more. The executioner ſtripping his dead body, found about him ſo many precious ſtones and jewels as were valued at fortie milions of duckats. And not long after, *Laſcus* ſent for by the king to Buda, was ſtraitly examined vpon torture concerning *Grittus* his commiſſion and purpoſes, and was in great danger of his life: but at laſt by the interceſſion of *Sigiſmund* king of Polonia, he B was ſet at libertie, & ſo fled out of Hungarie vnto *Sigiſmund* his court in Polonia: after hee had long time wearied himſelfe, and aduentured his life in the Hungarian ſtate. *Docia* the author of this Tragedie, was by the furious people afterwards rent in pieces, and ſo periſhed.

The riches found about Grittus.

The ſame time that *Grittus* went from Conſtantinople into Hungarie, *Solyman* the Turkiſh Emperor dreading no danger out of Europe, tooke in hand two great expeditions both at one time, the one by land into Aſia againſt the Perſians, & the other by ſea into Affrick againſt the Moores; promiſing vnto himſelfe in his inordinat deſires, the Monarchie of the whole world in ſhort time, if he might ſubdue theſe two great nations whom he had already in hope deuoured. But foraſmuch as all cannot be told at once, which was at one time in diuers places ſo far diſtant done, omitting for a while the expedition made in perſon himſelfe againſt the C Perſians, we will firſt declare what he did by his Lieutenants againſt the Moores. *Hariadenus*, ſurnamed of the Chriſtians *Barbaruſſa* (who ſucceeding his elder brother *Horruccius* in the kingdom of Algiers in Affricke, had by many victories ſo inlarged the kingdome before gotten by his brother, that his name and power was now become terrible both to the Chriſtians and wild Moores, and his fame growne great in the Turkiſh court) was the chiefe author and perſuader of *Solyman* to inuade Affricke. But it ſhall not (as I thinke) be far from our purpoſe here briefely to rehearſe by what meanes thoſe two Mytilene brethren, baſely borne, crept out of a ſmal galliot vnto the maieſtie of great kings; that herein they which come afterwards may alſo admire the wonderfull changes and chances of theſe worldly things, now vp, now downe, as if the life of man were not of much more certaintie than a ſtage play.

Solyman at one time purpoſeth to inuade Perſia and Affricke.

D Theſe two brethren, *Horuccius* and *Hariadenus*, borne at Mytilene in the Iland of Lesbos, weary of the poore and baſe eſtate they led at home with their father, a renegate Grecian; ſtealing a little galliot, committed themſelues and all the hope of their good fortune to ſea, where by chance they conſorted themſelues with *Camales*, a moſt famous pyrat of that time; vnder whom *Horruccius* the elder brother, for his forwardneſſe became a captain; and growing rich by many purchaſes, and alſo ſtrong with gallies and ſlaues which hee had at ſundrie times taken, and at laſt conſorting himſelfe with *Haidin*, *Sinam* the Iew, *Salec*, and other leſſe pyrats (which afterwards became men of great fame and account) ouer whom he commanded as an arch pyrat, came ſeeking after purchaſe as far as Mauritania. At which time *Selymes* king of Iulia-Cæſarea, which now we call Algiers, was in armes againſt his brother *Methemetes*, competitor of the kingdom; who aided by the Numidians, now commonly called Arabians, put his brother in great doubt of his eſtate. *Selymes* glad of the comming of *Horruccius* & the E other pyrats his followers, with a great maſſe of money paid before hand, induced *Horruccius* and the reſt to take vpon them the defence of him and his kingdom againſt his brother: which thing *Horruccius* ſo happily performed, (eſpecially by the means of his harquebuſiers, as then no ſmall terror to the wild Moores and Numidians) that in ſhort time he repulſed that ſauage people, and ſet *Selymes* at peace in his kingdom. *Horruccius* being a man of a ſharp wit, and by nature ambitious, noting in the time of his ſeruice the kings mild and ſimple diſpoſition, void of all diſtruſt; and that the naked Moores were no ſoldiers, but a light and vnconſtant people, alwaies at variance among themſelues; and that the wandring Numidians liuing barely diuided into many factions, were eaſily by reward to be woon, or by force conſtrained; ſuddenly falſified his faith, & villanouſly ſlew *Selymes* the king, as he was bathing himſelfe, miſtruſting nothing leſſe than the falſhood of the pyrat, & in the ſame hurle murthring ſuch as he thought F would withſtand his deſire, and with bountie and crueltie ouercomming the reſt, ſo wrought the matter, that he was by generall conſent choſen king of Algiers. Thus of a pyrat become a king, he ſhortly after by policie ſurpriſed Circello (a famous citie about 60 mile diſtant from Algiers) by his ſouldiers ſent thither in the habit of marchants. After that, he by his brother *Hariadenus* (no leſſe valiant than himſelf) troubled al the Mediterranean ſea from Algiers with his gallies, & al his neighbors: himſelf by land with daily incurſiõs, leauing nothing vntoucht, which

The poore beginning of Horruccius & Hariadenus, who of baſe pyrats, aſpired to the kingdom of Algiers.

Horruccius his ſucceſſe.

which might by force or policy be had; ſo that his power daily increaſed, men of ſeruice continually reſorting vnto him, as the chiefe man in al thoſe parts. Not thus contented, he to enlarge his kingdome, draue the Spaniards out of Bugea, a citie famous both for the great trade thither, and for the Mahometan ſchoole ſometime there kept: at the taking whereof hee loſt his right hand with a ſhot, and in ſtead thereof euer after vſed a hand of yron, wherewith hee obtained many worthie victories againſt his enemies: for neere to Algiers he ouerthrew an army of the Spaniards, with *Diego de Vara* their Generall. And ſhortly after, at ſuch time as *Hugo Moncada* returning out of Italie with the old Spaniſh ſouldiers, landed in his country, he enforced him againe to ſea; where hee with all his expert ſouldiers either periſhed by ſhipwracke, or driuen on ſhore, were ſlain or taken priſoners by *Horruccius*, and thruſt into his gallies. At laſt hauing in ſundry battels ouercome the king of Tremiſſa, *Charles* the Emperor his confederat, and thruſt him out of his kingdome, he ſtirred vp both the Chriſtians and Numidians againſt him: ſo that comming to take Ora and Portus (two ſtrong holds kept by garriſons of Spaniards ſent thither to aid the king of Tremiſſa) he was by them and the Moores at the firſt repulſed, and afterwards quite ouerthrowne: where moſt part of his army being ſlain or taken priſoners, he with a few of his friends ſought to ſaue themſelues by flight ouer the deſart ſands; and ſeeing himſelfe hardly purſued by his enemies, ſcattered many pieces of gold vpon the ſands as he fled, thereby to haue ſtaied their haſtie purſuit: but they more deſirous of him than of his gold, followed ſo faſt, that at laſt they ouertooke him, and without further delay ſtrucke off his head, which was afterwards ſent into Spiane, and carried vpon a launce thorow all the townes and cities alongſt the ſea coaſt, to the wonderfull reioycing of the people, vnto whom he had in former time done great harme.

Horruccius ſlain, & his head carried aboue in Spaine.

Hariadenus ſurnamed Barbaruſſa, ſucceedeth his brother Horruccius in the kingdome of Algiers.

After the death of *Horruccius*, *Hariadenus* inferiour to his brother neither in courage nor martiall prowesse, by the generall conſent of the ſouldiers tooke vpon him the kingdome of Algiers. He, made heire not onely of his brothers kingdome, but of his vertues and haughtie thoughts, and of the ſurname alſo of *Barbaruſſa*, began forthwith to aſpire vnto the empire of all that part of Affricke, accounting what he had already gotten, too little and too baſe to anſwer his deſires. Wherefore he entred into armes, and became a terrour both to the Moores and Numidians, holding peace with ſome, and wars with others, as beſt ſerued his purpoſe; and with his gallies robbed and ſpoiled the coaſts of Spaine, Sardinia, and the Iſlands Baleares, fortune ſo fauoring him in al his enterpriſes, that he became both famous & fearful to his enemies. He ſlew *Hames*, a great commander among the Numidians, and chaſed *Benchades* and *Amida*, two of their greateſt princes, out of the country; and with like fortune at ſea, ouercame *Hugo Moncada*, a famous Spaniard, who ſore wounded, had much adoe to ſaue himſelfe by flight, when he had loſt diuers of his gallies. He alſo in battel at ſea ouerthrew *Rodericus Portundus*, Admirall of Spaine: in which fight the Admirall with his ſon were both ſlaine, and ſeuen of his gallies taken: in token of which victory, he ſent part of the rich ſpoile there taken, with the Admirals enſigne, as a Preſent vnto *Solyman*, wherby he became famous in the Turks court; but much more, after he had repulſed *Auria* from Cercenna, and taken two great Genoway ſhips which were comming to *Auria* loaded with men and munition; the loſſe whereof filled the citie of Genoa with much ſorrow. All things ſorting thus according to his deſire, and his name become no leſſe terrible in Spaine, Italie, Sicilie, and the Iſlands of the Mediterranian, than it was in the greateſt part of Affricke; *Solyman* grieued with the loſſe of Corone, Patras, and the caſtles vpon the ſtraits of Lepanto, taken from him by *Auria*, *Himerales* his Admirall being ſhamefully put to flight: by the counſel of his Baſſaes, but eſpecially of *Abraham* the chiefe Baſſa, ſent Embaſſadours vnto him to Algiers; offering him the greateſt honours of his court, and to make him Admirall of all his fleet, if hee would forthwith repaire vnto Conſtantinople: for why, hee was the onely man in all mens iudgements, who for his yeres and great experience at ſea, as wel as for his inuincible courage, and glory of his late atchiued kingdome, was to be compared with *Auria*, and to be oppoſed againſt the Chriſtian fleet. *Sinas* a great man in *Solymans* court, was with this embaſſage ſent, and ſpeedily tranſported to Algiers by *Zangalis*, a famous pyrat, then Gouernour of the Rhodes; who at his landing, was honourably receiued by *Barbaruſſa*, and audience giuen him. *Barbaruſſa* vnderſtanding the cauſe of his comming, was exceeding glad thereof, preſently conceiuing no ſmall hope of obtaining the monarchie of Affricke, if hee might once come to *Solymans* preſence,

His wonderfull ſucceſſe.

Solyman ſends for Barbaruſſa.

A and at large ſhew vnto him the ſtate of Affricke, and power of the Chriſtians; with their con-
tinuall diſcord amongſt themſelues. Wherefore without furthtr delay committing the pro-
tection of his ſon *Aſenes* (then about eighteene yeares old) and the gouernment of his new
gotten kingdome to *Ramada* and *Agis*, two of his nigh kinſemen and aſſured friends, of whoſe
fidelitie he doubted not: he with fortie of his owne gallies in moſt warrelike manner appoin-
ted, ſet forward with *Solymans* Embaſſadour towards Conſtantinople: where by the way
hee met with a fleet of Genoway ſhips bound for Sicilie for corne, which after a ſharpe and
cruell fight he tooke and burnt. After that, landing by night in the countrey of Elba, not far
from Naples, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed Rhium a rich citie; where loading his gallies with the
wealth thereof, and carrying away with him all the inhabitants into captiuitie, he arriued at
B Conſtantinople in the yeare 1533, where he was by the great courtiers brought to *Solyman*,
of whom he was joyfully receiued, if it were but for the preſents which he gaue him: which
were faire boyes and yong maidens ſumptuouſly apparrelled, eunuchs, and wild beaſts of Ly-
bia, as Lyons, Leopards and ſuch like. But after he had certain dayes diſcourſed at large with
the great Baſſa's, of the ſtate of Affricke, the ſtrength of the Chriſtians, and how the wars were
to be managed, he was afterwards by them ſeldomer ſent for, and offering himſelfe into their
companie, was hardly admitted: for enuie (the inſeperable companion of growing honor) had
quickely ouertaken him in the court, ſo that many men letted not openly to ſay, It had not
bin the faſhion of the *Othoman* kings, to prefer pyrats (the worſt kind of theeues) to the honor
C of their great Admirall; and that there wanted not, neither euer would want men both ver-
tuous and valiant in the Turks court, which could with great honour maintaine and augment
the glory of the Turkiſh empire both by ſea and land; whereas hee had againſt all right and
conſcience, by ſhameful treacherie intruded himſelfe into another mans kingdom in Affricke,
and there perſecuted the Mahometan princes and people, being of no religion himſelfe, as
one that was borne of a renegate Greeke, and had from his youth liued as a mercileſſe pyrat,
and common enemie of mankind. By which ſpeeches *Barbaruſſa* perceiued in how euill time
Abraham Baſſa his beſt friend, and by whoſe means he was ſent for, was abſent from Court,
who at that time was gone into Comagena, and wintred at Aleppo, with purpoſe (as *Solymans*
forerunner) with the firſt of the next Spring, to paſſe ouer Euphrates againſt the Perſian. After
D long ſuit, and much expectation, *Solyman* anſwered *Barbaruſſa* by *Aiax* and *Caſimes* two of the
great Baſſa's, That all the matter concerning him ſhould be referred to the diſcretion of *Abra-
ham* the chiefe Baſſa, for that he was by his counſell eſpecially ſent for into Affricke: where-
fore if he did expect any thing, he ſhould repaire vnto him in Syria, that according to his
graue iudgement all things might be ordred. *Barbaruſſa* thus reiected into Syria, although he
well perceiued that it tended to his no ſmall diſgrace; yet in hope by ſufferance to obtaine
another kingdome, ſeemed contented with the anſwere, and reſolued forthwith to take vpon
him that long and painſull journy: which the old king luſtily performed, and ſo poſting by
land through Aſia the leſſe, & trauelling ouer the mountain Amanus, then couered with deep
ſnow, came in the dead time of Winter to Aleppo in Syria, where he was honourably recei-
E ued by the great Baſſa, and heard at large, to his ſo good contentation and liking, that he dee-
med him of all others the fitteſt to command the Turks power at ſea; & to that purpoſe writ
commendatorie letters in his behalfe to *Solyman*: wiſhing him for his ſufficience to place him
as the fourth with the other three Baſſa's of his counſell. After *Barbaruſſa* was again arriued
at Conſtantinople with theſe letters, and that it was once knowne how effectually the chiefe
Baſſa had commended him to *Solyman*, it was a world to ſee how on the ſudden the face of the
court was changed vpon him, euery man either for friendſhip or flatterie began now to ſpeake
of his praiſes, and to extoll his worthines: who was now in all mens mouthes but *Barbaruſſa*?
ſo great was the power and authoritie of the chiefe Baſſa, that being abſent, yet was his appro-
bation of all men accounted ſufficient to prefer whom he pleaſed; and his letters lawes to the
F reſt of the court. *Barbaruſſa* had brought with him from Algiers, one *Roſcetes* the elder brother
of *Muleaſſes* king of Tunes, who wrongfully driuen into exile by his yonger brother, had liued
certain yeres at Algiers, but now by the perſuaſion of *Barbaruſſa* was come with him to Con-
ſtantinople, to craue aid of *Solyman* againſt the oppreſſion of his brother. Him *Barbaruſſa* of-
tentimes ſhewed vnto the great Baſſa's, and in his diſcourſes with them concerning the con-
queſt of Affricke, ſet him out as a moſt fit inſtrument for ſubduing of the kingdome of Tunes,

Barbaruſſa cōmeth to Conſtantinople.

Barbaruſſa enuied in the Turks court.

Barbaruſſa reiected to Abraham the great Baſſa.

He trauelleth into Siria to the Baſſ, and is by him cōmended to Solyman.

His returne to Conſtantinople.

Roſcetes.

as a man whom the people more affected than they did *Muleaſſes* the vſurper. After long de- G
liberation and conſultation had with the Baſſa's concerning the inuaſion of Affricke, *Barbaruſ-*
ſa now admitted vnto the preſence of *Solyman*, in theſe or like words perſuaded him to that
war, for the entrance whereunto we haue thus far digreſſed.

Barbaruſſa his ſpeech to Solyman to perſuade him to inuade Tunes.

What thing the Prieſts with loud voyce vſe to pray for, at ſuch time as the Othoman Emperors en-
ter into the Temple to pray, the ſame thing doe I alſo wiſh vnto thee moſt mightie Solyman; which is,
That thou ſhouldeſt remember, thy progenitors by Iuſtice and religion to haue got for thee this Empire,
than which, more magnificent and richer the gods haue not giuen to any: Fortune hath neuer deceiued
them that troad that way, and thou hitherto haſt ſo traced their ſteps, that thou haſt eaſily ſurmounted
their fame and glorie, adminiſtring Iuſtice to thy ſubiects; and inflamed with the hope of eternall praiſe, H
making continuall war againſt the enemies of our religion, the true office of a zealous Prince. By this
meanes is Belgrade taken, Rhodes woon, the King of Hungarie ſlaine in battell, Germanie twice harried
and burnt: ſo that Charles, whom the Chriſtians would make equall to thy ſelfe in power and valour,
with the great aid almoſt of all the Chriſtian Nations, terrified with the noyſe of thy armie, ſhunned bat-
tell. But foraſmuch as Empires, be they neuer ſo large, or victories be they neuer ſo glorious, can either
ſatisfie the greatneſſe of an heroicall mind, or glut the ſame with glorie; thou haſt therefore ſent before
thee thy victorious enſignes againſt the Perſians and Parthians, that thoſe Nations who haue wickedly
fallen from our Rites, purified as it were by thy ſacred armes, may be again reclaimed to the antient rites
of our religion. But be this vnto thy greatneſſe moſt honorable to attempt, and glorious to performe: I
let it only be lawfull for me now growne an old man in the middeſt of armes and dangers, to declare what
is expedient, and brieſely to open ſuch things as I haue by long experience learned to concerne the aug-
menting of thy fame and empire elſewhere. Neither would I haue you to take this as preſumptuouſly ſpo-
ken of me: for Fortune hath enough, yea and more than enough fauoured my deſignes, whom from a
poore cottage and bare hope, ſhe hath promoted to glorious victories, great riches, yea vnto the title and
maieſtie of a King. But vnto theſe things the gods could giue me nothing better, than to be called for of
thee, and ſent for, in Councell to diſcourſe of matters of greateſt importance: wherefore my aduice ſhall
be vnto thee faithfull and with experience confirmed: which although it be all that it ſeemeth old men
can do, yet in my ſound bodie remaineth ſuch ſtrength, that I dare both promiſe and performe vnto thee
my good ſeruice at all aſſayes both by ſea and land. For vnto this onely courſe haue I bent my ſelfe day
and night from my youth, following the purpoſe and counſell of my valiant brother Horruccius (who K
to extend the bounds of our religion, perſecuted the Chriſtians both by ſea and land) deſiring nothing
more, than that thy fleet and power might once be ioyned with my forces and direction, and ſo vnder thy
good hap, to be either a commander, or elſe commanded: foraſmuch as it grieueth me not to be comman-
ded by my betters. Of which my deſires if the gods ſhall make me partarker, the Spaniards ſhall ſhortly
be driuen quite out of Affricke, thou ſhalt heare that the Moores are gone ouer into Spaine, to repoſſeſſe
the kingdome of Granado, that Tunes and Numidia are at thy command; and not to ſpeake of Sardinia
and Corcyca, that Sicilia is ours: which once taken we ſhall ſtarue vp Italie, and on euery ſide diſtreſſe it
with our fleet, being now weake and brought low by the diſcord of the Princes, and that part thereof both
towards Sicilia and Macedonia readie to ſubmit it ſelfe vpon any condition, ſo it might caſt off the Spa- L
niſh yoke. Thinke not, that either that ſtrength or vnitie is now in Italie, which was when thy great
grandfather Mahomet hauing taken Hydruntum brought a great feare, not vpon Italie onely, but vpon
other the Chriſtian Nations alſo: for by the good ſucceſſe of that warre, which all the Chriſtian Princes
could hardly withſtand, he had vndoubtedly taken the citie of Rome, and ſo according to right and rea-
ſon, againe vnited the Empire of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, as they were before in their antient glory. But
he ſuddenly left the world, rapt to heauen, that he might leaue to thee (according to the appointment of
the fatall Deſtinies, and reuolutions of the heauens) this worke of abſolute perfection. And yet my pur-
poſe is not, by putting thee in hope of ſo great and rare a triumph, to interrupt or hinder thee for turning
thy power into the Eaſt againſt thy old and irreligious enemies, deſeruing all extremities: for thy nauie
ſhall be ſufficient for me, whereof thou ſhalt haue no need in thy wars ſo farre within land; that whileſt
thou art conquering Aſia, Affrica the third part of the world may in the meane time be brought vnder M
thy ſubiection alſo. Where before all other things, Muleaſſes is to be driuen out of Tunes; a man of in-
ſatiable couetouſneſſe, vnſtayed luſt, horrible crueltie, hated both of God and man; who hauing by trea-
cherie ſlaine eighteene of his brethren or that which worſe is, cruelly burnt out their eyes, doth ſo raigne
alone, that he hath left him neither kinſeman nor friend. For being as vnthankefull as perfideous, hee

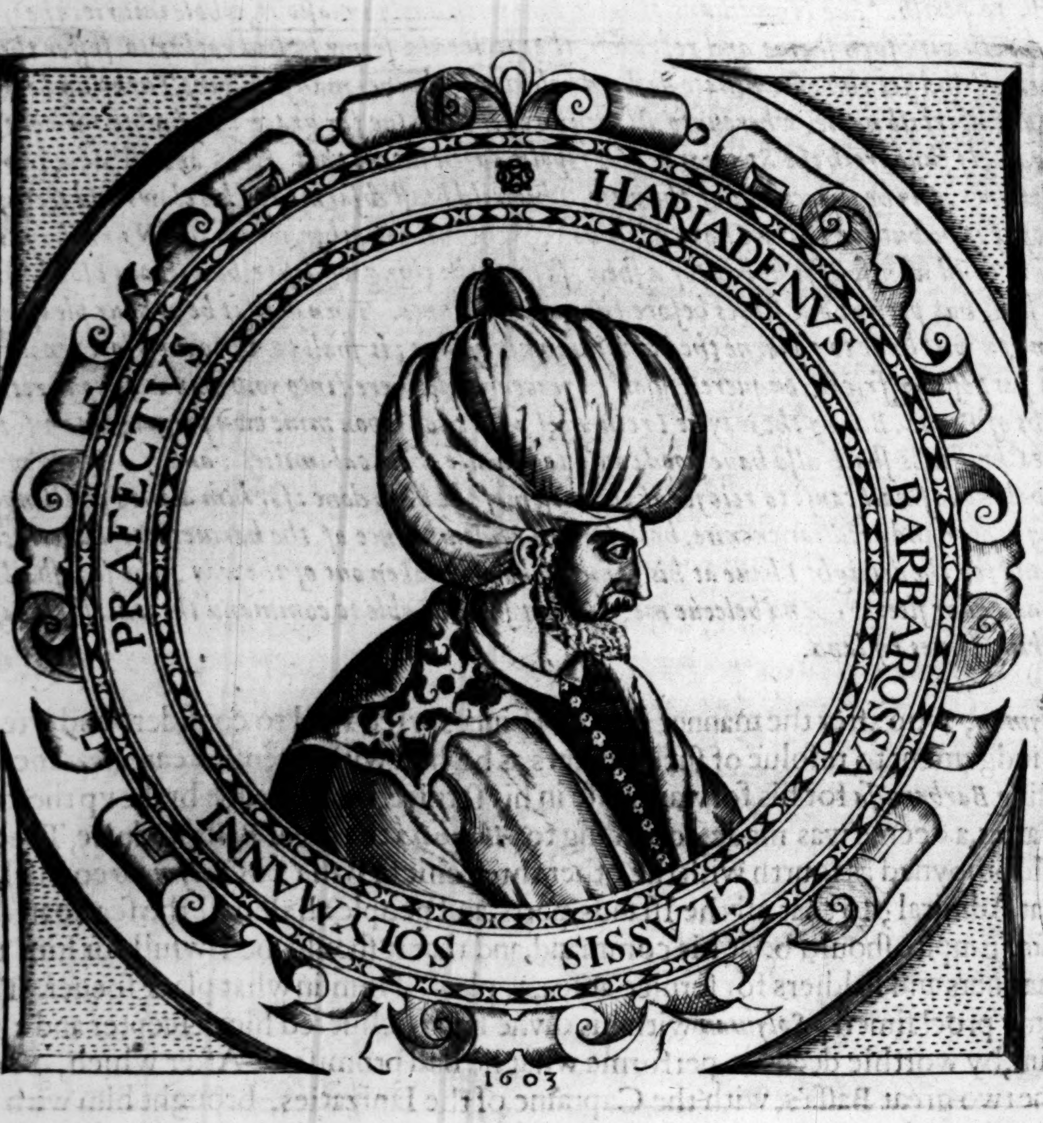
A *hath murthered all his fathers friends,who with great trauell had preferred him to the kingdome, ſo to*
make ſhort payment for ſo great deſert. With this beaſt we muſt haue to do,whom whileſt no man loueth,
all men wiſh to periſh. The Numidians trouble him with dayly inuaſions, whoſe iniuries the infamous
coward endureth with ſuch ſhame and reproach, that it ſhould ſeeme he had rather to ſuffer them than
reuenge them. And yet this effœminate daſtard holdeth in chaines many valiant Turks,and acknowled-
geth not your imperiall name, whereunto all men on euery ſide ſue for grace : and which is not to be ſuf-
fered,exceedingly fauoureth the Spaniards of Tripolis,to the intent that Agis *and* Moſes, *two valiant*
Tukriſh captaines,may be driuen out of the citie. This wild beaſt diſarmed of his claws and teeth, we ſhall
eaſily deſtroy,if it be but for that we haue with vs Roſcetes *his brother,whom the Numidians wiſh and*
long for : him muſt we vſe,if it be but for a ſhew, ſo ſhall the thing we deſire,be without bloud effected, as
B *ſoone as we ſhall but preſent our ſelues before the gates of Tunes. Then ſhall it be at your pleaſure, to ap-*
point whom you will haue to gouerne the Numidian kingdome : it ſhall be vnto me glorie enough, when
the greateſt part of Affricke conquered, ſhall be peaceably deliuered into your hands at your return with
the triumphs of Perſia. But by the way as I returne, I aſſure you vpon mine own priuat, ſo to vſe the mat-
ter,that the Chriſtians ſhall alſo haue good cauſe to bewaile their calamities : and if I hap to meet with
Auria,*he ſhall haue ſmall cauſe to reioyce of the miſchiefe he hath done : for him alone I challenge to per-*
ſecute,as my proper and peculiar enemie, both for the remembrance of the harmes wee haue receiued at
his hands, and for the deſpight I haue at his fame ; who once taken out of the way, the ſeas ſhall be open
only to you and your fleets. And beleeue me, he that ſhall be able to command the ſeas, ſhall eaſily alſo
ſubdue the kingdomes by land.

C

But *Solyman*, who after the manner of wiſe Princes, vſed well to conſider, and afterwards
with ripe iudgement to reſolue of ſuch matters as he had with attentiue eare hearkned vnto ;
commending *Barbaruſſa* for his forwardneſſe in his ſeruice, for that time brake vp the counſel.
Not long after,a decree was made,according to *Abraham* the great Baſſa's aduice, That *Barba-*
ruſſa ſhould be ioyned as fourth with the other three chiefe Baſſa's of *Solymans* counſel,and be
made great Admiral ; ſo that all the Iſlands,ports,and people all alongſt the ſea coaſt thorow
out *Solymans* Empire ſhould be at his command,and that it ſhould be lawfull for him to take
vp ſuch mariners and ſoldiers for ſeruice at ſea,as pleaſed him in what place ſoeuer. This be-
ing ſolemnly proclaimed, *Solyman* with his owne hand deliuered him a ſcepter and a ſword,
D willing him,by worthie deeds to performe what he had promiſed. After which, *Aiax* and
Caſsimes the two great Baſſa's, with the Captaine of the Ianizaries, brought him with excee-
ding pompe,from the court to the Nauie : at which time was carried before him all the to-
kens of his new obtained honour. And toward the maintenance of that war at ſea,he had de-
liuered vnto him out of *Solymans* treaſures, eight hundred thouſand duckets, and eight hun-
dred Ianizaries.

Barbaruſſa is made Solymans great Admiral.

But foraſmuch as much it was that he did in the ſeruice of *Solyman*, and more is of him hereafter to be ſpoken ; it ſhall not be amiſſe here to preſent vnto the view of the world the ſterne but liuely countenance of this ſo famous a man (who liuing kept all the Miditerranian in feare) as it is by *Boiſardus* expreſſed,together with the Elogium following.


HARIADENVS BARBAROSSA CLASSIS SOLYMANNI PRAEFECTVS
1603

Littora te Heſperiæ timuere vtrinſque, Lybeſque
Oppreſsi dextra ſubcubuere tua.
Nunquam te Lypare, Corcyraue diligit, harum
Cum ſis immeritos depopulatus agros.

The coaſts of Italie and Spaine, of thee were ſore afraid,
And ſo the Moores did ſtoupe to thee, by thy right hand diſmaid.
Lyparos will thee neuer loue, ne yet Corcyra ſtrong;
For that thou cauſeleſſe did'ſt to them ſo great and open wrong.

He ſpoileth the coaſt of Italie.

Barbaruſſa ſped of that hee deſired, ſtaied not long after at Conſtantinople, but departing out of Heleſpontus with eightie gillies and certaine galliots, ſhaped his courſe towards Italie, leauing *Amurathes* (a ſea captaine) with twelue gallies to tranſport *Solyman* and his armie, readie to ſet forward againſt the Perſian, ouer that narrow ſea into Aſia. Who after he had ſo done, ouertooke *Barbaruſſa* at Methone, who holding on his courſe to Affricke, and ſuddenly paſſing the ſtrait betwixt Italie and Cicilie, brought a great feare vpon both the countries; but paſſing by the bay of Hippona alongſt the coaſt of the lower Calabria, hee ſet vpon the towne of Saint *Lucidius* called in antient time Tempſa: which although it ſtood vpon a rocke and was reaſonable well walled; yet ſuch was the violence of the Turkes aſſault, that it could not be defended but was taken, with ſo much more hurt to the enhabitants, for that the

A Major of the towne, to keepe the people from flying away, had lockt vp the gates on the other ſide of the citie, from the enemie. From thence he with rich ſpoyle and many priſoners went to Citrarium, where he had learned of his priſoners, a fleet of gallies was in building. This town forſaken of the inhabitants for feare, he tooke without reſiſtance, ranſacked it, and burnt it, where he alſo fired ſeuen gallies not yet altogether finiſhed. But after he was come with his fleet as farre as the Iſland Capri, within the ſight of Naples, ſuch a terror was ſtrucke into the minds of all that dwelt alongſt that coaſt, That it was thought, if he had landed and gone directly to Naples, the Neopolitans would for feare haue abandoned the citie. But holding on his courſe, he came to Prochita, which he tooke and rifled: ſo paſſing by the port of Caieta, (which he might eaſily haue taken) he came to Spelunca, a towne in the hithermoſt part of the B Kingdome of Naples. They of the Towne diſmaied with the ſudden arriuall of ſo great a fleet, yeelded the ſame without reſiſtance. The enemie entring the town, tooke twelue hundred priſoners. *Pelegrinus* a chiefe man amongſt them of Spelunca, was fled into the Caſtle: him *Barbaruſſa* commanded to yeeld, which if he would preſently do, he promiſed to let him go free; but if he ſhould ſtand vpon his defence, hee threatned in ſhort time to make him repent his fooliſh hardineſſe, with the vtter deſtruction both of himſelfe and the towne. The fearefull gentleman without delay came out of the caſtle, and fell downe at his feet; who according to his promiſe gaue him his libertie, and with rare curteſie reſtored to him his wife, his ſonne, and niece, whom he had taken priſoners; who receiued them with many teares falling from their eyes for ioy.

C The ſame night alſo 2000 Turkes came from the fleet, through the rough and buſhie mountaines, to the citie Fundi, ten miles diſtant from Spelunca, in the vttermoſt borders of the kingdome of Naples, conducted as was thought by certaine Italians of that countrey, who a few yeares before taken at ſea, and ouerwearied with the heauie burthen of the Turkiſh ſlauerie, had reuolted to the Mahometan religion. But ſuch was the ſuddenneſſe of their comming, and their celeritie in entring the citie, that *Iulia Gonzaga* the Paragon of Italie, and the chiefe priſe which they ſought after, had ſcarce time to get to horſe halfe naked, and ſo with much difficultie to eſcape into the mountaines. It is reported, that *Barbaruſſa* (which thing he himſelfe afterwards ſeemed not to denie) mooued with the fame of her incomparable beautie, and wonderfull perfection, deſired exceedingly to haue taken her as a Preſent for *Solyman*. D The citiſens were for moſt part either ſlain or taken priſoners by the Turks, who loaded with the ſpoile of the citie, returned again to the fleet. Another part of *Barbaruſſa's* fleet came to Tarracina, which the Turks tooke forſaken of the inhabitants, who for feare were all fled into the mountains, except ſome which for age or ſickneſſe could not ſhift for themſelues, whom the Turks ſlew, & ſpoyled the churches. *Barbaruſſa* thus ſcouring along the coaſt of Italie, and newes thereof daily brought to the citie of Rome, ſtrucke ſuch an exceeding terrour into the minds of the citiſens, that it was verily thought if he had come a little further to Oſtia, they would generally haue forſaken the city. But he hauing well performed his promiſe made to *Solyman* for vexing the Chriſtians, and before reſolued of a greater matter he had to do, when he had watred at Pontia, paſſed ouer into Affrick with ſuch celeritie, that he was arriued there E before it was thought that he was departed from the coaſt of Italie. For *Barbaruſſa* to deceiue *Muleaſſes* king of Tunes, and to take him vnprouided, had giuen it out, that he would burn and ſpoyle the coaſts of the Chriſtian countries, eſpecially of Italie, Liguria, and Spain, in reuenge of the harme done by *Auria* at Corone and Patras. Which thing *Muleaſſes* the rather beleeued, vnderſtanding his proceedings vpon the coaſt of Italie. The Venetians hauing alſo at the ſame time at great charges prepared a great fleet, did in ſome part leſſen *Muleaſſes* feare, That *Barbaruſſa* would imploy his Forces for Affricke: for then what ſhould the Venetians haue needed to haue made ſo great and chargeable a preparation. But that which aboue all other things brought him into ſecuritie, was for that he had by ſecret eſpials certainly learned, that his brother *Roſcetes* was kept at Conſtantinople, as a priſoner at large, vnder ſafe keeping: F which made him to think, that *Barbaruſſa's* forces were not prepared againſt him; for he knew that he could not be impugned, or his ſtate more indangered by any other meanes, than by producing the competitour of his kingdome, to whom his guiltie conſcience doubted, that both the citiſens of Tunes and the Numidians were for moſt part well affected.

Iulia Gonzaga a faire Ladie hardly diſtreſſed by Barbaruſſa.

The Romans afraid of Barbaruſſa.

This *Muleaſſes* of whom we now ſpeake, and whom hereafter we ſhal by occaſion often re-

Muleaſſes king of Tunes.

member, was lineally diſcended of the antient kings of Tunes; who without interruption of G diſcent, or mixture of forreine bloud, had by the ſpace of 354 yeares mightily ruled the great kingdome of Tunes, from Tripolis to Bugia, almoſt 800 miles alongſt the Mediterranian, and into the Main as far as the mount Atlas: and for the long continuance of their ſtate, and largeneſſe of their kingdome, were worthily accounted the moſt reuerend and mightie amongſt the Mahometan kings of Affricke. His father *Mahomethes*, when he had with much glorie, and more pleaſure, raigned 32 yeares, perceiuing the end of his life to approch, had purpoſed to haue appointed *Maimo* his eldeſt ſonne (whom for his haſtie aſpiring he then held in durance) to ſucceed him in his kingdome: but ouercome with the importunitie of *Lentigeſia* his wife, a woman of haughtie ſpirit, who had by reward made a ſtrong faction in the Court for her ſonne *Muleaſſes*, he altered his former purpoſe, and appointed him his ſucceſſor: by H whom (as it was thought) the ſmall remainder of his owne old yeares wa ſhortened; *Maimo* the right heire of the kingdome in priſon, preſently murthered; ſeuenteene of his other brethren inhumanely executed; and three other, *Barcha*, *Beleth*, and *Saeth*, with more than barbarous crueltie with a hot yron of their ſight depriued; only *Roſcetes* the ſecond brother, and *Abdemelech*, eſcaping the hands of their vnnaturall brother, fled to *Morhabitus* a great Prince amongſt the Numidians: whither alſo their brothers malice perſecuted them, ſeeking by many practiſes to haue taken them away, and at laſt for a great ſumme of money to haue had them deliuered into his hands. Which mony the Numidian receiued, but ſuffered the diſtreſſed Princes, as if they had eſcaped againſt his will, to flie further to another Numidian prince I a friend of his called *Bentaſes*: where *Muleaſſes* by like practiſes as before, ſought to haue deſtroyed them, or to haue got them into his owne power. Thus chaſed by their brothers endleſſe malice, from Prince to Prince, and place to place, they for their more ſafetie fled at laſt to the citie of Biſcaris, farre into the maine land: where *Abdemelech* as one wearie of the world giuen ouer all, and betooke himſelfe to a ſolitarie life, and became a melancholie Mahometan Monke. But *Roſcetes* curteouſly entertained by *Abdalla* Prince of that citie, found ſuch fauour in his ſight, that he gaue him his daughter in marriage, and long time honorably maintained him as his ſonne in law, with ſuch carefulneſſe, that for feare of *Muleaſſes* practiſes, hee was ſeldome permitted to eat any other meat but ſuch as the Prince or his wife had before taſted. *Muleaſſes* thus raigning and raging, and yet not contented with the death of ſo many K of his brethren, proceeded further, and murthered diuers of their children alſo. He cauſed alſo the Manſfet and Meſuar, men of greateſt authoritie in all the kingdome, his fathers graue counſellors, and his chiefe friends, by whoſe meanes eſpecially he had aſpired vnto the Kingdome, to be cruelly tortured to death, fearing their greatnes; or rather as ſome thought, grieuing to ſee them liue, to whom he was ſo much beholden, and therefore rewarded them with ſuch ſharp payment. And by the inſtigation of *Lenteſia* his mother, cauſed diuers of his fathers other wiues and concubines to be ſhamefully murthered; enueighing oftentimes againſt his father, that as an effeminate prince, had for his pleaſure maintained 200 wiues and concubines in his houſes of delight, by whom he had begot ſo many ſons competitors of the kingdome, that he had left him (as he ſaid) a laborious and endleſſe piece of worke, to deſtroy ſo great a L brood.

The ingratitude of Muleaſſes.

Roſcetes riſeth againſt his brother Muleaſſes.

Roſcetes aided by his father in law and the other Numidian princes, to whome the name of *Muleaſſes*, both for his crueltie againſt his owne bloud, and iniurious dealing againſt his neighbours, was become odious, paſſing ouer the riuer Bragada with a great armie, neere vnto Tunes met with *Muleaſſes* his armie, conducted by *Dorax* a valiant captaine, brother to *Lentigeſia*: where in a ſharpe conflict he ouerthrew his brothers Armie, and enforced *Dorax* with them that were eſcaped out of the battell, for ſafegard of their liues to flie into Tunes. *Roſcetes* purſuing the victorie, came and preſented his armie before the gates of the citie, in hope that the citiſens (whom he knew for the moſt part to hate the vſurping tyrant) would vpon the ſight of him, their right King, with ſo great an army, raiſe ſome tumult in the city, and let him in. There he lay by the ſpace of twentie dayes, ſtill expecting ſome innouation; M in which time the more to alienate the mindes of the people from *Muleaſſes*, and to ſhew how vnable he was to protect them, he burnt & deſtroyed all the Oliue and fruit trees, which grew moſt plentifully and pleaſantly all alongſt the countrey, from the ruines of old Carthage, to the walls of Tunes: which was vnto the citiſens, whoſe greateſt poſſeſſions lay there, a moſt heauie and lamentable ſpectacle. But *Muleaſſes* had ſo attempered their minds with faire ſpeeches

A ches, and large promiſes of recompenſing euery man to the full; for all ſuch harme as they ſhould ſuſtaine for his brothers furie in the countrey: and beſide that, had the citie in ſuch ſtrong poſſeſſion by reaſon of his ſouldiers, that the citiſens either would not or could not reuolt to *Roſcetes*. The Numidian princes wearie of that long and vain expectation, according to the leuitie of that nation, accounting it no ſhame after victorie once gotten to depart, began one after another to ſhrinke away to their owne dwellings, perſuading *Roſcetes* alſo to prouide for himſelf whilſt he had time, and to attend his better fortune. Wherfore he fearing to be betraied by the Numidians, or circumuented by his cruell brother, fled to *Barbaruſſa*, then raigning at Algiers in great glorie, where he was honourably entertained; and there remained vntill ſuch time as by his perſuaſion he went with him as is aforeſaid to Conſtantinople, to B craue help of *Solyman*, by whom he was detained in ſafe cuſtodie: although it was in policie giuen out by *Barbaruſſa*, that he was in the fleet, and that he ſhould by *Solymans* power be reſtored to his fathers kingdome at Tunes.

Forſaken of the Numidian princes, he flieth to Barbaruſſa.

This was the ſtate of the kingdom of Tunes, at ſuch time as *Barbaruſſa* with *Solymans* great fleet, contrarie to all mens expectation, ſuddenly departing from the coaſt of Italie, landed in Affricke at Biſerta, a famous port of the kingdome of Tunes. They of Biſerta wearie of the gouernment of *Muleaſſes*, and of themſelues deſirous of change, as ſoone as they heard the name of *Roſcetes*, forthwith draue out their Gouernor, and receiued the Turks into the towne. For *Barbaruſſa* had before ſent certaine of *Roſcetes* his familiar friends aſhore, which bare the people in hand, that he was in the fleet, but not able to come yet on ſhore, for that he was (as C they ſaid) ſea-ſicke, and troubled him with an ague. Biſerta thus poſſeſſed by *Barbaruſſa*, hee preſently departed thence, and ſailing by Vtica, thirtie miles diſtant from Biſerta, and ſo keeping alongſt the coaſt, and paſſing the promontorie of Carthage, came before Guletta, a ſtrong caſtle within the bay of Tunes, ſo placed vpon a ſtrait, that it commandeth all the paſſage by ſea vnto the city of Tunes. Before this caſtle, *Barbaruſſa* in token of friendſhip, diſcharged all his great ordnance, which they of the caſtle anſwered with like: but being required to deliuer it vp to *Roſcetes*, they ſaid it ſhould be alwaies at his command that ruled in the city of Tunes. The newes of *Roſcetes* his ſuppoſed comming, flying ſwiftly by land from Biſerta to Tunes, and the great fleet once diſcouered, ſet all the citie on an vprore: for the citizens were in great expectation of their new king, both for the loue of *Roſcetes*, who had alwaies ſhewed D himſelfe to be of a mild and bountifull nature; and alſo for the hatred of *Muleaſſes*, whoſe tyrannous and couetous gouernment they thought they had too long indured. Neither was hee ignorant what report ran of himſelfe, and how he had loſt the hearts of his ſubiects; which was euidently to be ſeene in the eyes and countenances of the chiefe men of the citie. And that which more increaſed their hatred, was for that he had not according to his promiſe to them in time of his diſtreſſe, made them any recompence for their goodly houſes and Oliue gardens, deſtroyed in the countrey by *Roſcetes* in the former wars: wherefore at ſuch time as hee came now out of the caſtle, and in the greateſt aſſemblie of his people, began to perſuade them to play the men, and to continue conſtant in theri obedience, promiſing vnto them ſuch reward as they knew he was neuer able to performe, they all departed, and left him alone: yea E ſome of them vnder the color of friendſhip, and amongſt them *Abdahar*, then Meſuar (which was chiefe officer next vnto the king) perſuaded him to giue place to his hard fortune, & forthwith to flie, for by chance at the ſame inſtant it was in euery mans mouth, that the Turks were euen at hand: which thing cauſed *Muleaſſes*, forſaken of his ſubiects, of himſelfe fearefull, and worthily doubting to be betraied, to flie in ſuch haſt out of the city, that he left behind him both his treaſure and iewels, which afterwards came into the hands of his enemies. The firſt that reuolted was *Abezes*, a man of great authority, & *Fetuches*, captain of the caſtle, both renegate Spaniards. *Fetuches* preſently after the flight of *Muleaſſes*, brought out *Roſcetes* wife and children, whom *Muleaſſes* had long time kept in priſon, & to welcom their father, placed them F in the kings royall ſeat. *Abezes* alſo forthwith aduertiſed *Barbaruſſa* of *Muleaſſes* departure, & with what longing the people expected their deſired king, wiſhing him without delay to repaire vnto the city: and for a preſent ſent him a goodly Barbarian horſe, richly furniſhed, and diuers others for his other chiefe captaines. Hereupon *Barbaruſſa* without longer ſtay ſet forward with fiue thouſand Turks, which he had already landed, & comming to the city, was of the citiſens ioifully receiued. But after long looking, when they could no where deſcry *Roſ-*

Barbaruſſa landeth at Biſerta.

Biſerta yeelded.

Barbaruſſa commeth to Guletta.

Muleaſſes flieth out of Tunes.

Barbaruſſa enters into Tunes.

cetes their ſuppoſed king, and heard nothing but the name of ***Solyman*** and ***Barbaruſſa***, doubled G
and redoubled by the Turks in their militarie acclamations, as they marched thorow the citie
towards the caſtle; they began to diſtruſt, as the truth was, that in ſtead of their new king
whom they ſo much deſired, they had receiued the Turkiſh gouernment, which they vtterly
deteſted. Which ſuſpition once confirmed by certaine of *Roſcetes* friends (whom *Barbaruſſa*
had brought with him of purpoſe to delude the people) who grieued to ſee the ruin of their
natiue country, ſpared not for feare of the preſent danger to tell their friends and acquaintance
as they went, That they did in vaine looke for *Roſcetes*, whom they had left in bonds at Conſtantinople:
it was a wonder to ſee, how ſuddenly the minds of the people were changed, how
ſpeedily they ran to their weapons, and how furiouſly they aſſailed the Turks, now fearing no
ſuch matter, and were not as yet al got into tht caſtle. The chiefe leader of the citiſens in this H
tumult, was *Abdahar* the Meſuar, who but a little before vpon the comming of the Turkes, by
augmenting the danger, and the vnfaithfulneſſe of his ſubiects, had perſuaded *Muleaſſes* to flie;
but now perceiuing himſelfe deceiued of his expectation for the comming of *Roſcetes*, and repenting
of that he had done, ſought by all means to driue out the Turks, and to recall *Muleaſſes*.
And the more to animat the people, as he ſtood on high, from whence he might beſt be
heard, hee cried vnto them with a loud voice:

The citizens deceiued of their expectation, riſe againſt the Turkes.

We are moſt villanouſly betraied (worthie citiſens) for Roſcetes, *whom we expected for our lawful*
king, lamenteth his miſerie in chains, in priſon at Conſtantinople: and we, except we preſently play the
men, and valiantly fight for our libertie, ſhall for euer ſerue as ſlaues to theſe forreine and mercileſſe pyrats.
The preſent danger of our eſtate telleth vs, that we muſt preſently and without delay take the occaſion I
offered. Wherefore let all men that meane not to ſerue as ſlaues, and to be bought and ſold as beaſts,
take vp armes againſt the faithleſſe Turks. I my ſelfe will be your leader: let vs therefore all with one
conſent, with heart and hand reuenge this ſhamefull trecherie, defend our countrey and libertie with the
antient honour and libertie of the Numidians.

There was now no time to ſtay, euery man had betaken himſelfe to his weapons; *Muleaſſes*
was againe ſent for, who yet ſtaied in the ſuburbs, expecting what ſhould happen; many of
the Turks were ſlain before they were aware, or feared any thing; all the citie was filled with
outcries and clattering of weapons; the number of the citiſens was ſuch, as might eaſily haue
expulſed the Turks, had they bin but reaſonably armed, or well conducted, which in a matter
ſo ſudden, and with men altogether ignorant of ſeruice, was not poſſible. Yet they, armed with K
furie, and encouraged with the multitude of themſelues, ſwarmed vp as thicke as was poſſible
one of the bulwarkes of the caſtle, which they knew was eaſieſt to be gained, where the Turks
had ſet vp one of their enſignes; and with the multitude of their darts and arrowes ſo ouerwhelmed
the Turks, that they were glad to forſake the place, & to retire farther into the caſtle
to a place of more ſtrength: from whence and all alongſt the curtaine of the wall, they
without intermiſſion diſcharged their great artillerie and ſmall ſhot amongſt the thickeſt of
the naked Moores, making of them a wonderfull ſlaughter. ***Barbaruſſa*** although he was a man
of an inuincible courage & great experience, all his life time well acquainted with deſperate
dangers (the dreadfull ſteps of aſpiring minds) yet ſurpriſed with the ſuddenneſſe of the aſſault,
ſhut vp in a place whereof he yet knew not the ſtrength, and not prouided of victual for L
three daies, was with the due conſideration of theſe difficulties, not a little troubled: which
his care was by the diſordered furie of his enemies, and knowne valour of his owne ſouldiers
greatly diminiſhed; eſpecially when hee ſaw his owne men ſtill fighting, as men full of hope
and courage, and the Moores as men halfe diſmaied with the wounds and ſlaughter of their
friends, ready to retire. Howbeit, by the comming in of *Muleaſſes* & *Dorax*, the aſſault twice
before giuen ouer, was againe at both times renewed, with no leſſe deſperate furie than at the
firſt, and the Turks hardly charged. In this dangerous aſſault *Halis* of Maliga, a renegat Spaniard,
but a moſt expert ſouldier, turning himſelfe to *Barbaruſſa*, ſaid,

Muleaſſes returned into the citie.

If thou wilt ſaue thine honour, and hold this fort, we muſt ſallie out vpon this enemie, which hauing
neuer ſeene a ſet battell, but onely acquainted with light skirmiſhes, will not be able to endure our charge M
at hand, but ſhall in a moment know the price of their fooliſh hardineſſe; who as braineſicke men could
neither indure the gouernment of their cruell king, ne yet thankefully receiue the authors of their deliuerance
and liberty.

This motion of the Spaniard, confirmed by the generall approbation of the chifeſt captaines,

A taines, *Barbaruſſa* commanded *Halis* the author of that counſell, with certaine other captaines
and their companions, at one inſtant to ſallie out at two ports of the caſtle: which they ſo re-
ſolutely performed, that in ſhort time a wonderful number of the naked Moores lay dead vp-
on the ground.

The citiſens of Tunes diſcomfi-ted by the Turks.

Abdabar the Meſuar himſelfe, was there ſhot thorow with a bullet and ſlaine: whereupon
the aſſault was quite giuen ouer, the Moores retiring by companies backe into the city, and
the Turkes ſtill purſuing them: where in the ſtreets for certaine houres, was fought a moſt
cruel and bloudie battel. At laſt the citizens ouercome, forſooke the open ſtreets, and betook
them to the refuge of their houſes; not ſo careful of their king, as of themſelues, their wiues,
and children. And *Halis* with the reſt, wearied with the ſlaughter of his enemies, and ouer-
B come with labour, heat, and thirſt, returned with victorie vnto the caſtle. It is reported that
there was aboue three thouſand of the citizens ſlaine that day, and thrice as many hurt. *Mule-
aſſes* thus diſcouraged, and vtterly deſpairing to recouer the citie, hardly eſcaped his enemies
hands, by the good helpe of his vncle *Dorax*, with whom he fled ouer the riuer Bagrada, and
came in ſafetie to Conſtantina (called of old time Cyrtha) the antient ſeat of the Numidian
kings, but then a part of *Dorax* his dominion; where he was honourably maintained and pro-
tected vntill the comming of *Charles* the Emperour into Affricke. The night enſuing this bat-
tell, and the flight of the king, was reſtleſſe both to the citizens and the Turks, each of them
for feare of other ſtanding vpon their ſtrongeſt guard.

Muleaſſes flieth

The citiſens of Tunes yeeld themſelues to Barbaruſſa.

C The next day, the citizens diſcouraged with the loſſe of ſo many of their kinſemen and
friends, and hauing no king now for whom they ſhould fight, craued pardon of *Barbaruſſa* for
their raſh attempt, excuſing it by the name of loyaltie to their antient kings; offering to ſub-
mit themſelues vnto him with all faithfulneſſe. Which their offer hee willingly accepted;
knowing that he was not able to keepe that place with his ſouldiers three daies, for lacke of
victuall: ſo that all his hope and victorie gotten, might eaſily be ouerthrowne and brought to
nought, if the citizens moued either with deſperation or deſire of reuenge, ſhould ioyne with
the other Numidian princes, and beſiege him in the caſtle. Whereupon a generall peace was
granted, and by ſolemne oath on both ſide confirmed, whereby the citizens expreſly bound
themſelues to the obedience of *Solyman*, & to *Barbaruſſa* as his lieutenant. All things thus ſet in
D order in the citie of Tunes, & new magiſtrates and officers by him made, he laboured by all
meanes to win vnto him the Numidian princes: which when he had eaſily brought to paſſe
by gifts and rewards with thoſe needie princes, of themſelues prone enough vpon light occa-
ſions to make or breake the bonds of friendſhip, hee ſent *Aſan-aga* an eunuch, and *Halis* the
Spaniard, with the Ianizaries, & certaine pieces of great ordnance, to take in the other cities of
the kingdome of Tunes: which they in ſhort time performed, being in all places peaceably re-
ceiued, onely the city of Caruenna held out a while, yet afterwards for feare of further harme
receiued the Turks garriſon. But to leaue *Barbaruſſa* king of Algiers and *Solymans* great Ad-
mirall, thus poſſeſſed of the kingdome of Tunes; and *Muleaſſes* in exile at Conſtantina, vntil he
be againe reſtored vnto his kingdome by *Charles* the Emperor, as ſhall be hereafter delared: let
E vs againe returne to the wars at the ſelfe ſame time vndertaken by *Solyman* in perſon himſelfe
in Perſia, perſuaded thereunto (as we haue before ſaid) by *Abraham* the great Baſſa. Of whom a
few words, that they which ſhall hereafter liue, may in him as in others, ſee in what ſlipperie
place they ſtand, and what ſmal aſſurance they haue, which forſaking God, run headlong after
theſe worldly vanities, and ſwelling with the fauours of great princes, are in a moment when
they leaſt feare any ſuch fall, ſuddenly ouerthrowne, and become the miſerable ſpectacles of
mans fragilitie in the height of their ſuppoſed bliſſe.

The deſcription of Abraham the Baſſa.

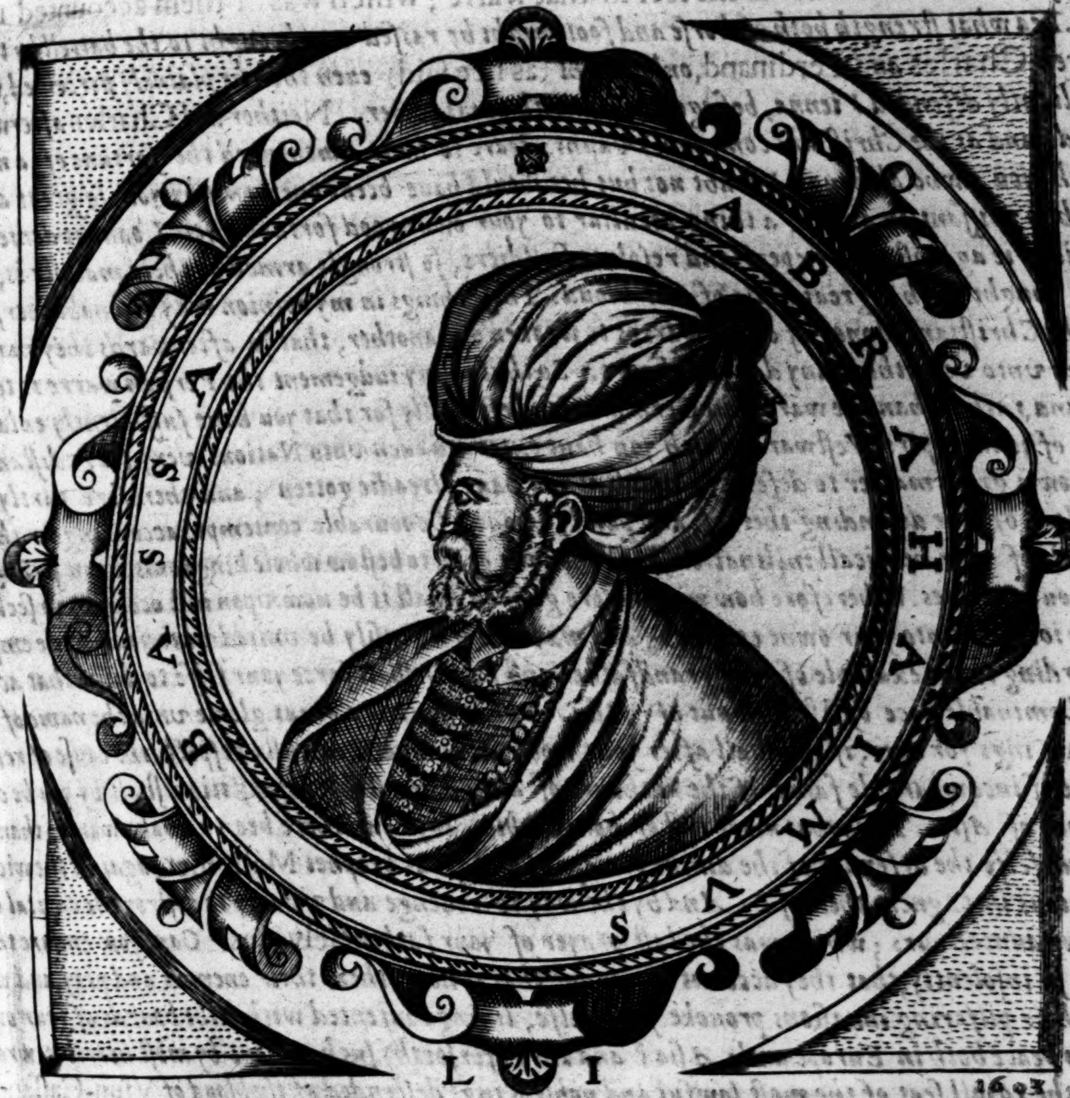
This great Baſſa called of the Turks *Ibrahim*, of vs *Abraham*, was borne in a poore countrie
village neere vnto Perga, a towne in that part of Epirus which was called Buthrotia: who in
his childhood was taken from his Chriſtian parents, by ſuch as by authoritie did take vp the
F tribute children of the Chriſtians for the Turkiſh Emperour. A tribute of all tributes moſt
grieuous. He was of countenance amiable, of feature comely, actiue of body, wel ſpoken, plea-
ſantly conceited, and ſharpe of wit; ſo that hee in ſhorter time than was thought poſſible, to
the admiration of many, learned both to ſpeake and write the Arabian tongue, and other
languages vſed in the Turkes court, and could skilfully play vpon ſundrie kindes of inſtru-
ments. And being yet a boy, ſerued *Scanderbaſſa*, a man of great authoritie and power, in the
time

His bringing vp in the Court.

His great credit with Solyman.

time of *Selymus* the Emperor, in whoſe ſeruice he was inſtructed in the Mahometan religion: but giuing himſelfe to all manner of curioſitie and neatneſſe, he was wonderfully fauoured by the great ladie his miſtreſſe, and by her commended to her husband *Scanderbaſſa*, as a fit page to temper his melancholie and wayward diſpoſition, with his pleaſant conceits and deuices: wherein the Tetricall Baſſa finding him to excell, gaue him as a rare gift to *Solyman* the ſon of *Selymus*, his grand father *Baiazet* yet liuing: who tooke in him ſuch pleaſure, that the old Emperour cauſed him to be brought vp in the Court, in all princely qualities with *Solyman* (who was of like yeares vnto him) as his companion and playfellow. Where hee ſo framed himſelfe vnto the yong Princes diſpoſition in all points, that he was of him alwayes exceedingly beloued, and afterwards promoted to all the honors of the court, and made one of the Baſſa's, giuing vnto him in marriage the only daughter and heire of *Scanderbaſſa* his maſter, then dead, with an exceeding great dowrie. And after that made him gouernor of Caire: where he had not long remained, but he was againe ſent for to the court, as the man which gaue thereunto life, without whoſe companie *Solyman* was as one halfe dead. At length he made him Viſier, which is the chiefe of all the Baſſa's, and Preſident of his Councell, the greateſt honour in the Turkiſh empire next vnto the Emperor himſelfe. And to honor him yet more, he deliuered him his priuat ſignet, wherewith the Turkiſh Emperours neuer vſed to truſt any but themſelues: he might at his pleaſure grace and diſgrace whom he would, in court or elſewhere. What he commanded was done, and whatſoeuer he did was taken for well done. He might without the Emperours knowledge giue any office, yea the gouernment of whole Countries and Prouinces vnto his fauorits: his credit with the Emperor was ſo great, that hee did what he liſt, and no man durſt preſume to aske any reaſon why. And to ſay all at once, he wanted nothing of the maieſtie of an Emperor, but the name only; in ſtead whereof, he was commonly called the great Commander of all the Emperours forces. His houſe in Conſtantinople was of all other moſt ſtately, wherein was daily to be ſeene ſuch a multitude of his gallant followers, and ſuch a world of wealth and royall furniture, as that it might be worthily compared with the palace of a great Prince. Neither was he partaker of *Solymans* counſels in his weightie matters of ſtate only, but of his ſecret delights and pleaſures alſo: if hee were preſent, all was well; if he were away, nothing pleaſed: to be ſhort, he ſo poſſeſſed this great Emperour, that men commonly ſayd, The ſoule of *Solyman* liued in *Abraham*. Whereat many of the great men of the court ſecretly repined; but eſpecially *Solymans* mother, and *Roxolana* his faire Concubine whom of all women he held deareſt. His liuely and maieſticall countenance thou maiſt here behold.

ABRA-



Magnus es, & Getici gratia prona tyranni
Seruit at ex alto magna ruina venit:
Te proceres odere, parensq; & regia coniux
E *Horum ne pereas proditione caue.*

Right great thou art, and do'ſt command the fauour of thy King:
But ſuch great fauours oftentimes a greater fall doth bring.
The great Kings mother, wife, and all the Nobles hate thee ſore:
Beware that by their wylie drifts thou periſh not therefore.

Abraham Baſſa perſuadeth Solyman to make warre vpon the Perſians.

This great commander, which might at all times be bold to ſpeake what he thought, vnto *Solyman*, ſought many times in his priuat diſcourſes betwixt them two, to perſuade him to forbeare to vſe his forces any farther againſt the Chriſtians, ouer whom he had ſufficiently alreadie triumphed, & to turn them vpon the Perſians, by whom he was daily iniured. Alled-
F ging to him, that the Germans were a ſtrong & warlike people; who as they both in language and manners differed from the Hungarians, ſo were they alwayes at variance with them, and therfore much cared not though they were by him ſubdued: but if he ſhould begin to inuade any part of their country, he ſhould then ſoon ſee that iuuincible nation with their vnited forces vp in armes, readie to make ſtrong reſiſtance. And to prouoke *Charles* the Emperor (of all the Chriſtian princes the mightieſt) were not good, who of himſelf was able to bring into the field

field moſt puiſſant armies of valiant ſouldiers out of his owne dominions: beſides the wonderfull concourſe of moſt reſolute men out of all parts of Chriſtendome, which would not ſpare to lay downe their liues at his feet in that warre; which was of them accounted moſt religious. *Yea what ſtrength both of horſe and foot might be raiſed and brought to the battell by the two brethren* Charles *and* Ferdinand, *only might* (as hee ſaid) *euen then be plainely perceiued, when as they valiantly defended Vienna, beſieged by vs with great power.* Neither did Charles *afterward, as it ſeemed, and as the Chriſtians commonly vaunt, feare to haue adventured the fortune of a maine battell with you: who although I doubt not but hee ſhould haue beene ouercome by you ſo great a monarch with ſo puiſſant an armie, a thing peculiar to your owne good fortune; yet I cannot denie, but that the victorie againſt ſuch expert and reſolute ſouldiers, ſo ſtrongly armed as their manner is, muſt haue beene bought with a great deale of our bloud. Theſe things in my opinion may reſonably perſuade you to let the Chriſtians alone, by ciuile warres to weaken one another, that ſo afterwards they may become a prey vnto vs without any danger of ours. So that in my iudgement the Perſian warre is to bee taken in hand, rather than the warres in Germanie, and eſpecially for that you haue ſufficiently enlarged the bounds of your empire Weſtward, which you haue extended euen vnto Nations very farre diſtant. So that it is now a great matter to defend ſo much as you haue alreadie gotten; and therefore partly for the difficultie of the defending thereof, and partly vpon an honourable contempt, according to the infinite bountie of your heroicall inclination, haue thought good to beſtow whole kingdoms vpon ſtrangers, yea halfe your enemies. Wherefore how much more glorious ſhall it be now vpon iuſt occaſion to ſeeke for that which ioineth vnto your owne confines; and may therefore eaſily be vnited vnto your owne empire: if you according to the example of your grandfather and father ſhall force your ſelfe to driue that accurſed and abhominable race of* Iſmael *out of Aſia. For it ſhall be a great glorie vnto the name of the* Othoman *Kings for euer, if you ſhall after your woonted manner zealouſly reſpect the cauſe of religion: a worke of incomparable fame, if the authours of a moſt deteſtable ſuperſtition ſhall by you be chaſed quite out of Aſia. For what more iuſt or honourable cauſe can there bee to make warre, than to profeſſe your ſelfe the defender of the diuine preceps of our great prophet* Mahomet, *againſt the wicked and irreligious impugners thereof? And by the way to reuenge and vtterly to deſtroy the capital enemies of your aunceſtours; which was the laſt prayer of your father* Selymus. *Can you endure them which rule ſo inſolently, that they account euerie one that is neere them their enemies and prey, and dare alſo with their pilfering inuaſions prouoke your ſelfe, liuing contented within the bounds of your owne Empire, in peace both in Europe and Aſia? and they (forſooth) ſuch as haue by moſt horrible wrong crept into the royall ſeat of the moſt lawful and noble Kings deſcended of the bloud of* Vſun-Caſſanes: *who after their woonted manner ſtill liue by rapine and robberie? Beleeue mee, Noble Emperour, if you ſhall vpon a zeale to your religion with your victorious hand take away this ſtaine and plague of Aſia, there ſhall vndoubtedly be erected vnto you ſo glorious and magnificent a trophie in the middeſt of Perſia, as may bee compared, yea preferred before the Triumphs of your victorious father* Selymus. *For it is not ſo much to haue deſtroyed the Mamalukes (by condition ſlaues) and the proude Sultans of Ægypt and Syria, as to haue ſubdued the Perſians, famous in antient time for their martiall proweſſe, who ſo oftentimes vanquiſhed by* Alexander *of Macedon, gaue vnto him the name of Great.* *Solyman* prickt forward with many ſuch diſcourſes, daily ſounded in his eares by the Baſſa, began to yeeld to his perſuaſion. Whereof *Abraham* himſelfe greatly reioyced: for it was thought of many, that he did neuer in heart renounce the Chriſtian Religion, but was onely in outward ſhew a Turke, and in heart a Chriſtian. Which was the rather coniectured, for that he meruellouſly fauoured and protected the Chriſtian marchants, furthered by all means the leagues of the Chriſtian Princes with *Solyman*, and laboured alwaies to turne his forces from them vpon the Perſians. And the more to whet him forward, the Baſſa had cunningly inſinuated into his acquaintance one *Mulearbe* of Damaſco, a man in that time famous in Conſtantinople, for the opinion the people had generally conceiued of his holineſſe and profound knowledge in the ſecret cauſes of things, and the art of Magicke; vſing him as a prophet to fill the ambitious mind of *Solyman*, with aſſured hope of proſperous ſucceſſe: which thing the hypocritical wiſard, after the manner of ſuch deceiuers, ſlily performed, propheſying vnto him all happineſſe in ſo religious a warre, and ſo much (as hee ſaide) pleaſing God. This the Baſſaes purpoſe was much furthered alſo by *Vlemus* a noble and valiant Perſian, who hauing married the great Perſian King *Tamas* his ſiſter, was reuolted from him to *Solyman*, fearing to bee called to account for the extortion wherewith hee had grieuouſly

A oppreſſed the countries whereof he had the gouernment: and being wonderfully countenanced in *Solymans* court by the great Baſſa, did after the manner of diſloyall fugitiues perſuade *Solyman* by all means he could to take that war in hand, diſcouering vnto him the power, ſtate, and ſtrength of the Perſian kingdome (which hee could well doe) and plotting vnto him the eaſieſt way for the conquering thereof, offering alſo vnto him the vttermoſt of his deuoire. So *Solyman* filled with the vain hope of the conqueſt of Perſia, yeelded fully vnto the perſuaſions of the great Baſſa, and gaue out his commiſſions into all parts of his empire, for the raiſing of a mightie armie for the performance of ſo great an enterpriſe; commanding all his captaines and men of war to be readie at the citie of Nice in Bythinia at a certain day appointed. Which his purpoſe, although it was mightily impugned by his mother, and faire *Roxola-* B *na* his beſt beloued, as that which altogether proceeded from the Baſſa: the one alledging, with what euill ſucceſſe his grandfather and father had before him attempted that ſame war; the other aſſailing him with her paſſionat affections: but both of them indeed repining at the credit of the Baſſa, and in their hearts diſdaining, that ſo great a Monarch ſhould at the pleaſure of his ſeruant be led vp and down the world ſo far from their companie: for which cauſe they did what in them lay to haue ouerthrowne the purpoſe of *Abraham*, and to haue altreed *Solymans* former determination. But ſo ſtrong was the Baſſa's credit with his great lord and maſter, that all theſe great ladies deuices and prayers were as womens affectionat paſſions reiected, and the Baſſa's counſell (to their no ſmall griefe) in all things regarded.

Solyman reſolueth to goe againſt the Perſians.

Abrahams credit maligned by Solymans mother and Roxolana.

The time appointed being come, and all things in readines, *Solyman* ſent *Abraham* the Baſ- C ſa, and *Vlemas* the Perſian, before him into Syria with a ſtrong armie, to be readie with the firſt of the Spring to inuade the Perſian King. Which thing the Baſſa gladly tooke vpon him, and comming into Syria, wintered with his armie at Aleppo: whither *Barbaruſſa* came vnto him for his letters of credence to *Solyman*, as is before declared. The Spring now approching, *Abraham* ſent *Vlemas* the fugitiue Perſian Prince before him with the light horſmen, the forerunners of his armie, into Meſopotamia as his guide, becauſe the countrey was vnto him beſt knowne; following not far after himſelfe with all his armie. And marching ſtill forward in that manner, came at length without reſiſtance vnto the famous citie of Tauris in Armenia the greater, called in antient time Ecbathana, as is probably by ſome coniectured: a great and rich citie, but vnwalled and of no ſtrength; where the Perſian kings, for the pleaſantneſſe of D the place, and freſhneſſe of the aire, vſed commonly to be reſiant in the heat of the yere. From whence *Tamas* the Perſian King was as then abſent, buſied in wars with *Kezſen-baſſa*, a Prince of the Coraſine Hircanians: ſo that the citiſens of Tauris deſtitute of all helpe, yeelded themſelues and the citie vnto the Baſſa at his firſt comming. *Tamas* the Perſian King vnderſtanding what had hapned at Tauris, drew neere with his power, warily expecting to haue taken the Turks at ſome aduantage, and ſo by policie to haue defeated his enemies, whom he was too weake to meet with in plaine battell. Which thing the warie Baſſa well perceiuing, for more aſſurance by ſpeedie courrours aduertiſed *Solyman* of the taking of Tauris, and of the enemies purpoſe, requeſting him with all ſpeed to repaire with his armie to Tauris. *Solyman* was then come far on his way with a great armie, not by the way of Ancyra, Sebaſtia, Amaſia, the bor- E ders of Trapezond, and ſo ouer Euphrates at Arſenga, into Armenia, as his father *Selymus* had done before him, becauſe that way was thought longer and more troubleſome: but quite another way, on the right hand from Nice in Bythinia, to Iconium, and by Cæſaria to Malathia, where is the notable paſſage ouer the riuer Euphrates, burſting out by the vallies of the mountaine Antitaurus, from whence the plaines of Meſopotamia (then part of the Perſian kingdome) begin to open themſelues: through which countrey *Solyman* marched peaceably with his armie, paying the poore countrey people for whatſoeuer he tooke; and ſo in foure and fiftie dayes march, came from Nice in Bythinia, to the citie of Coim in Armenia the greater, which is ſuppoſed to be built in the ruines of the famous and antient citie Artaxata. But hearing ſuch newes as is aforeſaid from the Baſſa, he doubled his march, and ſo in ſhort F time after came and ioyned his forces with the Baſſa at Tauris. *Tamas* (who yet dayly expected the comming of the Georgian light horſmen) vnderſtanding that *Solyman* was comming againſt him with a world of men, thought it not good to abide the comming of ſo puiſſant an enemie, but with delay to wearie him out, that drew ſuch a multitude of people after him; and by taking of him at all aduantages, to cut off his people, ſpent with long trauell, wanting

Abraham Baſſa ſent before with an armie into Syria.

The city of Tauris yeelded vnto the Baſſa.

Solyman commeth to Tauris.

victuall,

Solyman followeth Tamas the Perſian king into Sultania.

victuall, and falling into diuers diſeaſes; as it commonly chanceth to populous armies in G
ſtrange countries, where the change of the aire, with the ineuitable neceſſitie alwayes attending
vpon a great armie, moſt times cauſeth grieuous and contagious diſeaſes. Wherefore
Tamas to ſhun the comming of ***Solyman***, retyred further off into Sultania, about ſix days journey
from Tauris. Whereof ***Solyman*** hauing knowledge, departed from that rich Citie without
doing any harme therein; following after ***Tamas*** into Sultania, to joyne battell with him if he
could poſſible: leauing behind him for haſt, a great part of his carriages and baggage, with
fiue hundred Ianizaries, and three of his Sanzacks with their companies. The citie of Sultania
was in antient time one of the royall ſeats of the Perſian Kings, but ruinated by the Scythian
Tamerlane, retained no ſhew of the antient maieſtie, but onely in the churches by him ſpared.
Neere vnto this citie ***Solyman*** lay incamped many dayes, expecting that the Perſian King (in H
reuenge of the iniuries to him done, and for the ſafegard of his honour) ſhould at length come
out of the mountaines, and ſhew himſelfe in plaine field, and giue him battell. Which was a
thing ſo far from ***Tamas*** his reſolution, vpon the due comparing of his owne ſtrength with his
enemies, that he retired in ſuch ſort, that ***Solyman*** could by no means learne what was become
of him, or which way to follow him.

Solymans army diſtreſſed with tempeſt.

The countrey neere vnto the citie of Sultania, wherein ***Solyman*** lay incamped at large, is on
euerie ſide inuironed with hugie mountaines, whoſe tops are to be ſeene a far off, always couered
with deepe ſnow: theſe mountains were in antient time called Nyphates, Caſpius, Coathras,
and Zagrus, taking their beginning no doubt from Caucaſus the father of mountaines; I
and joyning one to another, ſome one way, ſome another, doe diuide moſt large and wide
Countries. Whileſt ***Solyman*** in thoſe vaſt and plaine fields moſt fit to fight a battell in, expected
the comming of ***Tamas***, ſuch a horrible and cruell tempeſt (as the like whereof the Perſians
had neuer before ſeene at that time of the yeare) fell downe from thoſe mountains (which
was ſo much the more ſtrange, for that it fell in the beginning of September) with ſuch abundance
of raine, which froze ſo eagerly as it fell, that it ſeemed the depth of Winter had euen
then of a ſudden been come in: for ſuch was the rage of the bluſtring windes, ſtriuing with
themſelues as if it had been for victorie, that they ſwept the ſnow from off the tops of thoſe
high mountaines, and caſt it into the plaines in ſuch aboundance, that the Turkes lay as men
buried aliue in the deepe ſnow, moſt part of their tents being ouerthrowne and beaten downe K
to the ground with the violence of the tempeſt, and weight of the ſnow; wherein a wonderful
number of ſicke ſouldiers and others of the baſer ſort which followed the campe, periſhed;
and many others were ſo benummed, ſome their hands, ſome their feet, that they loſt the vſe
of them for euer: moſt part of their beaſts which they vſed for carriage, but eſpecially their
camels, were frozen to death. Yea ***Solyman*** himſelfe was in great danger to haue beene ouerwhelmed
in his Tent, all the Tents round about him being ouerthrowne with the violence of
the tempeſt. Neither was there any remedie to be found for ſo great miſchiefes, by reaſon of
the helliſh darkneſſe of that tempeſtuous night, moſt of their fires being put out by the extremitie
of the ſtorme: which did not a little terrifie the ſuperſtitious Turks, as a thing accounted
of them ominous. And that which troubled them no leſſe than the miſeries of the tempeſt, L
was the feare of the enemie, whoſe ſudden comming they deadly feared: vntill that after
ſo tedious a night, the Sun breaking out the next morning, with his cheerefull beams reuiued
many, before readie to giue vp the ghoſt for cold, and gaue comfort vnto them all in generall,
by diſcouering the open fields cleere of their feared enemies. It was a dreadfull thing
to haue ſeen what miſerie that one night had brought into the Turks camp: the ground lay almoſt
couered with bodies of the dead; & many liued but ſo, as that they accounted the dead
more happie than themſelues. Many of the Turks vainly thought, that horrible tempeſt was
brought vpon them by the charmes and inchantments of the Perſian Magicians: whereas it
was vndoubtedly by the hand of him who bringeth the proud deuices of Princes to naught.

Solyman troubled as well with the ſtrangeneſſe of the accident, as the loſſe he had receiued, M
after he had a little refreſhed his diſcouraged ſoldiers, roſe with his armie, and tooke his way
on the left hand into Aſſyria: ***Vlemas*** the Perſian perſuading him thereunto for many cauſes,
but eſpecially by putting him in hope of the taking of Babylon; for that ***Mahometes*** a friend
of his, was gouernour thereof. But he when the matter came to proofe, was not to be woon
either by promiſe or reward, to betray the Citie. Wherefore ***Solyman*** reſolued to take

A it by force: neither did his fortune faile him therein: for as ſoone as *Mahometes* vnderſtood that *Vlemas* was at hand with the forerunners of the Turks armie, and that *Solyman* with all his power was comming after, (who as he thought would neuer haue come ſo far;) he not prouided to withſtand ſo mightie an enemie, and not beloued of the citiſens, fled out of the citie. *Solyman* comming, in ſhort time after was of the Babylonians receiued without reſiſtance. The citie of Babylon, commonly called Bagdat, riſe out of the ruines of the old citie of Babylon, ſo much ſpoken of in holy Writ: from whence it is not far diſtant, ſtanding vpon the riuer Tygris, which not far beneath falleth into the riuer Euphrates. In this famous citie is the ſeat of the great Calyph, the chiefe Mahometan Prieſt, whom all the Mahometan Princes haue in great reuerence, and hath an old prerogatiue in the choice and confirmation of the B Kings of Aſſyria and the Sultans of Ægypt: of which Calyph, *Solyman* according to the old ſuperſtitious manner, receiued at his hands the enſignes and ornaments of the Aſſyrian kings, and with great bountie woon the hearts of the people; and thereupon reſolued to ſpend that Winter there, billiting his armie in diuers places of that fertile countrey. The other cities of Aſſyria and Meſopotamia alſo, namely Caraemida, Meredinum, Orſa, and Aſanceſa, hearing that *Solyman* had without reſiſtance taken Babylon, yeelded themſelues and receiued his garriſons. Yea the fame thereof was ſo great, that Embaſſadours came vnto him as far as Ormus, (a citie in the mouth of Euphrates where it falleth into the Perſian gulfe, famous for the great traffique out of India thither) ſuing vnto him for peace. Thus the antient Citie of Babylon, C with the great countries of Aſſyria and Meſopotamia, ſometimes famous kingdomes of themſelues, and lately part of the Perſian kingdome, fell into the hands of the Turks, and became Prouinces of the Turkiſh empire, in the yeare 1534. Where *Solyman* after he had ſpent that Winter in great ioy and triumph, according to the manner of the Turkiſh gouernement, placed a great commander, which they by a proud name call the *Beglerbeg*, (which is as much as to ſay, the lord of lords) and vnder him diuers others for the gouernment of theſe Countries, by parts, which they cal Sanzacks, who are euer at the command of the *Beglerbeg*. Whilſt he thus wintered at Babylon, he cauſed *Aſbender Zelibi* (which is to ſay, *Alexander* the Noble) his great treaſurer for the wars, to be hanged, for that he had vnfaithfully dealt in his Office; and confiſcated all his goods.

Babylon yeelded to Solyman.

The countries of Aſſyria and Meſopotamia poſſeſſed by the Turks.

D *Tamas* hearing that *Solyman* was gone to Babylon, returned to Tauris: of whoſe ſpeedie comming the Ianizaries and other captaines there left by *Solyman* vnderſtanding, fled in haſte out of the citie, leauing all ſuch things as were committed to their cuſtodie, for a prey vnto the Perſian ſouldiers.

Tamas comes to Tauris.

1535

Solymans armie being mightily increaſed by the comming vnto him of the great Baſſa of Caire, with the Sanzacks of Alexandria, Iudea, Syria, and Comagena; by the perſuaſion of *Abraham* and *Vlemas*, the Spring now well come on, departed from Babylon again toward Tauris, with purpoſe either to draw *Tamas* to battell, or elſe to his eternall infamie, before his face to ſacke that his regall citie. But *Tamas* aduertiſed of his comming, and knowing himſelfe too weake to giue him battel, forſooke the citie, and fled into the mountains of Hircania: E deſtroying all the countrey before him as he went, and carrying away the inhabitants, leauing nothing to relieue the Turkes ſouldiers, if they ſhould purſue him. *Solyman* vnderſtanding that *Tamas* was againe fled, ſent *Vlemas* with all the choice horſemen of his armie to ouertake him if it were poſſible, and to fight with him. But when he had followed him two or three days iourny, and ſtill found the country deſolate as he went, yeelding neither forrage for his horſes, nor reliefe for his men, and ſaw no hope to ouertake the king; he began as a prouident General, to forecaſt the extremities like to befal in his return thorow thoſe deſolat countries with the enemie at his heeles: and therupon in time retired back againe to *Solyman*, declaring vnto him what had happened. Who fretting in his mind, that the Perſian king was not to be drawne to battel, marched forthwith to Tauris, entring it without reſiſtance, the citiſens F ſubmitting themſelues vnto him: whoſe liues ſpared, he gaue that rich citie for a prey to his ſoldiers, who left neither houſe nor corner thereof vnranſacked, abuſing the poore citiſens with all manner of inſolencie; euery common ſouldier without controlment fitting himſelfe with whatſoeuer beſt pleaſed his greedie deſire or filthie luſt. *Tamas* had in this citie a moſt ſtately and royal palace; ſo had alſo moſt part of the nobilitie their ſumptuous & rich houſes, which by the commandment of *Solyman* were all raſed down to the ground, and the greateſt part of

Tamas hearing of the comming of Solyman to Tauris, flieth into Hyrcania.

Solyman ranſacks Tauris.

the beſt citiſens and beautifull perſonages of all ſort and condition, at his departure thence C
carried away captiues. *Solyman* contenting himſelfe to haue done the Perſian king this diſgrace,
in ſpoyling this his rich and royall citie,returned again towards Meſopotamia,deſtroying
the countries all the way as he went, killing the verie beaſts and cattell, thereby the more
to impoueriſh the Perſians, wiſhing to leaue nothing vnto them but penurie and miſerie. Hee
was ſcarcely paſt Coim & the Calderan fields (famous for his fathers victory againſt *Hiſmael*)
but that certain troups of Perſian horſemen were in the taile of his armie, and had taken away
ſome of his baggage, and ſlaine diuers of the ſicke and ſtragling ſoldiers, and with their often
skirmiſhes did not a little trouble his whole armie. Beſides that, it was noyſed thorow all his
campe, That *Tamas* himſelfe was comming after him with a greater power of horſemen,taken
vp in Hiberia, Albania, Parthia, Media, and Armenia, and would be at their backs before they H
could get out of Armenia: for which cauſe he appointed the two great Baſſa's of Caire and
Syria (for ſo they were called) and *Vlemas* the Perſian, with 18000 good ſoldiers to follow
him in the reareward of his armie, to receiue and repreſſe the ſudden aſſaults of the Perſians,
if need ſhould require: and ſo ſtill kept on his march, vntill he was come to Amida, now called
Caraemida, an antient citie of Meſopotamia. In the meane time *Tamas* the Perſian king
was returned to Tauris with a mighty armie, in hope there to haue ſuddenly ſurpriſed his enemie,
ſurcharhed with the pleaſures of ſo rich a citie: but finding him gone, and beholding the
miſerable ſpoyle and deſolation he had made in the citie; mooued with indignation, hee reſolued
to purſue him whither ſoeuer he were gone, and was now on his way as far as Coim.
Where vnderſtanding that *Solyman* was gone ſo farre before, that he was hardly to be ouertaken; I
and finding the noble gentlemen in his armie vnwilling in their heauy armour to vndertake
ſuch a purſuit, as could not be performed without the wonderfull toyle of themſelues,
and moſt aſſured loſſe of their goodly horſes; alledging, that they were prouided to fight a
battel, and not to trauel ſo long a journy (all which, *Tamas* now that his choler was ouer knew
to ſtand with good reaſon) he changed his former determination, thinking it beſt there to ſtay
and not to follow the purſuit of his enemies any further: vntill that *Delimenthes* one of his
Noblemen (alwayes more forward than the reſt) offered with fiue thouſand choſen horſemen
to ouertake ſome part of the Turks armie, and to do on them ſome good ſeruice. Which his
offer *Tamas* gladly accepted, commending him greatly for the ſame, promiſing him moſt honorable
reward: and ſo in haſte ſent him away. K

Delimenthes with 5000 Perſians purſues the Turks.

He forthwith taking the wel knowne and neereſt way, vſed ſuch expedition, that he was in
hope to ouertake the rereward of the Turks armie (marching not far now before him) about
the foot of the mountaine Taurus, as in deed it fell out at a place called Bethlis. This Bethlis
is a famous towne in the confines of the Perſian kingdome, where it bordereth vpon Meſopotamia,
ſtanding in a pleaſant valley, by which runneth a little riuer falling out of the mountain
Antitaurus; and had a caſtle kept with a garriſon of Perſians. In this valley the two Baſſa's of
Caire and Syria (conducted by *Vlemas*) thinking they had now bin paſt all danger of the enemies
purſuit, ſtayd with the rereward of his armie to refreſh their wearied ſoldiers, vpon certaine
knowledge, that *Solyman* with the reſt of his armie was alreadie come in ſafetie to Amida
in Meſopotamia. And therefore lay as men ſecure, without any ſuſpition of the comming L
of the Perſians, whom they had not ſo much as heard any thing of in long time before. But *Delimenthes*
vſing moſt faithfull and diligent eſpials of that countrey people, by that time he was
come within one dayes journey of Bethlis, vnderſtood certainly where the Turks lay, wearie
of their long trauell, as men without feare, keeping little or no watch in their campe: Whereupon
he determined in the dead time of the night following to aſſaile them in their camp: &
by ſecret meſſengers gaue knowledge both of his comming, & of this his purpoſe, to the captaine
of the caſtle of Bethlis; requeſting him at an appointed houre vpon ſigne giuen, to be
readie to ſallie out with his garriſon vpon that ſide of the Turkes campe which was towards
the Caſtle. Which his venturous deſignement was ſo furthered both by the darkeneſſe of
the night, and the aboundance of raine which fell at the ſame time, as if it had beene wiſhed M
for; that he was got with all his reſolute followers within the Turkes campe, before they
were aware of his comming: where the Perſian ſouldiers as wolues amongſt ſheepe, did
ſuch ſpeedie execution amongſt the ſleepie Turkes, that the two great Baſſa's and *Vlemas* had
much adoo to get to horſe and ſaue themſelues by flight. And ſuch was the furie of the Perſians,

Delimenthes aſſailes the Turks campe by night, and maketh a great ſlaughter.

A ſians,and the greatneſſe of the ſudden feare increaſed by the darkeneſſe of the night, that the
Turks not knowing which way to turne themſelues,or what to do, were ſlaine by thouſands,
ſome ſleeping, ſome halfe waking, ſome making themſelues readie to fight, and ſome to flie,
few of all that great armie eſcaped the ſword of the Perſians. Of the fiue great Sanzackes
which were in the armie, three were ſlaine, and one taken. Eight hundred Ianizaries ſeeing
themſelues forſaken of their chiefetaines,laid downe their harquebuſies and other weapons,
and yeelded themſelues vpon *Delimenthes* his word. The fierce mountaine people alſo, who
in former time had ſuffered great iniuries of the Turks, after the death of *Aladeules* their king,
had now ioyned themſelues to the Perſians, and notably reuenged their wrongs; to whoſe
ſhare all the baggage of the Turks campe fell for a prey. It might then well haue bin ſayd of
B the Turks,which the Poet ſpeaketh of the night wherein Troy was ſackt:

Quis cladem illius noctis qui funera fando
explicet?——

The ſlaughter of that night was ſo great,that it is of the Turks vntill this day accounted amongſt
their greateſt loſſes: and the victorie ſo welcome to the Perſians, that in memoriall
thereof they kept that day (which was the thirteenth of October) as one of their ſolemne holidayes
for many yeares after. *Delimenthes* returning all bloudie with the ſlaughter of the
Turks,& loded with their ſpoiles,was of *Tamas* ioyfully receiued,and honorably rewarded.

Solyman diſcouraged.

This ouerthrow reported to *Solyman* by the two great Baſſa's and *Vlemat*, as men that had
C hardly eſcaped ſhipwrecke,ſo daunted his proud conceits,that he reſolued in himſelfe to return
home,and no further to proſecute that vnfortunat war; the euill euent whereof,his mother
(as he ſaid)had more truly preſaged,than had the cold Prophet *Mulcarabe*: but ſecretly in
minde diſpleaſed with *Abraham* the great Baſſa, by whoſe perſuaſion hee had taken in hand
that dangerous expedition. By the way as he went he was met at Iconium by *Barbaruſſa* and
Sinan Baſſa ſyrnamed the Iew,a man for his skill at ſea in reputation next to *Barbaruſſa*. Theſe
two great perſonages lately come from Algiers to Conſtantinople with the remainder of his
fleet, met him ſo far by land,to ſhew their ioyfulneſſe for the conqueſt he had made of Meſopotamia
and Aſſyria,and to excuſe themſelues for the loſſe of the kingdome of Tunes, which
woon by *Barbaruſſa* in the beginning of the Perſian war,was before the ending thereof againe
D wrung out of his hands by *Charles* the Emperor,and reſtored to *Muleaſſes*,as ſhall be hereafter
declared. They with great humilitie declared vnto him the whole proceſſe of that war, and
with what ſucceſſe they had endured the force of *Charles* the Emperour himſelfe in perſon,
ſhewing plainly vnto him, that there wanted neither valour in the ſouldiers, nor direction in
them the commanders,but only fortune,which as it mightily raigneth in all mens actions, ſo
eſpecially in matters of war. *Solyman* gratiouſly accepted of their excuſe,and curteouſly took
them vp,proſtrate at his feet,commending them for their valor in their euil haps,in a plot ſo
well by them laid,more than he did the victory of others,got by good fortune,not grounded
vpon any good reaſon: willing them to be of good cheere,ſaying,that he would in ſhort time
find occaſion for them to recompence that diſgrace, and again to ſhew their approued valour.
E After long trauell he came to the ſtrait of Boſphorus, where *Abraham* the Baſſa going before
him,had in token of triumph cauſed the ſhore all along the place where he ſhould go aboord
the gallie prouided for his tranſportation, to be couered with Perſian ſilke for him to tread
vpon: from whence he paſſed with much triumph ouer to his palace to Conſtantinople.

***Abraham* The great Baſſa in diſgrace with *Solyman*.**

Enuie,the fatall and cruell companion of Princes immoderat fauours,had with her prying
eys quickly diſcouered in court *Solymans* changed countenance vpon the great Baſſa,& began
now to ſhew her gaſtly face. They which before were moſt ready to do him all honor poſſible,
yea to haue laid their hands vnder his feet,ſought now by all ſecret means to worke his
diſgrace and confuſion. But of all others, the two great ladies, *Solymans* mother and the faire
Roxolana,ceaſed not by dayly complaints to incenſe *Solyman* againſt him: the mother,for that
F he had by his perſuaſion,contrary to her mind and her ſuperſtitious obſeruations, drawn her
ſon into the dangers of the Perſian war: and *Roxolana*, for that he moſt honoured and ſought
the preferment of *Muſtapha, Solymans* eldeſt ſonne by another woman: whereas ſhe aboue all
things laboured by all ſubtill means to prefer *Baiazet* her owne ſonne to the Empire after the
death of *Solyman* his father: which her deſignement ſhe perceiued to be much croſſed by the
credit which the Baſſa had with her *Solyman*,and therefore did what ſhe might,both to bring

him out of fauour,and to worke his deſtruction. But that which moſt impared his credit with *Solyman*, was the common report raiſed of him by his enemies, That he being in heart a Chriſtian, did in all things fauour the Chriſtians, (a thing moſt odious among the Turks) and had for that cauſe craftily perſuaded *Solyman* to take in hand the vnfortunat Perſian war. And that which more increaſed the ſuſpition, was, That he about that time had cauſed one *Marke Nicholas* a Venetian merchant (who had not without the ſuſpition of ſome, oftentimes come vnto him with letters and ſecret meſſages whileſt he lay at Babylon) to be taken in the night, and murdred at Conſtantinople, and caſt into the ſea, becauſe he ſhould not diſcouer any thing that might be hurtfull vnto him. *Abraham* thus brought in diſgrace with *Solyman*, was (after the manner of the Turkiſh tyrannie) bid to a ſolemne ſupper in the court about the fourteenth of March (after which time he was neuer more ſeene. It is reported, That after ſupper *Solyman* fell into a great rage with him, charging him bitterly, That he had miſgouerned the State, inuerted his treaſures to his own priuat, and as a traitor, had ſecret intelligence with the Chriſtian Princes his enemies: for proofe whereof, *Solyman* with ſterne countenance ſhewed him his owne letters, which had by chance beene intercepted; oftentimes asking him in furious manner, If he knew not that hand, if he knew not that ſeale. All which, the Baſſa lying proſtrat at his feet humbly confeſſed, and with many teares craued of him pardon. But his hard heart was not by any prayers to be mooued: for the ſame night as he was ſlumbring vpon a palat in the court, ouercome with heauineſſe, an Eunuch cut his throat with a crooked knife, which *Solyman* for that purpoſe had deliuered vnto him with his owne hand. He was murdered ſleeping, becauſe *Solyman* had in former time of his fauour ſolemnly ſworne vnto him, That he would neuer kill him whileſt he liued. By which oath, the great Mahometan Prieſt ſayd hee was not ſo bound, but that he might kill him ſleeping, for as much as men by ſleepe depriued of ſence, are for that time not to be accounted as liuing, but as dead, mans life conſiſting altogether (as he ſaid) in liuely actions. It is reported, that after *Solyman* had looked vpon the dead bodie, and bitterly curſed the ſame, he cauſed a great weight to be tied vnto it, and ſo caſt it into the ſea. His treaſure and goods, which were almoſt infinite, were the next day all ſeiſed vpon for the Emperor, and a ſmall portion thereof appointed for his poore wife to liue vpon. His death was no ſooner knowne, but that the vulgar people deuiſed of him infamous ſongs, and ſlanderous reports, as of a traitor moſt iuſtly condemned; & in further deſpight, with mire and ſtones defaced the trophies of the Hungarian victorie, which he had in a ſtately manner erected before his ſumptuous houſe in Conſtantinople. This was the wofull end of *Abraham* the great Baſſa, who whileſt he ſtood in fauour with his Prince, was of all others accounted moſt fortunate, wanting nothing but the name of the great Sultan: but after falling into diſgrace, became the ſcorne of fortune, and the lamentable ſpectacle of mans fragilitie. Hee was murthered the fifteenth day of March, in the yeare 1536.

Abraham Baſſa murdred in the Court by the cōmandement of Solyman.

The cauſes that mooued Charles the Emperor to inuade Tunes.

How the kingdom of Tunes was by *Barbaruſſa* (the Turks great Admirall) taken from *Muleaſſes*, we haue alreadie told: but how the ſame was again taken from him by *Charles* the Emperor a little before the returne of *Solyman* out of Perſia, remaineth now to be declared. It was commonly reported, and not without iuſt cauſe feared, that *Barbaruſſa*, poſſeſſed of the kingdome of Tunes, and ſupported by the power of *Solyman*, would the next Summer, not content himſelfe with the ſpoile of the coaſts of Spaine, Sardinia, and Italie, as he had in former time, but with all his forces inuade Sicilia, the garnarie and ſtorehouſe of Italie, and from thence attempt to conquer the kingdom of Naples, which it was thought he in his immoderat deſires had longed much after. To repreſſe this his barbarous inſolencie, and to work the ſafetie of the frontiers of the Chriſtian kingdomes (much ſubiect to the rapines of the Turkiſh pyrats) *Charles* the Emperour reſolued in perſon himſelfe with a puiſſant armie to paſſe ouer into Affricke, whileſt *Solyman* was yet buried in the Perſian wars, and by force of arms to diſpoſſeſſe the tyrant of his new gotten kingdome in Tunes. For the accompliſhment whereof, he cauſed ſoldiers to be leuied in all parts of Spaine, and came downe to Barcelona with eight thouſand footmen and ſeuen hundred horſemen, farre ſooner than was by any man expected: amongſt whom were many of the nobilitie of Spaine, with their followers moſt gallantly appoynted: but eſpecially *Ferdinand* of Toledo, Duke of Alba; whoſe forwardneſſe in that honorable action, with the deſire he had to reuenge the death of his father *Garzias*, ſlaine before by the Moores at Girapolis, gaue great hope euen then vnto his Countreymen, That he

The Emperours great preparations for the inuaſion of Tunes.

would

A would in time proue a worthie Chiefetaine, as indeed he afterward did.

Andrew Auria the Emperours Admirall.

In the meane time ***Andrew Auria*** the great Admirall, vnto whom onely for his approued
fidelitie and long experience the Emperor had fully communicated what he had with himſelfe
before purpoſed, had with wonderfull diligence and celeritie rigged vp a great fleet of
ſhips and gallies ſo furniſhed with all manner of warlike prouiſion, as might wel haue ſufficed
a great army: whereunto he ioined alſo his own fleet of 17 gallies and three galeaſſes, wherin
he had imbarked the flower of Genoa and Liguria, who with exceeding cheerefulneſſe had
voluntarily offered themſelues to follow him their old Generall in that ſacred expedition.
With this great preparation ***Auria*** came to the Emperour at Barcelonia. Thither came alſo
Lewis the king of Portingals brother (whoſe ſiſter ***Iſabel***, ***Charles*** the Emperour had married)
B with 25 Carauels, ſhips which the Portingals vſed in their Indian voyages, amongſt whome
was alſo one huge Galeon; all ſhips well appointed and fit for ſeruice, wherein were embarked
2000 Portingals, beſide marriners: there alſo arriued ſixtie ſaile of tall ſhips ſent out of
Flanders and the Low-countries; wherin were a gteat number of condemned perſons, whoſe
liues were ſpared that they might ſerue in the gallies. Vnto this warre ***Paulus*** the third of that
name, then Biſhop of Rome, ſent ten gallies vnder the conduct of ***Virginius Vrſinus***: the great
Maſter of Malta ſent thither his fleet alſo. At the ſame time that all this preparation was in
making in other places, that worthie chiefetaine ***Alphonſus D'aualus Vaſtius***, whom the Emperor
had appointed Generall of all his forces at land, had by the Emperors commandement
taken vp fiue thouſand new ſouldiers in Italie, which were led by ***Hieronimus Tutanilla***, Countie
C of Sarne, ***Fredericke***, ***Caracte***, and ***Auguſtine Spinula***, all famous captaines. The old Spaniſh
garriſons which lay in Lombardie, the Emperor commanded to be ſtraitly looked vnto, that
none of them ſhould leaue their places to goe into this new expedition, but to remaine there
ſtill vnder their Generall ***Antonius Leua***: which worthie captaine although hee would faine
haue had him with him, as of all his great commanders the beſt; yet he thought it good to
ſpare him, both for that he was mnch troubled with the gout, and alſo for that it was neceſſarie
(as he thought) to leaue ſuch a valiant captaine with his garriſons in the countrey, ſo neere
vnto the French and Swiſſers, whom he durſt not ſo well truſt as to diſ-furniſh that countrey
either of ſo great a commander, or of the woonted garriſons. At the ſame time ***Maximilian***
Eberſtein, an old commander, came to ***Vaſtius*** with eight thouſand Germans, ouer the Tridentine
D Alpes to Millaine, and ſo to Genoa; amongſt whom were diuers noble Gentlemen, who
then as voluntarie men ſerued of their owne charges. With theſe Germanes and the fiue thouſand
Italians, ***Vaſtius*** embarked himſelfe at the port called Portus Veneris, in Liguria: hauing
before perſuaded them, with patience to indure the tediouſneſſe of the ſea, and to comfort
themſelues with the hope of the victorie in Affrick; where they ſhould fight in the quarrel of
God, and for the Emperor, who did neuer forget his religious and valiant ſouldiers. So ſailing
alongſt the coaſt of Italie, he came to Naples, where the viceroy and diuers other of the nobilitie
had of their owne charges, euery man according to his deuotion or abilitie, built or
furniſhed ſome one gallie, ſome moe, for that ſeruice. It was a wonder to ſee with what cheerfulneſſe
the gallants and luſtie youths of Naples, and all that part of Italie, came and offered
E themſelues vnto ***Vaſtius***; ſo that it ſeemed there was none left behind in Naples: for he had
with ſingular courteſie ſo woon the hearts of the old ſouldiers and luſtie youths of that kingdome,
that both the one and the other thought it a moſt honourable thing to adorne, the
one their before deſerued penſions, and the other their firſt entrance into martial affaires, with
the participation of ſo notable a victorie. But whileſt euery man was thus buſied in ſetting
forward, certaine mutinous ſouldiers (wearie of the ſea, and fearing the dangers of ſo long a
voyage) began to caſt many perils, to finde fault with their ſmall wages, and to diſcourage the
multitude, perſuading them with ſeditious ſpeeches to forſake their colours, and to run away:
for redreſſe whereof, ***Vaſtius*** cauſed the authours of that mutinie to be taken and thruſt into
ſacks, and in the ſight of the whole fleet to be caſt into the ſea. So ***Vaſtius*** departing with his
F fleet from Naples, came in few daies to Palermo in Sicilie. The Emperour alſo looſing
from Barcelona, came to the Port of Mago in the Iſland of Minorica, and from thence to
Carlis in Sardinia, whether ***Alphonſus Vaſtius*** was a little before come with all his fleet out
of Sicilie. Not long after, the Emperour, now that all his forces were come together, paſſed
ouer from Sardinia into Affricke, and with a faire Weſterly winde put into the Port

Alphonſus Daualus Vaſtius Generall of the land forces.

The Emperour paſſeth ouer into Affricke.

Barbaruſſa hearing of the cōming of the emperour, is much diſcouraged.

In his rage he executeth Aloyſius Præſenda.

of Vtica, which is of the ſeafaring men called Farina. In the entring wherof, the Admirall gallie, wherein the Emperor himſelfe was, by great miſchance ſtrake vpon a ſand, & there ſtucke faſt: which ſo much more troubled the Emperor, for that his father *Philip* had by like miſhap bin like to haue bin caſt away vpon the coaſt of England, as hee was ſailing out of the Lowcountries into Spaine: howbeit, by the good direction of *Auria* ſhe was quickly got off the ſand againe, and entred with the reſt, to the great reioycing of the whole fleet. So preſently departing again from Vtica, and ſailing alongſt the coaſt, he doubled the promontorie of Carthage, yet famous for the ruins of that proud citie, and came to anker before a caſtle, which of a well beneath it, is called by the name of Aquaria, or the water caſtle. The Moores, who from the hils of Vtica and their watch towers, had taken view of the Chriſtian fleet and of the courſe it held, aduertiſed *Barbaruſſa*, That the Chriſtians were comming againſt him with an innumerable fleet: for there was of one ſort and other almoſt 700 ſaile, whereof 82 were great gallies, which gallantly garniſhed with flags and ſtreamers, made a ſhew of moe than indeed they were, and wonderfully terrified the enemie. But that troubled *Barbaruſſa* moſt, that he was by meſſenger vpon meſſenger certainly informed, that the moſt mighty Chriſtian Emperour *Charles* was in perſon himſelfe in the fleet, with ſuch a world of people, that it ſhould ſeeme he had left none in Spaine and Italie that were able to beare armes. Which newes was brought by certain Mahometan ſlaues, who getting looſe in the gallies, had in the night ſwum aſhore, and reported the certaintie of the Emperours comming: for the proud Turke, a great contemner of the Chriſtian forces, neuer thought that the Emperour would haue aduentured his perſon vnto the dangers of the ſea, and chances of warre, eſpecially in an vnknowne barren and ſcortching countrey, but would rather haue attempted to doe ſomething by his Lieutenants, or elſe by *Auria* his Admirall ſeeke to ſurpriſe ſome baſe places alongſt the ſeacoaſt, but not to come directly for the regall citie of Tunes: in which opinion he was chiefly confirmed by *Aloyſius Præſenda*, a gentleman of Genoa, who taken at ſea, was kept as priſoner at large in Tunes: of whom *Barbaruſſa* had learned many things concerning the ſtate of Italie, the manner of the Chriſtians, and ſtrength of the Emperour; craftily feeding him with the hope of libertie, if he would truly declare vnto him ſuch things as he deſired to know. Wherfore now in his rage he cauſed him to be brought before him; charging him bitterly, that he had craftily and perfidiouſly told him lies for truth, concerning the Emperor, and therefore commanded him to be forthwith executed. When he had thus with the vnworthie death of a guiltleſſe Chriſtian, ſomwhat mittigated the griefe of his light beleefe, he forthwith began to caſt with himſelfe how he might beſt withſtand his puiſſant enemie. And firſt of all calling to counſell his ſea captains, in whom for their approued valor he repoſed moſt confidence, he ſhewed vnto them, that they as valiant men, acquainted with the dangers attending vpon honorable actions, were not to doubt of the victorie, forſomuch as he ſaw as it good as alreadie gained; for the ſame reaſons for which he had before perſuaded himſelfe, that the Emperour (if he had not bin halfe mad) would not haue vndertaken ſo deſperat and doubtfull a warre.

Barbaruſſa encourageth his ſouldiers.

For who is there (ſaid hee) *that knoweth this countrey (not to ſpeake of our owne forces) which would not reaſonably thinke our enemies ſhould in ſhort time know the price of their ambitious deſire and raſh attempt? which in a moſt vnſeaſonable time of the yeare, the dayes beeing now at the longeſt, and the Sunne in his greateſt ſtrength, are come to fight in a countrey ſcortched with heat, and altogether without water; where the verie ſand which riſeth with euerie blaſt of wind, flying into their eyes and faces, ſhall no leſſe trouble them than their enemies? Shall we thinke that they, which as I heare for moſt part are freſh-water ſouldiers, and ſurcharged with heauie armor, can eaſily march forward, or retire, or yet keepe their ground, as the diuers occaſions of battell ſhall require: when as the deepe and hollow burning ſand vp to the mid leg, will not ſuffer them to keepe any order of array? How ſhall they bee able by any meanes to abide the force of our Turkiſh footmen, or the often charging of the nimble Numidian horſemen? And if they bee ſo many of them as they ſay there is, where can they get victuall to feed ſuch a multitude, if wee doe but protract the warre? Aſſuredly (moſt valiant and couragious chiefetaines) wee ſhall erect a moſt rare and incomparable trophie in this countrey of Affricke: when as* Charles *the rich and great Emperour of the Chriſtians ſhall either heere bee ſlaine in battell, or elſe fall into our hands as a moſt rich prey. For mine owne part, I will notably prouide, that you ſhall want neither weapons, victuall, nor aide, during the time of this warre: I will open the*

A *the old armories, broach my ſtore, and bring forth my treaſures. The Numidian princes now our friends, I will without delay entertaine with great pay, and ſuch Preſents as ſhall be to them moſt welcome. As for the citiſens of Tunes, you know how eaſily they are to be kept in obedience, and brought on againſt the enemie for a ſmall pay, and hope of reward. But this one thing is it that I moſt earneſtly require of your approued valor, That you moſt valiantly defend the ſtrong Caſtle of Guletta, as the moſt aſſured defence not of this city onely, but of the whole kingdome; and eſpecially of our nauie which there lieth in ſafe harbour: for that piece will our enemies with all their forces firſt aſſaile. Wherefore, as worthie men neuer to be vanquiſhed, keepe that for* Solyman *and mee: ſo that it being vainly attempted by our enemies, and reſolutely defended by you, the Chriſtian Emperor there failing of his purpoſe, and ſhamefully foiled, ſhall now begin to deſpaire, not of the taking of the citie of Tunes, but of his owne returne* B *and ſafetie.*

When he had thus ſaid, the ſea captains anſwered with one conſent, That they would moſt willingly and cheerfully performe whatſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe him to command: and in confirmation thereof, promiſed him not to do any thing which beſeemed not moſt valiant and reſolute men. Amongſt theſe ſea captains, *Sinan* of Smirna a Iew, who had loſt his right eie, was both for his age and long experience in militarie affaires, of greateſt account: next vnto him was *Haidinus* of Cilicia, for his furiouſneſſe in fight ſurnamed of the Italians *Cacciadiabolo*, and *Salec* of Ionia; which two had before in a great battell at ſea, ſlaine *Rodericus Portendus* great Admirall of Spaine, and taken his ſon *Iohn* priſoner, and ſeuen great gallies: after theſe, was C *Tabacches* of Laodicia, and *Giaffer* a valiant captaine of the Ianizaries: all which were notable pyrats, and then men of great fame. The ſtrong caſtle of Guletta ſtandeth in the bottome of the bay of Carthage, vpon a point of the land, where the ſea by a narrow ſtrait runneth on the Eaſt ſide of the caſtle into the lake of Tunes, which being in a manner round, is about 12 Italian miles ouer. But now that caſtle is parted from the maine on the Weſt ſide alſo, by the ſea that way let in; which chargeable worke was by *Barbaruſſa* begun, but giuen ouer againe by him, perſuaded by ſome, That the ſea comming in that way, would in ſhort time fil vp the lake with ſand: but was afterwards for all that, perfected by others. So that now it ſtandeth in the manner of an Iſland, in the mouth of the lake, diuided from the firm land by two narrow ſtrait paſſages, the one on the Eaſt, and the other on the Weſt, yet ſo, that it commandeth both. This D caſtle *Barbaruſſa* had before ſtrongly fortified both with men and munition, as the key of that kingdome: but now vpon the comming of the Emperour, he put into it his moſt expert and reſolute captaines before named: well foreſeeing, that in the defence thereof reſted the ſafetie of his nauie which then lay within the lake, as in a moſt ſure harbour; and alſo the greateſt hope he had for the holding of the citie of Tunes, whereon depended the whole ſtate of that kingdome. The Emperor lying at anchor with all his fleet neere vnto the ſhore, gaue generall commandement, that his ſouldiers ſhould with as much ſpeed as was poſſible be landed with the long boats: which was ſo orderly done, that the Moores terrified with the hideous crie of the ſouldiers, making toward land, and not able to abide the ſhowers of ſmall ſhot, were eaſily beaten from the ſhore, whither they were come downe in great multitudes, and ſo ſuffe- E red the Chriſtian ſouldiers to land quietly. The firſt that landed were the Spaniſh companies, after them the Italians, and laſt of all the Germans, whom *Vaſtius* Generall of the army cauſed preſently to encampe themſelues, ſtraitly commanding, that no man ſhould ſtraggle from the camp farther into the land, vntil the horſemen and great artillerie were all landed. The Emperor himſelfe bearing victorie in the cheerfulneſſe of his countenance, landed alſo. In the mean time certaine companies were ſent out by the Generall, to view the places nigh hand, and to ſeeke out the ciſternes and fountaines of freſh waters thereabout, which ſometime ſerued the famous citie of Carthage; with whom the Moores, but eſpecially the Numidian horſemen, a ſwift, ſubtle, and painefull kind of ſouldiers, oftentimes and in many places ſuddenly skirmiſhed: and though they were but naked men, yet taking all the aduantages they could of the F places to them well knowne, with their arrowes and darts furiouſly aſſailed them vnawares, and ouerloaded with armour, ſparing no mans life that fell into their hands. Among whom was *Hieronimus Spinnula* a Ligurian captaine, who ouerthrowne by a Numidian horſeman, had his head cut off, and carried away by the ſame nimble horſeman, before hee could bee reſcued. The like miſhap befell *Fredericus Carectus* a noble Gentleman, who going with *Vaſtius*

Barbaruſſa his chiefe captaines.

The ſcituation of Guletta.

The Chriſtian armie landeth at Guletta.

to view the places thereabouts, was faſt by his ſide ſuddenly ſlaine with a ſmall ſhot. All which nimbleneſſe and fierceneſſe of the enemie, could not for all that ſtay the Emperor: but that he would needs with a ſmall troupe of horſemen, in perſon himſelfe take view of the places thereabouts, euen in the ſight of the Numidian horſemen, which were in euery place to be ſeene pricking vp and downe the countrey in troupes; although he was many times requeſted by his graue counſellors, to leaue that ſeruice for his inferior captains, & not to expoſe himſelf to ſo great danger both of his perſon & of the cōmon ſafety. *Vaſtius* had now brought on the armie neere vnto the caſtle of Guletta, ſtill caſting vp a rolling trench as he came neerer thereunto, thereby to keep his men out of the danger of the enemies ſhot: which worke was not done only by the pioners and gallie ſlaues, but by ſouldiers of all ſorts, yea many of the captaines themſelues laid their hands to the ſpade and mattocke: for why, the Emperor was there a continuall beholder, and cheerfull commender of euery mans labor and forwardneſſe, and the buſie enemie was euer readie to take the aduantage, if any thing were by negligence omitted, oftentimes ſallying out euen vnto the very trenches of the Chriſtians, there giuing vnto them proud words of defiance. When the armie was to be martialled, and euery commander to be appointed to the place of his charge in this ſiege of Guletta: the countie of Sarne (a man famous both for the honour of his houſe, and for the good ſeruice hee had lately done againſt the Turks at Corone) requeſted of *Vaſtius* the Generall, to haue the charge of the mount neereſt vnto the caſtle; which as it was a place of moſt danger, ſo was it alſo of greateſt honor. Whereat the old Spaniards (after the manner of their proud nature) much repined. Vpon the top of this mount, the countie ſet vp his rich tent in the eie of the enemy, and there lay with the Italian companies ouer whom he commanded. He had not there lien long, but *Salec*, one of the Turks famous pirats, with certaine companies of the garriſon ſouldiers, ſallied out of the caſtle directly vpon the mount whereon the countie lay; and by making ſhew as if he would deſperatly haue aſſailed the ſame, raiſing a great alarme againſt the Italians: yet ſo as after certaine vollies of ſhot diſcharged on both ſides, he began to retire as if he had beene thereto conſtrained. Which thing the county perceiuing, being a man of greater courage than direction, in great rage with bitter words reproued certaine of the captaines, whom hee perceiued not ſo forward in purſuit of the enemie as he would haue had them: and in his furie ran downe from the mount, the reſt for ſhame following him, and ouertaking the enemies ſlew diuers of them. The craftie pyrat now ſeeing the countie drawne out of his ſtrength into the plaine ground, and perceiuing himſelfe ſtrong enough to encounter him, ſuddenly turning himſelfe about, ſaid vnto his ſouldiers: *The aduantage you wiſhed to haue of your enemies is now offred, they are now in your danger; wherefore now ſhew your ſelues valiant men, and ſuffer not one of theſe proud freſh-water ſouldiers to eſcape aliue or vnwounded.* Which he had no ſooner ſaid, but they preſently made a ſtand, and ſo hardly charged them from whom they but euen now ſeemed to flie, that the Italians not able longer to indure the fight, betooke themſelues to flight. The countie himſelfe with *Belingerus* his kinſman, fighting valiantly in the formoſt of his companies, was ſlaine; many others indured the ſame fortune: others flying backe againe to the mount, were ſlaine there by the Turks; who reſolutely entred into the trenches with them ſo far, that they caried away with them the plate and riches of the counties tent. Neither was there any of the Spaniards which lay neereſt vnto them, and might eaſily haue reſcued them, that would once ſtir out of their places to helpe them: for it is reported, that they were nothing ſorie for the ouerthrow of the Italians, foraſmuch as the countie had ſo arrogantly craued of the Generall the moſt honourable place, which he ſo euill held. His head & right hand were cut off, and ſent by *Salec* to *Barbaruſſa*. This ouerthrow much grieued the Italians, whom *Vaſtius* comforted with cheerfull ſpeeches, imputing all that loſſe, neither to the valour of the enemie, or cowardiſe of the Italians; but onely to the raſhneſſe of the countie, whome he ſaid worthilie to haue paied the price of his inconſiderat forwardneſſe. But the Spaniards hee ſharpely reproued as mercileſſe men, which vpon ſo light an occaſion had giuen cauſe for the Italians to haue them in diſtruſt. The Turks in the mean time by the often ſhooting off of their great ordnance, ſhewed the ioy they conceiued of this victory.

Salec ſallieth out vpon the countie and the Italians.

The countie ſlaine, and his head and right hand ſent to Barbaruſſa.

The Spaniards reioycing at the ouerthrow of the Italians, are thēſelues foiled by Tabacches.

It oftentimes ſo falleth out, that whileſt men laugh at their neighbors harmes, their own is not far off; and ſo it fell out with the Spaniards: for *Tabacches* another of the piraticall captains, ſhortly after ſallying ſuddenly out of the caſtle in the dawning of the day, was got vp to

A the top of the trenches wherein the Spaniards lay, before they were aware of his comming, and there ſlew ſome as they were aſleepe, ſome idlie ſitting fearing no harme, others, as they were arming themſelues; and with their ſudden crie, cauſed the reſt which lay neere vnto that place, ſhamefully for feare to flie out of their trenches: where the Turks taking ſuch traſh as they there found, and hauing ſlaine and wounded many, amongſt whom was one *Mendoſa* a captaine, and carrying away with them the enſigne of *Sarmentus* which ſtood vpon the top of the trench, returned with victory. The alarme raiſed in the armie was ſuch, as that the Emperor himſelfe came running to the place in his armor, ſeuerely reprouing them of cowardiſe, which had forſaken the place; and grieuouſly offended with them which had kept ſuch negligent watch againſt ſuch an enemie, as was not for wilineſſe, agilitie, and courage, to bee B ſlightly regarded of the beſt and moſt expert ſouldiers. This diſgrace of the Spaniards well comforted the Italians, to ſee the old ſouldiers no leſſe ouertaken in their negligence, than they had been in their vnaduiſed forwardneſſe.

This tumult appeaſed, *Vaſtius* called into his tent the Colonels and chiefe Captaines of the Spaniards, and ſpake vnto them in this manner:

Friends (ſaid he) *elſewhere alwaies valiant, who together with me, haue by your inuincible proweſſe gained vnto our Emperor many moſt glorious victories; you ſeeme vnto me at this time to haue neede to be called vpon, and to be put in remembrance of your wonted and approued valor: for as far as I can ſee, the remembrance of your antient fame, is in you growne altogether cold; your hands are become faint* C *for feare; and that which I am ſorie and aſhamed to ſay, you are growne I know not how, altogether out of order, and heartleſſe, ſhewing no courage for the ſubduing of theſe naked pyrats. Yeſterday (as many ſay) you ſmiled at the vnskilfull and vnfortunat forwardneſſe of your friends, which they bought deere; but to day they worthily laugh at your degenerat careleſſe negligence: ſo that it concerneth you in honour, to blot out this ſo foule and publicke a diſgrace, by ſome notable and worthie exploit. Wherefore I exhort you, and I ſtraightly charge and command you, that with all ſpeed you prepare both your minds and weapons for the atchieuement of ſome new honour: ſo that if the proud enemie ſhall againe preſume to come forth and aſſaile your trenches, you ſhall forthwith breake out vpon him, and beat him backe againe euen to the gates of Guletta. Perhaps good fortune will ſo attend your valiant and reſolute purſuit, that you may together with their diſordered men, enter ſome of their rampiers, wherein we ſee their* D *whole hope conſiſteth: which if it ſhal otherwiſe fall out than is hoped for, yet ſhall you by this your notable deuoire wonderfull content the Emperour your ſoueraigne, and me your Generall, and withall, couer your late diſhonour.*

Vaſtius his ſpeech to the Spaniſh captaines.

Wherunto they all anſwered, That they would ſo beare themſelues againſt the enemie, as that hee ſhould not deſire greater courage or contempt of danger in men deſirous of honour and commendation.

It was not long, but that the Turks incouraged with their former ſucceſſe, after their wonted manner ſallied out againe, conducted by *Giaffer* captaine of the Ianizaries, a man of exceeding courage and ſtrength of bodie: who with the Ianizaries and certaine companies of Mooriſh E archers, about the noone time of the day iſſuing out of the caſtle, aſſailed the vttermoſt trenches, hoping in that broiling heat to find the Chriſtians in their ſtations negligent and vnprepared: wherin he was nothing deceiued; for the Spaniards that burning hoat time of the day, kept ſuch negligent watch, that *Giaffer* with his Ianizaries and archers, was got vp to the top of the rampiers, and there diſcharged their ſhot & arrowes vpon the Chriſtians in their trenches, before they were well aware of his comming. But vpon the ſtriking vp of the drum, certaine companies of harquebuſiers brake out vpon them in two places at one inſtant, as *Vaſtius* had before commanded; whom hee ſeconded with a company of halbardiers, keeping in readines his ſquadrons to reſcue his harquebuſiers, if they ſhould be inforced by the enemie to F retire: & in that order expected the euent of the skirmiſh, which was moſt valiantly maintained on both ſides. For the Ianizaries, although they were inforced to giue ground, yet (as men not vſed to flie, & ſtanding vpon the honor of their order) withſtood the Chriſtians with no leſſe reſolution than they were by them charged; vntill that *Giaffer* their leader, deſperatly fighting among the formoſt of the Ianizaries, was at once ſhot in with 2 bullets, & ſlain: whoſe dead bodie the Ianizaries laboring to carrie away, indured a moſt cruell fight, many being on

The Turks ſally againe out of Guletta.

Giaffer captain of the Ianizaries ſlaine.

both ſides ſlaine vpon his dead carkaſſe : yet at length they were inforced to flie,and ſo fierce- G ly followed by the Spaniards,that they of Guletta, when they had receiued in the formoſt, ſhut out almoſt a fourth part of their owne men,for feare the Chriſtians ſhould together with them haue entred the caſtle. *Didacus Abila*,one of the Spaniſh enſigne-bearers, aduanced his enſigne vnto the top of one of the enemies rampiers,and was there ſlaine, but his enſigne ſaued by one of the ſouldiers of the ſame band. The Chriſtians receiued more loſſe in their retreat,than they had in all the fight ; for the Turks from their rampiers then diſcharged their ſhot as faſt as they could vpon them,which they could not before doe,without the like danger to their own men mingled amongſt them.This daies worke well abated the pride of the Turks,and gaue good hope to the Chriſtians,that the caſtle would without any great loſſe be gained:for being neere vnto it,they perceiued it not to be ſo ſtrong as they had ſuppoſed. H

The Emperor hauing ſpent a few daies in conſultation about his farther proceeding, and preparing of things for the ſiege, reſolued without further delay with all his forces to aſſault the caſtle,perſuaded thereunto by many reaſons : firſt,by the cheerfulnes of his own ſoldiers, and the courage of his enemies ſore danted in the laſt skirmiſh,which he was loth they ſhould againe recouer by the comming of new ſupplies ; beſides that, hee was informed, that diuers companies of the Numidians were comming to Tunes, entertained by *Barbaruſſa*, whoſe ſtrength was like daily to encreaſe:but that which moued him moſt to haſten the matter,was, for that his men began to grow ſickly in his camp,being all the day time ſcortched as it were with the feruent heat of the Sun;and well neere ſtarued in the night with cold and exceeding dewes wherwith they were commonly wet to the skin; neither was there either good water, I or freſh victuall by any means to be had in that ſandie and barren ſoile, for the reliefe of the ſicke,other than that was brought out of the fleet ; for all the water thereabout was moſt vnpleaſant and exceeding brackiſh,ſo that both ſicke and whole were glad when they could get a crab to quench their extreame thirſt :although the Emperor did what hee might to remedie theſe extremities, and much reliefe was in good time ſent both from Sicilia and Naples : the bisket alſo in the ſhips,eſpecially in the Spaniſh gallies,was growne hoarie and vnwholeſome. Wherefore he began to place his batterie about the 15 of Iuly, which was defended all alongſt with Gabions,and caske filled with ſand,for that the countrey ſoyle in that place yeelded neither earth nor turfe to do it. *Auria* appointed to batter the caſtle by ſea, diuided his gallies into three ſquadrons which orderly ſucceeding one another, ſhould by turnes K beat the ſame : his great ſhips rid at anker,and out of their forecaſtles thundered with their great ordnance. And *Vaſtius* at land had diuided the army into three battels;Spaniards,Italians,and Germans,euery ſtation by themſelues, in ſuch ſort, as that they might indifferently be partakers both of the danger of the aſſault,& of the glorie of the victory. There was neuer ſtrong place in the memorie of man(ſince guns,that fatal engine were firſt inuented for the deſtruction of mankind)aſſailed with greater force, greater preparation,or induſtrie. The great ordnance in maner of a great earthquake,ſo terribly roared & thundred,that the earth ſeemed not only to tremble & quake vnder mens feet,but euen by and by to rent in ſunder & ſwallow them vp:and the ſea which was euen now quiet and calme,began to riſe aloft,and to rage and fome as if it had bin in a great ſtorm : at which time the aire became thicke,and the skie dark- L ned with the ſmoke of the great artillerie:from the breake of the day vntil noon, the roaring cannon and culuering neuer ceaſed : ſo that the Vamures were beaten downe,the caſtle made ſaultable, & the wals ſo ſhaken, that in many places the Turks canoniers, together with their cannons lay buried in the ruins thereof. Which thing perceiued, they which were before appointed to giue the firſt aſſault,vpon ſignal giuen by the Emperor, preſently vpon the ceaſing of the great artillerie aſſailed the breach,& others with their ſcaling ladders ſcaled the wals: which was done with ſuch courage & reſolution, that the Turkes when they had done what they poſſibly could for the defence of the place,by caſting down darts, wild fire,& ſuch like things vpon the Chriſtians as they were climbing vp ; at length as men deſpairing longer to hold the place,& ouercome with a greater fortune,turned their backs and fled. *Sinan* & the reſt M of the captains by a wooden bridge,fled out at the further ſide of the caſtle,into the main,and ſo alongſt the left ſide of the lake by land to Tunes, not looking behind them for haſt: which way moſt part of his men followed him alſo. The reſt were either ſlain or driuen into the lake, where ſeeking to ſaue their liues by ſwimming,they were either ſlain in comming to land,by

Guletta fuririouſly battered

Guletta aſſaulted by the Chriſtians.

the

Guletta woon, and Barbaruſſa his fleet taken.

A the Spaniſh horſemen, or elſe in their ſwimming ſhot at pleaſure by the harquebuſiers, ſo that all the lake was as it were couered with the dead bodies of the Turks and Moores. The Emperor with ſmall ſhot thus gained the caſtle of Guletta, with all the warlike prouiſion therein, and with it all *Barbaruſſa* his great fleet and ſtrength at ſea, which he for the more ſafetie had before put into the lake: which as it was vnto the Emperour a thing moſt pleaſant, ſo was it vnto *Barbaruſſa* and his pyrats the greateſt griefe and loſſe poſſible, hauing at once loſt all their power at ſea, which but a little before was no ſmall terror to all the frontiers of the Chriſtian countries and Iſlands in the Mediterranian.

Barbaruſſa rageth.

Barbaruſſa troubled and terrified with ſo great a loſſe, with a ſterne and ſcorneſull countenance receiued the Iew and the reſt of the captains fled from Guletta, reuiling them bitterly B in his rage, and calling them faint hearted cowards, which had in ſo ſhort a time giuen ouer ſo ſtrong a place. Whereunto *Sinan* anſwered for them all, in this ſort:

The ſhort anſwer of Sinan the Iew vnto Barbaruſſa.

Hairadin (ſaid he) *ſo long as we were to fight with armed men, we did as thou well knoweſt, and our enemies cannot denie, what well beſeemed vs and thy magnificent fortune. But when we are to withſtand the Diuell and his infernall furies, which came againſt vs with flames of fire, and earthquakes, things of extreame terrour and danger; it ought not to ſeeme ſtrange vnto thee, if we ſought to eſcape the vncouth furie of the immortall enemies of mankinde, to do thee ſeruice in thy better fortune, in defence of this thy citie and kingdome. Neither do we account it any diſgrace to haue eſcaped that danger, as men that minde againe to fight: out of which thou, a moſt antient and expert Commander (if I may frankly ſpeake* C *vnto thee the truth) if thou hadſt been there preſent, wouldſt haue accounted it no diſhonor, but very good diſcretion to haue eſcaped in ſafetie.*

Barbaruſſa repreſſing his furie, began in a more temperat manner to requeſt them euery one particularly, as valiant and couragious men to ſtand faſt vnto him in that war againſt their enemies the Chriſtians: telling them, that he well hoped, that after the great ſupplie of the Mooriſh footmen and Numidian horſemen were once come (which were now at hand) the enemy ſhould not long reioyce of the taking of Guletta. After that, he forthwith conuerted all his ſtudie and endeauour, to prepare ſuch things as were needfull for the war, bringing forth his treaſures, and bountifully beſtowing the ſame amongſt the Moors and Numidians, thereby to D confirme the friendſhip of ſuch as well affected him, and with his new bountie to winne the hearts of ſuch as yet ſtood doubtfull.

Muleaſſes commeth to the emperour.

In the mean time *Muleaſſes* the exiled king, with a ſmal retinue of his friends and followers came from the fartheſt part of Numidia, into the Emperors campe; the Emperor ſitting in a royall ſeat in the midſt of his pauilion, whereinto *Muleaſſes* was admitted, with a mytre vpon his head, in a garment of greene and blew changeable ſilke: he was of a tal and manly ſtature, of colour tawnie, but ſo ſquint-eyed, that he ſeemed ſpitefully to looke vpon them whom he beheld: whom after he had kiſſed the Emperors right hand, and had ſet himſelfe downe with his legs gathered cloſe vnder him, vpon a carpet ſpred vpon the bare ground, after the manner of his countrey, he by an interpreter ſpake vnto the Emperor as followeth:

E

The Oration of Muleaſſes vnto Charles the emperour.

Thou art come in armes into this countrey, and art now almoſt conquerour of the ſame, (thrice mightie Emperour) prouoked thereunto not by any deſert of mine, for that our different religion ſo required; yet as I verily thinke, not without the appointment of the moſt high God, whom both thou and I do with like deuotion worſhip, to take reuenge of the moſt perfidious and cruell tyrant and pyrat, the mortall enemie of mankind; whom I foreſee as good as alreadie vanquiſhed, now that Guletta is taken, and his Nauie ſurpriſed. So that I hope he ſhall in ſhort time by thy reuenging hand, at once receiue the iuſt guerdon of all his former villanies: which ſhall be ſo much the more to my comfort, for that I hope the fruit of thy rare felicitie and glorious victorie will redound in great part to me, being reſtored by thee into my F *fathers kingdome: which I as a poore exiled Prince moſt humbly requeſt of thy juſtice and bountie. For it ſhall be vnto thee a thing moſt honourable and profitable, if thou ſhalt receiue into thy protection me, a king royally diſcended of a moſt antient progenie, ſtrengthned with the great allyance of the Numidians and Moores. Neither doe I refuſe either to pay thee tribute therefore, or to acknowledge my ſelfe vaſſal vnto thee the Chriſtian Emperor. Of which my fidelitie there can be no greater aſſurance, than the thankefull remembrance of ſo great a benefit receiued; which ſhall for euer remaine vnforgotten of* *me and my poſteritie, euen for that eſpecially, that I deteſt and abhorre the name of an vnthankefull man; and do well by experience finde, how much my ſtate may be confirmed, and the minds of my people to me aſſured, by thy garriſons ſo neere at hand in Sicilia and Sardinia.*

The Emperours anſwer to Muleaſſes.

Whereunto the Emperor anſwered, That he was come ouer into Affricke to be reuenged of the iniuries which *Barbaruſſa* had many times done vpon the frontiers of his dominions, and to root out the pyrats, of all others moſt miſchieuous: which his good purpoſe had by the goodneſſe of Chriſt his Sauiour taken ſo good effect, that he doubted not in ſhort time by the taking of Tunes to obtaine a perfect victorie; which once gained, he would then kindely grant him all things which ſhould ſtand with the conuenience of his affaires, and the vſe of his victorie: ſo that he would not falſifie his faith, which he might iuſtly ſuſpect, if he repoſed not a ſpeciall truſt, that the remembrance of ſuch a benefit would for euer remaine in his heroical mind: & was further aſſured, that the ſame power which ſhould reſtore him his kingdome of curteſie, could alſo take it from him again, if his vnthankfulneſſe ſhould ſo deſerue.

The behauior of Muleaſſes.

Muleaſſes in the preſence of the Emperor vſed ſuch a grauitie and grace in his ſpeech & geſture, as well declared, that he had nothing forgotten his former eſtate: but towards the Generall and the other great Captaines he vſed all manner of curteſie, ſo that he rid vp and down with them gallantly mounted, mannaging his horſe, and charging and diſcharging his launce with ſuch agilitie and skil, as ſhewed him to be a verie good horſeman, and of great actiuitie. At other vacant times he would ſubtilly reaſon with learned men, after the manner of *Auerrois*, of the nature of things, of the motion of heauen, and power of the ſtarres. By the Emperours commandement he had a Tent appointed for him, and honourable allowance for his dyet. *Vaſtius* and the reſt of the chiefe Commanders of the armie vſed him with all honour, and at ſuch time as he was deſirous to ſee the campe, curteouſly brought him into all places of it, that he might himſelfe ſee what mounts they had in ſhort time caſt, what aboundance there was of great artillerie, what ſtrong watch and ward was kept, what a number there was of braue and warrelike ſoldiers of diuers nations, differing much one from another in language, countenance, and manner of furniture: and further demanded, Whether that puiſſant armie which the Emperour had brought ouer to his great good, were in his iudgement ſufficient to ſubdue the enemie? Where aboue all things *Muleaſſes* wondered at the number and order of the great ordnance: and next vnto that, at the wonderfull plentie of things to be bought and ſould in the market place, and at the modeſt quietneſſe of the ſouldiers in buying the ſame.

His opinion and counſell concerning the preſent warre.

Not long after, the expert Captains by diligent enquirie learned of him many things wel ſeruing for their better proceeding in that war, eſpecially of the diſpoſition and ſtrength of them of Tunes, of the ſcituation of the citie, of the nature of the walls, and fortification of the Caſtle, of the Wels and Ciſternes in the ſuburbes, and what ſtrength the Moores and Numidians were of, which *Barbaruſſa* had entertained. In concluſion, he aſſured them (as afterwards it fell out) that *Barbaruſſa* would neuer truſt to the ſtrength of the wals, which would eaſily be ouerthrowne with the great artillerie; but would in a great brauerie with enſignes diſplayed bring all his forces into the field, of purpoſe to terrifie the Chriſtians with the ſight of the multitude of his raſcal ſouldiers, and to breake their array with his Numidian horſemen, who with hideous and terrible cries, after the manner of that nation, would not faile to aſſaile them: and yet for all that would neuer bring into the battel his Turkiſh footmen (in whom he repoſed his greateſt confidence, and whom he deſired moſt to ſpare) but would as a craftie and ſubtill Turke, by oppoſing of the Moores, whom he held in ſmal regard, trie by their bloud what might be done without the danger of his own men. But as he told them, nothing could be more ſtrange vnto the Moores his countreymen, or that they were more affraid of, than in a ſet battell to fight with that enemie whoſe ſquadrons comming orderly on in gliſtring armor with long pikes, might ſcorne and eaſily ouerthrow the naked archers of the Moores, and the vnarmed Numidian horſmen: and that our men ſhould find nothing more grieuous or troubleſome, than the ſcortching heat of the Sun, and the thirſt riſing thereof; which might eaſily be remedied by plenty of water, which by ſlaues and ſmal boats might eaſily be brought in casks and bottles from the fleet alongſt the lake, and ſo diſtributed amongſt the armie: although not far from the walls of the citie were certaine old conduit heads which would yeeld them great plentie of water, if the malicious enemie did not to his owne hurt and others, poyſon

A the ſame. Theſe things orderly reported to the Emperour, confirmed the hope he had before conceiued of the deſired victorie: ſo that wholly bent thereupon, and carefully forecaſting all things, he reſolued forthwith to depart from Guletta, and with all his power to beſiege Tunes.

But whileſt he was preparing things neceſſarie, ordering his ſouldiers, and diſcouering the enemies purpoſes, his ſouldiers had dayly diuers skirmiſhes with the Numidians; ſo that once the skirmiſh was like to haue come to a iuſt battel: which began in this ſort; The Moors had planted certain field-pieces amongſt the Oliue gardens, wherewith they ſhot continually into the campe: for remouing whereof, the Emperor leauing the Italians, with certain companies of the old Germane and Spaniſh ſoldiers, for the keeping of his campe and trenches, went B forth with his horſemen and the reſt of his armie: ſending before him *Montegius*, Generall of the Spaniſh horſemen, who for moſt part were but raw ſouldiers, ſuch as were of the Noblemens ordinarie ſeruants and followers, not before acquainted with the warres. Theſe light horſemen with diuers fortune skirmiſhed a while with the enemy; but when they ſaw themſelues to be hardly charged, and *Montegius* their Generall grieuouſly wounded, they turned their backs, and in the ſight of the Emperour ſhamefully fled to the men at armes which were comming after them. The manner of the enemies fight was, to giue at the firſt a fierce and deſperat charge, and vpon the incounter giuen, of purpoſe to retyre, auoiding thereby the ſudden force of their enemies, and by and by to turne againe vpon them with a freſh charge. The Emperour ſeeing the flight of his light horſemen, came on couragiouſly with his men at C arms; by whoſe comming in and valiant encounter the Turks and Moores were put to flight, and the field pieces wherewith they had before annoyed the campe, taken. In this skirmiſh the Emperour in perſon, as he ſtood formoſt in his armed troups, gaue the ſigne of battel himſelfe, by crying with a loud voice, Saint *Iames*, Saint *Iames*, whom the Spaniards take for their Patron; and ſo charging the enemie, performed the part not only of a couragious Chieftaine, but of a reſolute and valiant ſouldier alſo; reſcuing with his owne hand *Andreas Pontius* a noble gentleman of Granado, whom vnhorſed and ſore wounded, the enemie was readie preſently to haue ſlaine, had not the Emperor by his comming in ſaued him: deſeruing thereby the Oken garland, which the Romans by the name of *Ciuica Corona*, gaue as an honour to ſuch as had in battell ſaued a citiſen.

The Spaniſh light horſemen put to flight.

The Emperour reſtoreth the battell, & with his owne hand reſcueth Andreas Pontius of Granado.

D About the ſame time it fortuned, that thirtie thouſand Moores came vpon the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed a little tower ſtanding vpon a hil neere vnto the ruines of old Carthage: wherin the Emperor had placed certaine ſoldiers for the keeping thereof, becauſe it was neere vnto his campe. Before theſe Moores went a Numidian Prieſt, who bellowing out certain ſuperſtitious charmes, caſt diuers ſcrols of paper on each ſide the way, wherein he curſed and banned the Chriſtians: and now they had with fire and ſmoake brought the Chriſtians in that tower to great extremitie, when the Emperour himſelfe comming to their reſcue with certaine companies of horſemen and footmen, ſlew the coniuring Prieſt, with others, and put the reſt to flight. The diſcomfiture of the Spaniſh horſemen cauſed many men to thinke, that if the Emperor ſhould come to a ſet battell with the enemie, he ſhould finde his horſemen too E weake, both for that they were but few in number, and not to be compared with the Numidians. For which cauſe, and diuers others, certain of the Emperors graue counſellors, but none of the beſt ſoldiers, wiſhed him not to proceed further in that dangerous war, but with ſpeed to returne out of Affricke, for as much as he had woon honour enough by the taking of Guletta, and the ſurpriſing of the enemies fleet: whereby he had to his immortall praiſe, and the common good of Chriſtendome, deliuered all the frontiers of the Chriſtian countries in the Mediterranean, from the danger and feare of thoſe moſt cruell pyrats: beſides that, the flixe began to rage in his campe, whereof many of his ſoldiers fell ſicke and died daily. Whereas on the contrarie part, the mightie Numidian Princes, ſuch as were *Muleaſſes* old enemies, were reported to come in dayly to the aid of *Barbaruſſa*. Theſe vnſeaſonable ſpeeches the EmpeF rour thought good to repreſſe betime; reaſoning againſt the authors thereof with great grauitie, as againſt men who with more feare doubted of the ſucceſſe of things, and the euent of the victorie, than beſeemed them, whom for their conſtant reſolution, and good opinion conceiued of their diſcretion, he had choſen to be of his moſt ſecret counſell.

The Emperour aduiſed by his Counſellours to returne home.

Saying, *That he deſired not of them that their needleſſe and diſhonourable labour, wherein they*

The reſolute anſwer of the Emperour.

ſhould ſhew themſelues more carefull of his perſon than of his honour : for as much as thoſe things which they now alledged, ſhould haue been ſaid before the war was taken in hand, now by good hap halfe ended; before he euer paſſed ouer into Affricke. For he might (as he ſaid) haue reſted quietly in Spaine, and haue eaſily neglected and reiected the iniuries done vpon the ſea coaſts, and the complaints of his ſubiects; but he was (as they well knew) for moſt vrgent cauſes come thither : whereas he was reſolued to ſatisfie the expectation of the world with a notable victorie; or if God ſhould otherwiſe appoint, there to end his dayes with honour. Wherefore he willed them to ceaſe further to flatter him that was no way diſmaid, or to poſſeſſe the minds of his valiant ſouldiers with a vaine foreboding feare, and with reſolute mindes, together with him their chiefetaine, againſt the next day to expect what the fortune of the field ſhould appoint for the full accompliſhment of that war. For he was (as he ſaid) *ſet downe to giue the enemie battell; or if he refuſed the ſame, to batter the walls of Tunes, not doubting but that God would ſtand on his ſide in ſo good and ſo godly a quarrell.*

The Emperor marcheth toward Tunes.

The Emperour leauing a ſufficient garriſon in the caſtle of Guletta, commanded the breaches to be repaired, and the great ordnance there taken to be laid vpon carriages, which before after the old rude ſea faſhion lay bound in great vnweldie pieces of timber, with yron rings faſtned thereunto, and could not handſomely be handled or remooued to or fro. After that, when he had cauſed the countrey to be well viewed all about, which betwixt the Oliue groues and the right ſide of the lake giueth a direct paſſage vnto the citie of Tunes; he ſet forward with his armie in ſo good order, that he ſtill marched as readie to fight, for feare of the policies and ſudden aſſaults of the enemie. On the left hand marched the Italians next vnto the lake; on the right hand the Spaniards neere vnto the Oliue groues, which in the manner of a great wood ran all alongſt the countrie, from the ruines of Carthage, almoſt to the wals of Tunes : in the midſt betwixt both marched the Germans; next vnto them followed the great ordnance; and after it, the carriages of all the armie. In the vauntgard was *Vaſtius*, whom the Emperour had made Generall of the armie, and eſpecially for that day : in the rereward was the Duke of Alba with certaine troups of choſen horſemen : in the middle of the main battel was the Emperor, and by his ſide *Lewis* his brother in law the king of Portingals brother. The Italians were conducted by the Prince of Salerne, the Spaniards by *Alarco* an antient captaine, and the Germans by *Maximilian Eberſtein*. But the Emperor in his armor ceaſed not to ride from ſquadron to ſquadron, with cheerefull countenance and full of hope, recounting vnto them the former victories which they had gotten for him : and telling them, that he did that day expect of them a moſt honourable dayes ſeruice, foraſmuch as they were to fight againſt the naked enemies of the Chriſtian religion : wherefore they ſhould with reſolute minds ſet down themſelues to endure the weight of their armor, the painfulneſſe of the march, the heat of the Sun and ſand, and the tediouſneſſe of the thirſt ariſing thereof; vntill they might ioyne battell with their enemies, where they ſhould vndoubtedly by the goodnes of God (in whoſe quarrel they fought) obtaine the victorie : in the meane time they ſhould with patience ouercome all difficulties, comforting themſelues with the vndoubted hope of a moſt rich prey, which they were to expect of the ſpoile of a rich citie. Whereunto euery ſquadron anſwered with a great ſhout, that he ſhould not trouble himſelfe with thoſe matters which hee had before rehearſed, but to aſſure himſelfe, that they his ſouldiers would moſt patiently endure all extremities, and not deceiue the expectation he had conceiued of their wonted valour, but by valiant fight to make him Emperor, not of Affricke but of Aſia alſo.

Now *Vaſtius* had withdrawn two companies of harquebuſiers out of the Spaniſh ſquadron, to skirmiſh with the Moores who continually followed in the taile of the armie : whome, by thoſe harquebuſiers and certaine troups of horſemen deputed to that purpoſe, the duke of Alba notably repulſed in the rereward.

The ſoldiers for greedines of water diſordered their march.

The armie was now come vnto the Ciſternes of freſh water, which *Muleaſſes* and others which well knew the country, had before told them of; which as ſoon as the ſoldiers almoſt fainting vnder the weight of their armor, with the ſcortching heat of the Sun, & extremity of thirſt, deſcried afar off; they for deſire they had to quench their thirſt, forthwith forſook their colours, & diſorderly ran as faſt as they could to thoſe ciſternes : *Vaſtius* the Generall, to the vttermoſt of his power laboring in vaine both by faire means and foule to haue ſtayed them; who ſaw by that diſordrednes of the ſoldiers, a great aduantage offred vnto the enemie, which

then

A then was not far off. But when the Generall could neither with words or blows preuaile any
thing with them, the Emperour himſelfe was glad to haſte thither, with his preſence and authoritie
to haue kept them in order: yet ſuch was the force of their intollerable thirſt, that
neither the ſight of the Emperour, nor all that he could do, could remedie the diſorder; ſome
fainting in the ſand for lacke of drinke, and ſome other for greedineſſe readie to burſt their
bellies at the fountains; ſo that the Emperor was faine with his truncheon to beat them away.
Amongſt the reſt, one *Sullius Cicero* of Arpinas, a famous captain, died at the ciſterne ſide with
drinking too much. This extremitie for want of water ſeemed iuſtly to haue happened vnto
them, foraſmuch as *Vaſtius* the day before had by generall proclamation thorow the campe,
commanded that euery ſoldier ſhould carrie with him a bottle of wine or water at his girdle:
B although he cauſed ſo much water as he conueniently could, to be carried in great caskes for
the common reliefe of the armie, whereof the Germanes had the greateſt part; ſome almoſt
readie to giue ouer for thirſt, were glad to get a draught of cold water of their fellows which
had it, for two duckets.

A draught of water ſold for two duckets.

This diſorder being with as much ſpeed as was poſſible reformed, and the Armie againe
brought into order, the Emperor held on his march towards the enemie: for *Barbaruſſa* with a
wonderfull multitude of horſemen and footmen, and a number of enſignes (the inſtruments of
vaine feare and fooliſh brauerie) gallantly diſplaied after the manner of the Moores, was come
about three miles from the citie, and with certaine field pieces (as *Muleaſſes* had foretold) went
about to haue broken the battell of the Chriſtians: which Pieces although they were oftentimes
C diſcharged, yet did they little or no harme by reaſon of the vnskilfulneſſe of the Canoniers.
Vaſtius in like manner, and for like purpoſe had commanded the great ordnance to be
brought into the front of the battell: but perceiuing what time and toile it required to haue it
done (for that it was drawne but by ſtrength of men, and the wheels of the carriages ſunk deep
in the deuouring ſand, and the ſhot and pouder which the Mariners and gally ſlaues carried altogether
vpon their ſhoulders, came but ſoftly on) he ſuddenly changed his purpoſe, and told
the Emperor, That he thought it not beſt to ſtay for the great artillerie in that cheerfulneſſe of
his armie when euery man deſired battell, but to commit all to the valour of his reſolute men,
and his own good fortune, which euer fauored his noble attempts: leſt whilſt we ſtay (ſaid he)
too long vpon our great ordnance (which doth not alwayes ſerue to great purpoſe in ſudden
D battels) our enemies gather courage in the time of this our vnneceſſarie delay; and this exceeding
cheerfulnes of our ſoldiers (the moſt ſure token of vndoubted victorie) by deferring of
time grow cold. Whereunto the Emperor, deſirous of battell, and filled with good hope, ioyfully
anſwered; *Vaſtius*, if thou ſo think it good (which I alſo like wel of) in Gods name giue
the ſignall. That ſhal I by & by do (ſaid he) but firſt it is reaſon that you which ſway and command
a great part of the world, learne at this time to obey him, whom to his great charge and
ſhame, you, laying aſide the imperiall maieſtie of your ſelfe, haue for this day made Generall
and commander of ſo mightie an armie: wherefore (ſaid *Vaſtius*) I wil now vſe my authority,
and command you, ſith I may not ſo requeſt you, to depart from this place, and to get you into
E the midſt of the battell neere vnto the enſignes, leſt by ſome vnluckie ſhot, the whole eſtate of
the armie be brought into extream perill by the danger of one mans life. Whereat the Emperor
ſmiling, willed him to feare no ſuch thing; ſaying moreouer, That neuer Emperour was
yet ſlain with a gun. For all that, he departed out of the place as he was commanded, & went
into the middle of the battell. Whereupon the ſignal of battel was by the ſound of the trumpet,
and ſtriking vp of the drum, preſently giuen, and the enemie (with more haſte than the extream
heat of the day required) furiouſly charged by the Emperors horſemen, who to auoid
the danger of the great artillerie, made all the haſt they could to come to handie blows. In
the formoſt of theſe horſmen was *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, a moſt valiant nobleman, who then ſerued
the emperor without charge: he being ſomwhat before the reſt, at the firſt onſet flew with
his lance a great captain of the Moors, & preſently with his ſword ſo troubled them that were
F next, that he opened a way for them that followed him, to break into the enemies battel. The
harquebuſiers alſo diſcharged ſo faſt vpon the enemie, that 300 of them lay dead vpon the
ground before the ioyning of the battell: which the reſt of the footmen ſeeing, forſooke their
great ordnance, and fled backe to *Barbaruſſa*. Who long endured not the force or ſight of the
Chriſtians; but grinding his teeth for ſorrow and griefe of mind, turned his horſe, and with

Barbaruſſa in field againſt the Emperour.

Vaſtius commandeth the Emperour.

Barbaruſſa flieth to Tunes.

his Turks retyred into Tunes. For now that his deſignes had in the beginning taken ſo euill ſucceſſe, he thought it not beſt to aduenture all in one battell; knowing right wel, that the emperours armie could not long endure the inconueniences of the intollerable heat, and want of many things, eſpecially of freſh water: which fed him with hope, that he ſhould out of theſe his enemies diſtreſſes picke ſome fit occaſion of aduantage, if he could but a while defend the citie of Tunes. The Numidians and Moores, who in great troups and companies had alwaies houered about the Emperors armie, without doing any thing worth reporting, retired themſelues into the ſuburbes, gardens, and other places neere vnto the citie. G

The Emperor glad of the flight of his enemies, which were thought to haue bin in number 100000, incamped with his armie that night in the ſame place where they before lay; determining the next day to batter the walls of Tunes. In the meane time *Barbaruſſa*, ſurpriſed with an exceeding feare, and diſtracted with many cares, and now become more cruell than himſelfe, had in his mind purpoſed a fact full of exceeding and inhuman crueltie; which was, at once to haue killed all the Chriſtian captiues in the caſtle of Tunes: fully reſolued to put the ſame in execution, had not *Sinan* the Iew diſſuaded him from that moſt execrable fact; proteſting ſuch a practiſe to be vnſeemly for a man of his valor, famous for his many victories, and carrying with him the maieſtie of a king: whereas he would ſhortly after wonderfully repent him for doing ſo ſhamefull a fact: the doing whereof, What was it elſe (as the Iew ſayd) but a manifeſt demonſtration of his extreame feare and deſperation? which two things were moſt dangerous to him, that was to maintaine ſo doubtfull a war, and would much deface the glorie of his former life: wherefore he ſhould do well to beware, that by the fame of ſuch a moſt horrible fact, he did not prouoke *Solymans* heauie diſpleaſure againſt him: who deuoid of all human crueltie, had vſed both to deteſt and reuenge ſuch outrages. Wherfore he ſhould ſuffer the Chriſtian captiues to liue bound in their fatall chaines, ſo long as it were their fortunes; who being well kept, and vnarmed, might ſhortly after ſerue him to good purpoſe, and could no way without moſt certain danger moue themſelues, if they ſhould vnaduiſedly luſt after their vnluckie libertie: for by them, the expected victorie could neither be giuen to the enemie, nor taken from him, or yet ſo much as hindered. At which ſpeech the tyrant was aſhamed, and ſo ſparing the liues of the poore wretches, went out of the Caſtle, into the greateſt church of Tunes, whither he had cauſed to be aſſembled all the chiefe men of the citie, to tel them what he would haue done for the defence of the citie, and now by perſuaſion to encourage them to fight: from whom, as men by him holden in diſtruſt, he had but a little before the comming of the Chriſtians, taken all manner of armor and weapons. H I K

Barbaruſſa in mind to kil all the Chriſtian captiues, is diſſuaded by Sinan the Iew.

Whileſt *Barbaruſſa* was thus buſied, the moſt ioyfull and happie day appeared to thoſe miſerable captiues, by fortunes change no leſſe blacke and diſmall to the Turks and Moores. For that hainous purpoſe of the cruell tyrant could not long be couered or kept ſecret: ſo that a conſtant report of a danger ſo imminent, was run thorow the whole caſtle, euen into deep dungeons; by the compaſſion of certaine manumiſed ſlaues, who deteſting the ſauage crueltie of *Barbaruſſa* their maſter, and touched with deuotion, had in heart returned to their old and true Chriſtian religion; incouraging by ſecret ſpeeches the chiefe of the captiues with whom they were acquainted, to lay hand now vpon their libertie. Amongſt theſe well minded men was one *Francis* a Spaniard, whom *Barbaruſſa* had from his youth brought vp as his minion, hauing him alwayes in great eſteem by the name of *Memis*, and another called *Vincentius Caterus* of Dalmatia an eunuch. Theſe two aduenturing a moſt memorable and godly attempt, ſet open the priſon doores, and gaue inſtruments vnto the poore priſoners, readie to take the occaſion offered; who boldly ſtarting vp, brake off their chains and gyues, and ſo by the great goodnes and mercie of God, about 6000 poore naked Chriſtians, armed with that came firſt in hand, but eſpecially with ſtones, brake forth ſuddenly vpon the Turks that were in the caſtle. *Ramadan* a renegate Spaniard captain of the caſtle, ſtirred vp with the vnexpected and terrible noiſe of ſo many priſoners breaking their yrons, with a few ſoldiers whom he had ſuddenly called vnto him, ran to the caſtle gate, where one of the priſoners (a luſtie yong man of Sicilia) had with one of the bars of the gate ſtrucke downe one or two of the Warders, and hauing bolted the gate, was become maſter thereof; him *Ramadus* ſlew, and opening the gate, made way for himſelfe and his few followers, with whom he went to *Barbaruſſa*, to carrie him the newes of that his hard miſchance. But the Chriſtians now looſed from their bands, and hauing L M

The Chriſtian captiues breake priſon, & driue the Turkes out of the caſtle of Tunes.

ſuddenly ſlaine diuers of the Turkes, poſſeſſed themſelues of all the caſtle, brake open the armorie, and ſo ſeizing vpon the kings treaſure, armor, & prouiſion, from a hie turret gaue ſignes of victorie to the Chriſtian army by ſmoke & falſe fires made with gunpowder; and laſtly by diſplaying of *Sarmentus* his enſigne, which (as we haue before declared) was by *Tabacches* taken from the top of the trenches at the ſiege of Guletta. Theſe ſignes although the Chriſtians in the army could not well perceiue, as being too far off; yet by the fugitiues which came oftentimes out of Tunes to the Emperour and *Muleaſſes*, they were both perſuaded, that ſome great tumult was riſen amongſt the enemies. Wherefore the Emperor ſent two of his captains with their companies, who going as neere as they could to the citie and the caſtle, ſhould diſcouer what the matter was. In the meane time, *Barbaruſſa* almoſt mad for anger, in his furie blaſpheming his vain gods, and bitterly curſing and banning the Iew, for diſſuading him from killing the captiues, came to the caſtle gate, with tears ſtanding in his eys pittifully requeſting the late Chriſtian captiues (which then ſtood vpon the top of the wals & the gate, with weapons in their hands) that they would forthwith let him in, faithfully promiſing them their libertie, with a generall and free pardon for all that they had done. But they mindfull both of their former and preſent fortune, and moued with iuſt hatred, caſt ſtones at him, and with many opprobrious words reiected his requeſt: ſo that he inraged with ſorrow and madneſſe, ſhot at them with his owne hand, and ſeeing all paſt remedie, and the citie not poſſible now to be kept, ſhamefully betooke himſelſe to flight. After him followed the Turkes, in number ſeuen thouſand, with purpoſe to flie to the citie Hippona, now called Bona, famous with the Biſhopricke of that reuerend Father and great Diuine *Auguſtine*. For there (as in a moſt ſure harbour) had *Barbaruſſa* left foureteene gallies in the lake neere vnto the citie, to ſerue his turne whatſoeuer miſchance ſhould happen: but the tacklings, ſailes, oares, and ordnance, hee had laid vp in the caſtle faſt by, which was kept with a garriſon of his owne.

Tunes yeelded to the Emperor.

The Emperour vnderſtanding that *Barbaruſſa* with his Turks was fled, came with all his armie vnto the gates of Tunes, where the magiſtrates of the citie were ready to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, & to deliuer him the keies of the citie; only requeſting of him, that he would keep his ſoldiers incamped without the citie, and not to ſeeke the vtter ſpoile and ruin thereof: promiſing, that the ſouldiers ſhould want nothing that was there to be had. *Muleaſſes* alſo carefull of the ſafetie thereof, earneſtly intreated the Emperor in the citiſens behalfe. But he, although he was of his own honorable diſpoſition ready enough to haue granted what they requeſted, yet for that he did, not without cauſe, doubt of the Moores fidelitie, and that the paiment of the mony which they of Tunes had by *Muleaſſes* promiſed for the paiment of the ſoldiers wages, was by them craftily delaied, expecting ſtill the vttermoſt deuoire of *Barbaruſſa*, he could not by any means be perſuaded to promiſe them any certaintie of their ſafetie: moued alſo ſo to do by the diſcontented ſpeeches of his ſoldiers, who ſpared not to ſay, That they ſhould be hardly and vnkindly dealt withall, if after ſo long trauell and ſo much paines taken both by ſea and land, they ſhould be defrauded of the reward of the victory, ſith nothing but only the hope of the preſent ſpoile did relieue and feed them, being poore and miſerable, hauing ſcarce clothes to couer their nakedneſſe, and their bodies ſpent with long labour and thirſt; ſo that the Moores of Tunes, enemies of the Chriſtian religion, and the perpetuall receiuers of moſt horrible pyrats, might worthily reioice of the Chriſtian victorie; & the conquerors themſelues for euer bewaile their owne calamities and miſeries. Whileſt the Emperor ſtood thus in doubt what to reſolue vpon, *Vaſtius* with a ſmall companie came to the caſtle gate, & was with wonderfull ioy receiued by the Chriſtian captiues. But as he was viewing the wealth & prouiſion laid vp in the caſtle, a Ligurian captiue diſcouered vnto him where certain treaſure lay hid: for *Barbaruſſa* had there caſt into a well 30000 duckats ſowed vp in bags, which *Vaſtius* getting eaſily out, obtain'd them of the Emperor of gift, as he whoſe good ſeruice had wel deſerued them. The caſtle thus won by a moſt rare chance, & the captiues taking the ſpoile therof, the ſoldiers could no longer be ſtaied, but that they entred into the city by heaps, running after the ſpoile into euery part therof; the citiſens fearing no ſuch matter, and calling in vain vpon the faith of *Muleaſſes*: the old ſoldiers at the firſt entrance ſlew many. The Spaniards and the Italians ſought moſt after the ſpoile; but the Germans deſiring more to glut themſelues with the Mahometan bloud, fill'd all places with dead bodies, without regard of ſex or age; ſo that the prophane temples of their vain prophet, ſwam with the bloud of them

Tunes ſpoiled by the Chriſtians.

that were fled into them. Which furious execution continued vntill ſuch time as the empe- G
ror mooued with the pittifull requeſt of *Muleaſſes*, cauſed proclamation to be made, That no man ſhould vpon paine of death hurt any citiſen, or take any priſoners: yet for all that, it could not otherwiſe be, but that many young men and women were by the mariners (which were come to the ſpoile of the citie) carried away to the fleet.

Muleaſſes for a little mony redeemed diuers which he knew, out of the hands of ſuch as had them priſoners: amongſt others, one of his wiues, whom he ſometime held deareſt, was ranſomed for two duckats. The Emperour entering into the caſtle, commended the captiues, who were the occaſion of that ſpeedie victorie: and giuing to euery one of them money, ſet them at libertie, promiſing vnto them ſhipping and prouiſion to bring them home euery man into his owne country. Vnto the two manumiſed ſeruants of *Barbaruſſa*, which were the authours H
of breaking the priſon, he gaue mony and apparell, & afterwards learned of them many things concerning *Barbaruſſa* his purpoſes, and ſecret diſpoſition. In the ſpoile of the caſtle, *Muleaſſes* lamented the loſſe of three things eſpecially: firſt, the antient Arabian bookes containing the interpretation of the Mahometane law, and the acts of the kings his predeceſſours, the loſſe whereof, *Muleaſſes* (in the hearing of *P. Iouius*, out of whom this hiſtorie is taken) ſaid (as he reporteth) that he would moſt gladly, if it had bin poſſible, haue redeemed with the price of a city: then the precious ointments and perfumes, with the wonderfull ſtore of ambergrize, muske, and ciuet, worth much gold: all which, *Barbaruſſa* as a rude and rough man had made no reckoning of. And laſt of all, the rare and rich colours for painting, which lying by heapes, were by the ignorant ſouldiers, ſeeking for that might yeeld them preſent money, fooliſhly I
neglected & troden vnderfoot, ſeruing no man to good. In this caſtle were found diuers headpieces and other armor of the Chriſtians, namely of the French, who with *Lewis* their king, had about three hundred yeares before beſieged that Caſtle: which armour had been vntill that time there kept by the Moores in remembrance of that victorie againſt the Chriſtians.

Three things eſpecially lamẽted by Muleaſſes in the ſpoile of the caſtle of Tunes.

Barbaruſſa in the meane time was come to the riuer of Bagrada, which the *Moores* call Malordech, which he eaſily paſſed ouer, though he was purſued by certain Numidian horſmen, whom *Muleaſſes* had raiſed of his old friends, and of the followers of his vncle *Dorax*, & ſent them to purſue the Turks: but *Barbaruſſa* ſo marched with his harquebuſiers & archers placed in the rereward, that the Numidian horſemen durſt not come neere him, and ſo in ſafety came to Hippona, as he had before purpoſed. Yet in paſſing the riuer Bagrada, he loſt *Haydin* of Smirna, that famous pirat: who being a fat man, and wearied with the heat of the Sunne K
and painefulneſſe of the iourny, dranke ſo much, that he died preſently vpon the banke of the riuer. When *Barbaruſſa* was come to Hippona, he reſted his men two daies: then calling them together againe, he comforted them with good words, perſuading them, that whatſoeuer miſchance had hapned, they ſhould impute it not to the valor of the enemie, but to the trecherie of the ſlaues: exhorting them, as valiant men patiently to indure that frowne of Fortune, and by ſome notable exploit to win againe her fauor: for hee was againe determined to put to ſea with the fleet he had, and to go preſently from thence to Algiers, where after he had with new ſupplies increaſed his power, and augmented his fleet, and better aduiſed himſelfe, he would take an attempt in hand anſwerable to their deſires, and not vnbeſeeming his owne credit and L
eſtimation. It is reported, that neuer vanquiſhed and beaten captaine was with a more cheerful acclamation anſwered by his ſouldiers, than he was at that preſent; they all with one conſent moſt willingly requeſting him to command whatſoeuer pleaſed him, which they would neuer refuſe to vndertake, were it neuer ſo heauie or dangerous, ſo that they might bee brought to ſome notable exploit. *Barbaruſſa* vſing this exceeding cheerfulneſſe and forwardneſſe of his ſouldiers, did with wonderfull celeritie weigh vp the 14 gallies which he had ſunke in the lake, & forthwith rigged them vp, & furniſhed them for all aſſaies: and vpon the very brinke of the lake caſt vp a mount of earth, whereon he placed certain pieces of artillerie for defence of the harbour, not vainly coniecturing, that the Chriſtian fleet would in ſhort time come thither to impeach his going out: pointing therin as it were at the purpoſe of the Emperor and M
Auria his admirall, who were of opinion, that by ſending part of the fleet thither, thoſe gallies might be drown'd in the harbor with the great ordnance, before they could be rigged & made readie. Vnto this piece of ſeruice *Auria* appointed one *Adam*, a captain of Genoa, a man of no great skill in matters at ſea, but yet of great wealth and credit, & the Admirals nigh kinſman:

Barbaruſſa flieth to Hippona, and there comforteth his ſouldiers.

Auria ſendeth certaine gallies to intercept Barbaruſſa.

he

A he with certaine galliots and foureteene gallies, ſet forward towards Hippona, promiſing vn-
to himſelfe a moſt certain and eaſie victorie, hoping to purchaſe vnto himſelfe great honor of
the vnprouided enemy : for that he thought to haue taken *Barbaruſſa* buſie in ſetting forth of
his fleet. But after he was paſt Biſerta, & come neere to Hippona, he was certainly aduertiſed,
that *Barbaruſſa* had with incredible celeritie rigged vp his gallies, & fortified the harbor, by
planting great ordnance vpon the mount he had there raiſed. With which newes he wonder-
fully troubled, changed his purpoſe, perſuaded by the other captains of the gallies, in no caſe
to aduenture to fight with him, becauſe the Spaniſh, Sicilian, and Neapolitan gallies were but
weakly manned, many of the ſouldiers being for greedineſſe of the ſpoile gone aſhore with-
out leaue at Tunes : ſo that he ſhould at great diſaduantage fight with the Turks, being mo in
B number and deſperatly bent. Wherefore he vpon good aduiſe preſently changed his former
courſe, and returned to the fleet for more aid. *Barbaruſſa* (as it was afterwards knowne) ſtood
a good while in doubt, whether he ſhould in hope of victoie purſue thoſe gallies, foraſmuch
as they were in number no more than his owne, or elſe to perſiſt in his former purpoſe of go-
ing to Algiers. Vnto which opinion al the vnder captains inclined, being altogether ignorant
of the weakneſſe of the Chriſtians : and ſo letting ſlip a faire occaſion, leauing a ſmall garriſon
of Turks in the caſtle, he departed from Hippona & ſailed alongſt the coaſt to Algiers. When
Adam was returned agnine to the fleet, and had done nothing, many of the Chriſtian princes
were wonderfully offended, that by the negligence of ſome who were hardly to be comman-
C ded, and by the vnrulineſſe of others who without leaue were gone aſhore, ſo faire an occaſion
of the diſired victorie, was neglected. For this thing onely wanted vnto the Emperors rare fe-
licitie in that war : for if thoſe few gallies had been taken from the cruell enemie, or ſunke in
the ſea, there had been no means for him to haue eſcaped ; being verily thought, that the Nu-
midians in number infinit, and deadly enemies vnto the Turkes, would with often skirmiſhes
out of their knowne places of aduantage, haue ſo cut him off in his long and painfull trauell by
land, that they would altogether haue made an end both of him and his followers before hee
could haue come to Algiers. *Auria* angrie both with himſelfe and thoſe whom he had put in
truſt, and yet not out of hope to ouertake his enemie; with his owne gallies and ſome other of
the beſt ſhips went to Hippona : but finding *Barbaruſſa* gone, he tooke the city and ouerthrew
D the wals thereof : but in the caſtle which he by force tooke from the Turks, he placed *Al-
uarius Gometius* with a ſufficient garriſon, and ſo returned vnto the Emperor. This *Gometius*, al-
though he was a moſt valiant captain, yet became ſo infamous for his auaritious dealing both
with the enemie and his friends, that for feare how to anſwer ſuch things as he knew would
be laid to his charge, he became the infamous executioner of himſelfe. The caſtle was after-
wards by the commandement of the Emperor, raſed downe to the ground, for that it was not
without a maruellous charge to be kept. After that, a counſell was holden concerning *Muleaſ-
ſes*, whom the Emperor placed againe in the kingdome of Tunes, there to raigne as his ance-
ſtors had don before him; paying him yearly by the name of a tribute, two Faulcons, and two
Numidian courſers: with condition, that he ſhould for euer honour the Emperour, and be a
E friend vnto all Chriſtians, and an vtter enemie vnto the Turks. Beſides that, That he ſhould
from time to time defray the charges of a thouſand Spaniards and more, to be left in garriſon
in the caſtle of Guletta ; by holding whereof, the Emperour kept as it were the keies of that
kingdome at his girdle. The Emperor hauing thus honourably driuen *Barbaruſſa* & the Turks
pyrats out of Tunes, taken from them their gallies, deliuered the Chriſtian countries (all along
the ſea coaſt into the Mediterranean) of a great feare, and reſtored *Muleaſſes* againe to his king-
dome, ſailed into Sicilia, where he was in great triumph receiued at Panormus and Meſſana,
from whence he paſſed ouer to Rhegium in Italie, and from thence by land to Naples. Thus
was the kingdome of Tunes taken by *Barbaruſſa* and the Turks; and by *Charles* the Emperour
recouered againe out of their hands the ſelfe-ſame time that *Solyman* was in perſon himſelfe
F in wars againſt the Perſian: whom *Barbaruſſa* accompanied with *Sinan* the Iew, after this ouer-
throw met at Iconium in his returne out of Perſia, well accepting of their excuſe, as is before
declared.

Barbaruſſa eſcapeth to Algiers.

The kingdom of Tunes is by the emperour reſtored to Muleaſſes.

The Emperour returneth with victorie into Italie.

1537.

Solyman as well of his own ambitious diſpoſition, as following the manner of the *Othoman*
kings, deſirous by all meanes to increaſe the glory of his name, and to inlarge his empire, de-
termined with himſelf to take away from the Portingals all their trafick into the Eaſt Indies.

It grieued him to heare, that the Chriſtian religion ſhould begin to take root amongſt thoſe Pagan kings, which had not long before receiued the Mahometan religion: Beſides that, hee was credibly informed, that the Portingals in theſe late wars he had againſt the Perſians, had aided them with certain harquebuſiers, and alſo had ſent them workemen to ſhew them both the making and vſe of great artillerie. But that which moued him moſt of all, was for that the Portingals by their traffique into the Indies, had cut off all the trade of merchandiſe into the gulfe of Arabia, whereby the riches of the Eaſt were woont to be tranſported vnto Caire, and ſo to Alexandria, from whence they were afterwards by the Venetian merchants and others diſperſed into all parts of Europe: but now were carried by the great Ocean into Portingall, and from thence conuaied into all parts of Chriſtendome, to the great hindrance of his tributes and cuſtoms of Ægypt. For theſe cauſes, & at the inſtance of *Solyman Baſſa* an eunuch, borne in Epirus, and then Gouernour of Ægypt; *Solyman* cauſed wonderfull preparation to be made, for the building of a great fleet in the red ſea, to goe againſt the Portingals. All the timber whereof was cut downe in the mountaines of Cilicia, and ſhipped in the bay of Attalia in the bottome of the Mediterranean, from whence it was by ſea tranſported to Peluſium, and ſo vp the riuer of Nilus to Caire; where after it was framed and readie to be ſet together, it was with infinit labour, and no leſſe charge, carried by land with Camels thorow that hoat and ſandie country, from Caire to Suetia, a port of the Red ſea, called in antient time Arſinoe. From which place eightie miles diſtant from Caire, the antient kings of Ægypt, ſeeking by vaine and wonderfull workes to eterniſe the memorie of themſelues, had with incredible charge cut thorow al that main land; ſo that veſſels of good burthen might come vp the ſame from Arſinoe to Caire: which great cut or ditch, *Seſoſtris* the rich king of Ægypt, and long after him *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, purpoſed to haue made a great deale wider and deeper, and thereby to haue let the Red ſea into the Mediterranean, for the readier tranſportation of the Indian merchandiſe to Caire and Alexandria. Which mad worke, *Seſoſtris* preuented by death could not performe: and *Ptolomeus* otherwiſe perſuaded by skilfull men, in time gaue ouer; for feare leſt by lettting in the great South Sea into the Mediterranean, he ſhould thereby as it were with another generall deluge haue drowned the greateſt part of Græcia, & many other goodly countries in Aſia, and with exceeding charge, in ſtead of honor, haue purchaſed himſelfe eternall infamie. Yet by the ſingular induſtrie of *Solyman* the Eunuch, who with ſeuere commandement inforced all the people of the countries thereabouts to the furtherance of the building of that fleet; hee had with wonderfull celeritie in ſhort time new built eightie tall ſhips and gallies at Arſinoe, and furniſhed them with men, and all things elſe needfull for ſo long a voyage. At which time, hee vpon a quarrell pickt without cauſe, but not without the good liking of *Solyman*, moſt iniuriouſly confiſcated the goods of the Venetian merchants at Alexandria and Caire, and thruſt the mariners into his gallies as ſlaues. With which fleet in moſt warlike manner appointed, *Solyman* the Baſſa, accompanied with *Aſſan-Beg*, commonly called the Moore of Alexandria, a moſt famous pyrat and an excellent ſea-man, ſet forward againſt the Portingals: and ſailing thorow the Red ſea, and ſo Eaſtward by the gulfe of Perſia, came at length as far as the great riuer Indus; where with all his power hee aſſaulted Dium a caſtle of the Portingals, ſcituate vpon the mouth of that great riuer: but in concluſion, after he had many days beſieged the caſtle both by ſea & land, and tried the vttermoſt of his ſtrength, he was ſo repulſed by the Portingals, that he was glad to forſake the ſiege, & leauing his great ordnance behind him for haſt, returned backe againe to Aden, a citie of great trade in Arabia Fœlix: where diſcouraged with the euill ſucceſſe he had againſt the Portingals, becauſe he would be thought to haue done ſomething, he allured the king of that rich citie to come vnto him, vpon his falſe faith before giuen for his ſafe returne: but as ſoone as he had him aboord, he like a periured wretch hanged him vp at the yards arme of his Admirall galley, and ſo ſurpriſing the citie, enriched himſelfe with the ſpoile thereof. The like barbarous crueltie hee vſed at Zibyth, another famous port of Arabia, where the pilgrims of the Eaſt doe commonly land when they after the manner of their ſuperſtition come to viſit the temple of their falſe prophet at Mecha: the king of which place together with al his nobilitie he cruelly murthered, contrary to his faith giuen; and ſo trauelling himſelfe by land to Mecha, as if he had been ſome deuout pilgrim, ſent backe his fleet by the Moore to Suetia, hauing performed againſt the Portingals nothing at all.

The Egyptian kings about to let in the red ſea into the Mediterranean.

Dium a caſtle of the Portingals in the Eaſt Indies in vaine aſſaulted by the Turks.

The treacherous dealing of Solyman the eunuch Baſſa with the kings of Arabia

A At the ſame time *Solyman* by the perſuaſion of *Lutzis* and *Aiax* (the Baſſaes of greateſt au-
thoritie about him, now that *Abraham* was dead) turned all his forces from the Perſians, as
men agreeing with him in the chiefe points of his Mahometan ſuperſtition, with purpoſe to
conuert the ſame vpon Italie: whereunto hee was earneſtly ſolicited by *Iohn Forreſt* the
French kings embaſſador, then lying at Conſtantinople of purpoſe to incite *Solyman* againſt
Charles the Emperour, aſſuring him that hee was not of ſuch power, as at one time to defend
Apulia againſt him, and the dukedome of Millaine againſt the French king, who (as he ſaide)
was determined that Summer to inuade that part of Italy. And to further the matter, about the
ſame time one *Troilus Pignatellus*, a noble gentleman, ſometime commander in *Charles* the Em-
perors army, but then exiled out of Naples, fled vnto *Solyman*; and forſomuch as he was a man
B of fame, and like to doe him great ſeruice in the inuaſion of Apulia, as one which knew the
country well and promiſed vnto him good ſucceſſe in that wars, was by *Solyman* honorably
entertained amongſt his Mutfaracas: which is a certaine companie of horſemen for their ap-
proued valor, choſen out of all nations, hauing the free exerciſe of their religion whatſoeuer
without controulement, and are onely bound to attend vpon the perſon of the great Turke
when he goeth to wars. The cauſe of his reuolt was, for that the viceroy of Naples had exe-
cuted *Andrew* his brother, one of the knights of the Rhodes. But being now growne into great
fauour with *Solyman* and the Baſſaes, and oftentimes called to counſell in the preparation of
that war, caſting off all naturall loue of his countrey, ceaſed not by all means to perſuade *Soly-*
C *man* to inuade the ſame; aſſuring him, that the people of Apulia and Salerne, oppreſſed with
grieuous tribute and exactions by the Emperors officers, would at the firſt reuolt, eſpecially if
they ſaw any of the French nation to cleaue vnto. And that which moued him more than all
the reſt, the antient Turks told him into what a feare al Italie was ſtrucken, at ſuch time as *Ach-*
metes the Baſſa hauing taken Hydruntum, had vndoudtedly conquered not onely the king-
dome of Naples, but the citie of Rome alſo, and all the reſt of Italie, had not the vntimely
death of *Mahomet* his great grandfather interrupted the courſe of that victory. Which perſua-
ſions wrought ſuch effect in *Solyman*, that he, once fully reſolued for the inuaſion of Italie,
made ſuch expedition both by ſea and land, that hee himſelfe in perſon was come with two
hundred thouſand men vnto Aulona, the moſt conuenient port of Macedon for the tranſpor-
D ting of his army, before it was thought in Italie that he was ſet forward from Conſtantinople:
where he had not long ſtaid, but *Lutzis Baſſa* his Admirall, accompanied with *Barbaruſſa*, ſai-
ling alongſt the coaſt of Peloponeſus and Epirus, and ſo paſſing by Corcyra, where *Hieronimus*
Piſaurius, Admirall of the Venetian fleet lay with his gallies (after mutuall ſalutation done af-
ter the manner of ſea, by ſhooting off their great peeces in token of friendſhip) put into the ha-
uen of Aulona alſo. *Solyman* not purpoſing to loſe any time, and hauing Italie now in his
ſight, commanded *Lutzis* & *Barbaruſſa* to paſſe ouer with the fleet vnto Otranto, and to proue
the mindes of the people; that if the firſt enterpriſe fell out well, hee might preſently fol-
low after with al his armie. With them went alſo *Troilus Pignatellus*, as forward to the deſtru-
ction of his countrey, as any of the reſt. Hee knowing that the great Cities of Hydruntum
E and Brunduſium were kept with ſtrong Garriſons of *Charles* the Emperour, leauing Hydrun-
tum on the right hand, directed the Turkes to a towne vpon the ſea coaſt, eight miles off,
called Caſtrum, neere vnto which ſtandeth a caſtle vpon a hill then belonging to *Mercurinus*
Catinarius: who beeing a man vnacquainted with warres, and terrified with the ſudden com-
ming of the Turkes, and perſuaded by *Troilus*, yeelded vp his Caſtle, vpon condition, that
the Turkes ſhould offer no violence or iniurie vnto him or his, either in body or goods. Vpon
which condition the towne of Caſtrum was alſo deliuered vnto them. But the Turks, eſpeci-
ally the greedie marriners, beeing got into the caſtle and the towne, mooued neither with the
intreatie of *Troilus*, nor the commandement of *Lutzis* and *Barbaruſſa*, rifled the towne and ca-
ſtle, and carried away with them *Merturinus* himſelfe, with all the floure of the people, to
F their gallies as priſoners. But *Lutzis* aſhamed of ſuch faithleſſe dealing, preſently ſet *Mer-*
curinus at libertie againe. At the ſame time alſo, *Solyman* had by night ſent ouer certaine
troupes of light horſemen, in great palendars: which running all alongſt the ſea coaſt from
Tarentum to Brunduſium, carried away with them both the people and cattell, and whatſo-
euer elſe came in their way by the ſpace of fortie miles. So that all that countrey of Salenti-
num, now called Otranto, was filled with feare and danger; and had not there ſtayed, but
was

Solyman incited by the French embaſſaduor to inuade Italie.

Solyman with an army of two hundred thouſand men commeth to Aulona.

Solyman ſends Lutzis & Barbaruſſa with his fleet to inuade Italie.

Caſtrum in Apulia yeelded to the Turks, & by them contrary to their faith ſpoiled.

The Turks ſpoile Apulia.

was like enough to haue ouerwhelmed all Italie, by the comming ouer of *Solyman* with his G whole armie, had not the raſhneſſe of one Venetian captaine by vnexpected chance turned that tempeſt from the Italians vpon the Venetians themſelues.

Alexander Contarenus, a valiant captain of the Venetians, meeting with certaine of the Turks gallies, which would neither vaile their top ſailes, nor in token of reuerence and friendſhip, diſcharge any of their great ordnance, as of dutie they ought to haue done in thoſe ſeas where the Venetians commanded; offended with their proud inſolencie, fiercely aſſailed them, and in fight ſunke two of them: wherein *Vſtamenes* Gouernour of Calipolis, a man of no ſmal reputation among the Turks, was reported to haue periſhed. Which outrage done by *Contarenus* in a moſt vnfit time (to the great hurt of the Venetian eſtate, as it appeared afterward) was imputed to his owne priuat grudge which he bare againſt the Turks, for that they intercepted a H ſhip of his as ſhe was comming out of the Eaſt countries laden with rich merchandiſe: ſo that it was thought, that he to pleaſe himſelfe in reuenging of his own priuat iniurie, regarded not what in that dangerous time might enſue thereof to the common ſtate.

A little before the comming ouer of the Turks into Italie, *Andreas Auria* the Emperours Admirall lying at Meſſana in Sicilia, vnderſtanding that *Solyman* was come with his armie to Aulona, and that his fleet was arriued there alſo, put to ſea, directing his courſe towards the Iſlands of Caphalenia and Zacynthus, hoping (as indeed it fell out) to meet with the taile of the Turks fleet: for there according to his expectation he chanced vpon diuers of the Turks victuallers, whom he eaſily tooke. The marriners he chained in his owne gallies for ſlaues, and I furniſhing his fleet with the victual which was not for him prouided, fired the ſhips. Whileſt *Auria* was thus beating too and fro in the Ionian ſea, it fortuned that *Solyman* ſent *Iunusbeius* his chiefe interpreter, a man whome hee made no ſmall account of, with two gallies on a meſſage to *Lutzis* his Admirall. This proud Turke comming neere vnto Corcyra, where the Venetian Admirall lay with his fleet, offered ſcornefully to paſſe, without vailing: which his pride tending to the diſgrace of the Venetians, certain of the Venetian captains not enduring, ſet vpon him with ſuch furie, that the Turks were enforced to run both their gallies on ſhore vpon the coaſt of Epirus, neere vnto the mountaines called Acroceraunij, where hauing eſcaped the danger at ſea, they fell almoſt all into the hands of the cruel mountaine people, liuing for the moſt part by theft, and waiting for wracks, as hawks for their prey: by theſe ſhauers K the Turks were ſtript of all they had, and *Iunusbeius* with much adoe redeeming himſelfe out of their hands, returned to *Solyman*. *Auria* ſayling alongſt the ſea coaſt, chanced vpon theſe gallies, and finding them ſore bruſed, ſet fire on them.

Iunusbeius with two gallies, driuen by the Venetians vpon the Acroceraunian rocke.

For theſe vnkind parts, the Turks were wonderfully offended with the Venetians, & grieuouſly complained of them to *Solyman*: although the Venetian Admirall laboured by all means he could to appeaſe *Iunusbeius*, and to excuſe the matter, as a thing done by great ouerſight on both ſides. Vpon theſe ſmall occaſions, the Turkes ſought to breake off the league with the Venetians; which fell out ſo much the ſooner, for that about the ſame time *Auria* ſailing vp & downe the Ionian ſea, and diligently looking into euery harbor to intercept ſuch as ſtragled from the Turkes fleet, hapned by night to light vpon 12 of *Solymans* great gallies L neere vnto Corcyra, all filled with his Ianizaries and choice horſemen of the court, the beſt ſoldiers of the Turks, who had by land ſent their horſes to the camp by their lackies, & were comming themſelues with the Ianizaries by ſea. *Auria* falling vpon theſe gallies, had with them a crueil and deadly fight: for they as reſolute men, wiſhing rather to die than to yeeld to their enemies, with inuincible courage maintained a moſt bloudie fight againſt *Auria* with his 30 gallies excellently appointed, vntill ſuch time as moſt part of them were ſlaine, and the reſt ſore wounded; who ſeeing no remedie, but that they muſt needs come into the hands of their enemies, threw their ſcimitars ouerboord, becauſe thoſe choice weapons ſhould not come into the hands of the Chriſtians. In this conflict, *Auria* loſt alſo many of his beſt ſoldiers: yet hauing got the victory, and poſſeſſed of the gallies, he ankered neere vnto Corcyra, there M to take view of his own harms and the enemies: but whilſt he rid there at anker, he was aduertiſed, that *Barbaruſſa* was comming againſt him with 80 gallies. Wherfore knowing himſelfe too weake to incounter ſo ſtrong an enemie, he departed thence, and returned againe to Meſſana to repaire his fleet. *Solyman* thorowly chafed with the loſſe of his gallies and beſt ſouldiers, and with the double iniurie done vnto him by the Venetians, fell into ſuch a rage, that he curſed

Auria taketh 12 of the Turks gallies full of Ianizaries and Solymans other beſt ſouldiers.

A curſed ***Barbaruſſa***, as one who in theſe wars had done him no good ſeruice : and thundred out
grieuous threats againſt the Venetians ; ſaying, he was vnder the colour of an antient league,
by them deceiued and greatly abuſed, and that they were ſecretly confederated with ***Charles***
his enemie, and had for that cauſe (as they had always) holpen ***Auria*** with intelligence, and all
things neceſſarie, receiuing him into their harbors, and by their eſpials giuing him knowledge
of the order of his fleet, that ſo he might at his own aduantage ſurpriſe his gallies ; as he had
alreadie done. Vnto which fire, ***Iunusbeius*** his Interpreter, ***Barbaruſſa***, and ***Aiax***, laid new coles,
more and more incenſing the tyrant, who was of himſelfe ſufficiently inflamed ; perſuading
him by all means they could, to breake the league with the Venetians. Wherein ***Iunusbeius***
ſought to reuenge his own priuat iniuries ; and the other two after their greater profit & cre-
B dit, gaping after the ſpoile of the Iſlands neere hand, eſpecially of Corcyra (now caled Corfu)
Zazynthus, and Cephalenia, all ſubiect to the Venetian Seigniorie ; finding the wars in Italie
more dangerous and difficult than they had before imagined. For the French King came not
then into Italie, as was by them expected : and it was commonly reported, That ***Petrus Toleta-
nus*** Viceroy of Naples, hauing put ſtrong garriſons into the townes all alongſt the ſea coaſt,
was comming himſelfe with a great armie : beſide that, the horſemen ſent ouer from Aulona,
ranging about in the countrey of Salentum for ſpoile, were many times cut off by ***Scipio Som-
meius*** a noble gentleman there gouernor for the Emperor. Wherefore ***Solyman*** changing his
purpoſe for the inuaſion of Italie, in his mad mood proclaimed war againſt the Venetians : and
riſing with his armie from Aulona, and marching alongſt the ſea coaſt vntill hee came ouer
C againſt Corcyra, he incamped neere vnto the mountains called Acroceraunij, where the fierce
and wilde people inhabiting the high and rough mountaine of Chimera, a part of the Acro-
ceraunian mountaines ; by the inſtigation of one ***Damianus*** a notable Theefe, and verie per-
fect in the blinde and difficult paſſages amongſt the Rockes and Woods in thoſe deſolate
Mountaines ; conſpired to attempt a moſt ſtrange and deſperate exploit, which was, by
night to ſpoile ***Solyman*** in his owne pauilion. Theſe beggarly wilde rogues liuing for moſt part
by murther & robbery, altogether without law or any manner of religion, in hope of ſo great
a prey, and to become famous in killing one of the greateſt Monarks of the world in the midſt
of his ſtrength, garded with ſo many thouſands of his ſoldiers ; were not affraid of any danger,
how great ſoeuer, hoping in the dead time of the night to ſteale into the campe vndiſcouered,
D and there ſo to oppreſſe ***Solyman*** ſleeping in his tent. Which (as was by many afterwards ſup-
poſed) they were like enough to haue performed, to the aſtoniſhment of the world, had it not
bin by chance diſcouered: for when they had put all things in readineſſe for that purpoſe, ***Da-
mianus*** ringleader of theſe deſperat ſauage people, by ſecret wayes ſtealing down the broken
rocks of thoſe huge mountaines, and comming verie neere vnto the campe, to view the ſtan-
ding of ***Solymans*** pauilion, with the order of the Turks watch, was by the cracking of a bough
eſpied by the Ianizaries, where he ſtood in a tree prying all ouer the campe : and being there
taken, and afterward put to torture, and confeſſing what he had intended, was by the comman-
dement of ***Solyman*** torne in pieces. Whereupon he forthwith ſent a great part of his armie vp
E into the mountains, which hunting after theſe wild people, as if they had bin wild beaſts, ſlew
many of them, and by ***Solymans*** appointment did what they poſſibly could to haue quite de-
ſtroyed them, as an infamous people, enemie to all men.

Iunusbeius, Barbaruſſa, and Ajax, incenſe Solyman againſt the Venetians.

Solymã conuerteth his Forces from the Italians againſt the Venetians.

Solymã in danger to haue bin ſlain in his tent in the midſt of his armie.

When ***Solyman*** had thus fully reuenged himſelfe vpon this barbarous nation, he purpoſed
to inuade the Iſland of Corcyra, now called Corfu, part of the Venetian ſeigniorie : ſending
before, ***Barbaruſſa*** with his great artillerie, whom he had but a little before called out of Italie
with his forces. ***Piſaurius*** the Venetian Admirall in good time perceiuing the tyrants purpoſe,
ſtrengthened the garriſons in both the caſtles of Corfu, with new ſupplies of good ſouldiers
ſent out of the gallies : and knowing himſelfe vnable to incounter with the Turks great fleet at
ſea, withdrew himſelfe farther off from the Iſland, into the gulfe of the Adriatik, to the intent
to ioyne his power with ***Ioannes Veturius***, who kept that ſea with another fleet of the Venetian
F gallies, and ſo with ioyned forces to defend the Venetian coaſts againſt the Turkes : whom he
thought himſelfe ſtrong enough for with the helpe of ***Veturius*** and of ***Auria***, whoſe comming
was dayly expected. ***Solyman*** ſending a great part of his armie out of the Main, into the Iſland,
burnt and deſtroyed the countrey villages, leading away a wonderfull number of poore coun-
try people into moſt miſerable captiuitie. ***Aiax*** the Baſſa, and ***Barbaruſſa***, in two ſmall pinnaces

Solyman inuadeth the Iſland of Corcyra.

came as neere vnto the citie of Corfu as they poſſibly could, to ſee which way they might G
moſt conueniently lay ſiege vnto it: but perceiuing the great ſtrength thereof, being wonderfully fortified and thorowly manned, they aduertiſed **Solyman**, that it was a place impregnable. ***Aloyſius Ripa***, and ***Symon Leonius***, two Senators of Venice, were then gouernors of Corfu: who not without cauſe ſtanding in doubt of the great ſtrength of the Turks both by ſea and land, cauſed the citie ſuburbs (which were verie great and ſumptuouſly built) to be pluckt downe, for feare that the Turks ſhrouding themſelues in them, ſhould more eaſily beſiege the towne. This was a woful and lamentable thing to behold, when as at the ſame time a man might haue ſeene the magnificent houſes of the Venetian merchants, built in time of long peace, both for profit and for pleaſure in euery place of the Iſland, and ſet on fire by the Turks. But the regard of the publique State in ſo great a danger, made all thoſe goodly things which went ſo H
to wracke, to be lightly accounted of in compariſon of their liues and libertie; for as much as thoſe loſt things might with new charge be againe in ſhort time recouered.

The two Venetian gouernours aforeſaid, fearing a long ſiege, and not prouided of victuall to ſuffice ſuch a multitude as were got into the Citie, for any long time; vſed a heauie and ſharpe remedie, by turning a great number of weake people and children vnable for ſeruice, out of the city; of whom many, eſpecially children, died in the town ditches in their mothers armes, vnder the walls of the citie, not daring to go any further for feare of the enemie, who had faſt by, in places conuenient caſt vp great mounts, and planted his ordnance againſt the citie. Only the caſtle called S. *Angelo*, ſtanding in the middle of the Iſland, about fifteene miles I
from the citie of Corfu, being valiantly defended by the Inhabitants againſt the aſſaults of the Turkes, happily ſaued aboue three thouſand poore people which fled thither from the furie of the Turkes, who in all other places of the Iſland had made all deſolate. The Turkes the more to terrifie them of Corfu, taking a hil not far from the city, couered the ſame with their tents, and from the rocke called Maripetrus, ſhot with their great ordnance into the Towne: ſome of them in the meane time ſtanding cloſe in the ruins of the ſuburbs, did with their harquebuſies kill or wound them which appeared vpon the walls. The gallies alſo did oftentimes out of their prows diſcharge their great pieces againſt the citie, to the greater terrour than hurt of the defendants. **Solyman** perceiuing that he did but loſe his labour in beſieging the citie (as he was told at the firſt by his great captaines, ***Lutzis***, ***Aiax***, and ***Barbaruſſa***) determined K
now to raiſe his ſiege, rnd to returne to Conſtantinople, greatly aſhamed that he had no better ſped, neither in Italie, nor at the ſiege of Corfu. But when he was about to haue departed, it was told him how vnfaithfully ſome of his ſouldiers had dealt with them of Caſtrum in Italie, who yeelding themſelues vpon the Turks faith to them giuen for the ſafegard of their libertie and goods, were neuertheleſſe moſt iniuriouſly ſpoiled of all that they had, and carried away into bondage. Which fact, as tending to the diſhonor of his name, and the deterring of others from yeelding, **Solyman** tooke in ſo euill part, that for amending thereof, he cauſed the authours of that fact to be put to death, and the captiues of Caſtrum to be diligently ſought out, and ſent home againe into their countrey; well deſeruing therein the commendation of a moſt iuſt Prince. The Turks left the ſiege of Corfu and departed out of the Iſland about the L
twelfth of September, in the yeare 1537; carrying away aboue ſixteen thouſand of the Iſland people into perpetuall captiuitie. So **Solyman** riſing with his armie, marching thorow Acarnania and Ætolia, returned thorow Macedonia to Conſtantinople: hauing in this his expedition done great harme both in Italie and Corcyra, but yet nothing increaſed his Empire or honour.

Good Iuſtice done by Solymã

The Turkes depart frõ Corfu, and carry away with thẽ aboue 16000 Chriſtians into captiuitie.

Before his departure, calling vnto him ***LutZis*** his Admirall, he commanded him alſo to returne with his fleet to Helleſpontus: who paſſing by Zazinthus, and landing ſome of his men in the night, tooke diuers of the country people priſoners. But vnderſtanding that the citie it ſelfe was both ſtrong and well manned, he departed thence to Cythera, where vnfortunately attempting to haue taken the caſtle, and diſappointed of his purpoſe, he made what ſpoyle he M
could vpon that Iſland, and with 800 priſoners returned into Ægium to Ægyna, a rich and famous Iſland, and well peopled both with mariners and other inhabitants. Approching the Iſland, he by his meſſengers ſent before vnto the Gouernour of the Citie, attempted firſt by faire means, and afterwards by threats, to haue had the city yeelded vnto him: and not ſo preuailing, but perceiuing them to ſtand vpon their defence, he landed his men, and gaue the ſignall

A nall of battell. Which they of the Iſland refuſed not, but manfully met him, and at the firſt incounter
ſlew many of his men. Wherewith the Admirall grieuouſly offended, and ſtill landing
freſh men, euen with his multitude oppreſſed them of the Iſland, being but in number
few, and wearie of long fight; and ſo inforced them to retyre into the citie.

To be reuenged of this iniurie, the Baſſa cauſed certaine pieces of great ordnance to be landed,
and a batterie planted againſt the citie: by force whereof he had in ſhort time in diuers
places opened the walls, and then with all his power aſſaulting the breaches, forthwith tooke
the citie, which after he had rifled, he burnt it downe to the ground, raſed the walls, and put the
men euerie mothers ſon to the ſword. As for the women, he gaue them without reſpect vnto
the luſt of his ſoldiers and mariners, whom afterwards together with the boyes and young
B children he ſhipped into the countrie neere vnto Athens, to be from thence conueyed vnto
Conſtantinople, into moſt miſerable ſeruitude.

Aegina with other Iſlands of the Aegeũ ſpoyled.

Ægina thus vtterly raſed, he with much like force and crueltie raged vpon them of Paros
and the other Iſlands thereabouts, killing the old men and ſuch as made reſiſtance, and thruſting
the reſt into his gallies. Shortly after he came to the Iſle of Naxos, where all the Iſland
people were for feare of his comming fled out of the country into the citie: where landing his
men, he made hauocke of whatſoeuer came to his hand. And in the mean time ſent a meſſenger
vnto the Duke, to will him to yeeld himſelfe and his citie into the obedience of the Turkiſh
Emperour *Solyman*. Which meſſenger admitted into the citie, and brought before the
C Duke, in blunt and plaine termes, without further circumſtance, deliuered his meſſage thus:

*If thou wilt without more adoe, yeeld thy ſelfe, thy citie, and territorie, to the Conſtantinopolitan emperour,
thou ſhalt deſerue his fauour, and ſo ſaue thy ſelfe with that thou haſt. But if thou, otherwiſe aduiſed,
ſhalt now refuſe this grace, thou ſhalt neuer hereafter haue the like offer, but for euer vndoe thy
ſelfe, thy wife, and children, thy citiſens, and ſubiects in generall. Here is preſent a moſt mightie fleet,
with moſt valiant and victorious ſouldiers, furniſhed with all the habiliments of war requiſit for battel
or ſiege. Be warned by them of Ægina, Paros, and other thy neighbour Princes of the Iſlands. Thy hap
is good, if thou be not miſaduiſed, and (warned by other mens harmes) wilfully refuſe to remedie thine
owne; and when thou mighteſt be ſafe, wilfully caſt away thy ſelfe.*

The blũt ſpeech of a Turke ſent by Lutzis Baſſa vtno the Duke of Naxos.

D This ſaid, he was commanded by the duke to ſtand aſide, and a while to expect his anſwer:
who with the chiefe of his ſubiects there preſent, but much troubled, and all full of heauines
and ſorrow, conſulted what anſwer to make. But after they had according to the weightineſſe
of the cauſe, & neceſſitie of time fully debated the matter, it was with general conſent agreed,
That foraſmuch as they were not themſelues of power to withſtand ſo furious an enemie, neither
to expect for helpe from others, they ſhould therefore yeeld vnto the preſent neceſſitie,
which otherwiſe threatned vnto them vtter deſtruction, and reſerue themſelues vnto better
times. Whereupon anſwer was giuen vnto the meſſenger by the Duke, That he was readie to
yeeld himſelfe vnto *Solyman* as his vaſſall, and of him as of his Soueraigne to hold his Seignior-
E orie for the yerely tribute of 5000 duckets. Of which offer the Baſſa accepted, receiuing in
hand one yeares tribute. So was that notable Iſland yeelded vnto the Turkiſh obeiſance the
11 of Nouember, the yeare 1537: from whence *Lutzis* the proud Baſſa, laded with the rich
ſpoyle of the countries & Iſlands he had paſſed by, returned to Conſtantinople with his fleet.

Naxos becommeth tributarie vnto the Turks

Not long after, this great Baſſa (then in credit and authoritie next vnto *Solyman* himſelfe) fell
at ods with his wife *Solymans* ſiſter: for that he, after the vnnaturall manner of thoſe barbarous
people, kept in his houſe a moſt delicate youth, in whom he tooke more pleaſure than in his
wife. Which ſhe, being a woman of great ſpirit, not able to endure, and knowing her huſband
by marrying of her, to haue bin from baſe degree aduanced vnto the higheſt honors the Emperor
her brother could heap vpon him; in great rage reproued him with moſt bitter words,
F ſaying, That ſhe had married him to be of him beloued, and vſed as his wife, & not contemptuouſly
abuſed by his minions. Wherwith the Baſſa moued, gaue her a blow on the eare, and
cauſed her as a fooliſh and vnquiet woman to be ſhut vp in her chamber. But ſhe not brooking
ſuch abuſe, came weeping to *Solyman* her brother, and complaining of her huſband, requeſted
to be diuorſed from him who made no better reckoning of her. And with her complaint ſo
inceuſed *Solyman*, that he tooke from him his Seale, and thruſt him out of all his honourable

Lutzis Baſſa diſgraced by Solyman, and exiled.

promotions; and had vndoubtedly put him to death, had not the remembrance of his old loue and friendſhip ſtayed his furie: yet hauing vtterly diſgraced him, he baniſhed him the court, into Macedonia, where he ſpent the remainder of his loathed life like as a poore priuat man: of whom *Boiſardus* thus writeth:

Qua tibi cum molli res eſt pollute Cynedo:
Cum cubet in Thalamis regia nympha tuis?
Ex humili fortuna loco te euexit in altum
Ex alto maior ſape ruina venit.

On daintie boyes, thou filthie man, why do'ſt thou fix thine eye;
Whileſt princely dame of royal bloud doth in thy chamber lie?
From baſe eſtate, to honors height blind Fortune did thee call,
And ſet thee vp with Princes great, to worke thy greater fall.

The Turks ſpoil the Venetians, and the Venetians them likewiſe.

Solyman thus fallen out with the Venetians, as is aforeſaid, to intangle them at once with warres in diuers places, commanded his lieutenants in euery place bordring vpon any part of the Venetian Seigniorie, to vex and moleſt them with all hoſtilitie, which they did accordingly. In Peloponeſſus, *Caſsimes* beſieged Mauplium and Epidaurus, two ſtrong cities of the Venetians: *Barbaruſſa* landing his men in Dalmatia, ſurpriſed the antient citie of Botrotus belonging to the Venetians, carried away the citiſens, and raſed the citie: Obroatium another citie of the Venetians in Dalmatia, called in antient time Argitutum, with the caſtle of Nadin, were taken by *Vſtref, Solymans* lieutenant in Illyria. The Venetians thus inuaded on euery ſide, requited them againe with the like: *Piſaurius* and *Veturius* the Venetian Admirals landing their men, beſieged Scardona a citie of the Turks in the borders of Dalmatia, which they tooke by force, put the Turks to the ſword, and ouerthrew the walls of the citie, becauſe it ſhould be no more a refuge vnto the Turks: they ſent alſo one of their Captaines called *Gabriel Ribeus* to beſiege Obroatium; who vpon the comming of *Amurathes* one of *Vſtref* his Captaines, cowardly fled, and in flight loſt moſt of his men: for which his cowardiſe, *Piſaurus* cauſed his head to be ſtrucke off aboord the Admirall Galley: And *Camillus Vrſinus*, appointed by the Venetian State Gouernour of Iadera a ſtrong towne vpon the frontiers of their territorie in Dalmatia, tooke from the Turkes the towne of Oſtrouizza, which hee burnt downe to the ground: hee recouered alſo Obroatium, which was a little before loſt; which by the commandement of the Senat hee vtterly raſed, as a place not well to be kept againſt the Enemie.

The ſame Autumne that *Solyman* hauing waſted Corcyra, returned to Conſtantinople, and the Venetians held wars with the Turks for the townes and caſtles in Dalmatia; King *Ferdinand* receiued ſuch an ouerthrow at Exek by the Turkes, as a greater or more ſhamefull vnto the name of the Chriſtians was hardly in that age ſeene; if the loſſe of the choice ſouldiours and captaines of foure great Nations, with the ſhamefull flight of the Generall be well conſidered. After the battell of Mohahz, wherein King *Lewis* was loſt, the Turks hauing gotten the victorie, kept vnto themſelues that part of Hungarie which is called Poſſega, becauſe thereby they had a fit paſſage from Belgrade further into Hungarie. The two great riuers of Sauus and Dranus running almoſt with equall diſtance from the Weſt, taking with them diuers other ſmaller Riuers, before they fall into the great riuer of Danubius Eaſtward, doe on both ſides incloſe this Countrey of Poſſega, being a rich and plentifull Countrey, and wonderfull well peopled: it bordereth vpon the Prouinces of Croatia and Corbania, which in times paſt were at continuall wars with the Turks garriſons there by in Illyria and alſo in Boſna.

Mahometes gouernour of Belgrade.

At that time one *Mahometes* a moſt valiant captain of the Turks was gouernor of Belgrade: to whom for his approued valor and wiſedome *Solyman* had committed the keeping of thoſe frontiers, and the protection of the kingdome of Hungarie in the behalfe of king *Iohn*. He the yeare before had ſo vſed the matter, that what by force, what by policie, he had taken from the Chriſtians aboue thirtie ſmall Caſtles in the Countrey, (which was ſometime part of the patrimonie of the Deſpot of Raſcia) and had ioyned them to the regiment of Boſna.

A One of theſe caſtles amongſt the reſt called Exek, for the commodious ſcituation thereof he
ſtrongly fortified, as that which might giue him paſſage ouer the riuer Dranus into Hungarie:
from whence he ſet infinite preys out of King *Ferdinands* countrey neere vnto him. Yet was
there at that time a certaine league betwixt *Solyman* and *Ferdinand*, which notwithſtanding after
the old cuſtome of thoſe countries for the exerciſe of the garriſon ſoldiers, did beare with
the taking of bootie, and light ſkirmiſhes, without any breach thereof; ſo that it were done
without any great power or field pieces: which wrong named peace, *Mathias* and other kings
of Hungary had of long time vſed with the Turks, doing them with their nimble light horſemen
no leſſe harme than they receiued. But the Germans now vſing no ſuch light horſmen,
but ſeruing vpon great horſes, and charged with heauie armour, receiued great hurt by thoſe
B light ſkirmiſhes; the Turks with their light horſes eaſily ſhunning their charge, and againe at
their pleaſure charging them afreſh, when they ſaw the heauie German horſes almoſt wearie
and ſpent: by which means the German horſemen were oftentimes by the Turks light horſemen
ouerthrowne, and ſo either ſlain or taken. King *Ferdinand* not well brooking theſe continuall
iniuries, and grieued in mind at the league which *Solyman* had to his profit made with
him at his going into Perſia; finding the ſame both vnprofitable and hurtfull to himſelfe, determined
to take vp armes, with purpoſe that if he could driue the Turks out of the countrey
of Poſſega, then forthwith to paſſe ouer Dranus, and to go directly to Buda againſt King *Iohn*.
It ſtil ſtucke in his minde, how that kingdome was taken from him by *Solyman*; and that more
C was, as it were in diſgrace of him and the Houſe of Auſtria, beſtowed vpon a ſtranger, which
had neither right thereto, nor was any way royally diſcended. Yet were there ſome which
wiſhed him, not raſhly to enter into armes againſt ſo mightie an enemie, as was not to be vanquiſhed
but by the vnited forces of all the Chriſtian Princes of Europe. For they foreſaw,
that *Solyman* ſo prouoked, would not put it vp, but for the hatred he bare againſt the Chriſtians,
and for his honour, ſeeke more cruell reuenge: as he had of late done againſt the Venetians,
with whom vpon a light occaſion he had broken an antient league, for ſinking one or two
of his gallies; for which he would admit no excuſe or ſatisfaction. All this *Ferdinand* knew to
be true; yet all the people of his dominions lay ſo earneſtly vpon him to take that warre in
hand, that they ſaid plainly, they would neuer beare armes more againſt the Turks, if he omitted
D that occaſion. For they of Carinthia, Stiria, Croatia, and Noricum, ſubiect to the inuaſion
of the Turks, and dayly receiuing great harmes, thought the Turks might eaſily be driuen out
of Poſſega, for as much as *Mahometes* had no great power, nor like to haue any greater, Autumne
now almoſt ſpent.

An euill aſſured peace.

K. Ferdinand breaketh his League with the Turks.

So king *Ferdinand*, with the wonderfull reioycing of his ſubiects, cauſed ſouldiers to be taken
vp in all parts of his kingdome, ſending for moſt of his nobilitie and beſt captaines, as to a
religious warre: and in a verie ſhort ſpace had raiſed a good armie, yet ſuppoſed of greater
ſtrength than number, as conſiſting moſt of ſelect men. The footmen were for moſt part Germans,
to whom were ioyned as wings certaine companies of Italians, harquebuſiers, whome
Lewis Lodronius, a valiant captaine, and Generall of the footmen, had raiſed in Rhetia and thoſe
E parts of Italie which lie neere vnto the Alps. The horſmen were of Bohemia, Sileſia, Morauia,
Stiria, Carinthia, and ſome alſo out of Hungarie, all conducted by their ſeuerall captaines: all
theſe horſemen were in number 8000, but the footmen were 16000 ſtrong, with great ſtore
of artillerie of all ſorts. This armie for the expertneſſe and valour of the ſoldiers, was thought
ſufficient to haue met the greateſt armie of the Turks in field, if it had bin conducted by a politique
Generall, and (as he had at other times bin) fortunat: which was one *Iohn Cazzianer*,
a Nobleman of Croatia, whom as one of great experience, and famous for the late defence of
Vienna, King *Ferdinand* had made Generall of his armie. For *Ferdinand* by the aduice of his
beſt friends neuer vſed to aduenture his perſon vnto the danger of any battel, eſpecially againſt
the Turks, by whom many Chriſtian Kings had in former time bin vanquiſhed and ſlain; but
F performed all his wars by his lieutenants: which he was thought to do, not ſo much for want
of courage, as moued with the fatal miſhap of ſo many Chriſtian Kings. *Mahometes* gouernor
of Belgrade vnderſtanding of this preparation made againſt him, ſent for diuers companies of
the garriſon ſouldiers which lay vpon the borders neere hand; he required aid of the gouernours
of the Turks prouince thereabouts; and was eſpecially holpen by *Vſtref* gouernour of
Boſna, who of all *Solymans* lieutenants in Europe, was able to bring into the field moſt good

Cazzianer Generall of King Ferdinands armie.

Mahometes Gouernour of Belgrade, aided by the other Turks captaines.

horſe-

horſemen; he ſent him *Amurathes* a famous captaine, with a great companie of gallant horſemen, vnto whom were ioyned certaine companies of footmen of the wild and mountain people of Dalmatia, entertained for pay: which rough and rude kinde of people were gouerned and kept in order by certaine companies of Ianizaries drawne out of the garriſon towns as far as Belgrade and Samandria: after whom followed many out of Seruia and Raſcia, ſome for pay, ſome for prey. The Turks receiuer liberally paying to ſuch as were willing to ſerue, two months pay before hand. Neither wanted he aid of the Hungarians from Buda: ſo that the Turkiſh gouernors on euery ſide putting to their helping hands, *Mahometes* had in ſhort time gathered ſuch an armie, as for number and ſtrength was not much inferior to king *Ferdinands*, and reſolued to expect the commiug of his enemies at Exek. *Cazzianer* was now come as far on his way as Caprunza, a towne vpon the riuer Dranus; hauing before wel and conueniently prouided for the victualling of his armie, if they whom he put in truſt, and had taken the matter vpon them, had with like ſpeed and diligence performed their charge: for they were the chiefe men of all the countrey, who all followed the direction of *Symon* Biſhop of Zagrabia; who inflamed with zeale aboue meaſure, or elſe for want of iudgement deceiued, had promiſed to ſerue the whole campe with plentie of victuals at a verie low rate. Which thing the countrey people which were to bring in the victuall, ſome by waggon, ſome by boats alongſt the riuers, many difficulties now ariſing, were not able to perform: which was not to be remedied by reaſon of the neereneſſe of the enemie; and alſo for that *Mahometes* with ſmall gallies in both riuers, and his troups of horſemen pricking vp and down the countrey, did either ſtay the country people from bringing of victuall, or elſe allured them for a greater price to bring it to his owne campe, where they receiued readie mony. *Cazzianer* ſetting forward from Caprunza, hardly came in ten dayes to the caſtle of Verucza, which is about fortie miles diſtant from Caprunza; being inforced to make ſhort marches, by reaſon of the troubleſome carriage of ſome great pieces of artillerie for batterie. The wiſer ſort began euen then to miſdoubt the want of victuall, both for the reaſons before alledged, and for that ſuch victual as was looked for, came not, although they marched verie ſoftly: ſo that they were then inforced to ſpend ſuch victuall as they had prouided, not for the beginning, but for the difficulties of a long protracted war. Wherefore *Cazzianer* wrot ſharply to the Biſhop and the other which had taken vpon them the charge of prouiding victuall for the armie; commanding them to vſe all poſſible diligence and ſpeed, and not to let the hope of a notable victorie to be loſt through their negligence, for want of victuall, rather than the valour of the enemie. In the meane time *Cazzianer* thought good there to ſtay, and to expect the comming of the victual, ſending before him *Paulus Bachitius* with a thouſand Hungarian light horſemen and certaine companies of Italian harquebuſiers, as farre as the caſtle of Zopia, to the intent that he might of ſuch priſoners as he could take, learne ſomthing of the enemies purpoſe. The Turks in the caſtle of Zopia deſcrying the comming of *Bachitius*, & thinking the whole armie of the Chriſtians had bin at hand, ſet fire on the caſtle, which they thought they could not keepe, and by boats fled down the riuer Dranus. Yet for all their haſt, *Bachitius* tooke ſome of them in their flight; of whom *Cazzianer* learned that which he before knew by his owne eſpials, how that *Mahometes* and the Turks lay incamped at Exek, with a full reſolution to giue him battell. *Cazzianer* ſetting forward again, ſtill keeping alongſt the riuer Dranus, came in eight dayes to the caſtle of Walpo: where by the way he was glad to ſtay ſeuen daies at the riuer Craſſus, which falleth into Dranus, vntil ſuch time as a bridge was made for the tranſporting of his armie, for that the riuer was not to be waded ouer: in which time *Cazzianer* entred oftentimes into counſell with the other Captaines, what courſe to hold for the better proceeding in that warre. Where diuers men were of diuers opinions: ſome ſaid, It were beſt to leaue Exek, and to beſiege a caſtle of the enemies there by, called Villach: others more warie than the reſt, were of opinion, That it were better there to ſtay vntill the reſt of the aid and victuall, which they dayly expected, were come. But the greater number, which alſo preuailed, vrged the firſt determination, of going directly to the enemie at Exek, for that longer delay would but breed further danger; and thete was in the campe (as they ſaid) both ſtrength and victual ſufficient for the obtaining of the victorie, if they would make an end of their needleſſe conſultations, and not protract the warre vntill Winter were come on: whereby they did nothing elſe, but cauſe the Souldiours to thinke that they were affraid to meet the enemie, and ſe-

A ſlow march.

Cazzianer commeth to Walpo.

cretly

A cretly to ſteale away back again into their countries: wheras if they would like reſolute men
march on forward againſt the enemy, who at other times truſting moſt vnto his multitudes, &
now hauing no great power, would neuer abide the ſight of the Chriſtian army, bringing with
it ſo much artillerie, but would forthwith forſake the place, & neuer ſhew his face: foraſmuch
as the Chriſtian men at arms would (as they ſaid) eaſily breake thorow & ouerthrow the naked
Turkiſh horſmen, if they durſt abide the field. The yong ſouldiers, who as yet had neuer
made proofe of the Turks manner of fight, did with ſuch cheerfulnes like of this reſolution,
that they thought two daies ſtaying, a long delay of ſo ready & eaſie a victory. Wherefore it
was reſolued vpon, preſently to ſet forward, and therupon the army was muſtred: where, vpon
view taken, there was found to be 10000 horſmen (for diuers troups of Germans were come
B to the camp, after the time of the firſt ſetting forward of the army:) a more gallant company
of horſemen, both for the ſtrength of their horſes, & goodly furniture of the men, had ſeldom
bin ſeen in an army ſo ſuddenly raiſed. But the footmen, ſelected out of all the prouinces, was
greatly diminiſhed, being now in number ſcarce 8000 ſtrong: for many were ſick in the camp,
others weary of the long iourney, lingering behind were ſtolne away: and generally all they
which were left, moyled with dirt and myre, by reaſon of the deepnes of the rotten way, wet
thorow with rain, and almoſt ſtarued with cold, and therto pincht with hunger, were thought
ſcarce able to indure the hardneſſe of the preſent war. After that, commandement was giuen,
That euery ſoldier ſhould carry with him three daies victual: & proclamation made, That no
man ſhould vpon paine of death take any Turke priſoner, although he yeelded himſelfe, or
C charge himſelfe with any ſpoile before the battell were fully ended; foraſmuch as the captains
would afterwards diuide the ſpoile of the enemy among the ſoldiers. This proclamation
thus made thorow the camp, they ſet forward towards Exek: and the third day they came
to a certain vally, about three miles from Exek, where they incamped. The next day a company
of Turks ſhewed themſelues, which was by the great ordnance repulſed. The day following,
the enemie ſallied out of the towne and skirmiſhed oftentimes with the Chriſtians: in
which skirmiſhes many were ſlain on both ſides, but more wounded of the Chriſtians, for that
the Turkes had politickly mingled certaine Ianizaries harquebuſiers, and archers, with their
horſemen; who, vſed to that manner of fight, ſore gauled the Chriſtian horſemen. For which
cauſe the Generall forbad all ſuch light skirmiſhes, as purpoſing to keepe his ſtrength whole
D againſt the generall day of battel: commanding his canoniers ſo to place the great ordnance as
might moſt annoy the enemy, if he ſhould ſhew himſelfe by troupes within the danger of the
ſhot: which was ſo well performed, that the Turks ſallying forth, receiued therby great hurt,
the deadly ſhot flying thorow the midſt of their companies. The ſame day *Symon* Biſhop of
Zagrabia came into the camp with his horſemen, and a certain prouiſion of victual, whereby
the feare of the want before conceiued, was wel eaſed. *Mahometes* perceiuing that the Chriſtians
were not longer to be drawn to thoſe harmful skirmiſhes, but that he muſt bring his men
in danger of the great ſhot; to annoy them by another means, ſent many ſmall boats, manned
with harquebuſiers & ſmall pieces of ordnance, into the lake neere vnto the camp, ſo to keepe
the Chriſtians from watering there, & with thoſe ſmall pieces ſhot oftentimes into the camp.
E Neere vnto the vally where the Chriſtians lay, was a hill, whereupon ſtood a village, wherin
were placed certaine companies of Turks, to skirmiſh as occaſion ſhould ſerue with the Chriſtians;
for diſplacing of whom the whole army was put in order of battel, and the great artillerie
bent vpon them, that they ſhould not with their light skirmiſhes, after the maner of the
Turkiſh fight, trouble the order of the armie. Which thing the Turks perceiuing, & that they
were not able to hold the place, ſet fire on the town, & ſo retired to Exek. The Chriſtians keeping
on their march, came to the top of the hil, from whence they might ſee Exek ſtand about
two miles off in a faire plaine, neere vnto the banke of Dranus: all which low ground betwixt
the hil and Exek, was ſo ſubiect to the caſtle, that it was thought a matter too ful of danger, to
attempt, that way to batter the caſtle, & expoſe the army to the ineuitable fury of the enemies
F ſhot. Wherfore deſcrying a riſing ground on the further ſide of the city equal with the top of
the wals, they thought it beſt to remoue their camp thither, & on that ſide to plant their batterie
againſt the city. But to come to that place was thought a matter of no ſmal trouble: for
they muſt fet a compaſſe three miles on the right hand thorow a forreſt by a foule & troubleſome
way, before they could come to the place they deſired: for the army was not ſo great, as
to

The Turks skirmiſh with the Chriſtians.

The Chriſtians come within ſight of Exek.

to beſiege the citie round; wherein were not (as is reported) aboue ſixteen thouſand men: neither was there ſuch ſtore of victuals in the camp, but that the army was like ſoone to feele the want thereof, without a continuall ſupplie, which would hardly be had, the enemie ſtil beſetting euery paſſage, and with their light horſemen ſcouring about all the countrey, of purpoſe to keep them from victual. For which cauſe, ſome were of opinion, That it were beſt for them there to ſtay where they were, vntill ſuch time as both more aid and better ſtore of victuals were come vnto them: but others of contrary mind, ſaid the enemy was but barely ſtored with victuall himſelfe, and therefore could not long hold out; which they ſaid they vnderſtood by certain Chriſtian fugitiues; and that *Mahometes* had put his chiefe ſubſtance into certain boats, to be conueied downe the riuer, as purpoſing to flie, and would not hold out the ſiege aboue three daies: as for the forreſt, they thought it would well enough be paſſed thorow, if they would couragiouſly ſet forward: beſide that, the time of the yeare ſuffered no delay, Winter comming ſo faſt on, that except ſome notable thing were done quickly, they ſhould be inforced by the very time of the yeare to returne with ſhame, without doing any thing. This opinion was beſt liked of, as more honorable and better beſeeming men of valor, than to lie ſtill in one place: whereupon the next day the army remoued, and in good order marched thorow the forreſt. Which thing *Mahometes* quickly perceiuing, preſently ſent forth a thouſand light horſemen, and certaine companies of the Ianizaries, harquebuſiers, to trouble the Chriſtians in their paſſage: who by a neerer and well knowne way ouertaking the armie, ſuddenly charged the rereward, wherin the Italians and Bohemians marched. The Bohemians quickly fled, and the Italians with much adoe endured the charge: but being relieued by the Carinthian men at armes, they notably repulſed the Turks, and put them to flight. So the army with ſmall loſſe paſſed the forreſt, and came to the place they deſired: where, after they had incamped themſelues, and in good order placed all things needfull for the ſiege, they in ſeemely order offered vnto the enemie battell: but he keeping himſelfe within the towne, ſhot at the Chriſtians with his great ordnance: and they to requite him, with two great pieces which they had placed vpon the riſing of a hill, ſhot thorow both the wals of the towne and the bulwarke alſo, to the great terror of the defendants. The Chriſtians in the meane time hauing ſtood almoſt all the day in order of battell in ſight of the enemie, vainely expecting when hee ſhould come forth to giue them battell, returned at night into their camp: for *Mahometes* vpon great conſideration kept in his ſouldiers, although they were moſt deſirous to fight; vnderſtanding right well of the want of victuall in the Chriſtian camp; and beſide that (as the fugitiues reported) being ſtraitly commanded by letters from *Solyman*, that he ſhould not vpon pain of a moſt ſhamefull death forſake the place, but to defend it to the laſt. Now the Chriſtians deſirous of battell, being thus delaied and deceiued of their expectation, had in a few daies ſpent the ſmal ſtore of victuall they had, and began to feele a generall want: neither was there any apparant meanes how they ſhould bee relieued, ſo that euery man began to feare ſome generall miſchiefe to inſue. When *Balthaſar Pamphilus*, a noble Hungarian, & a captain of great experience, ſitting in counſell with the reſt, entred into this ſpeech.

The Turks skirmiſh with the Chriſtians in paſſing the forreſt.

Mahometes wiſely refuſeth to fight with the Chriſtians, offering him battel

Balthazer Pamphilus his counſell for reliefe of the armie.

Captaines (ſaid hee) *we doe all that wee doe, vnaduiſedly: For whileſt we conſult at large how wee may ouercome our enemies, the ſtrength of our armie is in the meane time ſo weakened for want of victuall, that the ſouldiers are neither well able to ſtand on their legs, nor to hold their weapons in their feeble hands: and generally, euen they which are of greateſt courage begin now to quaile, and deſpairing of battell, ſee that they muſt miſerably and ſhamefully periſh for want. Wherefore in my opinion, wee ought firſt and aboue all things moſt ſpeedily to prouide for this want, which ſo grieuouſly pincheth vs: and preſently to remooue hence vnto the caſtle of Hermande, that with the prouiſion thereof, which is not like to be little, we may refreſh our whole armie; and ſo relieued, to proceed further as occaſion ſhall require.*

This caſtle was about ten miles diſtant from Exek; wherinto many of the Turks had conueied their wiues & children, and chiefeſt ſubſtance, being kept with a ſmal garriſon of 20 Turks. Faſt by the caſtle was a prettie little walled towne, without flankers, after the manner of the old fortifying: which towne and caſtle *Balthazer* ſaid would eaſily be taken. This his counſell was well liked of all men, and he himſelfe ſent with certain companies of ſoldiers to take the towne. Wherin fortune ſo fauored him, that it was at his firſt comming ſurrendred vnto him: but when he had it, he found not therein any ſuch ſtore of corne or victuall as he had hoped

Balthazer taketh the towne of Hermande.

A for : yet he tooke there certaine veſſels of wine, to the great reliefe of the weake ſouldiers.
Vpon the newes of the taking of this towne,the campe remoued from Exek about ten a clock
in the night,but ſo diſorderly,that the ſouldiers ſcarce knowing their owne enſignes, ſeemed
rather to haue fled for feare,than marched for ſpoile : yet the Turks for all that mooued not
out of Exek,miſdoubting ſome deceit, & loth to attempt any thing raſhly in the night. When
the army was come to the towne, the captains tooke order, that the victuall there found, was
equally diuided amongſt the ſouldiers,and the next morning batterie laied againſt the caſtle;
which thoſe few Turks valiantly defended halfe a day,and then by compoſition yeelded it.
But when the caſtle was taken,there was found in it but two barrels of meale, and other two
of millet. Then might a man haue ſeene the captaines themſelues hanging their heads, as men
B ſtrucken with a ſudden feare,who in ſtead of a great prey & victual to haue ſerued many daies,
found nothing but a few women and children,and ſcarce ſo much victuall both in the town &
caſtle,as would ſerue the army two daies. Yet they diſſembled the matter,& fed the ſoldiers
with hope of better ſtore,after the bridge were once repaired, that they might paſſe the riuer
of Bodrog,which ran by the town:which bridge the Turks had before (for defence of themſelues)
broken,by plucking vp of certain piles, & taking away of the planks; wherfore the carpenters
being ſet on worke,and euery man putting too his helping hand,the bridge was with
continual labor in 3 daies repaired. The fourth day,the wagons & ſmaller pieces of ordnance
paſſed ouer the bridge,& after them ſix of the great pieces for batterie; but the bridge ouercharged
with the ſeuenth, which was of a wonderfull weight, & much greater than the reſt,
C began to breake; ſo that the captains were inforced to breake that faire piece of ordnance, and
ſo by pieces to carry it away,that the enemy ſhould not get ſo great a ſpoile. All things being
thus well paſſed ouer, the piles were again cut down, & the plancks ſtrucke off, to the intent
the enemie ſhould not that way purſue them: & other way there was none,but to fetch a compaſſe
about the great lake which was many miles about. Here the captaines began to conſult,
whether it were beſt to break the great pieces of ordnance, that ſo they might more ſpeedily
march away,or not. Of which opinion was *Cazzianer* himſelfe,promiſing of his own charge
to new caſt them. As fot the ſcaling ladders,& ſuch other like things prouided for the ſiege,
they burnt becauſe they ſhould not come into the enemies hand,or trouble thēſelues in their
march. But moſt of the captains were of opinion,that it was not beſt ſo diſhonorably to break
D thoſe goodly pieces,the greateſt ornament and defence of their country; but to hold on their
march thorow Poſſega,vntill they came to Iuvancha, where they ſhould find great ſtore both
of corne and wine:which towne with the caſtle of Gara faſt by it,ſtored with all kind of prouiſion,
they ſaid would eaſily be taken before the Turks could poſſibly come ſo far about the
lake from Exek:and that it were a great ſhame,ſo to return without doing any thing. *Cazzianer*
thus perſuaded, ſet forward,& with great toile (by reaſon of the deepnes of the way and
heauines of the great ordnance) came by night to Iuvancha, which was but three miles off:
where the Turkes hauing with incredible celeritie paſſed a long iourney, arriued at the ſame
time alſo. Neere vnto this caſtle was a little towne, out of which all the Turks were fled : the
townſmen being Chriſtians,opened the gates and receiued in the ſouldiers ; who there filled
E themſelues aboundantly with wine,& could hardly be driuen out thence by their captains to
the camp. The ſame night the Turks burnt the ſame towne,and whatſoeuer the Chriſtians had
therin left:and euery man betooke him to his armour in the camp, for the enemie was now at
hand:& in the dawning of the day began hotly to skirmiſh in diuers places with the Chriſtians,
but eſpecially in that quarter of the camp where the Bohemians lay. Wherwith *Petrus Raſchinius*
Generall of the Bohemians,being grieued,ſet vpon them with a troup of his beſt horſmen,
& inforced them to flie : but the Turks after the manner of their fight,quickly returning
again,& relieued by the comming in of their fellows,beſet the Bohemians on euery ſide,and
ſlew many of them. *Raſchinius* the Generall fighting moſt valiantly, was there ſlaine with his
followers. The Chriſtian captains purpoſing to retire home,placed on each ſide of the armie
F foure ranks of wagons for defence on both ſides: in the vauward were placed the weake and
ſick men,yet ſo,that in the front of the army were certain companies of luſty tal ſoldiers: but
in the rereward was placed the greateſt ſtrength both of horſe & foot. The army thus marching
as it were on both ſides intrēched, as it oftimes met with woody hils hindring their way,
ſo did the ſame fitly ſerue the Chriſtians, that the Turkes could not wel aſſaile them in their
march,

The caſtle of Hermande yeelded vnto the Chriſtians.

Cazzianer to retire with more haſte, would haue broken his great ordnance.

The Turks ſore trouble the Chriſtians in their retire.

A generall feare in the Chriſtians camp

march,both before and behind. Which thing ***Mahometes*** perceiuing,ſent before certain companies of Ianizaries and nimble footmen,which knew the country and the paſſages well,with certaine faulcons and other ſmall pieces to take the ſtraits whereby the armie was to paſſe, and ſo to gaul them in their paſſage,& when they could keep the place no longer,to flie back to another,and ſo from place to place:and in the open places he had his troups of light horſemen,which were euer buſie in one place or another of the armie. By which meanes the Chriſtians in their march receiued much harme, which grieued them the more, for that no great power of the Turks was any where to be ſeen together,but ſtragling companies,which as they were commanded,ſomtime would come on with a fierce charge,and by and by retire againe, and with their arrows and faulcon ſhot,from places of aduantage aſſaile them. At one of theſe ſtraits ſomewhat bigger than the reſt,***Paulus Bachitius*** one of the Hungarian captains,in whom the ſouldiers generally repoſed their greateſt truſt, was ſlaine with a faulcon ſhot,with diuers other of the valiant Hungarians ; who ſeeing there a greater number of the Turks than they had ſeen in other places,thought to haue don ſom good ſeruice vpon them:his death brought a general feare vpon the whole army,foraſmuch as both then and at other times,without him they neuer had any good ſucceſſe againſt the Turks. Yet in that skirmiſh, the Hungarians, to reuenge the death of their captaine, did with ſuch force repulſe the enemy, that they cauſed him after he had loſt many of his men , to run away and leaue his ſmall field-pieces behinde him. But ſuch was the weakneſſe or cowardiſe of the Chriſtian footmen,and the agilitie of the Turks,eſpecially the Ianizaries,that they with their ſhot out of the woods, ſtaid the Hungarian horſemen from the purſuit of their fellowes,and recouered their ſmall field-pieces before they could be carried away by the Chriſtian footmen : wherewith they did againe forerun the army, and ſtill trouble it as before. The Chriſtians beſet with theſe dangers, and almoſt ſpent for want of victuall,ſeeing no meanes to relieue their weake bodies, nor any hope to comfort their fainting ſpirits,did generally feare ſome extreame calamitie to inſue: and ſo much the more,for that it was reported,that ***Mahometes*** ſtil expected freſh ſupplies from Belgrade,Samandria,and Nicopolis : and many of the Hungarian light horſemen ſtole away from them,as carefull of their owne ſafetie : neither did they ſee any comfort in the diſmaied captaines,who at other times were woont with cheerefull and couragious wordes to relieue the ſoldiers,if they ſaw them any thing diſcouraged. But when they were come into a faire open field neere vnto a towne called Gara,they were aduertiſed, That the enemy had in the woods before them,whereby they were to paſſe, cut downe great trees croſſe the waies, ſo that neither their great ordnance nor wagons, nor yet their horſemen could poſſibly paſſe that way but that they muſt needs breake their order.

The fearefull reſolution of the Chriſtians to get from the Turks

This once bruted thorow the army,filled them with all heauineſſe and deſperation,and ſo much the more,for that ***Ladiſlaus Moreus***,and others which knew the country well, ſaid there was but two wayes to eſcape , the one thorow the woods about ten miles ſpace to Walpo, which by reaſon of the trees cut downe croſſe the waies by the Turkes was not to be paſſed, but they muſt needs leaue behind them their great ordnance and carriages:the other towards the caſtle of Zenthuerzebeth, which was in ***Ladiſlaus Moreus*** his countrey, certaine miles diſtant from Gara : by taking of which way,the enemy by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe of the paſſage,muſt of neceſſitie be inforced to giue ouer his purſuit. Yet for all that,it was in counſell reſolued vpon,to take the way thorow the woods of Walpo,for that there was there victuall enough, and in the caſtle of Walpo was kept mony ſent from king ***Ferdinand***,ſufficient to pay the ſoldiers for all that Winter. And ſo leauing the great ordnance behind them, and burning the pouder and whatſoeuer els could not well be carried on horſebacke, to ſet forward with all ſpeed : as for the trees they ſaid, they would be well enough remoued, & the way opened by the pioners and waggoners : wherfore euery captain was commanded to haue his ſouldiers in readines to ſet forward vpon the ſigne giuen, which was by the ſound of a ſhalm or hoboy; which when it ſhould be giuen, was referred to the diſcretion of the Generall. There were many which wonderfully diſliked of this reſolution,and ſaid openly,that the enemy was fewer in number than their horſmen, and pinched almoſt with like want of victuall:beſides, that the Turks durſt neuer in juſt fight incounter with the Chriſtian men at arms, but like theeues aſſaile them vpon a ſudden at ſome aduantage,and by & by be gone again: and that the town of Gara where the enemy lay incamped, was not ſo ſtrong but that it might be won:wherfore

all

A all things were to be proued, and ſome great matter to be attempted of valiant men, pinched
with wants: for that to run away, would be not only a diſhonor vnto the captains themſelues,
who ought always to prefer their honor before their liues, but alſo dangerous to them, which
reſpected nothing but life. And if they ſhould ſet forward in the night, many would be loſt in
the woods; and valor in the darke could not be knowne from cowardiſe: beſides that, the
Turks (as they ſaid) lay ſo nigh, that it was not poſſible to depart without their knowledge, eſ-
pecially if they ſhould burne the pouder, or breake the great ordnance. For which cauſes, they
thought it better to fight a battel with them, & not to beleeue the falſe reports of new ſupplies
come vnto them, and that God would vndoubtedly giue them aid, which were ready to lay
down their liues for their religion and glory of the Chriſtian name. After all this, they began
B to conſult what was now to bee done with the ſicke and wounded ſouldiers, which were be-
fore carried in wagons or among the other baggage of the armie: for it was like, that ſo great
a multitude of ſicke and wounded men, vnderſtanding what was decreed concerning the de-
parture of the army, would as miſerable forſaken men, fill the campe with lamentation and
mourning; which it was thought would be alſo increaſed by the weeping and wailing of them
which ſhould neuer afterwards ſee their brethren, kinſmen, fellowes, or friends, ſo miſerably
and ſhamefully left behind and forſaken: the noiſe wherof, muſt needs come to the ears of the
Turks, which lay within a ſmall gun ſhot. Wherefore it was determined, that theſe ſicke and
wounded ſouldiers ſhould be carried vpon the wagon and cart horſes; and that ſuch as were
not able to ſtay themſelues, ſhould be holden vp by other of more ſtrength riding behind the
C vpon the bottocks of the horſe. In fine, to color the matter, they which were ſo deſirous to
go, ſaid that this their maner of departure grounded vpon good reaſon, was not to be accoun-
ted a ſhameful flight (as ſome would tearm it) but a right honeſt & neceſſary maner of retiring:
foraſmuch as the were ſtronger than their enemies in horſmen, & equal alſo (if not ſtronger) in
footmen, although they were ſore weakned with ſicknes. Whilſt theſe things were in counſel
diuerſly diſcourſed, & the reſolution ſet down as is before ſaid, the matter was brought to this
paſſe, that euery captain with troubled iudgement conceiued in himſelfe ſecret cogitations,
far from the common good; & without regard of ſhame & diſhonor, bethought himſelf how
he might betake himſelfe to flight, the vncertaine hope of deſired life. On the contrarie part,
Mahometes vſing moſt certain ſpies, & aduertiſed euery houre of all the diſtreſſes of the Chri-
D ſtians, and thereby preſaging his future victorie; did by moſt diligent watch and troupes of
horſemen, beſetting the paſſages farre and neere, moſt vigilantly attend euery motion in the
Chriſtian camp: of purpoſe, that when the army ſhould riſe and ſet forward, he after his won-
ted manner might in the ſtraits (fit for his purpoſe) ſet vpon them being diuided and diſperſed
one from another, as they muſt needs in thoſe troubleſome paſſages: for he had ſo placed his
horſmen & footmen in the knowne tracts of thoſe woods, that he had ſhut vp the Chriſtians
as it were in a toile. It was now almoſt midnight, and the army taking no reſt, ſo carefully ex-
pected the ſigne of ſetting forward, that euery little delay ſeemed to moſt men both tedious
and dangerous: ſo that many great captains vpon a cowardly conceit would ſtay no longer, but
haſted to depart, and to go before the reſt, without any leaue of the Generall. The beginning
E of this miſchieuous departure, is reported to haue bin begun by the common Hungarian horſ-
men, which knowing the paſſages & waies thorow the woods, made moſt haſt to Walpo. *La-
diſlaus Moreus* diſhonourably following their example, went the other way to his caſtle Zen-
thuerzebeth. After them followed in great haſt the Stirian horſmen, without regard of ſhame,
led by *Iohn Hunganot* their General, who was appointed to haue guarded the rereward. *Symon*
Biſhop of Zagrabia fled in like manner, knowne by his great lanthorne wandring in the wood:
yet with leſſe ſhame than the reſt, becauſe he being a clergie man, thought it not to belong to
his vocation to put on armes, or to goe into battell. In the meane time it was fearefully told to
Cazzianer, That the Hungarian horſemen were fled, and that *Ladiſlaus* and *Hunganot*, with the
Stirian troupes were gone alſo; and that all the reſt of the armie not expecting the appointed
F ſignall, were in like manner vpon flying: with which report, the cowardly and diſmaid Gene-
rall was ſo terrified, that he preſently got to horſe, quite forgetting the ſignall he ſhould haue
giuen (for that he thought all the reſt, as he afterwards ſaid, to haue beene gone before) and
as hee wes vnarmed, betooke himſelfe to flight, leauing behinde him for haſt his Tent ſtored
with plate and other rich furniture. In this tumult of them which ſo diſorderly fled, *Lodra-*

The vigilancie of Mahometes.

The Christian captains ſhamefully flee, ſome one way, ſome another, in the night.

The diſhonourable flight of Cazzianer.

nius that famous captaine was called vp, and told by his ſeruants, that the Generall was fled G and gone: to whom hee anſwered againe, Without doubt it cannot be ſo, that I ſhould bee ſo ſhamefully and perfidiouſly betraid of him; and ſo as a man megered with long watching & painfull labor, laid himſelfe downe againe to ſleep. Not long after, *Mahometes* hearing the ſtir that was in the camp, riſe with his Turks to aſſaile his enemies: yet to be better aſſured what the enemie did, he thought it good to ſtay for day light, cauſing his men to ſtand ſtill in order of battell, and with wonderfull ſilence to expect the ſigne of ſetting forward, which was giuen by the ſoft ſound of a horſemans drum paſſing thorow euery companie. For the old captaine acquainted with many battels againſt the Chriſtians, doubting of their feigned flight, would not vnaduiſedly be drawne into battell, but in a place commodious for his ſouldiers; as one before fully ſet downe (after his wonted manner) to performe that ſeruice, not by the hazard H of one ſet battell, but by dallying off the time with often ſkirmiſhes, when he could take the enemie at aduantage. The day appearing, *Lodronius* again awaking, heard a certaine confuſed noiſe of the Turks, and withall ſaw himſelfe forſaken of the greateſt part of the horſemen: whereupon he complained in vaine, that he was betraid: yet for all that, he was nothing diſcouraged, but cheered vp the footmen, exhorting them to remember their former valor, and to reſolue with themſelues only with courage to ouercome the danger, which hard fortune had at that time brought them into; for that valiant men were rather to thinke of an honourable death, than ſhamefull flight, whereby whether they ſhould eſcape with life or not, was vncertaine. As for himſelfe, who had bin their happie Generall in many battels, hee ſaid he was reſolutely ſet downe by repulſing the enemie to bring them into a place of ſafetie, or elſe valiantly I fighting together with them to end his daies. As *Lodronius* was yet thus incouraging the footmen, the horſemen of Carinthia, Saxonie, Auſtria, and Bohemia, who mindfull of their dutie, had in vaine expected the appointed ſignall from the Generall, came vnto *Lodronius*, as vnto the moſt valiant captaine, beſeeching him in ſtead of their trecherous Generall, to take vpon him the place: promiſing to do whatſoeuer he commanded, and to fight as men againſt thoſe Infidels for their religion and king, ſo long as they were able to hold vp their weapons. *Lodronius* would in no caſe accept of that honor ſo franckly offered, modeſtly proteſting himſelfe vnworthie thereof: yet as a man of courage, and moued with the hard eſtate of ſuch an armie, he with a ſolemne proteſtation promiſed to execute the place in the beſt manner hee could, and ſo did as long as his fortune gaue him leaue. K

Lodronius encourageth the footmen.

It is reported, that as *Lodronius* was incouraging the footmen, & earneſtly inuaying againſt ſhamefull flight, an old German ſoldier was ſo bold, as bluntly, yet ſharply to ſay vnto him: *Worthie* Lodronius, *thou canſt neuer bee thought to flee ſhamefully, with a horſe of ſuch a price vnder thee.* *Lodronius* perceiuing the old ſouldiers meaning, alighted, and with his ſword hoxed his horſe; ſaying aloud, This day, valiant ſoldiers, ſhall you haue me both your generall and fellow ſoldier, fighting on foot as one of your ſelues: ſee now that you deceiue not my expectation, but let vs either with glorious victorie or honorable death end this war together; yet ſo, as that we die not vnreuenged. All his other horſes he gaue away vnto ſuch ſicke & wounded ſouldiers as he beſt knew; amongſt whom was one *Picenard* of Cremona, a captaine who was then in an extream fit of an ague, & had hardly eſcaped the hands of the enemie. The firſt L troups of horſemen and bands of footmen, were ſcarcely out of the camp with their enſignes, but the Turks comming on with a hideous cry, aſſailed them on euery ſide, and many ſharpe ſkirmiſhes were giuen vnto the horſmen as they marched, with ſuch euent that the Chriſtians ſomtime valiantly receiuing the enemies charge, and ſomtime charging them again, repulſed the proud enemy ſtill buſie with them. In theſe continual ſkirmiſhes, *Antius Macer Fuchſtat*, Generall of the Carinthian horſemen, fighting valiantly was ſlaine, being for his braue armor ſuppoſed by the Turks to haue bin the Generall of the field. And by like miſhap foure and twentie horſmen of great name were alſo ſlaine, and their guidon taken; amongſt theſe were three noblemen, *Andreas Reſchius*, *Chriſtophorus Hernaus*, and *Georgius Himelbergus*. In another place was made a moſt cruell ſkirmiſh with the Saxon horſemen, and them of Miſnia, Thuringia M and Franconia, who followed the Saxons enſigne: of theſe, fighting moſt valiantly, was ſlaine aboue 36 worthie captaines, lieutenants, or ancients; and *Chuenricus* a principall captaine of the Saxons taken, who afterwards died in bonds amongſt the Turkes. Amongſt them which were ſlain, *Sebaſtianus Metheſcus*, and *Iacobus Scullemburgh* were of greateſt nobilitie.

An old German ſouldier ieſteth at Lodronius.

The horſemen diſcomfited by the Turks.

A litie. In like manner the horſemen of Auſtria couragiouſly reſiſting the enemie for a ſpace, were in the end ouerthrowne: where amongſt them was ſlaine two valiant noblemen, *Fettſick* and *Hoſchirchius*, with diuers other men of great place and reputation both in their own countrey and abroad. But the greateſt ſlaughter was made amongſt the Bohemian horſemen, vpon whom (being diſordered by the Ianizaries harquebuſiers) the Turkiſh troups of the old garriſon ſoldiers breaking in with their ſcimiters and heauie yron maces, made a moſt bloudy execution. The battell of footmen being ſore gauled, and almoſt diſordred in their march by certain companies of Ianizaries and archers of the Aſapi (who from a woodie banke of a marriſh diſcharged their ſhot & arrows continually vpon them, yet neuer comming to handy blowes) was on the other ſide ſo hardly charged by *Amurathes* with his troups of horſemen of Boſna,

The chriſtian footmen ouerthrowne.

B that being not able longer to keep order, it was at laſt by him broken and cut in pieces: where the Turks with their ſwords and hatchets ſlew the poore Chriſtians without mercie. *Lodronius* himſelfe carried away with the breaking in and force of the horſemen, was driuen into a marriſh: where after that he being ſore wounded, and almoſt faſt in the deepe mud, had done the vttermoſt of that his laſt endeauour, he by the faire entreatie of the Turks, perſuading him rather to yeeld, than there to be ſlain, ſo yeelded himſelfe, that he with three companies which were with him, after they had layd down their weapons, were all ſaued as valiant ſouldiers: for now the mercileſſe Turks imbrued with the Chriſtian bloud, were weary of ſlaughter, and began greedily to ſeeke after the ſpoile, hunting after them (who flying diſperſedly, thought themſelues to haue eſcaped the enemies hands) with ſuch ſucceſſe, that a great num-

C ber of them was taken and led away for ſlaues: few of the footmen eſcaped, and almoſt all the reſt which were not fled before the battell, were to be ſeen dead vpon the ground.

This ſhamefull ouerthrow at Exek was reported to haue exceeded the moſt grieuous ouerthrowes that the Chriſtians had receiued in any former time: for the flower both of horſe and foot there loſt by the raſhneſſe & fault of an vnluckie Generall, rather than by the valor of the enemie, ruthfully periſhed: ſo that many prouinces were filled with heauines and mourning. For it neuer chanced before (as was to be ſeen by the vnfortunat battels of *Sigiſmund* the Emperor, and king *Ladiſlaus*) that the Turks got ſuch a victorie without ſome loſſe: ſo that they which fell almoſt vnreuenged at Exek, may ſeem to haue augmented that loſſe by the great infamie thereof. *Mahometes* hauing thus almoſt without the bloud of his ſouldiers, obtained ſo

D great a victorie, & taking the ſpoile of the Chriſtian camp, pitched his tents in a little medow, being clenſed of the dead bodies, and after he had merrily feaſted with his captains, commanded the chiefe priſoners, the goodly ſpoiles, and faireſt enſignes to be brought vnto him: and openly commending the captaines who had that day done any good ſeruice, commanding diuers bags of mony to be brought vnto him by the receiuers, he with his own hand rewarded the ſoldiers, ſome with gold, ſome with ſiluer, according to their deſerts: And cauſing all the priſoners which were not common ſoldiers to be brought forth, he diligently viewed them, and preſently cauſed euery one of their names, and the office they bare, to be inrolled by his clerks: and vnto ſuch as brought in the heads, eares, or hands of the Chriſtians with rings vpon them, he forthwith cauſed one reward or other to be giuen. *Lodronius*, when as by reaſon

Lodronius ſlain

E of his deadly wounds he was thought vnable to indure trauel, or to be brought aliue with the other priſoners to Conſtantinople, was ſlain by his keepers, and his head afterwards ſent thither. For, as many noble gentlemen (and amongſt others, *Laurentius Streipeng* and *Dietmarus Loſeſtaine*) haue reported, (who ranſomed afterwards, returned home again to their wiues and children) amongſt the priſoners which were together with the faire enſignes and other gallant warlike furniture (eſpecially gilt armor and headpieces) preſented by *Mahometes* his meſſengers to *Solyman*, three of the greateſt captaines heads were in a ſiluer baſon there ſeene and known; which were the heads of *Paulus Bachitius* the valiant Hungarian captain, *Antonius Ulacer* Generall of the Carinthian horſemen, and *Lodronius* Generall of the footmen: which after the tyrant had looked a ſquint vpon, as abhorring that loathſome ſight, he with ſterne countenance

Three of the great captains heads preſented to Solyman at Conſtantinople.

F commanded all the priſoners to be ſlaine. But vpon the interceſſion of the Ianizaries (who intreated for them, as valiant men, to whom they had at the time of their taking paſt their faith, and might afterwards do him good ſeruice) he changed his countenance, and ſaued many of them. But *Cazzianer* flying to his owne caſtle, was of all men accuſed as a wicked forſaker of his owne campe and enſignes, and commonly railed vpon, as the eternall infamie of his coun-

Cazzianer generally hated.

Cazzianer imprisoned, breaketh priſon.

Cazzianer moſt ſhamefully murdred, and his head ſent vnto K. Ferdinand.

trey, and authour of the publique calamitie: ſo that it was reported, that he durſt neither goe abroad, nor ſhew his face for ſhame. He was ſo generally hated, that infamous libels, made againſt him & the other captains which ſhamefully fled as he did, were commonly ſung in the ſtreets by boyes in all places of Germanie. Wherewith he was ſo much grieued, that hee requeſted of K. *Ferdinand*, that he might ſafely come to the court, to anſwer whatſoeuer could be laid againſt him: which his requeſt the king eaſily granted, and when he came to the court, receiued him with doubtfull countenance. But when the hearing of his cauſe was by the king ſomewhat longer protracted than he would haue had it, and he in the meane time kept vnder ſafe cuſtodie; impatient of ſuch delay, and halfe doubtfull whether he ſhould be quitted or condemned, thought it better to flie, than to abide the triall. So feigning himſelfe ſicke, and ſcraping vp by little and little with his knife a bricke pauement vnder his bed, and ſo in the night getting out one bricke, firſt and then another, at length brake thorow the vault, & with his ſheets letting himſelfe downe, eſcaped, hauing poſt horſes readie for him without the Caſtle. Not long after, as he was a man of a haſtie and vnconſtant nature, deſpairing of his eſtate, he fled to the Turks; *Mahometes* gladly receiuing him, and beſide his great entertainment, promiſing him the gouernment of all Croatia in manner of a tributarie king, if he would faithfully ſerue *Solyman*, and helpe him in the ſubduing of the cities of Auſtria. After he had agreed vpon all the conditions of his reuolt, that he might return to *Mahometes* with ſome more credit, he began boldly to deale with *Nicholaus Sirenus* a Nobleman of Croatia, and his deere friend, as he ſuppoſed, to reuolt with him; aſſuring him, that *Solyman* would deale as kindely with them both, as he had before with king *Iohn* in the kingdom of Hungarie. *Sirenus* promiſed him he would, or at leaſt made as if he promiſed to do what he deſired, and ſo agreed as it were vpon the matter, promiſing to goe ouer with him to the Turke with a troupe of his beſt and moſt truſtie horſemen. But *Sirenus* conſidering with himſelfe the hainouſneſſe and impietie of ſo great an offence, changing his purpoſe, choſe rather to deale treacherouſly with his old friend, fearing no ſuch thing in his houſe, than to offend both againſt God and his Prince. Wherefore after he had well feaſted *Cazzianer* in his houſe, he as a moſt cruell hoaſt, cauſed him to be ſlaine, and ſent his head to King *Ferdinand*: in reward whereof he receiued of the Kings gift *Cazzianer* his caſtle, with all his ſubſtance.

The Emperour, the Venetians, and the Biſhop of Rome, enter into a confederation againſt the Turks.

In the meane time the Venetians, prouoked by the Turks with diuers iniuries both by ſea & land (when as *Solyman* but a little before hardly beſieging Corcyra, and with moſt barbarous crueltie waſting the Iland, had broken the league, & euen then by his lieutenant *Caſsimes Baſſa* beſieged Epidaurus and Nauplium, two of their cities in Peloponeſus) reſolued without delay to make warre likewiſe vpon him, who for a ſmall treſpas would admit no excuſe or recompence. Whereunto they were alſo animated both by *Charles* the Emperor, and *Paulus* the great Biſhop; who warned by the late and dangerous attempts of *Solyman* and *Barbaruſſa*, thought it more for the ſafetie of their eſtates, by giuing aid to the Venetians, to keepe the Turks buſied further off, than to ſuffer them to acquaint themſelues too much with the ports of Italy and Sicilia. Wherefore all the Winter following they labored by their Embaſſadors, to ſet down what number and what manner of ſhips, what ſouldiers, what money was to be prouided, and how to be according to their eſtates apportioned, for the ſetting forth of a ſtrong fleet againſt the next Summer, to be ſent into Grecia againſt the Turks. At laſt it was agreed amongſt theſe confederat Princes, by their Embaſſadors at Rome, That the Emperour ſhould furniſh and ſet forth 82 gallies, the Venetians the like number, and the Biſhop 36, to make vp the number of two hundred gallies; that the Venetians ſhould lend vnto the Biſhop ſo many gallies readie rigged, as he ſhould deſire, to be furniſhed by him with mariners and ſoldiers; and that the Emperour and the State of Genoa ſhould find ſufficient ſhipping for the tranſportation of the land forces and victuall. The Generals alſo of this great fleet to be ſet forth, were at the ſame time appointed: *Andreas Auria* for the Emperour, *Vincentius Capellus* for the Venetians, and *Marcus Grimanus* Patriarch of Aquilea for the Biſhop; to whom was ioyned *Paulus Iuſtinianus* one of the chiefe Senatours, a man of great experience in ſea matters. It was alſo agreed, that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* Viceroy of Sicilie, ſhould haue the commanding of the land forces, and that whatſoeuer was got from the Turks in that expedition in Grecia, the iſlands, or Dalmatia, ſhould be all faithfully deliuered to the Venetians, who had receiued ſo many iniuries from the Turks. The Emperour alſo of his liberalitie promiſed vnto the other Con-

federats,

A federats,that they ſhould for reaſonable price haue as much wheat as they would out of Sicilia,
without paying any cuſtome.

Solyman vnderſtanding of this confederation and preparation made againſt him by theſe
Chriſtian Princes,commanded *Barbaruſſa* his Admirall to make readie his fleet to goe againſt
theſe enemies,and to do all the harme he could vpon the Iſlands ſubiect to the Venetian ſtate.
Which thing *Barbaruſſa* with great care and diligence in ſhort time performed: and ſo with
130 gallies in moſt warlike manner appointed,with the firſt of the Spring,in the yeare 1538,
departed from Helleſpontus directly to Crete; where hauing paſſed the promontorie of Gyamus,
which at this day is called Sparta,he vnaduiſedly landed moſt part of his men, to haue
ſurpriſed the citie Canea, which was in antient time called Sydonia. But *Grittus* one of the
B Venetian Senatours then kept the Citie with a ſtrong garriſon; who from the walls and bulwarks
thereof ſo plagued the Turks with great and ſmall ſhot,and the ſallying out of two companies
of Italians,that *Barbaruſſa* hauing loſt many of his men,was faine to retyre againe to his
fleet in ſuch haſt,that he left behind him 1000 of his Turks,which were gone further into the
Iſland after bootie,who were afterwards all ſlain by them of Crete. After that, he attempted
to haue taken diuers places in the Iſland,and was euery where notably repulſed. With the citie
of Candia, whereof the Iſland now taketh name, and was in antient time called Cytheum,
he durſt not meddle: but ſailing almoſt round about the Iſland, tooke only Cecilia, a little
towne before forſaken of the inhabitants,which he ſet on fire,and ſo departed from Crete:for
he was aduertiſed, That *Vincentius Capellius* the Venetian Admirall, who was now come to
C Corcyra,would in ſhort time come to relieue them of Crete. *Auria*, Admiral of the Emperors
fleet,paſſing the ſtrait of Meſſana,came to Corcyra alſo, and there ioyned with the Venetians.
The Chriſtian fleet was then ſo great that it was thought the Turks durſt not meet it at ſea,but
by all means ſhun to giue battell. For *Barbaruſſa* then lay with the Turkes fleet in the bay of
Ambracia, expecting when the Chriſtians ſhould enter the ſtrait entrance thereof, where he
had on both ſides placed diuers pieces of great ordnance,to haue ſunk them in their comming
in: for *Grimanus* the Patriarch,a little before departing from Corcyra, had with the great Biſhops
gallies begun to beſiege Preueſa,a towne vpon the promontorie of Actium faſt by that
ſtrait; and landing ſome of his ſouldiers, with three great pieces of artillerie ſo battered the
caſtle of Preueſa,that he was like enough to haue taken it,had not the Turks from Ætolia come
D to relieue it with a ſtrong power both of horſe and foot. Wherefore the Patriarch ſhipping
againe his men and ordnance,returned to the fleet at Corcyra, not repenting him of his journey,
for that he had well viewed the ſtraits of that Bay, and all the enemies fleet riding at anchor
within it. Vpon the returne of the Patriarch, and relation made, what he had both done
and ſeene, the great commanders of the Chriſtian fleet entred into counſell, what courſe were
beſt to take for their better proceeding in that great action. *Gonzaga* the Viceroy, Generall
of the land forces,was of opinion, That it were beſt to land the ſouldiers and great ordnance,
and with all their force to aſſault the caſtle of Preueſa: which once tken, and their ordnance
there planted,the enemies fleet might in the Bay be vtterly defeated,for that all paſſage to ſea
might eaſily be taken from them, by ſinking of one of the great ſhips in the mouth of the
E Strait, and by moaring there of three great Galleons full of Artillerie: ſo that if *Barbaruſſa*
would deſperatly aduenture to come out, he muſt needs be ſunke in the mouth of the Bay.
Whereunto *Auria* replied, That *Gonzaga* his counſell was in words and ſhew glorious, but to
put in execution moſt dangerous: for that firſt to land the ſouldiers and great artillerie, hee
ſaid was a thing too too full of hazard and perill: for it was to be thought,that the Turkes in
Ætolia would as they had before done, come with ſpeed with their horſemen to relieue the
beſieged in the caſtle; whoſe force the Chriſtian footmen could hardly abide. Beſides that,
if the fleet ſhould by force of weather be conſtrained to leaue that coaſt, (as it wel might, Autumne
now comming faſt on) after the ſouldiers were landed, From whence ſhould they then
get victuall in the enemies countrey? or what reliefe ſhould they hope for, if they ſhould hap
F to be diſtreſſed; being on euery ſide beſet with their enemies, and their friends by tempeſt
driuen from them? Wherefore he thought it beſt,if the enemie could not be drawne out of
the Bay to battell, to go directly into the Bay of Naupactum,and to take that town which was
not greatly fortified,and to ranſacke and ſpoile all the townes, euen to the bottom of the Bay
of Corinth. Which the Grecians in the Fleet,ſaid might eaſily be done: by taking of which

1538

Solyman ſendeth Barbaruſſa againſt the Venetians.

Barbaruſſa landing in Crete, is repulſed with loſſe.

The confederat Princes Fleetes meet at Corcyra.

Gonzaga his opinion.

Auria of another opinion.

courſe it might ſo fall out, that *Barbaruſſa* mooued with the danger of his friends, would for ſhame come out and ioyne with them in battell. This counſell of *Auria* was beſt liked both of *Capellius* and the Patriarch, being far more deſirous to fight with their enemies at ſea, than at land.

Auria braueth Barbaruſſa lying in the Bay of Ambracia.

Barbaruſſa reproued of cowardiſe by one of the Turkes Eunuchs.

Auria hauing put in order his fleet, came to Preueſa, and ſo to the ſtrait of the bay of Ambracia, where he ſo placed the whole fleet, which was in number 250 ſaile, that it might eaſily of the enemie be numbred. Which ſight (as it was reported) wonderfully troubled *Barbaruſſa*; who although he was of a couragious diſpoſition, and ſuch a man as greatly feared not either the valor or martial diſcipline of the Chriſtians, yet was he exceedingly moued with the ſight of ſo great a fleet ſo well appointed; for a greater had not of long time bin ſeen in the Ionian ſea. So that an Eunuch of *Solymans* court, ſent by him as *Barbaruſſa* his companion, ſeeing him to delay the time as a man halfe diſcouraged, did with moſt vnciuil and proud words take him vp, becauſe he would not forthwith go out of the bay and fight with the Chriſtians which lay at the mouth thereof daring of them: wherein he was not (as he ſaid) to regard his owne ſafetie (who as a coward could not endure the ſight of the enemie) but the honour of *Solyman* his Soueraigne, who would not take it well, to haue the glorie of his name ſtained with ſo ſhamefull a delay: for if he were a valiant and martiall man, as he profeſſed himſelfe to be, he ought neuer to diſpaire of victorie: and if it ſhould ſo fall out, that fortune ſhould frown vpon them, and not anſwer to their deſires, yet ſhould not *Solyman* therefore want captaines and ſouldiers better than they, if they were ouercome; and the woods of Pontus would afford him timber enough to build twice ſo great and ſtrong a fleet. And for a concluſion, the inſolent Eunuch willed *Barbaruſſa* to beware, that whileſt he feared a moſt honorable death (which was vncertain, though the battell were loſt) he drew not vpon himſelfe the certaine danger of a moſt ſhamefull death by the diſpleaſure of *Solyman*.

Barbaruſſa his anſwere to Salec concerning the Eunuchs ſpeech.

Barbaruſſa putteth out of the bay of Ambracia, and followeth Auria.

At which ſpeech *Barbaruſſa* turning himſelf about to *Salec*, one of the arch pyrats, a famous ſea man, ſaid vnto him, *We muſt for ought that I can ſee, moſt valiant and faithfull captaine, aduenture this battell, although it be at too much diſaduantage; leſt haply we periſh by the complaints of this barking demie man*. And ſo preſently commanded all his fleet to weigh anchor, at the ſame time that *Auria* had hoiſed ſaile, and was on his way toward the bay of Naupactus, thinking that the enemie durſt not for feare haue come out of the bay of Ambracia. *Auria* keeping on his courſe, was come to Leucade, when the enemies fleet was deſcried out of the top of *Bondelmerius* galleon, to be come out of the Bay, & to make towards them, keeping cloſe by the ſhore: which manner of courſe the craftie Turke, miſdoubting his owne ſtrength, held of purpoſe, that if he ſhould chance to be ouermatched by the Chriſtians, he might turne the prow of his gallies vpon them, and running the poups aground, ſo to land his men and great ordnance, and from land as hee might to defend his fleet: accounting it a leſſe loſſe (if the worſt ſhould chance) to loſe the gallies, than the men.

The order of the Turks fleet.

Auria ſomewhat troubled with this ſudden comming out of the enemie, as with a thing which he then leaſt expected, yet notably ſtaid himſelfe, and commanded all the fleet to prepare themſelues to battel, and to follow his Admirall gally. Now all the Turks fleet was come into the open ſea in ſuch order, that *Barbaruſſa* himſelfe was in the middle battell; where his Admirall gallie was to be ſeene with many purple flagges and ſtreamers flying gallantly in the winde: on his right hand was *Tabaches*, and *Salec* on the left, both men of great fame, euerie one of them hauing almoſt like number of gallies, which were in all 150. Vnto the middle battell were ioyned two wings, in ſuch order, that which way ſoeuer the Admirall turned, they turning alſo, ſtill repreſented the forme of a flying Eagle: ſo that (as *Auria* himſelfe afterwards confeſſed) a more firme or orderly fleet could not haue bin brought out by any expert captain. Before the fleet, came about 20 nimble gallies conducted by *Drogut* (or *Dragut*) an arch pyrat, famous afterwards for the great harme he did vnto the Chriſtians. *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall came in his long boat to *Auria*, requeſting him, That he with his gallies might giue the firſt charge vpon the enemy: to whom *Auria* gaue great thanks, and praiſing his forwardnes, requeſted him to follow him, to whom he would in good time giue a ſigne what he would haue done. The formoſt of the Turks light gallies was now come to the great galleon of *Bondelmerius*, which was the formoſt of the Chriſtian fleet, whereunto were ſent alſo certaine gallies from *Salec*, to helpe to aſſaile that tall ſhip; which ſhooting a far off, did no harme, neither

Bondel-

A *Bondelmerius* them; who would not ſuffer one piece to be diſcharged; for he being an expert ſea man, and loth to ſhoot in vain, expected that they ſhould come neerer vnto him, and then vpon the ſudden to diſcharge all his great ordnance vpon them. Neither was he deceiued in that his expectation, for the Turks comming neere vnto him, were ſo ouerwhelmed with the great and ſmall ſhot out of the galleon, that they were glad to ſtay their courſe, and retyre. In the meane time *Auria* called backe again the ſhips which were gon before, and cauſed his galleon to be towed out; and by boats of purpoſe ſent out, charged the captains of the gallies to make themſelues readie to fight, vpon ſignal giuen by the ſound of the trumpet, and diſplaying of the Admirals enſigne: yet was not *Auria* of mind to fight, with his gallies without his ſhips. Which thing the craftie enemie well perceiued, and therefore ſought by all meanes to ioyne B battel with the gallies, before the comming in of the tall ſhips, which were as caſtles in reſpect of the gallies: for it was then ſuch a calme, that the ſhips were not able to keepe way with the gallies, and the ſmooth water ſeemed to offer a fit opportunity for battell; which ſo wel pleaſed the Patriarch, that many heard him crying aloud to *Auria* to giue the ſignal, and marueiled much why he deferred to giue battell. For he fetching a great compaſſe, and houering about his ſhips, with his gallies kept ſuch a courſe, that many thought he would vpon a ſudden haue done ſome ſtrange & vnexpected exploit vpon the enemie: but *Auria* held that ſtrange courſe of purpoſe to haue drawn the enemies gallies within the danger of his great ſhips, who thundring amongſt them with their great ordnance, might haue eaſily ſore beaten and diſordered them, and opened a way vnto his gallies to haue gotten a moſt certain victorie. But the craftie C old Turke doubting by the ſtrangenes of *Auria's* courſe, to be circumuented with ſome fineneſſe, changed his courſe, and lay ſtill with his own ſquadron of gallies, warily expecting to what purpoſe that ſtrange courſe of the enemie tended. In the meane time, both the wings of his fleet had a little before Sun-ſet, begun in diuers places to encounter with the Chriſtians: ſome were in vaine ſtill aſſailing *Bondelmerius* his great galleon; others with their great ordnance had ſo ſore beaten two tall ſhips (wherein *Buccanigra* and *Mungaia*, two Spaniſh captains, were imbarked with their companies) that they were giuen for loſt, many of the ſoldiers and mariners being ſlain. Two other ſhips loded with victual, the one of Venice, the other of Dalmatia, were burnt by the Turks, & ſome few of the men ſaued by their ſhip boats, & by ſwimming to the ſhips neereſt vnto them. In the ſhutting in of the euening *Salec* tooke two gallies D ſtragling behind the reſt of the fleet, whereof *Mocenicus* a Venetian, and *Bibiena* a Florentine, were captains. After theſe gallies, was taken alſo the ſhip of *Aloyſius Figuera* a Spaniard, although his ſoldiers had for a time fought moſt valiantly. In this ſhip, with *Figuera* the father, was taken his ſon, a yong gentleman, and beautified with all the good gifts of nature; who afterwards preſented to *Solyman*, turned Turke: and growing in credit in *Solymans* chamber, after 3 yeres miſerable impriſonment, obtained his poore fathers libertie, and ſent him well rewarded home againe into Spain. Whilſt both the fleets were thus expecting how they might to their moſt aduantage ioyne battell, ſuddenly aroſe a great tempeſt of thunder, lightning, and rain, with a freſh gale of Eaſterly wind: whereupon the Chriſtians ſeeing the Turks hoiſing vp their ſmall ſails, without delay hoiſed vp both ſmall and great to cleere themſelues of the E enemie, and with that faire wind returned again to Corcyra, ſo diſordredly and in ſuch haſt, ſparing neither ſaile nor oare, that it ſeemed rather a ſhamefull flight, than an orderly retreat. So that *Auria*, a man of ſo great fame at ſea, as that he was called a ſecond *Neptune*, was that day accounted no captain. It is reported, that *Barbaruſſa* with the ſame wind purſued the Chriſtians a while, and being not able longer to ſee what courſe they held, by reaſon of the darkneſſe of the night, to haue ſtaid his courſe: for the Admirals had cauſed their lights which they vſed to carrie in the poups of their gallies, to be put out. Whereat *Barbaruſſa* heartily laughing, ſaid oftentimes in the Spaniſh tongue; Auria *hath therefore put out his light, the better in the darke to hide his flight*: noting in him ſuch a feare, as that he without regard of honour, ſought onely how by flight to eſcape. When they were come to Corcyra, they were all generally of F opinion, That by the benefit of that ſudden ſtorme they had auoided a great danger. The Imperials, eſpecially the Genowaies, to excuſe *Auria*, imputed the cauſe of ſo ſhamefull a flight vnto the Venetians, who would not from the beginning receiue any Spaniſh ſouldiers into their gallies, the better to haue withſtood the enemy; and that *Auria* therefore doubting of the Venetians, refrained from ioyning battell; and the rather, becauſe that vpon the comming forth

Auria his politique courſe.

The Chriſtian fleet ſhamefully flieth.

Barbaruſſa ieaſteth at Auria.

of the Turks fleet, they had hoiſed vp their ſailes tied vp to the yards with ſmall lines, which they might at their pleaſure eaſily cut, and ſet ſaile to flie which way they would. Shortly after came *Barbaruſſa* with all his fleet to the Iſland of Paxus, about foure leagues from Corcyra Eaſtward, brauing the Chriſtians as if he would haue fought with them, if they durſt come out. Whereat *Gonzaga* the Viceroy fretting, went to euery one of the three great commanders, requeſting them for the honor of the Chriſtians, to repreſſe that proud Turkes inſolencie. At laſt the matter was brought to that paſſe, that the Venetians hauing taken in certain companies of Spaniards, the fleet ſhould be diuided into foure ſquadrons, and ſo to giue battel. But this conſultation was ſo long protracted, that *Barbaruſſa* fearing the tempeſtuous Autumne weather, hoiſed ſaile, and about the ſeuenth of October returned again into the bay of Ambracia. After the departing of *Barbaruſſa*, the Generals of the Chriſtian fleet directed their courſe into the Bay called Sinus Rizonicus, to beſiege Caſtronovum, or New-caſtle, a ſtrong town of the Turks ſtanding in that bay, and bordering vpon the Venetian Senators. The Inhabitants were part Dalmatians, part Epirots, which had renounced the Chriſtian religion, and ſome Turkes, liuing moſt part by merchandiſe. Vnto this towne the Chriſtians laid ſiege, and in ſhort time woon it, where they had a great prey, and a wonderfull number of captiues of all ſorts. Three dayes after the taking of the towne, the caſtle was alſo yeelded by the Turkes garriſon; couenanting in vain to depart with life and libertie.

Barbaruſſa braueth the Chriſtians.

Caſtronovum taken by the Chriſtians.

This towne taken by common force, ought of right by the couenants of the league to haue bin deliuered to the Venetians; yet was it for all that by *Auria* and *Gonzaga* reſerued for the Emperor, and *Franciſcus Sarmentus* with foure thouſand Spaniards all old ſoldiers, left there in garriſon: *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall vrging in vaine the right of the Venetians. Which thing ſo much grieued the Senat, (who euer had the ambitious Spaniard in ſuſpect, and now aſſured of him as an euill neighbour to their towne of Catarum) that repenting themſelues of the league with the Emperour, they decreed to ſue to *Solyman* for peace: which they afterwards eaſily obtained, for a ſhort ſpace, by *Laurentius Grittus* their dukes ſon, and by the helpe of *Antonius Rincus* the French kings Embaſſador; who then lying at Conſtantinople, in good time told the great Baſſa's, that the league the Venetians had made with the Emperour, was made without the conſent of the greateſt part of the Senat, and that war taken in hand againſt moſt of their wils.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Barbaruſſa* put to ſea againe to haue relieued Caſtronovum: but being at ſea, many of his gallies were by the violence of a ſudden tempeſt driuen vpon the Acroceraunian rocks, and there caſt away. It is reported that he loſt there 20000 men, which with the broken pieces of his gallies were found almoſt all alongſt the coaſt of Dalmatia. This ſhipwrack being certainly knowne; *Capellius* would haue perſuaded *Auria* to haue preſently purſued *Barbaruſſa* ſo diſtreſſed: which motion *Gonzaga* wel liked, as a man deſirous by ſome notable exploit to recompence the diſgrace before receiued at Leucade. But *Auria* for diuers cauſes not liking of the matter, was ſo ſet down vpon his return to Italie, that he preſently hoiſed ſaile, leauing the Venetian Admirall in ſuch a rage, that he deteſted himſelfe, for ſubmitting himſelfe to another mans power; and wiſhed the captaines there preſent, neuer to ſubiect themſelues to the command of a ſtranger, foraſmuch as that Genoway, either vpon cowardiſe or malicious mind, as an old enemie to the Venetian State, would not proſecute ſo manifeſt a victorie, but put vp ſo ſhamefull a diſgrace as he had before receiued. But of all this *Auria* made ſmall reckoning, referring all that he both ſaid and did, ſo far vnto the Emperours commodity, that *Valerius Vrſinus* a noble gentleman then ſeruing in the Venetian pay, merrily ſaid, That *Auria* had done nothing but wiſely & politickly, in ſetting the Venetians together by the ears with the Turks, & opening a gate for a long war, whether the Venetians would or not: ſo as the emperor himſelf could not haue better wiſhed, and that without the loſſe of one gallie. For it was thought by many, that the long wars betwixt the Turkes and the Venetians, would ſort to the great good of the Emperor, when as the Venetians worne out and ſpent with thoſe long and chargeable wars againſt ſo mightie an enemy, ſhould be ſtripped of their lands and territories either by force, or ſome hard compoſition wrung from them by neceſſitie.

Auria neglecting to purſue Barbaruſſa, returnes into Italie, to the griefe of the Venetian Admirall.

Caſtronovum thus taken, and *Sarmentus* with a garriſon of foure thouſand Spaniards there placed, as is aforeſaid, and the Chriſtian fleet diſſolued, *Solyman* tooke the matter ſo grieuouſly, that hee determined to beſiege it againe both by ſea and land: and in his furie, cauſed

A Nauplium and Epidaurus, two of the Venetian cities in the country of Peloponeſus, to bee ſtraitly beſieged. Yet tooke he ſingular pleaſure, that *Barbaruſſa* his Admirall, in all reſpects worſe furniſhed, had driuen out of the ſea the great fleet of the Chriſtians, which hee before that time had made too great account of. Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring, which was in the yeare 1539, *Barbaruſſa* by his commandement repaired againe his fleet, & notably furniſhed it with all maner of warlike prouiſion; manning his gallies for the moſt part with Ianizaries and other ſuch ſelect ſoldiers. With this fleet *Barbaruſſa* (Sommer now wel come on) departed out of the Heleſpontus, and came to the bay Riſonicus; at which time alſo *Vlames* the Perſian then Gouernor of Boſna, ſhewed himſelfe with his forces vpon the mountains, as he had in charge from *Solyman*. *Barbaruſſa* before he entred the ſtraits of the bay, ſent before B him *Dragut* and *Corſetus*, two notable pirats, with thirty galliots, who landing their men neere vnto Caſtronovum (as they were commanded) were valiantly encountered by *Sarmentus* with his Spaniards, and forced againe to their galliots, many of the Turks being ſlaine and taken priſoners. After that came *Barbaruſſa* with 90 gallies, and 3 tal ſhips which carried the artillerie for batterie and other neceſſarie prouiſion for the campe; where he ſpent three daies landing his great ordnance & caſting vp trenches, which could not be done but by night by reaſon of the continuall ſhot out of the towne: wherewith the Spaniards had in that three days ſpace ſlaine aboue 1000 Turks: amongſt whom was *Agis Hariadenus*, who had made himſelfe as it were a king at Taiorea, a citie neere Tripolis in Africa; whoſe death much grieued *Barbaruſſa*, as one of his moſt antient and beſt friends. At length *Barbaruſſa* hauing caſt vp his tren- C ches, landed foure and fiftie great pieces of artillerie for batterie; whereof he gaue a fourth part to *Vlames* to batter the towne on the North ſide, whileſt he in the meane time, in three diuers places battered the Eaſt ſide, and *Salec* from ſea with ten gallies, did morning and euening batter another part of the wall. Whileſt *Sarmentus* was thus in ſo many places aſſailed, and did what was poſſible to haue repaired the breaches; the Turks by force tooke one of the towers, where after they had diſplaied their enſignes, they from thence with their ſhot ſore troubled the Spaniards. At the ſame time alſo, *Vlames* had made a breach, and was ready on the other ſide of the citie to enter. In which extremities, *Sarmentus* ſeeing no means longer to defend the city, commanded the hurt ſoldiers to get them into the caſtle below, & the reſt with him to take the market place, there to die together like men: where the Turkes ſtraight way D breaking in on euery ſide vpon them, made a moſt cruell and bloudie fight, wherein the Spaniards ouerwhelmed with ſhot, and the multitude of their enemies, were ſlaine almoſt euerie man. *Sarmentus* wounded in the face with three arrowes, and wearied with long fight, ſeeing *Sancius Fria* a captain ready to flie, ſharply reproued him, and catching him by the hand, made him there to tarrie by it, vntill they were both together ſlaine. Many valiant captaines were there loſt, whoſe names for breuitie I omit. *Aloyſius Arius*, and certaine other captaines who together with the wounded ſouldiers were got into the caſtle, ſeeing no means to defend the place, yeelded themſelues: whom *Barbaruſſa* according to his promiſe, tooke to mercie in ſparing their liues, yet carried them away into captiuitie to Conſtantinople. The dead bodie of *Sarmentus* could not be knowne amongſt ſo many heaps of the dead, although *Barbaruſſa* had E cauſed moſt diligent ſearch to be made for it, and offered great ſums of money and libertie alſo, to whoſoeuer could recouer it; being deſirous to haue ſent his head for a Preſent to *Solyman*. *Barbaruſſa* proud of this victorie, began forthwith to gape after Cattarus a citie of the Venetians in the bottome of the ſame bay: and thereupon writ threatning letters to *Ioannes Bembus* one of the Venetian Senatours then Gouernour of the citie, preſently to deliuer the citie; which he would (as he ſaid) otherwiſe aſſault by force. Whereunto *Bembus* anſwered againe by letters, that in ſo doing he ſhould violate the league lately made with *Solyman*, and that he ſhould find him readie by force to repell his forces. Wherewith *Barbaruſſa* diſpleaſed ſent certaine gallies into the bottome of the bay; who diſcharging certaine great pieces at the citie, made ſhew as if they had come to beſiege it. At whom *Bembus* as a man of good courage cauſed as many mo like pieces to be diſcharged, and ſhewed his men vpon the wals: Which thing *Barbaruſſa* perceiuing ſtaid his courſe, and calling backe his gallies, returned to Caſtronovum, from whence (better appeaſed with Preſents afterwards ſent from *Bembus*) he departed out of that bay.

1539

Barbaruſſa ſent by Solyman to beſiege Caſtronouum.

Caſtronouum hardly beſieged by Barbaruſſa.

Caſtronouum taken.

Sarmentus ſlaine.

The long wars betwixt *Charles* the Emperour and *Francis* the French king, were now wel

Alphonſus Vaſtius and Hanebaldus ſent embaſſadours from the Emperor & the French king to the State of Venice.

pacified, and ſuch friendſhip (at leaſtwiſe in ſhew) now growne betwixt theſe two great princes, that moſt men thought that all other quarrels laid aſide, they would now at length with vnited forces goe againſt the great and dangerous enemie of Chriſtendome: which opinion not altogether of the wiſer ſort beleeued, was yet at this time wonderfully confirmed by many extraordinarie and rare courteſies then paſſing betwixt them, which concerne not this hiſtorie; as alſo, in that two of their moſt famous captains, *Alphonſus Vaſtius*, and *Hanebald*, were as it were with one conſent by them both ſent embaſſadors to Venice to haue drawn the Venetians into the confederation of that war againſt the Turke. Which two renowned captains comming to Venice, moſt gallantly accompanied, were by *Landus* the duke, and the whole State, with great magnificence receiued, the people after their wonted manner flocking together in euery place to behold them ſo noble captains ſent from ſuch mightie princes; but eſpecially *Vaſtius*, whoſe fame hauing many times before filled their eares, made them now the more deſirous to ſatisfie their eies alſo with the beholding of his tall and comely perſon. Which two famous captaines admitted into the Senate, for that purpoſe fully aſſembled, and audience giuen: *Vaſtius* ariſing from the dukes ſide, in theſe or like words deliuered their embaſſage.

Vaſtius his Oration to the Venetian Senat.

It is come to paſſe (as I ſuppoſe) by the great prouidence of Almightie God, and of all the Diuine powers (moſt noble Duke and honourable Senatours) that two of the moſt mightie Kings of Europe, who of late had of long time made mortall warres one vpon another, touched with the Zeale of religion, are become great friends: vndoubtedly to that purpoſe onely, that hauing made a firme peace, they may bring ſuch a generall quietneſſe to the long troubled and afflicted ſtate of Chriſtendome, as beſt beſeemeth their greatneſſe; and taking in hand a ſacred war, to reuenge ſo many calamities receiued from the Infidel. That this might be made knowne vnto you (moſt noble Venetians) theſe mightie Monarchs haue ſent vs hither in good time to kindle in you the like Zeale, wherewith it is well knowne you haue alwaies for the honour of your State bin inflamed: for you of all others, which are of ſuch power and valour at ſea, they wiſh for, as their fellows and confederats in this ſacred war and hoped victorie; and thinke you worthie, which ſhould enioy the eſpeciall fruit of al that labour. Foraſmuch as the Chriſtian forces once renewed, and ſo great and ſtrong a fleet once aſſembled, euery man ſeeth that the Turks muſt needs be too weake: although they brag, that they carried away the victorie of late at Actium, when as they then eſcaped the victorious hands of our men, not by their owne valour, but by the vnexpected hap of a ſudden ſtorm. For all the powers of heauen and earth, and of the ſea alſo, will be propitious vnto vs, vniting ſo great forces, in regard of our ſacred religion; and will ſo take away the hearts of the Infidels, that they ſhal learne to be ouercome. As for our land forces, wee are to hope nothing but well, foraſmuch as vnto thoſe which the Emperour of late brought into the field at Vienna, and cauſed the Turkiſh Emperour to flie, ſhall be ioyned not onely all the horſemen and infanterie of Fraunce (a wonderfull ſtrength) but Sigiſmund *alſo King of Polonia will without delay bring foorth his armies, wherewith he hath beene vſed in the quarrell of the Chriſtian Religion happily to fight againſt the Infidels: ſo that it is not to be doubted of a moſt certaine and aſſured victorie. Wherefore the victorious Emperor and moſt Chriſtian king* Francis *moſt inſtantly requeſt you to enter into the like godly cogitations, conceiued for the general good of the Chriſtian name, and religiouſly to embrace the hope of a moſt true and glorious victorie: and further exhort you, by a wholſome decree to auert your religious and couragious hearts from the friendſhip of the Infidels: for it may worthily ſeeme vnto your moſt honourable minds, a moſt foule and ſhamefull thing, to haue renewed your league, and to haue preferred an infamous and vncertaine peace, before a moſt religious and iuſt warre. Neither doth it beſeeme this moſt wealthie State to be terrified from that which is good and right, with any charges of warre, be they neuer ſo great: for if wee ſhall once ouercome, which is incident to this preſent and long wiſhed occaſion, wee ſhall by the profit of one victorie, either by ſea or land, to your incomparable praiſe recompence all the loſſes by vs in former times receiued.*

The anſwere of the duke to Vaſtius.

Whereunto the duke in the name of the whole State anſwered, That there neuer happened any thing at any time vnto the Venetian Senat more honorable, for the manner of the embaſſage, or for the publick ſecurity of their ſtate, more to be deſired than the hope of ſuch a peace: after that two moſt mightie kings by two ſuch famous captains their embaſſadors, did certifie them of their attonement & aſſured peace, moſt glorious to themſelues, to their eternal praiſe,

whole-

A wholeſome alſo to the Venetian State, beſet with ſo many dangers, and wonderfully to bee wiſhed for of all the other princes of Chriſtendome, if they would ſincerely and religiouſly with their forces by common conſent vnited, reſolue vpon that ſacred war: for then would not the Venetians bee wanting to themſelues or the Chriſtian common-weale, but end the league they had with the Turke, not with a diſhonourable peace, but with armes and victory. Wherefore it was to be requeſted of Almightie God by prayer, That thoſe puiſſant Kings would with religious & happie euent ſpeedily & ſeriouſly fulfil all that hope of peace, which they had by their mutuall diſcourſes and embracings in ſhew promiſed vnto the world.

In few daies after, certain of the ſelect Senators ſitting in counſell, after the manner of that State, called the embaſſadors vnto them, and asked them, Whether they knew any thing of the B articles & capitulations wherein that league and confederation was to be concluded? and by the way, Whether they thought the Emperour in regard of that peace would giue vnto the French kings ſon the Dukedom of Millain, as was reported? Whereunto ***Hanebold*** the French embaſſador anſwering nothing, ***Vaſtius*** ſaid, that he knew nothing more, but that the two great princes had agreed of betwixt themſelues, and that the Emperour had deſired the peace, as one willing to help the afflicted & declining ſtate of the Chriſtian common-weale: which thing any man might ſee could not be effected, or brought to paſſe, but that the Emperor muſt in many things yeeld to the requeſts of the French king, and redeeme his good will: for the noble mind (ſaid he) worthie Senators, can eaſily make light of the greateſt loſſe of his owne C things, when it foreſeeth a large way opened therby to eternall fame and glory. Theſe words were very glorious & gracious to the hearers: but they, as men of great experience, could not let it ſinke in their minds, that the Emperour whom they had often deeply ſounded, would euer part with the Dukedome of Millan, which onely thing the French king required, and had for the recouering therof vnfortunatly ſtriuen almoſt 20 years, to the trouble & diſquiet of a great part of the world. The nobilitie and authoritie of this embaſſage more moued the Senat than did the other former embaſſadors, ***Didaco Mendoza***, a Spaniard, and ***Gulielmus Pellicerius***, a Frenchman, then both preſent; yet was it much ſuſpected by the Venetians, becauſe it contained no certaine reſolution, but only the bare hope of a future peace; ſo that it was by many men ſuppoſed to be but a matter deuiſed to deceiue others, and to ſerue the Emperors D turne to his great profit. Yet all the cunning ſeemed to reſt in this point, That the Venetians led on with the hope of this league, ſhould neglect the renewing of the league they had the yeare before taken with *Solyman*, which was now almoſt expired. Vpon which vncertainty of other mens reſolutions, the graue Senators thought too dangerous a matter to depend.

***Vaſtius** his anſwer to the demand of the Venetian Senatours.*

Vpon this queſtion of this new league and confederation to be made with theſe Chriſtian princes againſt the Turke, the Senat was wonderfully diuided: ſome fauoring the Emperours requeſt, inueighed againſt the renewing of that ſhameful league with the Infidels, which they ſaid was nothing els, but as much as in them lay to betray vnto them the other parts of Chriſtendom, & eſpecially Italie, deſtitute of their help, and yet not to be obtained without great charge; & with many reaſons vrged the honourable confederation with theſe Chriſtian E princes: others of a deeper reach, conſidering what infinit harmes they had from time to time receiued by falling out with the Turks, & ſuſpecting alſo the Emperors drift, and ioining thereunto the conſideration of the great dearth then raigning in the citie, which was not to be relieued but out of Macedonia & Grecia, the Turks countries; the emperor hauing at that time as it were of purpoſe impoſed ſo great a cuſtome vpon all corne to be tranſported out of Sicilie, that the very cuſtome came to as much as both the price of the corne & the fraight together: al which miſchiefs they ſaid were to be preuented by renuing the league with *Solyman*. This matter was with great heat debated in the Senat too & fro, either part hauing great fautours: ſo that the Senatours ſpent almoſt whole Winter nights in the court in diſcourſing and conſulting what were beſt to be don: but whatſoeuer was there ſaid or decreed, was forthwith F by one of the factions or other made known, not only to the embaſſadors preſent in the city, but by letters alſo diſcouered into prouinces far off: a thing neuer before in that ſtate known, which had euer vſed as it were with a religious ſilence to keepe ſecret whatſoeuer was there decreed. Which thing ***Marcus Foſcarus***, an old Senator & a man of great wiſedom, perceiuing, ſaid openly, That the ſtate was betraied by the multitude and corruption of voices, and muſt needs ſhortly periſh, if it were not ſpeedily committed to the graue & faithfull iudgement of

The Venetian Senators diuerſly affected towards the confederation with the Emperour and the French king againſt Solyman.

Foſcarus a graue Senatour.

ſome

Foſcarus diſgraced by the multitude.

ſome few: for there was almoſt two hundred of them which gaue voices, reducing the multitude to the number of fiftie, who for their experience and loue toward their countrey, were holden for men of greateſt grauitie and ſecrecie: ſo was the madneſſe of many ſtaied by the diſcretion of a few. But *Foſcarus* ſhortly after fell into ſuch hatred of the multitude, grieuing to be as light headed men without diſcretion, ſo excluded out of the counſell, that he was by the voices of the multitude firſt thruſt out of the counſell himſelfe, and by them kept a great while after from all the preferments and honours of the citie: being indeed one of the graueſt Senatours, and a man of deepeſt iudgement. Which diſgrace turned afterward to his great honour and credit, as one that had foreſeene much, after they were once found out and condemned which had traiterouſly reuealed the ſecrets of the State.

The Venetians ſent Aloyſius Badoerius their Embaſſadour to Solyman, to conclude a peace.

But this long conſultation concerning the confederation, came to this end, That the Senators doubting the vnion of thoſe two great princes, and yet willing to expect the euent, decreed forthwith to ſend three embaſſadours; whereof two ſhould be ſent to the Emperour and the French king to diſcouer their deſignes, and the third, which was *Aloyſius Badoerius*, a wiſe and well ſpoken man, was with all ſpeed diſpatched away to *Solyman*, to preuent the fame of the diſtruſt to be conceiued of the agreement of theſe great Chriſtian princes, and if he could by any meanes, to ſpare for no coſt, to ſaue vnto the Venetians their cities of Nauplium and Epidaurus, which *Solyman* required of them before hee would graunt them peace. Which if it could not be obtained of the proud and craftie tyrant, then to yeeld vnto neceſſitie, and to conclude a peace with him vpon any conditions: which courſe the Decem-viri thought to be moſt expedient for the State: yet concerning the yeelding vp of the cities, they gaue him ſecret inſtructions and warrant, fearing forſooth the force and tumult of the headſtrong multitude, who if they had knowne any ſuch thing, would vndoubtedly thereupon haue taken occaſion to haue croſſed and ouerthrown that moſt wholeſome decree: for there was no doubt, that if they had delaied the matter, and ſought for peace too late, but that *Solyman* would vpon another mans weakneſſe and neceſſitie haue increaſed his inſatiable deſire, and not granted them peace, being brought low and forſaken, except they would deliuer vnto him the Iſlands of Cephalenia, Zacinthus, & Corcyra, a matter no leſſe grieuous than the deſtruction of the very city of Venice it ſelfe. So that the great embaſſadors *Vaſtius* and *Hanebald*, who came of purpoſe to haue hindred the league with the Turk, by their great diligence wrought nothing more effectually, than that the Venetians the better foreſeeing the danger of their ſtate, ſhould as they did, make haſt to conclude the ſame: for it falleth out in mens purpoſes & actions, That a good and happie ſucceſſe otherwiſe well hoped for, is oftentimes marred with too much diligence and care. Neither was it any doubt, but that *Hanebald* was ſent by the French King but for faſhion ſake, and ſecretly vnderhand by *Pellicerius* the old embaſſadour, perſuaded the Venetians to haſten the concluſion of peace with *Solyman*. Which as *Badoerius* their embaſſador was carefully ſoliciting the matter at Conſtantinople, & being loth to yeeld the ſtrong cities which *Solyman* required, offering vnto him in ſtead of them a great ſum of mony: *Solyman* took him vp with threatning words as a ſhameleſſe diſſembler, earneſtly proteſting, That he would neuer grant him peace, without the yeelding of thoſe cities, rehearſing vnto him the moſt ſecreteſt points of his embaſſage, and how that he was authoriſed from the Decem-viri to yeeld them vnto him: which thing the embaſſadour little thought *Solyman* had knowne. Wherefore *Badoerius* ſo ſhamefully reproued, & ſtanding in doubt of his life, ſeeing the greateſt ſecrets of his embaſſage reuealed to *Solyman* and his Baſſaes, was glad to accept of peace, by yeelding vnto him Nauplium and Epidaurus, two cities in Peloponeſus, and with them Nadinum and Labrania, two caſtles of Dalmatia, to the great griefe of the whole Senate: for granting whereof the common people ignorant of the ſecret decree of the Decem-viri, and ſuppoſing that *Badoerius* had giuen away that which he had no authoritie to giue, were ſo inraged againſt him at his returne, that there was much adoe to ſaue the guiltleſſe man from exile, and his goods from confiſcation, although the traitors were then knowne which had diſcouered the ſecrets of the ſtate vnto the Turkes. Theſe were *Mapheus Leonius* a Senatour, and *Conſtantinus Cobatius*, Secretarie to the colledge of the Decem-viri, and *Franciſcus Valerius*, one of the Senatours baſe ſonnes, the traiterous diſperſer of the Turks money for the corruption of others: who with other his complices were for the ſame fact hanged in the market place, when as *Leonius* and *Cobatius* were a little before fled into France.

The moſt ſecret decree of the Venetian Senat made knowne to Solyman.

1540

A peace concluded betwixt the Venetians and Solyman.

The traitours which reuealed the ſecrets of the Venetian ſtate to Solyman executed.

A About the ſame time, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1540, died *Ioannes Sepuſius* king of Hungarie, *Solymans* tributarie, after whoſe death enſued great wars in Hungarie, and the lamentable ſubuerſion of that flouriſhing kingdome: for the better conceiuing whereof, it ſhal not be amiſſe with as much breuitie as the plainneſſe of the hiſtorie will permit, to open the cauſes and grounds of the endleſſe calamities which afterwards enſued, and neuer tooke end, vntill that warlike kingdome was to the great weakning of Chriſtendome vtterly ſubuerted.

King *Ferdinand* and this tributarie king *Iohn*, had with like deſire of peace and quietneſſe, made betweene them a league, profitable to them both as their eſtates then ſtood, rather than honorable: yet moſt welcome to the Hungarians, who diuided into factions, and hauing followed ſome the one king and ſome the other, enioyed neuertheleſſe their lands and goods by B the benefit of this peace, the townes and caſtles being ſtill kept by them in whoſe poſſeſſion they then were at the making of the peace. In the capitulations of which peace, it was comprized, That *Ferdinand* ſhould from thenceforth call *Iohn* by the name of a king, whereas before he had both in his common talke and letters called him by the name of the Vayuod only: It was alſo expreſly ſet downe in the ſame articles of peace, and ſubſcribed by the hands of diuers of the nobility of Hungary, That if king *Iohn* ſhould die, king *Ferdinand* ſhould ſucceed him in the whole kingdome of Hungarie: Which condition was ſuppreſſed and kept very ſecret for feare of *Solyman*, who accounted of that kingdom as of his owne, gotten by law of armes, and beſtowed vpon king *Iohn* as vpon his vaſſaile: neither was it to haue bin thought, C that if he ſhould haue knowne thereof (being of a hauty mind by nature, and not able to indure any iniurie) he would haue ſuffered that kingdome, got and defended with ſo great danger and coſt, to be by the Will of an vnthankfull man, transferred vnto his enemie.

The ſecret confederation betwixt king Ferdinand & king Iohn reuealed.

This matter of ſo great importance, was (as it is reported) by *Hieronimus Laſcus* embaſſador for king *Ferdinand* to Conſtantinople, reuealed vnto *Solyman* and the Baſſaes, to bring King *Iohn* into hatred. So much did this noble gentleman, for his rare vertues otherwiſe greatly to haue bin commended, yeeld vnto his griefe, and deſire of reuenge: when after the death of *Aloyſius Grittus*, he fell from the friendſhip of king *Iohn*, being (as is before declared) by him committed to priſon, and hardly afterwards inlarged, at the requeſt of king *Sigiſmund*. Whervpon *Solyman* being exceedingly angry with king *Iohn*, called him vnthankfull churle, and turning himſelfe about to *Lutzis Baſſa* his brother in law, ſaid, How vnworthily doe D theſe two Chriſtian kings weare their crownes vpon their faithleſſe heads, who as ſhamefull deceiuers are not afraid, either for worldly ſhame or feare of God, for their profit to falſifie their faith? But king *Iohn* vnderſtanding therof, & wonderfully fearing his own eſtate, did by good friends and rich Preſents, pacifie *Solyman* againe, laying all the blame vpon king *Ferdinand*, as better able to beare it. Nor long after, king *Iohn* hauing ſet his kingdome in good order, and ſtrongly fortified the citie of Buda, being now far ſtricken in yeares, at the earneſt requeſt of moſt of the nobilitie of Hungarie, & other his beſt friends, married *Iſabella* the daughter of *Sigiſmund* king of Polonia, a gracious ladie and of great ſpirit: which king *Sigiſmund*, had long before married *Barbara* king *Iohns* ſiſter, after whoſe death he maried the lady *Bona Sfortia*, the daugh- E ter of *Ioannes Galeacius* duke of Millain, by whom he had this ladie *Iſabella* whom king *Iohn* now married. Which marriage *Solyman* liked well of, hauing many times by way of talke before condemned the ſingle life of the king: but king *Ferdinand* liked thereof nothing at all, plainly foreſeeing, that the Hungarians (if the king ſhould chance to haue a ſon) would forthwith looke vpon him as their naturall king, and reiect himſelfe as but a ſtranger.

King Iohn in his old yeares marrieth Iſabella king Sigiſmunds daughter.

The Queene with child.

This yong queene in ſhort time (as he had feared) conceiued with child, and was now very big when king *Iohn* was inforced to make an expedition in perſon himſelfe againſt *Maylat* (famous for the death of *Aloyſius Grittus*) and *Balas* both Gouernors of Tranſyluania: whereof *Maylat* not contented with the name of Vayuod or Gouernor, ſought to make himſelfe king. But *Solyman* deteſting the impudent arrogancie of the faithleſſe man, and hating him for the F death of *Grittus*, and the Turks ſlaine with him, aduertiſed king *Iohn* of all the matter, wiſhing him to be more circumſpect, whom hee truſted with the gouernment of ſo great and rich a countrey. So *Maylat* ſhamefully reiected of *Solyman*, and out of hope of a kingdome, fearing alſo to be thruſt quite out of his gouernment by king *Iohn*, thought it beſt for his owne ſafetie to raiſe vp all the prouince into rebellion, and to take part with king *Ferdinand*: which thing *Ferdinand* by his diuers agents ſecretly furthered to the vttermoſt. For theſe two Kings, although

though they were at peace the one with the other, and in words and ſhew made ſemblance of friendſhip, yet in heart they enuied and hated each other, as if they ſhould preſently haue waged war. At that ſame time king *Iohn* exacted of his ſubiects, and eſpecially of them of Tranſiluania, a great ſum of money, to pay the Turks his tribute, then two yeares behind: Which thing ſerued *Maylat* and his complices, as a fit occaſion to raiſe the people into rebellion, perſuading them, that there was no reaſon to pay vnto the Turke ſuch a tribute, as would ſerue wel to wage ten years honorable war againſt him: ſo that by that, and ſuch like perſuaſion, all the prouince was in an vprore, little differing from manifeſt rebellion. To appeaſe theſe dangerous troubles thus ariſing, king *Iohn* ſent certaine of his chiefe nobilitie and beſt captaines with a great power into Tranſyluania, following after himſelfe in his chariot, not yet well recouered of his late ſickneſſe. Theſe noblemen entering in two places into Tranſyluania, and ſcouting vp and downe the countrey, had in ſhort time ſo vſed the matter, that what by force, what by policie, the tumult was well pacified, and diuers of the chiefe offenders worthily executed. *Maylat* the ambitious author of this ſedition, not able to hold the field againſt the king, and ſeeing himſelfe beſet on euery ſide with his enemies, retired himſelfe with all his wealth into a towne called Fogaras, a place of great ſtrength, which the kings power ſhortly after hardly beſieged: the king himſelfe then lying at Sibynium, the chiefe citie of Tranſyluania, about a mile diſtant from Fogaras, ſicke of an ague, wherinto he was againe fallen through too much care and pains taken in trauelling in that hoat time of the yeare, the daies being then at the longeſt. Whileſt he thus lay ſicke at Sibynium, and his army faſt by at the ſiege of Fogaras, newes was brought vnto him from the court, That the Queene his wife was deliuered of a faire yong ſon: which was no ſooner bruted abroad, but the Hungarians as men ouerioyed, came flocking to the court where the king lay, diſcharging their pieces in triumph, with all other ſignes of ioy and mirth they could poſſibly deuiſe: the noble men came from the camp to reioice with the king, and all the armie was filled with gladneſſe. And for the greater ſolemnitie of this ſo common a ioy, a royall feaſt was prepared, which the noble men would needs haue the king to honour with his preſence, though he were thereto vnwilling, being as yet but a little recouered: howbeit yeelding to their importunitie, he ſuffered himſelfe to be ouerruled and brought to the feaſt by them, which was vnto him the merrieſt and the laſt that euer he made: for willing to ſhew his inward ioy, and to content his nobilitie there preſent, he forgot himſelfe, and eat and dranke more liberally than was for the health of his weak bodie: whereby the feauer which had but a little before left him, was againe renewed, in ſuch ſort, as that he well perceiued he could not long endure. Wherefore feeling his end to draw faſt on, he made his Will, appointing his yong ſon to be his heire, whom he committed to the tuition of *George*, Biſhop of Veradium, and *Peter Vicche* a noble gentleman and his neere kinſman, vntill he came to age: requeſting the reſt of the noblemen to prefer his ſon in the ſucceſſion of the kingdom, before a ſtranger; telling them, That *Solyman* would vndoubtedly take vpon him the protection both of the kingdome and of his ſonne, if they would in time ſend embaſſadors vnto him with preſents, and promiſe for his ſonne, that he ſhould raigne as his tributarie as he had done before: and ſo preſently after died.

Queene Iſabella deliuered of a ſonne.

The death of king Iohn.

This king was of a courteous and gentle nature, bountifull, and in all his doings iuſt, of no fierce and rough diſpoſition, as the Hungarians commonly are, but of a moſt ciuill behauiour, garniſhed with good letters, and thorowly ſchooled in the diuers chances of both fortunes, not meaſuring his actions by the ſtrength of his power, but by the exact rule of deſcretion; for in time of buſineſſe no man was more circumſpect or vigilant than he, nor in time of recreation any man more courteous or pleaſant. He vſed oftentimes to ſay, That the fauor and loue of valiant men gotten by bountie and courteſie, was the beſt treaſures of a prince; for that courteous and thankfull men, did oftentimes in ſome one worthie piece of ſeruice, plentifully repay whatſoeuer had been beſtowed vpon them: as for ſuch as were vnthankfull, they did to their ſhame beare the teſtimonie of another mans vertue.

The honourable ſaying of king Iohn.

The kings death was kept ſecret vntill ſuch time as the noble men had agreed with *Maylat* that he ſhould take an oath of his faithfull allegeance to the king, and his ſon his lawfull heire, and ſo ſtill to inioy his former place & gouernment: which offer *Maylat* gladly accepted. Then calling together the counſel, it was decreed to ſend the ſame embaſſage to *Solyman*, which was appointed the old king yet liuing. So were preſently diſpatched away two moſt honourable

Embaſſadours ſent out of Hungarie to Solyman.

A ble Embaſſadours, *Ioannes Exechius* Biſhop of Quinque Eccleſiæ, and *Stephanus Verbetius* the
Chancelor, a man of great yeres, carrying with them ten boles of pure gold curiouſly wrote,
600 of ſiluer, gilt and ingrauen, fortie pieces of purple ſilke and cloath of gold for Turkes
gowns, and 50 li. of coyned gold to be paid in the name of two yeres tribute. Which Embaſſadors
paſſing directly from Sybinium ouer Danubius into Seruia, and ſo trauelling thorow
Thracia, came to Conſtantinople. In the mean time, the dead body of the king was with much
heauineſſe carried from Sybinium to Alba Regalis, moſt part of the armie following it, and
there with great ſolemnitie buried. After this, the young child was chriſtened and called *Stephen*,
and there preſently crowned with the antient Crowne of King *Stephen*, who firſt erected
that kingdome, & without which the Hungarians neuer accounted their kings lawfully crowned.
B Yet the royal dignitie was by the common conſent of the nobilitie giuen vnto the queen,
with condition, that in all publique writings, the names of the ſonne and of the mother ſhould
be ioyned, and the kings mony coyned with the ſame inſcription: but the chiefeſt authoritie
reſted in *George* the Biſhop; for he was Treaſurer, and had at his command the caſtles & ſtrong
Holds: yet were the ſoldiers with their enſignes and furniture, at the deuotion of *Valentinus*
Thuracus: In the middle betweene theſe two was placed *Peter Vicche* the kings kinſeman, and
by the old king appointed for one of the Tutors of his young ſonne, ſuſpected of neither part,
honoured with the name of high Conſtable. But becauſe the name of this *George* the Biſhop
was moſt famous in this wofull war which we are about to write, I thought it worth the labor
to ſpeake ſomething of his nature and diſpoſition, that it may be knowne to all poſteritie, by
C what policie this war was managed, and how this flouriſhing kingdome by the madnes of the
Hungarians came into the hands of the Turks.

A young childe crowned King of Hungarie.

George biſhop of Veradium, one of the kings Tutors, a notable man.

This *George* was born in Croatia, and brought vp from his youth in the houſe of king *Iohn*,
where vertue and induſtrie neuer wanted reliefe; when as hee vnaduiſedly before had entred
into the orders of a monaſticall life, and wearie too late of the ſtraitneſſe thereof, had forſaken
his profeſſion. Wherfore being of a very pleaſing nature, and ſtil following K. *Iohn* driuen out
of his kingdome, and long liuing in exile, he woon ſuch credit and commendation for his fidelitie,
integritie, and readie counſel in the kings moſt doubtfull and dangerous affairs, that after
Sibacchus that worthie Biſhop was by the treacherie of *Aloyſius Grittius* ſlain at Baxouia, he obtained
the great Biſhopricke of Veradium. After that, when he had ſtrengthned his credit
D with great wealth, he always as a faithfull counſellor ſwayd and happily ruled both the court
and kingdome, to the profit of the king. But he was of ſuch a diuers and pliant nature, that performing
in all actions all the parts of a moſt readie and excellent man, he ſeemed to be made
of contrarie qualities, and borne to do any thing: for in ſaying of his princely ſeruice, and performing
the other ceremonies of the Chriſtian religion, he ſhewed, or at leaſtwiſe counterfeited
ſuch a contrition in his deuout countenance & ſpeech, that a man would not haue thought
it could poſſibly be the ſame man, who in the moſt weightie affairs both of war and peace, did
moſt ſtoutly ſhew the wonderfull force of a moſt pregnant and couragious wit: for he vſed to
keepe whole companies of moſt excellent and readie horſmen, & would ofttimes come forth
into the battel armed: he would with often banquets & rewards win the hearts of the ſoldiers,
E and after the manner of great chieftains, maintain the honor and credit of his name, both with
puniſhment and reward, as occaſion required. Beſides that, no man looked into the wealth of
the kingdome more diligently than he, no man did to more profit let to farme the cuſtomes,
old mines, feedings, and ſalt pits; no man could deuiſe finer means to raiſe mony, of all others
the readieſt way to credit: inſomuch that K. *Iohn* would confeſſe himſelfe to rain by the eſpeciall
induſtrie of that one man: And K. *Ferdinand* would many times ſay, That he enuied at
K. *Iohn* for nothing he had, but for one hooded fellow, which was better for the defence of a
kingdome than 1000 with helmets on their heads. Wherefore this Biſhop hauing taken vpon
him the tuition of the yong king, was ſtill buſied in all the weightie cauſes of the kingdome,
both ciuil and martiall: he labored with great care, that the Hungarians ſhould agree together
F in loue and vnity; and did what he might, prouidently to foreſee, that no tumult or rebellion
ſhould any where ariſe, wherby the beginning of the kingdom, yet but weake, might any way
be troubled. But king *Ferdinand* hearing of the death of king *Iohn*, thought it now a fit time for
him to recouer again the kingdome of Hungarie, which he had ſo long deſired. Wherunto he
was alſo the more prickt forward by the perſuaſion of *Alexius Torſo*, *Ferentius Gharus*, *Petrus*

The fugitiue Hungarians perſuade king Ferdinand to inuade Hungarie.

Bachis, *Balthazar Pamphilus*, *Francus Capolnates*, *Ianus Caſtellamphus*, and *Caſparus Seredus*, all noblemen or gentlemen of great account in Hungarie, who in the former troubles followed the part of King *Ferdinand* againſt King *Iohn*, liued now in exile; theſe all with one conſent told King *Ferdinand*, That now or neuer was the time when they might be againe reſtored vnto their countrey with honour, and that the war might that Autumne be diſpatched, if he would make haſt, for as much as Winter comming faſt on, would ſtay the comming of the Turkes, and ſuch noblemen of Hungarie as tooke part with the Queene, did not verie well agree together, being vnwilling to be commanded by *George* the Apoſtata Monke, who (as they ſayd) with great cunning and diſſimulation ſeducing the Queene, and poſſeſſing the Treaſure, enioyed all alone the power of a king: and that they, which for taking part with the right, had long liued as baniſhed men, might now ſafely returne into their countrey, and be honourably preferred by the Queene; the Biſhop (which all commanded) aſſuring them thereof, if they would returne vnto the young Kings Court, vnto their friends and antient Houſes. But they had (as they ſaid) before giuen their faith vnto him, as to a vertuous & faithfull Prince, whom they had preferred before one that was an Hungarian borne: wherefore he ſhould doe both vnaduiſedly and vnkindely, if letting ſlip the occaſion preſented, he ſhould deferre to make warre. For, what could be more diſhonorable to him ſo great a King, and alſo Emperor elect, than by ſhamefull delay to forſake them, being noble and valiant gentlemen, which had followed his part, and were then readie with ſtrong troups of horſmen to do him the beſt ſeruice they could. G H I

The German captaines in like manner perſuaded him to take the matter in hand: who as martiall men, expecting ſome one preferment, ſome another, in the armie, were deſirous of honour, pay, and prey, the chiefe comforts of their trauell and perill.

Laſchus diſſuadeth K. Ferdinand from ſeeking for the Kingdome of Hungarie by force, perſuading him rather to requeſt it of curteſie, of Solyman.

But *Laſchus* the Polonian (who in matters concerning peace and warre ſaw more than all they; as he that knew the diſpoſitions of many Princes, and had ſeene the manners and faſhions of diuers Nations, hauing trauelled thorow a great part of the world, and oftentimes beene Embaſſadour in the Courts of the greateſt Princes) was of a contrarie opinion, and told King *Ferdinand* plainley, That the Kingdome of Hungarie was to be obtained rather by policie than by force, by crauing it at *Solymans* hand, to hold it of him by tribute, as king *Iohn* had done. K

For (ſaid he) *that may by petition and faire entreatance be eaſily obtained of that heroicall Prince (who in his vaine humor oftentimes fondly ſeeketh after honour) which will neuer be got from him by force of armes. I thorowly know* (ſaid he) Solymans *haughtie minde, and the proud diſpoſition of his Baſſa's: he contemneth wealth, and is cloyed with ſo many kingdomes: but they, vpon their inſatiable couetouſneſſe and exceeding pride, deſire nothing, nor perſuade him to nothing more than war. Wherefore it is good to beware, that with the noyſe of this ſudden war you ſtir not vp the Turkes, which lie readie as it were expecting ſuch an occaſion, which cannot be withſtood but by the united forces of the Chriſtian Princes; which might by their generall conſent be done, but that their eyes blinded with fatall darkneſſe cannot ſee it, and the vnity of the Chriſtians now deſperat, ſeemeth by God reſerued to ſome better time: ſeeing that of late the Chriſtian Kings are fallen off, and cannot agree vpon the long expected peace. Is not* (ſaid he) *the French King deceiued of his hope; and as he would haue it thought, greatly diſhonored with this late vnkindeneſſe? which renewing his old wound, will reuiue in him an endleſſe hatred. Away with all diſſimulations, enemie to graue counſels, and let plaine truth, although vnpleaſant vnto Princes eares, preuent flatterie. Vndoubtedly he being a Prince of no baſe courage (as it oftentimes falleth out with men thorowly grieued) will in his anger, as an enemie poure forth his gold, whereof he hath great ſtore, to croſſe the Emperours deſignes, to trouble the aſſemblies of the States of Germanie, to withdraw the mindes of the Princes, and with bountie to gaine them to himſelfe: who enuying mightily at the Imperiall dignitie, woont to be indifferently giuen to them that beſt deſerued the ſame, to be as it were inueſted in the Houſe of Auſtria, which in this perpetuall ſucceſſion of ſo many Emperours, hath as it were got a right by long cuſtome. Wherefore they will ſecretly conſpire together, and as notable lingerers by nature, will either giue no helpe at all, or elſe too late; at ſuch time as the Turks garriſons ſhall come flying to the ſuccor of the yong king. Neither is there any cauſe why any man ſhould thinke that the gouernors of the Turks countries neere at hand, will for the approch of Winter be ſlacke in this cauſe: for they vndoubtedly, making an honeſt & honorable ſhew, wil take vpon them to defend the fatherleſſe child and* L M

widow;

A *widow; of purpoſe to make an entrance to the ſecret deſire they haue to gaine the kingdom to themſelues: for if you ſhall once ioyne with them in battell, if the beſt happen, and fortune fauour our firſt attempts, truly you ſhall haue war without end, with ſuch an enemie, which will bring with him wealth that will neuer be ſpent, power not to be ouercome, and couragious ſoldiers ſworne to our deſtruction: So will it come to paſſe, and I pray God I be a falſe Prophet, that in ſeeking for the kingdome of Hungarie by warre, you ſhall at length be glad to fight for Auſtria it ſelfe, and your owne kingdome alſo.*

This ſpeech ſo moued king *Ferdinand*, that although he purpoſed to go on with the warre, yet he thought it good by an honorable embaſſage to proue *Solymans* mind and purpoſe alſo: which to do, no man was thought fitter than *Laſchus* himſelfe, authour of that counſell, being B vnto him verie well knowne, and familiarly acquainted with all the great Baſſa's of the court. Which ſeruice *Laſchus* refuſed not, but being furniſhed with all things needfull for ſuch an embaſſage, departed from Vienna towards Conſtantinople.

Laſchus ſent embaſſador from K. Ferdinand to Solyman.

Yet for all that, King *Ferdinand* perſiſting in his former purpoſe, made withall preparation for wars, truſting vpon the aid of the Emperor his brother, and the comming ouer of the Hungarians, who euer thought it cauſe honeſt enough for them to reuolt, if it ſo ſtood with their preſent profit. But before he would enter into open wars, he ſent *Nicholas* Countie of Salma to the queen, to ſhew her the inſtruments of the laſt league betwixt the king her late husband and him, & to exhort her to yeeld vp the kingdom, which by the late league was another mans C right; and not by delaying of the matter, to hurt both her ſelfe and her ſon: for K. *Ferdinand* offered to giue vnto the childe the prouince of Sepuſia, as was before agreed betwixt the two kings expreſly in the league; and to the queen a greater reuenue, and whatſoeuer elſe ſhe had in dowrie. But if ſhe would forget that lawfull league, he threatned, that neither the Emperor *Charles* his brother, nor he, wanted force wherewith to recouer by ſtrong hand the kingdom, annexed to the houſe of Auſtria both by antient right & the new conſent of moſt of the Hungarian nobilitie. The countie of Salma being receiued at Buda, hardly obtained to be admitted to the preſence of the queen: for *George* the Biſhop, and *Vicche*, miſtruſting her womanlike courage, ſaid, ſhe was not to be ſpoken withall, by reaſon ſhe was ſo full of heauineſſe and ſorrow; and that they were of authoritie, as the kings tutors, & readie to giue him both audience D and anſwer. Which opinion of her weakneſſe and want of iudgement, the queen, being a woman of an heroicall and royall ſpirit, tooke as tending ſo much to her diſgrace, that ſhe ſaid ſhe would kill her ſelfe, if the embaſſadors were not permitted to come into her chamber (which was a darke roome hanged with black, as the manner is:) and ſhe ſitting vpon a low pallet negligently attyred, as one that had no care of her ſelfe, wan and pale coloured, but as then ſhedding no teares, yet with voice and countenance ſo heauie, as might ſhew her teares to be rather dried vp with long mourning, than that her ſorrow was any thing abated: for the deſire of bearing rule had now ſo poſſeſſed her minde, that ſhe contemned all the dangers of imminent war, and for defence of her ſoueraigntie reſolued with her ſelfe to call in the Turks. After the countie admitted to her preſence, had with due reuerence and great proteſtation deliuered his E meſſage, ſhe demurely anſwered, That ſuch was the fortune of her ſex and yeares, that being bereft of the king her husband, and perplexed with the dayly griefs both of bodie and minde, ſhe could neither take nor giue counſell, but purpoſed in ſo weightie a cauſe to vſe the aduice of *Sigiſmund* her father, whoſe integritie and iuſtice was ſuch, as king *Ferdinand* need no other iudge or arbitrator to end that controuerſie. Wherefore ſhe requeſted a conuenient time and ſpace wherein ſhe might aske counſell of her father; to whoſe iuſt iudgement ſhee ſaid ſhee would ſtand, as ſhe thought the nobilitie of Hungarie would alſo. Which ſmall time of delay if it ſhould be denied, and that they would needs forthwith make war vpon her, ſhe ſaid, that the Emperor and king *Ferdinand* his brother ſhould ſurely win no great honour, if they ſhould ſo cruelly oppugne her a widow conſumed with teares, and a young child yet crying in his cra- F dle. The Countie ſo ſent away, when hee was returned to king *Ferdinand*, told him, That the queen was altogether in the power of the Biſhop, and could neither ſay nor doe any thing, but what ſhe had before receiued from him: for he onely (as he ſaid) commanded all; as for the reſt of the nobilitie, they ſhared amongſt them the honors and preferments of the realme, and as men deſirous of credit and gaine, had rather bee the gouernours of the young Prince, than the ſeruants and miniſters of a great and mightie forreine king: all which, he ſaid he had both

K. Ferdinand ſendeth an Embaſſador to the Queene, to demand of her the Kingdome of Hungarie.

The Queens anſwer to the embaſſador.

heard and ſeen. Wherefore all the hope was in war, wherein ſuch ſpeed was to be vſed, as that the Queen with her ſonne vnprouided, and expecting the euent of their embaſſage from Conſtantinople, might be driuen out of Buda before they could take vp arms, or well aduiſe themſelues what to do: and that the Queene ſought delay but to make her ſelfe the ſtronger, and in the meane time to call in the Turke, and ſo to make a more dangerous war. Wherefore if euer he purpoſed to raigne in Hungarie, he ſhould forthwith caſt off all other cogitations, and make readie his forces with all ſpeed poſſible.

King Ferdinand inuadeth Hungarie.

Hereupon K. *Ferdinand* furniſhed with mony from *Charles* the Emperor, without delay raiſed a great armie, which he ſent downe the riuer Danubius to Strigoninm, which city had all the raign of king *Iohn*, continued faithfull to king *Ferdinand*. The Generall of his armie was *Leonardus Velſius* a nobleman of Rhetia: who for many cauſes, thought it expedient firſt to open the way to Buda, for almoſt in the middle of the way ſtood Vicegrade, with a goodly Caſtle vpon the top of an hill by the riuer; which towne (but not the caſtle) *Velſius* after nine dayes ſiege tooke, with the loſſe of about 200 of his men, all the garriſon ſouldiers therein being either ſlain or taken priſoners, with *Valentinus Litteratus* their captaine. From Vicegrade he paſſed ouer the riuer Danubius to Peſth, which he took, being forſaken of the enemie. Whith like ſucceſſe he tooke the citie of Vacia without loſſe: and remouing thence, and croſſing again the riuer with his fleet, came and incamped before Buda, ſo to terrifie the citiſens, and to diſcouer as far as he could the purpoſe of the queen. Where *Perenus*, *Stephanus Raſcaius*, and *Franciſcus Francepanes* biſhop of Agria, all men of great nobilitie amongſt the Hungarians, reuolted from the queene to king *Ferdinand*: the Biſhop was reputed for a man of great integritie, and vpon meere conſcience to haue gon ouer to *Ferdinand*; yet was he by letters from *George* the kings tutor, challenged to haue reuolted, in hope by means of *Charles* the Emperor to be made a cardinall. *Velſius* lay with his armie at the hot baths, about a mile and a halfe from the citie, as if he would rather beſiege it than aſſault it. The Germans lying there, did fetch in bootie round about the country; which was taken in euill part by the Hungarians on their ſide, who ſeeing their own cattell or their friends driuen away, the villages burnt, and the poore husbandmen bound & taken priſoners, fel together by the ears oftentimes with the Germans. On the other ſide they of Buda ſending out their troups of horſmen, skirmiſht with the Germans if they did but ſtir out of the campe, and well defended the villages from the iniurie of the enemie: for *Valentinus Thurracens* Generall of the queens power, had taken into the citie a wonderful number of light horſemen. Whileſt the armie lay thus incamped, it fortuned that *Balthazar Pamphilus* a noble Hungarian, ſtraying out of the campe euen vnto the gates of Buda, deſired the warders at the gate to giue him leaue to talke with *Valentinus* their Generall, for that he deſired to ſee his old friend, and to conferre with him of certaine matters concerning the good of the common ſtate. Which thing being granted by the Generall, he was immediatly receiued into the citie with his troupe of horſemen. Shortly after returning again into the campe, he reported how he had beene entertained by his old acquaintance in the citie: where viewing the garriſon, the great artillerie, and fortification of the citie, he perceiued it was not to be taken without a greater power, and in a more ſeaſonable time of the yeare. Which thing ſo mooued *Velſius*, by nature ſuſpitious, and doubtfull of the fidelitie of a ſtranger, that he commanded him in anger to void the campe, becauſe he had without his leaue gone into the city, and vpon his own priuat inſolencie had conference with the enemie, and by amplifying their ſtrength, to haue diſcouraged the armie, by putting them out of hope of victorie. Wherefore *Velſius* neuer attempting to aſſault the citie, returned again to Vicegrade to beſiege the higher caſtle (wherein the antient crowne of king *Stephen*, wherewith the Hungarian kings were euer after him crowned, was kept) which caſtle he alſo took, with ſomething leſſe loſſe than he had done the lower towne. Not long after, he marched with his armie to Alba Regalis, the citie where the Hungarian Kings were vſually crowned and buried; which by the meanes of *Perenus* was deliuered vnto him, and a garriſon put into it for king *Ferdinand*. Theſe things thus done, *Velſius* retyred again to Strigonium; which hee did the rather, becauſe the Germanes and Hungarians, two rough Nations, could by no meanes agree together, in ſo much as that *Velſius* the Generall in parting them was wounded in the thigh, and *Perenus* hurt with a ſtone: beſides that, Winter was now come farre on, and the Souldiours cried out for pay. For which cauſes, *Velſius* (being alſo ſicke of the Stone) billeted his Souldiours for that Winter

Vicegrade taken.

Peſth and Vacia taken.

Buda beſieged.

K. Ferdinands armie departs from Buda.

Alba Regalis yeelded to king Ferdinand.

about

1541

A about the countrey. Yet before that, he new fortified Peſth, and left therein a garriſon; be-
cauſe it was reported, that the Turkes vpon their frontiers were making preparation to come
to aid them of Buda.

At ſuch time as king *Ferdinand* was leuying his forces for the inuaſion of Hungarie, the
queene by the counſell of the biſhop had in good time craued aid of the Turks lieutenants in
the countries bordering vpon Hungarie, eſpecially of *Vſtref* gouernor of Boſna (a verie aged
man, and of great honor, who had married one of the daughters of *Baiazet* the old Emperour)
as alſo of *Mahometes* gouernour of Belgrade, and *Amurathes* who had the charge of the fron-
tiers of Dalmatia; from whom ſhe receiued one anſwer, That they might in no caſe without
expreſſe commandement from *Solyman* depart from the places committed to their charge.
B Beſides that, *Mahometes* was by rewards ouercome by *Laſcus*, as he paſſed by Belgrade to Con-
ſtantinople, not to ſtir or aid the Queene. Wherefore ſhe, reiected by theſe great captains, cer-
tified *Solyman* by her Embaſſadours, what danger her ſelfe, her ſonne, and the kingdome was
in, crauing his ſpeedie aid. *Laſchus* was not yet come to Conſtantinople, being falne ſicke by
the way, but had ſent before, *Ptolomeus* his Phyſitian to the great Baſſa's, and eſpecially to *Lut-
zis* his old acquaintance, vpon whom he had beſtowed great gifts, and was in hope by him to
haue obtained what he deſired: but all in vain; for *Solyman* who thought it much for his ho-
nour to defend his owne right, and that he had before giuen vnto king *Iohn*; thought alſo that
it would redound both to his great profit and glorie, if he ſhould as it were vpon charity take
C vpon him the protection of the widow and fatherleſſe childe, in their ſo great diſtreſſe & dan-
ger. Wherfore calling vnto him the Embaſſadors, the three great Baſſa's ſtanding by, he ſaid,
That he had of his meere bountie before giuen the kingdome of Hungarie vnto King *Iohn*,
to diſcend to his poſteritie, ſo long as they ſhould retaine the kinde remembrance of ſo great
a benefit; wherefore to declare his conſtancie, inſeperable from his bountie, he ſaid he would
take ſuch a courſe in the matter, as that the Germans his enemies ſhould not long reioyce of
the wars they had begun. And in token of friendſhip, and that he had taken vpon him the pro-
tection of the yong King, he cauſed to be deliuered vnto the Embaſſadours a royall robe of
purple and gold, a buckler with the boſſe moſt curiouſly wrought, a horſemans Mace with a
handle of gold, and a ſcimiter with the ſcabberd richly ſet with ſtones; and afterwards wrot
D effectuall to *Vſtref* and *Mahometes* his lieutenants, That they ſhould without delay aid the
queen, and not to make excuſe becauſe it was Winter; threatning them, that if ſhee tooke any
harme through their default and negligence, it ſhould coſt them their heads. The queens em-
baſſadors glad of their good diſpatch, were ſcarce departed from the Turks court, when *Laſ-
cus* came to Conſtantinople; and vnderſtanding by his phyſition the ſucceſſe of the Hungari-
an Embaſſadors, proceeded for all that in his buſineſſe, and deliuered his meſſage, and vpon
reaſonable conditions requeſted the kingdome for King *Ferdinand*. But when he in ſpeaking
had oftentimes made mention of *Charles* the Emperour, as if he would with all the power of
Germanie aid his brother; *Solyman* was ſo mooued therewith, that hee was preſently taken
away and committed to priſon: the great Baſſa's, but eſpecially *Ruſtan*, *Solymans* ſon in law, a
E proud and furious young man, chiding him and ſhaking him vp as worthie of death, for offen-
ding with his liberall ſpeech the maieſtie of ſo curteous a Prince, and as it were mocking the
king of kings; requiring friendſhip, when in the mean time his maſter moſt impudently made
wars in Hungarie.

The Queen craueth aid of Solyman against Ferdinand.

Solyman promiſeth to protect the Queene and her ſon, againſt Ferdinand, and ſends preſents to the yong king.

Laſchus K. Ferdinand his Embaſſador impriſoned by Solyman.

Vſtref and *Mahometes* the Baſſa's aforeſaid, hauing receiued ſuch ſtrait commandment from
Solyman, aſſembled their diſperſed ſouldiers, and by ſhipping brought them down the riuers
Sauus and Dranus, into Danubius: for it is a hard matter to performe any great thing by wars
in Hungarie without the helpe of a great fleet, for conueying of the great ordnance, victuall,
and other ſuch neceſſaries of the armie, from one ſide of the great riuers to the other, as oc-
caſion requireth: but as then being the midſt of Winter, and the North wind blowing hard,
F Danubius was ſo frozen on both ſides, that the middle of the riuer was ſcarce open: ſo that
the Turks not able to paſſe for the extremitie of the weather, not daring to return for the ſtrait
command of *Solyman*, were inforced in their tents there to abide the hardneſſe of Winter, to
ſhew their readineſſe. It is almoſt incredible to be ſpoken, with what patience and reſolution
the ſouldiers endured all the extremities of the time, in ſo bare a place, their horſes, which of
all other things they hold moſt deere, ſtaruing for cold and want of meat.

The Queen ioyneth her Forces with the Turks, and burneth Vacia.

Peſth in vaine beſieged by the Turks.

The Spring at length comming on, right welcome both to the Turks and the Queen; *Mahometes* with his Turks and wilde Illyrians, and *Vſtref* with his ſouldiers of Boſna, entred into Hungarie, with whom *Valentinus* Generall of the Queenes forces, ioyned alſo, with an army of Hungarians brought from Buda. And the Queene to further the matter, ſent Preſents to the Turks Generals, victualled the campe, and furniſhed them with great ordnance for the beſieging of ſuch cities as were holden by King *Ferdinand* her enemie. They paſſing ouer Danubius, tooke the citie of Vacia (being but badly defended for king *Ferdinand)* and putting many to the ſword, after the manner of their barbarous crueltie, burnt the citie. From thence they remoued to Peſth, which was ſo valiantly defended by *Barcocius* and *Fotiſcus*, the one a Hungarian captain, the other a German, that the Turks diſpairing of the winning of the citie, and not well relieued with victuall by the Queene then, fearing future want, paſſed again ouer Danubius, and faithfully reſtoring the great ordnance without any more doing, returned again into their owne countries: but in their retyring, the Hungarians by the leading of *Ferentius Gnarius*, ſlew many of them, amongſt whom was one *Achomates* one of their beſt and valianteſt captains.

King Ferdnand ſendeth the Lo. William Rogendorffe with an armie into Hungarie.

Buda beſieged.

King *Ferdinand* aduertiſed of the Turks departure, returned again to his old hope of recouering the kingdome: perſuading the Emperor his brother, not to giue ouer the war ſo fortunatly begun, eſpecially now that the Turks hauing forſaken the queen, were departed & gon. Wherefore the new forces lately before raiſed in Auſtria, Bohemia, Sileſia, and Morauia, for the new ſupply of *Velſius* his army, were preſently ſent into Hungary, vnder the leading of the Lord *William Rogendorff* ſteward of the kings houſe, who was then gon as far as Poſſonium to haue relieued them of Peſth; vnto whom, as a more antient and honorable Generall, *Velſius* gaue place. He, furniſhed with theſe new ſupplies, three moneths victuals, and great Artillerie from Vienna, ioining with the old army, marched directly to Buda, & beſieged it. Ouer againſt the ſtately caſtle of Buda, wherein the queene lay, was a great hill called S. *Gerrards* mount, ſo high, that the middle thereof was equall with the higheſt place of the caſtle, and from the top thereof they might looke into the ſtreets of the citie, betwixt which hill and the caſtle was a great valley and a deepe ditch. Vpon this hill, *Rogendorff* to beat the caſtle, and to terrifie the queen, planted his batterie, and ſo ſhooke a new built tower thereof, that it was thought that it would haue ſuddenly fallen; which if it had, yet was it ſuppoſed a dangerous matter to haue aſſaulted it, becauſe it was walled about with a treble wall. But the ſumptuous turrets and the princely galleries of the kings palace in the caſtle, which euery man ſaw *Rogendorff* might haue beaten down with his great ordnance, he ſpared: but whether of himſelf, or elſe commanded by the king (as loath to deſtroy ſo goodly buildings, as could not without great charges be in long time again repaired) was vncertain. Wherfore by diuers heraulds ſent vnto the queen, he wiſhed her to breake in ſunder thoſe gyues & fetters wherin the Biſhop vnder colour of protection, had faſt bound her ſon and her, and to accept of K. *Ferdinands* offer, who was ready to beſtow vpon her a goodly ſeigniory, wherein ſhe might moſt honorably liue in quiet, & bring vp her ſon in ſafetie. Which thing if ſhe, as a ſimple woman, and ignorant of her owne danger, ſhould refuſe, and obſtinatly contemne the perill wherein ſhe ſtood, he would forthwith in moſt terrible manner beat downe the palace about her eares. Whereunto the Biſhop in the Queens behalfe anſwered, That ſhe was not ſuch a foole to exchange the kingdom of Hungary for the principalitie of Sepuſia: and that ſhee thought *Rogendorff* a verie doting and mad old man, who being once before well beaten in thoſe ditches, came now againe like a foole to receiue his vtter deſtruction in full guerdon of his raſh follie: wherefore he ſhould ceaſe to terrifie valiant men, fighting with diſcretion for their naturall king and country, againſt his drunken companie, for that they were nothing troubled with the noiſe of his great ſhot: but yet he ſaid, that he would aboue all the reſt, by way of priuat courteſie, gently requeſt *Rogendorff* to diſcharge his pieces with a little leſſe noiſe, becauſe he had a ſow at home great with pigges, which terrified with the thundring of his guns, would farrow he doubted before her time, to the griefe of his gueſts. For the biſhop was of a ſharpe & taunting ſpirit, and ſuch a contemner of the Germans, that when two of them were taken in the kings orchards burning certain houſes, he in deriſion cauſed two hogs to be hanged vpon the ſame gallows with them. Not long after, *Rogendorff* remoued his campe from S. *Gerrards* mount, to a more conuenient place for the battering of the citie, called the Iewes Graues, neere vnto the gate called the Iewes gate.

Rogendorffe threatens the Queene.

The Biſhop his ſcornful anſwer to Rogendorff.

A Which thing the Biſhop ſeeing, after his quipping manner requeſted of **Rogendorff** to pardon him, in that he had of late wrongully called him a doting old man; for that in remoouing his camp into a more commodious place, he ſeemed to be a proper wiſe man and of good diſcretion, now that he had pitched his tents in a moſt fit place amongſt the dead, both for himſelfe being an old man and almoſt worne with vaine labour, and for his armie there condemned to die with him. *Rogendorff* thus encamped, begun in two places to batter the wals: *Perenus* and the Hungarians with the Bohemians neere vnto the gate called Sabatina in one place, and he himſelfe with the Germans betwixt the Iewes gate and the caſtle in another: which was don with ſuch violence, that a great part of the wall was beaten downe, and another part thereof ouercharged with earth, which the defendants had caſt vp on the inner ſide for the ſtrength-B ning thereof, was at the ſame time borne quite out and ſo fell downe, to the wonderfull diſmaying of all that were in the citie. Which faire opportunitie to haue taken the citie, *Rogendorff* let ſlip, either not well aware thereof by reaſon of the great ſmoke of the artillerie on both ſides, and the duſt ariſing with the fall of the wall which couered all; or els according to his naturall diſpoſition, doing all things leaſurely and ſuſpitiouſly; ſo that a little delay bereft him of the preſent apprehenſion of ſo ſudden a reſolution: and the Germans, vſed more to ſtanding battels than to aſſault, were not to be ſo eaſily brought on to aſſault the breach vpon the ſudden, as were the Spaniards, Italians, or French. The wal was opened in that place almoſt two hundred paces in length, yet ſtanding almoſt the height of a man, which might eaſily haue beene ſcaled with ſhort ladders; but night was comming now faſt on, wherein the Germans C would not willingly attempt any dangerous matter: ſo that the aſſault was deferred vntil the next morning. Whereas they of Buda in the meane time taking the aduantage of the enemies delay, with incredible diligence & labor in that night raiſed vp a new rampier in ſtead of the wall that was fallen, euery man without exception putting his hand to the worke. In the morning the Germans comming to the breach, gaue ſuch a fierce aſſault vnto the new made rampier, that *Otho Fotiſcus* deſperatly entred into a ſhattered houſe, which ioyned vnto the wall, and certaine other companies, one ſouldier helping vp another, had almoſt recouered the top of the rampier, and were there readie to haue ſet vp their enſignes: when they of Buda with wonderfull conſtancie and reſolution withſtood the aſſailants, *George* the Biſhop encouraging them, and fighting amongſt them, who hauing laid aſide his hood, was now to be ſeen with his D helmet on his head, running too & fro as need required all alongſt the rampier. At length the Germans ſeeing themſelues to ſtriue in vaine againſt reſolute men, were inforced to retire. In this aſſault *Rogendorff* loſt aboue 800 men. *Perenus* was alſo in like maner, but with leſſe loſſe, repulſed at the other breach he had made at the gate Sabatina. After that, *Rogendorff* attempted by vndermining to haue taken the city, but was by countermines diſappointed of his purpoſe. Yet for all this, they in the citie began to feele the want of many things, ſo that it ſeemed they were not able to indure any longer ſiege; the common people pinched with hunger, crying openly out in mutinous ſort, that it was time to yeeld and make an end of thoſe common miſeries: but ſuch was the authoritie of the Biſhop, with his prouident foreſight of all vrgent euents, that once ſhewing himſelfe in the market place as if he would haue preached, he E could turne the peeuiſh minded people which way he pleaſed.

A great breach in the wals of Buda.

The Germans aſſaulting the breach, are with loſſe repulſed.

After all this, it miſſed but a little, but that this citie which could not by enemies force be woon, had by ſhamefull treaſon bin loſt: there was at that time in Buda one *Bornemiſſa* a lawyer, who had in former time been Maior of the citie: this *Bornemiſſa* exceedingly hated the Biſhop for taking part with a banckerout Iew againſt him, and being full of malice, and deſirous of reuenge, promiſed to *Reualius* (Martial in the enemies camp) to deliuer to him blinde poſtern in S. *Maries* churchyard, wherby he might enter the citie: which gate ſerued the citiſens in time of peace to go thorow to the riuer. *Rogendorff* the General made acquainted with the matter, ſo liked thereof, that he in himſelfe thought it not good, in a matter of ſo great importance, to vſe at al the ſeruice of the Hungarians: Quite contrarie to that *Bornemiſſa* had re-F queſted of *Reualius*, who deſirous to haue the matter brought to paſſe without the ſlaughter of ſo many guiltleſſe people as was by him to be betraied, would haue had it altogether performed by the Hungarians, who he was in good hope would ſhew mercie vnto their countrymen and kinſmen, and vſe their victorie with more moderation than the Germanes, who prouoked with many deſpights, and comming in by night, were like enough to make great

Bornemiſſa practiſeth to betray the city of Buda.

ffuſion

Bornemiſſa receiueth in the Germans by a poſterne, ſuppoſing them to haue bin Hungarians.

The Germanes not conducted, are diſcouered and diſcomfited

effuſion of bloud. But *Rogendorff* after the manner of his nation, to be counted politicke, vſing to keepe promiſe with no man, and hoping by excluding the Hungarians, to haue all the glory of the conceiued victorie wholly to himſelfe; made as if he would haue vſed only the Hungarians, and glozed with *Reualius*, whoſe ſon for the more aſſurance he tooke as pledge: For againſt the appointed houre, which was about midnight, hauing before giuen ſtraight charge that no man ſhould ſtir in the camp, he ſent foure ſelect companies of Germans with great ſilence vnto the poſterne; at which time his ſon *Condi* ſtood with a ſtrong troupe of horſemen, readie to haue entred, at ſuch time as the Germans (receiued into the city) ſhould breake open the great gate, as was before agreed. Neither did *Bornemiſſa* faile to performe what he had as a traitor promiſed: but opening the poſterne we ſpake of, had with great ſilence receiued in moſt part of thoſe German companies. But when he ſtil asked ſoftly of them as they came in, for *Reualius*, and heard them anſwere nothing but in the German language; although hee was otherwiſe a man of a bold ſpirit, yet then ſurpriſed with a ſudden feare (as it oftentimes chanceth in ſuch actions to men deceiued of their expectation) he ſtood as a man amaſed that knew not what to do, and forgot to conduct the Germans: who altogether vnacquainted with the citie, knew not which way firſt to go; & ſtealing on ſoftly in the darke, went on with no great courage, for feare of treaſon, ſtill asking of them that followed, for him that ſhould direct them. The Germans could not goe ſo cloſely, but that they were by the clattering of their armor and the light of their matches, deſcried by the watch; who asking for the word, and they not giuing it, preſently raiſed an alarme; but now all too late, the citie being as good as halfe taken, had the Germans well conducted, reſolutely gone on with the matter ſo well begun; but they ignorant of the way, & now deſcried & chaſed with their own feare, ran back againe to the poſtern, in ſuch haſt, that one of them miſerably wrong another, in ſtriuing who ſhould get out firſt: and their paſſage out much letted by the pikes and weapons which they which fled firſt had caſt croſſe the way to run the lighter into the campe. The firſt that ſet vpon the Germans was *Bacianus*, who had that night the charge of the watch; and after him *Vicche*, who kept the court of guard in the market place; & hearing the alarme, came thither with a ſtrong companie both of horſemen and footmen. Many of the moſt valianteſt Germans, who comming in firſt, were in flight become laſt, were ſlaine or taken, and amongſt them many of *Bornemiſſa* his familiars and friends (as for himſelfe, he was got out among the formoſt) from whom the Biſhop by exquiſit torture wrong out the whole plot of the treaſon, and afterwards cauſed them to be ſeuerally executed to the terror of others. *Reualius* in the mean time complaining in the camp, That he was deceiued by the Generall: and *Bornemiſſa* wofully lamenting, That hauing worthily got the name of an infamous traitor, he had therby loſt all his ſubſtance and vndone his friends and kindred. The Generall *Rogendorff* (condemned euen of the common ſoldiers, for his fooliſh arrogancie and pride) was hardly ſpoken of thorow all the camp, as he that by two much inſolencie had ouerthrowne the faireſt occaſion of a moſt goodly victorie: wherefore from that time he attempted no great matter, but ſet himſelfe downe by long ſiege to tame his enemies, and ſo to win the citie.

Solyman at one time maintaineth wars in diuers places of the world far diſtant.

Solyman vnderſtanding of the Queenes diſtres in Hungarie, and with what deſire *Ferdinand* (ſupported by the Emperor his brother) thirſted after that kingdom; conſulted with his Baſſaes, of the purpoſes and power of his enemies, both there and elſewhere: and politickly reſolued at one time, with his diuided forces, to withſtand their attempts in diuers places, and thoſe far diſtant one from another; whereby the greatneſſe of his power is well to be perceiued. Firſt, he ſent *Solyman Baſſa* an eunuch to Babylon, to defend the countrey of Meſopotamia, and the frontiers of his Empire alongſt the Riuer Tygris, againſt *Tamas* the Perſian King. *Mahometes* another of his great Baſſaes, hee ſent into Hungarie to relieue the beſieged Queene: and after him, *Vſtref Baſſa*, which was the fourth of his chiefe Baſſaes, with another armie to ſtay at Belgrade, in readineſſe to aid the other Baſſa ſent before him, as occaſion ſhould require, if hee ſhould find his enemies too ſtrong. Vnto *Barbaruſſa* hee committed his nauie, for the defence of Græcia and Epirus againſt *Auria*, who but a little before aided by the gallies of Sicilia and Naples, had driuen the Turkes and Moores (which tooke part with the Turks) out of Clupea, Neapolis, Adrumentum, Ruſpina, Tapſus, and all alongſt that coaſt of Affricke which the Moores call Mahomedia, except the Citie of Leptis, and cauſed thoſe Cities to ſubmit themſelues to the gouernement of *Muleaſſes* King of Tunes.

A Theſe cities are at this day called Calabia, Suſa, Mahometa, Monaſterim, Sfaxia, and Afrida. And becauſe *Solyman* vnderſtood, that *Maylat* the Vayuod of Tranſiluania took part with king *Ferdinand*, he ſent againſt him *Achomates* Gouernour of Nicopolis; and commanded *Peter* of Moldauia, Prince of Valachia, to aid him: who afterwards accordingly came vnto him with 30000 horſemen. He himſelfe alſo doubting the purpoſes of the Chriſtian princes, and eſpecially of *Charles* the Emperour, more than hee had need, came to Hadrianople, and in the countries thereabouts raiſed a third armie, to aid the two Baſſaes ſent before into Hungarie; keeping with him his ſonne in law *Ruſtan*, whom he had made one of the foure great Baſſaes of his Counſell, hauing thruſt out *Luſtibeius*, whom the Turks call *Lutzis*, his brother in law, and exiled him into Macedonia for euill entreating and ſtriking his wife, which was *Solymans* B ſiſter, as is before ſaid, but was at this time done.

Mahometes the Baſſa deſirous to doe his great Maſter the beſt ſeruice he could, entred into Hungarie with his armie about the middle of Iune in the yeare 1541, taking with him in his way the other *Mahometes* Gouernor of Belgrade, who gaue the ſhamefull ouerthrow vnto the Chriſtians at Exek; ioyning alſo with him the power of Boſna, now commanded by *Vlamas* the Perſian, for that *Vſtref* the old Baſſa was lately dead. The captaines of the Chriſtian armie hearing of the comming of the Turks, entred into counſell, Whether they ſhould continue the ſiege, or els go and meet them by the way and giue them battel. But the period of the Hungarian kingdome drawing faſt on, and the ineuitable Deſtinie thereof ſo requiring; the opinion of *Rogendorff* preuailed againſt the reſt for the continuing of the ſiege, hee ſeeming more wil- C ling to die than to croſſe ouer the riuer to Peſth, or to retire to Vicegrade or Strigonium, as diuers would haue perſuaded him: wherſore he remoued from the place where he lay before, and encamped his army on the further ſide of the city, at the foot of *S. Gerrards* mount, where the hill lying between Buda and the campe, and departing from the riuer, leaueth a faire plain toward the Eaſt; of purpoſe that the Turks (which he knew would not go farre from the riuer and their fleet) ſhould be enforced dangerouſly to paſſe by the mouth of his great ordnance, which he had aptly placed vpon the front of his trenches: for ſuch was the nature of the place, that the campe lay defended on the right hand with the ſteepe hill, on the left hand with the riuer, and behind toward the citie with a ſtrong bulwarke. Vpon the right hand, vpon a little riſing ground, he placed the leſſer campe, wherein were the Hungarians which fauoured king D *Ferdinand*, and then followed his enſignes. He made alſo a bridge from his campe into a little Iſland which lay in the riuer, and with a fort wel planted with ordnance commanded both the riuer and the plaine, ſo to beat the enemies fleet comming vp the riuer, and themſelues alſo as they ſhould march alongſt the plaine. He was about alſo to haue made a bridge of lighters and boats quite ouer the riuer, from his campe to Peſth, and in this order to expect the comming of new ſupplies from king *Ferdinand*, and to repell the enemie who was comming, and with long ſiege to wearie them in Buda: for there was ſuch ſtore both of victuall & all other warlike prouiſion in Peſth, as would well haue ſufficed his armie vntill Winter had bin ſpent.

Mahometes Baſſa commeth with the Turks army to relieue Buda.

The order of king Ferdinands armie.

As ſoon as the Turks were come nigh the city, *Valentinus* as an embaſſador from the queene, met them with two thouſand horſe, and fully inſtructed both the *Mahomets*, what the Chri- E ſtians did; what ſtrength they were of, and how they might moſt conueniently encampe their army. Wherfore the Baſſa marching on boldly forward, came within halfe a mile of the Chriſtian campe, where he quickly intrenched himſelfe round with a ſtrong trench, filling a great part of the plaine with his tents. But the other *Mahometes*, Gouernor of Belgrade, a moſt politicke captaine, tooke the higher ground towards the riſing of the hill, neerer vnto the tents of the Hungarians than of the Germans. Vnto theſe two armies thus encamped, belonged alſo two fleets, the Chriſtian fleet conſiſted of foure and twenty galleots, about fourſcore ſmall pinnaces, and little leſſe than 100 ſhips of burden and other great boats: whereas the Turkes fleet was not thought to be paſt halfe ſo great. Neere vnto the little Iſland, ioyned as we haue before ſaid by a bridge to the Chriſtian campe, beneath in the riuer had the Turks taken ano- F ther Iſland called Cepellia, ouer againſt their owne campe; where caſting vp a great bulwark in the vppermoſt end thereof, and planting it with great ordnance, they from thence ſhot at the fort which the Chriſtians held in the little Iſland, and at their veſſels paſſing too and fro in the riuer, as the Chriſtians did at them likewiſe. This Iſland of Cepellia lyeth ſomewhat more than 40 miles in length in the riuer Danubius, full of country villages, ſo commodiou-

The Baſſa entrencheth his armie within halfe a mile of the kings army.

ſly, that if *Rogendorff* had at the firſt taken it and fortified it, before the comming of the Turks, as the Hungarians perſuaded him to haue done, the Turks could by no means haue incamped in the plaine, but muſt needs haue forſaken their fleet, fetching a great compaſſe about more toward the Weſt, further off from the riuer: which would haue turned to the Turks great diſaduantage. *But no man is ſo wiſe as to foreſee all things, when as the very euill ſucceſſe, be the plot neuer ſo well laied, ſhall of it ſelfe, beſide the loſſe, leaue vnto the vnfortunate man the note of the want of provident foreſight and diſcretion.* But *Rogendorff* was not willing to diuide his forces, vntill he had ſome new ſupplie from K. *Ferdinand.* Whileſt the armies lay thus neere one to the other, there were ſome light skirmiſhes made euery day, either by the horſemen or the footmen, & ſometime one braue man challenging forth another hand to hand, whom he thought by his armor or ſome other ſigne of his worth, to be like to himſelf: which was ſo pleaſant a ſight to behold, that both the armies vpon a military courteſie, as if it had bin ſo agreed, would many times for certain houres forbeare to ſhoot any ſhot, of purpoſe to ſee thoſe gallants, with the proweſſe to proue their valor and manhood one vpon another with their ſpeares and ſwords only. In which light skirmiſhes the German horſmen were often times put to the worſt, who mounted vpon great heauie horſes, fitter for a ſet battell, could neither ſo readily charge the enemie, nor purſue him in his flight, as could the Turks with their nimble & ready light horſes, ſo well acquainted with that manner of flying fight, that they would with wheeling about eaſily fruſtrat the firſt charge of the heauy horſmen, & by & by come vpon them again with a freſh charge, & ſo often retire & come on again, vntil they had either wearied or ouerthrown them. But the Hungarians acquainted with that maner of fight as well as they, and alſo better armed, did eaſily incounter the Turks, and foile them, although they were in number moe.

Skirmiſhes betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

Rayſchachius for ſorrow of his ſonne ſlaine by the Turks, ſuddenly dieth.

There was amongſt the Germane captaines a noble man called *Eckius Rayſchachius*, whoſe ſonne (a valiant yong gentleman) being got out of the armie without his fathers knowledge, bare himſelfe ſo gallantly in fight againſt the enemy in the ſight of his father & of the army, that he was highly commended of all men, and eſpecially of his father, who knew him not at all: yet before he could cleare himſelfe, hee was compaſſed in of the enemie, and valiantly fighting, ſlain. *Rayſchachius* exceedingly moued with the death of ſo braue a man, ignorant how neere it touched himſelfe, turning about to the other captains ſaid, This worthie gentleman, what ſoeuer he be, is worthie of eternall commendation, and to be moſt honorably buried by the whole army. As the reſt of the captains were with like compaſſion approuing his ſpeech, the dead bodie of the vnfortunate ſon reſcued, was preſented to the moſt miſerable father, which cauſed al them that were there preſent to ſhed tears; but ſuch a ſudden & inward griefe ſurpriſed the aged father, and ſtruck ſo to his heart, that after he had ſtood a while ſpeechleſſe, with his eies ſet in his head, he ſuddenly fel down dead. From that time the general commanded, That no man ſhould vpon pain of death go out of the army to skirmiſh with the enemy without leaue: wherein he was ſo ſeuere, that he hanged vp one or two that preſumed to tranſgreſſe his commandement: which thing much diſcouraged his own men, & ſo incouraged the enemy, that they would ſometime braue the Chriſtians vpon the top of their own trenches.

Many daies had now paſſed ſince the comming of the Baſſa, the Turks and they of Buda dayly increaſing both in ſtrength and courage: when on the other ſide, faint courage, weake ſtrength, troubled counſell, vncertaine reſolution, the ominous ſignes of an vndoubted ouerthrow, were eaſie to be ſeen, & hope it ſelfe, the ſtay of all humane actions, eſpecially of martiall affaires, almoſt loſt: the onely things that held their fainting hearts, was the often letters of king *Ferdinand*, and the firm opinion they had conceiued, That *Charles* the Emperor would not in ſo great a danger faile to aid his brother, both with men and mony: and laſt of all, the firme reſolution of a Generall, which far paſſed all reaſon, the ſooner to draw him to his end. The armies lying in this order, the Turks from the higher ground, and out of Geppellia, perceiuing the Germans in the litle Iland as careleſſe men to keepe but negligent watch, agreed amongſt themſelues at one inſtant out of both their camps, to aſſaile diuers of their forts: and ſo in the breake of the day landed with their fleet ſo cloſely and ſuddenly to the Iland, that they had ſlaine almoſt 600. of the Germans, before they were throwly awake or could well arm themſelues: wherewith the reſt were put in ſuch a feare, that they fled to the camp in ſuch haſt, that many of them fel beſide the bridge and were drowned in the riuer. As the camp was wonderfully troubled with the ſuddennes of the matter, the Turks with their hideous cries

The Turks ſuddenly aſſaile the Chriſtians in the Iſland.

A raiſing the alarme in diuers places at once : yet for all that, certain German companies in one
of the forts neereſt vnto the riuer, and the ſouldiers in the fleet, well declared their preſent
reſolution and valiant courage, in recouering againe of the Iſland. For *Herbeſtulſius* the camp-
maſter, perſuading them not to ſuffer the Chriſtian enſignes and great ordnance to bee ſo
ſhamefully carried away of the Turks; and *Marius* the Admiral at the ſame time landing di-
uers companies in the Iſland with his pinnaces and great boats: they ſo couragiouſly char-
ged the Turks, then buſied in the ſpoiling of the dead bodies and drawing away of the great
ordnance, that they draue them againe to their boats, leauing vnto them as victors, both the
Iſland and the ordnance, hauing before their departure, receiued no leſſe loſſe themſelues
than had the Germans before.

B It was reported, that the Turks fleet might that day haue been quite ouerthrowne, if the
Chriſtians vſing the victory, and holpen with the courſe of that ſwift riuer, had couragiouſly
purſued them and landed with them. But many things after a matter is done are eaſily ſeene,
which in the very heat and hurle of the danger cannot be foreſeene; foraſmuch as ſudden ac-
cidents attended with great perill, do oftentimes dazle the minds of right wiſe & valiant cap-
taines : yet foure of the Turks pinnaces were ſuncke, and three taken, and many of the Turks
ſlaine or drowned in the riuer. Shortly after, the Turks more and more incouraged with the
multitude of themſelues, and the fearefulneſſe they perceiued in their enemies, did at ſundry
times ſo *inſolently* trouble and aſſaile the camp of the Chriſtians on euery ſide, that they left
them almoſt no time of reſt, one company ſtill ſucceeding another; ſo that they were almoſt
C in deſpaire, to be able long to defend their campe, the enemie ſtill growing both in ſtrength
and courage. For the Baſſa that lay at Belgrade, ſtill taking vnto him the ſicke and wounded
ſouldiers, ſent continually freſh men in their ſtead : and *Valentinus* taking vnto him a compa-
nie of the Turks Ianizaries harquebuſiers, had driuen *Perenus* with the Hungarian horſmen out
of the vpper camp. So that they in the neither camp were now hardly beſet with their ene-
mies on euery ſide : yet were they wel holpen by the great artillerie from Peſth, which much
troubled *Valentinus* and his horſemen in aſſailing the campe on that ſide.

Valentinus Generall for the Queene in Buda, certifieth Perenus of the comming of Solyman.

Some report that *Valentinus*, not greatly angry with the Hungarian baniſhed men, but with
the Germans, did by the way of priuat courteſie and friendſhip, by a faithfull ſouldier wiſh
Perenus ſpeedily to prouide for the ſafety of himſelfe and of the Hungarians with him ; for
D that there was a great beaſt comming, which would at one morſell deuoure them all. For *So-
lyman* aduertiſed of the doings of the Emperor and king *Ferdinand*, thinking that they would
haue come down to Buda with a puiſſant army, was reſolued to be preſent himſelfe at ſo nota-
ble a battell, and was therefore comming thither with his army in all haſt. Wherefore *Perenus*
thus forewarned, ſaid plainly to *Regendorff* & the other captains, That except they would pre-
ſently riſe with the army & depart, he would now whiles he had yet time, make ſhift for him-
ſelfe and his countrymen. Their opinions diuerſly deliuered, at laſt they all agreed, that it was
beſt the next night to paſſe ouer the riuer to Peſth : only the Generall vpon a fatall obſtinacie
ſaid, He would not without king *Ferdinands* commandement depart from Buda: and therfore
ſent countie *Salma* with a ſwift pinnace vp the riuer to Vienna to know his pleaſure therin. In
E the meane time vrged with feare, *Perenus* fretting at their long ſtay, it was reſolued vpon, that
they ſhould the next night after the Moon was down, paſſe ouer the riuer in foure conuoies to
Peſth. In the firſt, were to paſſe ouer the Hungarians, with their great ordnance. In the ſecond,
the Germane and Bohemian horſemen ; and in the other two, the footmen, and the baggage
of the armie. For it was not ſo eaſie a matter to make a bridge ouer Danubius, as they had at
firſt ſuppoſed : for after they had begun it, and almoſt plancked it, there riſe ſuch a wind and
tempeſt, & the violent riuer became ſo rough, that the timber wherwith the bridge was fa-
ſtened together was broken, the ioynts vnloſed, & many of the boats wherof the bridge was
framed, their cables being broken were carried away by the force of the ſtream. The firſt and
ſecond conuoy fortune ſo fauored, that they well paſſed ouer: for although they of Buda and
F the Turks, ſeeing in the day time from their high places the fleet drawing together into one
place might haue ſome ſuſpition of the matter, ſome gheſſing one thing & ſome another; yet
could they foreſee nothing of the ſudden departure of the enemy: but that multitude of ſhips
and boats now paſſing too and fro, could not long deceiue the attentiue and vigilant enemy;
and ſo much the leſſe, for that two fugitiue Hungarians euen then diſcouered to the Biſhop,
the

The Chriſtian army departeth by night from Buda.

The Turks aſſaile the Chriſtians in their campe at their departure.

A miſchieuous practiſe of the Biſhop.

Great ſlaughter of the Chriſtians

the flight of the Germans, who preſently certified the Baſſa, and the other, *Mahometes* thereof: which without further delay came almoſt with all their power to aſſault the Chriſtians in their camp: the great ordnance was brought forth, and after the Ianizaries & other footmen, followed the horſemen, diſmounted from their horſes to do the better ſeruice; who all with a horrible crie aſſailed the trenches. Then began the Germans to quaile, their flight being now diſcouered; yet did they with the Bohemians for a while notably reſiſt the enemie. All the campe was filled with tumult and confuſion, and eſpecially at the riuer ſide, euery man in that great feare ſtriuing to get aboord, without regard of order or ſhame: for the dead time of the night then couered with darke and thicke clouds, made all things more terrible, euen vnto them which were of beſt courage: the authority of *Rogendorff* the Generall (in the darkneſſe of the night, and ſo great clamor both of his owne people and of the enemie, and the thundring of the ordnance) was as nothing: he (beſides that he was then ſick in mind) lay in his bed wounded, by a wonderfull and fatall chance: for as he was writing letters to the king, a faulcon ſhot out of the enemies campe falling in his tent, and ſtriking in ſunder a cheſt which ſtood there, wounded him grieuouſly in the left ſhoulder with a ſplinter of the ſame. The other captaines of the footmen, enuying that the horſemen were ſo well eſcaped, ſtood as men more carefull of themſelues than of the common danger, faintly reſiſting the enemy. The vppermoſt tents, wherein *Perenus* lay, were firſt taken by *Mahometes* of Belgrade, and *Valentinus*, & the German footmen chaſed al ouer S. *Gerrards* mount. They of Buda alſo ſallied out, and entred the camp on that ſide which was next vnto the citie, & with wild fire burnt the tents a little before forſaken by the Germans. And the Biſhop at the ſame time cauſed a great ſtack of ſtraw ſtanding by the kings ſtables neere vnto the riuers ſide, to be ſet on fire; which gaue ſuch a light, that a man might haue ſeen all ouer Danubius vnto the wals of Peſth, as if it had bin light day: wherby the great confuſion of the Chriſtian army by land, as well as the ſhamefull flight by water, was of the Turks plainly diſcouered. Then was the great artillerie from euery place diſcharged vpon the flying fleet, as wel from Buda as the Turks camp. And to increaſe the feare, *Caſon* the Turks Admirall rowing with his light boats againſt the ſtream, ſet vpon the ſhips croſſing the riuer to Peſth, where he tooke certain boats loded with ſouldiers, and with his great ordnance ſuncke diuers others: ſo that the riuer was filled with dead bodies and the miſerable company of ſoldiers and mariners, laboring to ſaue their liues by ſwimming: for at ſuch time as the Ianizaries hauing ſlaine the firſt companies, were broken into the lower camp, and the reſt of the Germans flying ouer the bridge into the little Iſland, were there ſlain without mercie, by the Turks purſuing them, many of them leapt into the riuer and there periſhed. Three hundred ſaile of one ſort of ſhips and other, were ſo confuſed and mingled together, that Danubius ſeemed that night to haue bin couered ouer, as if it had bin with a great bridge. But the Chriſtian fleet ſeeing all loſt, cleered themſelues ſo ſoone as they could of the Turks, and ſo beating them backe with their great ordnance out of the poups of their ſhips, got vp the riuer to Comora. The reſt of the land forces endured the ſame fortune in the campe, of whom the Bohemians died moſt honorably, ſlaine by the enemy in fight. Many falling into the hands of them of Buda, were ſaued or ſlaine, as was their fortune to fall into the power of a merciful or mercileſſe man. But the Sun riſing, plainly diſcouered the ſlaughter of the Chriſtians, and the victorie of the Turks, not ſo well before knowne. There was about 3000 men of one ſort and other, who in warlike manner had taken a little hill by Saint *Gerrards* Church, and there ſtood vpon their guard, vntill ſuch time as more than two thouſand of them were ſlaine; the reſt caſting away their weapons yeelded in hope of life, and were reſerued for a ſpectacle more grieuous than death it ſelfe.

At the ſame time *Caſon* with his victorious fleet comming to the ſhore of Peſth, brought ſuch a feare vpon them that were eſcaped thither, and might eaſily haue defended the walls, (only with the crie of his ſoldiers & the thundring of the artillerie) that the horſmen for haſt to get out, were like to ouerrun one another. The Germans had at that time ſo much forgot their wonted valour, & ſo trembled at the name of the Turks, that as ſoone as they ſaw their white caps in their ſhips, they ran away as men diſmaied, vnarmed, leauing behind them their plate, their carriages, & whatſoeuer good thing they had els. Yet ſome of the Hungarian horſmen more deſirous of the ſpoile than afraid of death, ſtaid behind rifling the merchants ſhops, for Peſth was become a very rich mart towne for al kind of merchandiſe, marchants reſorting

thither

A thither from all other places of the troubled countrey, as to a ſtrong and commodious citie, and of more ſafety than the reſt. But *Caſon* now entring without reſiſtance, ſlew ſome of thoſe greedie Hungarians, and ran thorow the towne with ſuch barbarous crueltie and thirſt of the Chriſtian bloud, that he ſpared neither man, woman, nor child, except ſome few, which either for their beautie or ſtrength of bodie were reſerued for the Turks beaſtly luſt, or ſlauiſh labor: ſo that in this war it is reported, more than 20000 Chriſtians were one way and other by diuers chances ſlaine. There was taken at Peſth, in the campe and in the Iſland, 36 great pieces for batterie, of wonderfull beautie; and of leſſer field pieces 150. As for ſhot, powder, armor, weapons, and victuall prouided for Winter, ſuch ſtore was found, that the Turks accounted it for the greateſt part of their victorie. *Rogendorff* the vnfortunat Generall, at ſuch time as the B Turks hauing woon the trenches, were fighting in the midſt of his camp, deſiring rather to be ſlaine in his tent, than to liue after ſo great an ouerthrow, was againſt his will by ſtrong hand carried aboord a little pinnace by his phyſitian and chamberlaine, which would not leaue him as he lay, and was ſo conueyed vp the riuer to the Iſland of Comora; where he ſhortly after, partly for the painfulneſſe of his wound, but more for griefe of minde, died in a little countrey village called Samarium, leauing vnto the Germans a wofull remembrance of his accurſed obſtinacie and pride. *Solyman* ſtill doubting the comming of *Charles* the Emperour and king *Ferdinand* to Buda, was comming with his armie from Hadrianople in ſuch haſt, that he cauſed the Ianizaries, his beſt footmen, contrarie to their manner, to march as faſt as his horſemen: but vnderſtanding by the way, of the late victorie obtained by his captaines, he C tooke more leiſure, and came with a great power to Buda in Auguſt, and there incamped on the other ſide of the citie, to auoid the noiſome ſauour of the dead bodies, which lay yet vnburied. Where calling vnto him the other armie, and making one huge campe of both, he highly commended all his captaines, but eſpecially the two *Mahometes*. And vnderſtanding that the victorie was eſpecially gotten by the meanes of *Mahometes* gouernour of Belgrade, he made him Generall of all his Europeian horſemen, one of the moſt honourable preferments of the Turkiſh Empire: the other captaines he rewarded according as they had deſerued, and withall augmented their pay.

Peſth taken by Caſon, Admirall of the Turkes fleet.

Rogendorffe againſt his will carried away by his phyſitian & Chamberlain, to Comara, there dieth.

Solyman commeth to Buda.

After that, he cauſed the priſoners, in uumber about eight hundred, to be brought out: who bound in long ropes, were in deriſion led all alongſt the armie, ranged in order of battell, and D afterward by his commandement ſlain by his yong ſoldiers: ſaying with ſeuere countenance, that they were worthie of ſuch death, which by Embaſſadours diſſemblingly entreating of peace, had in the meane time craftily waged war. Amongſt theſe priſoners was one ſouldier of Bauaria of an exceeding high ſtature; him in deſpight of the German nation he deliuered to a little dwarfe (whom his ſonnes made great account of) to be ſlaine, whoſe head was ſcarce ſo high as the knees of the tall captiue; with that cruell ſpight to aggrauate the indignitie of his death: when as that goodly tall man, mangled about the legs a long time by that apiſh dwarfe with his little ſcimiter, as if it had bin in diſport, fell downe, and was with many feeble blowes hardly at laſt ſlaine by that wretch, ſtill heartened on by others, to ſatisfie the eyes of the Princes, beholding it as their ſport.

Turkiſh crueltie.

E This barbarous and cruell execution done, *Solyman* ſent his Embaſſadors with preſents to the yong king, which were three beautifull horſes, with their bridles of gold, and their trappings richly ſet with pretious ſtones, and three royall robes of cloth of gold; & vnto the chief of the nobilitie he ſent rich gowns and chains of gold. The embaſſadors which brought theſe preſents, in curteous manner requeſted of the queene, to ſend the yong king her ſon, attended with his nobilitie, into the campe, and without all feare, to hope that all ſhould goe well both with her and her ſon: for that *Solyman*, who exceeded all other kings, not in power and fortune only, but in vertue and vpright dealing alſo, was of ſuch an heroical diſpoſition, that he would not onely defend the childe, whom in the right of his father he had once thought worthie his protection & fauor, victorie confirming the ſame, but would alſo augment his eſtate, with the F largeſt bounds of his antient kingdome. Wherefore he was deſirous to ſee the yong king, and to behold in him the repreſentation of his father, and with his own hand to deliuer him to be imbraced of his ſons; that of his protection renewed, ſo happily begun, might be grounded a firme & perpetuall friendſhip with the *Othoman* kings: and that he would alwayes account of her as of his daughter. But the cauſe why he came not to ſee her, which he did in curteſie de-

Solyman ſends for the young king into the campe.

fire, was for that by antient cuſtom the **Othoman** kings were forbidden that point of courteſie, to viſit other mens wiues in their houſes. Beſides that, **Solyman** (they ſaid) was not ſo forgetful of his modeſtie and honour, as to receiue into his pauilion the daughter of a King his friend and allie, and ſhe the late wife of a King his friend and tributarie, and the faire young mother of a ſonne, growing in the hope of like regall dignitie, for feare he ſhould draw into any ſuſpition the inuiolate name of her chaſtitie, which in Queenes was to be guarded with an eſpeciall and wonderfull care. Whereunto the Queene (a manifeſt feare confounding the tender ſences in her motherly affection) anſwered verie doubtfully: but the Biſhop perſuading her, and inſtantly requeſting her, not to giue the Turks occaſion to ſuſpect, that ſhe had them in diſtruſt, by her little and vnprofitable delay; ſent her young ſonne in princely ſwathing cloaths, in a rich chariot, with his nurſe and certain great ladies vnto the campe, attended vpon with almoſt all the Nobilitie to whom **Solyman** had ſent Preſents. In his comming to the campe, he was for honours ſake met vpon the way by certaine gallant troupes of the Turkes braue horſemen: and all the way as he paſſed in the campe, orderly ſtood the Ianizaries of **Solymans** guard. As ſoone as he was brought into the campe, **Solyman** curteouſly looked vpon him, and familiarly talked with the nurſe, and commanded his ſonnes there preſent to take him in their armes, and to kiſſe him, in certaine token of the loue they would beare him, whom they were in time to haue their friend and tributarie, when he was growne to mans eſtate: theſe were **Selymus** and **Baiazet**, begotten of his faire concubine **Roxalana**; bearing the names, the one of his grandfather, the other of his great grandfather. As for **Muſtapha** his eldeſt ſonne by his Circaſſian wife, he then liued in Magneſia a great way off; who though he was a prince of ſo great hope, as neuer any of the Turkiſh kings had a ſonne of greater, and was therefore exceedingly beloued of the men of warre; yet was he not ſo well liked of his father, brought out of fauour with him by **Roxalana**, as if he had traiterouſly gone about to take the Empire from him, yet liuing, as did **Selymus** his grandfather from **Baiazet**: for which cauſe **Solyman** ſecretly purpoſed to take him away, as afterwards he did, and to appoint **Selymus** for his ſucceſſour, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

The queene ſendeth the young king her ſon to Solyman in the campe, attended with the Nobility.

Solyman curteouſly receiueth the young king.

But **Solyman** at ſuch time as the Noblemen of Hungarie were dining merrily with the Baſſa's, had commanded certaine companies (to whom he had before giuen inſtructions what he would haue done) vnder the colour of ſeeing the citie, to take one of the gates called Sabatina, and the chiefe ſtreets: which was done ſo quietly and cunningly, that a warie watchman ſtanding there, and beholding the manner of the Turks comming and going too and fro, could hardly haue perceiued how the gate was taken, vntill it was too late. For many of the Turkes walking faire and ſoftly by great companies into the citie, as if it had beene but for pleaſure, to haue ſeen it; and other ſome to colour the matter, walking likewiſe backe againe, as if they had ſufficiently viewed the citie; by that meanes they without any tumult or ſtirre quickely tooke the appointed gate, with the market place and chiefe ſtreets of the citie. Which ſo finely done, the captaine of the Ianizaries cauſed proclamation to be made in all parts of the city, That the citiſens ſhould without feare keepe themſelues within their houſes, and forthwith, as they would haue their liues, libertie, and goods ſaued, to deliuer all their weapons: which they ſeeing no remedie, did: and hauing deliuered their armes, and taken the Turks faith for their ſecuritie, they receiued them into their houſes as their vnwelcome gueſts. But ſuch was the quietnes and modeſtie of the Turks, by reaſon of the ſeueritie of their martiall diſcipline, that no citiſen which tooke them into their houſes, was by them wronged by word or deed. **Solyman** vnderſtanding that the citie was thus quietly and without reſiſtance taken, ſent the childe backe againe vnto the Queene, although it was now almoſt night; but the chiefe noblemen he retained ſtill with him: theſe were **George** the Biſhop and Treaſurer, **Petrus Viccheus** the young Kings nigh kinſman and one of his Tutors, **Valentinus Turaccus** Generall of the queens forces, **Stephanus Verbetius** Chancellor, and **Bacianus Vrbanus** Gouernour of the citie of Buda. This ſudden and vnexpected change exceedingly troubled all their mindes, and ſo much the more, for that the great Baſſa's with changed countenance began to picke quarrels with them, and as it were ſtraightly and impudently to examine them, and to call them to account for all that they had done. The Queene ſeeing the citie ſo craftily ſurpriſed, and the nobilitie iniuriouſly detained in the campe, troubled with feare and griefe, by humble letters requeſted **Solyman** uot to forget the faith he had long before giuen vnto her, and euen of late confirmed

Solyman craftily taketh the citie of Buda.

Solyman detaineth the Noblemen of Hungarie in his campe.

A by his Embaſſadors; but mindfull both thereof, and of his woonted clemencie, to ſend backe vnto her the Noblemen, who for their fidelitie and valiant ſeruice had well deſerued both of him and her: this ſhe did by *Ruſtemes Baſſa*, whom ſhe had loded with gifts, and amongſt other things of great price, had ſent him a faire coronet of her owne, and a goodly jewell ſet with rich ſtone, to ſend vnto his wife (*Solymans* daughter) for a Preſent.

After that, *Solyman* conſulted with his Baſſa's foure dayes, what order to take concerning the kingdome of Hungarie: in diſcourſe whereof his great Baſſa's were of diuers opinions. *Mahometes* aduiſed him to carrie away with him to Conſtantinople, both the young childe and all the Nobilitie, ahd to leaue ſuch a gouernour in Buda, as by his wiſe and moderate gouernment, rather than by rigour, might put the people out of feare of ſeruitude and bondage, B by defending them from wrong, and yet by little and little lay vpon them the yoke of the Turkiſh gouernment. But *Ruſtemes Baſſa* (before corrupted, and a man in greater fauour than the reſt, becauſe he was *Solymans* ſonne in law, and therefore further from all ſuſpition of flatterie; ſtood altogether vpon tearmes of honour; ſaying, That nothing could be more diſhonourable vnto ſo gaeat and mightie a Monarch, who neuer had at any time with any ſpot or ſtaine blemiſhed the glorie of his name, than after victorie, againſt all right and reaſon to breake his faith at once with a weake woman and ſillie infant, whom he had before taken vpon him to protect and defend. On the other ſide, *Mahometes* Gouernour of Belgrade (an old mortall enemie of the Chriſtians, of all the reſt beſt acquainted with the ſtate of Hungarie, and for his great experience and approued valour, then extraordinarily admitted by *Solyman* C into counſell among the great Baſſa's) diſliked of both the former opinions, as too full of lenitie: and beeing asked his owne, deliuered it in this miſchieuous manner as followeth:

The great Baſſa's of diuers opinions for the diſpoſing of the Kingdome of Hungarie.

I know (ſaid he) *moſt mightie* Solyman, *that he which in conſultation of matters of ſo great conſequence is to deliuer his opinion laſt, ſhall if he diſcent from the reſt, be ſubiect to enuie and reprehenſion. And therefore it cannot be, but that I being of a quite contrarie opinion to them that haue before ſpoken, my ſpeech muſt alſo be vnto your eares both vnpleaſant and tedious. But I refuſe not to be counted by my ſelfe, yea and preſumptuous, if you will ſo haue it, rather than a ſmoother vp of other mens ſayings, as one of no iudgment; whileſt I recount theſe things, which as the preſent caſe ſtandeth, may* D *wonderfully profit your deſignes and the Imperiall ſtate: for of right I may deſire you to yeeld a little to my yeares, and (if I may by your good fauour ſo ſay) to that I haue alreadie done: when as I, now growne an old man in wars againſt theſe Hungarians, haue by experience learned thoſe things of the ſtate and ſtrength of this Kingdome, and the diſpoſition of the people, which being here laid downe, may much auaile for your better determination of this ſo weighty a cauſe as admitteth no repentance if you ſhal now be ouerſeene therein. You haue now within the ſpace of theſe twentie yeares come in warres your ſelfe in perſon fiue times into this countrie, when I as no obſcure captaine or ſouldier, was in all thoſe warres and battels euer preſent, of purpoſe, as I ſuppoſe, to reuenge your iniuries, to inlarge your empire, and in briefe to aſſure you of a good peace, which could neuer be but by force of armes and victorie. And therefore you valiantly won Belgrade, the infamous dwelling place and receptacle of moſt outragious theeues and* E *robbers, and in former time famous for the vnfortunat attempts of your anceſtors: when as from thence the Hungarians in time of peace had at their pleaſure, whileſt your father was then occupied in the Perſian warre, ſpoyled the borders of Seruia and Illyria. The ſame Hungarians about fiue yeares after, for that they had in cruell manner ſlaine your Embaſſadours, you ouerthrew in battell, and ſlew their King: and poſſeſſed of Buda, to manifeſt and make knowne by a notable demonſtration, the magnificence of your heroicall minde, euen vnto the remoteſt enemies of our name, did chooſe out of the reliques of that vanquiſhed Nation, one whom you might grace with the honour of the regall Crowne, although not borne of Royall bloud, or vnto you knowne for any other deſert, than that he was a little before both your publique and priuat enemie; and comming againſt you with a ſtrong power out of Tranſyluania, he had in the meane time loſt his brother, a better man than himſelfe, ſlaine with our ſword. After that, roſe* F *vp the Auſtrian King, a new enemie, to expulſe this Hungarian, raigning by your courteſie, and ſo you tooke in hand the third warre againſt the Germanes, which you ſo effectually proſecuted, that hauing forthwith reſtored the King, you carried the terrour of your ſelfe not onely to the walls of Vienna, but into the verie heart of Germanie. But two yeares yet ſcarcely paſt, the ſame King (neuer long contented with peace or warres) ſupported by the power of his brother* Charles, *and in vaine beſieging Buda-*

The oration of Mahometes of Belgrade, to Solyman, concerning the diſpoſing of the kingdome of Hungarie.

defended by your garriſons, ſtirred you vp againe to reuenge the iniurie, ſlaughter, and ſpoyle by his ſoldiers done: for that you thought it to ſtand with your honour, to protect him with your power, whom you had of your rare bountie made a King; and then deſired aboue all things, to fight a noble battell with the two brethren for the Empire of the Weſt. But they at ſuch time as you with fire and ſword ran thorow their antient kingdomes, endured not the noiſe of your comming. After that, enſued a peace betweene the Hungarians and the Germane, your Maieſtie permitting and approouing it, at ſuch time as you made haſte to go againſt the Perſians: but the German king ſo broke that peace, that had not I in good time reuenged his treacherie, by the ouerthrow of a great armie of his at Exek, you muſt of neceſſitie haue been ſent for from Babylon your ſelfe, as but now you were glad to come in haſte, by long and painfull iournies from Conſtantinople, to aid vs in time, and as I verily hope, to make an end for all; that all things ſet in firme order in Hungarie, the inconueniences of ſo many labours and ſo great charge, fiue times vndertaken for another mans profit, might now at length take end: except (as I ſee ſome wiſh) you be in minde neuer to giue ouer the protection of the childe and widow, a matter full of infinite labour and perill, not to be counteruailed with that glorious ſhew of honour, which by theſe (in my opinion) too too wiſe men is pretended to your haughtie minde, euer deſirous of honour and fame. But I as a blunt man vnderſtand not this high point of wiſedome, abounding with glorie, which in the verie courſe thereof cutteth in ſunder the ſinewes of victorie, and is neuer by politique Generals admitted into their campes. In which doing, as I wiſh you more fortunate than your anceſtors, who haue vnited eighteene kingdomes to this your Empire, ſo would I not haue you more wiſe than they: for what can be a more vnwiſe part, than alwayes to play the vnwiſe man? that is to ſay, alwayes to be carefull of other mens affaires, and in mean time oftentimes to indanger his owne eſtate, his health, his wealth, his honor. You haue ſatisfied, and that (in my opinion) plentifully the duties both of charity, fidelity, and if it muſt needs be ſo, of honor and glory alſo; if it be to be gotten rather by courteſie, clemency and lenity, than by the inuincible ſtrength of wiſe policie, and the conſtant reſolution of a martiall mind: for by thoſe inſtruments, and none other, hath worthie vertues alwaies promoted and ſupported the Othoman kings. Wherfore let thoſe vain ſhews (as ſeemeth vnto me) of counterfeit honor delight the minds of idle and ſloathfull kings: aſſuredly they neuer pleaſed your armed anceſtors, but after the enemie was quite ouerthrown, the triumph made, and the trophies of victorie erected. But let this be as beſt pleaſeth your high wiſdom and iudgement, whereunto the greateſt wits gaue place. Truely I (if I well foreſee the chances of war, and the aſſured euents of things) will not follow that manner of counſell which the pleaſure of my mind perſuadeth me vnto, when as neceſſitie, which ruleth all things, preſently forceth me and ſheweth me a far better courſe. The Hungarians aboue all other things notably warne vs not to truſt them, who infamous for their vnconſtancie after reuolt and trecherie, are ſtill at variance amongſt themſelues; and their baniſhed men are continually ſetting on the Germans to inuade the countrie, and the weake power of the Queene and the child is not ſuch as may withſtand ſo neere and ſo mightie an enemy: ſo that another mans kingdome muſt of neceſſitie be defended by our helpe, which may not be leſſe than a ſtrong armie, without our great perill. To be briefe, euery yeare to take in hand ſo long an expedition of ſo great labour and trauell, with an armie furniſhed with horſemen, footmen, artillerie, and a fleet of ſhips for defence of another man, as commonly we doe, ſeemeth to me meere madneſſe: neither doe I thinke it to ſtand with the maieſtie of the Othoman Emperours, thus to be moued euery yeare at the requeſt of a puling woman, crying for help: except you thinke it more profitable and honourably to maintaine a defenſiue than an inuaſiue warre: Wherefore (in my opinion) it is beſt to turne this kingdome (ſo often conquered and defended by Law of Armes) after the manner of your anceſtors, into the forme of a prouince: the Queene I would haue ſent to her father, and the boy her ſonne brought vp in your court at Conſtantinople, and there inſtructed in our religion: the nobilitie of the countrey I wiſh to be ſlaine, and their caſtles raſed, and the notable families which bare the braueſt minds, to be caried away out of al parts of the country into Aſia: as for the baſe multitude, I would haue kept vnder with good garriſons, to till the ground, and inhabit the cities. By this onely means (might Solyman) ſhal both the Hungarians perceiue themſelues conquered, and the Germans glad to forbeare comming into Hungarie, vnleſſe they will raſhly and vnfortunatly hazard both Styria and Auſtria.

Miſchieuous counſell.

Solyman entreth Buda, the 30 of Auguſt 1541, & there firſt ſacrificeth after the Mahometan manner.

But *Solyman* thinking it good to do ſacrifice before he would reſolutely determine of ſo great a matter, entred into Buda with his two ſonnes, *Selymus* and *Baiazet*, the thirtieth of Auguſt in the yeare 1541: and there in the Cathedrall church dedicated to the Virgin *Marie* (being before by his prieſts purified after the manner of their ſuperſtition) ſacrificed the firſt

A Mahometan ſacrifice in Buda. Shortly after, he as it were moderating the opinions of his
great counſellors, prouided out of them all both for his owne ſecuritie and honour, and publiſhed
a decree, the fatall doome of that flouriſhing kingdome, where vnder it yet groaneth at
this day; that Buda ſhould from that day be kept with a garriſon of Turks, and the kingdome
conuerted into a Prouince of the Turkiſh Empire; and the queene with her yong ſon ſhould
preſently depart the City, and liue in Lippa, in a fertile and quiet Countrey beyond the riuer
of Tibiſcus, which ſomething to comfort her, was neere vnto the borders of her father *Sigiſmund*
his Kingdome, to be ſafely conducted thither with all her wealth and jewels by his Ianizaries.
Wherefore the Queene and her Son, according to this Decree, with teares and
mourning, deteſting in her heart the Tyrants perfideous dealing (which neceſſitie inforced
B her then to diſſemble) departed from Buda, conſtrained by the Turks to leaue behinde her
all the ordnance in the caſtle and City, with all other the warlike prouiſion and ſtore of victuall.
The Noblemen went with her alſo, who although they went ſorrowfull for this woful
and vnexpected change of things, yet were they very glad of their liberty and ſafetie,
whereof they had for the ſpace of three dayes diſpaired. Only *Valentinus* was kept in ſafe
cuſtody in the campe, becauſe he was a martiall man of greateſt power amongſt the Hungarians;
and beſides that, much hated of the Turkes for the hard purſuit of *Caſon* and his horſemen,
ſlaine at Storamberg in Auſtria. Thus the royall city of Buda fell into the hands of the
Turks, whereupon not long after enſued the finall ruine of that Kingdome, ſometime the
ſtrong Bulwarke of Chriſtendome, but loſt to the great weakning of the Chriſtian Commonweale;
C which may iuſtly be imputed to the pride, ambition, and diſſention of the Hungarians
amongſt themſelues, and the calling in of the common Enemie: the due conſideration
of whoſe onely comming, might well haue ſufficed to haue ſet them agreed.

The doome of Hungary.

The Queene departeth out of Buda with her Sonne.

Whileſt theſe things were doing at Buda, king *Ferdinand* expecting the euent of this war
at Vienna, & hearing of the ſhameful of loſſe his Army, & that the Generall deadly wounded
was fled to Comara, and that *Solyman* (fame increaſing the euill newes) was comming towards
Vienna; ſent *Leonardus Velſius* (who neuer liked of the ſiege of Buda) to Comara, to ſtay the
further flight of the ſouldiers, and to gather together ſo wel as he could the diſperſed reliques
of the ſcattered armie, and to comfort againe the diſcouraged men with the hope of new ſupplies
and of pay. And ſomewhat to ſtay *Solyman*, who as it was thought would ſuddenly come
D to Vienna, he ſent Countie *Salma* and *Sigiſmund Lithestaine*, a noble and graue counſellour, his
embaſſadours, with Preſents and new conditions of peace to *Solyman*. The Preſents was a hie
ſtanding cup of gold after the German faſhion, curiouſly ſet with ſtones: and a wonderfull
globe of ſiluer of moſt rare & curious deuiſe, daily expreſſing the hourely paſſing of the time,
the motion of the planets, the change and full of the Moone, the motion of the ſuperiour
orbes, euer moouing by certaine wheeles and weights curiouſly conueyed within the ſame,
and exactly keeping due time and motion; liuely expreſſing the wonderfull motions & conuerſions
of the cœleſtiall frame. A moſt curious and ſtrange piece of worke, deuiſed and perfected
by the moſt cunning Aſtronomers for *Maximilian* the Emperor, whoſe noble mind neuer
ſpared for any coſt to obtaine things of rare & ſtrange deuiſe. The embaſſadours paſſing
E downe the riuer of Danubius, were at their landing firſt receiued by *Caſon* the Admirall of
Solymans fleet, and by him brought into a rich tent, the ground vnder their feet being all couered
with rich carpets: to whom *Ruſtan Baſſa* ſent ſuch good cheere as the campe affoorded,
but eſpecially moſt excellent wine, no leſſe forbidden the Turks by their law, than deſired of
the Germans. The next day after, the great Baſſaes feaſted the embaſſadors, *Solyman* himſelfe
dyning not far off in his pauillion: at which feaſt the Baſſaes for the more courteſie dined with
the embaſſadors, not ſitting with their legs gathered vnder them flat vpon the ground, as their
maner was, but ſitting in chaires at a high table, after the maner of the Chriſtians: onely *Mahometes*
Gouernour of Belgrade, for his age and valour an extraordinarie gheſt, ſat downe vpon
a cuſſion beneath the Baſſaes. Their cheere was onely Rice and Mutton, and that ſo plainly
F and ſparingly dreſſed, as if they had therby noted our gourmandiſe and exceſſe; who meaſure
not our cheere by that which nature requireth, but that which greedie appetite deſireth, as if
therein conſiſted the greateſt nobility: and the drinke for the great Baſſaes themſelues, right
eaſie to be had, was faire water out of the riuer Danubius. After dinner the embaſſadors were
brought in vnto *Solyman*, each of them led betwixt two Baſſaes holding them faſt by the

K. Ferdinand ſendeth Embaſſadors and preſents to Solyman.

The frugall cheere of the Turks.

The requeſt of the embaſſadors in the behalf of king Ferdinand

Solymans proud anſwer to king Ferdinand his Embaſſadours.

armes as it had been for honours ſake, and ſo brought to kiſſe his hand. For the Turks ſuffer G no ſtranger otherwiſe to come vnto the preſence of their ſuſpicious Emperour, but firſt they ſearch him that he haue no weapon about him, and ſo claſping him by the armes vnder the colour of doing him honour, diſſemblingly bereaue him of the vſe of his hands, leſt he ſhould offer him any violence: yet hath he alwaies as he ſitteth in his Throne, lying at hand ready by him, a targuet, a ſcimitar, an yron maſe, with bow and arrowes. The great Globe was alſo brought in by twelue of the Embaſſadors ſeruants, which with the ſtrangeneſſe therof filled the minde of *Solyman*, and the eyes of his Baſſa's with admiration: for *Solyman* was of ſo ſharpe a wit, that he was not learned only in ſuch bookes as contained the lawes and rites of the Mahometane ſuperſtition, but had alſo curiouſly ſtudied Aſtronomie, and eſpecially Coſmographie, in which profitable and pleaſant ſtudie he much recreated himſelfe as his leiſure H ſerued. The Embaſſadors deſired that he would giue the kingdome of Hungary to King *Ferdinand*, almoſt vpon the ſame conditions that *Laſcus* had before required it for him at Conſtantinople, paying him ſuch yearely tribute as King *Iohn* had vſually paid, and promiſing farther to draw *Charles* the Emperor his brother into the ſame league: ſo that *Solyman* deliuered of all feare that way, might at his pleaſure turne his forces vpon the Perſian, which it was thought he moſt deſired. Beſides that, they ſaid he ſhould deale neither honourably nor indifferently, if he ſhould prefer the young childe before King *Ferdinand*, who beſide his antient right vnto that Kingdome, (which they were not now to vrge, as oppreſſed by his happie victories, but might in time be reuiued) had alſo a late intereſt by a league betwixt him and king *Iohn*, wherein he had expreſly covenanted by the ſolemne conſent of the greateſt part of his I Nobility, that King *Ferdinand* ſhould ſucceed him in the Kingdome. Whereby they excuſed him of the late war, as juſtly taken in hand againſt the Queene and her Son vſurping vpon his right; which King *Iohn* knowing to be good, and mooued with conſcience, had by his ſolemne act acknowledged, though to the great offence and preiudice of *Solyman* his ſetter vp and defender, as alſo to the touching of himſelfe in honour, to have ſo vnthankfully and fraudulently dealt with his Patron, to whom he was by the oath of obedience bound. Wherefore they requeſted, that ſith he being a Prince of all others moſt mighty and magnificent, ſtanding vpon his vpright dealing both in peace and war, had ſo lightly regarded the ſlie dealing of ſo vngrateful a man; he would rather accept of King *Ferdinand* ſo many waies injured, as his friend and tributary, than to haue him his perpetuall enemy. Concluding, That no- K thing could be vnto him, for the good report of his juſtice more commendable, or for the aſſurance of a perpetuall peace more profitable, or to the immortall praiſe of his bounty more honorable, than to call a King of a moſt antient diſcent, famous for his vertue and fidelity, choſen for a King by the Bohemians, deſired for a King by the Hungarians, Emperour elect of the Romane Empire by the Germanes, and the naturall brother of the great Emperour, his tributary King of Hungary. *Solyman* with cheerefull countenance accepting and commending of the Preſents, anſwered them two dayes after by *Ruſtan* the Baſſa his ſon in law, that this was his reſolute condition of peace and friendſhip; If king *Ferdinand* would forthwith reſtore all the cities, townes, and caſtles, which were before belonging to King *Lewis*, and for ever L after abſtaine from Hungary: and wheras he had beene ſo often prouoked by him to war, and had therein beſtowed ſo great charges, and taken ſo much trauell, he could for that be content with an eaſie paine (which ſhould be for his great honour) to impoſe an eaſie tribute vpon Auſtria: vpon which conditions he was content to enter into league with them; but if ſo be that thoſe conditions ſeemed vnto them too heavie, and that they would rather make choice of war than peace, he would bring to paſſe by continuall war, that ſuch things as they had taken from the kingdome of Hungary, ſhould be requited with the deſtruction of Auſtria. But the Embaſſadors, although they were much mooued at the proud demand of tribute for Auſtria, as that wherein the two brethren of mighty power, *Charles* the Emperour and King *Ferdinand* were diſdainfully abuſed; to keepe the beſt courſe of their negotiation, and to win ſome time in ſo hard eſtate of things; required a truce vntill ſuch time as King *Ferdinand* and M the Emperor his brother might be made acquainted with the matter. Which their requeſt The Turke (perceiuiug their drift and purpoſe) would in no caſe grant, for Winter was now faſt comming on. It was lawfull for the Embaſſadours all the time they were in the Turkes Campe, to view euery part thereof, *Ruſtan Baſſa* conducting them from place to place:

where

A whereaboue all things, they moſt wondred at the perpetuall and dumbe ſilence of ſo great a multitude, the ſoldiers being ſo ready and attentiue, that they were no otherwiſe commanded but by the becking of the hand, or a nod of their commanders: they maruelled alſo at the exquiſit order and ſweetneſſe of the Turks campe, finding therein nothing diſordered or noyſome; ſo that it ſeemed not the campe of ſuch a rude and barbarous nation, but rather of them which were the authours of martiall diſcipline. The embaſſadors being rewarded and ſo ſent away, *Solyman* commanded the old Gouernor of Belgrade to ſpoile the borders of Auſtria all alongſt Danubius: *Caſon* alſo Generall of the voluntarie horſemen, he ſent into Morauia for like purpoſe; who neither of them did any great harme, by reaſon of the ſudden riſing of the great riuers, with the abundance of rain then falling in Autumne. After that, *Solyman* appointed B one *Solyman* an Hungarian (who taken priſoner in his youth by the Turks, had from that time followed the Mahometan ſuperſtition) Gouernor of Buda: who by the vpright adminiſtration of juſtice, and courteous vſing of the people, with *Verbetius* the old chancellor, ſhould doe what was poſſible to put the people in hope of long peace & tranquilitie. Which things done, after he had ſtaid about 20 daies at Buda, he determined to return again into Thracia, becauſe the rain of Autumne & the cold of Winter was now come in: and was alſo in doubt to be ſhut in with the riſing of the great riuers, wherewith the countrey of Hungarie is in euery place ſo watered, & on euery ſide ſo compaſſed, that it is a hard matter to paſſe. By the way he ſet *Laſcus*, K. *Ferdinands* embaſſador, again at liberty, whom he had left in priſon at Belgrade: but he long inioyed not that benefit: for ſhortly after returning into Polonia, he died of the flix; C which cauſed many to ſuppoſe, that he was poiſoned by the Turks. A man for his vertue and learning, famous, worthie of a longer life, whoſe death the King himſelfe much lamented.

The Turkes campe well ordered.

Solyman returneth towards Conſtantinople.

Laſcus ſet at liberty by Solyman ſhortly after dieth.

As *Solyman* was returning into Thracia, and was come to the riuer Dranus, it was told him, That *Stephen Maylat*, Vayuod of Tranſyluania, who tooke king *Ferdinand* his part, a profeſſed enemy of the Turks, was taken, by the cunning of *Peter* of Moldauia, and Prince of Valachia; and that all the countrey of Tranſyluania was well pacified, and yeelded to his obedience. Of which newes *Solyman* was paſſing glad, for he exceedingly hated *Maylat*, a martiall man of a froward nature, deſirous of rule, and readie vpon any occaſion to reuolt; foraſmuch as he remembred *Grittus* his Legat, and the Turks by him ſlaine; and knew alſo, that the Tranſyluanians, an inuincible people, borne to trouble, and more delighting in vncertaine war than aſſured D peace, was by him ſtirred vp; whom he wiſhed rather by gentleneſſe to appeaſe, than by force of armes and ſtrong hand to ſubdue. But becauſe we haue oftentimes before made mention of this *Maylat*, of whoſe taking *Solyman* ſo much reioyced, it ſhall not be amiſſe in few words to declare in what fineneſſe he fell into the hands of this trecherous and bloudie man, *Peter* of Moldauia.

This Moldauian by the commandement of *Solyman* (as is afore ſaid) had ioyned his forces with *Achomates*, Gouernor of Nicopolis, againſt *Maylat*; which being vnited, were in number 50000 horſemen beſide footmen, which after the manner of thoſe countries, were not many, euery man almoſt in the countrey, be he neuer ſo poore, keeping a horſe to ſerue vpon. *Maylat* beſet with the multitude of his enemies, and finding himſelfe too weake to incounter them, E deſpairing alſo of aid from king *Ferdinand*, whom he knew to be buſied in a greater war, forſooke the field, and fled again into the ſtrong town of Fogaras, as he had done the yere before, when he was ouercharged by king *Iohns* power: for there as in a moſt ſtrong place both by nature and fortification, he had laid vp his greateſt ſubſtance & prouiſion for the wars, but eſpecially the rich ſpoile he had long before taken from *Grittus*. *Achomates* comming thither with his power, and perceiuing the place was not to be battered or taken by force, but with much labour and long time, thought it beſt, to aſſay if he could ouercome him by craft and deceit. Wherefore he ſent a meſſenger vnto *Maylat*, to perſuade him to yeeld himſelfe vnto *Solyman*, and to make choice rather to be called of him his friend, than to be iudged his enemie; of whom he might well hope of all goodneſſe, which had giuen whole kingdomes vnto his F enemies: promiſing, that he would vſe the vttermoſt of his credit, which was not ſmall, and labour for him as his friend, that he might feele the fruit of his clemencie and bountie, and ſtill enioy the gouernement of Tranſyluania, paying him ſome ſmall yearely tribute, as hee had before requeſted: foraſmuch as hee could take no courſe better, being beſet with ſo many

Maylat the Vayuod notable to keep the field againſt Achomates, and the Prince of Moldauia fleeth to Fogaras.

enemies, than to make his peace vpon reaſonable conditions, and that with as much ſpeed as were poſſible: in which doing, beſides that he ſhould well prouide for his owne ſafetie, hee ſhould alſo ſaue both his wealth and honour; for *Solyman* was comming (as he ſaid) with his victorious armie; who would with aſſured death reuenge his vaine hope of holding out the ſiege, if he ſhould vpon a ſtubborne and obſtinate mind then refuſe to obey his command. Whereunto *Maylat*, who foreſaw that it was better for him to make a certaine peace, than to endure an vncertaine warre, anſwered, That he could be content to conclude a peace, ſo that it were not vpon any bad conditions; and would not greatly refuſe *Solymans* command, which was wont to be both reaſonable and juſt: wherefore vpon ſufficient pledges he would come into the campe, in preſence to agree vpon the conditions of the peace, and demanded to haue *Achomates* his ſon, a valiant yong gentleman, deliuered in hoſtage. Which thing *Achomates* denied, for that hee had (as he ſaid) before giuen him to *Solyman*, as the manner was; and therefore had ouer him no more power: but he promiſed for him, that was but one, to giue foure of his beſt captains. Which offer *Maylat* (miſdoubting no deceit) accepted, & with a great and gallant retinue attended vpon, came into the enemies camp, where he was courteouſly & honourably receiued. But the parly, as it could not be conueniently begun immediatly after the firſt ſalutation, ſo could it by no means be then ended, but was deferred vntill the next day: to the intent, that the trecherous Moldauian might take his well acquainted and wel knowne gueſt, whom he had againſt that time inuited to a ſolemn banquet. By that means, the next day about the midſt of dinner, fortune ſo fauoured the intended trecherie, *Maylat* (who was of ſo proud and cholericke a nature, that he could not wel brooke the leaſt indignitie) was by occaſion of ſome inſolent ſpeech, of purpoſe miniſtred by the Moldauian gheſts, put into ſuch a fret, that laying his hand vpon his ſword, he in a rage flung from the table: at which time all the other gheſts ſtarting vp alſo laid hands vpon him and tooke him, fuming, & in vaine crying out, that he was ſhamefully betraid. His followers were all forthwith ſtript of al their brauerie by the needie Moldauians, and their horſes and armor taken from them. Whileſt *Maylat* was yet furiouſly exclaiming of this treaſon, in came *Achomates*, who to ſeeme guiltleſſe of the matter, with deep diſſimulation ſharply reproued the falſe Moldauian, that he had in doing ſo foule a fact ſhamefully violated the lawes of hoſpitality, reuerenced of all nations, falſified the faith which he had giuen him for his ſafety, & betraid the liues of ſuch notable captains as lay in hoſtage for him. Wherunto the Moldauian (as if it had bin in contempt) ſcornfully anſwered, that he had vpon good cauſe taken *Maylat* priſoner, & ſo would in ſafety keep him for *Solyman*, vnto whom it onely belonged to iudge, whether he had iuſtly or vniuſtly kept him.

Maylat commeth into the Turks campe.

Maylat trecherouſly taken priſoner by the Moldauian.

Not long after, the ſtrong towne of Fogaris was deliuered, with the hoſtages, but whether by feare or by corruption of *Maylats* lieutenant, is vncertaine. So *Valentinus Turaceus*, and *Maylat*, two of the greateſt noblemen of Hungarie, ſufficient of themſelues to haue reſtored the Hungarian kingdome (firſt rent in ſunder with ciuill diſcord, and afterward with the inuaſion of the Turks) fell into the hands of the enemy, not vanquiſhed in battell, but deceiued by treaſon. The towne being thus ſurrendred, almoſt all the countrey of Tranſyluania, was by *Solymans* conſent deliuered to the young king, vnto whom all the people moſt willingly ſubmitted themſelues, and tooke the oath of obedience, remembring that his father had almoſt for thirtie yeares ſpace with great iuſtice and quietneſſe gouerned that prouince; and with many preſents honoured the young King lying in Lippa, with the Queene his mother, and his two tutors, the Biſhop, and *Vicche*.

Tranſyluania giuen by Solyman to the young King.

At the ſame time, *Charles* the Emperor at the importunat ſuit of his ſubiects of Spaine, had prepared a great force both by ſea and land for the conquering of Algiers: from whence the Turkiſh pyrats did ſo infeſt all that coaſt of the countrey, from Gades to the mountains Pyrenei, that the Spaniards (all trade of merchandiſe being ſet apart) were glad to keepe a continuall watch and ward all alongſt that coaſt for defence of the countrey. Wherefore although hee well knew of the comming of the Turkes to Buda, and how hardly he was by the Lantgraue and others ſpoken of, for leauing his brother ſo hardly beſtead, to go againſt a ſort of pirats in Affricke, yet perſiſting in his former determination, he departed out of Germanie into Italie, where by the way he met *Octauius Farneſius* his ſon in law, *Alphonſus Vaſtius* his lieutenant, by the Venetian embaſſadours, neere to Verona, and ſo brought to Millaine, where he was with

Charles the emperor returneth out of Germanie to inuade Affricke.

A Millain, where he was with great ſolemnitie ioyfully receiued of the citiſens, and vnder a canopie
of gold brought vnto the pallace: he himſelfe going in a plain blacke cloke, & a homely
cap in mourning wiſe, when as the women and vulgar people, vpon a curious ſimplicity, expected
to haue ſeene ſo great an Emperor in his royall robes, gliſtering with gold and precious
ſtone, and the imperiall crowne vpon his head. His heauie countenance anſwerable alſo to
his attire was much noted, as preſaging the woſull ouerthrow which was the day before receiued
at Buda, but not yet knowne in Italie. From Millaine he departed to Genoa, where he
was aduertiſed by letters from his brother king ***Ferdinand***, of the ouerthrow of the Germans,
of the victorie of the Turks, and the comming of ***Solyman***. Vpon which newes, ***Vaſtius*** and
Auria, his two chiefe commanders, the one at land, the other at ſea, would haue perſuaded him
B to haue deferred his intended expedition for Africa vntill the next Spring: and with ſuch
power as he had alreadie raiſed in Italie, and brought with him out of Germanie, to ſtay ſtill
in Italie, ſo to make ſhew vnto the Turks as if he would haue returned and holpen his brother:
and in the meane time to aſſure himſelfe of his ſtate in Italie againſt the French, who (as it was
thought) would be readie to take all occaſion of aduantage, if any miſhap ſhould befall him,
either by the force of the enemie, or violence of tempeſt. But he conſtant in his former reſolution,
anſwered them as they ſat in counſell, that they had perſuaded him for great reaſons to
ſtay in Italie; but that he was for far greater to paſſe into Africke: for if he ſhould then ſtay in
Italie, it would be thought, that he was for feare of the Turks fled out of Germanie: which
diſgrace could no otherwiſe be preuented, but by the preſent proſecuting of his former determination
C for Algiers, and ſatisfying the expectation of his ſubiects of Spaine, and ſo by ſea
valiantly to proue their better fortune, which had of late not ſo well fauored them at land, in
hope that Algiers might bee woon before the ſeas ſhould grow rough and dangerous with
Winter tempeſts: which if it ſhould fall out according to his mind, he would not, as he ſaid,
greatly care what the French could do. Yet was it thought, that the diſſembling friendſhip
betwixt the French king and him, would not long indure: and the rather, for that there was
a new grudge riſen betwixt them about the death of ***Antonius Rinuo***, who for certaine years
had lien embaſſador for the French king at Conſtantinople, to ***Solyman***, and was a few months
before ſent backe again by him into France to the king: but returning backe againe with new
inſtructions from his Maſter, for the confirmation of a further league betwixt the Turkiſh
D Sultan and him, hee was by certaine Spaniards of the Emperors old ſoldiers, who had knowledge
of his comming, belaied vpon the riuer Padus as he was going downe to Venice, ſo to
haue paſſed into Epirus, and ſlaine, together with ***Cæſar Fregoſius***: or as the common report
went, firſt taken and tortured, to get from him the ſecrets of his negotiation, and afterwards
ſlaine. Which report ſo much touched ***Vaſtius*** in credit, that in purgation of himſelfe, he offered
the combat to any man of like qualitie to himſelfe, that durſt charge him with the truth
thereof. But many were of opinion, that he was well and worthily taken away, for vndertaking
ſo odious a charge, as to ſtirre vp the Turks againſt the Chriſtians, and to ſhew vnto them
ſuch opportunities as might beſt ſerue their purpoſe, by diſcouering vnto them the Emperors
deſignes, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian common-weale. But were it well, or were it euill;
E as ***Paulus*** the third of that name then Biſhop of Rome, meeting the Emperour at Luca as hee
came from Genoa, could not, or would determine, ſure it ſerued as no ſmall occaſion to ſet
thoſe two great Princes again at ods; whereby the wiſhed vnitie of the Chriſtian ſtate was
ſore ſhaken, and a way opened for the Turke. The Emperor at his comming to Luca, was honorably
receiued by the Cardinals and Biſhops, and lodged in the court; the great Biſhop was
before placed in the Biſhops pallace, whither the Emperor came thrice to talke with him, and
the Biſhop to him once. But the Biſhop hauing nothing at all preuailed with the Emperor and
the French embaſſador, for the appeaſing of the troubles euen then like to ariſe betwixt him
and the French king; did what hee might to perſuade him to employ ſuch forces as hee was
about to paſſe ouer with into Africke, againſt the Turks in defence of his brother ***Ferdinand***,
F and of the countrey of Auſtria, if ***Solyman*** ſhould happily purſue his late obtained victorie at
Buda. But he ſtill reſolute in that fatall determination of inuading of Africke, reiected that
the Biſhops requeſt alſo. So the great Biſhop hauing moued much, and preuailed little, in the
greateſt matters which moſt concerned the common good, taking his leaue of the Emperour,
returned by eaſie iournies to Rome.

The French kings embaſſadour ſlaine by the Emperour.

The Emperour and the Biſhop of Rome meet at Luca.

The Emperour in the mean time with certain bands of Italians, vnder the leading of *Camillus Columna* and *Auguſtinus Spinula*, and ſix thouſand Germans, came from Luca to the port Lune and there imbarking his ſouldiers in certain marchants ſhips prouided for the purpoſe, and fiue & thirtie gallies, departed thence, commanding the maſters of the ſhips to direct their courſe to the Iſlands of Baleares: but after they had put to ſea, they were by force of tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing, brought within ſight of Corſica: where after they had been toſſed too and fro two daies in the rough ſeas, and put out of their courſe, the wind ſomething falling, they put into the hauen of Syracuſa, now called Bonifacium. The diſperſed fleet once come together into the port of Syracuſa, and the rage of the ſea well appeaſed, hee put to ſea againe for the Iſlands Beleares, now called Maiorca and Minorca: where in his courſe he met with a tempeſt from the Weſt, more terrible and dreadfull than the firſt: wherin diuers of the gallies hauing loſt their maſts and ſailes, were glad with extreame labour and perill in ſtriuing againſt the wrought ſea to get into, a harbour of the leſſer Iſland, taking name of *Barchinus Mago* the famous Carthaginenſian, whoſe name it retaineth vntil this day. From hence the Emperor with all his fleet paſſed ouer to the greater Iſland, being wonderfull glad that *Ferdinand Gonſaga* his Viceroy in Sicilia was in good time come with the Sicilian gallies and ſhips of Italie, in number a hundred and fifty ſaile, wherin he had brought ſuch ſtore of bisket and victual, as might haue ſufficed for a long war. *Mendoza* was alſo expected to haue come thither with his fleete from Spaine; but he by reaſon of contrarie winds being not able to hold that courſe, altered his purpoſe according to the tempeſt, and ſo happily cut ouer directly to Algiers. So the Emperour nothing miſdoubting the carefull diligence of *Mendoza*, and thinking that which was indeed already changed, and the wind now ſeruing faire, by the perſuaſion of *Auria* his Admirall hoiſed ſaile, and in two daies came before Algiers, and there in goodly order came to anker before the citie in the ſight of the enemy. Whileſt the fleet thus lay, two of the pyrats which had beene abroad at ſea ſeeking for prize, returning to Algiers, not knowing any thing of the fleet, fell into the bay amongſt them before they were aware: the bigger whereof *Viſcontes Cicada* ſtemmed with his gallie and ſunke him, the other with wonderfull celeritie got into the hauen. In the mean time *Mendoza* with his gallies had paſſed the promontorie of *Apollo* now called the cape of Caſſineus, and in token of honour ſaluting the Emperour after the manner at ſea, with all his great ordnance, gaue him knowledge that the Spaniſh fleet was not far behind. In this fleet was aboue a hundred tal ſhips of Biſcay and the low countries, and of other ſmaller veſſels a far greater number. In theſe ſhips, beſides the footmen, was embarked a great number of braue horſemen out of all parts of Spaine: for many noble Gentlemen had voluntarily of their owne charge gallantly furniſhed themſelues with braue armour and couragious horſes, to ſerue their Prince and countrey againſt the Infidels. Ouer theſe choice men commanded *Ferdinand* of Toledo, Duke of Alba, for his approued valor then accounted a famous captaine. Theſe ſhips going altogether with ſailes, were not yet able to double the cape as did *Mendoza* with his gallies, for now it was a dead calme: howbeit the billow of the ſea went yet high, by reaſon of the rage of the late tempeſt, & did ſo beat againſt the plain ſhore, that it was not poſſible to land the ſouldiers, but that they muſt needs be waſhed vp to the middle; which thing the Emperor thought it not good to put them vnto, and ſo to oppoſe them ſea ſick and thorow wet againſt the ſudden & deſperat aſſaults of their fierce enemies. He alſo ſtaied for the comming of the Spaniſh ſhips for two cauſes: firſt, that hee might with his vnited power more ſtrongly aſſault the citie, and terrifie the enemie: then, to communicat the whole glory of the action with the Spaniards, at whoſe requeſt and forwardneſſe & greateſt charge he had vndertaken that war. Which fatal delay of two days, although it was grounded vpon good reaſon, did not only diſturbe an aſſured victorie, but to the notable hurt of the whole armie, opened a way to all the calamities which afterward inſued.

The Emperour driuen by tempeſt into Sicilia

The Emperour commeth to Algiers.

The Emperours fleet out of Spaine and the Low countries.

The Duke of Alba.

Delay in great actions hurtful.

In the meane while the Emperor ſent a conuenient meſſenger to *Aſanagas*, otherwiſe and more truely called *Aſſan-Aga*, or *Aſſan* the eunuch; who with a little flag of truce in his hand making ſigne of a parley, and anſwered by the Moores with like, as their manner is, went on ſhore, and was of them courteouſly receiued and brought to *Aſſan*. This *Aſſan* was an eunuch, borne in Sardinia, brought vp from his youth in the Mahometan ſuperſtition by *Barbaruſſa*, a man both politicke and valiant, and by him left for the keeping of his kingdome of Algiers in his abſence with *Solyman*. This meſſenger brought into his preſence, required him forth-

The Emperour ſendeth a meſſenger to Aſſan Aga gouernour of Algiers for Barbaruſſa.

A city(firſt ſurpriſed by force & trechery by ***Horruccius***,& afterwards to the deſtruction of mankind,
fortified by ***Hariadenus Barbaruſſa*** his brother)to ***Charles*** the mightie emperor, come in
perſon himſelfe to be reuenged on thoſe horrible pyrats : which if he would do,it ſhould be
lawfull for the Turks to depart whether they would, & for the naturall Moores to abide ſtil,
with their goods and religion wholly reſerued vnto them vntouched,as in former time: and
for himſelfe,he ſhould receiue of the Emperor great rewards both in time of peace & wars,ſo
that he would remember himſelfe,that he was borne in Sardinia,& was once a Chriſtian;and
accept of the faireſt occaſion which could poſſibly be offered for him to returne againe to the
worſhipping of the true God,and to inioy the fauor and bountie of the moſt mightie Emperor,
and withall to reuenge himſelfe of the cruell tyrant ***Barbaruſſa***,for the vnnaturall villany
B done vnto his perſon. But if he would needs dally on the time,& make proofe of the ſtrength
of ſo great preparation,he ſhould vndoubtedly,with the reſt of his followers,receiue the ſame
reward of his obſtinacie, which they had to the example of others,receiued at Tunes. Wherunto
the vngracious eunuch anſwered, That he thought him altogether mad, that would follow
his enemies counſel,& with a grinning countenance askt him, Vpon what hope the Emperour
truſted to be able to win the citie? the meſſenger pointing with his finger directly to
the fleet told him, That which you ſee, with his great artillerie, and valour of his ſouldiers,
both horſe and foot: whereat the eunuch ſcornfully laughing,replied, And we with like force
and valor will defend this city,& make this place,alreadie famous for your ouerthrows here
twice,now the third time,of all others moſt famous by the Emperors diſcomfiture. It is reported,
C That there was in Algiers an old witch,famous for her predictions,who had(as it was
ſaid)foretold the ſhipwracks & miſery of ***Didaco Verra*** and ***Hugo Moncada*** to them of Algiers;
& alſo prefixed a time when as the Chriſtian emperor aduenturing to beſiege that city,ſhould
there receiue great loſſe both by ſea & land. The fame of which blind prophecie ſeruing fitly
to confirm the hope of good ſucceſſe in the minds of the vulgar multitude, ***Aſſan*** ſo feed and
augmented(although he himſelfe being a craftie wiſe fellow, beleeued no ſuch vanitie)that
he did therewith not onely encourage his owne ſouldiors,but alſo ſtrucke a terrour into the
minds of the weaker ſort of his enemies, ſeeing themſelues caſt vpon ſo dangerous a coaſt
vpon the approch of Winter. There was in garriſon in the citie but 800 Turks,& moſt of them
D horſmen,but ſuch,as whoſe valor & reſolution far exceeded their number. For ***Aſſan*** had loſt
many of his beſt men,ſome in fight againſt ***Mendoza***;& otherſome at ſea,ſlain or taken by ***Auria***
in Corſica;& in other places by the Rhodian,Neapolitan,& Sicillian gallies;but many mo
were by his leaue gon to aid the Moors againſt the Portingals:the other multitude did ſcarce
make vp the number of 5000; which were partly naturall Moores born in that country, and
partly ſuch as were born in Granado;to whom were ioined many fugitiues out of the Iſlands
of Maiorca & Minorca,who in former time hauing entred into rebellion,& fearing condigne
puniſhment,were fled to Algiers,and there reuolted to the Mahometan ſuperſtition. But the
captains of the wild Numidians made vp a great number both of horſe and foot,which lying
ſtragling without the citie in the open fields,ſhould night & day vex and moleſt the Chriſtians.
E This brutiſh people, naturally enemies vnto the Chriſtians,had ***Aſſan*** with rewards and
hope of a rich ſpoile,allured out of the countries thereabout to aid him:neither was it lawful
for any man to carrie his wife or children out of the city, into places of more ſafety farther off,
or to ſhew any ſmall token of feare,pain of death being by the imperious eunuch propoſed to
whoſoeuer ſhould but look heauily for feare of danger,or ſpeake a word fauouring of cowardiſe.
The Emperour by ***Auria*** making choice of a moſt conuenient place for landing his men,
layd his gallies ſo cloſe vnto his tall ſhips,that his armed ſouldiers might with eaſe come out
of the high built ſhips into them,& ſo out of them into the long boats,to be forthwith ſet on
ſhore. And ſuch was the ſpeedie diligence of them that had the charge of that matter,and the
plentie of boats ſtil readie to receiue the ſoldiers as faſt as they could come out of the gallies,
F that the footmen were in a very ſhort time all landed. The emperor hauing a little reſted and
refreſhed his ſoldiers,diuided his armie into three equal battailes,which was in number about
twentie thouſand footmen,beſides horſmen,&others,who of their owne voluntarie wil then
followed the emperors fortune. Vnto euery battaile he appointed 3 field peeces,to terrifie
the Numidian horſemen,which were ſtil pricking vp & downe about them, readie to charge

The ſcornfull anſwer of Aſſan the eunuch to the emperours meſſenger.

The Emperour landeth his armie at Algiers.

if they could take them at any aduantage. And ſo ſetting forward a few furlongs, encamped G
in a ſtrong and conuenient place, neere vnto the citie, betweene two deepe ditches, which the
water falling from the mountaines had naturally worne ſo deep, that neither horſeman nor
footman could well paſſe ouer, but by bridge: and faſt by vpon the left hand was a hill, from
the top whereof it ſeemed the citie might with great ordnance well be battered.

The deſcription of Algiers.

The Numidians skirmiſh with the Spaniards

The Spaniards put the Numidians to flight, and gaine the hils.

The diſcription of the Numidian footmen and horſenen.

A maruellous tempeſt.

The citie of Algiers, ſometime the royall ſeat of the great King *Iuba*, called of the Romans
Iulia Cæſarea, is in forme of a triangle, ſcituat faſt by the ſea towards the North, hauing a hauen,
but neither great, neither ſafe from the North wind. The houſes farther off from the ſea,
ſtand in ſeemly order vpon the riſing of a ſteep hill, as it were vpon degrees; in ſuch ſort, that
the windows of one row ſtil ouerlooks the tops of the next beneath it, into the ſea, moſt beautifull
to behold. The Emperour hauing diuided his campe into three parts, euery nation by H
themſelues, lying on the Eaſt ſide of the towne, was in great hope to win it; and the rather, for
that whilſt he aſſaulted it on that ſide, his ſhips and gallies from the North ſide, might in time
of the aſſault with their great ordnance beat the enemy all alongſt the wall: which ſtill riſing
higher and higher according to the riſing of the ſteep hill, could not conueniently be defended
with one bulwarke, as we ſee it may in plaine ground. Neereſt vnto the riſing of the hils,
lay the Spaniards: in the midſt, the Germans with the Emperor; and in the plaine neereſt to
the ſea, the Italians. In the mean time whilſt the great ordnance was landing, & the horſes vnſhipping,
the Numidians with a hideous outcry ſhew'd themſelues vpon the tops of the mountains
aboue the Spaniards, and from thence eaſily gauled them with their darts and ſhot: for I
they nimbly running too & fro in the known paths of the rough mountains, would ſuddenly
and fiercely aſſaile them, but after the manner of their nation skirmiſhing a far off, rather than
neere at hand. In which maner of light skirmiſhes, all the day was ſpent vntil night, with ſmall
danger but much trouble to the Spaniards. And when night was come, theſe wild people, one
companie ſtill ſucceeding another in the place they had before taken, neuer left ſhooting; for
whereſoeuer they ſaw any fire in the Spaniſh camp, thither came arrows, darts, and ſtones flying
as thicke as haile: for remedy whereof, the Spaniards were glad to put out their fires, and
with ſilence to expect the day, that they might come neerer vnto them. Wherefore as ſoone
as the Sun was vp, the Spaniards by the perſuaſion of ***Aluares Sandes***, maſter of the camp, valiantly
climing vp the high mountaines, repulſed and put to flight the Numidians, and tooke K
the top of the hils, and there lay as it were incamped in the poore ſheepheards cottages. But
the ſame day ſuch a multitude of the wild people was flockt about them, that they were compaſſed
in round, and glad to fight on euery ſide in a ring. Yet this fiercenes of this barbarous
people, was by the valour of the Sicilian companies quickly repreſſed, whoſe pikemen gliſtering
in their bright armour, made ſmall account of the Numidians arrowes and darts, but orderly
ſtepping forwards with their pikes, & the harquebuſiers cloſe by their ſides, eaſily repulſed
their naked enemies. The Numidian footmen are for moſt part youths halfe naked, with
long haire not vnlike the Iriſh, vſing no other weapons but darts: they fight mingled with
their horſemen, truſting the one to the other, and are of a wonderfull ſwiftneſſe and agilitie
of bodie. Their horſmen vſe long ſpeares, armed at both ends, which they with a maruellous L
dexteritie vſe, to the indangering of their enemy purſuing them: they vſe alſo long and light
targuets made of leather, wherwith they ſo cunningly defend themſelues & their horſes, both
in their charge & retrait, that for a ſmall trifle, in reſpect of the danger, they will giue a man
leaue to caſt ſeuen darts at one of them, which they wil all moſt ſurely auoid, either with the
ſpeare, or receiue them without harm in their targuet. In the mean time, whilſt this wild people
thus skirmiſhed al the day, at night a ſuddē miſchance ouerthrew al the emperors hope: for
as he ſtood beholding the vnſhipping of his great ordnance, his horſes, victual, & other neceſſaries
of the army, a ſtorm of wind & rain began about ſix a clock in the afternoon, holding on
all the night without intermiſſion, with ſuch rage, as if heauen & earth ſhould haue gon together:
wherwith the whole army at land was wonderfully troubled, & a great part of the fleet M
at ſea by force of tempeſt driuen aground periſhed. That night 3 companies of the Italians, by
the appointment of their generall, lay without the trenches againſt the ſudden aſſault of ſo vncertain
an enemy, who when they had all the night endured the vehement rain and extreame
cold, were ſo ouercome with the extremity of the weather, that neither was their minds able
to relieue their weake bodies, neither their feeble bodies their daunted minds: for they could

neither

A neither conueniently ſtand nor lie downe, all the ground being ſo myrie, that at euery ſtep they
ſunke vp to the calfe of the legge. Vpon theſe ſtaruen companies, the Turkiſh horſemen and
Moores footmen, who diligently obſerued the watch of the Chriſtians, perceiuing their diſtres
ſuddenly ſallied out in the dawning of the day; and ſo fiercely charged them, their match
and pouder being now ſo wet that they could not vſe their pieces, that they all fled except a
few pikemen, who made a ſtand, and were all quickly ſlaine by the Turks: who ſo deſperatly
purſued the reſt in chaſe, that they followed them ouer the trench into the camp. This alarme
being heard, ***Camillus Columna*** the Italian Generall came preſently thither, being ſent by the
Emperor, who with certaine companies iſſued out ouer the bridge againſt the enemie: who
now in ſhew diſcouraged with the comming out of this new ſupplie, did indeed, or at leaſtwiſe
B made as if they did diſorderly retire for feare. At which time ***Ferdinand Gonzaga***, viceroy
of Sicilia, a man of greateſt account in the army next vnto the Emperour, comming in alſo, and
angry with them which had before fled; perſuading them as valiant men, to recompence their
ſhamefull flight with a freſh charge, by driuing the enemie home to his owne doore: which
thing ***Columna*** ſaid could not be done without great perill: but ***Gonzaga*** being a man of a noble
courage, deſired to haue the diſgrace which the Italians had receiued, ſalued ſome way, although
it were with neuer ſo great danger; thinking alſo that it might happily fal out, that the
enemy being put to flight, and haſtily purſued, they might together with them enter the city,
without danger of the artillerie. So without farther delay, the reſt of the Italian companies
were led forth of their trenches with great cheerfulnes by ***Auguſtine Spinnla***, who ſo valiantly
C charged the enemies, that they put them to flight, and purſued them ſo hard, that they came
with them to the very gates of the city: where many ſhut out for feare of letting in the Italians
together with them, ſcaped by known waies, ſome to another gate, & ſome into the mountains.
But then theſe barbarous people, with darts and ſhot from the wals, began to ouerwhelm
the Italians which were vnaduiſedly come within their danger, & with terrible outcries to
terrifie them; & they which before were fled without the wals, returned again to fight. They
alſo which had ſhut the gate, ſallied out again, & hardly charged the Italians, who already galled
with ſhot from the wals, & rent in ſunder with the great ordnance, fled moſt diſorderly; for
why, they were but raw ſoldiers taken vp in haſt, little or nothing acquainted with the wars.
D At which time ***Aſſan*** alſo ſallying out, who was eaſily knowne by his countenance & rich attire,
purſued the chaſe with his troups of Turks & Moores footmen. Only certain knights of
the Rhodes fought valiantly, & retired orderly: and ***Spinula*** with ſome other gentlemen making
a ſtand at a little woodden bridge, ſomewhat ſtaid the enemy & ſaued the liues of many.
So the Italians which firſt charged moſt valiantly, being in the flight become hindermoſt, the
enemie ſtriking them downe as they fled, couered the fields with their dead bodies by the
ſpace of halfe a mile, eſpecially they which fled towards the ſea: for there they were circumuented
& ſlain by the mercileſſe Numidians, who beholding the ſhipwreck, were come down
to the ſea ſide for prey. But the formoſt companies of the Italians which firſt fled into the
campe, fled in ſo much haſt & ſo great feare, that none of the leaders in ſo great and ſudden a
E perplexity, remembred either the common ſafety, or performed the dutie of an aduiſed captaine;
ſo that all ſeemed at once loſt both by ſea and land. Only the Emperor, armed with an
inuincible courage againſt all the chances of fortune, & not to be diſmaid with any miſhap, was
both vnto himſelfe & others that day the greateſt captaine; for when all was almoſt loſt, he in
good time ſtaied the matter by comming on with the ſquadron of Germans, whereof he ſent
before three enſigns to ſtay the flight, & with them as a ſure & freſh ſupply to guard his camp
beyond the bridge which was ouer the ditch, ſeruing his armie for a trench as we haue before
ſaid. But ſuch a feare had poſſeſſed the minds of the flying Italians, and ſuch was the fierce purſuit
of the enemy, that thoſe Germans (not before wont to turne their backs) as if they had bin
afraid of the Turkes white caps, or not able to abide their ſight, or to hold vp weapon againſt
F them; by and by turned their backs, and ſhamefully fled for companie with the Italians. Then
the Emperor galloping forth with his horſe, and his ſword in his hand drawn, reprouing them
of cowardiſe that fled, ſet forward with the German ſquadron, and with a ſtout & manly courage
ſpake to them theſe few words in their owne language: ***When will you (fellow ſouldiers) ſhew
your faces to your proud enemies, if now when you ſhould fight for the honor of the Chriſtian name, for
the glory of the German nation, for the ſafegard of your owne liues, in the preſence of your Emperor, you***

The Moores put to flight by the Italians.

The Italians diſcomfited by the Moores fly, & indanger the whole campe.

The notable courage of the Emperour in ſtaying the flight of his armie.

feare a few diſordred and naked Barbarians? Immediatly when he had thus ſaid, the Germanes touched with ſhame, and diſdaining that it ſhould be thought they needed any exhortation to performe the parts of valiant ſouldiers, iſſued out againſt the enemy: who moued with their comming, and ſeeing the Italian battell againe reſtored by the valor and trauell of certain valiant and expert captains, ſtood ſtill a while and began to retyre; whether it were becauſe they feared the great Artillery and aſſault of the Germanes, or that they thought they had done enough for that ſally: when as for the full accompliſhment of the victory they ſaw the Chriſtian fleet ouercome with a moſt horrible tempeſt, miſerably to periſh before their faces; & many of their men, eſpecially the Moores, haſted to the ſea ſide in hope of a more certaine prey, wheras was no enemy to be feared. For the bluſtring windes blowing from diuers quarters, as if they had conſpired to raiſe a moſt horrible tempeſt, had made ſuch a wrought ſea, & the hugie billows went ſo high, that the ſhips by the violence of the weather, and rage of the ſea, put from their anchors, fel foule one of another, & were ſo loſt; or els driuen vpon the main, were there beaten in pieces in the ſight of the army: ſo that all the ſea coaſt Weſtward from Algiers to Cercello, lay full of dead men & horſes, and the ribs of broken ſhips. The Numidians beholding this miſerable wrecke, came down by great companies frō the mountaines, & without mercy ſlew all that came aliue to land. In the ſpace of a few hours was loſt about 140 ſhips, and all the ſmal boats & caruels, which were in number many. Some of the gallies, when they had from midnight to the next day at noone, by the painfull labour of the mariners, and skilfulnes of the maſters, rid it out; being no longer able to endure the rage of the tempeſt, & fearing to be eaten vp with the ſea, with ſailes and oares ran a ground: but the ſoldiers and mariners ſwimming to land in hope to ſaue their liues, & thinking that the greateſt danger had bin now paſt, were by the Numidian horſmen which ran vp and downe the ſea ſide, ſlaine. There might a man haue ſeene free-men of all ſorts, with teares commending their liues and liberty to their own gally-ſlaues, that by the ſpeech & intreaty of them, which by the ſudden change of fortune had but euen now ſhaken off their yrons, & with merry hearts ſwam out to their liberty, they might be ſaued from the cruelty of the fierce Numidians. It was a moſt grieuous and wofull ſight for diuers hard extremities, when as euery man according to the diſpoſition of his mind and skill in ſwimming, ſtanding doubtfull in moſt aſſured death, which to receiue or refuſe, was by fatall deſtiny drawne to his end, and either drowned in the ſea, or thruſt thorow with the enemies lance: yet moſt made choice to abide the danger of the ſea, & to expect the euent of the tempeſt, rather than to haſten their end by the enemies mercileſſe hand. By that means it came to paſſe, that that barbarous cruelty of the enemy (as a thing moſt feared of the mariners & ſoldiers) ſaued many gallies, which by the appointment of the fearefull mariners and paſſengers ſhould otherwiſe haue bin run on ground. But after that, a notable gally wherein *Iannettin Auria* went, was ſeene to come neere vnto the ſhore, and to be driuen vpon the ſands by force of weather and the beating of other gallies. The Emperor not enduring to ſee ſo valiant a yong gentleman, captaine of many gallies, ſlaine without helpe by the Moores in the ſight of *Auria* his vnkle; ſent by and by one of his captaines called *Antonius* of Aragon, with three bands of Italians to the ſea ſide: by whoſe comming the Moores were put to flight, and he with the reſt in the gally ſaued; but ſo, that the ſauing of him was the loſſe of diuers other gallies. For many deliuered of the feare of the Numidians, and truſting to the reſcue of the ſoldiers came downe to the ſea ſide, deſiring to ſaue themſelues from the rage of the ſea, ran their gallies on ground; and had not ſome bold captains (grieued to ſee ſo great a loſſe) ran vp and downe the banks with their drawne ſwords in their hands, and by threatening death vnto the gally-ſlaues and mariners ſtaied their rowing, moſt part of the gallies had by the example of the others periſhed. *Auria*, not ſo angry at himſelfe as at the Emperor (who, contrarie to the obſeruation of skilfull ſeamen, could not be diſſuaded from taking in hand that great expedition in ſo ſuſpitious a time of the yere) with an inuincible courage ſtriue againſt the violence of the tempeſt, and rage of the ſea: inſomuch, that being requeſted by ſome of his friends to ſaue himſelfe, whatſoeuer became of the gallie; he was ſo angry thereat, that he commanded them to be beſtowed vnder hatches. Foure Gallies alſo of *Virginius Vrſinus* Earle of Anguillaria, and as many of the Rhodians, after his example rid it out, the reputation of their honour exceeding the feare of death. Certaine gallies alſo of Sicilia, Naples, and Spaine, happily endured all the rage of the tempeſt: yet was there fifteene great gallies caſt away; with

An horrible tempeſt.

The Chriſtian fleet periſheth by ſhipwracke.

A hard choice.

Many gallies loſt by ſauing of one man.

A the loſſe wherof,beſides the loſſe of ſo many ſhips,the tempeſt ſtill enduring,ſo great ſorrow and deſperation in the wofull expectation of the wrecke of all,poſſeſſed the whole army,that not only the yong ſoldiers regarding only their owne liues,but euen the moſt valiant captains carefull of the common eſtate, were vtterly diſcouraged: for neuer was army in any memorie ouerwhelmed with a greater condourſe of calamities, when as all their victuals being loſt in three daies, nothing was left to relieue them withall, and they wanted tents wherin to ſhroud and reſt the ſoldiers ſpent with labor,hunger,cold,and wounds,in ſuch perpetuall raine and ſo dirty a country. In which ſo great miſeries a wonderfull care heauier than the former fear exceedingly troubled the minds of all men,to think vpon that horrid wreck,when as hauing loſt ſo many ſhips,and they poore men landed in Affrick,were in doubt how euer to returne againe B into their natiue countries. Yet the notable courage of the Emperor ſtil kept the diſtreſſed men in hope,which neuer altogether forſaketh wretched men in the midſt of their calamities : for he with a couragious heart and cheerfull countenance performed all the parts of a prouident and curteous Generall.For when he had againe made ſure his campe againſt the aſſaults of the Barbarians, he commanded the wearied captaines, eſpecially the duke of Alba (wonderfully wearied in the late skirmiſh, and dung wet) to ſpare themſelues and take their reſt : he comforted the wounded men,& cauſed thē to be caried & cheriſhed in the tents which by chance yet ſtood(for the tempeſtuous wind had almoſt ouerthrowne them all)and ſo not ſparing himſelfe for any pains,being in his armor & thorow wet,won the hearts of all his ſoldiers the more. In C this conflict he loſt about 3000 men,amongſt whom was fiue of his forward captains,& three Knights of the Rhodes:but many moe were hurt. The greateſt loſſe was thought to be in loſſe of the ſhips and of the mariners, which was alſo increaſed by the loſſe of a wonderfull deale of great ordnance,reckoned ſo much the greater,for that it would come into the hands of the Moores,to the common harme of the Chriſtians,ſo ſoone as the ſea would giue them leaue to diue for it. Shortly after, *Auria* (as he was to foreſee a tempeſt, a wonderfull obſeruer of the ſea,of the heauens,& of the clouds)miſtruſting that place,departed with the remainder of the fleet to the cape called Metafuſium, becauſe it was a place of ſafer riding for his gallies, and better for the taking in of the ſoldiers: aduiſing the Emperor to march thither by land. Which his counſell the Emperor liking well of,to relieue the hunger of his ſoldiers,commanded firſt D all the draught horſes which were firſt vnſhipped for the drawing of the great ordnance, and after them the horſes for ſeruice,to be killed,and diuided for meat among the ſoldiers. As for wood to make fire of,they had plentie of the planks and ribs of the broken ſhips, fortune as it were with that one poore benefit recompenſing ſo many calamities. The next day the emperor departed from Algiers,with his army diuided into three battels,the ſicke & wounded men being receiued into the middle: and when he had marched ſeuen miles (the enemies horſmen ſtil houering about him) he came to a heady brooke which the Moores call Alcaraz : which was growne ſo high with the abundant raine and the checke of the winde and of the ſea, that being but a ſhallow thing before, it was not now to be paſſed ouer by a good horſeman. Wherefore the Emperour of neceſſity there incamped,in ſuch ſort,that lying with his armie in forme of a E triangle,two ſides of his army was defended with the ſea and the brooke,and the other with a ſtrong guard of armed men, for he thought it not good to depart from the ſea, a ſure defence for his army on the left hand,to ſeeke a foord farther of. Many aduenturing to ſwim ouer,were by the violence of the ſtreame carried away and drowned. Wherefore the Emperour cauſed a bridge to be made ouer it,of the maſts & ſaile yards of the brokē ſhips,which were by chance there taken vp, and ſo paſſed ouer the Italians and Germans. The Spaniards marching higher vp the brooke,found a foord whereby they paſſed ouer. After which time the Turks purſued them no further,being called backe again by *Aſſan* their gouernor: as for the Moores and Numidians which ſtill followed at hand alwaies ready to skirmiſh, they were eaſily repulſed by the harquebuſiers and field pieces appointed to euery nation: but vpon ſuch ſicke & wounded F men as were not able to keepe way with the army, they exerciſed all manner of cruelty : for there was none which in that ſmall hope,poſſeſſed with feare of their own ſafetie,was greatly moued with the compaſſion of their fellows miſerie. The next day paſſing ouer another little riuer,which the ſouldiers waded ouer vp to the breſts, they came in three daies march to the rode where the fleet lay,and incamped in the ruines of the old city Tipaſa neere vnto the ſea ſide,which ſerued them in ſtead of a fortreſſe againſt the Barbarians. The ſea was now calme,

The miſery of the Chriſtian Armie.

The cheerefulneſſe of the emperour comforteth the whole diſtreſſed army.

Horſes good meat in the Emperors armie.

The Emprour departeth from Algiers.

He embarqueth his Army.

Horſes of great price drowned by the emperors command, to make roome for the common ſoldiers.

Two Spaniſh ſhips full of ſoldiers driuen by tempeſt to Algiers.

Aſſan taketh the Spaniards to mercy.

The Emperor commeth to Buzia.

the wind laied, and the weather ſo faire that all men thought the ſoldiers might now well be G imbarked and tranſported into Europe: wherefore the Emperor to the great joy of the whole army commanded euery man to make himſelf ready to go abord, in ſuch ſort, that firſt the Italians, next the Germans, and laſt of all the Spaniards ſhould be imbarked: but ſo many ſhips and gallies, as is before ſaid, being loſt by ſhipwrecke, it was thought that thoſe which were left were not able to receiue the whole army, although it was crowded together as cloſe as were poſſible. Wherefore the Emperor commanded the maſters and owners of the ſhips to caſt all the horſes ouerbord into the ſea, reputing it an vnmerciful part, to prefer the ſafegard of thoſe horſes (although they were of great worth) before the life of the baſeſt common ſouldier or horſeboy in his campe. Which thing much grieued the mindes of the noblemen and owners of thoſe goodly beaſts, not only for that they were (not without extreme neceſſity) for the preſent H depriued of ſuch an ineſtimable treaſure, but ſhould for euer, as they ſaid, loſe the moſt notable race of horſes in Spain: there with griefe & vain compaſſion, was to be ſeen goodly horſes of ſeruice, bearing vp their proud heads, ſwimming all about the ſea vnto the ſhips neereſt vnto them for ſafegard, as if it had bin to the ſhore, & in the end wearied with long ſwimming to be there drowned. But ſcarce half the ſoldiers were yet imbarked, when the Eaſt & North-Eaſt wind, & ſtraitwaies after diuers contrary winds almoſt as great as the firſt, roſe: wherupon the ſhips which had already taken in the ſoldiers, not expecting any command, for feare of being driuen vpon the rocks, directed their courſe according as the wind carried them, with full ſailes alongſt the coaſt: They were quickly out of ſight and diſperſed with the tempeſt, ſome into one country, ſome into another, carrying the fame of that ſhipwrecke, and the report that I all was loſt, into the Iſlands of the Mediterranean and ports of Italy. The force of this tempeſt was ſo great, and the billow went ſo high, that ſome of the ſhips were in the ſight of their fellowes ſwallowed vp of the ſea. But amongſt the reſt two Spaniſh ſhips full of ſoldiers were by wonderfull miſhap by contrary winds driuen againe to Algiers, and there ſet faſt vpon that fatall ſhore, where the Numidian horſemen with a multitude of Moores following them, came running down to the ſea ſide to kill them as they ſhould come to ſhore: for the barbarous people thirſting after Chriſtian bloud, would not receiue them to mercy, although they were readie to yeeld themſelues, and couenanted nothing but the ſafegard of their liues. At which their cruelty the Spaniards diſdaining, with their weapons in their hands got to ſhore, & ſtanding cloſe together as deſperat men, withſtood them who had with their multitude quickely K compaſſed them in round: yet in deſpight of what that barbarous multitude (without regard of humanity or law of armes) could do, they made way thorow the midſt of them, from the place where they were caſt on ſhore, vnto the very gates of the city. But ſeeing the *Turkes* ſally out, they called vnto them, offring to yeeld themſelues priſoners to *Aſſan* without further reſiſtance, if they would aſſure them their liues, which they were in good hope of, for that he was born of Chriſtian parents in Sardinia, and was attended vpon with many renegate Spaniards. So *Aſſan* comming forth of the city, gaue them his faith for their ſafety, & beating away the Moores & Numidians, curteouſly ſaued them all, wiſely making great account of ſo great a gain as would redound vnto him by ſo many priſoners, ioined with no ſmall commendation of his clemency in ſauing them. Of the Germanes the third part neuer returned home, but L were either loſt with ſhipwrecke, or els dead of the ſicknes enſuing ſo great miſeries. The emperor perſuaded (or rather ouerruled) by *Auria*, to auoid the violence of the tempeſt, ſailed alongſt the coaſt of Affricke Eaſtward to Buzia, the caſtle wherof was kept with a ſmall garriſon of Spaniards: where the Emperor landing, found ſome freſh victual, though not much, yet ſuch as did both him & the other noblemen no ſmall pleaſure. Whilſt the Emperor lay at Buzia expecting fairer weather, a great ſhip of Genoa laded with victuall chanced to come into the bay, to the great reioicing of the hungry ſoldiers: but ſuch was the violence of the tempeſt, that her ankers came home, and ſhe driuen vpon the flats was caſt away; yet ſo, as that part of the victuall driuen to ſhore, and halfe ſpoiled with the ſalt water, well relieued the increaſing want. In the meane time the Emperor when he had long looked for the aſſuaging of the tem- M peſt, & was now out of hope of any new ſupply of victuall, ſent away *Gonzaga* with the Sicilian and Rhodian gallies: for the winde before at North was now come to Northweſt, and put them in hope to aduenture again to ſea, rather than to ſtay there longer. So although with a troubleſome yet a proſperous courſe, they came in ſhort time to the port of Vtica, now cal-

led

A led Farinas: where ***Muleaſſes*** King of Tunes bountifully relieued ***Gonzaga*** and his fleet with all kinde of victuall and other neceſſaries. From whence they afterward departed, and landed all in ſafetie at Drepanum in Sicilia. The bluſtring winds were now at length weary of blowing, and the raging ſea became calme, ſo that the skilfull ſea-men for feare of new dangers, and wearie of thoſe that were paſt, thought it beſt to aduenture againe to ſea. Almoſt euery houre they were reaſoning in councell, What courſe they were for moſt ſafetie beſt to take: when ſome were of opinion, that it was beſt to beare for Sardinia or Corſica: and otherſome would haue had them to haue kept alongſt the coaſt of Affrica, and ſo directly for Sicilia. But the wind comming faire at Eaſt, the Emperor directed his courſe to the Iſlands Baleares, and from thence at length arriued at the port of new Carthage in Spaine, greatly commended euen of B his enemies, for the wonderfull courage and conſtancie in paſſing thorow ſo many extremities, in ſuch ſort as if he had triumphed ouer the malice of fortune.

The Emperor arriueth in Spaine.

1542

About this time the diſſembled friendſhip betwixt ***Charles*** the Emperour and ***Francis*** the French King brake out into open hatred. The king firſt thinking himſelfe deluded by the Emperor, who had long time fed him with the vaine hope of the reſtitution of the duchy of Millan, when as he meant nothing leſſe; and of late abuſed by the death of ***Rinco*** his Embaſſador, ſlaine by the Spaniards in paſſing down the riuer Padus, as is before declared. In reuenge whereof he raiſed a great power in France, and at ſuch time as moſt men thought he would haue inuaded ***Italy***, ſent ***Charles*** his ſon with the one part of his forces into the Low-countries, which were then gouerned by ***Mary*** Queene of Hungary the Emperors ſiſter; and ***Henry*** his other ſon C with the other part of his forces to inuade Spaine; both young Princes of great hope. And not ſo contented, but deſirous by all meanes to trouble and moleſt the Emperour, as he did in the Low-countries by ſetting on the Duke of Cleue: ſo by ***Antonius Polinus*** his Embaſſador, a man of great diſcretion, he earneſtly ſolicited ***Solyman*** the Great Turke, with whome he was then in league, to ſpoile the borders of Spaine with his gallies, at the ſame time that ***Henry*** his ſon was beſieging Perpenna in Spain. For which practiſe he was of moſt men diſcommended, as too much fauouring his owne griefe; and eſpecially by ſuch as affected the Emperor. But how this matter (which drew vpon the French King no ſmall enuie) was carried in the Turks court, ſhall not (as I hope) be vnto this Hiſtorie impertinent to declare.

The French King the more to trouble the Emperor, ſoliciteth Solyman to inuade his countries.

After the death of ***Rinco*** ſlain by the Spaniards, ***Francis*** the French king ſent ***Antonius Polinus*** D a man of great dexterity, his Embaſſador to ***Solyman***: who paſſing by many by-waies to Venice, and ſo ouer the gulfe to Sibinicum, croſſing ouer Illyria, met with ***Solyman*** in Miſia, as he was comming from Buda; and there firſt offered vnto him the Preſent ſent from the king his maſter (for with emptie hands no man might preſume to come to thoſe barbarous kings of the Eaſt) which Preſent was a cupboord of plate curiouſly wrought, in weight 600 pounds: and 500 rich garments of all ſorts of ſilke & skarlet to be beſtowed vpon the Baſſa's & other great courtiers. ***Solyman*** after he had read the French Kings letters, and heard what he had further to ſay, ſeemed to be greatly moued with the deaah of ***Rinco***, & promiſed ***Polinus*** not to be wanting vnto the French king, by ſea or land to giue him aid in his iuſt wars againſt ***Charles*** his enemie, for breaking of the league: but foraſmuch as nothing could be well determined of ſuch E matters in his journy of ſo great haſt, he told him, that as ſoon as he was come to Conſtantinople, he ſhould then haue anſwer by his Baſſa's of all his demands. The Embaſſador aboue all things deſired that he would ſend ***Hariadenus Barbaruſſa*** with his fleet againſt the next Summer into Prouince, there to be receiued into the French harbors, & to be imploied againſt the Emperor as occaſion ſhould require: & further, That he would requeſt the Venetians, with whom he was able to do much, to joyn in league with the king his maſter againſt ***Charles*** the emperor, whoſe power began now to be dreadful to their eſtate. ***Polinus*** was not ſlack in his buſines, but all the way as he went ſought to win the fauor of the Baſſa's, ſtill giuing them one Preſent or other, & filling their minds with the hope of greater. But when they were come to Conſtantinople, in the later end of December, ***Solyman*** promiſing what he had before ſaid, aduiſed F ***Polinus*** to returne to France with his letters, and to bring him certain word back again from the king, of the determinat time & full reſolution of taking thoſe wars in hand: & that he would in the mean time ſend ***Iunusbeius*** his embaſſador to Venice, who had bin there diuers times before, & would prouide to haue ſuch a fleet in readines as he deſired. ***Polinus*** exceeding glad of that anſwer, with great ſpeed returned backe again to the King, bringing with him as Preſents

Polinus the French Embaſſadour meeteth Solyman comming from Buda, and offereth vnto him Preſents from the French King.

The requeſt of the French embaſſador to Solyman.

Polinus returns into France.

Polinus ſent backe againe to Solyman, commeth to Venice and notably ſoliciteth the Venetians to take vp armes with the Frēch king againſt the emperor.

The craftie anſwer of the Venetians to the French Kings Embaſſador.

Solymans Embaſſadour commeth to Venice

Polinus cōming to Conſtantinople, findeth not the Turk ſo readie to ſend his fleet to aid the French king, as he had hoped.

from *Solyman* two goodly Turkiſh horſes and a ſword richly ſet with ſtones of great G price. The French king hauing by his embaſſador receiued *Solymans* letters & preſents, & three days together diſcourſed with him at large of the maner of his proceeding in the Turks court, in ſhort time after ſent him backe againe to *Solyman* with full inſtructions both of the time and places, & other circumſtances of the intended war. *Polinus* comming to Venice, found not *Innubeius* there, as he had well hoped: yet to loſe no time in expecting his comming, hee with *Pellicerius* Embaſſador lieger for the French king, and other of the French faction, labored the Senators in the behalfe of the king. For it was thought likely enough, that the Venetians ſtill meaſuring all their counſels by their profit, would eaſily conſent to that league, eſpecially being requeſted therunto by *Solyman*, and put in hope to haue the port towne Maranus deliuered vnto them in reward therof; which otherwiſe the French, in whoſe poſſeſſion it was, threatened H to deliuer to the Turks, and to make them their euill neighbors, rather than to haue it taken from them by the Germans. Wherefore *Polinus* hauing audience giuen him in the Senat, notably pleaded the French kings cauſe, grieuouſly lamented the death of the Embaſſador ſlain by the Spaniards, and bitterly enueied againſt the ambition of the Emperor, who as he ſaid aſpired to the whole monarchy of Italy, not by true vertue and valor, but by meere craft & deceit, incroching ſtill vpon the liberties of the free States, and by little & little impoſing vpon them the yoke of bondage: In confirmation wherof he produced many examples, to them well known, requeſting them as antient friends and confederats of the French, to ioine their Forces with the Kings; in which doing, they ſhould aſſure themſelues of ſuch reward of the vndoubted victory, as they could not deſire greater. Wheras if they ſhould refuſe ſo to do, and would I rather ſit ſtil & look on as neuters, they ſhould vndoubtedly, fortune hauing decided the quarrell, grieuouſly offend both, and might worthily expect of the vanquiſhed, hatred; and of the conqueror, iniurie. Beſides that, in taking vp of armes they ſhould highly gratifie *Solyman*, who prouoked with late iniuries, had determined with a puiſſant army to inuade Hungary, and at the ſame time to ſend *Barbaruſſa* with a great fleet againſt the Spaniards their common enemies: for the imparting of which his deſignes he would ſhortly ſend vnto them *Innubeius* his Embaſſadour: As for the euent of the war they needed not to doubt, when as they of themſelues were ſtrong enough quickely to thruſt the Emperor out of the duchy of Millan, being generally hated of the people, feeding his ſoldiers with the ſpoile of the country, and on euerie ſide beſet both by ſea and land by two of the greateſt Monarchs of the world. Whereunto K the Senat delaying the time for certain daies, that *Innubeius* might in the mean time come thither, grauely anſwered, That the amitie they held with king *Francis*, ought to be vnto them an ornament, but no burthen: the like alſo they held with the Emperor, whom they would in no caſe ſeeme to caſt off, although they had bin by him ouerraught: Wherefore the Senators and all the citiſens in generall were of opinion, to preſerue their peace, as they which in the hard times of warre had endured great extremities, which would hardly be recouered with long peace: But if they did once ſee the enſignes diſplaied, and the wars begun, they would then take further aduice, Whether it were good for them to thruſt themſelues into thoſe warres or not, when as they were in league and friendſhip with three of the greateſt princes of the world. L In the meane time *Innubeius* arriued at Venice, and was there honorably receiued. He requeſted, That the league before made at Conſtantinople by *Badoerius* their Embaſſador, might by the authority of the Senat be confirmed: and ſo commended the French kings cauſe to the Senat, that he requeſted no more, but that vnto that amity which they already held with the French, they would ioine further curteſies, the rather for that *Solyman* had accounted him for his brother, and had vndertaken to aid him againſt *Charles* king of Spain: but as to join in league with him, or in his quarrell to take vp armes, he requeſted nothing. Which was quite beſide the expectation of *Polinus* and *Pellicerius*, who by vrging of the matter, and by telling of al, had thought eaſily to haue perſuaded the Senat to haue granted what they requeſted, and therfore thought the Turk (who had ſo coldly ſpoken in the cauſe) to be ſome way corrupted. But as it M afterward appeared, there was ſuch equitie & modeſtie in *Solymans* letters (who was otherwiſe of a proud and inſolent nature) that he would not as then exact any thing of them, which ſhould not ſtand with the good of their eſtate. Wherefore *Polinus* hauing in vaine ſtaied certaine dayes at Venice, was in one of their publique gallies tranſported to Raguſium, and from thence trauelled by land to Conſtantinople, where he found all things more difficult

A than euer he dreamed of. For the great Baſſaes ſaid, There could no fleet be ſet out that yeare, by reaſon that he was come too late to ſue for ſuch a matter, the Spring of the yeare being now paſt, of all other times moſt fit for to take in hand ſo long a voyage, So that *Polinus* was aboue meaſure vexed with care and griefe, that he had ſo euill ſped, and was come ſo out of ſeaſon both to Venice & Conſtantinople. *Dixius* alſo, one of the maſters of the Rhodian gallies, was come to Conſtantinople, to carrie newes into France of the comming of the Turks fleet: who told *Polinus*, That the kings ſons were with ſtrong power far entred into the Low-countries, and had already inuaded Spaine, expecting nothing more than the comming of the Turks gallies. Wherefore *Polinus* (as it eaſily chanceth to men deceiued by truſt repoſed in any other mens promiſes, and bewailing the euill ſucceſſe of their vaine trauel) wonderfully tormented B himſelfe, curſed the froward and vnconſtant manners of the Baſſaes, called vpon the faith of *Solyman*; and beſought the great Baſſaes one by one, that they would not contrarie to their promiſe forſake the King, who vpon the hope of the comming of the Turks fleet, had now inuaded both the Low-countries & the kingdome of Spaine: foraſmuch as by that delay, which was vnto them neither honourable nor profitable, was (as he ſaid) betraied the maieſtie of his King, and a moſt aſſured victorie now as good as gotten, quite marred. In which his obteſtations, he was ſo importunat and tedious, that he became vnto thoſe proud Baſſaes rather loathſome than gracious; inſomuch that to end his ſute, they thought it beſt ſharply to take him vp, & for that time to ſhake him off. And therefore ſending for him and the other French gentlemen which followed him, to the court, the great Baſſaes then ſitting in counſell, & *Barbaruſſa* C with them for the honour of his place; as ſoone as they were come into the counſell chamber, *Solyman Baſſa* the Eunuch, turning himſelfe about, ſpake vnto them in this ſort.

The ſharpe oration of Solyman the eunuch Baſſa to Polinus the French embaſſadour.

Frenchmen (ſaid he) *this place for diſpatch of moſt waightie affaires, appointed by the graue iudgement of our moſt mightie Emperour to vs his faithfull ſeruants, doth (as it beſt beſeemeth) receiue vs daily comming vnto it, void of loue and hatred: and withall doth notably put vs in remembrance, to ſpeake our minds freely. Neither would I, that this frankneſſe of ſpeech (the meſſenger of truth, and therefore the faithfull keeper of friendſhip) ſhould be vnto your eares vnpleaſing or troubleſome: for ſithence your king hath been called the friend and fellow of the* Othoman *name, we may not now either forget the duties of loue, or loath your friendſhip: ſeeing that our Emperour doth maruellouſly affect* D *you, and is not a little deſirous to ſtrengthen you with his power, and by ouercomming your enemies to increaſe your power and honour. But in your demaunds is no equitie, no modeſtie, ſo that we tearme you vnmodedeſt and importunat: and others which fauour you not ſo well, call you plainely by your right names, vnreaſonable and ſhameleſſe men; who as too too forgetfull of your duties, doe moſt fondly trouble the lawes of amitie and friendſhip. For leagues are confirmed by like profit, by making euen the charge and mutuall dangers: but if neglecting your friends kindneſſe and courteſie, you will make no requitall, they will quickely grow wearie of you. So happeneth it vnto you Frenchmen, who euer forgetfull and negligent in our dangers, but in your owne alwayes mindfull and diligent, haue ſhewed your ſelues friends vnto vs when need was, not in deeds and certaine aid, but onely in bare letters, and embaſſages. Tell mee I pray you where euer you ſhewed any ſigne or token of your good will or* E *aid? whereby the minds of our enemies might at the leaſt wiſe haue but beene kept in ſuſpence of ſome doubtfull feare, when as* Charles *with all the power of the Weſt came into Hungarie? And Corone and Patras were in the meane time ſhaken in Grace with the enemies fleet; and laſt of all Tunes taken with ſo great a fleet? But all this we pardon you: yet this it is which is hardly to be endured, that you did not ſo much as once grieue at our ſo great iniuries, as you ought to haue done; but ſent your gratulatorie Embaſſadours vnto the bloudie common enemie; who had but euen then ſlaine ſo many of our people. At length our Emperour came to Aulona to your great profit, about to paſſe ouer into Italie: but neither then in the arriuall of our fleet appeared the good wills of the Apulians towards you, which were of you ſo vainely promiſed, neither did you ſo much as once mooue to inuade the vpper part of Italie; ſo neither ſeruing our turne, nor well fitting your owne, you haue alwaies loſt the occaſion of the good ſucceſſe of your affaires. But neither then, neither at any time afterwards, needed wee your counſell or united forces: for the Venetians to their paine felt both our forces and our faith: as for the reſt, warre, the notable reuenger of our wrongs, moſt happily brought to paſſe, at ſuch time as you of your owne voluntarie made peace with the common enemie, to inuade vs; and did as vnkindly as impudently as it were blow wind in his ſailes. But we, without your helpe, haue notably re-*

preſſed ſo great aſſaults of our enemies : when as this ſame Hariaden Barbaruſſa *put to flight their* G
fleet at Ambracia, and happily ſlew the Spaniſh pirats of Caſtrum, and hauing again recouered our own
cities, tooke alſo from them ſome of theirs : wherefore we are bound vnto you for no deſert, but we had ra-
ther forget theſe vnkindneſſes, than to faile you whom we haue once receiued into our friendſhip. For
wee performe our fidelitie in deeds : but it is his part to regard the time, to way the danger, to wait oc-
caſion ; which will not raſhly commit his actions to the hazard of Fortune. You are come later than
you ſhould haue done for the ſetting forth of our fleet : for Sommer now well ſpent, followeth the peſti-
lent time of Autumne, ſo that mariners cannot in conuenient time bee taken vp, or ſafely thruſt into
the gallies : for in long ſayling, who would not thinke, but that ſuch a companie of ſailers vſually ſicke
at the change of an vnacquainted ayre, would be in danger of their liues ? Who would not feare ſhip-
wracke in their returne, when as this ſame Hariaden *ſo great a Maſter at ſea, driuen vpon the Acroce-* H
raunian rockes in the moneth of Auguſt, loſt ſo many gallies ? A fleet would be rigged in Winter, fur-
niſhed and ſet forward in the Spring ; in Sommer is ſafe ſailing and making warre. Which that it may be
ſo done, we will for the common wealths ſake perſuade the Emperour : for the nauie once loſt, cannot vpon
the ſudden be againe reſtored for much gold, whereof the Othoman *Emperour wanteth no ſtore, heaped*
vp by many ages. If thou be wiſe take theſe things in good part as friendly ſpoken : but whether the Em-
perour will pardon thy boldneſſe or not, let himſelfe conſider ; truly we haue ſatisfied both him and our
ſelues in ſpeaking to thee ſo plainly.

Polinus by the meanes of the Capiaga, is brought to the ſpeech of Solyman himſelfe.

Solymans anſwer to Polinus

These things ſeuerely ſpoken by the Eunuch Baſſa, did ſo much the more trouble *Polinus*,
for that they ſeemed to haue bin ſent from the mouth of *Solyman* himſelfe, who was thought I
to haue heard all that was ſaid. For behind the Baſſaes as they ſat in Counſell, was a window
with a braſen grate, and a curten drawne before it, that the Emperour when he pleaſed, might
vnperceiued heare the complaints and ſutes of all nations, and note the manners of his great
counſellors ; whoſe care for the adminiſtration of juſtice was ſo much the greater, for feare of
his preſence. Yet did not *Polinius* for his repulſe, deteſting the double dealing of the Baſſaes,
ſo giue ouer his ſute ; but winning by gifts the fauour of the *Capiaga* or chiefe porter, a man
euer of great authoritie in the Turks court, laboured by him to be brought to the ſpeech of *So-*
lyman himſelfe : who faithfully performed what he had vndertaken. So the French Embaſſa-
dour brought by him into the ſecreteſt place of the court, which few Chriſtians had euer bin,
and ſo vnto the preſence of *Solyman*, recounted vnto him how all matters had before paſſed, K
and moſt earneſtly beſought him not to faile the kings expectation of the fleet he had before
promiſed, who at that preſent was inuading his enemies in three places. Whereunto *Solyman*
courteouſly and expreſſely anſwered, That the opportunitie of ſending out of his fleet was
paſt ; not by his will, which was alwaies immutable and firme, but by his late comming, & the
time of the yeare halfe ſpent : but promiſed the next Spring without doubt to ſend vnto the
king his friend and brother, twiſe ſo great a fleet as he had deſired againſt *Charles* their enemy.
With which anſwer, the embaſſadour diſpatched away *Dixius* into France, vpon whoſe arri-
uall, king *Francis* called backe againe *Henrie* his eldeſt ſonne with his army, from the ſiege of
Perpenna in Spaine.

The Princes of Germanie ioyne their forces with king Ferdinand againſt the Turke in Hungarie.

The Princes and States of Germanie, at the requeſt of king *Ferdinand* and the nobilitie of L
Hungarie, about this time decreed with one conſent, to take vp arms againſt the Turks, for the
recouering againe of Buda, and other the loſt parts of Hungary. For beſides the diſhonor done
to their nation at Exek vnder the leading of *Cazzianer*, and againe at Buda vnder the leading
of the Lo. *Rogendorff* ; they wel ſaw, that if they did not ſpeedily relieue the Hungarians ouer-
whelmed with the calamities of the Turkes forces, they ſhould in ſhort time be enforced to
fight for their religion, children, wiues, and liues, againſt the ſame mighty enemy, at their own
doores. For preuenting whereof, the Princes and free cities of Germanie, ſet out 30000 foot-
men, and 7000 horſemen : amongſt whom was *Mauritius*, afterwards duke of Saxonie, then a
young gentleman about twentie yeares old. But the Generall of theſe German forces, was *Ioa-*
chimus Marqueſſe of Brandenburg, a man more for the honour of his houſe than the valour of M
himſelfe preferred to that place : yet ſo, that vnto him was ioyned eight others, men of great
yeares and experience, by whoſe counſell he was to be directed. When they were come to
Vienna, king *Ferdinands* power met them : where, beſide ſuch as were taken vp in Auſtria, *Hu-*
ganot Gouernour of Stiria came in with ten thouſand horſemen. Vnto theſe then noble men of

Hun-

A Hungary, *Gaſper Seredius*, *Andreas Bathor*, & *Petrus Perenus*, a man of the greateſt authority, power,
and experience, amongſt the Hungarians, ioyned themſelues, with fifteene thouſand horſemen,
whither alſo *Paulus* the third of that name then Biſhop of Rome, ſent three thouſand
choſen footmen out of Italie, conducted to Vienna by *Alexander Vitellius*, a moſt famous
captain. The Marqueſſe with this great armie marched from Vienna alongſt the riuer Danubius,
but ſo ſoftly, that the Hungarian and Italian captaines ſaid plainely, That the beſt part of
the Sommer and fitteſt time for wars, was paſſed ouer in loitering & dallying out the time to
no purpoſe: eſpecially *Iacobus Medices*, who had long before perſuaded the king, to be ready
to ſet forward his forces with the firſt of the Spring, before the Turks could either augment
their garriſons, or put in any new forces; for that by ſuch reſolute and ſpeedie inuaſion, it was
B like enough he might recouer both Peſth and Buda. Which politique and wholeſome counſell
ſo well giuen, king *Ferdinand* too much crediting the great men of his court (liking nothing
but what proceeded of themſelues) reiected, expecting the full aſſembly of all his forces, before
the ſetting forth of his armie? At length the Marqueſſe was by ſoft marches come to
Strigonium (king *Ferdinand* himſelfe ſtaying behind at Vienna) where it was commonly reported,
That *Solyman* fearing to loſe Buda, was either in perſon himſelfe comming into Hungarie,
or elſe ſending downe the Generall of his European horſemen, who might neuer ſet
foot forward to war, without 60000 horſemen. Which newes ſo troubled the Germans, that
they made no great haſt forward, doubting how they ſhould returne againe if they chanced
not to get the victorie: beſide that, it was thought that the Marqueſſe neuer purpoſed to fight
C a battell, or indanger himſelfe or his armie for the kingdome of Hungarie, but onely to defend
the bounds of Auſtria, and by ſhewing the ſtrength of Germanie, to terrifie if hee could the
Turks, if they not contented with Hungarie, ſhould alſo prouoke the Germans. But after it was
by certaine eſpialls from Samandria, knowne that all that report of the comming of the Turks
great army was but vaine, and that there was ſcarce a thouſand Ianizaries and twice ſo many
horſemen come to Buda, and that the Turks fleet was both for number and ſtrength far inferiour
to the Kings, they ſet forward again with more cheerefulneſſe, much incouraged by the
forwardneſſe of the Hungarians, eſpecially of *Perenus*, aſſuring them, that if they would without
delay march on, and ſpend no more time in vaine, they ſhould not finde at Buda any ſuch
number of Turks as was worth the name of an armie: for that *Solyman* vſing but euery ſecond
D yeare to make war, did that yeare take his reſt, and was not like to vndertake any great expedition.
For theſe reaſons all men being readie cheerefully to ſet forward, the Marqueſſe appointed
to paſſe ouer Danubius: which this *Perenus*, *Huganot*, and *Medices*, all expert captains liked
not of, wiſhing him rather to hold on his way directly ſtill on that ſide the riuer to Buda, the
chiefe citie of the kingdome. But it was the mind of the Generall and all his counſellors, firſt
to beſiege Peſth, which might be done with leſſe labour and danger, and there hauing made
proofe of the enemies ſtrength and purpoſe, to come to the ſiege of Buda: for then would
the ſouldiers with much more courage and cheerefulneſſe endure the ſiege of Buda, if they had
by good fortune firſt beaten them out of Peſth: Which counſell was both beſt liked and followed,
and the armie by two bridges with great and painefull labour made ouer Danubius
E (which was in that place diuided into two parts) tranſported. At the ſame time *Medices* an Italian
captaine, Admirall of the kings fleet, came downe the riuer, and in deſpight of the Turkes
tooke the Iſland of Saint *Margaret*, lying in the riuer a little aboue Buda, and by force repulſed
the Turks fleet vnto the ſuburbs of the citie. The Marqueſſe to auoid the danger of the
great ſhot from Buda, after he was paſſed the riuer, fetcht a great compaſſe about, and ſo came
to the North ſide of Peſth; for on the South it was defended with the riuer Dunubius, running
betwixt it and Buda; and on the Eaſt and Weſt the great ordnance on the one ſide from the
Caſtle of Buda, and on the other from mount Saint *Gerrard*, did ſo ſcoure all alongſt the wals
that no man could without moſt manifeſt danger there abide. For Buda ſtanding vpon the
hill, and diuided from Peſth onely with the riuer, ſo ouerlooketh and commandeth all the
F plaine countrey about Peſth, that without perill no man can ſtirre on any ſide of the citie, but
Northward towards Agria, couered by the Citie from the ſhot out of Buda. As the Marqueſſe
was comming thither, hee was told by certaine fugitiues, That *Balis* Gouernour of
Buda (who in that place ſucceeded *Solyman* the Hungarian renegate, lately before dead of the
Plague) had in garriſon in Buda two thouſand horſemen; and that *Vlames* the Perſian Gou-

The Marqueſſe of Brandenburg commeth to Peſth with his armie.

uernour

The Turks ſally out of Peſth, & put the Chriſtians to the worſe

The Turkes ſallying out again are diſcomfited by Vitellius & Perenus.

Mauritius in danger to be ſlaine.

uernor of Boſna, was come vnto him with three thouſand moe: whereunto *Amurathes* had alſo G ioyned another thouſand which he brought out of Dalmatia: and that *Segemenes* was come thither alſo with 1000 Ianizaries from Conſtantinople: as for the reſt of the footmen, that they were but wild countrey people, fitter for labor than for ſeruice in wars. They told him alſo, that the enemies fleet conſiſted of 60 ſmall pinnaces, ten gallies, and a few other great boats: and that *Solyman* had commanded his captains in any caſe to defend Buda and Peſth, to the laſt man, without regard of any other place. And had propoſed vnto the valiant, great rewards; and to the cowardly, extreame puniſhment: charging them further, that if need were, they ſhould in time ſend for *Achomates* the Generall of his Europeian horſemen, to Sophia, to aid them. The Turks vpon the approch of the Chriſtians, iſſued out at one of the gates of the citie, and skirmiſhed with the Hungarians: but after they had ſufficiently proued one anothers H ſtrength, and ſome few were on both ſides ſlaine, they retired into the citie, and the Hungarians to the campe. The next day after, *Vitellius* going out of the campe neere the city with fiue companies, to chuſe a place for planting the batterie; the Turkes at one inſtant ſallying out at two gates of the city, gaue him a hot skirmiſh, where at the firſt, the fight was begun with like courage and force: but the Turks ſtill ſending forth new ſupplies both of horſe and foot, firſt the Chriſtian footmen, and after that the horſemen, not able longer to indure the force of the Ianizaries, were conſtrained diſorderly to retire, hauing loſt in that retrait foure of their captains and two enſignes; and had not *Vitellius* with one companie of horſemen ſerred together, valiantly repulſed the inſolent Ianizaries, the loſſe had bin much greater. *Vitellius* exceedingly I grieued with this loſſe, and perceiuing the manner of the enemies fight, encouraged his ſouldiers, purpoſing if he could to be fully reuenged: and aboue all others, requeſted *Perenus* to be readie to join with him as occaſion ſhould require. *Vitellius* lay incamped in the kings orchards, walled about as it were a mile, equally diſtant both from the great camp & from the city; out of theſe orchards he went with 12 companies vnder their enſignes, commanding the reſt to ſtand ſtill within the wals, in readineſſe at all aſſaies: and ſo fetching a great compaſſe about, marched alongſt the riuer ſide towards the city: neither did the proud enemie (brag of the former daies victorie) make any delay, but brauely ſallied out at the Eaſt ſide of the city, & couragiouſly charged them. But *Vitellius* warned of his former harme, & ſeeing his enemies come on as he deſired, couered his ſhot with his pikes, & ſtanding cloſe, receiued the enemies K charge; his ſhot ſtill playing vnder the pikes, oftentimes vpon their knees: many of the Turks were there laid on ground, whileſt they deſperately fought to haue broken the order of the Chriſtians. In the mean time, when many of the Turks horſemen and Ianizaries comming out of the gates, & diuers others beholding the fight were come ouer the riuer from Buda, to be partakers of the victory, had filled the hithermoſt banke, *Vitellius* in good time, of purpoſe by little & litle retired, as if he had bin ouercharged: then began the enemy to giue a great ſhout, and more fiercely to aſſaile the Chriſtians: their horſmen alſo clapt behind them, to haue there charged them. Which thing *Perenus* diligently noting, and that the Turks in following of *Vitellius* were drawne a great way from the gates, he ſuddenly with his light horſemen clapt in betwixt the city & the Turks at their backs, after whom followed alſo *Mauritius* (afterwards L duke of Saxonie) with a ſtrong troup of German horſmen, of purpoſe to haue ſhut them in for retiring backe again into the city. But then the Turks perceiuing the danger, & finding themſelues ſhut in, ſtood as men more than halfe diſmaied, bethinking themſelues which way to take, & ſo began to retire. When *Vitellius* comming on couragiouſly with his pikemen and his harquebuſiers diuided into two wings, charged them fiercely; and the Hungarian & German horſmen breaking in amongſt them on the other ſide, made great ſlaughter of them, & ſtrucke ſuch a feare amongſt the flying Turks, that many of them in running to the gate, thruſt one another thorow with their pikes: diuers other were alſo by the horſemen driuen into the riuer and there drowned. That day *Segemenes* loſt aboue an hundred of his Ianizaries, and foure hundred others. The chiefeſt commendation for this piece of ſeruice was giuen to *Vitellius*, who had ſo well and ſo quickly reuenged himſelfe of the Turkes: and next him to *Perenus*, M who as a skilfull captaine had ſo well awaited the time to entrap the enemie: Neither is *Mauritius* the young Saxon Prince vnworthie his due praiſe, who valiantly charging the Turks, and hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him, was in danger to haue beene there loſt himſelfe, had not *Nicholas Ribiſche* one of his followers, couered him with his owne bodie, vntill

A ſuch time as that he was reſcued by others, *Ribiſche* himſelfe preſently dying of his wounds.
This little victorie ſo encouraged the Germans, that the Marqueſſe commanded the great ordinance
to be preſently brought forth, & the batterie planted, which was at the firſt placed ſo
far off, that it did little harme, although the wall were both old and thin, not aboue fiue foot
thicke: and the ordnance laid either a little too low, or mounted too high, either ſhot ſhort, or
quite ouer the citie into Buda: which fault once perceiued, the batterie was remoued neerer,
and a faire breach ſoone made in the wal, with the continuall beating of 40 great pieces of artillerie.
Vitellius was the firſt that offered to aſſault the breach, ſo that the Germans would preſently
ſecond him, which thing they all by holding vp of their hands promiſed couragiouſly,
but cowardly about by and by to breake that promiſe: for oftentimes it chanceth, That they
B which before the danger are readieſt to promiſe their helpe, are in the very danger it ſelfe of
all others moſt ſlacke. The Hungarians alſo for their parts promiſed not to be behind. The ſilence
of the enemie at the breach and in the citie, was wonderfull, ſo that many thought hee
had bin fled backe ouer the riuer to Buda: for *Segemenes* captaine of the Ianizaries, an old beaten
ſouldier, ordered all things with as little ſtir as was poſſible: he had receiued new ſupplies
from *Vlamas*, and had caſt a deepe countermure within the wall againſt the breach, & on the
inner ſide of the ſame had made a ſtrong barricado, with gabions and wine veſſels filled with
ſand and earth: behind which ſtood the Ianizaries, & next vnto them the Turkiſh archers, and
laſt of all the horſemen who had left their horſes to ſerue on foot. The ſignall for the aſſault
once giuen, foure Italian captaines ran deſperatly with their companies by the ruines of the
C wall to the breach: but whileſt they there ſet vp their enſignes, and wondring at the enemies
fortification, were ready betwixt hope and feare to leape downe, they were ſuddenly ouerwhelmed
with a ſhoure of arrowes and bullets. Yet *Vitellius* ſtill incouraging them, brought
them ſtill on, who did what they might to haue entred: but the Germane footmen with their
Generall ſtood ſtill vnder the wals, looking on, as men nothing moued either with the hope
of victorie or danger of their friends: and the Hungarians not ſo much as once looking vpon
the enemy retired: two of the Italian captains, *Rufus* & *Fiolla* were there ſlain, and *Carolus*, *Vitellius*
his nephew, ſhot in the ſhoulder. The Turks with ſhot and ſtones ſtill repulſed & beat
downe the Italians, whereof the Germans alſo ſtanding ſtill, felt part, & were more gauled than
a man would haue thought men could haue bin, that did nothing: for there they ſtill ſtood for
D ſhame, leſt if they ſhould haue alſo firſt retired, they ſhould haue incurred a ſecond infamy as
bad as the firſt: which thing *Vitellius* perceiuing, would in no caſe depart from the breach, but
wiſhed rather to loſe his men by whole companies, than to leaue the leaſt colour of excuſe to
the Germans, or that they ſhould ſay they ſtaied longeſt, of whom he with greater anger than
griefe complained, that he was forſaken & cowardly betraid. In time of this aſſault one of the
Turks was heard to ſpeake aloud in the Italian tongue, *Why do not you valiant Italians ſpare your
ſelues, and giue place to thoſe laſie Germans. We all wiſh to ſpare you, and to beat the drunkenneſſe out of
their moſt cowardly heads, that they ſhould no more herafter prouoke vs.* At length the Germans weary
of their hot ſtanding & nought doing, got them farther off, after whom the Italians forthwith
retired: but ſo diſorderly, to be quickly out of the danger of the enemies ſhot, that if the
E Turks had at the ſame time ſallied out at all the gates, it was thought that the whole camp had
bin greatly indangered. In this attempt rather than aſſault, ſeuen hundred Chriſtians were ſlain
outright, and many moe hurt, who died afterwards of their wounds.

A breach made in the wall of Peſth.

The breach aſſaulted by the Italians.

The Germans ſtand ſtill as lookers on, whileſt the Italians giue the Aſſault.

The contumelious ſpeech of a Turke againſt the Germans.

The Germans & the Italians retire with loſſe

All this while the Marqueſſe and *Hugonot* the great commaunders of the army, kept themſelues
ſo far from gunſhot, that they were no where to be ſeene, vntill that *Torniellus* and *Fotiſcu*,
two valiant captains, finding them out, wiſhed them for ſhame to ſhew themſelues for the
comforting of the army. A little before night they conſulted with the other captains, whither
they ſhould forſake the ſiege, or continue it ſtill: wherof moſt of the Germans beſt liked to be
gone, as the ſafeſt way: though *Vitellius* and ſome others ſpake earneſtly to the contrary. At
which time a ſpie comming in, brought news that *Achomates*, *Solymans* lieutenant of the European
F horſmen, had paſſed ouer the riuer Sauus at Belgrade, & was cõming to Dranus: whoſe
comming either cunningly fained, or vainly beleeued, cauſed the Germanes to make a ſhort
concluſiou, & to reſoule flatly to return to Vienna, fearing that if they ſhould longer continue
the ſiege, they ſhould be ſtayed againſt their wils by *Achomates*. Which thing made many of
the old Germane ſouldiers to hang their heads for ſhame, & the Hungarians to curſe both the

Ger-

A notable ſkirmiſh betwixt the Turks and the Hungarians

The Chriſtians remouing from Peſth, are aſſailed by the turks.

The Chriſtian army broken vp at Vienna.

Germanes and the hard fortune of their nation, vainely wiſhing for a Generall in courage anſwerable to the ſtrength of that great armie. *Segemenes* perceiuing how much the Chriſtian armie was diſcouraged by the laſt dayes euill ſucceſſe, early in the morning couragiouſly ſent out all the horſemen, and after them certaine companies of footmen, to relieue them in their retire; who in many places skirmiſhed with the Hungarians, being nothing inferiour vnto them either in courage or skill: and the matter was brought to that paſſe, as if it had beene ſo agreed vpon, that many of the moſt notable and expert ſouldiers on either ſide encountered together hand to hand in the ſight of the Italians and Germanes, the Hungarians mixt with the Turks, & the Turks with the Hungarians, with ſuch fidelitie, that they regarded no other enemie but him whom euery one had ſingled out for himſelfe, as if it had been in a triumph for exerciſe hand to hand. It hapned, that a notable captaine of the Turks, deſired to ſee *Vitellius*, who being ſhewed vnto him (for he was eaſie to be knowne by his armor) the Turke ran vnto him to embrace him for his honor, and ſo departed. About fiue hundred horſemen ſo incountered one another hand to hand that day, of whom many were ſlaine or hurt. The night following the batterie was remoued, & the army marched towards the riuer to the fleet. The Turks perceiuing the Chriſtians to be departed, ſallied out of the citie on all hands, & with a great crie vpbraiding them of cowardiſe, hardly purſued the rereward of the army. *Vlamas* was come ouer himſelfe from Buda, and ſo eagerly followed the army, that it could hardly haue eſcaped without great danger, had not *Vitellius* with his Italians made a ſtand, and requeſted the Hungarian and German horſemen to turne backe vpon the enemie: which they at his requeſt did, and not onely repulſed the enemie, but alſo put him to flight, and in the chaſe ſlew many. After which time the army paſſed on quietly; yet 700 Germans which were ſicke and ſtragled behind the army, were by the Turks horſemen miſerably ſlaine in the ſight of their fellows. The Germans thrice foiled by the Turks, firſt at Exek, then at Buda, & now at Peſth, returned full of heauineſſe & griefe, as they which were now to forget the ſubduing of Hungarie, and to become carefull of Germanie it ſelfe. The army comming to Vienna, was there broken vp, and the Italians ſent home into their countrey, who for moſt part died by the way, of infection taken in the campe in ſtrange aire, and a moſt quæſie time of the yeare.

Perenus the noble Hungarian apprehended vpon ſuſpition of treaſon.

The vncourteſie of Liſcanus the Spaniard in the apprehenſion of Perenus

But to couer the ſhame of this vnfortunat expedition, and to turne mens talke another way by ſome notable accident: *Petrus Perenus* the noble Hungarian was the man pickt out for the purpoſe to fill mens mouthes. He, belayed with the enuie of the court, was for ſuſpition of aſpiring to the kingdome of Hungarie, by the commandement of king *Ferdinand* apprehended by *Liſcanus*, a Spaniſh captaine, in the caſtle of Strigonium, as a traitor, and preſently deliuered to *Medices* the Admirall, to be conueied vp the riuer to Vienna. *Liſcanus* at the time of his apprehenſion moſt couetouſly and vncourteouſly tooke from him his chaine, and a rich cloke lined with Sables: which indignitie done to ſo noble a gentleman, ſo much offended the minds of the reſt of the Hungarians, that aboue 12000 of them thereupon preſently returned home to their owne dwellings, curſing the Germans to the diuell. This *Perenus* was one of the greateſt Peeres of Hungarie, but of a moſt hautie & magnificent mind, ſo that he would ſometime haue almoſt 100 goodly ſpare horſes fit for ſeruice led before him without their riders; and would ſometime ſpeake too liberally againſt the bareneſſe of king *Ferdinands* court, who polled by his courtiers, hardly maintained his ſtate: which his ſurpaſſing magnificence & princely port was cauſe enough for the other great courtiers to enuie at his eſtate, and to ſeeke his ouerthrow; who as men ouercharged with the burthen of another mans vertue, whereof they neuer bore the leaſt part, and alwaies gaining by the deprauing of other mens perfection, conſpired together his ouerthrow, and oftentimes pointing at him with their fingers, would ſay, That he ſauoured of a crown. This notable man, as he had many worthy vertues, ſo was he not without cauſe noted of ambition and vnconſtancie: for after that king *Lewis* was loſt, he diſdaining the preferment of *Iohn* the Vayuod to the kingdome of Hungarie, tooke part with King *Ferdinand* againſt him, in hope as it was thought to be next in honour vnto himſelfe: but after he ſaw king *Iohn* againe reſtored, and his ſtate ſtrongly ſupported by *Solyman*, & that all things ſtood doubtfull and tickle with *Ferdinand*, he with like leuitie ſought meanes by *Abraham* the great Baſſa to be reconciled to king *Iohn*; which was hardly obtained of him by the interceſſion of *Solyman* himſelfe (as is before declared) to whom he gaue his ſonne as pledge of his fidelitie. After which time he liued in great honour and loyaltie all the raigne of king *Iohn*:

Matters ſurmiſed againſt Perenus.

but after he was dead, and ſaw *George* the Biſhop the Kings tutor doing what he liſt, to raigne like a King, he diſdained his gouernment, and ſolicited by King *Ferdinand*, reuolted again vnto him, and furthered him in what he could for the obtaining of the kingdome. But now falling into the enuie of the court, malice found out matter enough to worke his confuſion. Firſt it was giuen out, That his ſonne who had many yeares beene detained in *Solymans* Court as a pledge of his fathers faith, was euen then vnder the colour of a feigned eſcape come into Tranſyluania; when as he had ſecretly agreed with *Solyman*, that his father being a man much fauored of the people, ſhould by promiſing them all poſſible freedome, allure them to the Turkiſh ſubiection: in reward of which good ſeruice he ſhould be made gouernour of the Kingdome of Hungary, and put in hope alſo to be made the tributarie King thereof, if it ſhould fortune the young King to die. Beſides that, it was accounted a thing verie ſuſpicious, that he had the Winter before vſed great kindeneſſe and friendſhip toward the Turkiſh Captaines, by ſending them great Preſents, and receiuing the like againe. And laſt of all, his letters directed to certaine Hungarian Captaines were produced, wherein he ſeemed to promiſe them as his friends and followers, greater entertainment than agreed with his preſent eſtate. All which things King *Ferdinand* (of his owne diſpoſition not eaſily to be perſuaded to conceiue euill of the Germanes his countrey-men, were it neuer ſo apparent or true, but of ſtrangers any thing) quickely beleeued, and therefore cauſed him (as is before ſaid) to be apprehended. But *Perenus* as he was brought by *Medices* the Admirall to Vienna, when he was come neere vnto the gate of the city, and heard that *Philippus Torniellus* with certaine other braue Captaines of his acquaintance, were come to meet the Admirall; he requeſted that the cloſe Coach wherein he rid might be opened, and that he might haue leaue to ſpeake to thoſe noble and valiant Gentlemen. Which thing was eaſily granted, for that the nobilitie and approoued valour of the man ſeemed vnto them which had the charge of him, vnworthie of ſuch reſtraint of libertie or impriſonment, yea or of the leaſt ſuſpicion thereof. So he turning himſelfe towards them, ſpake vnto them in this ſort:

The lamentable ſpeech of Perenus to Torniellus and the other Captaines, concerning his apprehenſion.

Wretched I, noble Gentlemen (ſaid he) *whom deſpightfull enuie hath circumuented guiltleſſe: but much more miſerable King* Ferdinand, *whom domeſticall theeues bereaue of ſubſtance, of friends, and honour all at once. For ſo it commeth to paſſe, that by this inconſiderat wrong done vnto me, he ſhall vtterly loſe the loue and fidelitie of the Hungarian Nation, and may therefore for euer not without cauſe diſpaire for the obtaining of the Kingdome of Hungarie, ſithence that it is not lawfull for mee (inferiour to none of my Nation in birth, and hauing for my good and faithfull ſeruice wel deſerued reward of a iuſt King) ſo much as to reioice for the deliuerance of my ſonne from the captiuitie of the Turks, but that by my ſiniſter fortune, dreadfull death in ſtead of incomparable ioy muſt be preſented to mine eyes. For will theſe malicious Picke-thanks, guiltie of their owne cowardiſe, the wicked contriuers and witneſſes of my wrongfull accuſation, ſpare me being laid faſt and in durance, which neuer ſpared the Kings honor? For euery man of what nobility ſoeuer, be he neuer ſo guiltleſſe, when he is once in hold, muſt be content to endure, not what he hath deſerued, but what his hard fortune aſſigneth. Yet my vpright minde and cleere conſcience, which thing only God the moſt iuſt Iudge leaueth as a comfort to men in miſerie wrongfully accuſed, deliuereth me of this care: and ſo will the Marquiſſe our Generall, to whom I before vpon a miſtruſt foretold, that ſuch a danger would ſhortly befall me, and that I had rather be ſlaine guiltleſſe, than to withdraw my ſelfe from triall: which thing I told him at ſuch time as I was ſo guarded with mine owne ſtrength, that I feared no mans force. I beſeech you do me this honorable fauor, as to requeſt King* Ferdinand *in my behalfe quickely and honorably to proceed to the triall of my cauſe, and according to his owne princely diſpoſition, and the will of others, to diſcerne betwixt his faithfull friends and feigned flatterers. Truly we are then but vnfortunate Captaines, if for a little euill ſucceſſe we ſhall be ſo challenged as men that had ouerthrowne their fortunes.* Cazzianer *peraduenture receiued the iuſt puniſhment he had deſerued, for the ſhamefull forſaking and loſing of the Armie at Exek, when as he poſſeſſed with vnſeemely feare, forgat the dutie of a Generall, more affraid of death than diſhonour: for when he had voluntarily committed himſelfe into ſafe cuſtodie, he was ſo generally condemned of cowardiſe, that diſpairing to defend his cauſe, he brake priſon, and as wickedly as vnfortunately reuolted to the Turkes. But neither was I of late the Generall, neither were we vanquiſhed, although we preuailed not, but honourably retiring, valiantly repreſſed the inſolencie of the purſuing enemy. As for the Kingdome of Hungary, I might then well haue affected the ſame, and eaſily haue deſerued it at* Solymans *hands, when as*

Perenus his requeſt of the Admirall and the reſt of the Captaines.

King Ferdinand *after the death of king* Iohn *was making his preparation for that war: at which time my friends and followers at my deuotion, with the loue of the Hungarians towards me, ſeeming of no ſmall importance for the obtaining of the victorie, might haue miniſtred no vnreaſonable or vnſeaſonable hope to haue drawne a man into courſes not altogether beſeeming a Chriſtian. Wherefore I haue, and will ſo long as I liue fight againſt the Turks, if King* Ferdinand *ſhall ſhew himſelfe an indifferent Iudge in this accuſation, falſly ſurmiſed againſt me by the malice of mine enemies.* G

Perenus, Valentinus, & Maylat, three of the greateſt nobility in Hungary, kept in perpetuall priſon.

When he had made an end of ſpeaking, the Admirall courteouſly perſuaded him to haue good hope in the clemency of the moſt iuſt King; and ſhortly after performed his requeſt: for he and *Torniellus* taking the King as he was hunting, entreated him to deale fauorably with *Perenus*. For all that, *Perenus* could not obtaine that his cauſe might be openly heard, but was H committed to ſafe keeping, there to remaine in perpetuall priſon: but whether it was for the miſpriſion of new treaſon, or for reuenge of his old vnconſtancie, is vncertaine. Thus three the only great Princes left of the Hungarian bloud, equally worthie of the Kingdome, *Valentine, Maylat*, and *Perenus*, ſnarled almoſt in like ſnares of enuie, cut off all hope of raiſing a King to their ſeditious and therefore miſerable countrymen: when as *Perenus* lay too late bewailing his vnconſtancie in perpetuall priſon, and the other two faſt in chaines neere vnto the Euxine ſea, expected death the end of their miſeries. This end had the wars taken in hand againſt the Turks by the generall conſent of the Germanes in the yeare 1542; which many thought might worthily be compared with the greateſt loſſes of thoſe times: when as King *Ferdinand* hauing in vaine ſpent a great maſſe of treaſure (the fitteſt ſtay for the imminent war) and loſt the opinion before conceiued of the ſtrength of Germany; had now as a weake Prince, and ſubiect to iniurie, prouoked him againſt the Turks, bold enough otherwiſe, but as then inſolent for their late victories.

1543 *Polinus* the French Kings Embaſſadour ſtill following the Turkes Court, ceaſed not by all meanes to ſolicite *Solyman*, with his gallies to aid the King his Maſter in the inuaſion of the Dominions of *Charles* the Emperour, in Italie, Sicilie, and Spaine. In which ſute he was ſo croſſed by *Solyman* the Eunuch Baſſa, then Viſier, that he was almoſt in diſpaire of ſpeed: for the Malicious Eunuch being himſelfe a great ſea-man, and enuying the honour of *Barbaruſſa* (who was to be employed in that ſeruice) ſought by keeping him out of all honourable actions, to diminiſh his former glory, and concerning the preſent, proteſted openly as he ſat in Councell, That he ſaw no other cauſe why the Turkiſh Emperour ſhould to his great charge and the common danger, ſend out ſuch a Fleet, but to ſerue *Barbaruſſa* his owne turne. But *Solyman* hauing diligently heard, and deepely conſidered of that the Baſſa's had ſaid, reiected their opinions who would not he ſhould haue giuen the French King any aid, and honourably decreed according to his promiſe, whatſoeuer ſhould enſue thereof, to ſend his Fleet vnto the King by *Barbaruſſa*. Two dayes after, the French Embaſſadour before in deſpaire, but now reuiued with that Decree, was ſolemnly feaſted by *Ruſtan Baſſa* (*Solymans* ſonne in law) and by *Solyman* the Eunuch Baſſa: for ſo it was their great Maſters pleaſure, both of them ioying of him for the friendſhip confirmed betwixt the two Princes by ſending this Fleet. After I which, diuers gifts were beſtowed vpon the Embaſſador and his chiefe followers; and at ſuch time as he was to take his leaue, *Solyman* gaue him great charge of his Nauie, that it might be ſafely kept, and ſo after the ſeruice done, againe returned: and withall deliuered him letters vnto King *Francis*; wherein after the glorious rehearſall of his proud titles, he writ vnto him as followeth.

Solyman granteth to ſend his fleet by Barbaruſſa to aid the French king againſt the Emperour.

Solymans letters to the French king.

We haue vpon a brotherly bountie granted vnto Polinus *your Embaſſadour, ſuch and ſo great a fleet as you haue deſired, throughly furniſhed for all affaires: whoſe direction we haue commanded Hariadene our Admirall to follow, and by your appointment to proceed againſt the Enemie. But you ſhall do well and friendly, the warres once happily ended, to ſend backe againe my fleet to Conſtantinople. All things ſhall vndoubtedly fall out according to your owne deſire and minde, if you ſhall carefully take heed that* Charles *the Spaniſh king your perpetuall enemy do not againe deceiue you with the motion of a deceitfull peace. For then ſhall you bring him to a moſt indifferent peace, when you haue brought vpon his Countries all the calamities of Warre.*

A *Polinus* taking his leaue of *Solyman* then lying at Hadrianople, returned to Conſtantinople, where he found *Barbaruſſa* with an hundred and ten gallies and fortie gallions, readie to put to ſea, which hee had with incredible celeritie rigged vp and furniſhed. And ſo ſetting forward the eight and twentieth of Aprill in the yeare 1543, and paſſing the ſtraits of Heleſpontus, he arriued firſt at Cariſtius in Euboea; and from thence to Malea, where he was by contrarie winds caſt into the bay of Lacedemon, and there ſtaied nine daies before he could double the cape of Metapanium, called in antient time Tenarus. After that he came to Methon, and from thence croſſing the Ionian, came to the ſtrait of Meſſana: where the Turkiſh pirats being come with their galliots within the ſight of Rhegium, began to land their men. They of Rhegium ſeeing ſo great a fleet, and the Turks alreadie landing, fled out of the Citie for feare; but B the Caſtle was ſtill kept by *Didacus Gaietanus* a Spaniard, who refuſed to haue any parle with *Polinus* the French Embaſſador, and with ſhot out of the Caſtle ſlew certaine of the Turkes: wherewith the reſt being inraged, brake into the citie, and finding it deſolate, ſet it on fire, ſore againſt the will of *Polinus* and *Barbaruſſa*, who ſought to haue found out the authors thereof, and to haue puniſhed them accordingly.

After that, certaine pieces of great Ordnance were landed and planted againſt the Caſtle, which with a few ſhot ſo terrified the Captaine, alreadie troubled with the crying out of his wife, *that he* without any more ado yeelded himſelfe and the Caſtle with all therein, into the hands of the Enemie: vnto whom with his wife and children, *Barbaruſſa* at the requeſt of the C French Embaſſador granted both life and libertie: the reſt he ſhut vp in a Church, and gaue the ſpoile of the Caſtle to his ſouldiers. There was in the garriſon of the Caſtle about ſeuentie Spaniards, but many mo Citiſens, which were all carried away priſoners. One of the Captaines daughters, a young gentlewoman of exceeding beautie, had with her good grace ſo warmed the withered affection of the old Pirat *Barbaruſſa*, that he (now fitter for the graue than for marriage) became amorous of her perſon: ſo that taking her from her father, and entring her into the Mahometan Superſtition, he made of her as of his wife: inſomuch that certaine moneths after he welcommed and bountifully entertained the Captaine as his father in law, comming to ſee his daughter at the Port called Portus Herculis in Tuſcanie, where the Turks fleet then lay. *Barbaruſſa* ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Italy, came to Oſtia, in the mouth D of the riuer Tibur, and brought ſuch a feare vpon the citie of Rome, that the Citiſens were readie generally to haue forſaken the city; had not *Polinus* by his letters to *Rodolphus* the cardinall, then the great Biſhop *Paulus* his Legat in the Citie, in part ſtaied the ſudden tumult. The Biſhop himſelfe was then at Buxetum, a towne betwixt Cremona and Placentia, trauelling (in ſhew) with the Emperor, to haue made a peace betwixt him and the French King, but labouring in ſecret to haue bought of him the Dukedome of Millan, for *Octauius* his kinſeman the Emperors ſonne in law. *Polinus* his letters written to the Cardinall at Rome, and ſent by the Gouernor to Tarracina, were to this effect:

Barbaruſſa amorous of the Captaine of Rhegium his daughter.

E *This Fleet which is by* Solyman *ſent for the defence of France by* Barbaruſſa *his Admirall, is by his appointment at my command: ſo that it is not to hurt any but our enemies. Wherefore make it knowne to the Romans and others dwelling alongſt the coaſt of the Popes territorie, That they feare of vs no hoſtility; for the Turks will neuer violat the faith of their Emperor ſolemnly giuen vnto me: and you know most aſſuredly, that the French King deſireth nothing more, than that the eſtate of Rome might not only be kept in ſafetie, but alſo flouriſh moſt glorìouſly, and be therefore preſerued from all iniury. Farewell.*

The French embaſſadors letters to comfort Rodolph the Cardinall the Popes Legat in Rome.

In like manner he alſo comforted vp them of Neptunianum and Oſtia, ſo that they brought vnto the Turks all manner of victuall, and ſometimes for foure ſheepe or a couple of oxen redeemed a good priſoner taken in ſome place of the kingdome of Naples. Yet for all this, the Romans did not ſo much credit the Embaſſadors promiſe in the behalfe of the Turkes good F dealing, but that many of the weaker ſort fled out of the citie into the countrey by night, although the chiefe Magiſtrates did what they might to haue ſtaied them. When *Barbaruſſa* had thus lien three dayes in the mouth of the riuer Tibur, and there watered, he paſſed alongſt the coaſt of Etruria and Liguria, without doing any harme; and ſo ſailed directly to Marſeilles. Where leauing him with his fleet for a while, expecting the French Kings further pleaſure, we will againe returne vnto *Solyman*, who at the ſame time that *Barbaruſſa* was ſpoiling the fron-

Solyman commeth with a great army into Hungary.

The caſtle of Walpo trecherouſly yeelded, and the Traitors iuſtly rewarded.

tiers of the Emperours Dominions in Italie, came with a great armie into Hungary, for the G
more aſſured poſſeſſion of that Kingdome, whereafter he ſaw King *Ferdinand* ſo much longed.
And becauſe he would make all ſure before him, he ſent *Amurathes* Gouernour of Dalmatia,
and *Vlamas* the Perſian Gouernor to Boſna, to beſiege Walpo, a ſtrong towne ſcituate vpon
the riuer Dranus, not far from Exek, famous for the ouerthrow of the Chriſtian Armie vnder
Cazzianer: after whom followed alſo *Achomates* the great commander of his Europeian horſmen.
This towne (part of *Perenus* his poſſeſſions) was againſt all theſe forces kept and worthily
defended by *Perenus* his wife (her husband then lying in priſon at Vienna) and her
friends by the ſpace of three moneths; but was at laſt by the treacherous ſoldiers deliuered
to the enemy, together with their Generall; whom when they could by no meanes perſuade
to conſent to the yeelding vp thereof, but that he would needs hold it out to the laſt, they H
tooke him perforce, and ſo deliuered him with the Towne to the Turks: who receiued him
with all courteſie, and vſed him honourably: but thoſe traiterous ſouldiers, whether it were
in deteſtation of their treacherie, or for the ſpoile of them, were all put to the ſword; the iuſt
reward of their treaſon. The reſt of the Citiſens were taken by the Turks to mercie, and well
vſed. The Biſhop and chiefe men of Quinque Eccleſiæ (a famous Citie not far off on the
other ſide of Dranus) hearing of the loſſe of Walpo, and terrified with the greatneſſe of the
Turks armie, fled for feare, leauing none but the meaner ſort of the people in the City, who
willingly yeelded the ſame vnto the Turks. The next towne of any ſtrength was Socloſia,
belonging alſo to *Perenus*; which for a while held out againſt the Turks, for that diuers Gentlemen
of the countrey which were fled into the Citie, encouraged the Citiſens to ſtand vpon I
their defence. But after much harme done on both ſides, when they were no longer able
to hold out, they retired into the caſtle, in hope to haue ſo ſaued their liues and libertie by
yeelding: but *Amurathes* was ſo offended with them, that he would come to no reaſonable
compoſition, or promiſe them any thing more, than that they ſhould at their pleaſure come
forth: and ſo as they came out at the gate, ſlew them euery mothers ſonne, thereby to terrifie
others from making like reſiſtance.

Solyman commeth with his army to Strigonium.

Solyman vnderſtanding of all theſe things, gaue thoſe towns which were taken to *Amurathes*
the Generall: and hauing put all things in readineſſe, departed from Buda with all his armie to
beſiege Strigonium; which was then kept by *Liſcanus* and *Salamanca*, two proud couetous Spaniards, K
with a garriſon of 1300 ſoldiers, whereof ſome few were Spaniards and Italians, & the
reſt Germanes, *Paulus* Biſhop of Strigonium got himſelfe out of the city betimes, diſpairing
of all mercy if he ſhould haue fallen into the power of *Solyman*, by whoſe intermiſſion he had
bin once before reconciled to King *Iohn*, and had again reuolted from him to King *Ferdinand*.
The caſtle of Strigonium was ſcituat vpon a high hill ouerlooking Danubius running vnderneath
it, the walls were built euen without any flankers, after the old manner of building before
the inuention of guns: for which cauſe *Vitellius* and *Torniellus* two expert captaines (the
yeare before ſent from the king to view the place, and the manner of the fortification) were
of opinion, that the city could hardly be defended, if it were beſieged by any ſtrong Enemy;
being ſubiect alſo vnto a hill not far from the gates of the city. Againſt which incoueniences
the old garriſon ſoldiers which wintred in Strigonium, caſt vp new bulwarks and fortifications, L
and after the manner of windie headed men, making great boaſt before the danger, what
they would do, ſeemed to wiſh for the comming of *Solyman*. But after that the barbarous enemie
had with his tents couered the fields and mountaines round about the city, and withall
brought a gallant fleet vp the riuer, all thoſe brags were laid in the duſt, & euery man began to
grow doubtfull of his owne ſafety: for that they being but few (although men of good worth)
were to withſtand the infinite number of ſuch enemies, as oftentimes vſed moſt deſperatly to
expoſe their liues to all maner of dangers. This their feare was alſo increaſed by the comming
of certain meſſengers from *Solyman*, who vnderſtanding of what nations the gariſon conſiſted,
ſent vnto the city three of his owne gard, one a Spaniard, another an Italian, and the third a
German, all renegat Chriſtians, that euery one of them might without an Interpreter ſpeake M
vnto their countrymen in their own language. Theſe men admitted into the city, offered great
rewards and large entertainment in the name of *Solyman*, to ſuch as would in time yeeld: denouncing
all torture and extremities vnto them which ſhould endure the ſummons of the
cannon. Whereunto it was anſwered by the Captaines, That thoſe faithfull and valiant ſouldiers

The ſtout anſwere of the Captaines.

The terrible battery of the Turks at Strigonium.

The Turkes repulſed thrice at the aſſault of the breach.

A Chriſtian fugitiue diſcouereth the ſtrẽgth and ſtate of the citie vnto the Turkes.

A diers, who had repoſed their laſt hopes in their armes, were neither to be woon by gifts, nor terrified with threats. With which anſwere the meſſenger returned, and the ſame day the Turks great ordnance was planted vpon the hill before the gate of the city, and the weakeſt parts of the walls round about the citie, ſo well pickt out by the Turkes to be aſſaulted, as that they could not more skilfully or commodiouſly haue bin choſen out of them which had within moſt diligently viewed euery thing: ſo that it is to be thought that the Chriſtians wanted not only fortune againſt the Turks, but alſo faith amongſt themſelues. *Salamanca* diſtruſting the fortifications of the ſuburbs, retired into the city, contrary to that he had before vainly boaſted. *Achomates* Generall of the Europeian horſemen, laid ſiege to that part of the wall which was next to the Biſhops gardens: *Vlamas* the Perſian beſieged the tower neere vnto B the gate towards Buda: The Aſapi or common ſoldiers were by their captains brought on to dig trenches, and caſt vp mounts, as was thought moſt conuenient. It is incredible to be ſpoken, with what furie the great ordnance was diſcharged without ceaſing; inſomuch that the tower with a great part of the wall neere vnto it, ſhaken with continuall battery, fell downe with ſuch violence, as if all had been ſhaken with a moſt terrible earthquake: neither was any man able to ſtand vpon the walls, but that the Ianizaries with their harquebuſiers out of their trenches, and from their mounts, would moſt certainly fetch him off: and many which ſtood within farther off, were with the Turks arrowes falling from high as if it had been out of the aire, grieuouſly wounded. But that which moſt troubled the defendants, and did them greateſt harme, was the ſtones, which beaten inſunder with the great ſhot, and not to be auoided, C did with their pieces kill or maime the ſoldiers neere hand. With which dangers they were enforced to forſake the vttermoſt wall, and to caſt vp new fortifications within, that they might with leſſe danger defend the place. Neither in the enemy wanted courage to aſſaile the breach: thrice they deſperatly attempted to haue entred, and were alwaies with loſſe repulſed. In which aſſaults, amongſt others, *Bulbaces* Sanzacke of Selymbria, a man of great account among the Turks, was loſt. Whileſt the defendants were thus buſied, many of the ſoldiers and mariners which came vp the riuer with all things neceſſary for the army, from Buda, went on ſhore, and lay in the ſuburbs of the city in ſuch ſecurity, as if there had beene no enemy nigh: which thing they in the city perceiuing, ſuddenly ſallied out vpon them fearing no ſuch matter, D and ſlew many of them before they could arme themſelues, & draue the reſt to their fleet: ſo that betwixt fighting and flying there was about two hundred of them ſlaine. *Zimat* a Perſian, Admirall of the Fleet, in reſcuing of them which to ſaue their liues fled vnto the riuer, was ſhot thorow with a ſmall ſhot and ſlaine. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, and the Turks hauing in many places ſore ſhaken the wall, did with greater force daily aſſaile the Citie, and the defendants with their continuall loſſe, and out of all hope of reliefe, were more and more diſcouraged, an old Calabrian enginer which had long time ſerued king *Ferdinand*, fled out of the city to the Turks; who being curteouſly entertained by *Solyman*, and examined by the Baſſa's of many things concerning the ſtrength and ſtate of the city, ſatisfied them in all that they deſired, and further, directed them in planting their batteries in places moſt conuenient E for the ſpeedy taking of the towne. In the mean time whileſt the Turks were with reſtleſſe labor battering the walls, and working in their mines, it fortuned that a gilt brazen Croſſe which ſtood vpon the top of the ſteeple of the Cathedrall Church, was by the continuall ſhooting of the Turks thereat, at length beaten downe: at the ſight whereof, it is reported that *Solyman* after the ſuperſtitious manner of that nation taking the chance as a token of good lucke, cried out preſently, *Strigonium is won*.

Liſcanus and *Salamanca* fearfully conſulting of the euent of the ſiege, and ſecretly conferring together, reſolued to ſaue themſelues, and to giue vp the towne. *Liſcanus* was no great ſoldier, and yet by continuall ſpoile growne exceeding rich, and therefore thought it but folly to buy the name of a reſolute captain at too deare a price, with the loſſe of his life and wealth. F The like feeling was alſo in *Salamanca*, who preferred the ſafety of himſelf & of that which he had gotten in long ſeruice, before al credit & honor were it neuer ſo great. This their purpoſe was not kept ſo ſecret, but that it was noiſed abroad amongſt the common ſoldiers, of whom almoſt the third part was now either ſlain, or with wounds or ſicknes grown weake: yet were they all of opinion generally, that they were ſtill ſtrong enough to defend the towne. But the vnder Captaines and Ancients vſing to flatter their Generals, liked well of the motion, to yeeld vnto

Salamanca goeth out of Strigonium, to parly with the Turks about the yeelding vp of the ſame.

Strigonium yeelded to the Turks by Liſcanus the Spaniard.

Solyman vpon reaſonable conditions, rather than to expoſe themſelues to moſt certaine death, which ſhould nothing better King *Ferdinands* cauſe. Not long after, an Antient was by night let downe ouer the wall, and hauing by an Interpreter receiued the Turks faith, called forth *Salamanca*, that he might vpon better conditions go thorow with them for the yeelding vp of the towne. Who without further delay comming out, went to *Achomates*; before he went, commanding them which defended the water tower next to the riuer ſide, a place of great danger, for ſafegard of their liues to get them into the city: who terrified with that news, and haſtily retiring, were by the vigilant Turks which lay at the ſiege therof, perceiued; who ſuddenly breaking in, ſlew ſuch as were not yet gone, and poſſeſſed the caſtle. But *Salamanca* being brought before the great Baſſa's, when he had ſtood vpon many nice termes, & required many things to haue bin granted him, obtained no more, but that they ſhould without delay yeeld vp the city, and put themſelues wholly to the mercie of *Solyman*. So the Spaniard being there ſtaid, himſelfe writ to *Liſcanus*, how he had ſped; willing him forthwith, if he loued his own ſafety, to yeeld the city, without ſtanding vpon further termes. *Liſcanus* vpon receit of theſe letters comming forth to the ſoldiers, declared vnto them the neceſſity of yeelding vp of the town, and what hope there was to eſcape with life and liberty. But whileſt the ſouldiers filled with indignation, ſtood as men in doubt what to do, *Halis* commander of the Ianizaries came vnto the gate, and with cheerful rather than ſterne countenance required to haue it opened vnto him, according to the agreement made by *Salamanca* in the campe: which was forthwith opened by *Liſcanus*, and the keies deliuered vnto him. The Ianizaries entring peaceably into the city, poſſeſſed themſelues of the walls & fortreſſes round about, commanding the Chriſtian ſoldiers to giue place, out of whom they choſe all the beardles youths, & commanded the reſt to caſt downe their harquebuſies & other weapons in a place appointed, which they all for feare did, expecting nothing but ſome cruel execution to be done vpon them by the barbarous enemy. Which their feare was the more increaſed by a ſtrange accident then vnluckily chancing: for whileſt the ſoldiers did as they were commanded, with their harquebuſies caſt their flaskes full of pouder alſo, one of them ſuddenly tooke fire of a match which was by chance caſt in amongſt them with fire in it, which firing the reſt, blew about all that heape of weapons among the Turks, which ſo filled them with anger & feare of ſome ſudden trechery, that they fell vpon the Chriſtians and ſlew diuers of them: vntill ſuch time as *Halis* (perſuaded that it was a thing hapned rather by chance than malice) commanded his Ianizaries to ſtay their fury. This tumult appeaſed, *Halis* cauſed proclamation to be made, That all ſuch Chriſtian ſouldiers as would ſerue *Solyman* in his wars, ſhould haue ſuch place in his army as their quality required, with bountifull entertainment: yet of all the Chriſtian ſoldiers were found only ſeuentie, which carefull of their liues, accepted the offer, fearing that the Turks would vpon ſuch as refuſed, exerciſe their wonted cruelty. *Halis* entertaining them curteouſly, ſent them away with the other youths whom he had before culled out, down the riuer to Buda: the other ſouldiers he tooke into his protection, and vſed their labor to helpe the Turks to make cleane the caſtle.

Liſcanus the couetous Spaniard merrily ſtript of all his wealth by Halis captaine of the Ianizaries.

But *Liſcanus*, who to ſaue his gold had made ſhipwracke of his honor & reputation, was glad to giue vnto *Halis* the faire chaine of gold which he had moſt couetouſly & inſolently before taken from *Perenius*, when as *Halis* (who would otherwiſe haue taken it from him by force) by way of militarie curteſie now craued it of him, as a ſtrange kind of ornament amongſt the Turks: with which gift he was in hope to haue ſaued the reſt of his coine. But fortune fauored not ſo much the couetous coward: for when he was about to depart away with his horſes of ſeruice, which he kept very good, & had cunningly ſtuffed the ſaddles ful of gold, thinking ſo ſlily to haue conueied it, the Turke laughing at him, tooke from him his horſes furniſhed as they were, ſaying, that he which was to go by water needed no horſes. So was the couetous wretch at once quit of the great wealth which he had in long time euill got. The captains with the reſt of the ſoldiers diſpoiled of their armes, were conueied ouer the riuer of Danubius, & ſo trauelled on foot to Poſonium, where the County *Salme* by the commandement of the king apprehended *Liſcanus*, *Salamanca*, and ſome other of the captains for ſuſpition of treaſon, & committed them to ſafe cuſtodie, there to anſwer for their cowardly yeelding vp of the city.

Solyman entreth into Strigonium, and there ſetteth vp the Mahometan ſuperſtition.

Solyman entred into Strigonium the tenth of Auguſt in the yeare 1543, and there conuerting Chriſtian Churches into Temples for the Mahometan ſuperſtition, firſt ſacrificed for his victorie (as he had before done in Buda), and after with all ſpeed ſo ſtrongly fortified the citie,

A as if hee would thereby for euer haue taken from the Chriſtians all hope of recouering the
ſame againe, deriding the ſlouthfull negligence of the Germans, who poſſeſſed of it foureteen
yeares, had neglected all that time to fortifie it. Not long after, *Solyman* leauing *Oſſainus* a valiant
captaine Gouernor of Strigonium, and ſending his Tartarian horſemen to ſpoile the countrey
on the left hand, as far as Alba Regalis, went himſelfe to beſiege the caſtle of Tatta, called
in antient time Theodota. The garriſon ſouldiers terrified with the loſſe of Strigonium,
and the ſight of the Turks army, vpon the firſt ſummons yeelded the caſtle without reſiſtance,
and were ſo ſuffered quietly to depart. That caſtle after the manner of the Turkiſh diſcipline,
(who with few and thoſe very ſtrong holds keepe their prouinces in ſubiection) was by *Solymans*
commandement preſently raſed downe to the ground. *Torniellus* Generall of the Italians
B cauſed *Hanniball*, captaine of the caſtle, to haue his head ſtrucke off for his cowardly yeelding
vp of the piece he had taken charge of: thereby to admoniſh others, which had the charge of
ſtrong places, not to refuſe an honorable death in defence of their countrey, for feare of an ignominious
death attending their cowardiſe.

A cowardly captaine worthily rewarded.

Tatta thus laid in the duſt, *Solyman* marched with his army towards Alba, ſurnamed Regalis,
for that the kings of Hungarie by an antient cuſtome vſed there to be crowned, and alſo buried.
Buda, Strigonium, and Alba Regalis, three principall cities of the kingdome of Hungarie
ſtand in maner of a triangle, almoſt equally diſtant one from another, about a hundred miles
in compaſſe. Buda and Strigonium are ſcituate vpon the riuer of Danubius: but Alba ſtandeth
more into the land, ſtrongly ſeated in the middeſt of a great lake, but not ſo wholeſomely,
C eſpecially in the Summer time, the Winter waters then decreaſing, and groſſe vapours ariſing
with the heat of the Sunne. From the citie thorow the mariſh or lake, vnto the firme land, lie
three broad and high cauſeys (in manner of the ſtrakes of a cart wheele) well built with faire
houſes and gardens on either ſide, and a broad way in the middle, whereby men paſſe in & out
of the citie. At the end of euery cauſey toward the land were caſt vp ſtrong bulwarkes, which
the citiſens vſed not to watch but in dangerous times of war: ſo that by theſe bulwarkes, the
houſes of the ſuburbes ſtanding vpon theſe cauſies, were ſafe from the danger of the enemie,
the lake filling vp all the ſpaces betwixt the cauſies: which, what for the depth, what for mud,
flags, and bulruſhes, growing in it, was not by horſe or man to be paſſed thorow. And the citie
it ſelfe ſtanding in the midſt of the lake, compaſſed round about with a ſtrong wall, and a deepe
D ditch alwaies full of water, was hardly to be beſieged: for which cauſes a great number of the
countrie people vpon the comming of *Solyman*, fled into it with their cattell, as vnto a moſt
ſure hold. In the citie lay in garriſon two companies of Germans, and 200 horſemen, vnto
whom were ioyned 500 Hungarian horſemen, ſuch as in time of peace liued by robbing, and
are by an infamous name called *Vſarous*: vnto theſe, the Italian countie *Torniellus*, who with his
Italians was come as far as Iauarinum, or Rab, ſent foure captaines with their companies, ſuch
as were moſt forward in that ſeruice: after whom followed *Barsotius*, captaine of the Kings
guard, with a companie of horſemen, appointed by the king for Generall. Who was no ſooner
come into the citie, but newes was brought of *Solymans* approch. Whereupon he in haſt called
together the other captaines, with *Bicraus* then maior of the citie, and other the chiefe citiſens
E to conſult with them, What was beſt to be done for the defence of the citie, but eſpecially,
Whether the ſuburbs of the citie, ſtanding vpon thoſe three broad cauſies, were to be deſtroied
or not: that ſo the citie ſtanding in the middeſt of the great mariſh, might both with leſſe
labour and danger be defended. This queſtion was ſeriouſly debated, and great reaſons alledged:
at laſt the citiſens cried out with one voice againſt the matter, and ſaid, That they would
neuer ſuffer thoſe goodly ſuburbes, wherein were ſo many churches and faire buildings as
might compare with the citie it ſelfe, to be ſo ſhamefully deſtroyed, to the vtter vndoing of
ſo many rich citiſens: for what could be (ſaid they) more diſhonourable or lamentable, than to
the encouraging of the barbarous enemy, to ſhew ſuch a token of extreame feare; and with
F their owne hands to burne and deſtroy thoſe ſtately buildings, which might by ſtrong hand
be well inough defended againſt the enemie, if they did not play the ſhamefull cowards. Of
which opinion with the citiſens was alſo *Octauianus Scrofachia* an Italian captain, alledging that
both the citie and the ſuburbes might both with like danger be defended: foraſmuch as they
were equally fortified with the benefit of the mariſh, and if the worſt ſhould happen, the defendants
might yet ſafely enough retire into the citie. At laſt ſtanding vp as one thruſt forward

Solyman goeth to Alba Regalis.

The deſcription of Alba Regalis.

The citiſens of Alba will not ſuffer the citie to be deſtroied.

ward, both with the publicke hard fortune and his owne, said, *Valiant gentlemen, what ſhew will* G
you giue of your valor, or what honor ſhall you haue of your ſeruice? If you ſhall defend ſo famous a citie,
by deforming of it your ſelues, and cutting off the ſuburbs, as it were the arms thereof, before the danger,
vpon too haſtie deſperation? Verily you ſhall doe nothing, either in the ſeruice of the king, or the honour
of your ſelues, except this citie (if God ſo pleaſe) be of you whole and ſound valiantly defended. Vpon this
ſpeech they all ariſe, the wiſer ſort and of greateſt experience giuing place to the importunity
of the ignorant & ſimple. *Barcotius* himſelfe full of care, and ouercome with the vaine opinion
of the greater part, yeelded alſo vnto that fatal reſolution of ſauing the ſuburbs. *For it often falleth*
out, that they, who wiſely weighing dangers in the ballance of reaſon, and doe therefore fearefully reſolue
of the euent of things, and doe thereupon oftentimes giue more hard and reſolute iudgement of H
things than men of greater courage; yeeld neuertheleſſe to be partakers of other mens follies, yea euen to
moſt aſſured death, rather than by maintaining their fearefull opinion, to be deemed cowards. So fell it
out with *Barcotius* the Generall who ſetting a good countenance on the matter which nothing
liked him, went out to the ſoldiers, declaring vnto them the reaſons why the ſuburbs were to
be defended: exhorting them with like valour on their parts to anſwer that honourable reſolution,
promiſing to prouide whatſoeuer ſhould be neceſſary for the obtaining of the victory,
aſſuring them of great rewards and preferment, which ſhould by their good ſeruice deſerue
the ſame. Hereupon the ſuburbs were by the common labour of the ſouldiers and the citiſens
quickly fortified, the great ordnance in places conuenient orderly planted, and watch and ward
kept by the captains and their companies by their turns day and night. But the Turks drawing I
neere to the citie, bent their forces only againſt the ſuburbs of the gate leading towards Buda:
for that they perceiued the mariſh was in that place drier than the other, and the ſandie ground
more vnfit for the making of bulwarks & other fortifications for the ſafety of the defendants,
than in the other places where the ground yeelded better turfe. *Barcotius* perceiuing the enemies
purpoſe, drew all the Italians and Germanes from the other gates into the ſuburbs of the
gate of Buda, leauing the country people which were fled into the citie, & the citiſens, in their
places. At the firſt comming of the Turks, the Hungarian and German horſmen, with the Italian
footmen, ſallied out of the ſuburbs, and after certain light skirmiſhes retired. Which maner
of fight was continued by the ſpace of three daies without any great harme done on either
ſide: for the captains had warily commanded, That the ſouldiers ſhould not aduenture out too K
far. But after that *Solyman* himſelfe was come, and had with the multitude of his tents beſet the
citie far and neere, to the terror of the beholders; the Chriſtians ſhut vp all the gates, and sallied
out no more. Which thing cauſed the wild Hungarian *Vſarous* (vſed to open skirmiſhes) to
prouide for themſelues in time, and not to ſuffer themſelues to be coupt vp (as they termed)
within the wals of the citie: ſo for faſhion ſake, asking leaue to be gone (who were not againſt
their wils to be ſtaied) they by night departed, beeing not to be entreated by the Generall or
citiſens to ſtay, and by knowne waies eſcaped thorow the woods from the enemy. In the mean
time the Turkes were come with their winding trenches within ſhot, and with their arrowes
and ſmall ſhot ſo ſcoured the top of the bulwarke, that no man could there poſſibly appeare
but hee was ſtraight wounded: and ſuch was the fury of the great artillerie, that it had in L
ſhort time battered in ſunder the plankes and timber which kept in the ſandie mould, whereof
the fortreſſe was made, more for ſhew than for ſtrength; in ſuch ſort, that the great ſhot flying
quite thorow all, ſlew and wounded many that were a far off: in which diſtreſſe of the defendants,
the Turks Aſapi with ſmall danger filled vp the ditches of the bulwarke, and diuers places
of the mariſh with earth and wood, which they brought continually from a wood thereby
with ſix hundred waggons, ſo that in the ſpace of twelue daies they had made a firme way for
them to paſſe ouer vpon, both to the bulwarke and the ſuburbs; a worke before thought impoſſible
to haue beene performed. The ditches thus filled vp, the Turkes valiantly came on,
ſeeking by plaine force to enter the bulwarke. Firſt came on the Aſapi, whom as men of leaſt
worth the Turks captains vſe to thruſt to the firſt danger: after whom followed the horſmen,
now on foot, with ſwords and targuets, or elſe their horſemens ſtaues, couering the Ianizaries, M
who vpon their knees with their harquebuſiers ſore galled the defendants. This hot fight endured
aboue three houres with equall hope and courage: but the Turkes ſtill relieued with
freſh ſouldiers, repulſed the Chriſtians, and gained the vttermoſt bulwarke: neuertheleſſe the
Italian fort was that day valiantly defended, the very women and religious helping to defend

The Turks with incredible labor fill vp the ditches & take, and by plaine force aſſault the bulwark of the ſuburbs toward Buda.

it:

A notable act of an Hungarian woman.

A it: in which aſſault a tall Hungarian woman, whoſe courage far exceeded the weakneſſe of her
ſex, thruſting in amongſt the ſouldiers vpon the top of the fort, with a great ſythe in her hand
at one blow ſtrucke off two of the Turks heads, as they were climing vp the rampier. This aſ-
ſault was giuen the nine and twentieth of Auguſt, on which day the Turks had before taken
Belgrade, and alſo ſlaine king *Lewis* at the battell of Mohachz; and were therefore after their
ſuperſtitious manner in obſeruation of their fortunate and vnfortunate daies, in good hope to
haue then taken the citie: wherein they were much deceiued, being not able at that time fur-
ther to enter, but enforced againe to retire. Wherewith *Solyman* offended, ſent for *Abraham*,
Achomates, and *Halis* (the chiefe captains in that aſſault) into his tent, and reproued them ſharp-
ly, for that the bulwarke being ſo valiantly and fortunatly woon, they had not with more cou-
B rage proſecuted the victorie, but cowardly (as he thought) giuen it ouer, being in a manner al-
readie woon: and therefore with ſterne countenance commanded them to prepare all things
readie within three daies for a freſh aſſault, and neuer to return vnto him, except they did win
the citie. Whereunto the captaines anſwered no more (for were they neuer ſo guiltleſſe, they
might not before him ſtand to excuſe themſelues) but that they would in ſhort time accom-
pliſh his deſire. Wherefore hauing made all readie, and encouraged the ſouldiers to this laſt
aſſault, they terribly aſſailed the rampiers, and brought a great feare vpon the defendants: for
taking the benefit of a thick miſt (as it oftentimes chanceth in marriſh grounds) they were with
great ſilence (contrarie to their manner) got vp to the top of the rampiers, and come to handie
blowes, before they were well diſcouered. The fight was for the time fierce and terrible: but
C the Ianizaries preuailing, at length put the Germans to flight, and after them the Italians alſo,
ſo that now well was he that could run faſteſt towards the citie. But that their haſtie flight lit-
tle auailed, when as they were to paſſe out by a little narrow gate in maner of a wicket: & they
in the citie, without regard of them that fled, had plucked vp the draw bridge ouer the ditch.
For naturally it commeth oftentimes to paſſe, that the feare of the preſent danger, without blu-
ſhing excuſeth our foule dealing. So the barbarous and fierce enemy purſuing the flying Chri-
ſtians at the heeles all the length of thoſe ſuburbs with moſt cruell execution, many notable
men, ſome fighting, ſome flying, were there ſlaine: amongſt whom was *Octauianus Seroſactius*,
author of the euil counſel wherof inſued that calamitie. *Barcotius* the Generall flying on horſ-
backe to the little gate, which was not to be paſſed thorow, and crying in vaine to them that
D fled, to haue the great gate opened, was by the comming of the Ianizaries ſlaine: whoſe head
and right hand full of rich rings, was by the barbarous enemy carried about in deriſion vpon a
launce. The reſt of the flying multitude finding the little gate ſhut vp with the bodies of the
dead, & the bridge maliciouſly drawne vp, deſperatly threw themſelues into the deepe ditch,
where ſome of them labouring to ſwim out, were caught by the legs and armes by other that
could not ſwim, and both together drowned. Some hardly crauling ouer, were ſhot in the head
or backe with the Turks arrowes: otherſome ſticking faſt in the mud, were as if it had been in
ſport ſhot to death by the Turks: ſome few there was which got ouer, and were ſaued.

The ſuburbes of Alba Regalis woon by the Turks.

The miſerable ſlaughter of the flying Chriſtians

There was yet left in the citie the Generall of the German horſemen, and *Vſcaſades* of Cre-
mona, an Italian captaine: theſe two gathering the remainder of the ſouldiers which were left,
E placed them vpon the wals: but the citiſens were ſtrucke with ſuch a feare, that they could not
tell which way to turne themſelues. For now *Birrous* the maior, with the aldermen and other
chiefe citiſens, ſeeing the ſlaughter of the Italians and Germanes, were ſo ouercome with de-
ſpaire, that they thought no hope of their well doing was to bee repoſed in making of any far-
ther reſiſtance, but only in the mercie of *Solyman*. Wherfore *Birrous* ſpake vnto the Turks from
the wall, That he might ſafely ſend embaſſadors to *Solyman*, to intreat with him vpon reaſona-
ble conditions, for the yeelding vp of the citie: which thing *Achomates* eaſily granted. With
theſe embaſſadours for the citiſens, went alſo the Generals of the German horſmen, & *Caro-
lus Rufus* an Italian captaine (who of all others had borne himſelfe moſt valiantly in all the aſ-
ſaults, to the great admiration of the Turks) to intreat for the ſafety & liberty of the ſoldiers.
F The embaſſadors being brought before the great Baſſaes, requeſted, That yeelding the citie,
the citiſens might inioy their liues & liberty: wherunto they were ſo anſwered, as that it ſee-
med they ſhould not all be pardoned, yet was the generall feare wel dimiſhed, for that the pu-
niſhment reſpected but ſome few. *Rufus* was courteouſly entertained; & eaſily obtained, that
the Italians might in ſafety depart with bag & bagagge to Vienna: the like grace alſo had the

Embaſſadours ſent to Solyman to entreat vpon conditions for the yeelding of the citie.

Generall of the Germans for his ſouldiers. *Solyman* the Eunuch Baſſa, offered vnto *Rufus* honorable entertainment, if he would haue ſerued *Solyman*: which when he refuſed as bound to king *Ferdinand* by oath, in honour of his valour he gaue him a rich cloake wrought with flowers of gold. The embaſſadours returning into the citie, and telling how they had ſped, deliuered the citizens of a great feare. Shortly after the citie being yeelded, *Achomates* by open proclamation in the market place, commanded the Italians and Germans to make themſelues readie againſt the next day to depart, and to take good heed that no Hungarian went with them: he alſo ſtraitly charged the citiſens to keepe their houſes, vntill the ſtrange ſouldiers were departed. At the time appointed, the Italians and Germans ſet forward, conducted by *Homares* with a companie of the Turks horſemen, who faithfully defended them againſt the Tartars, running vp and downe the countrey after ſpoile: neither was any thing taken from them but their dags, which the German horſemen after a new faſhon carried at their ſaddle bowes; theſe the Turks greatly deſired, delighted with the noueltie of the inuention, to ſee them ſhot off with a firelocke without a match. But after the departure of *Homares*, they were in their trauell ſet vpon by the Hungarians, with whom they had many hot skirmiſhes, and had hardly eſcaped vnſpoiled, had they not beene reſcued by the kings ſouldiers lying in garriſon in the Caſtles as they paſſed alongſt the countrey. The few which remained, after many troubles came at laſt to Vienna, more like ghoſts than men.

Solyman entreth into Alba Regalis.

Solyman causeth the chiefe citiſens of Alba Regalis to be ſlain

Solyman entering quietly into the citie, firſt viſited the Sepulchers of the Hungarian kings, and gaue out proclamation, That the Hungarians ſhould feare of him no harme; for that he was not come to conquer them, but to deliuer them from the bondage of the Germans, and ſo to reſtore againe that entire kingdome vnto *Stephen* the right heire of King *Iohn*. But within three or foure daies after, he called out the chiefe citiſens into a field not far off, wherein the bodies of condemned men were woont to be buried, as if he would haue there taken an oath of them for their fidelitie: whether, after they were all aſſembled in the beſt manner they could, as to ſome ſolemne feaſt, the cruell tyrant (without regard of his faith or promiſe) cauſed them all to be ſlaine. Howbeit ſome report, that he cauſed them onely to be put to death which bare office in the citie, at ſuch time as they reuolted from the obedience of the Queene and the infant king, vnto *Ferdinand*, and had then brought in German ſouldiers; and that he ſent the reſt into exile to Buda and Belgrade. So *Solyman* leauing *Balibeius* Gouernour of Alba Regalis; and *Mahometes* ſometime Gouernour of Belgrade, his Lieutenant Generall for the whole gouernement of that kingdome, returned againe toward Conſtantinople (Winter now beginning to approch) after he had that Sommer woon Strigonium and Alba Regalis, two of the chiefeſt cities of Hungarie. All this while king *Ferdinand* had raiſed no power worth the ſpeaking of, to withſtand ſo mightie an enemie; onely at Vienna lay ſeuen thouſand Germans and foure thouſand Italians, at ſuch time as *Solyman* departed from Alba Regalis, which were ſhortly after diſcharged.

Solyman returneth to Conſtantinople.

Whiles *Solyman* thus lay at the ſiege of Alba Regalis, he ſent his Tartarian horſemen which ſerued him to ſmall purpoſe in the ſiege, to ſpoile the country round about: theſe ſauage people doing much harme, were in diuers places circumuented by the Hungarians, & about three thouſand of them ſlaine: one of them being taken priſoner, had found in his knapſacke halfe a childe, of about two yeres old, the loathſome remainder of his barbarous feeding.

Barbaruſſa all this while lying with his fleet (as we haue before ſaid) at Marſeilles, fretted exceedingly, that he had to his diſhonour vndertaken ſo long a voyage by ſea, to pleaſure him which was not able (as he ſaid) to direct his own deſignes to any certain reſolution, but ſhamefully ſuffered the beſt time of the yeare for ſeruice, negligently to paſſe away without any thing doing, the blame whereof would (as he ſaid) be imputed to him at Conſtantinople: and that *Solyman*, who deſired to aid the king his friend and confederat, and by all means to annoy his enemies, would take in euill part to haue it reported, that hee had with ſo great charge ſet out ſo great a fleet, and ſo far off, to helpe his friend hardly beſet with his enemies, & to haue done nothing: beſides that, he tooke on like a Turke, that he who in time of ſeruice neuer vſed negligently to let ſlip the leaſt opportunitie, ſhould now blemiſh his former credit & eſtimation, by lying ſtill all that Sommer in the harbour of Marſeilles, where his ſouldiers grew lazie with doing nothing. Wherefore *Polinus* going to the king, told him of the proud Turkes great diſcontentment for lacke of employment: and returning to *Barbaruſſa*, brought order from

the

A the king,that he ſhould lay ſiege to Nice a citie of Prouince, then holden by the duke of Sa-
uoy. This city ſtanding vpon the ſea,was by one of the French kings for a great ſum of mony
pawned vnto the duke : which mony, king *Francis* had many tim.s offered to haue repaied,
but could neuer get the citie out of the dukes hands. Vnto which ſeruice, the French king
ſent alſo his fleet of two and twentie gallies and eighteen ſhips,wherein were imbarked eight
thouſand footmen,and victuall for many daies. This fleet departing from Marceilles,keeping
cloſe by the ſhore, came to the port called Monoc ; whither two daies after came *Barbaruſſa*
alſo with an hundred and fiftie gallies. From thence *Polinus* by commandement from the king
writ vnto the State of Genoa, That they ſhould not feare of that great fleet any hoſtilitie,
which was not to hurt any but them of Nice,and not them neither if they would yeeld them-
B ſelues. For more aſſurance whereof, he obtained of the Turks diuers Genoa captiues, which
had long time bin chained in their gallies, and courteouſly ſet them at libertie, & ſent them
home without ranſome. After that,he friendly exhorted the citiſens of Nice,to yeeld them-
ſelues againe vnto their antient and lawfull Prince, renowned for his bountie and power ; ra-
ther than to aduenture their State to all extremities for that poore and diſtreſſed Duke, who
betweene the Emperour and the French king,diſpoiled of the greateſt part of his dominions,
ſaw no other end of his miſeries, but to leaue that little which yet remained, as a prey to the
one or to the other,that ſhould firſt lay hand thereon. Whereunto the magiſtrats of the town
anſwered, That they knew no other Prince or ſoueraigne, but *Charles* their duke : wherefore
he ſhould deſiſt farther to ſolicite them by letters or meſſengers, whom they would make no
C other account of but as of their enemies. Wherefore the Frenchmen and Turks landing their
forces,laid ſiege to the towne in three places. The citiſens had but a little before newly forti-
fied their wals,by the direction of *Paulus Simeon*,captaine of the caſtle,and one of the knights
of the Rhodes,a man of great experience, who long before taken at ſea by pyrats,had ſome-
time ſerued *Barbaruſſa*,and therefore perſuaded the citiſens as reſolute men to withſtand the
Turks. Which,that they ſhould more conſtantly performe,he tooke their wiues and children
and weaker ſort of the people into the caſtle ; and from thence furniſhed the citiſens with all
things neceſſarie for their defence. The citie was at once in diuers places battered by the
Turkes & French,both by ſea and land:ſo that at laſt the Turks had beaten downe one of the
new built bulwarks,and made ſo faire a breach,that with their enſignes diſplaid,they attemp-
D ted to haue entred : whoſe forwardnes *Leo Strozza* (then ſeruing the French king with a band
of Italians) imitating,ſought to haue entred alſo: but the citiſens ſtanding valiantly vpon their
defence,manfully repulſed both the Turks and Italians, and cauſed them with loſſe to retire.
In this aſſault were ſlaine about 100 Turks ; and of *Strozza* his ſouldiers 22. Preſently after,
Barbaruſſa with all his force began a freſh batterie,in ſuch terrible maner,that the citiſens ſee-
ing their wals in diuers places opened, and the few ſouldiers they had,ſore wounded, and no
hope to be in conuenient time relieued, began to parley with the French Generall from the
wall, concerning the yeelding vp of the citie; vpon condition, that they might in all reſpects
liue vnder the French king as they had done vnder the duke : for performance whereof, the
Generall gaue them his faith. But *Polinus* fearing leſt the Turks ſhould violate this compoſition,
E and for griefe of the loſſe of their fellowes, or for hope of the ſpoile brake into the citie,en-
treated *Barbaruſſa* to recall his ſouldiers, and to cauſe them to goe aboord his gallies. For
which cauſe not long after,the Ianizaries,as men deceiued of their hoped prey,were about to
haue ſlaine both *Polinus* and *Strozza*,as they came from talking with *Barbaruſſa*.

Nice in Prouince beſieged by the French and the Turks.

The citiſens craue parley, & after yeeld the citie.

The city thus yeelded, they began to conſult for the taking of the caſtle: the performance
whereof conſiſted firſt in the aſſailing of the caſtle it ſelfe, & then in defending of the city from
the ſudden ſallies of them in the caſtle ; & likewiſe in defending of them which beſieged the
caſtle,ſo that no enemy ſhould come to raiſe the ſiege: of which two things, *Barbaruſſa* put the
French to choice which they would take, ſhewing himſelfe ready either to beſiege the caſtle,
or to keepe the field. The French ſtanding in doubt of which to make choice, the proud old
F Turk ſcorning their ſlow reſolution, & them alſo, as men vnfit for the ready accompliſhment
of any martiall exploit, cauſed 7 pieces of batterie, whereof 2 were of wonderful greatnes, to
be placed in a trice in a place moſt conuenient, & the ſame quickly intrenched and fortified, to
the great admiratiō of the French: with which pieces he had quickly beaten down the battle-
ments of the wals, & centinel houſes, ſo that no man was able to ſhew himſelf vpon the wals.

The caſtle beſieged.

The Frenchmen likewiſe on the other ſide did with their great ordnance continually batter the caſtle: but with long ſhooting they came to ſuch want of ſhot and pouder, that *Polinus* was glad to requeſt, that he might either borrow or buy ſome of *Barbaruſſa*: whereat the Turke fretted and fumed exceedingly, That they ſhould in their owne countrey ſtand in need of his prouiſion, who at Marceilles had better fraughted their ſhips with wine, than with neceſſaries for the wars. For the rough and ſeuere old Turke could not forbeare to taunt them, and oftentimes complained, that he was deluded with the hope of great matters which *Polinus* had promiſed at Conſtantinople, and that in ſuch a rage, that he would threaten to lay hands vpon *Polinus*, who had brought him from Conſtantinople thither, whereas he muſt either loſe his honour, or hauing ſpent his ſhot & pouder, expoſe himſelfe and his fleet to all dangers. Wherfore being exceeding angry with the French, he ſuddenly called a Counſell of his captaines, and other chiefe officers, giuing it out, That he would preſently returne toward Conſtantinople, ſeeing that among theſe cowardly and vnskilfull men (as it pleaſed him to terme them) he found nothing ready or according to promiſe. Yet for all that, when he had chafed his fill, by the faire intreatance and large promiſes of the French Generall & *Polinus* together, the wayward old man was perſuaded to change his minde, and to continue the ſiege. But he was yet ſcarcely well pacified, and his mind ſet againe vpon the ſiege, but letters were intercepted from the great captaine *Alphonſus Vaſtius*, to *Paulus* captaine of the caſtle, wherein he requeſted him to hold out a while againſt the enemy, till that he, who had alreadie ſent before his light horſmen, might come alſo himſelfe with his men at arms, who were vpon the way alongſt the Alps by the ſea ſide, and would in two daies with the ſlaughter of the Turks put him and his caſtle out of all feare and danger. Which thing once bruted in the camp, ſuch a great and ſudden feare came vpon the Turkes and Frenchmen (the night following the more to terrifie them prouing by chance very rainy and tempeſtuous) that they all forſooke their trenches and great ordnance, and laying down their weapons, by narrow pathes climing ouer the top of the high mountaine, came downe headlong to the ſea ſide to the fleet. But the day appearing, and no enemie to be ſeene, they were aſhamed of that they had done, and came againe to the ſiege. Not long after, when as the caſtle in all mens iudgement was hardly to be battered, and ſtanding vpon a firme rocke, was not but in long time with hard labour and doubtfull ſucceſſe to be vndermined, it was generally thought good to raiſe the ſiege. The Turks vpon their departure brake into the citie, and when they had taken the ſpoile thereof, ſet it on fire.

Barbaruſſa in his rage threatneth to lay hands on Polinus, and to return forthwith to Conſtantinople.

The Turks and French giue ouer the caſtle of Nice, and ſet fire on the city.

Barbaruſſa retiring with his fleet to Antipolis, came to anker at the Iſland Lerina, called of the mariners Margarita, at which time *Vaſtius* and the duke of Sauoy, with *Auria* his fleet arriued at Villa Franca: in the entrance of which hauen, the gallie wherein *Vaſtius* went, was like to haue bin loſt. Foure other gallies by force of ſudden tempeſt were driuen vpon the rockes, and ſo ſuddenly beaten in pieces with the ſurge of the ſea, that the gallie ſlaues had not leiſure to ſtrike off their yrons, but were there all drowned, and all the ordnance loſt. *Polinus* vnderſtanding this diſtreſſe of the enemie, ſent one *Petrus Angelus* to *Barbaruſſa*, to ſhew him the occaſion offered, and to perſuade him with al ſpeed to haſt thither with his fleet, as to a moſt aſſured victorie. *Barbaruſſa* ſeemed to like well of the motion, and promiſed to goe, yet he moued not, letted as it was thought with the contrary wind, which then blew hard at Eaſt, & with the roughneſſe of the ſea. But the wind being fallen, and the ſea become calme, and he contrary to his wonted manner making no haſt, ſet ſlowly forward, & being a little on his way, came againe to anker, and went no further; the Sanzackes and other captaines firſt maruelling, and afterward laughing thereat, ſcoffingly ſaid, That *Barbaruſſa* did but reaſon to deale kindely with *Auria*, as his brother and friend of his owne profeſſion, for that he had ſome yeares before receiued the like friendſhip at his hands, in letting him eſcape at Hippona, which he now honeſtly paied him againe. Whereunto *Barbaruſſa* both then and afterwards at Conſtantinople anſwered no otherwiſe, but, that he being an old commander, and halfe blind, ſaw more in the matter than all thoſe greene captaines with their ſharpe ſight. Not long after, hee returned againe to Marceilles, and put into the hauen of Tolon, called in antient time Taurenta. *Vaſtius* and the Duke comming to Nice, commended the Captaine of the Caſtle, and wondering at the cunning manner of the Turkes fortifications, preferred them in that point before the Chriſtians. *Barbaruſſa* lying with his fleet at Tolon, and by the Kings officers entertained with all poſſible courteſie, deliuered fiue and twentie gallies to *Salec* the famous pyrat, and

Barbaruſſa derided by the Turks captains.

His anſwer to their taunts.

A *Aſſanes* his nigh kinſman; who paſſing the bay of Narbona, rifled certain towns in Spain ſtanding vpon the ſea coaſt, and about the promontory of *Venus* (called of the mariners Creum) tooke great prize; and in the hauen of Palamos tooke one merchant ſhip and a galley: with which prey they paſſed ouer to Algiers as they were commanded, there to winter, and with the firſt of the Spring to returne again to *Barbaruſſa* in Prouince. That Winter *Barbaruſſa* repairing his fleet, was furniſhed with many neceſſaries by the Genowaies, and eſpecially by *Auria* himſelfe, who vnder the colour of redeeming of priſoners, willingly furniſhed the Turke with ſuch things as he wanted: for although he profeſſed himſelfe one of the Emperors captaines, yet would he not ſhew an enemies minde, by the vnſeaſonable deniall of a little ſea furniture, leaſt in ſo doing he ſhould haue hurt his natiue countrey of Genoa, which he ſaw then ſubiect B to the iniurie of ſo great a fleet ſo nigh at hand. But leaue we now *Barbaruſſa* to winter in Prouince, and with the courſe of time turne a little out of the way, to ſee in *Muleaſſes* King of Tunes, the ſmall aſſurance the greateſt haue in higheſt place of worldly honour.

This Mahometan King, once before thruſt out of his kingdome by *Barbaruſſa*, and reſtored againe by *Charles* the Emperor (as is before declared) hearing of his comming with this great fleet, and imagining nothing leſſe than that he ſhould come to the aid of the moſt Chriſtian king, doubted (not without cauſe) leſt it was prepared againſt himſelf. Beſides that, diuers great cities of his kingdome, namely Conſtantina, Mahemedia, and Mahometa (called in antient time Cyrtha) Leptis, & Adrumentum, were then holden by the Turks *Barbaruſſa's* fauorits. Wherefore fearing the worſt, about the ſame time that *Barbaruſſa* was ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Italie, C he paſſed ouer into Sicilie to haue met the Emperor at Genoa, and to haue obtained of him greater aid againſt the Turks. At his departure out of Affricke, he committed the tuition of his kingdome to ſuch valiant men as he ſuppoſed would haue bin vnto him moſt faithfull: Firſt, he he appointed *Mahometes* (then Maniphæt) to gouerne the city, and *Corſus* (otherwiſe called *Fares*) his old ſeruant to keepe the caſtle; leauing *Mahometes* his brother, and *Fares* his ſonne, with *Touarres* a Spaniard (captaine of the caſtle of Guletta) as pledges, the one of his brothers, the other of his fathers faith: but vnto *Amida* his ſonne he committed the leading of his men of war for the defence of his kingdome againſt the Turks and Numidians. As he was paſſing out of Sicilia to haue met the Emperour at Genoa, he was by contrary windes driuen firſt to Caieta, and afterward to Naples, where he was by the Viceroy honorably entertained, D & a houſe appointed for him richly furniſhed: the Neopolitans wondering at the ſtrange attire of the people, with the manner of their feeding, and curious plentie of all manner of ſweet perfumes; for into euery diſh they put in odors of exceeding price, ſo that it was well known, that a peacocke and to pheaſants dreſſed after the maner of the kings kitchen, coſt aboue an hundred duckats: ſo that not only the dining chamber, when they were carued vp, but all the houſe was ſo filled with the ſtrange and fragrant ſmell, that all they that dwelt neere thereabouts were partakers of that vnuſuall and delicate perfume. From Naples he was about to haue trauelled by land vnto the Emperor, being then in conference with the Pope at Buxetum (fearing to aduenture the ſea, poſſeſſed by the enemies fleet) had not the Emperor by his letters willed him to ſtay ſtill where he was. But whileſt he made his abode at Naples, and carefully attended E what courſe *Barbaruſſa* would take, (who furniſhed with ſo great a fleet, was departed from Nice diſappointed of his purpoſe) he was by certaine meſſengers aduertiſed out of Affrica, That *Amida* his ſonne was riſen vp againſt him, and poſſeſſing himſelfe of the kingdome, had ſlaine his captaines, polluted his wiues, and taken the caſtle of Tunes. With which newes he being exceedingly troubled, determined without delay to paſſe ouer into Affricke, & though late, yet as he might to remedie his domeſticall troubles, in hope to oppreſſe that rebellion in the beginning, and his ſonne alſo, before he could gather any ſtrength to reſt vpon. Wherfore he with all the haſte he could opened his coffers and entertained ſoldiers, the Viceroy giuing leaue to all ſuch baniſhed men as would, to come and giue their names to paſſe ouer as ſouldiers into Affricke: vpon report whereof, ſuch a number of malefactors and condemned per- F ſons came flocking to Naples, that it was thought a ſufficient army might haue beene made of ſuch kinde of men; euery one of them chuſing rather to enter into pay, and blot out the infamie of baniſhment, and proue the fortune of wars, than to liue wandring vp & down the woods and in danger euery houre to be hanged. Of theſe infamous men, one *Ioannes Baptiſta Lofredius* (a man well borne, but of a fierce and couetous diſpoſition) vndertooke the leading: he co-

Muleaſſes fearing the comming of Barbaruſſa, departeth from Tunes into Italy, to craue aid of Charles the emperour.

Coſtly diſhes.

Amida riſeth againſt Muleaſſes his father, & vſurps the kingdome of Tunes.

Muleaſſes returneth into Affricke to Guletta.

Amida thruſt out of Tunes.

Amida returneth, and poſſeſſeth the kingdome.

uenanting with *Muleaſſes* to haue three moneths pay before hand, leuied 1800 men; which G
he preſently ſhipped, and keeping the greateſt part of their pay to himſelfe, paſſed ouer with
the King into Affricke, and landed at Guletta. But how *Amida* roſe vp againſt his father, and
what was the end of that bloudie rebellion, ſhall not be amiſſe briefly to rehearſe. There were
certaine Noblemen of great authoritie about *Amida* when *Muleaſſes* departed, which at their
pleaſure ruled the young Prince, who eaſily hearkened vnto their counſell, and followed the
ſame: the chiefe of theſe was one *Mahometes* ſonne of *Bohamer*, who in the raigne of *Mahometes*,
Muleaſſes his father, was Maniphæt, whom *Muleaſſes* (poſſeſſed of the kingdome) put
ſhamefully to death by cutting off his priuities, becauſe he had by haſtie marriage deceiued
him of *Rhahamana* a maiden of incomparable beautie, the daughter of *Abderomen* Captaine of
the Caſtle, whom he moſt paſſionatly loued: for which cruell fact, *Mahometes* his ſonne had H
long time conceiued a deadly hatred againſt *Muleaſſes*, which he had many yeares diſſembled,
that he might as occaſion ſerued be the more cruelly reuenged. Next vnto him was another
Mahometes ſurnamed *Adulzes*, whom *Muleaſſes* was wont commonly to call his worſt ſeruant.
Theſe two with a few others conſpiring together, gaue it out, that *Muleaſſes* was dead at Naples,
and before his death had moſt irreligiouſly (as they accounted it) reuolted to the Chriſtian
religion. With which report they perceiuing *Amida* mooued, came vnto him and perſuaded
him quickely to enter into his fathers ſeat, leſt *Mahometes* his yonger brother (then lying
in hoſtage with the Chriſtians at Guletta) ſhould by the fauour and helpe of *Touarres*, whoſe
garriſon was euer readie, be preferred before him. For *Mahometes* was eighteene yeres old, I
reſembling his grandfather in name, fauor, and diſpoſition, and therefore of the citiſens of Tunes
beſt beloued. Wherefore *Amida* came in poſt haſt out of the campe to Tunes, to lay firſt
hand vpon his fathers kingdome. The people which as yet had heard nothing of the Kings
death, receiued him with doubtfull countenance: and as many ſtood maruelling that hee was
ſo raſhly come into the city without his fathers commandement, *Mahometes* (appointed by
Muleaſſes to gouerne the city) came out and ſharpely reproued him as guiltie of high treaſon,
perſuading him to returne againe into the campe: and ſeeing him ſtay, by force of multitude
thruſt him out of the city. *Amida* deceiued of his expectation, got him out of the way into the
pleaſant country of Martia betweene Vtica and the ruines of old Carthage. But *Mahometes*
gouernor of the city, after he had repulſed *Amida*, got him with all ſpeed by water to *Touarres* K
at Guletta, to know of him more aſſuredly, if any ſuch euill newes were brought from Sicilie
of the death of the King; and to complaine of the raſhneſſe and intollerable preſumption of
Amida. Where ſtaying ſomewhat long in diſcourſing with the Captaine, and afterwards returning
to the citie, he was ſuſpected to haue practiſed with the captaine, to make *Mahometes*
(the pledge in Guletta) King in his fathers ſtead; for ſo the common voice went. The Moores
are by nature a faithleſſe people, haſtie, ſuſpicious, deſirous of newes, which true or falſe, they
for the time interpret as ſerueth beſt their factions, whereunto they are exceedingly giuen. So
at the firſt there roſe in the city a doubtfull rumor of the making of a new king; the ſuſpicion
whereof more and more increaſing, ſet all the city on an vprore. By occaſion whereof, certaine
of the citiſens to whom the very name of *Muleaſſes* was odious, ſpeedily certified *Amida* L
(then in the gardens of Martia, ſighing and grieuing at his hard fortune) how all ſtood, and
that now was the time to do himſelfe good. He reuiued with that vnexpected newes, and encouraged
by the perſuaſion of *Bohamar* and *Adulzes*, and other his followers; reſolued to take
hold vpon that good offer of fortune, which would not alwaies frown, and to follow his good
hap. So in haſt returning to Tunes, and entring in at the gate, which he then found open, ran
preſently to the gouernors houſe, and finding him not at home, cruelly ſlew all his houſhold,
and with his bloudie company went preſently to the caſtle: where *Fares* the Captaine ſeeking
to haue kept him out, and boldly laid hands vpon his horſes bridle to haue thruſt him backe,
was by a deſperat Æthyopian one of *Amida* his followers, thruſt thorow with a ſword and
ſlaine: ouer whoſe bodie yet ſprawling, *Amida* forcing his horſe, brake into the caſtle with his
friends, and finding *Mahometes* gouernor of the City, preſently ſlew him alſo. And ſo by this M
meanes *Amida* in the ſpace of an houre (a little before, a man in diſpaire) obtained the city, the
caſtle, and the kingdome togither. After that, he murthered his yonger brethren, and embrued
with bloud, without ſhame polluted his fathers concubines. *Muleaſſes* landed (as we haue beforeſaid)
at Guletta, with ſuch forces as he had brought with him out of Italy; was aduiſed
by

A by *Touarres* the Spaniard, not to aduenture with ſuch a handfull of men to go to Tunes, before he were well aſſured of the good diſpoſition of the Citiſens towards him: and was the more earneſt with *Loſredius* not to go, becauſe the Viceroy had expreſly written, That he ſhould in no caſe go any further than Guletta, except the King according to his promiſe had a good ſtrength of the Numidians to ioyne with him. But certaine of the Noblemen amongſt the Moores, which vnder the colour of friendſhip were fled out of the Citie, and had after the ſolemne manner of their nation put their ſwords vnto their throats, and ſworne to be faithful vnto him, wonderfully prickt forward both the King and *Loſredius* (too haſtie of themſelues to their owne deſtinie) bearing them in hand, That *Amida* vpon the firſt ſight of his father would forſake the city, and betake himſelfe to flight. So without more ſtaying, *Muleaſſes* with Enſigne B diſplaied ſet forward towards Tunes, *Loſredius* cheerefully following him; *Touarres* requeſting them in vaine to beware of the Moores trecherie. *Muleaſſes* marching ſtill forward, was come ſo nigh the citie, that they might from the walls deſcrie him; when ſuddenly a ſtrong troupe of Moores ſallied out of the gate with a terrible crie, and fiercely aſſailed him; whom the Kings horſemen valiantly receiued, many falling on both ſides. *Muleaſſes* in this hot skirmiſh fighting couragiouſly againſt his enemies, was wounded in the face, and bled exdingly; which ſo diſcouraged them about him, that they doubting of his life, turned their backes and fled: when preſently a wonderfull number of horſe and foot ſuddenly iſſuing out of the oliue gardens, had beſet *Loſredius* and his ſouldiers round: vpon whom the Italians diſcharged certaine field pieces: but after they had once diſcharged them, they had no leiſure to C charge them againe; for the barbarous enemy came on ſo thicke and ſo faſt, that the Italians ſeeing themſelues too weake, and compaſſed in round, ſet fall their weapons as men diſcouraged, and caſt themſelues into the lake, ſo by ſwimming and taking hold of the little boats, to ſaue themſelues from the enemies ſword: which boats ſtood thoſe diſtreſſed men in great ſtead, for being furniſhed with ſmall pieces, they did beat backe the Moores, who eagerly purſued them euen into the lake with their horſes. *Loſredius* as a man amaſed with the ſudden comming of the enemy, tooke the lake with his horſe, and was there vnhorſed by the enemie and ſlaine, as were diuers with him. Some few there were that fought couragiouſly, chuſing rather honorably to die in the midſt of their enemies, than ſhamefully to be ſtrangled in the ſtinking lake. *Muleaſſes* ſoiled with his owne bloud and with the duſt, flying amongſt the D reſt, was knowne and taken: nothing more bewraying him than his odoriferous perfumes. In this conflict 1300 Italians were loſt; the reſt which eſcaped *Touarres* relieued, and ſhortly after ſhipped them ouer into Sicilie, from whence they trauelled home to Naples, but ſo poore, as well ſhewed the miſerie of their fortune. *Amida* hauing thus obtained the victory, was more carefull of nothing than to make his father vnfit for gouernment, which he did by cutting the ſight of both his eyes with a hot penknife: the like crueltie he vſed vpon *Nahazar* and *Abdallas* his brethren, then taken with his father. After that, he certified *Touarres* Captaine of Guletta, That he had taken a few youths priſoners, which hee would deliuer vnto him; and that he had bereft his father of his ſight, who had deſerued a worſe puniſhment, as he that had long before done the like to his brethren, but had yet left him his life, as an example to other E tyrants, and to ſhew that he dealt not altogether vnmercifully with ſo perfideous a father: Laſt of all, he confirmed (vpon certaine conditions) the ſame league which his father had with him: which he well ſaw was to great purpoſe, eſpecially in the newneſſe of his kingdome. Neither did *Touarres* refuſe the ſame, as ſtanding with his preſent profit: for vpon this agreement, *Amida* was to giue him certaine money to pay his ſouldiers, and to deliuer him the priſoners he had taken, with the enſignes and bodie of *Loſredius*. For more aſſurance whereof he gaue *Sebites* his ſon then nine yeres old, in hoſtage, yet vpon condition, that if an aſſured peace could not be agreed vpon, but that they muſt needs enter into war, then *Touarres* ſhould forthwith reſtore him his ſonne *Sebites* in ſafetie. Theſe capitulations, although they ſeemed not vnreaſonable, and were of them well liked; yet *Touarres* thought it not altogether agreeing F with the honour of the Emperor, that he ſhould enioy the kingdome, who by moſt horrible treaſon and deteſtable villanie had thruſt himſelfe thereinto without the Emperours leaue. Wherfore he entred into a new deuice to call in the rightfull heire, who might at the Emperors pleaſure (offended with the iniurie done by *Amida*) raigne in Tunes.

Muleaſſes going to Tunes, by the way ouerthrowne.

Loſredius ſlaine.

Muleaſſes takē.

Amida put out his fathers & brethrens ei

There was an exile amongſt the Numidians one *Abdamalech*, euer ſince the time that *Roſ-*

Touarres ſends for Abdamelech Amida his elder brother.

cetes fled to *Barbaruſſa.* Him, becauſe he was *Muleaſſes* naturall brother, *Touarres* ſent for, putting him in hope of the kingdome, ſupported by *Anemſcha* a great Prince amongſt the Numidians, who had all that long time curteouſly entertained him. Neither was *Abdamelech* ſlow to accept the occaſion preſented, eſpecially incouraged thereunto by the Numidian prince his good friend, and the predictions of the Aſtrologers, who had foretold him, That he ſhould be king of Tunes. Which vain kinde of diuination hauing in it no manner of aſſurance, yet cauſeth great mindes oftentimes to vndertake great attempts beyond reaſon, which falling out with more hap than they were with reaſon foretold, giueth ſome credit to that vanitie, and cauſeth thoſe cold prophets to be of ſome accounted as great wiſards. And to worke this feat, ſuch a time was offered, as a better could not be wiſhed: for *Amida* hauing ſet all things in order as he pleaſed in the city, and caſting no perill, was gone to Biſerta, to take order for his Cuſtomes, which was there great vpon fiſhing. Wherefore *Touarres* to keepe his promiſe, ſent backe *Sebites, Amida's* ſon, in a boat to Tunes, and receiued *Abdamelech*: who trauelling moſt part by night, was ſecretly come to Guletta, and there reſting himſelf & his horſes a few howers, to preuent the fame of his comming, poſted in haſt with a troupe of his Numidian followers to Tunes, and paſſing thorow the city, went directly to the caſtle, which he entred without reſiſtance of the warders, ſuppoſing him to haue bin *Amida* come from Biſerta: for *Abdamelech* had after the manner of the Moores couered his face with a ſkarfe, as if it had bin to haue kept him from the Sun & the duſt, and by that happy ſlight got into the caſtle before it was known who he was.

Abdamelech by policy obtaineth the Kingdom of Tunes.

The warders perceiuing their errour, began as men amaſed now too late to betake themſelues to their weapons, for in making reſiſtance they were quickly ſlain by the Numidians which came in with *Abdamelech*: who thus poſſeſſed of the caſtle (the chiefe ſtrength of that kingdome) let in his friends, which were many in the city, by whome he was preſently ſaluted king: the reſt of the Citiſens either well-liking of the matter, or at leaſt not daring for feare to ſtir.

Abdamelech dieth, and Mahometes his ſonne is choſen King in his place.

But as in theſe worldly things, for which men ſo vainly toile, is no aſſurance, ſo this new king ſhortly after fel ſicke and died, when he had raigned but 26 daies, and was afterwards roially interred. After whoſe death, his mightie friends, with the chiefe of the citiſens (perſuaded & incouraged by *Touarres* the Spaniard) choſe *Mahometes* his ſon (a child ſcarce twelue yeres old) to raigne in his fathers place; appointing *Abdalages* Maniphæt (brother to him who *Amida* ſlew) *Abdelchirinus* Meſuar, *Schyriffus* (a great man in their Mahometan ſuperſtition) and *Perellum* a Chriſtian knight, to be his directers and gouernours: which foure ſwaied all at their pleaſure. But *Abdelchirinus* tendring the welfare of his country, and deuiſing out of ſeaſon how to ſet vp one of the roiall bloud that were of himſelfe able to gouerne the kingdome (ſaying, That it was not for the common good to be ruled by a child) was for his labour by his other three fellows ſuddenly ſlain, with all his kindred and knowne friends. After whoſe death the other three erected a manner of Triumuirat gouernment, euery one of them laying hand vpon one part of the ſtate or other, as liked him beſt. *Amida* thus ſhut out of Tunes, and hauing loſt his kingdome, wandred vp and down to Leptis, Cyrapolis, and many other places, crauing aid of euery man to recouer his kingdome, miſerably rent in ſunder (as he ſaid) by moſt wicked men who inſolently triumphed ouer the boy king. Which they of Tunes knew wel to be true; and daily complained of the death of *Abdelchirinus*, whom they called the faithfull Counſellor and father of his country. Whileſt *Amida* is thus trudging vp and downe, crauing helpe of this and that prince, prouing his friends, and ſounding his ſubiects affection towards him; *Muleaſſes* grown miſerable with his long impriſonment & the calamity of his diſaſter fortune, obtained of the yong king his nephew ſo much fauour, as that he might ſometime go out of the caſtle to the church: vnder colour whereof he tooke ſanctuarie, a place in Tunes holden in ſuch reuerence amongſt the Moores, as that it was a moſt inuiolable refuge to all ſuch as fled thereunto.

Muleaſſes at the requeſt of Touarres is ſent to Guletta.

Not long after, at ſuch time as *Bernardinus Mendoza* the Admirall of Spain came to Guletta with the Spaniſh fleet, *Muleaſſes* at the requeſt of *Touarres* was conueyed out of the Sanctuarie to the Lake, and ſo by water to Guletta, there to be preſent at the conſultation there holden for the vtter ſubuerſion of *Amida* and the driuing out of the Turks out of ſuch cities as they yet held alongſt the ſea coaſt in Affrica. *Muleaſſes* had hardly before eſcaped the hands of certaine of his enemies in Tunes, who ſought after his life; preſerued by an old woman, who mooued with pitty, hid him from their furie vnder a great heape of garlike: and had he not now in good time eſcaped to Guletta, he had againe fallen into the hands of his

merci-

A merciless ſonne *Amida*, who ſhortly after recouered againe his kingdome, and would not as he ſaid himſelfe, haue ſpared him for the reuerence of any Sanctuarie. For the citiſens of Tunes wearie of the euill gouernment of ſuch as were in authority about the yong king, and not a little offended with the King himſelfe, for eſpouſing *Melucca* his couſin one of *Muleaſſes* his daughters, ſecretly encouraged *Amida* by letters, to repaire to the city, promiſing to aid him in recouering his kingdome. Whereupon he came in ſuch haſte, that the yong king had ſcarce time to get out of the citie: and *Amida* entring without reſiſtance, and holpen by his friends, eaſily obtained againe the kingdome, and exerciſed moſt exquiſit cruelty vpon his enemies: of whom he cauſed ſome to be torne in pieces and deuoured of fierce maſtiues kept hungrie for that purpoſe. *Perellus* he cauſed to be tortured, his ſecrets to be cut off, and himſelfe after- B wards burnt to aſhes in the market place.

Amida recouereth the Kingdome of Tunes, and takes ſharp reuenge vpon his enemies.

But *Muleaſſes* ſtaied not long at Guletta, offended with the couetouſneſſe of *Tonarres*, who (as he ſaid) had not faithfully reſtored ſuch things as he had before put him in truſt withall, but had auaritiouſly in his miſerie deceiued him of part of his rich houſholdſtuffe, with certaine notable precious ſtones, and ſome of his treaſure: whereof the blinde king ſo grieuouſly complained to *Charles* the Emperor, that for deciding the matter, they were both commanded to repaire vnto him into Germany: where in concluſion to end the ſtrife, *Tonarres* was diſcharged of his gouernment, and *Muleaſſes* ſent into Sicilie, there to be kept of the common charge of that rich Iſland. *Muleaſſes* by the way comming to Rome, was honourably feaſted by Cardinall *Farneſius*: at which time he ſhewed himſelfe both in his apparell and behauiour not for- C getfull of his better fortune: and being brought vnto the preſence of *Paulus* the great Biſhop, would do him no greater honor but to kiſſe his knee, accounting it too great an indignitie to haue kiſſed his foot. He was of ſtature tall, and of a princely diſpoſition, vnworthie of ſo hard a fortune, had he not in the like manner before vnmercifully dealt with his owne brethren.

Muleaſſes diſdaineth to kiſſe the Popes foot.

1544

Barbaruſſa wearie of his long lying to ſo ſmall purpoſe in Prouince, requeſted the French king either thorowly to imploy him, or elſe to giue him leaue to depart, offering if he ſo pleaſed, to ſpoile all alongſt the coaſt of Spaine, from the mountaine Pyrænei to Cadiz. But he not ignorant what hard ſpeeches ran of him alreadie in all parts of Chriſtendome, for bringing in the Turks, was loath to leaue vnto the memorie of all poſterity the foule remembrance of ſo wofull a ſlaughter: beſides that, he was aduiſed to diſburden his country of ſuch troubleſome D gueſts, who rouing about, did much harme in the prouince where they lay, and as it was reported, now and then ſnatcht vp one country peaſant or other, and chained them for ſlaues in their gallies. Wherefore in ſupply of the Turks that were dead, the king gaue vnto *Barbaruſſa* all the Mahometan ſlaues in his gallies, to the number of about foure hundred, and furniſhing him with all kinde of prouiſion, and beſtowing great gifts vpon him and his captaines, ſent him away; and with him *Strozza* with certaine gallies, his Embaſſador to *Solyman*. So the Turkes departing out of Prouince, kept alongſt the coaſt vntill they came neere vnto Sauona, whither the Germans ſent diuers preſents and freſh victuals to *Barbaruſſa*; which he tooke ſo thankfully, that he proteſted not to hurt any of their territorie. From thence he kept a right courſe to the Iſland of Elba belonging to the duke of Florence, ouer againſt Populona; where vnder- E ſtanding that one of the ſonnes of *Sinan* his old friend was there kept priſoner, hee writ vnto *Appianus* gouernor of the Iſland, for his deliuerance, to this effect:

I know that a young man a Turke ſerueth thee, the ſonne of Sinan *ſirnamed the Iew (a famous Captaine) taken of late at Tunes: him I would haue thee friendly to reſtore: which gift I will make thee to vnderſtand to be vnto me moſt acceptable: for this our great fleet in paſſing by you ſhall faithfully forbeare to vſe any hoſtilitie. But if thou ſhalt in this ſo ſmall a matter refuſe to gratifie me, expect vpon the coaſt of thy country all the harmes that an angrie enemie can do.*

Barbaruſſa his letters to Appianus Gouernor of Elba.

Whereunto *Appianus* (ſhewing his men vpon the wals, in token that he was not affraid) an- F ſwered, That the yong man was become a Chriſtian, and therfore might not in any caſe be deliuered to the Turks: but that he would in any other thing gratifie him in what he could, and for his ſake vſe the yong man as his ſon. And to mollifie the vnkindeneſſe of his anſwer, he ſent him freſh victuall with other preſents. But *Barbaruſſa* offended with the anſwer, landed his men round about the Iſland, and commanded them to make what ſpoile they could: which they

Appianus glad to deliuer the captiue whom Barbaruſſa required.

performed accordingly, hunting the Iſland people vp and downe the rockes and mountaines G like hares; vntill that *Appianus* not without cauſe doubting the vtter ſpoile of the Iſland, redeemed his peace by deliuering the young man to *Salec* the pyrat, who brought him to *Barbaruſſa* gallantly attired after the Italian manner; of whome he was ioyfully receiued as the ſon of a moſt valiant Captaine his old friend: and thereupon *Barbaruſſa* ſtaied his ſouldiers from doing any further harme vpon the Iſland, and gaue *Appianus* great thanks for him. This young man *Barbaruſſa* honored with the command of ſeuen gallies, and afterwards ſent him to his father then lying at Suetia a port of the red ſea, Admirall againſt the Portingals, who greatly troubled thoſe ſeas. But the old Iew ouerioyed with the ſudden and vnexpected returne of his ſonne, whom he had for many yeares before giuen as loſt, in embracing of him fainted, and ſo preſently for ioy died. H

Sinan the Iew dieth for ioy.

Barbaruſſa in his returne toward Conſtantinople doeth much harm vpon the coaſt of Italy.

This man for valour was accounted little inferiour to *Barbaruſſa*, but for diſcretion and iuſt dealing far beyond him, nothing of ſo furious and waiward a diſpoſition as was he. *Barbaruſſa* departing from Elba, came into the bay of Telamon in Tuſcany, and in ſhort time tooke the city, which he ſpoiled and burnt, but eſpecially the houſe of *Bartholomeus Telamonius*; whoſe dead bodie but a little before buried, he cauſed to be pluckt out of the graue, and his bones to be ſcattered abroad, becauſe he being Admiral of the Biſhop of Rome's gallies, had in the Iſle of Lesbos waſted *Barbaruſſa's* fathers poore poſſeſſion: and marching by night eight miles farther into the land, ſurpriſed Montenum, and carried almoſt all the inhabitants away with him into captiuitie. The like miſchiefe he did at the port called Portus Herculis, but purpoſing to haue taken Orhatello, and there to haue fortified, he was by *Luna* & *Vitellius* (two valiant captaines before ſent thither, the one by the State of Siena, & the other by the duke of Florence) I repulſed. So though diſappointed of his purpoſe, yet hauing done great harme, and put the whole country of Tuſcany in exceeding feare, he departed from thence and landed againe at Igilium, now called Gigio, an Iſland about twelue miles diſtant from Portus Herculis, where he quickly battered the towne, and carried a wonderfull number of all ſorts into miſerable captiuitie: keeping on his courſe, he paſſing the cape Linar, and comming ouer againſt Cantumcelle, had burnt that city for the ſame reaſon he did Telamon, had he not been otherwiſe perſuaded by *Strozza* the French Embaſſador, fearing to draw the French king into further obliquie. From thence he came with a direct courſe to the Iſland of Iſchia; where landing in the night, he intercepted moſt part of the Inhabitants of the Iſland, as they were flying into the K mountaines: and in reuenge of the hatred he had conceiued againſt *Vaſtius* at the ſiege of Nice, he burnt Forino, Panſa, and Varranium, three chiefe townes of that Iſland; but Pithacuſa the dwelling place of *Vaſtius*, ſtanding vpon a broken rocke ſomwhat diſtant from the ſea, he durſt not aduenture vpon. Then ſcraping along the Iſland Prochita with leſſe hurt, becauſe moſt part of the inhabitants were before fled to Pithacuſa, he put into the bay of Puteoli, and ſent *Salec* the pirat with part of his fleet, to make proofe if the citie of Puteoli might from ſea be battered. *Salec* drawing neere the citie, ſhot into it with his great ordnance, and by chance ſlew one *Saiauedra* a valiant Spaniard, vpon the walls, and put the Citiſens in a great feare leſt the whole fleet ſhould haue landed, they themſelues as then vnprouided: but the Viceroy L came preſently with a power both of horſe and foot from Naples: which *Barbaruſſa* diſcouering from ſea as they came downe the mountaines, called backe *Salec*; and leauing the Iſland of Capri, and paſſing by the promontorie Atheneum, was about to haue ſeiſed vpon Salernum, when a tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing diſperſed his Fleet, and draue him beyond the promontorie Palinurus vpon the coaſt of Calabria, where he did exceeding much harme, eſpecially at Carreato. From thence he departed to the Iſland of Lipari, betwixt Italie and Sicilie, which Iſland he miſerably ſpoiled, and with fortie great pieces ſo battered the Citie, that the citiſens were conſtarined for feare to yeeld, whom he carried away all priſoners about the number of ſeuen thouſand, of one ſort of people and other, and burnt the Citie. So loaded with the rich ſpoile of Italie and the Iſlands vpon the coaſt, he returned towards Conſtantinople with ſuch a multitude of poore Chriſtian captiues, ſhut vp ſo cloſe vnder hatches M amongſt the excrements of Nature, that all the way as he went almoſt euery houre ſome of them were caſt dead ouer boord: euerie man deteſting the endleſſe hatred betwixt the Emperour and the French King, the verie ground of all this and many thouſand other moſt woful and vndeſerued calamities of the poore ſubiects. With this rich prey and an in-

A finit number of captiues, *Barbaruſſa* arriued at Conſtantinople in the beginning of Autumne,
in the yeare 1544: where he was honourably receiued of *Solyman*, and highly commended
for his good ſeruice both by ſea and land.

Barbaruſſa arriueth at Conſtantinople.

Solyman triumphing at Conſtantinople of the good ſucceſſe he had in Hungarie, in the middeſt
of all his glorie, was aduertiſed of the death of *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſonne, whom of all his
children hee held deereſt: whoſe dead bodie was ſhortly after brought from Magneſia, and
with wonderfull ſolemnitie, and no leſſe mourning, buried at Conſtantinople. How entirely
Solyman loued this his ſonne, well appeared by the great ſorrow hee conceiued of his death;
and not contented to haue built him a ſtately tombe, erected alſo in memorial of him a Mahometan
Church, called the Church of *Mahomet* the Leſſer: for the difference of *Mahomet* the
B the Great who woon Conſtantinople. Whereunto hee alſo annexed a monaſterie and a colledge,
with many things moe after the groſſe maner of their ſuperſtition, for the health of his
ſoule, as he vainely ſuppoſed. After that, *Solyman* according to his wonted manner, which was
but euery ſecond or third yere to take in hand ſome notable expedition, ceaſed from wars by
the ſpace of two yeres: in which time many of the great princes and worthie men of that age
died; amongſt whom was *Francis* the French king. *Hariadenus Barbaruſſa* that famous Turke,
of whom we haue ſo often ſpoken, who being of great yeares and no leſſe fame, left this life in
the yeare 1547, and was buried at a houſe of his owne called Beſictas, neere vnto Boſphorus
Thracius on Europe ſide, not farre from the mouth of Euxinum, about foure miles from Pera,
where he had but few yeares before at one time ſold about ſixteene thouſand Chriſtian captiues,
C taken out of Corcyra: and to make famous that place appointed for his buriall, he of his
owne coſt built there a Mahometan Temple, there yet with his ſepulchre to be ſeene: That
place was in antient time called Iaſonium. About which time alſo, died of conceit that famous
captaine *Alphonſus Daualus Vaſtius*, taken away by vntimely death when he had liued but fortie
fiue yeares. At which time, *Charles* the Emperour by his embaſſadour *Gerardus Veltuuich*,
concluded a peace with *Solyman* for fiue yeares, wherein King *Ferdinand* was alſo included:
which peace was afterwards before the expiration thereof, by *Solyman* (at the requeſt of *Henry*
the French king) broken.

Mahomet Solymans eldeſt ſon dieth.

The death of the famous pirat Barbaruſſa.

Vaſtius dieth.

1548

Solyman had now almoſt three yeares taken his reſt, when it fortuned that *Ercaſes Imirza*,
king of Siruan, moued with the often iniuries of *Tamas* his brother the great Perſian king, fled
D to *Solyman* at Conſtantinople, to craue aid of him againſt his brother. *Solyman* glad of ſuch an
occaſion to worke vpon, entertained him with all courteſie, and promiſed to take vpon him
his quarrell, & to protect him againſt his vnnaturall brother. And when he had made al things
readie for ſo great an expedition, paſſed ouer into Aſia, and after long and painfull trauell entred
at laſt with a puiſſant armie into Armenia, & there in the borders of the Perſian kingdom,
firſt beſieged the citie of Van, which after ten daies ſiege was yeelded vnto him, vpon condition,
that the Perſian ſouldiers there in garriſon, might with life and libertie depart with their
armes as ſouldiers: which was at the firſt by *Solyman* granted, and ſo the citie ſurrendred.
From thence *Solyman* ſent his chiefe commanders with a great part of his army, to burne and
ſpoile the the enemies countrey, which they for a time cheerfully performed; and running far
E into the countrey, ſtriue as it were amongſt themſelues who ſhould doe moſt harme: where
Imirza among the reſt, for whoſe ſake *Solyman* had vndertaken this war, was as forward as the
beſt to waſt & ſpoile his brothers kingdome, ſparing nothing that came to hand; the beſt and
richeſt things he got, he preſented to *Solyman*, to draw him on ſtill in that war. But that ſerued
not his turne to recouer again his kingdome of Siruan: for *Tamas*, without ſhewing any power
to withſtand the Turks, had after his wonted maner, cauſed his people to withdraw themſelues
far into the mountain country, leauing nothing behind them in that waſt country to relieue
thẽ but the bare ground: ſo that the farther the Turks went, the more they wanted, without
hope of better ſucceſſe than ſuch as they had before to their loſſe made proofe of, in their
former expeditions into that great kingdome. The conceit whereof ſo much pierced not the
F common ſouldiers onely, but euen the captains themſelues; that to make an end of that long
and vnprofitable warre, taken in hand for another mans good, they conſulted amongſt themſelues
either to kill *ImirZa*, or elſe to diſgrace him with *Solyman*: Which they ſo cunningly
wrought; ſome ſuggeſting falſe ſupitions of his trecherous dealing in the proceeding of that
war, and others with like craft, vnder colour of friendſhip giuing him warning in ſecret of the

1549

Van yeelded to the Turkes.

danger he was in : the one filling *Solymans* head with diſtruſt, and the other *Imirzas* with feare, G
briefly to ſhut the matter vp in their owne termes, *They perſuaded the hare to flie, and the hounds to*
follow. *Imirza* doubting ſome ſudden miſchiefe, fled for ſuccour to an old acquaintance of his
one of the princes of Chaldea, who moſt trecherouſly ſent him in bonds to *Tamas* his brother
his moſt cruell enemy, who glad to haue the author of all his troubles with the Turks, deliue-
red into his hands, caſt him in priſon : and that *Solyman* nor any other ſhould in his behalfe fur-
ther proſecute the war, or by his meanes hope for victory, cauſed him to be in priſon murthe-
red. In this expedition againſt the Perſian king, *Solyman* was occupied a yere and nine months,
all which time the Turkes endured great troubles, and were oftentimes hardly diſtreſſed by
the Perſians : vntill at laſt *Solyman* himſelfe wearie of that tedious warre, wherein he had got
neither honour nor profit, thought it beſt ſo to make an end, and thereupon returned againe to H
Conſtantinople in the yeare 1549.

Imirza murthered in priſon.

Solyman returneth to Conſtantinople.

1550

Dragut a famous pirat of the Turks poſſeſſeth certaine cities in Affricke.

In this meane time it fortuned, that one *Dragut Raiſes* a notable pyrat of the Turks, had craf-
tily ſurpriſed the citie of Affrica in the kingdome of Tunes (called in antient time Aphrodiſe-
um) and alſo Leptis Parua (and now of the Moores called Mahamedia) and there ſeting him-
ſelfe, as in a place both commodious and of good aſſurance, exceedingly troubled the Chri-
ſtians both by ſea and land, eſpecially ſuch as traded in the Mediterranean. So that the Empe-
ror, moued as wel with the manifold iniuries don by that arch-pyrat vpon the frontiers of his
dominions, as by the daily complaint of his poore ſubiects, commanded the Viceroy of Sici-
lie, and *Auria* his Admirall, to leuie a ſufficient power in time to repreſſe that pyrat, before he
grew to farther ſtrength. Whereupon, they with a ſtrong fleet well manned and thorowly ap- I
pointed for that purpoſe, and aided by the knights of Malta, paſſed ouer into Affricke, and lan-
ding their forces, by the ſpace of three moneths beſieged the citie before poſſeſſed by the py-
rat, which with continual batterie they had at length made ſaultable. And hearing that *Dragut*
was comming with a new ſupply to relieue it, they with all celeritie aſſailed it both by ſea and
land, & in the ſpace of a few hours took it by force the 10 day of September in the yere 1550
in which aſſault many of the enemies were ſlaine, and the reſt taken. *Auria* hauing thus diſpo-
ſeſſed the pyrat, and aduiſedly conſidering that the citie was not without an infinite charge to
be holden by the Chriſtians, among ſo many of the Infidels, raſed it down to the ground, car-
rying away with him 7000 captiues, and all the ſpoile of the citie. And not ſo contented, did
all the harme he could with fire and ſword all alongſt the coaſt of Affrica, to the intent that K
the Turks ſhould there find no reliefe, and tooke 12 priſoners out of Monaſterium, a town not
far from the citie of Affrica : and ſo hauing done what he came for, returned againe into Si-
cilie. *Dragut* thus at once thruſt out of all he had, with a few of his friends fled to *Solyman* to
Conſtantinople, and ſo incenſed him with the grieuous complaint of the wrong done vnto
him by the Chriſtians, that in reuenge thereof, he reſolued to make war both vpon the Empe-
ror and king *Ferdinand*, notwithſtanding that the fiue yeares league hee had before taken with
him at his going into Perſia, was not yet expired. So with cheerfull words and courteous en-
tertainment comforting vp the deſperat pyrat, the Spring following (which was in the yeare
1551.) he furniſhed him with a great fleet in moſt warlike manner appointed, to reuenge the in-
iurie done to him by *Auria* in Affricke. With this fleet in number 140 ſaile, *Sinan* one of the L
Turks great Baſſaes, accompanied with *Dragut* the pyrat, by the appointment of *Solyman*, de-
parted from Conſtantinople : and cutting thorow the ſeas, arriued at length in Sicilie, where
they ſuddenly ſurpriſed the towne and caſtle of Auguſta, which they preſently ſacked. De-
parting thence, they came to the Iſland of Malta, and there landed their men in the port of
Marza, otherwiſe called Moxet, neere vnto the caſtle, which they battered with certain pieces
of great ordnance, but ſo as was to no great purpoſe. At which time diuers companies of the
Turks running further into the Iſland, made hauocke of whatſoeuer came in their way. After
they had thus few daies in vaine battered the caſtle, and ſaw themſelues both there valiantly
repulſed, and in other places by ambuſhes and ſuch like meanes cut off by the ſouldiers and
inhabitants of the Iſland, they remoued thence to the road of *S. Paul*, where they landed their M
ordnance with purpoſe to haue beſieged the citie : but perceiuing by a little, what ſmall hope
there was to preuaile, and ſeeing diuers of their men dying thorow the extremitie of the heat,
they forſooke the Iſland and went to Gaules now called Goza, a little Iſland about 30 miles
in compaſſe, fiue miles diſtant from Malta Weſtward, ſubiect vnto the knights of the Religion

1551

Malta attempted by the Turks

and

A and there landing their men, miſerably ſpoiled the Iſland, and whatſoeuer they light vpon,
and carried away with them of one ſort of people and other ſix thouſand and three hundred
captiues into moſt wofull bondage. With which bootie they put againe to ſea, and ſailed directly
to Tripolis in Barbarie, called of old Leptis Magna: which citie *Charles* the Emperour
had before giuen to the knights of Malta, and was at that time by them kept. This citie was the
marke whereat the Baſſa and the pyrat ſhot; for taking whereof they landed their forces, and
by long and winding trenches approched as neere the ſame as they could: Which they did
not without great loſſe of their people; for they of the caſtle hauing good ſtore of great ordnance,
and moſt expert canoniers, did with continuall ſhot ſo annoy the Turks, that they were
oftentimes inforced to retire; yet with much troubleſome labour and no leſſe perill, they
B came at laſt within eight hundred paces of the wals: where the Baſſa cauſed his gabions made
of thicke plankes, to be placed in the night, and his batterie planted. And the next day (which
was the eighth of Auguſt) the cannon began to play, which was againe anſwered from the caſtle
with like, and euery houre ſome of the Turkes ſlaine, the great ſhot ſtill flying into their
trenches, ſo as that day foure of the beſt canoniers in the armie were ſlain, with certaine other
men of good account alſo: and the clerke generall of the armie, a man of great eſtimation and
wel beloued of the Baſſa, had his hand ſhot off, and many other of the Ianizaries and common
ſouldiers either ſlaine or hurt: moreouer they brake one of their beſt pieces, and diſmounted
foure others, which for that day made them to leaue the batterie. The next night the Turkes
approched yet neerer vnto the caſtle, vpon whom the Chriſtians in the breake of the day ſallied
C out euen vnto their very trenches, and afterwards retired. With the riſing of the Sun (which
the Turks haue in great reuerence) they renued their batterie with greater force than before;
yet with ſuch euill ſucceſſe, that the Baſſa was almoſt mad for anger: for about the euening the
fire by miſchance got into their pouder, wherwith thirty of the Turks were burnt, many hurt,
and one piece broken. At length the Turkes were come ſo neere, that they had planted their
batterie within 150 paces of the wall; which they continued with ſuch furie, that they had
made a faire breach euen with the ditch: but what was beaten downe in the day time, the defendants
repaired againe by night, in ſuch ſort, as that it was not to be aſſaulted. Yet in concluſion,
a traiterous ſouldier of Prouince, before corrupted by the Turkes, found means to flie out
D of the caſtle into the campe, where he declared vnto the Baſſa the weakeſt places of the caſtle,
by which it might be moſt conueniently battered and ſooneſt taken: and eſpecially one place
aboue the reſt which was againſt the Gouernors lodgings, which ſtanding towards the ditch,
and hauing vnderneath it ſellars to retire the munition into, could not if it were once batred,
well be repaired againe or fortified. Which the Baſſa vnderſtanding, cauſed the batterie there
to be planted, laying the pieces ſo low, that they did eaſily beat the ſellars and vaults in ſuch
ſort, that in ſhort time the wals were ſo ſhaken, that the rampiers aboue thorow the continuall
batterie, began greatly to ſinke: which ſo amazed the ſouldiers, ſeeing no conuenient meanes
to repaire the ſame, that ſetting all honour aſide, they requeſted the Gouernor, That ſithence
the matter began now to grow deſperat, and that the place was not longer to be holden, hee
E would in time take ſome good order with the enemie for their ſafetie, before the walls were
further endamaged. With which motion, *Vallier* the Gouernor (an ancient knight of Daulphinie,
and one of the Order) was exceedingly troubled: which *Peiſieu* another of the knights,
perceiuing, he as a man of great courage, & of all othets there preſent moſt antient, in the name
of the other knights declared vnto them, That the breach was neither ſo great, nor ſo profitable
for the enemy, but that it was defenſible enough, if they would as men of courage repaire
the ſame, ſaying, That it was more honourable for worthy Knights and luſtie ſouldiers, to die
valiantly with their weapons in their hands, fighting againſt the Infidels for the maintenance
of their law and Chriſtian religion, than ſo cowardly to yeeld themſelues to the mercie of
thoſe, at whoſe hands nothing was to be looked for but moſt miſerarable ſeruitude, with all
F kind of crueltie: and therefore perſuaded the Couernour to hold it out to the laſt. For all that,
he ouercome with the importunitie of ſuch as would needs yeeld, who with all vehemencie
vrged the imminent danger wherwith they were all like to be ouerwhelmed, and finding himſelfe
bereft both of heart and fortune, and forſaken of his ſouldiers, without farther conſideration,
conſented that a white enſigne ſhould bee diſplayed vpon the Walls, in token that they
deſired parley: When a Turke preſenting himſelfe, they requeſted him to vnderſtand of

The Turks fleet arriueth at Tripolis in Barbarie.

Tripolis battered by the Turks.

the Baſſa, if he could be contented that ſome of them might come to intreat with him of ſome good order to be taken for the yeelding vp of the caſtle. Whereunto the Baſſa willingly conſenting, two of the knights were forthwith ſent out, to offer vnto him the caſtle with the artillerie and munition, ſo as he would furniſh them with ſhips to bring them with bag & baggage ſafely to Malta. Whereunto the Baſſa briefely anſwered, That (foraſmuch as they had as yet deſerued no grace, preſuming to keepe ſo ſmall a place againſt the army of the greateſt prince on earth) if they would pay the whole charges of the armie, he would condiſcend to their requeſt, or if they would not thereunto conſent, that for recompence, all they within the caſtle ſhould continue his ſlaues & priſoners: notwithſtanding if they incontinently and without delay did ſurrender the place, he would exempt out of them 300. Wherupon the meſſengers returning in deſpaire, were ſtaid by *Dragut* and *Salla Rais*, with flatting words and faire promiſes that they would ſo much as lay in them, perſuade the Baſſa to condiſcend to a more gratious compoſition, fearing indeed that the beſieged through deſpaire would reſolue (as their extreme refuge) to defend the place euen to the laſt man. Wherefore they went preſently to the Baſſa, to declare vnto him his ouerſight in refuſing them who voluntarily would haue put themſelues into his hands, whom reaſon would he ſhould with all courteſie haue receiued: for that after he had the caſtle and the men in his power, he might diſpoſe of them as he ſhould thinke good. The Baſſa liking well of his counſel, cauſed the meſſengers to be called again, & with fained & diſſembling words told them, That at the inſtance of *Dragut* & *Salla Rais* there preſent, he did diſcharge them of all the coſts & charges of the army, ſwearing vnto them (the better to deceiue them) by the head of his lord & his own, inuiolably to obſerue al that he had promiſed vnto them; which they too eaſily beleeued, & forthwith went to declare the ſame to the Gouernor, & others within the caſtle. The Baſſa, the better to come to the effect of his deſire, after theſe meſſengers ſent a craftie Turke, whom he charged expreſly to perſuade the gouernor to come with him into the camp, for the ful concluſion of the giuing vp of the caſtle, and for the appointing of ſuch veſſels as ſhould be needful for their ſafe conduct to Malta; and that if he made any doubt to come, he ſhould make ſhew as if he would there remaine in hoſtage for him, but aboue all things, to conſider of the ſtrength & aſſurance of the beſieged, and of the diſpoſition of all things there. Which the ſubtile Turke ſo finely handled, that the Gouernor by the counſell of thoſe who had perſuaded him to yeeld (notwithſtanding the reaſons of wars & duty of his office forbad him in ſuch maner to abandon the place of his charge) reſolued vpon ſo ſmall an aſſurance of the Baſſa, & gaue eare to the miſerable end of his fortune. So taking with him a knight of his houſhold (to ſend backe vnto thoſe of the caſtle, to declare vnto them how he ſped in the campe) vnder the conduct of the Turke that was come to fetch him, he went ſtraight to the tent of the Baſſa: who by the Turke that went firſt in, was aduertiſed of the ſmall courage of the defendants, which hee aſſured him to be no better, but that if he thought it good, he might bring them to ſuch order & agreement as he would himſelfe. Vpon whoſe perſuaſion calling in the Gouernor *Vallier*, after he had rigorouſly reproued his raſhnes, ſaid vnto him, That foraſmuch as he had once giuen his word, if he would pay the charges of the army, he was content to let them go with bag & baggage, otherwiſe he would diſcharge but two hundred. Whereat the Gouernor greatly moued, anſwered, That that was not according to his laſt promiſe vnto the knights before ſent. But when he ſaw it would bee no better, he requeſted him that he might again returne to the caſtle to know the minds of the reſt: which the falſe Baſſa would by no means grant, but only permitted him to ſend back the knight that he had brought with him, to make report of theſe hard news to the beſieged: as for the Gouernor, he was ſent to the gallies with yrons on his heeles. When they of the caſtle vnderſtood what had paſſed betwixt the Baſſa & the Gouernor, they began exceedingly to feare the miſchiefe then at hand: yet took no other reſolution, but to return the ſaid knight to the Baſſa, to know whether they ſhould expect from him no better anſwer. Who as ſoone as he was come before him, the captain of the caſtle was brought in, of whom the Baſſa asked, Which of the two he would chuſe, either to pay the expences of the army, or els both he & all the reſt to remain his priſoners? Wherunto the Gouernor anſwered, That a ſlaue had no other authority than that which by his maſter was giuen him, & that hauing loſt (beſides his libertie) the power to command, if any thing were yet reſerued in him, could not counſel him to command others to agree vnto any thing, but that which was concluded with them which were before ſent.

Hard conditions offered by the Baſſa to the beſieged.

More eaſie conditions offered by the Baſſa, which he confirmeth by his oath.

The warie anſwer of the gouernour to the Baſſa.

A ſent. Which thing the Baſſa hearing, for feare that ſuch a reſolute anſwer ſhould come to the knowledge of the beſieged, & cauſe them to become deſperat; hauing taken counſell with his other captains, he tooke the Gouernour by the hand, and with a ſmiling and diſſembling countenance told him, That he would without any doubt let them depart as he had promiſed; and that therfore without fearing any thng, he ſhould cauſe them all to come out of the caſtle. But the Gouernour, becauſe he had bin before deceiued, would not truſt to his word, but ſaid vnto him, That he might command him that was come from the caſtle, for that he knew they would now doe neuer a whit the more for him. So the Baſſa turning towards the other knight, commanded him forthwith to goe vnto them in the caſtle, and to cauſe them to come forth, ſwearing againe as before, by the head of his great lord, and his owne, That they ſhould all be deli- B uered and ſet at libertie, according to the conuentions firſt agreed vpon. Which the knight beleeuing, went to report to them this good newes: which they receiued with ſuch ioy, that without further care or conſideration of their miſhap ſo neere, they ran in preaſe with their wiues, children, and beſt mooueables, ſtriuing who ſhould firſt get out. But they were no ſooner iſſued, but they were by the enemies ſpoiled of all they had, and taken priſoners; part of the knights were ſent to the gallies, and the reſt to the Baſſa. Who being by the Gouernour put in remembrance of his faith twiſe giuen, anſwered, That there was no faith to be kept with dogs, and that they had firſt violated their oath with his great lord, vnto whom at the giuing ouer of the Rhodes, they had (as he ſaid) ſworne neuer more to beare armes againſt the Turks. C The caſtle was forthwith taken and ſpoiled, and about two hundred Moores of that countrey that had ſerued the knights, cut in pieces, and thereupon, a great peale of ordnance diſcharged, with great cries and ſhouts in ſigne of their victorie. Thus the ſtrong caſtle and antient citie of Tripolis in Barbarie was deliuered vnto the Turkes the fifteenth day of Auguſt, in the yeare 1551. Whileſt the Baſſa lay at this ſiege, the Lord of Arramont, who had many yeares lien embaſſadour from *Francis* the French king at Conſtantinople, and was now ſent again by *Henry* the ſecond, came to the Turkes campe, being requeſted ſo to doe by the great Maſter of the Rhodes, to haue diſſuaded the Baſſa from that ſiege: wherein he nothing preuailed. Yet now grieued to ſee how the faithleſſe Turk, contrary to his oath, moſt villanouſly intreated the Gouernor and the other Knights, lying at his feet as men halfe deſperat; was ſo bold as to put him D in mind of his promiſe, confirmed by his oath; which if hee would not keepe, that yet at the leaſt according to his owne voluntarie offer, he would releaſe two hundred of them: but hee excuſed himſelf as before, ſaying, That no faith was to be kept with dogs, which had firſt broken their owne faith. Yet afterwards he condiſcended, that two hundred of the eldeſt and ſuch as were moſt vnfit for ſeruice (amongſt whom was comprehended the Gouernour and certain other old knights) ſhould be ſet at libertie; who were forthwith ſent aboord the French Embaſſadours gallies, and by him tranſported to Malta: where they were but hardly welcome, for that they had ſo cowardly ſurrendred a place, which they might much longer haue defended. The next day after the caſtle was deliuered, which was the 16 of Auguſt, the proud Baſſa for ioy of this victorie made a ſolemne dinner, whereunto he inuited the French embaſſa- E dour, and *Vallier* the late Gouernor: which they refuſed not to come vnto, in hope to recouer ſome moe priſoners. This great feaſt for the more magnificence was kept in the caſtle ditch againſt the breach, where were ſet vp two ſtately pauillions, the one for the Baſſa, and the other for the embaſſadour and his companie, where he was honourably feaſted with wonderfull plentie both of fleſh and fiſh and good wines, which they had found in the caſtle; which ſeruice was done with muſicke of diuers ſorts, and officers in number aboue a hundred, apparelled for moſt part in long gowns of fine cloth of gold, tuffed or fringed; and the other of veluet or damaske. The Baſſa was no ſooner ſet downe, but all the ordnance of the fleet was diſcharged with ſuch a noiſe and thundering, that it ſeemed the heauens and skies did ſhake. The table being taken vp, the embaſſador and the late Gouernour *Vallier*, entred into the pauillion F of the Baſſa, and beſide the two hundred men which he had promiſed, obtained twentie moe, vpon the embaſſadours promiſe, That he ſhould for them cauſe to be releaſed 30 Turks taken at Malta, at the landing of the armie there. The Turkes hauing in their hands an antient gunner of the caſtle, called *Iohn de Chabas* borne in Daulphine (to the end that this triumphant feaſt ſhould not be vnfurniſhed of ſome cruell ſacrifice of the Chriſtian bloud) for that hee had in time of the ſiege ſhot off the hand of the clerke generall of the armie, brought him into the

The caſtle yeelded.

The ſhameleſſe anſwere of the faithleſſe Baſſa to the French Embaſſadour.

The Turkes triumph for the winning of Tripolis.

A ſhamefull cruelty of the Turkes.

towne, and when they had cut off his hands and his noſe, put him quicke into the ground to the waſt, and there for their pleaſure ſhot at him with their arrowes, and afterward to make an end of him cut his throat. The Baſſa ſhortly after departing out of Barbarie, left *Dragut* the pyrat Gouernor of Tripolis, honouring him with the title of the Sanzacke of that place, from whence hee many yeares after grieuouſly moleſted the Moores neere vnto him by land, and the Chriſtians by ſea. The ſame yeare 1551, *Solyman* notwithſtanding the fiue yeares peace before taken with king *Ferdinand* at his going into Perſia, ſent *Achomates* his lieutenant in Europe, with a great power into Hungarie, who with *Haly* the Baſſa of Buda inuaded the vpper part of Hungarie, and firſt tooke the city of Temeſware, and contrary to their faith giuen, ſlew the garriſon ſouldiers: after that, they tooke alſo the caſtle of Zolnok, forſaken by the Chriſtians, and certaine other ſmall caſtles. But laying ſiege to Erſam, they were partly by the valiantneſſe of the defendants, and partly by the comming on of Winter inforced to forſake the ſiege, and to get themſelues into their Wintering places.

Temeſwar and Zolnok taken by the Turks.

Queene *Iſabel*, king *Iohn* his widdow, ſeeing the Turkes dayly encroching vpon that little they had left her, and that ſhe was not able by any means to defend Tranſiluania againſt them, by the aduice of *George* Biſhop of Veradium her old counſellor, agreed with king *Ferdinand* to deliuer vnto him the gouernment of the countrey, with all the royall dignity of Hungarie; for which ſhe was to haue of him Caſſouia, and a yerely penſion of an hundred thouſand duckats. Which agreement made and thorowly concluded by *Baptiſta Caſtalius* an Italian) whom *Charles* the Emperor had but a little before ſent to aid king *Ferdinand*) the Queene returned into Polonia, her natiue countrey: and ſo king *Ferdinand* by that means obtained almoſt al the prouince of Tranſyluania, and what elſe the queene had in Hungarie. But the Biſhop a little before made a Cardinall, being ſuſpected by *Baptiſta* the Italian, that he fauoured the Turkes faction more than king *Ferdinand*, and by that meanes ſought to get the gouernment to himſelfe, was by the Italians deuice ſuddenly murthered in his owne houſe at Veradium: an end good enough for ſo troubleſome a Prelat.

George biſhop of Veradium murdered in his owne houſe.

1552

Haly the Baſſa of Buda proud of the good ſucceſſe he had the yeare before, vnderſtanding that diuers of the chiefe Hungarians had withdrawn themſelues into the caſtle of Agria, purpoſed in himſelfe with all his power to beſiege it, and there to take them. So aided by *Achomates*, *Chaſan*, and other of the Turks Sanzackes and captaines by *Solymans* appointment readie at his call, he came with an army of 35000 Turks, and the 10 of September in the yere 1552, encamped round about the caſtle: where after he had placed his artillerie, he began a moſt furious batterie. But doubting to preuaile that way, he attempted alſo to vndermine the caſtle, omitting nothing that could be deuiſed for the taking thereof: but all in vaine, for the Hungarians by the good direction of *Stephanus Dobus* their captaine, couragiouſly endured the ſiege, and very manfully repulſed the enemie. At length, the 29 of September the enemie with 28 enſignes of ſelect ſouldiers gaue a freſh aſſault to the caſtle, and were by the defendants enforced ſhamefully to retire: at which time foure and twentie barrels of gunpouder by miſchance caught fire, and beſides that it blew vp diuers captaines and ſouldiers, did much harme in the caſtle, to the great diſmaying of the defendants. After that, the Turks with incredible pertinacie the twelfth of October fiercely aſſaulted the caſtle from morning vntill night, and for deſire of reuenge and hope of ſpoile left nothing vnattempted for the gaining of the place; but were by the greater valour of the Hungarians beaten backe, and with great loſſe enforced at laſt to giue ouer the aſſault. Thus the Baſſa nothing preuailing by force, attempted by great promiſes and large offers to haue brought them out: which he vnderſtanding to bee nothing regarded, and his letters ſcornfully burnt, brought on his ſouldiers again, & gaue vnto them in the caſtle a moſt furious aſſault, but with no better ſucceſſe than before: for hauing loſt many of his beſt ſouldiers, he was inforced to retire. So after he had in vaine ſix weekes beſieged the caſtle, he was glad to raiſe his ſiege, and to retire to Peſtum. After whoſe departure there was found twelue thouſand great ſhot, wherewith he had battered the wall. In this ſiege ſix thouſand Turks were ſlaine, and of the Hungarians but three hundred. King *Ferdinand* glad of this victorie, made *Stephanus* the worthie captaine, Vayuod of Tranſyluania, and bountifully rewarded the other captaines and ſouldiers as they had well deſerued.

Agria beſieged by the Turks.

The Turks giue ouer the ſiege of Agria.

1553

Henry the French king, who together with his kingdom had (as it ſeemed) receiued the hereditary quarrels of *Francis* his father againſt *Charles* the Emperor, had by his embaſſadour the

Lord

A lord of Aramont ſo wrought the matter with *Solyman*, that the more to trouble the Emperor,
he ſent a great fleet into the Tyrrhenum or Tuſcan ſea, which in the yeare 1553, and the yere
following, did great harme vpon the coaſts of Calabria, Sicilia, Sardinia, as alſo in the Iſlands
of Elba, Corſica, Cerbe, and Maiorca, and ſuch like places on the frontiers of the Emperours
dominions: yet were the Turks in moſt places notably againe repulſed by the people of thoſe
Countries. The ſame yeare *Solyman*, ſeduced by *Roxolana* (ſometime his faire Concubine,
but then his imperious wife) and *Ruſtan Baſſa* his ſonne in law, moſt vnnaturally murthered
his eldeſt ſonne *Muſtapha*, the mirrour of the *Othoman* Familie: Which tragicall fact (the like
wherof both for the trecherous contriuing and inhumane execution hath ſeldome times been
heard of) I haue thought good here in due time to ſet downe, in ſuch ſort as it is by moſt cre-
B dible Writers of that time reported.

Solyman after the manner of the *Othoman* Kings (who to auoid the participation of their ſo-
ueraigntie, vſe not oftentimes to marrie, but otherwiſe to ſatisfie their pleaſure with ſuch
beautifull Concubines as it pleaſeth them to make choice of out the faireſt captiues of all Na-
tions, moſt daintily brought vp for that purpoſe in the Court) had by a Circaſſian bondwo-
man a ſonne called *Muſtapha*, who for his wonderfull towardlineſſe and rare perfection, was
amongſt the Turks had in ſuch expectation and admiration, as that they in nothing accounted
themſelues more happie, than in the hope laid vp in him: whoſe noble carriage was ſuch, as
thereby he ſo poſſeſſed the mindes of all men in generall, (but eſpecially of the men of war)
that he was reputed the glorie of the Court, the floure of chiualrie, the hope of the ſouldiers,
C and ioy of the people. Whileſt he thus grew, increaſing both in yeares and fauour, it fortuned
with *Solyman* as it doth with men delighted in change, that he became amorous of *Roxolana*, of
ſome called *Roſa* (but more truly *Hazathya*) by condition a captiue, but ſo graced with beauty
and courtly behauiour, that in ſhort time ſhe became miſtreſſe of his thoughts, and comman-
dreſſe of him that all commanded: and that which more eſtabliſhed her in poſſeſſion of his
loue, ſhe had in time made him father of foure faire ſonnes, *Mahomet*, *Selymus*, *Baiazet*, and
Tzihanger, and one daughter called *Chameria* married to *Ruſtan* or *Ruſtemes* the great Baſſa. In
this height of worldly bliſſe nothing troubled her more than the exceeding credit of *Muſta-
pha Solymans* eldeſt ſonne by the Circaſſian woman; who honoured of the greateſt, and belo-
ued of the reſt, ſtood only in her light, imbarring her and hers (as ſhe thought) of the hope
D of the Empire, which ſhe now aboue all things ſought to bring to one of her owne ſonnes:
which the better to compaſſe, ſhe vnder the colour of great good will and loue, procured that
Muſtapha the young Prince and his mother ſhould as it were for their greater honour and ſtate,
with a princely allowance be ſent into Caramania to gouerne that great countrey, farre from
the Court. Which was no great matter for her to bring to paſſe: for that the Turkiſh Empe-
rours vſually ſend their ſonnes after they come to any yeares of diſcretion, vnto ſuch prouin-
ces as are far from the Court, attended vpon with one great Baſſa and ſome graue Doctor of
their Law, ſo to acquaint them with the manner of gouernment; the Baſſa inſtructing them in
matters of ciuile policie, and the Doctor in matters concerning their ſuperſtition: and yet by
E ſending them a far off, to keepe them from aſpiring to the Empire by the fauor of the Court:
(a thing of the Turkiſh Emperors not vnworthily feared euen in their owne and beloued chil-
dren. *Roxolana* hauing at once thus cunningly rid the Court of the great competitors both of
her loue and of the Empire (things of all others enduring no partners) reſted not ſo, but began
ſtraitway to plot in her malicious head the vtter deſtruction of him, to whom all others wi-
ſhed all happineſſe. This ſhe ſaw was not to be brought to paſſe without ſome complices:
wherefore after ſhe had in her ſecret conceit diſcarded many, of whom at firſt ſhe had reaſona-
ble good liking; at laſt ſhe made choice of *Ruſtan Baſſa* her ſonne in law, vpon whome ſhee
would ſet vp her reſt. This *Ruſtan* was a man baſely borne in Epirus, altogether compoſed of
diſſimulation and flatterie, euer ſeruing his owne turne, were it neuer ſo much to the hurt or
F grieuance of others: by which meanes he, although none of the beſt ſouldiers, was yet by
many degrees growne vp to be the greateſt man in the Court, and *Solymans* ſonne in law: him
ſhe probably thought to wiſh the ſucceſſion of the Empire to one of her owne ſons, his wiues
full brethren, rather than to *Muſtapha* her halfe brother. Beſide that, ſhe was not ignorant how
that *Ruſtan* as one carefull of the Emperors profit (the readieſt way to preferment) had abrid-
ged the penſions and fees of the officers and ſeruitors in court: which he perceiuing to pleaſe

Muſtapha Solymans eldeſt ſon in great eſtimation with the people.

Solyman becommeth amorous of Roxolana.

Muſtapha ſent to gouerne Caramania.

The malice of Roxolana againſt Muſtapha.

the Emperour, proceeded ſo fartherein, that he attempted to haue cut off, if it had been poſſible, ſome part of ***Muſtapha*** his princely allowance: for which doing, ſhe knew how odious he was to all the Courtiers (whereof he made ſmall reckoning) but eſpecially to ***Muſtapha***, inſomuch that it was thought he would not forget ſo notorious an iniurie, if euer he ſhould obtaine the Empire. Hereupon ſhe brake with ***Ruſtan*** vpon the matter, whom ſhe found readie ynough of himſelfe to do what in him lay to further her miſchieuous deſire. G

Raxolana conſpireth with Ruſtan Baſſa her ſon in law, againſt Muſtapha.

Roxolana faineth her ſelfe religious.

To begin this intended tragedie, ſhe vpon the ſudden became very deuout, and being by the fauour of ***Solyman*** growne exceeding rich, pretended as if it had been vpon a deuout zeale for the health of her ſoule, after the manner of their Turkiſh ſuperſtition, to build an Abbey, with an Hoſpitall and a Church: which ſo godly a purpoſe ſhe imparted to the Muphti or chiefe Mahometan Prieſt, demanding of him, if ſuch workes of charitie were not acceptable vnto God, and auaileable for her ſoules health. H Wherunto the Muphti anſwered, That thoſe workes were no doubt gratious in the ſight of God, but nothing at all meritorious for her ſoules health, being a bondwoman; yet very profitable for the ſoule of the great Emperour ***Solyman***, vnto whom as vnto her Lord, both ſhe and all ſhe had appertained. With which anſwer of the great Prieſt ſhe ſeemed to be exceedingly troubled, and thereupon became wonderfull penſiue and melancholie, her cheerefull countenance was replete with ſadneſſe, and her faire eyes flowed with teares, her mirth was mourning; and her ioy heauineſſe. Which thing ***Solyman*** perceiuing, and ſorie to ſee his loue vpon conceit ſo to languiſh, ſent her word to be of good cheere, and to comfort her ſelfe; promiſing in ſhort time to take ſuch a courſe I as ſhould eaſe her of all her griefes: which he forthwith did, ſolemnly manumiſing her from her bond eſtate. So great a fauour obtained, ***Roxolana*** with great cheerefulneſſe began thoſe meritorious workes by her before intended, as if ſhe had thought of nothing but heauen, whereas indeed her thoughts were in the depth of hel. When ſhe had thus a good while buſied her ſelfe in pauing the way to heauen, as was ſuppoſed; ***Solyman*** not able longer to forbeare the companie of her, in whom his ſoule liued, after his wonted manner ſent for her by one of his Eunuchs, who ſhould haue brought her to his bed chamber. To whom ſhee with her eyes caſt vp to heauen, demurely anſwered, That her life and whatſoeuer els ſhe had was at her dread Soueraignes command, but againe to yeeld her bodie vnto his appetite ſhe might not in any caſe do, without the great offence of the high God, and manifeſt breach of his ſacred Lawes, which permitted her not now voluntarily to yeeld him that, being free, which he be- K fore without offence might command of his bondwoman: and becauſe ſhe would not ſeeme to vſe this as an excuſe, ſhe referred her ſelfe in all things to the graue iudgement of the learned and reuerend Muphti, with whom ſhe had before at full conferred. This ſhe did, preſuming of the ſoueraigntie ſhe had ouer that great Monarch, whome ſhe right well knew ſhe had ſo faſt bound in the pleaſing fetters of his affection towards her, as that ſhe was ſure ynough of him without a keeper. ***Solyman*** rauiſhed with her loue, and well the more for her deniall, ſent for the Muphti, requiring his iudgement in the matter: who before inſtructed in all points, agreed with that ***Roxolana*** had ſaid, aggrauating the heinouſneſſe of the fact, if hee ſhould proceed to enforce her as his ſlaue, who being now free, he might not without great L offence touch vnmarried. Whereupon ***Solyman*** more and more burning in his deſires, became a freſh ſuter to her for marriage, whom he had ſo often before commanded: which his ſute eaſily obtained, (as the marke ſhe had all this while aimed at) he with all ſpeed to the great admiration of all men, and contrarie to the manner of the Mahometan Emperours, ſolemnly married her, appointing for her yearely dowrie fiue thouſand Sultanyns. But here before we proceed any farther, ſtay a while, and take the view of that faire face whereon this great Monarch ſo much doted, as it is by the ſkilfull workemans hand moſt liuely expreſſed.

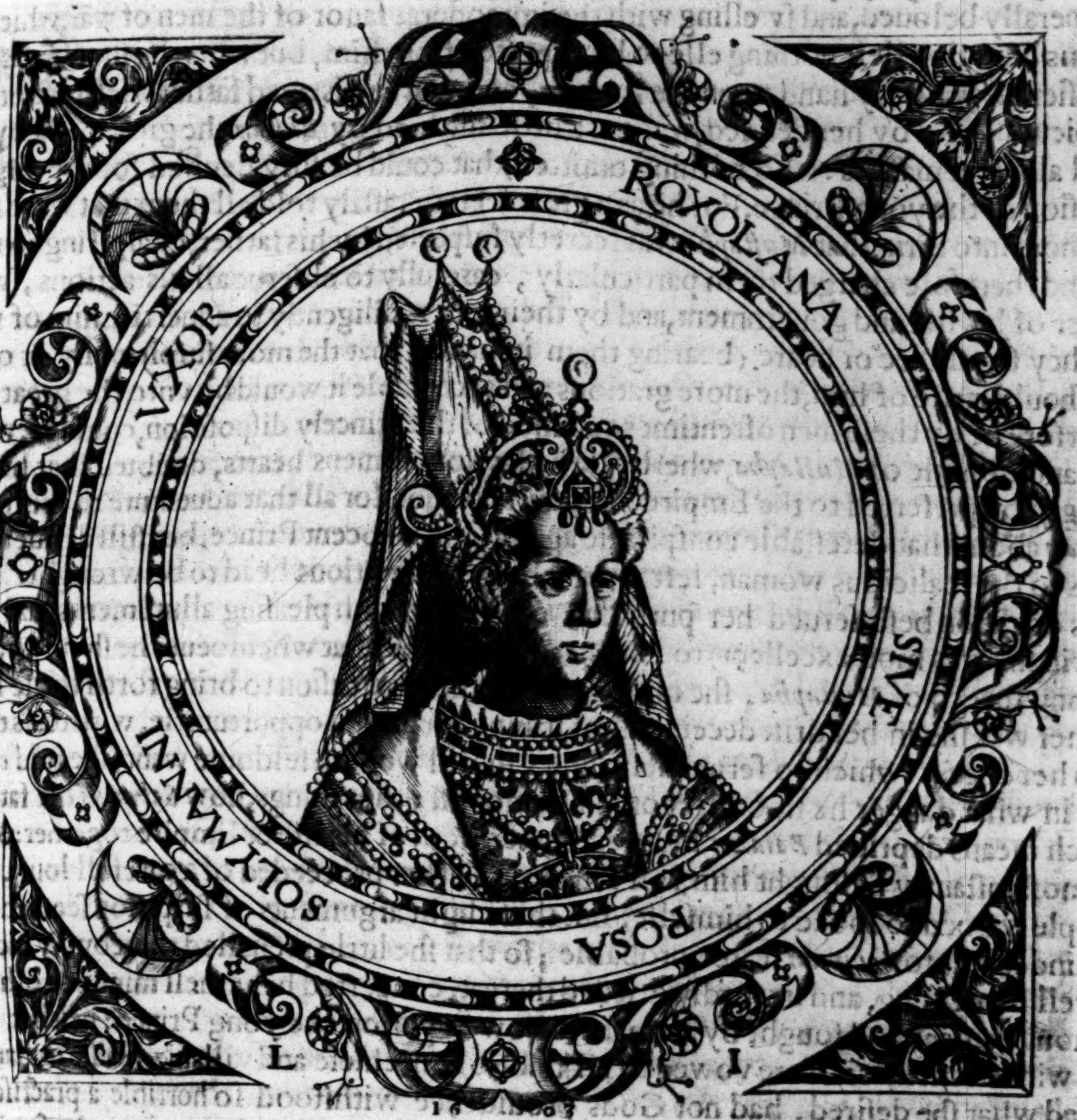
Solyman manumiſeth Roxolana.

Solyman ſends for Roxolana.

She excuſeth her ſelfe, and refuſeth to come.

Solyman marrieth Roxolana.

ROXOLANA, *Solyman* his beſt beloued Wife.



Frontis nulla fides, nulla eſt fiducia formæ:
Pectore dum ſæuo dira venena latent.
Philtra viro miſcet fallax miſerúmque coegit
Sanguine natorum commaculare manus.

Rich. Knolles.

To faireſt lookes truſt not too farre, nor yet to beautie braue:
For hatefull thoughts ſo finely maskt, their deadly poyſon haue.
Loues charmed cups the ſubtill dame doth to her husband fill,
And cauſeth him with cruell hand his childrens bloud to ſpill.

This woman of late a ſlaue, but now become the greateſt Empreſſe of the Eaſt, flowing in all worldly felicitie, attended vpon with all the pleaſures her heart could deſire, wanted nothing ſhe could wiſh, but how to finde means that the Turkiſh empire might after the death of *Solyman* be brought to ſome one of her owne ſons. This was it that had (as is before ſaid) long troubled her aſpiring mind, and in the midſt of all her bliſſe, ſuffered her yet to take no reſt. Noble *Muſtapha*, *Solymans* eldeſt ſon, and heire apparant of the Empire, although far abſent, was yet ſtill before her eyes preſent; his credit, his valour, his vertues, his perfections were all bars to her deſires: he was the only cloud that kept the ſunne from ſhining on her, if he by

Roxolana plotteth the confuſion of Muſtapha.

any means might be taken away, then wanted nothing that ſhe deſired. Which to bring to
paſſe, the wicked woman laboured cunningly by little and little to breed in *Solymans* head no G
ſmall ſuſpition of *Muſtapha*, That he being a yong man of a hauty ſpirit, deſirous of Soueraigntie,
generally beloued, and ſwelling with the immoderat fauor of the men of war, which were
all at his deuotion, left nothing elſe to be expected from him, but when he ſhould (as did his
grandſier *Selymus*) lay hand vpon the Empire, and worke his aged fathers deſtruction. This
miſchieuous plot by her deuiſed, was not a little furthred by *Ruſtan* the great Baſſa, by whom
paſſed all great matters: who nothing omitted, that could be ſlily deuiſed for the diſgrace or
confuſion of the yong Prince. For he as a great ſecret, craftily told all them that were ſent gouernors
into Siria, that *Muſtapha* was ſecretly ſuſpected by his father, of aſpiring to the empire,
and therefore charged them particularly, carefully to obſerue all his actions, with the H
manner of his life and gouernment, and by their letters diligently to aduertiſe him of whatſoeuer
they ſhould ſee or heare; bearing them in hand, that the more ſuſpitiouſly or odiouſly
they ſhould write of him, the more gratious and acceptable it would be vnto the great Sultan.
Wherfore he by theſe men oftentimes certified of the princely diſpoſition, courage, wiſdom,
valor and bountie of *Muſtapha*, wherby he had woon all mens hearts, doubted that he would
at length be preferred to the Empire: yet durſt he not for all that aduenture to temper with
Solyman about that deteſtable conſpiracie againſt the innocent Prince, but ſtill deliuering the
letters to the malicious woman, left the reſt by her vngratious head to be wrought. And ſhe
ſtill as occaſion beſt ſerued her purpoſe, ceaſed not with pleaſing allurements and flatterie I
(wherin ſhe was moſt excellent) to infect *Solymans* mind, that whenſoeuer he ſhould chance to
haue any ſpeech of *Muſtapha*, ſhe might take the fitter occaſion to bring forth thoſe Letters.
Neither was ſhe in her drift deceiued, but hauing found a fit opportunitie, with tears trickling
down her cheeks (which to ſerue their turnes ſubtill women ſeldome want) ſhe told the Emperor
in what danger he ſtood: recounting amongſt other things, how *Selymus* his father had
by ſuch means depriued *Baiazet* his grandfather, both of his life & Empire together: & therefore
moſt inſtantly beſought him, as if it had altogether proceeded of a carefull loue, by that
example warned to looke to himſelfe. But theſe light arguments of ſuſpition ſeemed as they
were indeed, vnto *Solyman* ſcarce probable; ſo that ſhe little preuailed thereby. Which thing
ſhe well perceiuing, and inwardly grieued thereat, conuerted her cruell minde to other miſchieuous K
deuices, and ſought by all meanes how to poiſon the yong Prince: neither wanted
there wicked men, as it were vowed to all kinde of miſchiefe and villanie, readie to haue performed
what ſhe deſired, had not Gods prouidence withſtood ſo horrible a practiſe. For
whereas certaine rich apparell was by her ſent vnto him in his fathers name, he fearing the
worſt, would not touch it before he had cauſed it to be worn by one of his ſeruants: by which
curious warineſſe (as it was thought) he for that time preuented the treaſon of his wicked
ſtepdame, and made her malicious practiſe manifeſt to the world. Yet reſted ſhee not ſo, but
was ſtill plotting new deuices, tending all to one purpoſe: for being growne to that height of
honour and power as neuer was woman in the *Othoman* court, and by the means of *Trongilla* a
Iew (as it was thought) hauing bewitched the minde of the Turkiſh Emperor, ſhe ſtill grew
more and more in fauor, and obtained that her ſons might by turnes be ſtill preſent in Court: L
of purpoſe, that by their daily preſence and continual flattery, they ſhould more & more procure
their fathers loue; and if by chance *Muſtapha* ſhould come thither, ſhe might haue the
better means to diſpatch him; if not, to expect ſome other fit time, when ſhe might by ſome
one or other meane take him away. But *Muſtapha* neuer comming (for why, the Emperors ſons
vſe not without their fathers leaue to go out of the prouinces aſſigned vnto them, or to come
to Conſtantinople, but after the death of their father to receiue the Empire, attended vpon
with a number of ſouldiers) ſhe eaſily deuiſed another practiſe, that her ſons ſhould wait vpon
their father, not in the city only, but in the Prouinces alſo; ſo that *Zihanger*, ſyrnamed *Crouchbacke*,
alwaies followed his father in the campe. Certain yeres thus ſpent, and ſhe ſtill hammering
her miſchieuous deuices, at length fortune fauoring her wicked deſire, got from the Baſſa M
which had the gouernment of *Muſtapha* and the prouince of Amaſia (for as we haue ſaid, euery
one of the Kings ſons hath with him one Baſſa, which is as it were his lieutenant in adminiſtration
of iuſtice and martiall affaires) certain ſuſpicious letters, wherein was contained, that
there was a ſpeech of a marriage to be made betweene *Muſtapha* and the Perſian Kings daughter:

Ruſtan the great Baſſa furthereth the deuiſes of Roxolana.

Muſtapha in danger to haue beene poyſoned Roxolana.

A ter; which thing he thought good to giue knowledge of to the Counſell, that if any harme ſhould enſue therof, he might be out of all ſuſpition. Theſe letters being brought to ***Ruſtan***, he thought he had now as good as halfe brought to paſſe the long deſired ruin of ***Muſtapha***: ſo making no ſtay, he opened the matter to ***Roxolana***, & afterwards both together went to the court, and declared all the matter to the Emperor: in doing wherof, they forced both their vngratious wits to fill his head, yet doubtfull, with ſuſpicion, and to poſſeſſe his minde with the feare of his owne moſt dutifull ſon: ſaying, That he as a proud and ambitious young man, rauiſhed with the deſire of ſo glorious an empire, ſought againſt the laws both of God & nature, to take his father out of the way, that ſo he might with more ſpeed ſatisfie his aſpiring mind. And to giue the more credit to this their moſt falſe ſuggeſtion, they warned him of the alliance by B him purpoſed with the Perſian king the antient enemy of the ***Othoman*** Emperors: wiſhing him to beware leſt ***Muſtapha*** ſupported by the ſtrength of Perſia, and the fauor of the Sanzacks and Ianizaries, whoſe loue he had by bountie purchaſed, ſhould in ſhort time when he feared leaſt, together depriue him both of his life and empire. With theſe and ſuch like accuſations they ſo preuailed with the aged man, whom they neuer ſuffered to reſt in quiet, that he at length reſolued to worke his ſafetie (as he ſuppoſed) by the death of his owne ſonne; in this ſort:

Roxolana and Ruſtan together put Solyman in feare of his ſon Muſtapha.

In the yeare 1552 he cauſed proclamation to be made almoſt in all the prouinces of his Empire, That foraſmuch as the Perſians without reſiſtance with a great army inuaded Syria, burning and deſtroying the countrey before them, he to repreſſe that their outragious inſolence, was inforced to ſend thither ***Ruſtan Baſſa*** with an army: which according to his appoint- C ment was in ſhort time raiſed. Now when all things were in readineſſe, as if it had beene for ſuch a war as was pretended, he commanded ***Ruſtan***, with as much ſecrecie and as little tumult as was poſſible, to lay hands vpon ***Muſtapha***, and to bring him bound to Conſtantinople: which if he could not conueniently effect, then by any other means to take him out of the way.

Solyman ſends Ruſtan Baſſa with an army to take Muſtapha.

With this wicked and cruell charge ***Ruſtan*** with a ſtrong armie marched towards Syria. ***Muſtapha*** vnderſtanding of his comming, without delay with 7000 of the beſt horſemen in all Turkie made towards Syria alſo: whereof ***Ruſtan*** hearing, and perceiuing that he could not (as he deſired) conueniently execute the cruell command of the vnnaturall father, forthwith turned his backe, and treading the ſame ſteps he came, returned with his armie to Conſtantinople D with ſuch ſpeed, that he endured not to behold the verie duſt raiſed by ***Muſtapha's*** horſmen, much leſſe his preſence: giuing it out, That he certainly vnderſtood that the prouince was in quiet, (as indeed it was) and that he thereupon returned. But vnto ***Solyman*** he told another tale in ſecret, which he maliciouſly had deuiſed, That he by moſt apparant ſignes and manifeſt preſumptions had perceiued the whole armie ſo inclined towards ***Muſtapha***, that if he ſhould haue attempted any thing againſt him by plaine force, he ſhould haue been vtterly forſaken, and had therefore in ſo dangerous a caſe left the matter as it was to his graue further direction. This tale ſuſpiciouſly told, raiſed in the wicked and vnnaturall father (nothing degenerating from the naturall crueltie of his anceſtors) new and great ſuſpicions, whereof to diſburden his diſquieted mind, he conceiued with himſelfe a moſt horrible deuice. Wherfore the yere follow- E ing, which was the yeare 1553, he raiſed a great armie; giuing it out, That the Perſians had with greater power than before inuaded Syria, and that therefore he for the loue of his Countrie, and defence of his empire, was determined to go thither with his army, and in perſon himſelfe to repreſſe the attempts of his enemies. Wherfore the army being aſſembled, & al things neceſſary orderly prouided, he commanded to ſet forward, and in few daies after followed himſelfe: who comming at length into Syria, preſently by truſty meſſengers commanded ***Muſtapha*** to come vnto him at Aleppo, for there he lay incamped. And yet for all theſe ſhadowes, the matter was not ſo cloſely by ***Solyman*** conueied (although he was exceeding carefull thereof) but that his mortall and deadly hatred againſt his ſon was perceiued by the Baſſa's & other great men about him: inſomuch that ***Achmat Baſſa*** by a ſecret and truſtie meſſenger gaue him warning thereof, that ſo he might in time the better prouide for the ſafegard of his life. Neither could ***Muſtapha*** himſelfe but maruell, that his aged father without any apparant reaſon ſhould come ſo far with ſo great an army: yet truſting to his owne innocencie, though wonderfully troubled and perplexed in mind, he reſolued (although it were with the extreme danger of his life) to obey and yeeld to his fathers command: for he thought it more commendable and honorable to incurre the danger of death, than liuing to fall into the foule ſuſpition of diſloyaltie.

The malicious deuice of Ruſtan.

Solyman goeth himſelfe with an army to kil his ſonne.

He ſendeth for Muſtapha.

Muſtapha perplexed in mind.

His talke with his Doctor.

Muſtapha commeth to his fathers campe.

The exceeding treacherie of Ruſtan againſt Muſtapha.

The melancholy dreame of Muſtapha in comming to his father.

diſloyaltie. In ſo great a peplexitie of mind, after he had with himſelfe much diſcourſed too G
and fro, what courſe he were beſt to take, at length he boldly and reſolutely asked the doctor
whom (as we haue before ſaid) he had alwaies with him in his court, Whether the Empire of
the world, or a bleſſed life were of man more to be deſired? to whom the doctor frankly anſwered,
That the empire of the world, to him that would enter into the due conſideration
thereof, brought with it no felicitie, more than a vaine ſhew and vtter apparance of good, nothing
being more fraile or vncertaine than worldly honor, bringing with it feare, vexation of
mind, tribulation, ſuſpition, murder, wrong, wickedneſſe, ſpoile, ruin, and captiuitie, with infinit
miſchiefes of like nature, not to be deſired of him that would attaine to true felicitie, by which
means the bleſſed life was to be loſt and not gained: But they vnto whome God had giuen
the grace rightly to conſider and weigh the fragilitie and ſhortneſſe of this our eſtate (which H
the common ſort deemeth to be the only life) and to ſtriue againſt the vanities nf this world,
and to embrace and follow an vpright kind of life, had vndoubtedly a place aſſigned for them
in heauen, and prepared by the great God, where they ſhould at length enioy life and bliſſe
eternal. This anſwer of the great doctor wonderfully ſatisfied the troubled mind of the yong
Prince, foreſeeing as it were the approch of his owne end: and ſo ſtaying not any longer diſcourſe,
forthwith ſet forward towards his father, and making great haſt, came at length to his
fathers campe, and not far off pitched his tents in the open field. But this his ſo haſtie comming
the more increaſed the ſuſpition in the mind of his wicked father: neither ſpared *Ruſtan*
in the meane time with his craftie and ſubtile deuices to augment the ſame: for by a ſigne giuen
he cauſed the Ianizaries and chiefe men in the armie to go as if it had bin for honors ſake I
to meet *Muſtapha*; which they all without delay preſently did at his command, and ſo all together
ſet forward. In the meane time he the moſt craftie varlet, with troubled countenance
(for he could notably diſſemble) as a man halfe diſmaied came in haſte into *Solymans* pauilion,
and falſly told him, That the Ianizaries and almoſt all the beſt ſoldiers of the army were of
themſelues without leaue gon to meet *Muſtapha*, and that he feared what would enſue thereof.
Which news ſo troubled the old tyrant, that he became pale for feare, and going out of his
tent, and finding them gon, eaſily beleeued all to be true that the falſe Baſſa had told him.
Neither wanted *Muſtapha* ſtrange warning of his end ſo neere at hand, for the third day before
his ſetting forwards toward his father, falling aſleepe in the euening, he thought he ſaw his
Prophet *Mahomet* in bright apparell to take him by the hand and lead him into a moſt pleaſant K
place, beautified with moſt glorious and ſtately palaces, and moſt delicat and pleaſant gardens;
aud pointing to euery thing with his finger, to ſay thus vnto him, *Here reſt they for euer,
which in this world haue led an vpright and godly life, following vertue, and deteſting vice*: and after
that turning his face to the other ſide, to haue ſhewed him two great and ſwift riuers, whereof
the one boiled with water blacker than pitch, and in them appeared (as he thought) numbers
of men wallowing and tumbling, ſome vp, ſome down, crying horribly for mercie: *And there*
(ſaid he) *are puniſhed all ſuch as in this fraile life haue bin the malicious workers of iniquity*: the chief
of whom (as he ſaid) were Emperors, kings, princes, and other great men of the world. *Muſtapha*
awaking, and troubled with this melancholie dreame, called vnto him his doctor: and hauing
told him all the matter, asked him what the ſame might ſignifie? who ſtanding a great L
while in a muſe (for the Mahometans are exceeding ſuperſtitious, attributing much to dreams)
full of ſorrow and griefe at length anſwered, That this viſion (for ſo it pleaſed him to terme it)
was vndoubtedly to be feared, as preſaging vnto him the extreame perill of his life, and therefore
requeſted him to haue great care both of his life and honor. But *Muſtapha* as he was of a
notable ſpirit and courage, regarding nothing that anſwer, ſtoutly replied, What, ſhall I ſuffer
my ſelfe to be terrified and ouercome with childiſh & vain feare? why rather haſte I not couragiouſly
& reſolutely to my father? and ſo much the more boldly, becauſe I know aſſuredly
I haue alwaies (as reaſon was) reuerenced his Maieſtie, that againſt his will I neuer turned mine
eyes or foot againſt his moſt roiall ſeat, much leſſe affected his empire, except the moſt high
God had called him to a better life, neither then without the generall good liking & choiſe of M
the whole army, that ſo I might at length without murder, without bloud, without tyrannie,
wel & iuſtly raigne, and in loue & peace inuiolate liue with my brethren: for I haue ſet down
with my ſelfe, and choſen, if it be my fathers pleaſure ſo, rather to die in his obedience, than
raigning many yeares, to be reputed of all men, eſpecially my competitors, a rebell or traitor.

Hauing

A Hauing thus ſaid, he came vnto his fathers campe, & pitching his tents (as we haue before ſaid) ſuted himſelfe all in white, in token of his innocencie, and writing certaine letters (which the Turks when they are about to go to any place of danger, vſe to write, and alwaies to carry with them, for they are wonderfull fooliſh in their ſuperſtition) and putting them in his boſome, attended vpon with a few of his moſt truſtie followers, came with great reuerence towards the tent of his father, fully reſoluing to haue kiſſed his hand, as their vſuall manner is. But when he was come to the entrance of the tent, remembring that he had yet his dagger girt to him, hee entred not vntill he had put it off; becauſe he would not come into his fathers ſight with any weapon, if happily ſo he might cleere himſelfe of his fathers needleſſe ſuſpition. So when he was come into the more inward roomes of the tent, he was with ſuch honour as belonged B to his ſtate cheerfully receiued by his fathers Eunuchs. But ſeeing nothing elſe prouided but one ſeat whereon to ſit himſelfe alone, hee perplexed in mind, ſtood ſtill a while muſing; at length asked where the Emperor his father was? Whereunto they anſwered, That he ſhould by and by ſee him: and with that caſting his eye aſide, he ſaw ſeuen Muts (theſe are ſtrong men bereft of their ſpeech, whom the Turkiſh tyrants haue alwaies in readineſſe, the more ſecretly to execute their bloudie butcherie) comming from the other ſide of the tent towards him: at whoſe ſight ſtrucken with a ſudden terrour, ſaid no more, but *Lo my death*; and with that, ariſing, was about to haue fled: but in vaine, for he was caught hold on by the eunuch and Muts, and by force drawn to the place appointed for his death: where without further ſtay, the Muts caſt a bowſtring about his necke, he poore wretch ſtill ſtriuing, and requeſting that he might C ſpeake but two words to his father before he died. All which the murtherer (for no addition is ſufficient ſignificantly to expreſſe his vnnaturall villanie) both heard and ſaw by a trauers from the other ſide of the tent: but was ſo far from being moued with compaſſion, that thinking it long till he were diſpatched, with a moſt terrible and cruell voice he rated the villains enured to bloud; ſaying, *Will you neuer diſpatch that I bid you? will you neuer make an end of this traitor, for whom I haue not reſted one night theſe ten yeares in quiet?* Which horrible commanding ſpeeches, yet thundering in their eares, thoſe butcherly Muts threw the poore innocent Prince vpon the ground, and with the helpe of the Eunuches forcibly drawing the knotted bow ſtring both wayes, by the commandement of a moſt wicked father, ſtrangled him. With like barbarous crueltie, hee ſhortly after cauſed *Mahomet* his nephew (*Muſtapha* his ſonne) to be ſtrangled D alſo.

Muſtapha commeth to his fathers tent.

Muſtapha moſt cruelly ſtrangled in his fathers ſight.

Mahomet Muſtaphaes ſonne ſtrangled alſo.

This vnnatural & ſtrange murther committed, he preſently commanded the Baſſa of Amaſia *Muſtaphaes* Lieutenant to be apprehended, and his head in his owne preſence to be ſtrucke off. Which done, he ſent for *Tzihanger* the Crooked, yet ignorant of all that was happened; and in ſporting wiſe, as if he had don a thing worth commendations, bid him go meet his brother *Muſtapha*: which thing *Tzihanger* with a merrie and cheerefull countenance haſted to doe, as one glad of his brothers comming. But as ſoone as he came vnto the place where he ſaw his brother lying dead vpon the ground ſtrangled, it is not to be ſpoken how he was in mind tormented. Hee was ſcarcely come to the place where this deteſtable murther was committed, E when his father ſent vnto him certain of his ſeruants to offer vnto him al *Muſtaphaes* treaſure, horſes, ſeruants, jewels, tents, and withall, the gouernment of the Prouince of Amaſia: but *Tzihanger* filled with extreame heauineſſe for the vnmercifull death of his welbeloued brother, ſpake vnto them in this ſort. *A wicked and vngodly* Cain, *traitor (I may not ſay father) take thou now the treaſures, the horſes, the ſeruants, the iewels, and the Prouince of* Muſtapha. *How came it into thy wicked, cruell, and ſauage breaſt, ſo vngratiouſly and contrarie to all humanitie, I will not ſay the reuerence of thine owne bloud, to kill thy worthie, warlike, and noble ſonne, the mirrour of courteſie, and Prince of greateſt hope, the like of whome, the* Othoman *Familie neuer yet had, nor neuer ſhall? I will therefore my ſelfe prouide that thou, nor none for thee ſhall euer hereafter in ſuch ſort ſhamefully triumph ouer a poore crooked wretch.* And hauing thus much ſaid, ſtab'd himſelfe with his owne dagger into the bodie, whereof hee in ſhort time died: Which ſo ſoone as it F came to the old Tygres eares, it is hard to ſay how much hee grieued. His dead bodie was by his fathers commandement carried from Aleppo in Syria, to Conſtantinople, and afterwards honourably buried on the other ſide of the hauen at Pera. For all this bloudie tragedie, his couetous minde was not ſo troubled, but that hee could forthwith command all *Muſtaphaes* treaſures and riches to be brought to his tents which his ſouldiers in hope to haue

Solyman offreth to Tzihanger all Muſtaphaes treaſure and wealth.

Tzihanger for ſorrow killeth himſelfe.

the ſame giuen them for a prey, willingly haſted to performe. In the meane time the ſouldiers which were in *Muſtaphaes* campe, not knowing what was become of their maſter, ſeeing ſuch a multitude of ſouldiers thruſting into their campe without all order; to repreſſe their tumultuous inſolencie, ſtept out in their armour, and notably repulſed them, not without much bloudſhed.

A bloudie tumult betwixt the ſouldiers of Solyman and Muſtapha.

The tumult appeaſed by Achomat Baſſa.

The Ianizaries vp in armes againſt Solyman for the vnworthy death of Muſtapha.

The ſtout ſpeech of Solyman to the Ianizaries.

The fierce anſwere of the Ianizaries to Solyman.

Solyman yeeldeth vnto the Ianizaries.

At length, the noiſe of this ſtir was heard by the reſt of the kings ſouldiers, who ſeeing the tumult to increaſe more and more, ran in to helpe their fellowes; ſo that in ſhort time there began a hot skirmiſh and cruell fight on both ſides, inſomuch that two thouſand were ſlaine, and mo wounded: neither had the broile ſo ended, had not *Achomat Baſſa* a graue captaine, and for his long experience of no ſmall authority amongſt the ſouldiers, kept backe the Ianizaries, and ſtaied their furie; and turning likewiſe to *Muſtaphaes* ſouldiers, by gentle and mild words and courteous perſuaſions, in this manner appeaſed their rage. *What? my brethren* (ſaid hee) *will you now (degenerating from your antient loyaltie, for which you haue beene for ſo many ages commended) impugne the command of the great Sultan our dread ſoueraigne? Truely I cannot ſufficiently maruell what thing ſhould mooue you, whom I haue hitherto prooued to haue beene moſt worthie and valiant ſoldiers, in this ciuill conflict to draw thoſe weapons againſt your fellowes and brethren, which you haue moſt fortunatly vſed againſt the enemies of the* Othoman *Kings: except you meane thereby to make your ſelues a ioyfull ſpectacle vnto your enemies, who grieuing to ſee themſelues ouercome by your victorious weapons, may yet reioyce among themſelues to ſee you turne the ſame one vpon another. Wherefore my ſonnes, for your antient honours ſake, be carefull that you doe not by this your inſolencie loſe the reputation of your wiſedome, loyaltie, and valour; for which you haue hitherto beene aboue all others commended: reſerue theſe your weapons which you haue now too too much vſed among your fellowes, againſt your enemies, of whom you may get more praiſe and honour.* This ſpeech of the old Baſſa, ſo mollified the ſtout ſouldiers, that they freely permitted all that was in *Muſtaphaes* tents to be carried to *Solymans*: but ſo ſoone as the death of *Muſtapha* was blowne into the eares of the Ianizaries and the reſt of the armie in *Solymans* campe, another tumult riſe among them worſe than the firſt. They were quickly all vp in armes againe, and with a great noiſe confuſed with tears and lamentation, as they were in rage and furie, brake violently into *Solymans* pauilion with their drawne ſwords: which ſtrucke the tyrant into ſuch a feare, that deſtitute of all counſell in himſelfe, he was about with the extreame perill of his life to haue fled: but being holden by his friends, and making a vertue of neceſſitie, vpon the ſudden aduentured to do that which at better leiſure hee would ſcarcely haue thought vpon: for going forth out of his tent, but with a pale and wan countenance, he ſpake vnto the enraged ſouldiers thus: *What broile is this? what ſturre? what ſo great inſolencie? what meane your inflamed, fierce and angrie lookes? know you not your Soueraigne? aud him that hath power to command you? Haue you ſo reſolued to ſtaine the antient and inuincible honour of your ſelues and your anceſtours, with the bloud of your Lord and Emperour?* Whileſt he was yet thus ſpeaking, the ſouldiers boldly anſwered, That they denied not, but that he was the man whom they many yeares before had choſen for their Emperour: but in that they had by their owne valour got for him a large and mightie Empire, and in like manner preſerued it; that was therefore of them done, that hee ſhould for the ſame gouerne them vertuonſly and iuſtly, and not to lay his boudy hands without diſcretion vpon euery iuſt man, and moſt wickedly embrue himſelfe with innocent bloud: and that they came thither armed, they did it (as they ſaid) moued with iuſt cauſe to reuenge the vnworthy death of guiltleſſe *Muſtapha*; and that for that matter, he had no iuſt cauſe to be angrie with them. Wherfore they required, that they might publickly cleere themſelues of the treaſon whereof they were accuſed by *Muſtaphaes* enemies, and that the accuſer might be brought forth to iuſtifie his accuſation: proteſting, that they would neuer lay downe their weapons, vntill the accuſer made his appearance in iudgement, and commenced his accuſation iudicially, vpon paine to endure the like puniſhment if he failed in proofe. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, the hainouſneſſe of the late committed fact cauſed euery man to ſhed teares, ſo that *Solyman* himſelfe ſeemed to be ſorie for the murther ſo lately by himſelfe committed: wherefore he promiſed vnto the ſouldiers whatſoeuer they required, and did what he could to appeaſe their angrie minds. For all that, they in the meane time, leſt he ſhould craftily ſlip away and deceiue them of that he had promiſed, and of the expectation of ſuch things as they had required, with a maruellous care and diligence all kept watch and ward.

Ruſtan diſgraced by Solyman, flyeth to Conſtantinople.

Solyman to appeaſe this fury of the Ianizaries, depriued *Ruſtan Baſſa* of all his honours, and tooke from him his ſeale whereof he had the keeping, and deliuered it to *Achomates Baſſa*. But *Ruſtan* worthily ſtrucken with feare and horrour, ſeeing himſelfe now in no ſafetie in his own tents, fled ſecretly to *Achomates*, asking his counſell what were beſt for him to doe, and what courſe to take in ſo doubtful and dangerous a caſe: To whom the Baſſa anſwered, that it were beſt for him to vſe the great Emperors aduiſe, and to do what he commanded. Which anſwer well ſatisfied *Ruſtan*: and ſo he which of late gaue other men acceſſe vnto the Emperor at his pleaſure, was now glad by his old acquaintance and friends to preferre this poore ſute, To know his pleaſure what he would haue him to do: from whom he receiued this anſwer, That he ſhould incontinently without further delay get him out of his ſight, and out of the campe: which the Baſſa ſaid he could not conueniently do, being by his diſpleaſure and the ſouldiers rage diſfurniſhed of all things neceſſarie for his departure. Whereunto *Solyman* ſent him anſwere againe, That he could giue him neither longer time nor delay, and that it were beſt for him without more adoe to be gone for feare of further harme. Whereupon *Ruſtan*, guiltie in conſcience of moſt horrible villanie & treacherie, accompanied but with eight of his moſt faithfull friends in ſtead of his late world of followers, poſted in haſt to Conſtantinople, and there (not without danger of his head) with *Roxolana* and other the complices and contriuers of the treaſon againſt *Muſtapha*, in great feare expected the euent of his fortune.

The miſerable end of Achomates the great Baſſa.

This yong prince *Muſtapha* thus ſhamefully murthered by his own father, was for his rare vertues generally beloued of the Turks: but of the ſouldiers moſt for his martiall diſpoſition, and readines for the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud. The opinion they had conceiued of him was ſuch, and their loue ſo great, that they neuer thought there was any in the *Othoman* family, of whom they expected ſo much for the enlarging of their empire: inſomuch, that euer ſince, when in their priuate or publicke actions they faile of any great hope, they vſe this prouerbe euen at this day taken from him, *Gietti Sultan Muſtapha*, Sultan *Muſtapha* is dead: as who ſhould ſay, our hope is all loſt. *Achomates Baſſa* the great champion of the Turks, a man of exceeding courage, not ignorant of the ſmal aſſurance of the great honors of that ſtate, at ſuch time as he receiued the ſeale from *Solyman*, boldly told him, That as he did then frankly beſtow it vpon him, ſo he would at one time or other to his no leſſe diſgrace take it from him: to whom *Solyman* ſolemnly promiſed with an oath, not to diſplace him ſo long as he liued. For all that, hee had not long enioyed that honor, but that *Solyman* falling in diſlike with him, & willing againe to promote *Ruſtan Baſſa* to that great honour, greater than which there was none in the Turks court, which by reaſon of his oath hee could not doe ſo long as *Achomates* liued: To ſaue his oath, and to preferre his ſon in law (whom he had indeed diſplaced only no pleaſe the tumultuous Ianizaries) reſolued to haue *Achomates* put to death. Of which his purpoſe *Achomates* altogether ignorant, and one morning after his wonted manner comming into the Diuano in al his honour, vpon the ſudden receiued word from *Solyman*, that he muſt preſently die, & forthwith was the hangman readie to haue ſtrangled him, as was giuen him in charge: whom the ſtout Baſſa thruſt from him with his hand, with countenance and cheere in ſhew no more troubled than if the matter had nothing concerned him. And looking a good while round about him, eſpied at laſt an honeſt man whom he had before many times pleaſured, whom hee moſt earneſtly requeſted for all the kindneſſe ſhewed vnto him, to do him that laſt fauour as to ſtrangle him with his owne hand, which ſhould be vnto him the greateſt good turne that he could poſſibly deuiſe, deteſting nothing more than to die with the hand of the executioner. Which thing, when he after much intreatie had vndertaken to performe, *Achomates* willed him, that he ſhould not at one twitch ſtrangle him outright, but letting the bow ſtring ſlacke again, giue him leaue once to breath, & then to diſpatch him: which his requeſt was by his friend accordingly performed, and he in that ſort ſtrangled: wherein it ſeemeth, that he was deſirous, firſt to taſt of death, and not to die all at once. Immediatly after whoſe death, *Ruſtan Baſſa* was again reſtored to his place of chiefe Viſier, and had the great ſeale deliuered vnto him: which honor he enioyed about ſix yeares after, and ſo at laſt died of the dropſie. This was the end of theſe two great Baſſaes *Achomates* and *Ruſtan*, who in that time ſwaied that great Empire, vnder *Solyman*, and of whom we haue ſo much ſpoken. It is reported, that *Solyman* hauing appointed *Achomates* to die, ſhould ſay, It is better for his great heart once to die, than to die a thouſand times, in ſeeing his honour taken from him and beſtowed vpon another.

1554

The Turks gallies by the ſolicitation of the French before brought down into the Tuſcan ſea, did much harme vpon the coaſts of Calabria and Sicilia in this yeare 1554, as they had the yeare before, and ſo did diuers yeares after. At which time alſo *Pandulphus Contarenus* the Venetian Admirall ſcouring alongſt the ſeas, carefully looking to the frontiers of the Venetian eſtate, chanced to meet with the Baſſa of Callipolis, who in the yere before had rifled certaine Venetian Merchants; in reuenge of which iniury he ſet vpon hhm, and after a great ſpoile made both of the Turks and their gallies, he ranſacked Dirrachium then one of the Turks port townes in Dalmatia.

1555

The next yeare 1555, the ſame Baſſa recouered his ſtrength, but not daring to be too buſie with the Venetians, ſurpriſed the Iſlands of Blumbis and Elba, ſubiect to the Duke of Florence, and withall ſent letters to *Solyman*, to perſuade him to take vp armes againſt the Venetians, as they which had broken the league.

1556

Zigeth beſieged by the Baſſa of Buda.

A terrible aſſault.

Zigeth notably defended.

At the ſame time, *Haly* the Baſſa of Buda by policie ſurpriſed the ſtrong caſtle of Baboza in Hungarie: and was in good hope by the like fineneſſe to haue taken the towne and Caſtle of Zigeth, a place of great importance: but failing of his purpoſe, he came the next yere 1556, with a great armie, and the thirteenth day of Iune incamped before the towne, wherein was Gouernor *Marcus Horwath* a valiant captaine, with a garriſon of notable ſouldiers. Shortly after he began a moſt terrible batterie: during which time the Chriſtians ſallying out diuers times, ſlew many of his men; who for all that vſed ſuch diligence, that the twentith of Iune they woon the vttermoſt wall, and after fiue hot aſſaults were in hope at the ſixt to haue woon the caſtle alſo: but the Chriſtians perceiuing the danger, reſolutely ſallied out, and hauing ſlaine eight hundred of them, draue the reſt againe from the wall. Yet the Turks gaue it not ſo ouer, but with a great number of carts labored to haue filled vp the marriſh and ditches about the towne: which their attempt was by the induſtrie of the defendants alſo defeated. The Baſſa perceiuing how hardly the towne would be woon by force, attempted to haue perſuaded them to haue yeelded it vp by compoſition: but failing therein of his purpoſe, began againe the twelfth of Iuly to aſſault the citie, which aſſault he maintained fiue dayes together without intermiſſion, ſtill ſending in freſh men in ſtead of them that were wearied or ſlaine: yet was the citie for all that by the valour of the Chriſtians notably defended. So when he had in vaine proued the vttermoſt of his forces, he raiſed his ſiege the one and twentieth day of Iuly and departed: but within ſix dayes after, he returned from the city Quinque Eccleſiæ, and aſſaulted the citie afreſh; but was at length glad to giue ouer the ſiege and be gone, when he had loſt of his beſt ſouldiers aboue two thouſand, and of the defendants ſlaine but a hundred and twentie. After his departure there was ten thouſand great ſhot found, wherewith he had battered the towne and the caſtle, which was for this time thus worthily defended. The Turks in the meane time after their wonted manner ceaſed not to do what harme they could in the Tuſcane ſea, and had againe miſerably ſpoiled the Iſland of Corſica: for withſtanding of whom the Biſhop of Rome exacted of his people a great ſubſidie, and finely ſtript the Iews of their money, and ſeiſed vpon their rich merchants goods in his territorie. At whoſe earneſt ſuit *Solyman* in their behalfe writ vnto the Biſhop as followeth:

Sultan *Solyman*, moſt mightie Emperour of Emperours, the ſonne of *Selym*, Emperour of Emperours, to whom God giue eternall victorie: to Pope *Paulus* the fourth, greeting.

Solymans Letters to the Pope in behalfe of the Iewes merchants.

*Moſt excellent and moſt mightie Lord of the Profeſſors of the Meſsias Ieſu, and Lord of Rome, the Almightie keepe thee. At ſuch time as thou ſhalt receiue our Seale, thou ſhalt vnderſtand by our Letters, that certaine Hebrewes haue come vnto vs, complaining that they are oppreſſed of thee with ſo grieuous exactions, when they come to traffique at Ancona: This burthen I requeſt thee to take from them, and to reſtore againe vnto them their goods, that thereby they may be able to pay to vs our Tribute: which if thou (as I hope thou wilt) ſhall doe, thou ſhalt feele our fauour. Farewell. From Conſtantinople the laſt of the bleſſed moneth * Rambeluch, in the yeare of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *nine hundred threeſcore and foure.*

* *The ninth of March, Anno 1556.*

Haly Baſſa beſiegeth Zigeth againe.

Haly Baſſa grieued with the late repulſe he had receiued at Zigeth, came againe the next yeare, A yeare, and beſieged it, at which time king *Ferdinand* ſent *Nicholaus Polwiler* and the county *Serinus* with a power raiſed in Sueuia and Auſtria, to recouer Baboza, a caſtle betwixt Zigeth and Stiria, before ſurpriſed by the Turkes: of whoſe comming the Baſſa hauing intelligence, riſe with his armie and departed from Zigeth, which he had for certaine moneths hardly beſieged, and not far from Baboza met with *Polwiler* and *Serinus*; who ioyning battell with him, after a hard and ſharpe fight ouerthrew him and put him to flight. This victory with the comming downe of young *Ferdinand*, king *Ferdinands* ſonne, Archduke of Auſtria with new ſupplies, ſo terrified the Turks in that part of Hungarie along the riuer Drauus, that they for feare forſooke Baboza, Sammartin, San-Laurence, and diuers other ſmal caſtles which they had before taken, and fled to Quinque Eccleſiæ.

Haly Baſſa ouerthrowne.

B The Gouernour of Zigeth encouraged herewith, ſallying out with his garriſon, ſlew many of the Turks in their flight towards Quinque Eccleſiæ, and meeting by chance with a troupe of horſemen which were bringing the Turks pay, ouerthrew them, tooke the money, and ſo with an exceeding rich prey returned to his caſtle. At which time alſo *Adam* the Gouernour of Rab, otherwiſe called Iauarinum, hauing burnt the ſuburbes of Alba Regalis, and driuen away many thouſands of cattell, at a towne called Sian ouerthrew fiue hundred Turkes, and as many fugitiue Chriſtians, and ſo with a great prey and little or no loſſe at all of his men returned.

Henry the French king at the ſame time in warres with *Philip* king of Spaine, and troubled with the loſſe of his armie ouerthrowne not farre from S. Quintins (at which time the duke C *Montmorencie* Conſtable of France and Generall of the armie, with his ſonne and diuers other of the nobilitie of France were taken priſoners) by his Embaſſadour *Michael Condignac* ſolicited *Solyman* to haue by ſea inuaded Naples and Sicilia, ſo to haue withdrawne the Spaniſh forces out of France, to defend their owne frontiers. Which thing *Solyman*, offended with the inſolencie of the Embaſſadour, refuſed to doe: yet neuertheleſſe commanded his aduenturers all alongſt the coaſt of Affricke, to infeſt thoſe ſeas, and to doe what harme they could vpon the coaſt of Italie and Sicilia; which they ſo diligently performed, that the Viceroy of Sicilia was faine for defence of thoſe countries to lie in readineſſe with his gallies in the ports of Caieta and Naples.

Henry the French king ſoliciteth Solyman to inuade the king of Spaine his territories.

In the meane time the *Guiſe*, Lord Grand Prior of the Knights of S. *Iohns* in France (and D brother of *Francis* the duke of *Guiſe*, Generall of the French Kings armie in Italie, who vpon the ouerthrow receiued at S. Quintins, called out of Italie, ſhortly after tooke Calais) Admirall of the gallies of Malta, went out toward the Eaſt with foure gallies well appointed, to lie in wait for the Turks, and by fortune met with two great ſhips laded with the Turks merchandiſe, which he tooke; and by and by after, light vpon foure of the Turks gallies, with whome he had a great fight: yet at length hauing ſunke one of them and burnt another, he tooke the other two. After which victorie returning towards Malta to haue repaired his gallies and cured his wounded men, he was met with foure other great gallies of the Turks: who deſirous to reuenge the loſſe of their fellowes, ſet vpon him, and he ſeeing now no remedie, but that he muſt needs fight couragiouſly, encountered them. But foraſmuch as he had in the two fights E before loſt ſome of his men, and 72 of the knights in the gallies lay ſore wounded, he, by the counſell of the captaines retired towards Malta: but by the way one of his gallies was taken by the Turkes, with 52 knights of the Order: yet with the reſt and the prizes before taken, he recouered the Iſland of Malta, where hee ſtaied that Winter; and the next Spring ſailed into France to be partaker of thoſe troubles, which beginning ſhortly after, haue but of late taken end.

The Guiſe, Lord Grand Prior in France, Admirall of Malta, taketh certaine of the Turkes gallies.

The immoderat fortune of the great Sultan *Solyman*, was not in any thing more contrarie to his deſire, than in the proofe of thoſe his children, of whom the world held the greateſt expectation. *Muſtapha* his eldeſt ſon, the mirrour of courteſie, and rare hope of the whole Turkiſh nation, the ſuſpitious tyrant had moſt vnnaturally cauſed to be murthered in his own preſence, F to the griefe of all his ſubiects in generall, as is before declared: poore *Tzihanger* was dead for ſorrow: and *Mahometes* his eldeſt ſonne by his beſt beloued the faire *Roxolana*, was departed this life alſo. So that now remained vnto him onely *Selymus*, the vnworthie heire of ſo great an empire, and *Baiazet* his younger brother, the liuely image of his father, both men growne, and the ſonnes of the ſame *Roxolana*: but ſo far differing the one from the other both in feature

Solyman in nothing more vnfortunate than in the proofe of his children.

of

Baiazet Solymans younger ſonne ſeeketh to aſpire vnto the Empire.

The crafty dealing of the ſuppoſed Muſtapha to deceiue the people.

A counterfeit Muſtapha ſet vp to make a head of rebellion.

of bodie and diſpoſition of mind, as if they had not bin of the ſame kindred and line. *Selymus* the elder brother moſt like vnto his mother, was in the ſecret determination of the aged Emperor his father appointed heire of that moſt mightie empire. *Baiazet* much reſembling his father, was on the other ſide ſtrongly ſupported by the care and entire loue of his mother: which whether it proceeded of a ſecret commiſeration of his ineuitable deſtiny, or that hee had by loyaltie or other means ſo woon her fauor, is not knowne; but euery man ſaw, that if it had lien in her power, ſhe would vndoubtedly haue preferred him before his elder brother *Selymus*, & haue placed him in the empire: but ſhe muſt needs giue way to her old husbands will, firmly and irremouably ſet downe, that the Deſtinies ſo permitting, none ſhould raigne after him but his eldeſt ſon *Selymus*. Of which his purpoſe and reſolution *Baiazet* being not ignorant, began moſt circumſpectly to looke about him, if he could by any means fruſtrat that forcible neceſſitie, and exchange his certaine deſtruction with an empire: in which his deep and dangerous cogitations he was not a little comforted by the fauor & loue of *Roxolana* his mother, & of *Ruſtan* the great Baſſa his brother in law, who together had in any other matter bin able to haue ouerruled the aged Emperor. Whereupon he reſolutely ſet downe himſelfe, rather to end his daies by making proofe of his good or bad fortune, than vpon the death of his father (which by courſe of nature could not now be far off) to be as a ſacrifice baſely butchered by ſome vile hangman of his brothers. *Baiazet* ſo reſolued, and now already fallen out with his brother *Selymus*, tooke occaſion vpon the generall diſcontentment of the people & others, for the vnworthy death of *Muſtapha* their late ioy, to begin thoſe ſtirs which hee had before with himſelfe plotted, & ſo to make a head, whereunto he might afterward ioine the body alſo: for why, that worthy *Muſtapha* had left behind him ſo great deſire of himſelf, that now it wearied many to liue after him, they had ſo placed al the hope of their good fortune in him, vnto whom nothing was more deſired than to reuenge the wrong don vnto him, or els to run the ſame hard fortune with him: otherſome guilty of the immoderat affection they had born vnto him yet liuing, & fearing to be called to giue an account thereof, thought any ſtate better and more aſſured than that wherein they preſently ſtood, & therefore ſought all occaſions of new ſtirs, and how to ſet all on a hurly burly: onely a captaine was wanting, *Muſtapha* could not be again reuiued, yet might he be ſtrongly ſuppoſed to liue. This deuice pleaſed *Baiazet*, as beſt fitting his purpoſe, being not ignorant of this diſpoſition of the people. Wherefore by certaine of his moſt faithfull and truſtie followers he found out a certaine obſcure fellow of a notable audacitie, which ſhould take vpon him the name & perſon of *Muſtapha*, whoſe ſtature alſo & countenance and proportion of bodie differed not much from *Muſtapha* himſelfe: hee, as if hee had by chance eſcaped, firſt began to ſhew himſelfe in that part of Thracia, which is aboue Conſtantinople, & lieth toward Danubius, not far from the countries of Moldauia & Valachia, & was for that cauſe both fitteſt for rebellion, & alſo beſt ſtored with horſemen, who of all others moſt honored *Muſtapha*. Hither he comes as if it had bin from a long iourney, ſlenderly accompanied, and as if he had bin deſirous at the firſt not to haue bin known; his followers being demanded (as it chanced) who it was, did rather fearefully giue them that asked occaſion to gheſſe, than plainly to tell them, that it was *Muſtapha*: neither did he himſelfe much denie it: whereby the people became more and more deſirous to know him. Which beginning thus laied, he afterward began to reioice of his fortunat comming thither, & to giue God thanks for his ſafe arriuall there amongſt his friends: he tels them, That at ſuch time as he was ſent for by his father, hee durſt not come into his ſight, or commit himſelfe vnto him in his furie, but by the counſell of his friends to haue with great promiſes perſuaded one that was maruellous like vnto himſelfe to go in his ſtead; by whoſe danger he might make proofe of his fathers minde towards him: who before he was admitted to the ſpeech of his father, was without hearing miſerably ſtrangled, and ſo caſt out before his pauilion: at which time there was many (as he ſaid) which perceiued the deceit, but the greater part remained in errour, deceiued with the lineaments and countenance of the miſerable dead man, who was much altered with the terrible paines of death, and ſuppoſing it to haue been him indeed that was ſlaine. Which thing as ſoone as hee vnderſtood, he thought it not good longer to ſtay, but preſently to flie and to prouide for his owne ſafetie: and ſo flying with a few of his owne folowers, thereby the more ſecretly and ſafely to eſcape; and hauing paſſed aboue Pontus by the people of Boſphorus, was now come thither, where hee was in good hope to finde much helpe and com-

fort

A ſort in the fidelitie of his friends, whom he requeſted not now to forſake him, or to make leſſe
account of him diſgraced by the malice of his ſtepmother, than they had before in time of his
proſperitie. For that he was aminded to reuenge the iniurie done vnto him, and by force of
armes to defend himſelfe: for what els he now left? being by no other meanes preſerued, but
by the death of another man: that he had ſufficiently proued how his father ſtood affected towards
him, and that he now liued by his miſtaking, not by his kindnes. The cauſe of all which
his troubles was his ſtepdame, who (as he ſaid) with her inchantments led the ſilly old man
(now almoſt doating for age, and mad for loue) whither ſhe would at her pleaſure, and by her
agent ***Ruſtan Baſſa*** forced him forward headlong into all kinde of miſchiefe: but that God be
thanked he wanted not his friends, by whoſe help he would finde a way out of theſe miſeries,
B & take reuenge of his enemies: for why, he had as yet couragious hearts, & the Ianizaries with
the greater part of his fathers family on his ſide, & that great multituds of people would flock
vnto him vpon brute of his name: ſo that they which did now mourn for him as dead (in number
many) would by heaps run to help him being aliue: ſo that they there preſent would only
curteouſly receiue him as a gueſt, & protect him now diſtreſſed, til ſuch time as his welwillers
& friends might repaire vnto him. And this at laſt he gaue out not in ſecret, but openly to all
men whereſoeuer he came. The ſame things did they alſo report, whom he made the people
to beleeue to haue been the companions of his flight: which was alſo confirmed by diuers of
good account & authority, whom ***Baiazet*** had before dealt withall to that purpoſe. So that a
C great number of men altogether vnknown to ***Baiazet***, were by that means ſeduced: for this matter
was ſo cunningly wrought, that many of them that had known ***Muſtapha*** aliue, & ſeen him
laid dead before his fathers pauilion, yet liſted not greatly to beleeue that which they knew,
but eaſily ſuffred themſelues to be perſuaded that this was the true ***Muſtapha***. But the companions
and followers of ***Muſtapha*** (in whoſe mindes the liuely countenance and remembrance
of him was thorowly ingrauen) nothing could deceiue: yet blinded partly with feare,
partly with griefe & deſire of reuenge, & wiſhing rather to aduenture any thing, than longer to
liue without ***Muſtapha***, were the firſt men that came to offer their ſeruice to this counterfeit
Muſtapha: & would not ſuffer other men to doubt but that this was the very ***Muſtapha***, which it
was falſly reported to haue bin ſlain. As for the deceiuer himſelfe, he either kept with him, or
D entertained them that came, ſome with faire promiſes, ſome with curteous ſpeeches, & many
alſo with mony & rewards, which he made them beleeue he had reſerued of the relicks of his
better fortune: for ***Baiazet*** had before notably prouided, that nothing ſhould in this behalfe be
wanting vnto him for the countenancing of his credit. So within the ſpace of a few daies ſuch
a multitude of men was reſorted vnto him, as might almoſt haue made a whole army. When
Solyman vpon the ſudden was aduertiſed by the fearefull meſſengers & letters of the Sanzacks
therabouts, what a danger was like to enſue by the concourſe of ſo great a multitude of people
to this counterfeit ***Muſtapha***: he preſently ſuſpecting (as the truth was) that this was not done
without the priuity of one of his ſons, thought it not a thing to be neglected, & therefore by
his letters reproued the Sanzacks therby, that they had ſuffred the matter to run ſo far, & had
E not in the beginning as their duty was ſuppreſſed the ſame, grieuouſly threatning them, if they
did not with all ſpeed ſend vnto him in bonds that counterfeit companion with the reſt of his
complices. Which that it might be the eaſilier by them performed, he promiſed to ſend one of
the chief Baſſa's, namely ***Partan Baſſa*** (who had maried the widow of ***Mahometes*** the eldeſt ſon
of ***Roxolana***, of whom we haue before remembred) & with him a ſtrong power of the ſouldiers
of the court: but if they would haue themſelues excuſed, that they ſhould of themſelues diſpatch
the matter before the comming of that aid. This ***Partan*** led after him certain ſquadrons
of ſoldiers, not ſo many in number, as notable for their fidelity: for ***Solyman*** had cauſed the moſt
faithful of his colonels, captains, & corporals, to be culled out, wiſely doubting leſt his ſoldiers,
either led with affection, or corrupted with reward, might take part with him againſt whom
F they were ſent. For the common ſort of the Ianizaries ſtanding in ſuſpence at the fame of ***Muſtapha***,
& expectation of ſome great nouelty, fauored that broile, & wiſhed all on a hurlyburly:
neither was the matter indeed without danger. The Sanzackes after they had receiued this
ſtrait charge from ***Solyman***, conſidering how much it ſtood them vpon to make a ſpeedie diſpatch;
began now to incourage one another to beſtir themſelues, to make all the ſpeed poſſible,
and with all their power on euery ſide to oppoſe themſelues againſt the attempts of this

Solyman angrie with the Sanzackes, for not ſuppreſſing the ſuppoſed Muſtapha, ſendeth Partan Baſſa againſt him.

new found *Muſtapha*, laboring to ſtay ſuch as were comming vnto him, and to diſperſe ſuch as G
were already come, by ſhewing them the greatnes of the danger, & threatening them with all
extremities. In the mean time *Partan Baſſa* came on with his army, & was not now far off: when
(as in like caſe it oftentimes falleth out in things not yet ſufficiently confirmed, and by celeritie
preuented) the ſouldiers of the counterfeit *Muſtapha* ſeeing themſelues beſet on euery ſide,
began to feare, and at firſt ſome few to ſlip away; but afterwards all, without regard of ſhame
or of their promiſe, to forſake their captaine and flie euery man whither he thought beſt. The
captain ſeeking likewiſe to haue made ſhift for himſelfe, was with the chiefe of his counſellors
and followers taken by the Sanzacks and deliuered to the Baſſa, who with a ſtrong guard ſent
them all in bonds to Conſtantinople: where *Solyman* by moſt exquiſite torments drew from
them all the ſecret deuices of his yong ſon *Baiazet*, and that he had purpoſed after ſuch a head H
made by this ſuppoſed *Muſtapha*, as he thought conuenient, to haue vpon the ſudden ioyned
himſelfe with a great power, and ſo as ſhould beſt ſerue for his purpoſe, to haue gone directly
to Conſtantinople, or els againſt his brother *Selymus*. But whilſt he goeth ſomwhat too ſlowly
about his buſineſſe, his vnripe counſels were by his fathers celeritie oppreſſed. Of all which
matter *Solyman* now thorowly aſſured, cauſed the ſuppoſed *Muſtapha* and his companions at
midnight to be drowned in the ſea; thinking it not good to haue theſe things commonly
knowne, and to haue his domeſticall wounds yet bleeding, laid open to the view of his neighbor
Princes. Neuertheles being mightily offended with *Baiazet* for ſo great an inſolencie, hee
ceaſed not to caſt in his mind how to be reuenged vpon him; which his wife *Roxolana*, a woman
of great wiſdome, was not ignorant of. Who after a few days, at ſuch time as the old mans I
fury was ouerpaſt, falling of purpoſe into talke with him about the matter, ſhe laid together in
her ſons behalfe, and alledged the indiſcreetneſſe of youth, the neceſſity of the fact, and the example
of his anceſtors in like caſe, that it was ſo prouided for by nature, that euery man ſhould
be carefull of himſelfe and his, and that all men did indifferently ſhun death, that young men
were by euill counſell eaſily ſeduced and made to forget their dutie. That it were reaſon hee
ſhould forgiue him this firſt fault; which if he amended, then was it a great gain for the father
to haue ſaued his ſon: but if he ſhould again fall into relapſe, there would not want time to puniſh
him for both faults: And that if ſo be he would not pardon him for his own ſake; yet he
would vouchſafe to pardon him for hers, entreating now for him for whom ſhe had before
groaned, and not to be cruell vpon him, one of the pledges of their loue, in whome reſted the K
bloud of them both: for in what wofull caſe ſhould ſhe be, if of thoſe two ſons (all that God
had left her) the fathers ſeuerity ſhould bereaue her of the one? Wherfore ſhe requeſted him
to moderat his anger, & to prefer his clemencie before his iuſt indignation: foraſmuch as God
himſelfe of all power and might, did not alwaies deale with ſinners in ſeueritie, but for moſt
part in mercie; whereas otherwiſe all mankind would not ſuffice his wrath. And would mercie
in any place be more fitting, than in the father towards his child? Shee promiſed further,
that *Baiazet* ſhould from thenceforth remain in moſt dutifull obedience towards his Maieſty;
& vpon his ſo great clemencie, to conuert the feare wherin he now liued, into a world of dutie
and deuotion. Honorable minds (ſhe ſaid) were retained with nothing more than with kindeneſſe
and curteſie; that the remembrance of that his fatherly forgiueneſſe ſhould be a ſtay vnto L
him, for euer doing the like againe: at laſt, that ſhe would promiſe for him, and take vpon her,
that he ſhould for euer afterwards ſatisfie his fatherly expectation in all kind of dutie & loyaltie.
Which words mingled with teares and other womanly geſtures, ſo wrought with *Solyman*,
being otherwiſe too much in her power, that he reſolued to forgiue the fault: yet ſo, that hee
ſhould come and ſubmit himſelfe, and receiue from him his charge. This carefull mother foreſlowes
no time, but by letters ſecretly aduertiſed *Baiazet* not to feare to come vnto his father
at ſuch time as he ſhould be ſent for: aſſuring him that there was no danger, for that his father
was by her means appeaſed, and he againe brought into his fauor. With which good news *Baiazet*
well comforted, reſolued to go at ſuch time as he was ſent for: yet full of feare, and oftentimes
looking backe vnto his brother *Muſtapha*, whoſe dreadfull example ſufficiently warned M
him what a danger he aduentured himſelfe vnto. Yet he came to the place appointed for
the parley, which was in a common Inne at a place called Careſtran a few miles from Conſtantinople:
for ſuch is the ſuſpicious manner of the Turkiſh Tyrants of theſe times, not to
ſuffer any of their ſonnes that be men growne, to ſet their foot within the gates of Conſtantinople,

Muſtapha and his companions drowned by night.

Roxalana intreteth Solymā for Baiazet her yonger ſon, and obtaineth his pardon.

Baiazet goeth to his Father in feare.

A nople, as dangerous for ſoliciting the ſoldiers of the court, and ſo conſequently for the altering of the State. *Baiazet* was no ſooner lighted from his horſe, but his fathers gard was preſently readie to receiue him, commanding him to lay aſide his ſword and dagger: which thing though it be a vſuall matter in others that are admitted to the preſence of the Turkiſh Emperour, yet might it then in the mind of his guiltie ſon raiſe a great feare. But his kind mother (who had before foreſeene in what feare and perplexitie he would come) had conueied her ſelfe into a chamber faſt by the entrance of the ſame houſe as *Baiazet* was to paſſe, where out at a little caſement couered with a thin linnen cloath, ſhee called vnto him in paſſing by, in theſe few words, *Corcoma oglan, corcoma*; which is as much to ſay, *Feare not my ſon, feare not*: with which ſhort ſpeech *Baiazet* was not a little both comforted and encouraged. B But as ſoone as he was come into his fathers preſence, and had done his dutie, *Solyman* commanded him to ſit downe by him: then began the grim ſire grieuouſly to reproue him of raſhneſſe and want of diſcretion in taking vp armes, which he could not otherwiſe conceiue of but as taken vp againſt himſelfe. And admit they were as he would haue it, and the beſt that he could make of it, taken vp againſt his elder brother, yet was it neuertheleſſe a great preſumption and moſt wicked fact. Neither was there any want in him, but that the whole ſtate of the Mahometan religion (which at this day reſteth vpon the *Othoman* Family) had by his domeſticall diſcord bin ſore ſhaken, and brought in perill of vtter ruine, to the great iniurie, reproch, and contempt of his Maieſtie, a moſt deteſtable and horrible crime, which could not with condigne puniſhment be reuenged. Yet for all that, he had determined to pardon him, & to ſhew himſelfe rather a kind C father, than a ſeuere judge; ſo that he would from thenceforth leaue the care of future things to God: foraſmuch as none of theſe things are done by our appointment, but that kingdomes and monarchies are beſtowed as beſt pleaſeth him: ſo that if it were his deſtinie to enioy the Empire after his death, he ſhould be ſure thereof as of a thing that would of it ſelfe come vnto him, and was not by any mans power to be kept from him, as that which was by God ordained for him: but if it were otherwiſe appointed by God, then were it a mad thing for him to labor in vain to ſtriue againſt the will of God, and as it were to fight with God. Wherfore he ſhould now as one well warned, ceaſe to rage and ſtorme, and not to moleſt his quiet brother, or trouble him his aged father: for that if he ſhould againe fall and raiſe new ſtirs, it would aſſuredly fall vpon his owne head, neither would any place of mercie be found for his ſecond offence, D and that he ſhould then find him not as now, his gentle father, but a moſt ſeuere and reuenging judge. Which when he had ſaid, and *Baiazet* had therunto briefly anſwered as the time would permit, rather crauing pardon for his treſpaſſe, than excuſing that was not to be excuſed; and promiſing from thenceforth to liue moſt loyally at his command; *Solyman* according to the manner of that nation called for drinke, which he commanded to be giuen to *Baiazet*, who not daring to refuſe it, although he had rather haue ſo done, dranke thereof what he thought good, doubting leſt that ſhould haue bin his laſt: of which feare his father forthwith deliuered him by drinking a good draught of the ſame cup. So *Baiazet*, though guiltie, hauing with better ſucceſſe ſpoken with his father than had his brother *Muſtapha*, returned againe to the former place of his charge.

Roxolana comforteth her Son Baiazet.

Solyman reproueth Baiazet of diſloyaltie, and afterward pardoneth him.

Baiazet returneth to his charge.

E This hapned in the yeare 1555, from which time *Baiazet* ſo long as *Roxolana* his mother liued, behaued himſelfe with all dutifull & brother kindnes both towards his father & his brother; and that rather for to keepe her fauor, and not to cut off the hope which he had onely in her affection towards him, than for any confidence he had in his fathers kindnes, or for any loue he bare to his brother; the regard of her being the onely thing that kept his fierce nature in quiet. But ſhe dead about two yeres after, he as a man bereft of all hope of long life, & diſcharged of all bonds of dutie, fell to his former courſe, & began more grieuouſly than before, to reuiue the old grudges betwixt him and his brother, ſometime ſeeking by ſecret practiſes to haue him made away, and other ſomtimes by open force entring into his prouince, which was not far off, there euil intreated ſome of his brothers followers as he light vpon, for their maF ſters ſake, omitting nothing which he thought might tend to the diſgrace of him whom of all other he wiſhed dead. He had alſo certain of his fauorits at Conſtantinople, by whom he cunningly wrought by al means to gain the loue of the ſoldiers of the court, & doubted not as occaſion ſerued to paſſe ouer thither himſelf, and there to lurke in ſecret with ſuch as were of his faction, and priuie to his deſignements. Of all which things *Solyman* had knowledge, but

eſpecially by letters from *Selymus*, wherin he was alſo aduiſed to haue care of his own ſafety; G
for that he was far deceiued, if he perceiued not, that theſe preambles of *Baiazets* wicked intentions,
would at laſt turn vpon his head, who regarded neither God nor man, ſo that he might alone
raigne: vnto whoſe vnruly deſires his fathers welfare was no leſſe a bar, than was his brothers,
and therfore through his ſides was his life ſhot at. which treaſon had (as he ſaid) been of
long time plotted, and now occaſion ſought to haue the ſame performed: wherfore he ſhould
take heed that he were not by ſuch trecherie ouerwhelmed before he were aware therof: That
for himſelfe he could eaſily beare with the iniuries of his brother *Baiazet*, yet could not chuſe
but be moued with the greatneſſe of his fathers dangers. By which meanes *Solymans* hatred againſt
Baiazet was ſtill more and more increaſed. Wherfore he by letters put him in remembrance
of his dutie, how curteouſly he had vſed him, and again what he had on his part promiſed; H
that there would not alwaies be place for forgiuenes; that he ſhould therefore ceaſe to
wrong his brother and trouble his father; that he had but a ſhort time to liue, and that after his
death God would aſſigne each of them their fortunes. But all this was to no purpoſe with *Baiazet*,
fully ſet down to hazard whatſoeuer, rather than as a beaſt to haue his throat cut by his
brother: which thing he as plainely ſaw would betide him in the raigne of *Selymus*, as if it had
bin euen then in execution. Yet he anſwered to his fathers commands not impertinently, but
his deeds agreed not with his ſayings, neither did he alter any thing of his intended purpoſe.
Which thing as ſoone as *Solyman* perceiued, he thought it beſt to take another courſe, and to
remoue his ſons both farther from himſelfe, and alſo farther the one from the other. Wherefore I
he gaue them to vnderſtand, That it was his pleaſure that both of them within a certaine
prefixed time ſhould depart out of their gouernments (*Baiazet* being then gouernor of Cutai,
and *Selymus* of Magneſia) and that now *Baiazet* ſhould remoue to Amaſia, and *Selymus* to Iconium.
Selymus was without imputation, and altogether in fauor with his father: yet becauſe
no occaſion ſhould be giuen *Baiazet* to fall into extremities if he ſhould haue been remoued alone,
Solyman to ſeeme indifferent, commanded them both to remoue: vnto which command
it was adioined, that the farther they were off one from another, they ſhould be ſo much the
neerer in mind and brotherly loue: foraſmuch as neereneſſe of dwelling of the Great, did manie
times hinder their good agreement, whileſt by forwardneſſe of officers many things are on
both ſides done to the grieuing of their maſters: and that they ſhould in any caſe doe as they K
were commanded, and that he which ſtaied longeſt ſhould not be free from the ſuſpition of
contempt. *Selymus* made no long ſtay, as he that knew a great part of all this to be done for his
ſake; but *Baiazet* hung backe, and being gone a little on his way, ſtaied, complaining of the vnlucky
prouince of Amaſia, ſtained with the blond of his late brother the noble *Muſtapha*, to be
aſſigned vnto him as ominous, and that he could be better contented with any prouince whatſoeuer,
than that, where the deadly remembrance of the miſerable end of the neereſt to him in
bloud, ſhould be euer before his eies, to the wounding of his heart: Wherefore he requeſted
that he might at leaſt Winter in thoſe places, or els there from whence his brother was now
departed: but *Solyman* would in no wiſe hearken vnto him. Now *Selymus* gon before certaine
daies iournies with ſuch troups as his father had ſent him beſide his owne, for feare of *Baiazet*, L
who yet ſtaid loitring and trifling on the time, ſuddenly returning and fetching a compaſſe about,
ſhewed himſelfe at his brothers backe, marching towards Pruſa in Bythinia, the antient
ſeat of the Turkiſh kings; which he did not without the priuitie of his father, who liked not
of the lingring of *Baiazet*: for what if he, hauing gained the good will of the Ianizaries, ſhould
haue gon either to Pruſa, or directly to Conſtantinople? what a danger might haue growne
therby to *Selymus*, yea vnto the whole ſtate in general? In this common feare, *Solyman* thought
it beſt for *Selymus* there to ſtay, from whence they might moſt conueniently help one another,
if *Baiazet* ſhould (as was feared) turne himſelfe vpon either of them. Yet was not *Selymus* ſo
ſtrong as to aduenture to ioine battell with his brother, whom he knew readie to put all to
the hazard of one day. But when *Baiazet* (contrary to his expectation) ſaw *Selymus* behind him,
and that he had got nothing by his long delay, but that his brother ſhould be the vndoubted M
heire of the empire if his father ſhould die, which was then by reaſon of his ſickly conſtitution
of bodie daily more and more feared; he writ vnto his father, accuſing his brother, That he
could not more manifeſtly in any thing declare how maliciouſly he was affected towards him,
than by taking that indirect courſe, to no other purpoſe but to aſpire vnto the Empire, and to

haue

Solyman admoniſheth Baiazet of his dutie.

Solyman remoueth his two ſonnes farther aſunder.

Baiazet vnwilling to go to Amaſia, ſeeketh delaies.

A haue a ſhort cut ouer to Conſtantinople, if he ſhould haue any news of his fathers death, which he ſtil gaped after: which his longing, if his fathers longer life ſhould delay, then by the ſecret miniſters of his treaſon to diſpatch him, and by the murdering of him to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the empire: and yet neuertheleſſe, this man as a moſt dutifull and obedient ſonne, to be of him much made of, and as it were put in his boſome. Wheras he on the contrary part meaning wel, into whoſe conceit neuer any ſuch thought came, but was euer at command, was not had in any regard, but caſt off and contemned, whoſe greateſt requeſt was but to ſhun an vnfortunat ominous prouince. After that, he conuerted his ſtile to prayers, requeſting againe of his father, to gratifie him with ſome other prouince, if it were but that from which his brother was departed, or with any other whatſoeuer, ſo that it were more luckie than that of Amaſia: for anſwer B whereof he ſaid he would ſtay where he was, to the end that finding fauour in his requeſt, hee ſhould not haue need further to retyre: but if he ſhould not obtaine his requeſt, that then he was readie to go whitherſoeuer his father ſhould command. It was not altogither for nought that *Baiazet* found fault with Amaſia; being the manner of the Turks, of the ſmalleſt things of all to diuine vpon the greateſt. But *Solyman* vnderſtood the matter otherwiſe, who not ignorant of his ſons teares, knew right well, that he in them ſought for nothing els but a more commodious place for him to raiſe new ſtirs in, than was Amaſia, ſo far diſtant from Conſtantinople. So *Baiazet* by many delaies did what he could to fruſtrat his fathers appointment, ceaſing not in the meane time to augment his ſtrength with new ſoldiers, to prouide armor, mony, and whatſoeuer els ſeruing for defence of himſelfe, and the impugning of his brother. Which C *Solyman* tooke in no other part, than as intended againſt his owne perſon: yet would he ſeeme as not to haue any ſuch vnderſtanding of the matter: for why, the warie old ſire would not by taking knowledge thereof, driue headlong his ſon, who was alreadie running too faſt of himſelfe. Beſides that, he was not ignorant that the eyes of all nations were bent vpon this diſcord of his two ſons; and therefore he deſired by all means, that theſe grudges might be with as little ſtir as was poſſible, appeaſed. Wherfore he anſwered *Baiazet* curteouſly, That concerning his gouernment of Amaſia, he could not alter it, as reſolutely ſet downe as well for his brother as himſelfe, and that therefore they ſhould do well to go both to their appointed places, as he had before commanded. As for the reſt, they ſhould be of good comfort, for that hee would take ſuch order, as that neither of them ſhould haue iuſt cauſe to complaine. *Partan Baſſa* the D fourth of the great Baſſa's of the court was appointed to go with this meſſage to *Baiazet*, and *Mehemet* third of the ſame great Baſſa's with like charge to *Selymus*, becauſe the matter ſhould ſeeme to be done with all indifferencie: and both of theſe great men commanded not to depart from them they were ſent vnto, before they were both come vnto the places of their gouernment whereunto they were aſſigned. Which *Solyman* wiſely did, to keepe them both within the compaſſe of dutie by the preſence of ſuch two graue counſellors. Which thing *Selymus* tooke in good part, but *Baiazet* not ſo: who hauing reſolued with himſelfe to ſet all on a hurly burly, thought nothing more vnfit for his deſignes, than to haue one of his fathers greateſt counſellors ſtill at his elbow as Cenſor of all his ſpeeches and doings: wherfore hauing curteouſly entertained him, and rewarded him according to his abilitie, he diſmiſſed him (though E vnwilling to depart) making this excuſe, That he would vſe him as his patron and defender with his father, foraſmuch as he had no other in court to defend his cauſe, promiſing not to be vnto him an vnworthie or vnthankfull client: and to carry word backe againe vnto his father, That he would aboue all things haue care of his command, if he might ſo do for his brother *Selymus*, whoſe iniuries and trecheries he had much adoe to brooke. *Partan* the great Baſſa ſo ſent away, aſſured *Solyman* what the very mind and purpoſe of his yonger ſon was. And albeit that *Baiazet* to make it ſeeme as if ſomthing had been done by that embaſſage, made ſhew as if he would haue preſently gone towards Amaſia: yet *Solyman* neuertheleſſe fearing the worſt, made al the preparation he could againſt him, commanding the Beglerbeg of Græce, although then ſicke of the gout, to make haſt, and with his horſemen to paſſe ouer with all ſpeed to aid F *Selymus*: and *Mehemet* Baſſa but lately returned, he ſent forthwith backe again for the ſame purpoſe to *Selymus*, with certain of the moſt truſtie companies of the Ianizaries; and the old man in readineſſe, made ſemblant as if he would himſelfe in perſon haue gone ouer alſo. But the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court came with euill will together, deteſting that warre betweene the brethren, as altogether abhominable: for againſt whom ſhould they draw their

Solyman to bee ſure that his two ſons ſhould goe to their appointed Prouinces, ſendeth Partan and Mehemet, two of the Viſier Baſſa's, to ſee thē brought thither.

Baiazet ſendeth Partan Baſſa backe againe to his father.

Solyman makes preparation againſt Baiazet, and ſendeth aid to Selymus.

The Ianizaries vnwilling to go againſt Baiazet.

ſwords? was it not againſt the Emperors ſon, and happily the heire of the empire? Wherfore G
this war might (as they ſaid) well enough be let alone, as altogither vnneceſſarie, and not they
to be inforced to imbrue their hands one in anothers bloud, & to pollute themſelues with ſuch
impietie: as for that which *Baiazet* did, was to be holden excuſed, as proceeding from neceſſitie.
Which ſpeeches of the Ianizaries being brought to *Solymans* eares, he forthwith declared
them to the Muphti (who in all matters of doubt they flee vnto as vnto a moſt ſacred Oracle)
demanding of him, how he was to be intreated, who of himſelfe preſumed whiles he yet
liued, to leuie ſoldiers, raiſe an armie, ranſacke townes, and trouble the ſtate of the whole Empire?
and what alſo he deemed of them that were his followers and tooke part with him: and
laſt of all, of them alſo that refuſed to beare armes againſt him, and ſaid that he had in ſo doing
nothing offended? Whereunto the Muphti anſwered, That both the man and his part-takers H
were all worthy of death, & that ſuch as refuſed to take vp arms againſt him, were as prophane
and irreligious men, to be accounted inteſtable. Which the great prieſts anſwer was publiſhed
vnto the people, and by the chiefe Chiaus ſent to *Baiazet*, to ſee if he might be therewith moued.
Within a few days after, there came to Conſtantinople one of the Chiaus (whom *Baiazet*
had intercepted, being ſent from *Solyman* to *Selymus*) by whom *Baiazet* gaue his father to vnderſtand,
That he was in all dutie his, and that he had not taken vp armes againſt him, neither
refuſed to be vnto him in all things obedient; but that he had only to do with his brother, and
with him to fight for his life, by whoſe ſword he muſt die, or els he by his, for that a miſchief
was to be by one of them performed: which quarrel he was reſolued to trie whiles he yet liued, I
and that therefore he ſhould do beſt not to meddle in the quarrell, or giue aid to either.
But if ſo be he would needs (as the report was) paſſe ouer the ſea to aid *Selymus*, he ſhould not
thinke eaſily to get him into his hands, for that he knew right well, if the worſt came, how to
eſcape and ſaue himſelfe, and would before he could get ouer into Aſia, make ſuch ſpoile with
fire and ſword, as neuer had *Tamerlane* or other the crucleſt enemy of the Turks that euer was.
Which meſſage did not a little trouble *Solyman*. And withall it was reported, That the towne
of Axuar, where one of *Selymus* his ſons ruled as Sanzacke, was alreadie taken by *Baiazet* and
ſhamefully ſacked. But *Selymus* hearing that his brother was gon toward Amaſia, and now on
his way as far as Ancyra, being out of all ſuſpition of danger which he feared vpon the way
ſo long as his brother was yet lingring in thoſe quarters, haſted now towards Iconium, which K
was with a ſtrong gariſon kept for him: for amongſt other cares wherwith *Solyman* was vexed,
it was not the leaſt, That *Baiazet* intercepting Iconium, ſhould get into Syria, and from thence
into Ægypt, an open countrey, and not yet thorowly eſtabliſhed vnder the Turkiſh gouernement,
neither forgetfull of the old gouernment of the Mamalukes, and therefore deſirous of
change: from whence it would haue been an hard matter to haue driuen *Baiazet*, eſpecially the
Arabians being alwaies readie and at hand at euery light ſtir, where any hope of prey was: out
of which prouince alſo in caſe of extremitie he might eaſily tranſport himſelfe into any of the
Chriſtian kingdomes. *Solyman* therefore tooke great care, that this paſſage, which might ſeem
the laſt refuge of *Baiazets* deuices, might be ſtopped vp; and concerning the ſame, had giuen
commandement vnto moſt of his commanders in Aſia, to be alwaies in readines to aid *Selymus* L
whenſoeuer he ſhould call. With them *Selymus* lay incamped vnder the walls of Iconium, attending
euery ſtirring of *Baiazet*, reſoluing there to expect further aid from his father, and not
by vntimely fight to commit his ſafetie to the hazard of one doubtfull battell. But *Baiazet* on
the other ſide not vnmindfull what a matter he had taken in hand, ſlept not thereupon, but firſt
entertained a valiant ſort of horſemen which the Turks call Chiurts, and are ſuppoſed to be of
that people which were ſomtimes called Gordij, men for their knowne valour famous. He yet
lay in the plain and open fields by Ancyra, of the commodities of which city (which were indeed
great) he made great vſe: In the caſtle thereof he beſtowed his concubines & children;
of the rich merchants he tooke vp mony to be repaid with the vſe vpon the good ſucceſſe of
the war, and from thence he tooke whatſoeuer was needfull for the arming and furniſhing of
his men. Beſides his own family, which was very great, and thoſe Chiurts which we ſpoke of, M
many repaired vnto him which had bin in former time beholden to his mother, his ſiſter, and
Ruſtan the great Baſſa, many alſo of the reliques of the valiant *Muſtapha* and *Achmates*
the great Baſſa, valiant men and expert ſouldiers, who deſired to reuenge the vnworthie death
of their Lords and Maſters, euen with their owne. Neither was there wanting an exceeding

rablement

Baiazet his meſſage to his Father, requeſting him not to meddle betweene him and his brother.

Selymus departeth towards Iconium.

Baiazet ſtaieth at Ancyra, and there raiſeth his Forces.

A rablement of ſuch as wearie of their preſent ſtate, deſired ſome new innouation & change. The commiſeration alſo of the ſtate of the vnfortunat *Baiazet*, eaſily drew many to take part with him, whoſe whole truſt was in his valor: they fauored the yong prince, liuely reſembling his father: when as in *Selymus* appeared no likeneſſe of himſelfe, but the expreſſe lineaments of his mothers face and bodie, a woman whileſt ſhe liued generally hated of all the people: hee went heauily as ouercharged with his greaſie paunch, blub cheeked, and exceeding red faced, ſo that the ſouldiers in ſport would ſay, he was fed with greene mault: he was altogether giuen to his eaſe, and ſpent his time in drunkenneſſe & ſleep, neither was he courteous of ſpeech nor willing to deſerue well of any man; for he would not (as he ſaid) offend his father by being popular, ſo was he only of his father beloued, & of all other men hated: of all kind of men B he moſt miſliked of them that ſet all their hope in a bountifull & courageous prince. The ſame ſoldiers were alſo wont to call *Baiazet*, *Softie* (that is to ſay) a man giuen to quietneſſe & ſtudy: but after they ſaw him take vp arms, & for the ſafegard of himſelfe and his children ready to aduenture any thing, they began to admire him as a man of valor & courage: and to aske among themſelues, Why his father ſhould reiect him of ſuch worth, the expreſſe image of himſelfe, and preferre before him that gorbellied ſluggard, in whom no ſparke of his fathers valour was to be ſeen? This his entring into armes was no fault, being thereunto by neceſſitie enforced, for, had not *Selymus* their grandfather don the like? wherof no better example could be found; whom the force of neceſſity conſtrained not only to take vp armes againſt his brother, but al- C ſo to haſten the death of his father; and by ſo doing, purchaſed vnto himſelfe and his poſterity the empire: which ſo gotten, if *Solyman* did not vniuſtly poſſeſſe, why might not his ſon vſe the ſame courſe? why ſhould he ſo rigorouſly reuenge that in his ſon, that was ſo lawful in the grandfather? Although there was (as they ſaid) great difference betweene that *Selymus* & this *Baiazet*; for that this man intended no harme againſt his father, but wiſhed him long to liue; neither yet againſt his brother, if he might by his leaue but liue, if he would but once ceaſe to do him wrong: that it was alwaies accounted lawfull to repell force by force, & to ſhun preſent death, if the Deſtinies would ſo permit. By ſuch affections and motiues, *Baiazet* his power increaſed daily: which being now growne almoſt to the greatneſſe of a full armie, he thought it not beſt to vſe longer delay, but to march forthwith againſt his brother to fight with him D one battell for his life, ſtate, and empire: accounting it ſome commendation (although in vain) to haue attempted ſo great an enterpriſe. His purpoſe was (as *Solyman* feared) to get into Siria, which if he could bring to paſſe, he then doubted not of the reſt. *Selymus* ſtrengthned with his fathers power, lay waiting for his comming before Iconium, wel appointed of all warlike prouiſion: his army was exceeding ſtrong, and in it many notable commanders, martiall men of great experience, whom his father had ioined vnto him; who all lay couered with their great ordnance planted in places moſt conuenient. But *Baiazet* nothing terrified therewith, as ſoone as he came within ſight of his brothers army, exhorted his ſouldiers in few words to play the men, for that now was come the time they wiſhed for, and place for them to ſhew their valour in: wherefore they ſhould ſhew themſelues couragious and valiant, and he would make them E all rich and fortunate: he told them, that their fortune was now in their owne hands, to frame it euery man as hee would himſelfe; ſo that if any of them were wearie of their preſent ſtate, there was the field wherein they might exchange it with better and therein lay downe the miſeries of their former liues: that of him they ſhould if they ouercame, expect riches, promotion, honours, and whatſoeuer elſe, the rewards of valiant men: that with the victorie of one battell, all their deſires ſhould be ſatisfied, were they neuer ſo great: which victorie was by the valor which reſted in them to be gotten, and his brothers army, the heartleſſe followers of a heartleſſe captain, ouerthrowne, for as his fathers ſouldiers that were with his brother, they were in bodie preſent, but in mind altogether on his ſide: that it was onely *Selymus* that withſtood his welfare and their felicity, whom they ſhould therefore valiantly ſeeke for in field as F their common enemie, and not to be afraid of his multitude, foraſmuch as victorie was to be gained, not by number, but by valour: and the moſt mightie God of heauen and earth was ſtill preſent, not with the moſt, but with the bee: Beſides that, he willed them to remember with what a cruell enemie they were to fight, who thirſted after nothing more than their bloud: And to conclude, he willed them all, not to looke vpon his words, but his deeds, and ſaid, If as you ſhall ſee me fighting for your profit, you ſhal likewiſe fight for mine honor, I dare then aſ-

The deſcription of Selymus.

Baiazet and his quarrell generally fauoured of the ſouldiers.

Baiazet his purpoſe.

Baiazet goeth againſt his brother.

The battell betweene Baiazet and Selymus.

Forty thouſand Turks ſlaine.

Baiazet goeth to Amaſia.

ſure you of the victory. Which ſaid, hee with great courage charged the enemie, and fighting himſelfe long time amongſt the formoſt, and there performing all the parts of a valiant ſoldier, and worthie captaine, was for his notable valour no leſſe commended of his enemies, than of his owne ſouldiers. The battell was bloudy and terrible, and many fell on both ſides. But after that they with wonderfull obſtinacie had a great while fought with doubtfull victorie, ſo that fortie thouſand Turks lay there dead vpon the ground; at length the victory began to encline to that ſide whereon ſtood the greater ſtrength, the iuſter cauſe, and better counſell. Many of the enemies being ſlaine, and many of his owne people alſo loſt, **Baiazet** was enforced to retire; which he did ſo leiſurely, and without ſhew of any feare, that it ſeemed to the beholders, he had welneere as well gained as loſt the field: neither durſt **Selymus** purſue him, but ſtood ſtill faſt in the ſame place, neuer more glad of any thing, than to ſee his brothers backe. But **Baiazet** after he had in contempt of his fathers command thus run his owne courſe, and ſatisfied his owne deſire, though diſappointed of his purpoſe, and not able to performe the iourney by him intended into Syria, turned now his courſe, and began in good earneſt to goe to Amaſia his appointed prouince.

Solyman ſpeedily aduertiſed of the euent of this battell, forthwith paſſed ouer into Aſia: for as the great Baſſaes his counſellors thought it not conuenient for him to go ouer the ſtrait before the victory; ſo after it was certainly knowne, they thought it not good longer to ſtay, leſt the ouerthrow of **Baiazet** might giue occaſion to ſuch as ſecretly fauored his quarrel, to ſhew themſelues, and ſo to raiſe greater troubles. Beſides that, the fame of his paſſage ouer, would (as they ſaid) much auaile both to the diſcouragement of **Baiazet**, and the terrifying of his friends: and therefore it was by them thought good, haſtily to purſue him, now ouerthrown, and not to ſuffer him to gather courage by the example of his grandfather **Selymus**, **Solymans** father; who had bin more terribly vanquiſhed than when he ſtood in his whole ſtrength, and might ſeeme by that meanes to haue eſpecially preuailed, for that he was at firſt vnfortunatly ouerthrowne. Neither were theſe things without reaſon foreſeene; for it is almoſt incredible, what admiration and loue this battell (although vnfortunat) did get to **Baiazet**; men wondred that he durſt with ſo ſmall a power, and as it were but a handfull of men, encounter with his brother far better appointed, and alſo ſupported by his fathers ſtrength: not fearing either the diſaduantage of the place, or the furie of the great artillerie, and to haue behaued himſelfe in the battell not like a young ſouldier, but like an old and expert commander. **Selymus** might at his pleaſure boaſt of himſelfe as they ſaid (to his father) for the victory; but **Baiazet** was the man that deſerued to haue ouercome: and that **Selymus** might to any thing aſcribe the victorie, rather than to his owne valour.

Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, as they made **Baiazet** gratious amongſt the people generally, ſo doubled they his fathers cares, and increaſed his hatred, to wiſh him the rather dead. For why, he was reſolutely ſet downe, not to leaue any other heire of his empire than **Selymus** his eldeſt ſon, alwaies loiall & obedient vnto him: whereas the other hee abhorred as ſtubborne and rebellious, gaping after the empire whileſt he yet liued: of whom he was therfore ſo much the more to ſtand in dread, by how much he was reputed to be of more valor, & for the aid he had now ſo openly giuen to **Selymus**. For theſe cauſes he paſſed ouer the ſtrait into Aſia, with purpoſe not to goe farre from the ſea coaſt, but as it were a far off with his fauorable aſpect to countenance **Selymus** his proceedings: doubting by comming too neere with his armie, to endanger himſelfe by the ſudden reuolt of the Ianizaries, which he aboue all things feared.

Augerius Buſbequius Epiſt. 3. legationis Turcicæ.

The order of the Turks campe.

I my ſelfe (ſaith the author of this hiſtorie) ſaw him departing out of Conſtantinople the firſt of Iune in the yere 1559, when as within a few daies after, I my ſelfe was alſo ſent for thither: for the Baſſaes thought it not amiſſe to haue me in the campe, and to vſe me courteouſly as their friend, for which cauſe I was aſſigned to lodge in an Inne in a village neere to the campe, where I lay very well. The Turks lay in the fields round about: but lying there three months I had good leiſure and opportunitie to ſee the manner of their campe, and in part to know the order of their martiall diſcipline. So I attiring my ſelfe in ſuch apparell as the Chriſtians commonly vſe in thoſe places, went vp and downe with one or two companions at my pleaſure vnknown. Firſt I ſaw the ſouldiers of all ſorts moſt orderly placed, and that, which he would ſcarcely beleeue that knoweth the maner of our war, there was in euery place great ſilence, & as a man may ſay, dumbe quietneſſe, no brawling, no inſolencie, no not ſo much as a word or

laughter

A laughter paſſing in ſport or drunkenneſſe. Beſides that wonderfull cleanlineſſe,no dunghils,no
excrements that might offend either the eyes or noſe,for all ſuch things the Turks doe either
bury or carry them far out of ſight. They themſelues ſo oft as they are inforced to diſcharge
the burthen of nature, dig an hole with a ſpade and bury it, ſo is all their camp without filth.
There was not to be ſeene any drinking or feaſting,no dicing (the great ſhame of our wars) the
loſſe of mony or time at cards or dice,the Turks know not. I met only with a rough Hungarian
and his companions,a ſouldier, who heauie himſelfe,to the Lute rather houled than ſung a
doleful dittie,containing the laſt words of a fellow of his dying of his wounds vpon the greene
banke of Danubius,wherein he requeſteth the riuer, becauſe it ran to the place where he was
borne,to carrie newes to his friends and countrymen,that he died an honorable death,and not
B vnreuenged,for the increaſe of his religion,and honor of his country: wherunto his fellowes
ſighing,bare a foot, *O happie and thrice happie wight, would Fortune with thee change we might.* For
the Turks are of opinion, That no mens ſoules go more ſpeedily to heauen, than of ſuch valiant
men as die in battell, for whoſe welfare their maidens daily make prayers and vowes. I
would alſo needs go through their butcherie, where their beaſts were killed, to ſee what fleſh
was to be ſold; where I ſaw but foure,or at moſt fiue weathers hanging ready dreſſed,and that
was the butcherie for the Ianizaries, which I deemed to be in that camp not fewer than foure
thouſand. I maruelled that ſo little fleſh ſhould ſuffice ſo many men:but I was anſwered, That
few of them did eat fleſh,for that moſt part of them had their victuals tranſported from Conſtantinople.
C Then I demanding what it was, they ſhewed me a Ianizarie ſitting by, who in an
earthen diſh had killed a turnep,an onion,a head of garlike,a parſenep,and a cucumber, all ſauced
with ſalt and vineger, or more truly to ſay, with hunger; whereon he fed as ſauorly, as if
they had bin feaſants or partridges: his drinke was the common drinke of all liuing creatures,
euen faire water. By which frugall kind of diet,they prouide both for the health of their bodies,
and the ſpairing of their purſe: and that I maruelled the more at,it was the time that their
great faſt, or to ſpeake after our faſhion, their Lent was at hand: at which time with vs Chriſtians,
euen in well ordered cities,much more in camps,all rings with playing,dancing,ſinging,
crying,quaffing, carouſing; and in briefe,with madding and phrenſie. So that it is not vainely
reported, That a Turke ſent about that time embaſſadour into Germanie, comming home,reported,
D That the Chriſtians on certaine daies did riot,and became mad,vntill they,beſprinckled
with a certain kind of aſhes in the church,came to themſelues again, and ſo recouered;and
that it was a wonderful thing to ſee,how much they were changed by the efficacie of that remedy,
that they ſeemed not to be the ſame men:meaning indeed the diſordered maners of the
Chriſtians at Shrouetide,and the ceremonies vſed on Aſhwedneſday: Which thing they to
whom it was told,ſo much the more maruelled at, for that the Turks haue many medicines
which cauſe madneſſe, but few or none which preſently eaſeth the ſame. And they vpon thoſe
daies that goe before their great faſts, change nothing of their woonted manner of life to the
worſe:but rather contrariewiſe prepare themſelues to abſtinence, by taking ſomewhat from
their vſuall fare, the better to indure the ſudden change of their faſt: which they ſo preciſely
E obſerue,that vpon their faſting dayes they will not ſo much as taſte a cup of water, or waſh
their mouthes with water all the day long, before the ſtars appeare in the skie: which maketh
their faſts,eſpecially in Summer when the daies be long & hot,to be vnto them very tedious.

The opinion the Turkes haue of them that die in their warres.

The ſpare diet of the Ianizaries.

The preciſe maner of the Turks in their faſts.

Whiles I thus lay in the campe, there came vnto me one *Albertus* a learned man with certaine
Preſents from the Emperor to *Solyman*,which were,certaine gilt plate,& a moſt curious
clock, which was caried vpon an Eliphant like a caſtle,& ſome crowns to be diſperſed among
the Baſſaes: which *Solyman* would needs haue preſented vnto him in the campe in the ſight of
the whole armie, to make it the better knowne what friendſhip was betweene him and the
Emperour, and that he needed not to feare any danger from the Chriſtian Princes.

Preſents ſent from the emperor Ferdinand to Solyman.

But to returne againe to *Baiazet*, from whom we haue a while digreſſed: he after the battell
F at Iconium had retired himſelfe to Amaſia, the place of his gouernment, as though he would
haue now there quietly liued, if his father would ſo giue him leaue. He had now ſatisfied his
youthfull deſires & griefe, and ſeemed willing from thenceforth to ſatisfie his fathers better
expectation:and therfore ceaſed not by letters & fit men to prooue his fathers mind. Neither
did *Solyman* ſhew himſelfe ſtrange from ſuch a reconciliation:at firſt he eaſily gaue the meſſengers
audience, read his ſons letters, & courteouſly returned anſwer; ſo that it was commonly
reported

Baiazet goeth to Amaſia, and ſeeketh for his fathers fauour.

Solyman diſſembleth with Baiazet.

Baiazet departeth into Amaſia, with purpoſe to fly into Perſia

Baiazet deceiueth the Baſſa of Sebaſtia.

reported in the camp, that the father and the ſon would agree, and that the old man would pardon the youthfull pranke alreadie paſt, ſo that he would from thenceforth remaine dutifull. But al this was by the counſel of the Baſſaes, nothing but deep diſſimulation in the craftie old ſire, vntill he had ſhut vp *Baiazet*, and ſo got him aliue into his hand: for it was feared, leſt he deſpairing of pardon, ſhould with ſuch a power breake into the borders of Perſia (now the only place left for his refuge) as might preuent the watchfull diligence of his lieutenants vpon thoſe frontiers: whom *Solyman* charged by continuall letters ſo to ſtop all the paſſages into Perſia, as that there ſhould not be any crany for *Baiazet* to flie out by. In the mean time, if any came within his reach that were ſuſpected to haue taken part with *Baiazet*, or fauored his proceedings, thoſe he cauſed to be tortured & ſecretly made away, and among them ſome whom *Baiazet* had of purpoſe ſent to excuſe themſelues. For *Solyman* fearing leſt *Tamas* the Perſian king (more mindfull of his old quarrells than of the late inforced peace) ſhould hardly with much adoe ſuffer his ſonne to be got out of his hands if he ſhould flie thither, and ſo againe raiſe a long and dangerous war; did therefore what he poſſibly might to oppreſſe him before he ſhould come thither. Which his purpoſe although it was couered with al ſecrecie, yet was it not hidden from ſome of *Baiazet* his friends, by whom he was oftentimes warned not to truſt his father, but to beware of treaſon, and in any caſe ſpeedily to prouide for his owne ſafety. But *Solyman* thinking he had now ſo prouided as that he could by no means eſcape, and happily the more to deceiue his ſon, appointed to returne with his army to Conſtantinople the day after their Eaſter day. But *Baiazet*, vpon the very feaſt day hauing performed the ſolemnities thereof, commanded all his things to be truſſed vp at Amaſia, and ſo ſet forward vpon his vnfortunat iourney towards Perſia; knowing right well, that he went to the antient enemie of the *Othoman* Family, but yet fully reſolued to make proofe of any mans mercie, rather than to fall into the hands of his angrie father. Now were they all ſet forward, except ſuch weake ſoules as were not thought able to indure the labour of ſo long a iourney, among whom was left *Solyman*, *Baiazet* his yongeſt ſonne, but then newly borne; which guiltleſſe babe, with his mother, *Baiazet* thought better to leaue vnto the mercie of his grandfather, than to take him with him, a poore companion of his wofull and miſerable flight: whom *Solyman* as yet vncertain of his fathers fortune, commanded to be nurſed at Pruſa. *Baiazet* ſo gone from Amaſia, vſed ſuch celeritie in his trauell, that almoſt in euery place he preuented the fame of his comming, & light vpon many that were appointed to haue ſtaid his paſſage, before they were ready or aware of his comming. The Baſſa of Sebaſtia he thus deceiued: There was two waies, whereof the one of them being intercepted, would greatly hinder his iourney, and that the Baſſa had already taken: wherefore he ſent certain, as if they had bin fugitiues, to tell the Baſſa that he was alreadie gone the other way. Which the Baſſa beleeuing, left the place he had before taken, and riſing with all his power to purſue him the other way, whereby it was told him he was gone, left that way free and open for him to paſſe by.

The Baſſa of Erzirum deceiued by Baiazet.

The Baſſa of Erzirum he deceiued alſo by another not much vnlike ſhift: from whom when he was not farre diſtant, and knowing that in paſſing through his countrey, he was to endure great danger, he ſet vpon him with a wile, ſending vnto him certain of his followers with commendations: who afterwards lamentably complaining of the yong princes calamity, to moue the Baſſa to pitty, at laſt requeſted that he would giue him leaue to ſhoo his horſes in his territorie; telling him, that he came vnprouided of all things, & therefore deſirous in that fruitfull country to refreſh his horſes a day or two, and to new ſhoo them. Whereunto the Baſſa courteouſly anſwered, That he would not let him to take whatſoeuer he needed. But whether it was for the compaſſion that he had vpon the ſtate of *Baiazet*, or for the ſecret loue he bare him, or that he thought by that means the eaſilier to entrap him, is doubtful; & happily preuented by *Baiazets* quick ſpeed, had not as yet ſufficient time to draw together his ſouldiers. He ſent alſo vnto *Baiazet* certain ſmall Preſents, ſeeming to be glad of his welfare & comming: who neuertheleſſe kept on his way, reſting no part of the day, and but a little of the night. The Baſſa of Erzirum vnderſtanding that *Baiazet* came ſtill on, made what haſt hee could alſo, and ioyned his power to the reſt of the Baſſaes which followed after: for many Baſſaes and Sanzackes hearing that *Baiazet* was fled from Amaſia, purſued faſt after him, being charged by *Solyman* vpon pain of their heads to bring him back either aliue or dead: but all in vaine, by reaſon of his ſpeedy departure, & for that he made more haſt to flie, than they did to follow. Yet it coſt no

A man deerer than this Baſſa of Erzirum, of whom we haue now ſpoken, whom *Solyman* for this cauſe diſplaced: and *Selymus* afterwards ſlew, with two of his ſonnes, young ſtriplings whom he had before in deſpight ſhamefully abuſed againſt nature. Yea *Selymus* himſelfe and *Mahomet* the great Baſſa, with the Berglerbeg of Grecia, followed alſo after *Baiazet*, though it were a far off. This his departure grieued *Solyman* aboue meaſure, aſſuring himſelf (as the truth was) that he was fled into Perſia: wherwith he was ſo much moued, that he could ſcarcely contain himſelfe, but would needs haue gone with all his power in all haſt againſt the Perſian, to haue terrified him at hand from relieuing his rebellious ſon. But theſe his raging fits his graue counſellors moderated, by declaring vnto him what danger hee ſhould aduenture himſelfe vnto, by reaſon of the doubtfull faith of his beſt ſouldiers. And what if *Baiazet* (as he was a deſperat B and ſudden man) ſhould in the meane time turne about aboue Pontus and the fens of Mœtis, and ſo fetching a compaſſe come to Conſtantinople, and proclaiming a generall libertie in his abſence, poſſeſſe himſelfe of the empire. By which wholſome perſuaſion *Solyman* ſtaid his ſo haſtie a iourney: but *Baiazet* all the way as he went, writ vpon the the gates and doores, That he would giue double pay to all ſuch as ſhould follow him: which cauſed *Solymans* captaines to haue their owne ſouldiers in diſtruſt, and the more for that they might oftentimes heare amongſt them, ſpeeches of great good will and loue towards *Baiazet*.

Solyman much grieued with the flight of his ſonne.

After long flying, hee was at length come to the Riuer Araxis, which ſeparated the Turkes kingdome from the Perſian; which hauing paſſed ouer, and yet not ſo in ſafetie, he left certaine of his followers vpon the banke of the riuer to keep the Sanzacks (who ſtill eagerly purC ſued him) from paſſing ouer: whom the Sanzacks eaſily repulſed, & ſo paſſing the riuer, entred a great way into the Perſian kingdome, vntill ſuch time as that they were met withall by certain of the nobilitie of Perſia with great troupes of horſemen; who demanding of them what they meant, and what they ſought for in another mans kingdome, were anſwered by the Turkes, That they purſued their kings fugitiue ſonne. To whom the Perſians replied, That they did not well, contrarie to the league with their Lord and Maſter, to come in armes beyond the bounds of their owne kingdome; and that there was a ſtrong league betweene king *Tamas* and *Solyman*, which it behoued them to regard: as for *Baiazet*, their king would conſider what was conuenient for him to do, and not in that point forget himſelfe: in the mean time they ſhould do well to get them out of that countrey wherein they had nothing to doe. Whereupon the D Turks forthwith left this purſuit and retired.

The eager purſuit of the Baſſaes and Sanzackes.

But by and by came meſſengers from the Perſian King to *Baiazet* to ſalute him, and to demand the cauſe of his comming, and alſo to ſee what ſtrength he brought with him, which as ſome account was about 20000. To whom *Baiazet* declared, That he by his brothers iniuries and fathers hard dealing, driuen out of his countrey, was fled vnto the ſacred maieſtie of the Perſian king, as his moſt aſſured refuge, who, as he wel hoped, in compaſſion of mans inſtabilitie, would not reiect him ſo diſtreſſed, & otherwiſe deſtitute of all helpe. Whereunto the Perſian replied, That he had done very vnwiſely to come vnto him that was in league and amity with his father; wherof one condition was, That they ſhould account the enemies of the one, the enemies of the other; and the friends of the one, the friends of the other. Which law to E breake, he accounted a thing vtterly vnlawful: neuertheleſſe ſeeing the matter was ſo faln out, he was welcome as vnto his friend, who in his behalfe would leaue nothing vnattempted to reconcile him to his father, which he deſpaired not to bring to paſſe. So *Baiazet* meeteth with the Perſian king, but in an euil houre, although at their firſt meeting there was great welcome, friendly countenance, cheerfull lookes, mutuall kindneſſe, often conference, and great feaſting one of another; things whereby the ſecret thoughts of hollow hearts are beſt concealed: there was alſo a motion made of a ſtraighter bond of alliance, & one of the Perſian kings daughters promiſed to *Orchanes* one of *Baiazets* ſons; and he put in hope that the Perſian king would neuer reſt in quiet, vntill *Solyman* had made him Gouernour either of Meſopotamia, Babylon, or F Erzirum (which Gouernments were by the Perſians greatly extolled) and that he might there liue without feare of his brother, farre from him and his father alſo; where if any thing ſhould fall out otherwiſe than well, he might haue his brother the Perſian king a ſure refuge to retire vnto, and ſo ſafe from all danger. Which ſpeeches were happily giuen out, of purpoſe to auert *aiazet* his thought from the feeling of the preſent danger; who ſeemed vnto himſelfe ſo aſſured of the loue and friendſhip of *Tamas* the Perſian King, that at ſuch time as hee ſent his

Baiazet wel entertained by the Perſian king.

his embaſſadors to Conſtantinople, for a reconciliation to be made betweene *Solyman* & him G
(as was commonly ſuppoſed)he willed the ſame embaſſador to tell his father,that he had loſt
a father at Conſtantinople,and found another in Perſia. But whether the Perſian delt ſincerely
in this behalfe for *Baiazet* by his embaſſadors,which were many,may well be doubted. Like it
is,that there was more fained ſhew of double diligence,than of true meaning therein;and the
rather to feele the mind of *Solyman*,than to do any good to the poore diſtreſſed prince:& the
rather, for that in the meane time all things were ſeriouſly plotted that might tend to his deſtruction.
Which were no ſooner growne to their full ripeneſſe, but there was of puroſe a motion
made, That ſuch a multitude as followed this young Prince lay ſo cloſe together, that
there was not in one place victuall ſufficient for them,and that it was therefore more conuenient H
to haue them billited in the countrie thereabouts;which would be more commodious,as
well for the better victualling of them, as for diuers other purpoſes alſo. Truth was,that *Tamas*
the Perſian king,far vnlike his noble father *Iſmael*,ſtood in doubt leſt he brought vp a ſerpent
in his boſome. Yet there were many which thought,that it was not the Perſians mind at
firſt to haue deſtroied *Baiazet*, but to haue bin thereunto enforced by the practiſe of ſome of
his familiars and followers; who not regarding the courteſie of the Perſian king,nor the lawes
of hoſpitalitie,perſuaded *Baiazet* to thruſt him out of his kingdome: whereof there was many
euident tokens. And among other things it was told king *Tamas*,that one of *Baiazets* chiefe
captains ſhould ſay, What meane we? why ſtay we to kill this hereticall king, and to poſſeſſe
his kingdome? for we ſhall no doubt by his trecherie all come to deſtruction. And that vpon I
ſuch occaſion the king was conſtrained to condiſcend to a deuiſe more neceſſarie than honourable.
Baiazet had no great power,but moſt of them were valiant men, and ſouldiers of great
experience,ready to aduenture vpon any thing: of whom the Perſian not without cauſe ſtood
in ſome feare. He knew his kingdome to be neither antient nor yet well aſſured,as gotten by
his father by the counterfeit ſhew of a reformed religion: and who could aſſure him, but hat
amongſt ſo many nations ouer whom he lorded, but that there were many wearie of the preſent
ſtate,and ſo deſirous of nouelties? vnto whom nothing could chance more fitting than the
comming of *Baiazet*, a noble and valiant young gentleman; and that more was,deſperatly ſet:
that as yet he himſelfe might of right rather ſeeme in the power of his gueſt,than he in his:
and that therefore he was to alter the matter, and not longer to entertain him as his gueſt,but K
to coupe him vp as a moſt dangerous wild beaſt. Which to do, the eaſieſt way was to diſperſe
his power,and ſo to take him vnawares; for that he could not without much bloudſhed be openly
taken in the midſt of his ſtrength,eſpecially by the dainty Perſian,of long time not vſed
to war,and as yet not come together;againſt *Baiazets* ſoldiers, men of great actiuitie and experience.
So was the matter cunningly imparted vnto him for the diſperſing of his forces,and all
the commodities to enſue thereof alledged: which *Baiazet* might not well gainſay, although
many of his wiſe followers (men of great reach) did ſhrewdly ſuſpect the ſequell. But what
could he refuſe,vpon whom neceſſitie lay ſo heauie? where no other hope was left? where he
liued as it pleaſed another man; and that again too, where once to doubt of the fidelitie of his
hoaſt,might be imputed to him for the greateſt trecherie? So theſe moſt valiant ſouldiers, the L
poore princes faithful followers,neuer again to ſee one another,are diſperſed into diuers countrey
villages,and beſtowed where the Perſians thought good. Not many daies after, at a time
pickt out for the purpoſe,they in number few,& diſperſed in a ſtrange country, were incloſed
by many and ſlaine: their horſes,armor,apparell,and whatſoeuer els,became a prey vnto the
murthorers, At the ſame inſtant was *Baiazet* and his ſonnes caſt in bonds alſo, and that to his
greater griefe as many report, taken as he was ſitting merrily at dinner at the kings table. The
Perſian king ſeemed to haue foreſeene much in this his hard dealing with *Baiazet*: as if that he,
being a valiant and couragious young prince,and much better ſoldier than his brother,ſhould
haue ſucceeded his father in his empire,much trouble and perill might haue grown thereby,
both to himſelfe and his kingdome: and that it ſtood far better with the ſafetie of his eſtate,
that *Selymus* (a man wholly giuen to voluptuouſneſſe and eaſe) ſhould raigne ouer the Turks; M
in whoſe time he might as it were promiſe vnto himſelfe all peace and ſecuritie: and therfore
it was thought that he would neuer let *Baiazet* goe aliue out of his hand, but rather make him
away in priſon,as if he had there died for melancholy and griefe. Well he was aſſured,that after
he had ſlaine his followers,and impriſoned himſelfe and his ſonnes, hee would neuer be

Tamas the Perſiã king in feare of Baiazet.

Baiazet his followers diſperſed and ſlaine

Baiazet impriſoned.

friends with him that had ſo notably wronged him. *Baiazet* thus ſhamefully impriſoned, meſſengers ran continually too and fro betwixt the two old Princes *Solyman* and *Tamas*. Amongſt the reſt, the Perſian King ſent a ſolemne Embaſſadour vnto the Turke with Preſents, namely curious tents, coſtly carpets, an Alcaron containing the myſteries of their ſuperſtition, and certaine ſtrange beaſts. The cauſe of his comming was pretended to be for a reconciliation to be made betweene *Solyman* and his Sonne; which Embaſſador was honourably entertained and feaſted by the great Baſſa's. Now was poore *Baiazet* in ſmall hope of life, his cruell father ſtill crauing to haue him deliuered into his hands to be ſlaine: and the Perſian yet denying to deliuer him, and ſeeming to defend him, but not (as was thought) altogether faithfully. *Solyman* left no meanes vnattempted to haue wrung him from the Perſian; ſometimes he ſpake him faire, putting him in mind of his league, wherein it was agreed, That they ſhould both haue the ſame friends and the ſame enemies: otherwhile he terrified him with great words, and denouncing of war, except he would deliuer him his ſonne: he furniſhed with ſtrong garriſons all the frontiers of his dominion towards Perſia; he filled all Meſopotamia and the bankes of the riuer Euphrates with ſoldiers, eſpecially with them of his owne guard, and ſuch as hee had before vſed in the battell againſt *Baiazet*; ouer whom commanded *Mehemet Baſſa* the third of the Viſier Baſſa's, and *Selymus* the Beglerbeg of Græce (for *Selymus* was ſoone wearie of the field, and ſo betime returned home:) he alſo incited the Georgian people to take vp armes againſt the Perſians: who wiſely anſwered, That they had not ſuch confidence in their owne ſtrength, as to prouoke king *Tamas*; but let *Solyman* himſelfe come with his armie, and when they ſaw him preſent in the field, then they knew what they had to do, & that he ſhould then well ſee that they wanted neither diſcretion nor valour. And becauſe he would leaue nothing vnproued, he made ſhew as if he would in perſon himſelfe haue gon to Aleppo in Syria, and ſo haue on that ſide inuaded the Perſian: neither was the Perſian king altogether out of feare, hauing to his coſt many times prooued what *Solyman* was able to doe. But the vnwillingneſſe of the ſouldiers, and their mindes altogether eſtranged from that warre, eaſily ſtaied the raging Turke: they deteſted that warre, and forſooke their enſignes, a great number of whom (eſpecially horſemen) without leaue of their Captaines returned to Conſtantinople: and beeing commanded againe to the campe, went indeed, but with ſuch countenance and cheere as well declared how they were affected, & what they would do if occaſion ſerued for them to reuolt.

The Perſian king ſendeth Embaſſadors with preſents to Solyman.

For which cauſe, after that *Solyman* perceiued that *Baiazet* could not aliue be got from the Perſian (excuſing himſelfe by feare of reuenge by him whom he had ſo grieuouſly offended, if he ſhould by any meanes eſcape) he thought it beſt to follow that which was next, and to haue him there ſlaine; which he was in good hope to compaſſe, and the rather, for that the Perſian had but lately written vnto him, That he could not but much maruell to ſee him deale ſo ſlenderly in a matter of ſo great importance: That he on his part had ſent him diuers embaſſadors, & that he on the other ſide had ſent him nothing but common meſſengers with papers, which cauſed him to thinke that he made no great account of the matter: wherefore he ſhould doe well to ſend vnto him men of account and place, with whom he might confer and conclude alſo according to the weightineſſe and exigence of the cauſe: beſides that, he was (as he ſaid) not a little in his debt, for that *Baiazet* and his followers had beene vnto him no ſmall charge before he could get him into his power: all which it were good reaſon he ſhould haue conſideration of. Whereby *Solyman* perceiued, that mony was the thing the Perſian king ſought after; and therefore rather than he would in an vnfit time of his life intangle himſelfe in a dangerous and vnneceſſarie war, he determined by the counſell of his Baſſa's, rather with money than with the ſword to fight with the Perſian king. Herupon was *Haſſan Aga* (one of the chiefe gentlemen of his chamber) appointed embaſſador into Perſia, with whom was ioined the Baſſa of Maras, a man both for his age and place, reuerend: who departing with a large commiſſion almoſt in the depth of Winter, with great ſpeed and wonderfull toile by thoſe long and difficult waies, arriued at laſt at Casbin the ſeat of the Perſian king, hauing by the way loſt diuers of their ſeruants and followers. Being come to the Court, the firſt thing they deſired was to ſee *Baiazet*, whome they found ſhut vp in a cloſe priſon, pale and wan as a man forlorne, with his haire and beard ſo long and ouergrowne, as that he was not to be knowne before he was new trimmed; which done, then appeared the liuely reſemblance of his wonted countenance and fauor, ſo that *Haſſan* verily knew him to be him: for he had beene brought vp with him of a

The cauſe why the Perſian King would by no means let Baiazet goe out of his hand.

The miſerable eſtate of Baiazet

The agreement betweene the Perſian king and Solyman for the deſtruction of Baiazet.

Baiazet and his foure ſonnes ſtrangled.

The rare force of innocencie.

childe in the Court, and for this cauſe eſpecially had ***Solyman*** ſent him thither to be aſſured G that it was he. At length after long diſcourſe and conference betweene the King and the Embaſſadors, it was agree vpon, that the King ſhould receiue from ***Solyman*** full recompence of all the charges he had been at, and of the harmes by him ſuſtained ſince the comming of ***Baiazet*** into Perſia, with ſuch further reward as ſo great a good turne deſerued: which things performed, that then it ſhould be in ***Solymans*** power to haue ***Baiazet*** made away. With this news ***Haſſan*** poſteth to his maſter at Conſtantinople, who forthwith cauſed the promiſed reward, togither with ſuch charges as the Perſian King demanded, to be made readie, and with a ſafe conuoy to be ſent vnto the borders of Perſia, where they were of the Perſians receiued. Preſently after returneth ***Haſſan*** the appointed executioner of the vnfortunat ***Baiazet***: for ſo ***Solyman*** had ſtraitly charged him to ſtrangle him with his owne hands. H Which thing this new made hangman accordingly performed, and with a bow-ſtring ſtrangled the vnfortunate Prince; who is reported to haue requeſted of the executioner, that he might but ſee his children before he died, and take of them his laſt farewell: which poore requeſt could not be granted, but he forthwith commanded to die. This was the woſull end of the vnluckie attempts of ***Baiazet***, a Prince of far more worth than was ***Selymus*** his brother, who in ſeeking to ſhun the death he feared, haſted the ſame before his time. Such as was the fathers end, was alſo the end of his foure ſons, ***Omer***, ***Amurat***, ***Selym***, and ***Muhamet***: of whom the three eldeſt were ſtrangled at Casbin with their father, whoſe dead bodies together with his, were ſolemnly brought to Sebaſtia and there buried. The yongeſt but new borne left at Amaſia, and ſent by his grandfather to Pruſa (as is before ſaid) to be there nurſed, I was now vpon the death of his father commanded by his ſaid grandfather to be ſtrangled alſo. The Eunuch ſent by ***Solyman*** to haue done the deed, and loth to do it himſelfe, tooke with him one of the Porters of the Court, a deſperate and otherwiſe a hard hearted Ruffian, a man thought fit to haue performed any villanie: he comming into the chamber where the childe lay, and fitting the bow-ſtring to the childes necke to haue ſtrangled him, the innocent babe ſmiled vpon him, and lifting it ſelf vp as well as it could, with open armes offered to haue embraced the villaine about the necke and kiſſed him. Which guiltleſſe ſimplicitie ſo wounded the ſtonie hearted man, that he was not able to performe the intended butchery of the poore ſimple child, but fell downe in a ſwoune and there lay for dead. The Eunuch ſtanding without the doore maruelling at his long ſtay, goes in, and finding the ruffian lying along vpon the ground, with cruell hand performed that K the other could not finde in his heart to do, and ſo ſtrangled the guiltleſſe childe as had bin giuen him in charge. Whereby it euidently appeared, that it was not the mercie or compaſſion of ***Solyman*** that ſo long cauſed the guiltleſſe infant to be ſpared, but rather the opinion generally receiued amongſt the Turks, who meaſuring all things by the good or bad ſucceſſe, refer all things that fall out well, vnto God as the author thereof, be they neuer ſo vngraciouſly begun: and therfore ſo long as it was yet vncertain what ſucceſſe the attempts of ***Baiazet*** would haue, ***Solyman*** ſpared the infant, leſt vpon his fathers good hap he might ſeem to haue ſtriuen againſt the will of God. But now that his father was dead, and his quarrell by the euill ſucceſſe thereof condemned as it were by the ſentence of the Almighty, he thought it not good longer to ſuffer him to liue, L leſt of an euill Bird might come an euill Chicke. I had ſometime (ſaith the reporter of this Hiſtorie) great reaſoning with my Chiaus about this matter: for falling into talke with him of ***Baiazet***, he began bitterly to inueigh againſt him for taking vp armes againſt his brother. Wherunto (ſaith this Author) I replied, That in mine opinion he was worthie both to be pittied and pardoned, for as much as he was of neceſſitie inforced either to take vp arms, or elſe ſhortly after to yeeld himſelfe to the ſlaughter. But he ſtill exclaiming againſt him, I ſaid vnto him, You blame poore ***Baiazet*** of great wickedneſſe for bearing armes againſt his brother: but ***Selymus Solymans*** father you blame not, who vpon like occaſion tooke vp armes both againſt his father and his brethren; yet he therein did nothing amiſſe, nor in your iudgement blame worthie. And rightly, (ſaith the Chiaus) for the euent of the matter ſheweth ſufficiently, M that that which he did was done by the appointment of God, and that he was from Heauen predeſtinated thereunto: whereas in ***Baiazet*** the euent ſheweth the cleane contrarie. So that which falleth out well, be it by neuer ſo wicked means compaſſed or brought to paſſe, they take it as done according to the will of God; but if it fall out otherwiſe, they iudge it as a thing condemned by God himſelfe; depending wholly vpon the good or bad euent of

things,

A things, and therefore iudging them to be well done, or otherwiſe.

1558

Charles the emperour reſigneth the Empire to his brother Ferdinand, and ſhortly after dieth.

This yeare 1558, *Charles* the fift that noble Emperor (of whome we haue in the courſe of this Hiſtorie ſo often ſpoken) who wearie of the world, had two yeares before deliuered all his hereditarie kingdomes and principalities to his ſonne *Philip*, did now the 24 of Februarie, on which day he was borne, by his Embaſſadours ſolemnly ſent for that purpoſe, reſigne that Empire with all the honors and titles thereof vnto his brother king *Ferdinand*, requeſting the Princes Electors to confirme the ſame vnto him, which they did the thirteenth of March next following. So liuing as a priuat gentleman in that ſolitarie life whereunto he had to the wonder of the world certaine yeares before retyred himſelfe from all worldly affaires, the 21 day of September following died of a feauer, when he had liued 58 yeares, and thereof B raigned 39: a man no doubt to be worthily accounted amongſt the greateſt Chriſtian Emperors that liued before him. About which time alſo died his two ſiſters, *Mary* the Queene of Hungarie, and *Elenor* the French Queene, both Ladies of great honour.

1559

The Chriſtian Princes ſet out a fleet for the recouery of Tripolis in Barbary

The Knights of Malta, who of long had beene ſuters to the great Biſhop and the King of Spaine, for the recouerie of Tripolis in Barbarie, about nine yeares before taken from them by the Turkes; at which time they alſo ſurpriſed the Iſland of Zerbi vpon the coaſt of Barbarie betwixt Tripolis and Tunes, from whence they much troubled the Chriſtians trauelling by thoſe ſeas: had now at length ſo much preuailed, that the King commanded a great fleet to be now forthwith made readie in September in the yeare 1559, to meet together in Sicilia, and from thence to go directly againſt the enemie by Malta. Vnto which fleet, the great Bi- C ſhop, the Duke of Florence, and the Knights of Malta, with many other valiant men out of diuers parts of Chriſtendome, joined their forces alſo; ſo that at length there was a hundred gallies and ſhips met together vnder the conduct of *Andreas Gonzaga* the Generall. But whilſt this fleet from diuers places was long in comming thither, the Duke of Medina Cœli came before with part of the fleet to Malta, and in the hauen of Marza Moxet expected the comming of the reſt, who about the end of the yeare came thither. But whileſt they were wintered expecting the Spring, many of the ſouldiers fell ſicke and died. At length the time of the yeare fit for their ſetting forward being come, the Captaines conſulted among themſelues, Whether they ſhould firſt ſet vpon Tripolis, or the Iſland of Zerbi, otherwiſe called Mening. D The Knights of Malta being of opinion, that it were better firſt to beſiege Tripolis, and that with all ſpeed, before *Dragut* ſhould come thither to furniſh it with ſouldiers and prouiſion. Others thought it better firſt to inuade the Iſland of Zerbi, where the armie might be relieued with plentie of all things neceſſarie, and from whence they might at all times of danger in ſafetie retyre; and from thence afterwards as time ſhould ſerue, to go to Tripolis. Which vnfortunate counſell was by the greater part agreed vpon. Wherefore in Februarie the yere following they departed from Malta, and ſailed directly to Zerbi. In the meane time *Dragut* the moſt famous pyrat of that time amongſt the Turks, and gouernor of Tripolis, was come thither with eight hundred of the Turks Ianizaries, and had notably ſtrengthned the citie with men, victual, and new fortifications; and preſently ſent meſſengers to *Solyman* at Conſtantino- E ple, to certifie him of the arriual of the Chriſtian fleet in Affrick. But the Chriſtians comming to the Iſland of Zerbi, were at the firſt landing incountred by the Moores, whom they repulſed, and ſo at pleaſure landed. This Iſland is not far from the maine, here and there ful of bogs and mariſhes, other riuer hath it none, and in the middeſt is ſomewhat hilly. It was inhabited with about 30000 men, which dwelt in low cottages, ſimply apparelled: yet is the Iſland reaſonable fertile, yeelding dates, oliues, barley, mill, and ſuch like. When the Chriſtians were there landed, they ſent for *Carauanus* a poore King amongſt the Moores (from whome *Dragut* had before taken that Iſland) to vſe his counſell for their better proceeding in that war. In the meane time they agreed with 8000 men to beſiege the ſtrongeſt caſtle in the Iſland: in going whereunto, the Spaniards went foremoſt, the Germans next, and laſt of all the Italians. By F the way as they went they light vpon 10000 Moores which lay in ambuſh in a wood, to haue vpon the ſudden ſet vpon them vnawares; but being diſcouered, and 700 of them ſlain in skirmiſh by the Spaniards, the reſt fled. So comming to the caſtle they planted their batterie, and laid hard ſiege vnto it. The Captaine of the caſtle finding himſelfe too weake long to hold out, fled ſecretly with his Turks, leauing the caſtle for the Moores to defend; who vpon condition that they might in ſafetie depart, yeelded the Caſtle to the Spaniards: for keeping

1560

The Chriſtian fleet arriueth at the Iſland of Zerbi.

The Caſtle of Zerby taken by the Chriſtians.

Piall Baſſa Solymans Admiral ſent to remoue the Chriſtians out of Zerbi.

whereof, *Varona* and *Cerda* two Spaniſh Captaines were there left with their Companies. G
Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Carauanus* the Moore king came to the camp of the Chriſtians
and there talked with the General; in whoſe hoarie countenance reſted a reuerend Maieſtie:
his apparell was after the Moores faſhion of white linnen, with him came alſo the King
of Tunes his ſon. In talking with the Generall his manner was to ſit flat vpon the ground, and
wiſely diſcourſed how the Turks were to be remoued out of Affricke. But in the middeſt of
theſe diſcourſes, when ſuch a thing was leaſt feared, ſuddenly a pinnace brought newes from
ſea, That *Piall Baſſa* the Turks great Admiral was comming thither with a great fleet of eighty
fiue gallies, and that moe were daily repairing vnto him on euery ſide. Which was indeed true:
for *Solyman* vnderſtanding from *Dragut* the Arch-pyrat, that Iſland to be by the Chriſtians
now poſſeſſed and fortified, thought it not (in his ſo great power and flouriſhing eſtate) to ſtand H
with his honor to ſuffer, but rather to giue aid vnto the Moores of that Iſland, a people agreeing
in religion with himſelfe: and therfore commanded *Piall Baſſa* his Admiral to take in hand
that expedition. Who therupon rigged vp a great fleet wel appointed & ſtrongly manned with
a number of the Turks beſt and moſt approued ſouldiers, as well Ianizaries as others: yet all
both doubtfull and fearefull of the long journy, as alſo of the fame of the enemies with whom
they were to incounter: for why, the Turks had conceiued a great opinion of the valour of the
Spaniards, as knowing great wars both of antient and later times to haue bin by that nation (to
the immortall praiſe thereof) moſt happily performed: they remembred *Charles* the fift, and
daily heard much of king *Philip*, the heire both of his fathers vertues and kingdomes; which I
made them ſo careful, that many of them before their ſetting forth (as in times of greateſt danger)
made their wils, and ſo departed from Conſtantinople, taking their leaue of their friends,
as if they ſhould neuer haue thither returned again. So that all the city was in a confuſed feare:
neither was there any man, whether he went or ſtaid, that hung not in ſuſpence with the doubtfull
expectation of the euent of that war. Howbeit *Piall* with this great fleet, with long ſailing
and a proſperous wind was at length come welneere as far as Malta, and knowledge therof (as
aforeſaid) giuen vnto the Chriſtian fleet at Zerbi. With which vnexpected news the Chriſtians
there were not a little troubled: neuertheleſſe they fortified the caſtle with new fortifications
and bulwarks, and fell to agreement with the principall man amongſt the Moores of the
Iſland, who commanded the reſt, and had before pluckt downe the enſignes of *Dragut*, and ſet K
vp the king of Spaines) that he would yearely pay vnto the king of Spaine (as he had before
vnto *Dragut*) ſix thouſand crownes, one camel, foure Oſtriches, foure Sparrow-hawkes, and
foure blew Faulcons: a tribute fit for ſuch an Iſland.

But ſhortly after, *viz.* the ninth of May, the Great maſter of Malta by another pinnace gaue
the Chriſtians at Zerbi again to vnderſtand, That the Turks fleet was euen now at hand, and alreadie
departed from the Iſland of Gozo, wel appointed and ſtrongly manned: and that therefore
he aduiſed them with ſpeed to hoiſe ſaile, & to get them to ſome place of more ſafety, or
els to come to him to Malta, for feare of being by ſo great a power of the Turks ſuddenly oppreſſed.
Whereupon *Iohn Andreas Auria* the Admirall ſent vnto the Generall, requeſting him
to come abord, that ſo they might before the comming of the Turks fleet, retire themſelues to L
ſome place of more aſſurance. But he for all that ſtaied ſtill at the caſtle, where the Chriſtians
had built foure ſtrong bulwarks: wherof they had named one *Auria's*, another *Gonzaga's*, the
third the Viceroy's, and the fourth the Knights, not yet all perfectly finiſhed: as for for the caſtle
it ſelfe they called it *Philip-Alcazer*, by the name of the king. But whileſt the Generall is
thus buſie, and vainly hopeth to keepe both the caſtle and his ſhips, he the next day deſcrying
from far the comming of the Turks great fleet, haſted with the Admirall to be gon: and putting
twice to ſea, was both times by a contrary wind driuen againe into the hauen, ſo that hee
and the Admirall had much ado in time to get them into the caſtle: for the wind was ſo fauorable
for the Turks, and brought them ſo faſt on, that the Chriſtians diſmaied with their ſudden
comming, knew not now well what to do, or which way to turne themſelues. But by good
hap, the greater part of the ſhips and 14 gallies were got out and gon the night before, and the M
Great maſter had in Aprill called home his gallies, wherewith and ten others of his owne hee
afterwards defended the frontiers of his Iſland. As for the reſt of the fleet that ſtaied for the
Generall and the Admirall, ſome few gallies eſcaped by flight, other ſome ran themſelues aground,
ten of which were preſently taken by the Turkes, as were the reſt alſo that were left,
although

Part of the Chriſtian fleet oppreſſed at Zerbi by the ſuddē comming of the Turks.

A although they for a while did what they might to haue ſaued themſelues. The night following, the Viceroy and the Admirall ſecretly ſtole out of the caſtle, and ſo by good fortune in two ſmall frigots fled to Malta, *Carauanus* alſo the Moore King, with the Prince of Tunes, got them away into the maine. *Gonzaga* the Viceroy departing from Malta in Sicilia, prouided as he might for the ſafetie of that country. *Auria* in the mean time gathered together the remainder of the diſperſed fleet, hauing loſt in this vnfortunat expedition ſeuenteene gallies, with a great part of the ſhips.

Now in the caſtle was left as Generall, *Don Aluarus de Sandes*, a valiant gentleman of great ſpirit and long experience, with fiue thouſand footmen, ſome Germans, ſome Italians, but for the moſt part Spaniards: beſides a thouſand other that were no ſoldiers. So that the Turks B beginning to beſiege the ſame the ſeuenteenth of May, were by them many times notably encountered, and in their aſſaults repulſed. Vnto this ſiege at length came *Dragut* the pyrat, who with fifteene great pieces which he brought with him from Tripolis, encreaſed the fury of the Turks batterie. Neither were the Chriſtians in the meane time wanting vnto themſelues, hauing in the caſtle fortie great pieces of artillerie, wherewith they ſlew a number of the Turks and Moores: and ſometimes ſallying out, fought with them hand to hand, and hauing ſlaine and wounded many, retired againe into the caſtle. In this manner the ſiege continued three moneths with many an hot and deſperat skirmiſh: during which time, nothing more troubled the defendants than thirſt in that hot and drie climat and intemperat time of the yere: for why, in the caſtle there was but one great ciſterne, which although it yeelded ſome good ſtore of C water, yet was it not enugh to ſuffice ſo great a multitude, but was by meaſure ſtil ſparingly giuen out to the ſoldiers ſo far as it would ſerue, no man hauing more allowed him than would ſuffice to keep him aliue: the quantitie wherof ſome augmented by diſtilling of the ſea water, and mingling it with their allowance, and ſo well eaſed their thirſt, vntil ſuch time as hauing ſpent all their wood, they wanted that poore helpe alſo. There might a man haue ſeene many poore ſoules lying vpon the ground halfe dead, gaping and ſtill crying out nothing but Water, water; into whoſe drie mouths, if any man vpon compaſſion vouchſafed to poure a little water, they as men reuiued therewith would preſently ſit vp, vntill that for thirſt they fell downe againe, and ſo at length as men roſted gaue vp the ghoſt. Thus many died daily, beſide them whom the chance of warre and other deſeaſes without helpe conſumed in ſo great a diſtreſſe, D *Don Aluarus* the Gouernor conſidering the great extremitie they were now brought vnto, attempted with *Don Sanchius de Leyua* Admirall of the Neapolitan gallies, *Belingerius de Requeſenes* Admirall of the Sicilian gallies, & ſome others, by night to haue eſcaped away into a gallie which lay vnder the caſtle, but in doing thereof were perceiued by the Turks, and ſo all taken. Whereupon ſuch ſoldiers as ſickneſſe and the enemies ſword had yet left aliue, pinched with extreame neceſſity, forſaken of their beſt captaines, and out of all hope of reliefe alſo, couenanting their liues onely with the enemie, yeelded themſelues into moſt miſerable captiuitie. In this vnfortunat expedition periſhed about eighteene thouſand Chriſtians, ſome with ſickneſſe, ſome drowned, but moſt ſlaine, beſide the loſſe of a great part of the fleet alſo.

The caſtle of Zerbi beſieged by the Turks.

Don Aluarus with the reſt of the chiefe commanders taken priſoners.

The caſtle of Zerbi yeelded vnto the Turks

Of this victory *Piall* ſent news by one of his gallies to Conſtantinople, which for the more E manifeſting thereof, dragged at the poupe thereof a great enſigne of the Chriſtians, with the picture of Chriſt crucified therein. Which was no ſooner come into the hauen, but that the rumor of the ouerthrow of the Chriſtians was forthwith blowne thorow the whole citie, the Turks exceedingly reioicing one with another for the news of ſo great a victory: yea many of them not ſo contented, came by heaps to the gate of the houſe where the Emperor *Ferdinands* embaſſador lay, & there meeting with his ſeruants, by way of diriſion asked them, if they had any brethren, kinſmen, or friends, in the Spaniſh fleet at Zerbi, for if you haue (ſaid they) you ſhall ſhortly ſee them here. Beſides that, they with many words moſt inſolently bragged of their own valor, & ſcorned the cowardiſe of the Chriſtians, asking, who were able to withſtand them, now that the Spaniard was alſo ouercome. Al which with much more the embaſſadors F men with great griefe were inforced to heare, but there was no remedy, ſeeing God had ſo appointed it. Shortly after, in September, the victorious fleet returned to Conſtantinople, dragging with it the priſoners, ſpoiles, and gallies of the Chriſtians, a ſight no leſſe pleaſant vnto the Turks, than heauie vnto the Chriſtians: & that night it lay at anker neere vnto the rocks in the face of the city, with the greater pomp and glory to come the next day into the hauen. At

The Turks with victorie returne to Conſtantinople.

Augerius Buſbequius Epiſt. 4. legationis Turcicæ.

The miſerie of the Chriſtian captiues.

which time *Solyman* himſelfe was come downe into a gallerie neere vnto the hauens mouth, G adioining vnto his garden, the better to ſee the comming in of the fleet, and the Chriſtian captaines ſet there to ſhew vpon the poupe of the Admirall gallie, namely, *Don Aluarus de Sandes, Don Sanchius de Leyna, Don Billingerus de Requeſenes*, all of late great commanders: as for the Chriſtian gallies all diſarmed and vnrigged, ſo to ſeem the more contemptible in compariſon of the Turks, they were towed at the taile of the Turks gallies. They which then ſaw *Solymans* countenance, perceiued not in him any ſigne at all of any inſolent ioy. I my ſelfe (ſaith * *Busbequius*, then the Emperour *Ferdinands* embaſſadour there) ſaw him two daies after going to the church with the ſame countenance he had alwaies, with the ſame ſeueritie and grauitie, as if this victorie had nothing concerned him, nor any thing chanced ſtrange or vnexpected: ſo capable was the great heart of that old ſire, of any fortune, were it neuer ſo great; and his mind ſo H ſetled, as to receiue ſo great applauſe & reioycing without mouing. Within a few daies after, the Chriſtian captiues (before almoſt ſtarued with hunger) were brought to the court: many of whom could ſcarce ſtand vpon their legs, ſome others for weaknes fell down and fainted, and otherſome died outright: they were all ſcornefully led in triumph, with their armes diſordered and ſcornfully put vpon them: the Turks in the meane time inſulting round about them, promiſing vnto themſelues the empire of the whole world: and vainly asking, What enemie they were to feare, now that the Spaniard was ouercome. *Aluarus Sandes*, as chiefe of al the priſoners, being brought into the Diuano before the Viſier Baſſaes, and demanded by *Ruſtan Baſſa*, What his maſter meant, being not able to defend his own, to inuade other mens: anſwered, I That it beſeemed not him to iudge theron; and himſelfe to haue done but his dutie, with ſuch faithfulnes as was meet to put in execution what he was commanded by his lord, although he had no good fortune therein. After that, he beſought the Baſſaes vpon his knee, to ſpeake for him vnto *Solyman*, for that he had at home a poore wife, with certain ſmall children, for whom he requeſted him to ſpare him. Whereunto *Ruſtan Baſſa* (contrary to his manner) courteouſly anſwered, his ſoueraigne to be of a mild and gentle nature, and that he was in good hope his pardon might be of him obtained: ſo was he commanded away vnto *Caradines* his caſtle, towards the blacke ſea. But he was not gone far, but that he was called backe againe; for that the great Chamberlain, a man in great credit with *Solyman*, had not as yet ſeen him: for which cauſe he was ſent for backe again; wherewith he was not a little troubled, fearing leſt the Baſſaes hauing changed their minds, would haue put him to death. The reſt of the captiues of the better K ſort were committed to the caſtle of Pera, and amongſt them, *Don Sanchius de Leyna*, with his two baſe ſonnes, and alſo *Don Billingerus Requeſenes*: which two great men, with *Don Aluarus de Sandes*, were neuertheleſſe afterwards with much ado and almoſt beyond all hope, at the requeſt of the Emperour, and by the dexteritie of his embaſſador, by *Solyman* ſet at libertie; although he had before denied them vnto *Saluiat* the French kings embaſſador, wo had bin an earneſt interceſſor for them. Yet before they were deliuered out of priſon, the Muphti or Turks great prieſt was asked his opinion, Whether it were lawfull, for a greater number of Turks to exchange a few Chriſtian captiues (for the embaſſadour beſide the rewards he had promiſed vnto the Baſſaes, to further the matter, had alſo vndertaken, that fortie common priſoners of L the Turks ſhould be ſet at libertie for them) whereunto the Muphti anſwered, That the Doctors of their law were of diuers opinions concerning that queſtion, ſome ſaying that it was lawfull, and ſome not; howbeit as then it was by him reſolued vpon vnto the more fauorable part, and the exchange allowed.

There were among the priſoners taken at Zerbi, beſides theſe noblemen of whom we haue before ſpoken, two other noble gentlemen right honorably borne, *Don Iohn* of Cardona *Don Billinger* his ſon in law, and *Don Gaſto* the duke of Medina his ſonne, to whom yet but a youth his father neuertheleſſe had giuen an honorable place in the armie. Of theſe two *Don Iohn* had wiſely taken order for a great ſumme of money to be left in the Iſland of Chio, by the way as the Turks fleet went to Conſtantinople, from whence he afterwards in ſafetie got into Spain. But *Gaſto* was by *Piall Baſſa* (vpon hope of a great ranſome) purpoſely hid out of the way, M which had like to haue wrought his deſtruction: for *Solyman* hauing gotten an inckling thereof by the inſtigation of *Ruſtan*, laboured for nothing more than to haue *Gaſto* found out, ſo to haue a more iuſt occaſion for the putting of *Piall* to death, being taken tardie in ſo manifeſt a fault. But all that labour was ſpent in vaine, *Gaſto* being by death taken away, but whether by

the

A the plague (as ſome reported) or by *Piall* his means (as it were more like) leſt the truth ſhould be found out, is vncertaine. But certaine it was, that being with great care ſought for by the Duke his fathers ſeruants, he could neuer be heard of more: So that it was thought *Piall* for the ſafegard of his owne life, not to haue ſpared *Gaſto* his priſoners life. Who neuertheleſſe for a long time liued in great feare, and not daring to come to Conſtantinople, tooke occaſion with a few gallies to wander about amongſt the Iſlands of Ægeum, as if he had there ſomething to do: but indeed ſo ſhunning the ſight of his angrie lord, for feare he ſhould haue been compelled in bonds to haue anſwered the matter. Vntill at length he appeaſed at the requeſt of *Suleiman Baſſa* (the Eunuch and *Solymans* great Chamberlaine) and of *Selymus*, *Solymans* ſon, granted him his pardon in theſe words well worth the marking, out of the mouth of an Infi- B dell Prince: *Well haue hee from me pardon and forgiueneſſe for ſo great an offence: but let God the moſt iuſt reuenger of all villanies take of him due puniſhment after this life.* So fully he ſeemed to be perſuaded that no euill deed ought to remaine without puniſhment, either in this life or in the life to come.

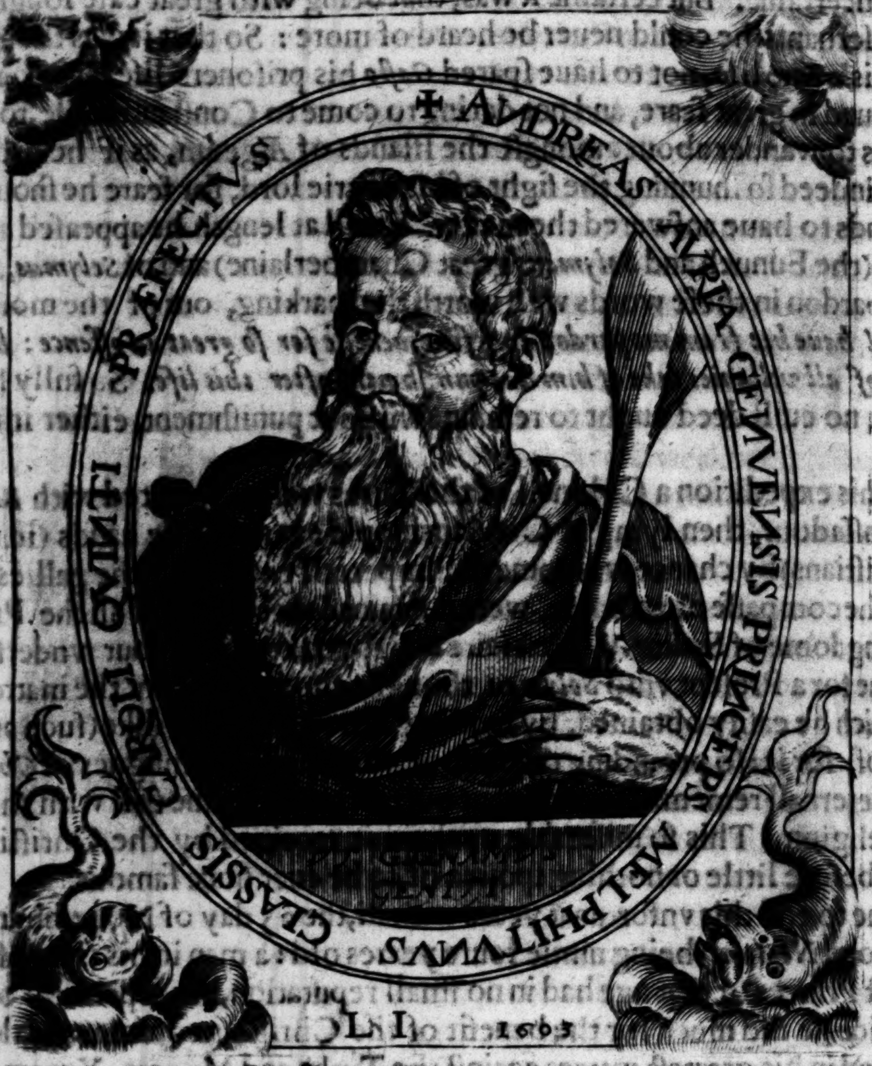
Pial in diſgrace with Solyman, ſhunneth to come to Conſtantinople.

There was in this expedition a Colonell of the Turks well acquainted with *Busbequius* the Emperours Embaſſadour, then lying at Conſtantinople: into whoſe hands (in that diſcomfiture of the Chriſtians) by chance was come the Imperiall enſigne of the gallies of Naples; wherein within the compaſſe of an Eagle, were contained the armes of all the Prouinces belonging to the kingdome of Spaine. Which faire enſigne the embaſſadour vnderſtanding him to purpoſe to giue for a Preſent vnto *Solyman*, thought good to preuent the matter, and to get C it from him: which he eaſily obtained, by ſending him two ſutes of ſilke (ſuch as the Turkes make reckoning of) for it: ſo prouiding that one of the Imperiall enſignes of *Charles* the fift, ſhould not to the eternall remembrance of that ouerthrow, remaine ſtill with the enemies of the Chriſtian Religion. This ſo miſerable a calamitie receiued by the Chriſtians at Zerbi, made that Iſland, before little or nothing ſpoken of, to be euer ſince famous.

One of the imperiall enſignes of Charles the fift redeemed frō the Turke.

About this time to end this vnfortunat yeare withall, the 25 day of Nouember died *Andreas Auria* (that ſecond *Neptune*) being nintie foure yeares old: a man in his time of great fame, and of the greateſt Princes of that age had in no ſmall reputation, but eſpecially of *Charles* the fift, in whoſe ſeruice he did much for the benefit of the Chriſtian common weale, being for moſt part imployed in his greateſt warres againſt the Turks and Moores. Yet amongſt all the D notable things done to his immortall glorie, the kindneſſe by him ſhewed vnto his natiue countrey was greateſt; which oppreſſed by the French, he ſet at libertie: and when he might haue taken vpon him the ſole gouernment thereof (as had diuers others before him) moderating his deſires, and reſpecting the onely good thereof, appeaſed the great diſſention that had of long raigned therein; and eſtabliſhed ſuch a forme of gouernment, confirmed with ſo good and wholeſome lawes and orders (no mans libertie infringed) as that it hath euer ſince to his eternall praiſe, in great wealth, ſtate, and liberty, thereby flouriſhed. Vnto whoſe remembrance (for that we haue before of him much ſpoken in the courſe of this Hiſtorie) I thought it not amiſſe to ioyne the liuely counterfeit of his reuerend aged countenance, by nature framed anE ſwerable vnto his noble vertues.

The death of the noble Andreas Auria.


ANDREAS AVRIA GENVENSIS PRINCEPS MELPHITANVS CLASSIS CAROLI QVINTI PRÆFECTVS

Genua quem genuit, genui quam deinde viciſsim,
Auria qui merui Carolo *ſub Cæſare quinto,*
Turcarum terror, piratarumque Subactor,
Barbara quem ſenſit tellus, & capta Thuniſſa,
Arx & Aphrodiſium, Moriaque vrbs celſa Corone,
Mors rapuit Luſtris decies prope quinque peractis.

As Genoa did me beget, ſo I preſeru'd the ſame:
  And ſeruing vnder *Charles* the fift, exalted haue my name.
A terrour to the Turks I was, I brought the pyrats low:
  And ſpoiling the Barbarian coaſt, made them my force to know.
Faire Tunes and ſtrong Aphrodiſe, both by my helpe were woon:
  And Corone in Morea, by me was ouerrun.
So hauing ſpent ninetie foure yeares in treading honours trace:
  Full fraught with honour and with yeares, I ended haue my race.

1561 *A great ſhip-wrecke.* The Turks the yere following, with their gallies robbed and ſpoiled diuers places vpon the coaſts of Italie, Sicilie and Malta: againſt whom *Philip* King of Spaine ſending forth his gallies, by force of tempeſt loſt twentie fiue of them, the eighteenth day of September, together with *Mendoza* Admirall of that fleet.

Ferdinand the Emperour, hauing with long ſute and much intreating obtained peace of *Solyman*, A *lyman*, and being now well ſtricken in yeares, and carefull both of the ſtate of the empire and of the aduancement of his poſteritie, began to deale with the Princes Electors for a choice to be made of a King of the Romans; who after his death might without the trouble of Germanie, ſucceed him in the empire: commending vnto them his ſon *Maximilian*, a Prince of great hope, then King of Bohemia. Whereupon an aſſembly of the Princes Electors was appointed to be holden at Franckford: who there meeting at the appointed time, with generall conſent the 24 day of Nouember in the yeare 1562, choſe *Maximilian* the Emperours ſon king of the Romans, and with all the accuſtomed ſolemnities crowned him: who alſo the yere after was at Presburg the eight of September with much ſolemnitie crowned king of Hungarie. Vnto this ſolemne aſſembly of the empire at Franckford, *Solyman* the Turkiſh Emperour B ſent *Ibrahim Baſſa*, otherwiſe called *Abraham Strozza* (a Polonian borne, of whom we haue before ſpoken) his embaſſador with Preſents and letters to *Ferdinand* the Emperor, to confirme the peace for eight yeares betwixt them before concluded; who the ſeuenteenth day of Nouember in preſence of the Emperour, the king of the Romans, and all the Princes Electors, had audience: where after much glorious ſpeech in ſetting forth his maſters greatneſſe, with his loue towards the Emperor and his ſonne the new choſen king, as wiſhing vnto them all happineſſe, he deliuered his letters of credence vnto the Emperour: the coppie whereof I haue not thought amiſſe here to ſet downe, for that therein is notably to be ſeen the moſt inſolent pride of that barbarous Prince, and miſerable eſtate of the rent kingdome of Hungary, diuided as it C were at his pleaſure betwixt him and the Emperour.

1562

Maximilian choſen king of the Romans, & after crowned King of Hungarie.

Solyman by his embaſſador confirmeth a peace with Ferdinand the emperor for eight yeares.

Solymans proud letters to the Emperour Ferdinand.

I the Lord of Lords, ruler of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, who am of power to doe and not to doe whatſoeuer pleaſeth mee, Lord of all Grecia, Perſia and Arabia, Commander of all things which can be ſubiect to King and command; the great Worthie of theſe times, and ſtrong Champion of the moſt wide World, Lord of all the white and blacke ſea, and of the holy Citie of Mecha ſhining with the brightneſſe of God, and of the Citie of Medina, and of the holy and chaſte Citie of Hieruſalem, King of the moſt noble Kingdome of Ægypt, Lord of Ionia, and of the Citie of Athens, Senau, of the ſacred Temple of God, Zabilon and Baſſio, Rethſan and Magodim, the ſeat and throne of the great King Naſhin Rettam, *and Lord of the Iſland of Algiers, Prince of the Kingdomes* D *of Tartarie, Meſopotamia, Media, of the Georgians, Morea, Anatolia, Aſia, Armenia, Walachia, Moldauia, and of all Hungarie, and of many other Kingdomes and territories, whereof I am Emperour; the moſt mightie Monarch Sultan* Solyman, *ſonne of the great Emperour Sultan* Selym, *who haue power from God to rule all people with a bridle; and ſtrength to breake open the gates and barres of all Cities and ſtrong places: Into whoſe mightie hand are deliuered all the ends of the World, none excepted. I the ruler of the Eaſt, from the Iſland of Tſein vnto the fartheſt bounds of Affrica, whome God hath appointed a mightie warriour in the edge of the ſword: amongſt whoſe moſt mightie Kingdomes the impregnable Caſtle of Ceſaraa is reputed for the leaſt, and in whoſe hereditarie dominions the Kingdome or Empire of* Alexander *the Great is accounted of as a trifle: with mee is the ſtrength of the whole World and vertue of the firmament. Foraſmuch as thou* E *King* Ferdinand, *which art the mightie Lord of Chriſtendome, and the choſen veſſell of the mightie Chriſtian Faith, created and elected Emperour of the Romane people, of Bohemia, Vandalia, Crabatia, and many other Countreys King and Lord, &c. Not long ſince ſent vnto our Court (which is the refuge of all Kings, the protection and ſanctuarie of all that flie thereunto, and the throne of Grace for all Princes of theſe times which repaire vnto it) one* Augerius Busbecke, *thy faithfull Counſellour and Embaſſadour, with Letters of conſideration, to renew with vs a peace, and to enter into a further league and bond of amitie: Which letters beare date the yeare from the Prophet Ieſu (vpon whom and our Prophet* Mahomet *reſt the brightneſſe and peace of God) 1562, the firſt day of Iune, requeſting of vs, That granting you peace for eight yeares, we would not with any hoſtilitie heereafter moleſt your Cities, Caſtles, or Countries, ſubiects, but to ſuffer them to liue in ſecure peace and tranquilitie,* F *&c. Vnto which your petition wee anſwere you, That from henceforth for the whole ſpace of eight yeares ſhall bee betwixt vs on both parts to be continued a new, true, and firme league: of which agreement, peace, and confederation, theſe ſhall bee the conditions. Firſt, That you our beloued ſhall be bound to ſend yearely to our court as a pledge of this league thirtie thouſand Hungarian Duckets, with that remainder which you owe vnto vs for the two yeares laſt paſt: For which wee promiſe vnto you, that wee from henceforth during this eight yeares league, will take no part either by way of* hoſtilitie or friendſhip with King Iohns ſonne, foraſmuch as belongeth to his hereditarie countries, whether they bee in the hither part of Hungarie, or on the further ſide of Teiſſe: All which for all that, by law of armes belong vnto vs. And the ſame King Iohns ſonne in time of this eight yeares league ſhall bee alſo bound in ſuch ſort to performe vnto vs his obedience, as that from henceforth it ſhall not be lawfull for him to vſe any warre or hoſtilitie againſt you, neither to trouble your ſubiects with fire or ſword, nor to ſurpriſe your Cities, Caſtles, or Townes; or by violence to take away or exact of your people or ſubiects, their ſheepe, their cattell, their goods, money or reuenewes. Wee alſo our ſelues ſhall haue no right, nor take occaſion to driue away your people, to burne your countries, or carrie away any captiues: but rather in this eight yeares ſpace religiouſly keepe peace and concord with you. And vnder theſe conditions of peace ſhall alſo be comprehended Michaell Balaſchus, Nicholas Bathor, with all their goods and territories, and diuers other ſuch like, which ſhall bee ſubiect vnto you and King Iohns ſonne. To be briefe, if happily any of yours or King Iohns ſonnes ſubiects ſhall haue now before in time of warre thruſt one another out of his goods, lands, or poſſeſſions, whereof new quarrels or diſcord may ariſe; wee will and decree, that all ſuch controuerſies, quarrels, and claims ſhall bee deferred vntill this definite time of the league expired. Beſide, if by chance any diſſention ſhall hereafter ariſe betwixt vs about our iuriſdiction, which can by no meanes be compoſed and ordered; we will that yours ſhall in the mean time remaine as yours, and ours as ours; all contention and enmitie ſet apart: alſo many townes ſcituate heere and there by Danubius and Tatta, ſhall be ſuffered to vſe the ſame law which they did in former time; ſo that the ſouldiers which are yet in garriſon in the caſtle of Tatta, ſhall haue no right to infeſt or vexe thoſe townes ſcituate neere vnto Danubius. Furthermore, if after this peace concluded, any of your noblemen or gentlemen ſhall fortune to haue any of our noblemen by reuolt or other occaſion whatſoeuer, captiues, they ſhall diſmiſſe them and ſet them at libertie, to returne vnto their friends freely without hurt or ranſome; that ſo the concord and peace begun betwixt vs, may bee the more firmely kept, and our ſubiects liue in more ſecuritie. All and euery one of theſe things we grant and promiſe to bee of vs from henceforth vntill the end of the aforeſaid eight yeares, without all fraud or guile religiouſly obſerued and kept: and for that purpoſe haue cauſed theſe our letters of this peace and confederation to be publiſhed from our royall pallace: and moreouer, haue not onely prouided, that the coppie of the ſame ſhould together with our edict be proclaimed to all and euery the Generalls, Captaines, Lieutenants, of our armies both by ſea and land, in all the parts of our empire, and to all our mercinarie ſouldiers, but haue alſo ſtraightly commanded, that it ſhall bee firmely and ſincerely kept. We will alſo, that this agreement of peace and amitie ſhall comprehend and concerne our two chiefe Gouernours or Vaynods of Vallachia and Moldauia, ſo that none of your people of Hungarie, Crabatia, Sclauonia, or other your countries or Iſlands whatſoeuer, ſhall in any ſort bee moleſted or grieued by our ſubiects. And if it ſhall fortune that ſome ſhall on your part out of their Caſtles ſet vpon our ſubiects, or by force take away their goods, the ſame men ſhal in any caſe be bound to make thereof reſtitution. Alſo if any ſhall flie from vs, and carry away with them the money or goods of their maiſters whome they ſerued, or if the like ſhall be done by any of yours flying to vs, then the ſame goods on both parts are to be of right demanded and recouered againe, and the fugitiues to the example of others to be corrected and puniſhed: foraſmuch as fugitiues goods of right appertaine vnto their Lords and maſters. Furthermore it ſhall bee lawfull for your Captaines and Commanders to fortifie or build Caſtles, Cities, or Townes, in the borders of Hungarie, and to put into the ſame victuall, armour, and ſuch like, but ſo, that they doe none of theſe things out of their owne limits. And during the time of this league, it ſhall not be lawfull to take or carrie away any of your ſubiects priſoners either in Hungarie or in other place of your iuriſdiction: which for all that, if it ſhall by any chance happen, that then ſuch captiues without delay be ſuffered) ſafely to returne home againe. Furthermore, whatſoeuer Chriſtian ſhall haue any buſineſſe to doe in our magnificent court or any part of our dominions, as are Embaſſadours, officers, ſeruants and ſuch others: vnto all theſe we not onely grant and permit, that they may come and goe about their buſineſſe, and ſo againe depart from our court or prouinces; but alſo haue willed and commanded, them to bee well and courteouſly entreated by our ſubiects, and furthered with the interpretation of our language. And if it ſhall fortune any contention or diſcord to ariſe betwixt our ſubiects on either ſide, about the bounds and limits of Lands, or other ſuch like cauſes: ſuch controuerſies we wil to be decided and determined by diſcreet and indifferent men on both parts, and the authours of ſuch diſcord and variance, to be puniſhed as ſuſpected perſons and breakers of the league. We alſo prohibite thoſe skirmiſhes or combats, which were woont to be ſometimes on both ſides made vpon the borders. And deſire, that the forme of this league and peace, and euery article thereof, may bee

publiquely

A *publiquely read and ſet vp in ſundrie places of your Dominions; and commandement giuen, that they may with due obedience and reuerence be obſerued and kept. Which we likewiſe haue now before promiſed faithfully and aſſuredly to performe: and your Embaſſador whom a few moneths agone you ſent vnto vs, in your name requeſted the ſame of vs, and hath with earneſt prayers mooued vs, by Imperiall oath and theſe Letters of credence to witneſſe, that we did ratifie and confirme the ſame; as if wee our ſelues ſhould ſpeake to you in preſence. Wherefore we haue giuen to him theſe our letters of Pacification to you directed, that your Generals, ſouldiers, and ſubiects, may be bound alſo to obſerue and keepe all theſe things: wherefore, ſo long as nothing contrarie to this league ſhall be done on your part; ſo long in like manner all theſe articles of peace ſhall be of me accepted and aſſured. For witneſſe and confirmation whereof I ſweare this oath; By the true and liuing Creator of heauen and earth, by the true ſignes of our* B *great and reuerend Prophet, by my Imperiall power, and by my true faith; that nothing contrary or repugning vnto the aforeſaid articles, conditions, and promiſes of the eight yeares league agreed vpon betwixt vs, ſhall be attempted or done by any our Gouernours, Generals, or Vayuods, &c. Commanding moreouer, all our ſworne Gouernors of our moſt mightie Empire in Walachia and Moldauia, and king* Stephen *himſelfe, and others which haue the gouernment of our Empire confining vpon you, That they all and euery of them as well as our ſelues, ſhall iuſtly, faithfully, and religiouſly accept, reuerence, and keepe theſe conditions of peace, towards your ſubiects, cities, caſtles, townes, and other things appertaining to you; and in the leaſt thing not to hurt, iniurie, or wrong any your ſubiects. In briefe, we ſhall as far as our part concerneth vs, giue vnto this moſt mightie and great new made loue and friendſhip, ſo great honour, reuerence, and authoritie, that that which may euen in the leaſt things be had, ſhall not on* C *our part be wanting. In token whereof, we haue ſuffered certaine Chriſtian captiues, whom by your Embaſſador you requeſted to haue ſet at libertie, franckly to returne vnto you without ranſom; out of which captiuitie they could neuer haue been redeemed, if in regard of this our amitie and friendſhip we had not granted them libertie: truſting that you will in like ſort ſet at libertie ſuch of ours as you haue captiues. Giuen at our Imperiall Palace and ſeat in the moſt mightie citie of Conſtantinople, the firſt day of September, in the yeare of our great and reuerend Prophet 969.*

The Turks purpoſing warre, craftily ſue for peace.

Preſents from Solyman to the Emperor Ferdinand.

The ſame Embaſſador after he had deliuered theſe letters, preſented vnto the Emperor the gifts he had brought from his great Maſter: which was two great cups of naturall Cryſtall curiouſly wrought and ſet with ſtones of great price; a couragious Turkie horſe with a ſaddle D and trappings wrought with gold, and ſet with pretious ſtones, and garniſhed with chaines of pure gold; and foure of the faireſt camels that were to be got in all Conſtantinople. In deliuering of which Preſents the Baſſa made his excuſe, that the horſe and camels had loſt their beautie, being with foure moneths trauel from Conſtantinople, growne ſomewhat leane and wearie.

1564

The death of the Emperor Ferdinand.

New troubles in Hungarie.

This peace thus concluded betwixt the Emperour *Ferdinand* and *Solyman*, held firme vntill the death of *Ferdinand*, who about two yeres after in the yere 1564 vpon S. *Iames* his day died, being ſixtie yeres old: whereof he raigned as Emperor not full ſeuen yeares. In whoſe place ſucceeded *Maximilian* his ſon, before choſen King of the Romans. But immediatly after the death of *Ferdinand*, the Captaines on the frontiers of that part of Hungarie which was holden E for the Emperour on the one ſide, and the Turkes Captaines with the Vayuod of Tranſyluania on the other ſide, wearie of their eaſe, began contrarie to the forme of the League, to ſurpriſe ſtrong holds and townes one in anothers confines, whereof enſued much trouble. The author whereof was *Melchior Balas* the Emperours lieutenant in that part of Hungarie, which bordereth vpon Tranſyluania, who firſt ſurpriſed certaine townes vpon the frontiers thereabouts: in reuenge whereof, the Vayuod ſuddenly ſet vpon Sackmar a towne in the Emperors Territorie, which he tooke, and therein *Balas* his wife and children. In deſpight whereof *Balas* ranſacked and burnt Debrezin a great Towne of the Vayuods. But not long after, the Vayuod *Solymans* Vaſſall, and aided by him with foure thouſand Turkes and three thouſand Moldauians, did much harme vpon the frontiers of that part of Hungarie which belonged vnto F the Emperour; and firſt tooke Hadad, and afterwards beſieged Vngar. In requitall whereof, *Maximilian* the Emperour ſent *Lazarus Suendi* a valiant Captaine, who with an Army of eight thouſand beſieged the ſtrong Caſtle of Tokay, which he tooke the fift of Februarie, in the yeare 1565, and after that tooke the rich Towne of Erden. In the meane time *Solyman*, who had in himſelf fully purpoſed to be reuenged of all theſe iniuries (as well appeared

1565

by

The Turks purpoſing warre, craftily ſue for peace.

by that he did the yeare following) to ſtay the Emperour from proceeding farther, vntil ſuch G
time as he were at better leiſure to be reuenged, (for as then he was making great preparation
for Malta) ſent *Marcus Lilineſius* a renegat Tranſiluanian of Cibinum, his Embaſſador to *Maximilian*,
to put him in remembrance of the league made with his father, and to wiſh him to haue
regard how he further proceeded to the breach thereof. Whereupon the Emperour, becauſe
he would not ſeeme vnwilling to hearken to peace, commanded his lieutenants and captaines
no more to inuade Tranſyluania or that part of Hungarie which the Turkes held. Howbeit
that whileſt this Embaſſadour was thus entreating of peace at Vienna, the Baſſa of Temeſware
in the borders of Tranſyluania, made diuers incurſions into the borders of Hungarie,
and with ſix thouſand ſouldiers beſieged the ſtrong caſtle of Iula, and the Turks in great number
came daily into Tranſyluania. At which time alſo *Suendi* Generall of *Maximilian* his H
Forces vpon the frontiers, by meſſengers ſent for that purpoſe, wiſhed him not to giue any
credit vnto the Turks Embaſſadour, who meaning nothing but warre, vnder the colour of
peace ſought nothing els but to take him vpon the ſudden vnprouided. Neither ceaſed theſe
troubles thus, but dayly grew from euill to worſe: for in Iune the Tranſyluanians beſieged
Erden, before taken by the Imperials, and after two moneths ſiege had it yeelded vnto them.
In the meane time *Chernouich* the Emperours Embaſſador to *Solyman*, returned from Conſtantinople;
aſſuring him, that the great Turke for all his faire ſhewes of peace, meant indeed nothing
but warres, for which he was (as he ſaid) making great preparation both by ſea and land.
Whereupon the Emperour began to raiſe new forces: which thing diuers Noblemen both
of Germanie and other places hearing of, came vnto him with their followers: and amongſt I
other *Romerus* one of the Knights of Malta, and diuers others of his brethren, with fiue companies
of ſouldiers well appointed, ſent thither by *George Hochenheime* grand Prior of that Order
in Germanie, and then confirmed one of the Princes of the Empire. At the ſame time alſo,
the Turkes being buſie vpon the borders of Styria, and the places thereabouts, were many
times cut off by *Charles* the Archduke: who taking them at an aduantage, ſlew at one time
three thouſand of them. Yet for all this, the Turkes Embaſſadour was ſtill at Vienna treating
for peace, and ſo cunningly handled the matter, that whereas *Eccius Salma* a valiant Captaine,
had corrupted the chiefe Iudge with certaine others of Alba-Regalis, to haue betraied the
Citie vnto him; for performance whereof they had deliuered their wiues and children as
hoſtages, and he was now vpon his way from Rab, which is but eight miles off, in an aſſured K
hope to haue ſurpriſed the Citie; he was ſuddenly by letters in poſt from the Emperour, called
backe againe, for corrupting the hope conceiued of peace: and ſo was that notable deſignement
vnfortunately diſappoined: of which practiſe the Turkes hauing knowledge, afterwards
moſt cruelly executed fortie of the conſpiratours, impaling ſome of them vpon
ſharpe ſtakes, and hanging others vpon yron hookes by the jawes vntill they were dead.
Shortly after the Turkes tooke Neoſtat, which was not long after againe recouered by the
Emperour.

At the ſame time one of the Turks ſpies was taken at Zigeth, who but thirteen daies before
was ſent from Conſtantinople, of purpoſe to view the ſtrength and ſcituation of that place: he
being brought before *Charles* the Archduke, and examined, ſaid, That *Solyman* would aſſuredly L
the next Spring come in perſon himſelfe into Hungarie, to beſiege the ſtrong caſtles of Zigeth
and Iula. At which time alſo Countie *Serinus* tooke certaine other of the Turks Spies,
by whome he was certainly aduertiſed of *Solymans* comming the next yeare; and amongſt
others, *Scaphir Vayda* the Baſſa of Buda his chiefe Counſellor. Beſide this, the countrey men
contributors both to the Imperials and the Turkes, were now ſtraightly commanded by the
Turks, to pay no more contribution money vnto the Imperials: whereupon it was eaſily gathered,
that all that talke of peace was as *Suendi* had oftentimes written, nothing els but to delay
the time, and to put them in ſecuritie. Beſide that, the Turks made incurſions daily into one
place or other of the Emperors territories, ſhewing their antient hate, and ſowing by thoſe
light skirmiſhes, as it were the ſeed of a greater war againſt the next Spring: which the Emperour M
now out of doubt of (being alſo warned thereof by many letters from his friends) put
ſtrong garriſons into his frontier towns, eſpecially into Rab and Zigeth. But knowing that to
be but a poore helpe againſt ſo puiſſant an enemie, he reſolued as his father and vncle had done
before, to reſt vpon the ſtrength of the Empire, and againſt the next yeare to call a generall

aſſembly

A aſſemblie of the Princes of the Empire at Auguſta, for the better withſtanding of the common enemie. The wars thus beginning againe in Hungarie, *Solyman* at the ſame time in reuenge of the manifold harmes done vnto his ſubiects by the Knights of Malta, (whoſe hand he found euer againſt him in all his dealings with the other Chriſtian Princes) made great preparation both by ſea and land; purpoſing, as ſeemed by the manner thereof, to haue raſed the memoriall of thoſe worthie men from off the earth. Whereunto, beſide the naturall hatred which he bare againſt all Chriſtians in generall, and them aboue the reſt in particular, he was much incited by *Caſſanes*, *Barbaruſſa* his ſonne King of Algiers, and *Dragut* gouernor of Tripolis: by whoſe perſuaſions he cauſed a ſtrong fleet to be rigged vp, commanding the Lieutenants and Gouernors of his ports and hauens all alongſt the ſea coaſt, to put to their helping hands, and
B to be readie againſt the next Spring. And not long after, vnderſtanding partly of his own certaine knowledge, and partly by the relation of others, in what good forwardneſſe things were; he calling together a great aſſemblie of his chiefe Princes and men of warre, deliuered vnto them his minde as followeth:

Solyman maketh preparation againſt the Knights of Malta.

What thing I haue this fortie yeares alwaies wiſhed, which was to haue ſo much leiſure from other warres, as to plucke out of their neſts, and vtterly to root out theſe croſſed Pyrats, which vaunt themſelues to be the Bulwarke of Chriſtendome: that ſame me-thinks I haue by the fauour of God and Muhamed *his Prophet, at this time obtained. For wee haue ſo repreſſed the attempts of the Perſians, that they cannot let vs: and in Hungarie, from whence certaine dreadfull motions were reported,*
C *we our ſelues will ſhortly do thoſe things which ſhall inforce our enemies to hide their heads in the heart of Germanie, and to ſue to vs for peace. You your ſelues daily heare the pittifull complaints of our ſubiects and merchants, whome theſe Maltaſes, I ſay not ſouldiers, but pyrats, if they but looke into thoſe ſeas, ſpoyle and make prize of: whoſe iniuries to reuenge, all lawes both of God and man require. Neither can any thing happen vnto me more pleaſing or more honorable, than if I may before I die accompliſh thoſe things, that is, to win Malta, and to leaue all things in order in Hungarie and Polonia: except perhaps ſome man thinke it a harder matter for vs to thruſt theſe Croſſed companions from the rockes of Malta, than for our Anceſtors to haue driuen them from Ieruſalem, and ſo quite out of Syria: and for our ſelues to haue forced them out of the ſtrong Iſland of the Rhodes. But this ſome will ſay is neerer vnto Italy, from whence aid may eaſily be ſent, and the place defended*
D *by a Fleet. Beleeue me, they will neuer aduenture to fight with vs at ſea, who remember themſelues to haue been there by vs ſo often ouerthrowne: beſide that, ſo little a place cannot containe any great garriſon; neither if it could, could it long feed them. Wherefore vnto this expedition we haue determined with the firſt of the Spring to ſend a moſt ſtrong Fleet: and euen now we haue alreadie commanded all our ſea Captaines and Aduenturers which acknowledge our commaund, to be there preſent with their Ships. The King of Algiers will be there, the garriſons of Alexandria are in readineſſe, ſo alſo is* Dragut *with his appointed Fleet: as for our owne it is by mine owne appointment rigged vp: vnto which Fleet I doubt not but that all the ſtrength of the Weſt will giue place. Which thing (worthie Captaines) we ſpeake, truſting vpon the helpe of Almightie God and* Muhamed *his great Prophet, with your knowne and approued valour: Now remaineth onely, that euerie*
E *one of you thinke with vs, how this warre may beſt be managed, and ſo to referre your deuices vnto vs: which that you may the better doe, Lo, I here deliuer vnto you the ſcituation of the whole Iſland, and proiect of all their Fortifications, which we haue receiued of moſt expert and skilfull men.*

Solymans oration to his Captains for the inuaſion of Malta.

Solymans purpoſe thus made knowne, and the matter well conſidered, after that they which beſt knew the ſtrong places and maners of the Maltæſes, had declared their opinions what they thought to be moſt expedient, it was decreed, That they ſhould with all ſpeed ſet forward: wherefore victuall and other things neceſſarie for ſuch an expedition being with wonderfull celeritie prepared, they expected but winde. Of theſe things *Io. Valetta* a Frenchman, Grand maſter of Malta and of the Knights of the Order, being both by letters and meſſengers aduertiſed (for he had alwaies fit men his intelligencers at Conſtantinople, who warily noted the purpoſes and actions of *Solyman*) was not affraid, but knowing that of God depended the victorie, and that men were to watch, labour, and foreſee; he aſſembled a Councell of his Knights, and in few words ſpake vnto them in this ſort:

Valetta the Grand maſter aduertiſed of Solyman his purpoſe.

Valetta his Oration vnto his Knights.

What Solyman *prepareth (moſt Noble and valiant Knights) and what a great warre he prouideth againſt vs, you with me of late right well vnderſtand, wherefore it is needleſſe for me to vſe any long ſpeech with you concerning that matter. The enemie is knowne, his inſatiable ambition is knowne, his ſtrength is knowne, and his mortall hate againſt vs and the Chriſtian name is ſufficiently knowne. Wherfore let vs all as one firſt reconcile our ſelues to God, and then prouide all ſuch things as ſhall be needfull for the warre. In briefe, noble Knights, to reconcile our ſelues vnto God, and to appeaſe his diſpleaſure, two things are of vs to be performed: whereof the one conſiſteth in amendment of life, with a holy conuerſation: the other in the religious worſhipping of him, with a firme and conſtant truſt in his helpe, with prayer, which is called godlineſſe. By theſe meanes our Aunceſtors obtained many victories againſt the Infidels in the Eaſt. Neither is it to be doubted, but if we ſhall in theſe things ioyne together, we ſhall alſo fruſtrat all the force and fury of this proud Tyrant. But foraſmuch God vſually helpes them which labour and take paines, and not the negligent and ſloathfull, we muſt of neceſsitie ioyne vnto them thoſe helpes, which both our profeſsion and the courſe of warre requireth: which partly conſiſteth in our ſelues, and partly in the other Chriſtian Princes. For victuall, armour, money, and other ſuch things as in warres are requiſite, we will ſo prouide, that no man ſhall iuſtly complaine, that wee ſpared either coſt or paines. I will poure out all my ſtore, neither will I for deſire of life refuſe any danger. As for the Chriſtian Princes, I cannot perſuade my ſelfe that they will lie ſtill in ſo fit an opportunitie, and in ſo great a danger, not of our eſtate onely, but much more of their owne. Verely I will not ſpare to exhort euery one of them both by Letters and by Meſſengers, which in part we haue alreadie done: and I doubt not but we ſhall haue aid enough from the Pope, the Emperour, and the King of Spaine (ſuch is their Chriſtian zeale) and they I hope ſhall moone the reſt. As for you, the Princes and verie light of this ſacred Order, and the reſt of our brethren, moſt valiant Knights, I am well aſſured you will ſo fight for the moſt holy Chriſtian Religion, for your liues and goods, and for the glorie of the Latine Name, againſt a moſt cruell Tyrant, the rooter out of all true Religion, of all ciuilitie and good learning, the plague of the world, hated of God and man; as that he ſhall feele the ſting of the Croſſe which he ſo much contemneth, euen in the citie of Conſtantinople, yea in his houſes of pleaſure. For we ſhall not haue now to do with him in the Iſland of the Rhodes, far from the helpe of our friends, (from Aſia, from Europe, from Ægypt incloſed with our enemees both by ſea and land) but in the eyes of Italy and Spaine, in places ſtrongly fortified, from whence the enemie may eaſily be circumuented: which that it may ſo fal out, let vs not ceaſe to pray vnto Almightie God, and to craue his readie helpe.*

The Knights make preparation for the Turks cōming

When the Grand maſter had thus ſaid, all that were preſent promiſed with one aſſent rather to loſe their liues, than in any part to faile the Common cauſe, or to come into the power of *Solyman.* After that, publique prayer and ſupplication was made in euerie Church thorough the Iſle, and three Colonells choſen out of all the Knights: one an Italian ſyrnamed *Imperator*, another *Borneas* a French man, and *Quatrius* a Spaniard the third, all aduiſed men, and moſt expert Souldiours, who ſhould with all diligence prouide all things neceſſarie for the Warre. By whoſe appointment the ſuburbs and trees which might any way be hurtfull to the fortified places, were ouerthrowne, the fortifications were thoroughly viewed, the Garriſons ſtrengthened, and all manner of prouiſion moſt plentifully diſtributed: and Letters from the Great Maſter ſent vnto the Great Biſhop and other Chriſtian Princes, requeſting their aid againſt the Common Enemie. Meſſengers were alſo diſmiſſed into diuers places, to certifie both the Knights of the Order and others, of the Turkes great preparation.

Solymans fleet departeth from Conſtantinople.

Solymans fleet departing from Conſtantinople the two and twentieth day of March, in the yeare 1565, kept a direct courſe towards Peloponeſus, and ſo came to Methone: where *Muſtapha Baſſa* one of the Turks greateſt captaines, a man of 75 yeares, and Generall of the land forces, muſtered the armie, wherein were numbred ſeuen thouſand horſemen of them which are of the Turks called Spahi: out of the leſſer Aſia, conducted by the gouernor of that countrey, and two Lieutenants of Cilicia, fiue hundred: and of the Iſland of Lesbos, now called Metylene, foure hundred: hee had of the Ianizaries foure thouſand fiue hundred led by two Colonels appointed by *Solyman*, for that the chiefe Captaine of the Ianizaries, which they call the Aga, neuer departeth from the citie but when the Sultan goeth himſelfe. Beſides theſe was a certaine kind of men amongſt the Turks, who liue of the reuenues of the Church; of them there was in the Armie thirteene thouſand, who had at Conſtantinople vowed

A their liues for their ſuperſtition. Out of Thracia and Peloponeſus were come two Colonels and one Lieutenant, with twelue hundred horſemen and three thouſand fiue hundred voluntaries out of diuers countries. There alſo *Piall Baſſa Solymans* Admirall tooke view of the fleet, werein were found a hundred and thirtie gallies, two and twentie ſhips for burthen, ſome greater, ſome leſſer; beſides one that was caſt away neere vnto Methone, where was loſt ſix thouſand barrels of pouder, thirteene thouſand great ſhot, and foure hundred Spahi: beſides theſe, there were ten gallies from the Rhodes commanded by *Halyport* a man of 70 yeres; two gallies from Mitylene, and about ſeuenteene galliots and other ſmall pyrats ſhips. With this ſtrong fleet the Turks departing from Methone the thirteenth of May, arriued at Malta the eighteenth of the ſame moneth, and put into a hauen in the Northeaſt part of the Iſle, B which the inhabitants call Marzaſiroc: but perceiuing themſelues not to be there in ſafetie, they remoued to another port called Maior.

The Turks fleet arriueth at Malta.

The deſcription of Malta.

The Iſland of Malta lying betwixt Affrica and Sicilia, might be doubted whether it were to be accounted in Affricke or Europe, but that the antient Coſmographers, and the Moores language, which the Maltæſes haue alwaies vſed, claime it for Affricke: it is in length from the Northeaſt to the Southweſt twentie miles, and in the broadeſt place twelue. It regardeth Affricke Southward, ouer againſt Leptis Parua; and Sicilia towards the North, but more towards Pachinum than Lilybeum; and is in circuit about threeſcore miles. It ſeemeth to haue taken the name of Melita, of *Mel* or Honey, whereof it yeeldeth plentie. The trees there beare fruit twice a yeare, and they haue oftentimes twice harueſt, eſpecially of barley and cotten wooll; C yet is the Iſle in ſome places ſtonie, grauellie, and bare of wood: neuertheleſſe it beareth figs, apples, almonds, grapes, and other fruit trees planted by the induſtrie of man, datetrees alſo, but not fruitfull: it beareth thiſtles of ſuch bigneſſe that the inhabitants vſe them for wood: freſh water is there wonderfull ſcarce, and ſuch Wels as they haue are filled with raine in Winter, for in Summer they are either cleane drie, or els the water becommeth brachie. The inhabitants are ſo burnt with the Sunne, that they differ little in colour from the Æthyopians: they are of a wholeſome conſtitution of body, ſpare of diet, induſtrious, rather painfull than warlike, dying more for age, than of ſickneſſe: their buildings, except it be in the citie, which is in the midſt of the Iſland, and in the ſuburbs, are long and low (like vnto the Moores) couered with turfe or reed. It is commonly ſuppoſed, that S. *Paul* was by ſhipwreck D caſt vpon this Iſland: but it is with greater reaſon to be thought that it was the other Melita in the Adriaticke betwixt Corcyra and Illyria, and better agreeth with that which *Luke* writeth of the Apoſtles trouble and ſhipwrecke in the Adriatique, out of which ſea, it is not to be gathered by the text, that *Paul* and the reſt were driuen. But againe to our purpoſe: That ſide of Multa which reſpecteth Sicilia, hath in it many good harbours and commodious hauens fit for ſhipping; where beſides the port Marzaſiroc towards the Eaſt, where the Turkes fleet firſt landed, and the port of S. *Thomas*, with another called Scala not farre off, it hath two other notable hauens, the one called Maior, and the other Marzamoxet, diuided the one from the other by a narrow piece of ground: which with a ridge runneth in length from the South to the North almoſt in manner of an Iſland, hauing the hauen Maior on the Eaſt Marza Moxet E the Weſt. Vpon the head of this high ridge ſtandeth the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, of great ſtrength both by nature and art. As a man entreth into the hauen Maior, vpon the left hand are foure promontories pointing farre into the hauen on that ſide, almoſt in manner of Iſlands, making ſo many bayes: Vpon the firſt ſtandeth the gallowes, whereof alſo it taketh name: vpon the verie point of the ſecond, on a rough and high rocke ſtandeth a moſt ſtrong Caſtle, called the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo*, whereunto adioineth the Towne, ſeperated from the Caſtle onely with a wall and a ditch, and is placed in a hollowneſſe cut out of the maine rocke, ſtrengthened alſo with the ſea and the induſtrie of man, and is of ſome called the Burg, of others the new Citie; in this Caſtle reſideth the Grand maſter, and the ſouldiers in the Burg: vpon the third promontorie ſtandeth another ſtrong Caſtle, which they call alſo the Burg of S. *Michael*: the fourth promontorie is not inhabited, from whence the ſea runneth alongſt the winding banks almoſt into the midſt of the Iſland, vnto a place called Aqua Marſia. Againe, after the port Marza Moxet, Weſtward is the harbor of S. *George*; and after that another called Bennorrat: then followeth the port of S. *Paul*, no leſſe than the port Marzaſiroc: after which commeth the port called Salinarum Sinus: but on that ſide of the Iſland towards Affricke, is

Acts 27 & 28.

onely one port called Milliaria: neere vnto the Iſland of Malta lie certaine other little Iſlands, G
as Gauloſo, now Goza, two other called Cuminia, and another called Piper, all ſubiect to the
Maltæſes.

Thus much I haue thought good to ſet downe concerning the Turks fleet, and for the de-
ſcription of thoſe places wherein this great action was performed, the brute whereof then fil-
led the world. Now ſhall it not be amiſſe, in like manner to declare vpon what ſtrength, next
vnto God, *Valetta* the Grand maſter ſtood againſt ſo mightie and puiſſant an enemie. Firſt,
there was in the Iſland 1300 mercinaries, ſome Spaniards, ſome French, ſome Florentines,
and the reſt of Naples: there was alſo 1000 ſea men of the Knights fleet, and 500 in the town
of S. *Angelo*: and of the country people which were fled into the ſtrong places fiue thouſand,
men not altogether vnskilfull of the wars: there was alſo fiue hundred Knights of the Order, H
beſides Prieſts and Squires; for of theſe three ſorts of men are they which are called Brethren
of the Order. This was the number of them which defended the caſtles and towns of S. *Elmo*,
S. *Angelo*, and S. *Michael*, whereunto they were proportionably diuided: and in the City it
ſelfe, which is called Melita, being in the middle of the Iſland, was 200 ſouldiers and as many
citiſens, with three hundred of the countrey people all horſemen, commanded by *Io. Vagno* a
valiant captaine. Beſides this, euery place was furniſhed with plentie of victuall, armor, wea-
pons, artillerie, and whatſoeuer els was needfull for the enduring of a long ſiege, and a war that
ſhould want many things: and that which paſſed all the reſt, minds armed with inuincible cou-
rage againſt whatſoeuer ſhould chance, which oftentimes maketh of the vanquiſhed, victors.
All theſe things being in readineſſe and orderly diſpoſed, as ſoone as they vnderſtood that ſe- I
uen and twentie of the Turks gallies had put into the hauen Marzaſiroc, and were there lan-
ding their men; *Gyon* Admirall for the Order, a valiant and couragious Knight, marched thi-
ther with 500 harquebuſiers, to haue skirmiſhed with them: but as ſoone as the Turks ſaw
them comming, they retired againe to their gallies. On the other part where the other fleet
lay, two hundred of the Turks going on ſhore, met by chance with *Riuerius* a Frenchman, and
eight Knights moe, who hauing his horſe killed vnder him, and one of his companions ſlaine,
fell with the reſt into the hands of the enemie. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, a certaine
Chriſtian mariner fled out from the Turks to the Citie Melita; who diſcouered the enemies
purpoſe, telling them, That the Turks by the appointment of *Muſtapha* had determined to haue
landed the greateſt part of their forces, preſently to haue beſieged ſome ſtrong place; had not K
Piall Baſſa the Admirall exclaimed againſt it, doubting to be left too weake at ſea: ſaying
plainly, That he would attempt nothing before the comming of *Dragut*, who was euery houre
expected. For *Solyman* had expreſly commanded, that they ſhould doe nothing without his
counſell; ſo great an opinion had he of his policie and valor. But whether this his report was
true or otherwiſe, the Turks for all that returning with their fleet to the port of Marzaſirock,
landed 20000 ſoldiers & fiue field pieces, and ſo intrenched themſelues. This done, *Piall Baſſa*
with 7000 went to view the caſtle of S. *Michael*, but for feare of the great ſhot durſt not to
come nigh it: neuertheleſſe they of the towne ſallying out, couragiouſly skirmiſhed with the
Turks; in which conflict, *Curfelinus*, ſirnamed *Parda*, accompanied but with one Spaniard, ſo
furiouſly aſſailed the enemy, that he tooke from him one enſigne, and ſlew one of the Sanzacks L
a great commander, with diuers others. When *Piall* was come againe into the campe, the Ge-
nerall began to conſult with the other captaines, whether it were better to lay ſiege to the Ca-
ſtle of S. *Elmo*, or to the towne of S. *Michael*: in concluſion it was agreed vpon, that they
ſhould with all their forces beſiege the caſtle of S. *Elmo*. And going vp the hill to view the
caſtle, they were incountred by the gariſon ſoldiers, in which fight ſome few were loſt on both
ſides. Thus by degrees things growing hoater and hoater, the Grand maſter thought it good
to certifie *Garzias* of Toledo Viceroy and Sicilie, how things ſtood, that he might the ſooner
rig vp his fleet to come to their reſcue. Wherefore he commanded one galley to put out of
the hauen by night, and to paſſe ouer into Sicilie, with *Saluagus* one of the Knights ſent thither M
on meſſage. In the meane time the Turks caſt vp a mount to haue battered the caſtle of S. *El-*
mo, and beaten the gallies in the hauen Maior, and ſo to haue opened a way for their fleet to
haue entred: but they were not able long to keepe that mount, for they had ſcarcely well en-
ded the worke, but it was forthwith by the continuall thundring ſhot out of the caſtle beaten
downe againe: which thing greatly abated the Turks courage. About that time, *Ochial* came

Riuerius with other Knights taken of the Turks.

The Turks land

They of the Caſtle of S. Michael skirmiſh with the Turks.

to

The Turks beſiege the Caſtle of S. Elmo.

A to the fleet with ſix ſhips, drawne out of them which were left for the defence of Alexandria, and in them 900 ſoldiers. The Turks beaten from their firſt mount, caſt vp another on a higher ground, whereon they placed three great pieces of ordnance, wherewith they annoied not only the hauen wherein the fleet of Malta rid, but the caſtle of S. *Angelo* alſo, the Great maſters ſeat, and with a rolling trench drew neerer and neerer vnto the Caſtle of S. *Elmo*: which although they had at firſt in vaine attempted, hindred by them which were in the caſtle; yet at laſt with much labor and trauell they brought it to perfection: for the Turks in that kinde of worke, ſtill performed by their multitude, are accounted to excell others. Wherefore in ſhort time they planted their great ordnance in ſuch ſort, as that they might batter both the Caſtles of S. *Elmo* and S. *Michael*. There was in the Turks campe a gentleman of Spaine, but then a B ſlaue vnto a Turke, who vnderſtanding the enemies purpoſe for the beſieging of the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, by a Chriſtian fugitiue aduertiſed the Great maſter thereof: whereupon hee forthwith ſent *Cerda* and *Miranda* with two companies of Spaniards into the caſtle, who were afterwards a great ſtrength vnto the caſtle, and hinderance vnto the enemie. At length came *Dragut* gouernor of Leptis, long looked for of the Turks, with 13 gallies, and in them 1600 ſouldiers: after whom followed ten galliots from Bona, and in them two companies. In the mean time *Saluagus* the worthie Knight (ſent before into Sicilia) came to Meſſana, and hauing certified the Viceroy of the ſtate of Malta, was by him commanded to returne to Malta in a Galliot, conducted by two gallies of the great Maſters; which hauing brought him neere vnto the Iſland, returned againe into Sicilia: but hee with his galliot (not without moſt manifeſt C danger) in the third watch of the night brake into the towne thorough the middeſt of the enemies fleet, with the loſſe of but one of his followers. Where hauing deliuered vnto the Great maſter what he had in charge from the Viceroy, he was the ſame night ſent backe again by the Great maſter into Sicilia, to certifie the Viceroy, That he had need of more aid, requeſting him with all ſpeed to ſend him ſome ſupplie, whereby he might the better hold out againſt the force of ſo great an enemie. *Saluagus* diſcouraged neither with the labour nor the danger, preſently committed himſelf againe to ſea, and in ſhort time arriued in the port of Siracuſa, where finding the two gallies we before ſpake of, he ſent them to Malta; as he had in charge, with 400 ſoldiers, among whom were diuers Knights of the Order, & certain ſkilful canoniers: willing them to ſhun the Weſt part of the Iſland, whereas they muſt needs come into the enemies D ſight, and to paſſe by the Eaſt end therof, which was further about, but ſafer; & turning Southward, to land in the port Miliare, and from thence by the low places of the Iſland to conuey the ſoldiers by night to the citie Melita, which was but foure miles off; from whence they might eaſily paſſe to the caſtle S. *Michael*. This order taken, he went to Meſſana, and there declared to the Viceroy the danger of the war, with the ſmall number of the defendants, requeſting of him a thouſand footmen, which with thoſe alreadie ſent, he thought would ſuffice to hold out the ſiege vntill he with his whole fleet might come to relieue them. But whileſt theſe things were ſlowly prouided (which with much difficulties and delay could hardly be brought to paſſe, the Chriſtian Princes as it were ſleeping in ſo great a danger) the Turks vpon the ſudden the third of Iune aſſaulted the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, in hope with ſhort ſcaling E ladders to get ouer that part of the rampiers which was neereſt vnto the bulwarke of the Caſtle. But the defendants, in the ditch which before had no flanker to ſcoure the ſame, had of earth and faggots made a large ſtrong flanker, from whence the caſtle alſo helping them, they valiantly reſiſted the enemie, and filled the ditches with the dead bodies of the Turks. Who for all that, truſting to their multitude (wherewith rather than with true valor, they obtain ſo manie victories) thruſt ſtill on vntill they had by obſtinate force (although long firſt) gained the flanker: whereby they commanded all that part of the ditch towards the port Marza Moxet. In which place they with wonderfull celeritie ſo fortified themſelues, that they could not be hurt by the defendants: wherin they were much holpen by their own great ordnance planted on the other ſide the hauen Marza; for with it they draue the defendants from the place, beat down the corner of the rampier, and battered the front of the bulwarke, whoſe hight & greatneſſe troubled the enemie, but was not ſo commodious for the defendants, for that it was made without any flankers. But night comming on, 5000 of the 9000 Turks which gaue the aſſault, tarried there: wherefore the Chriſtians conſtrained to forſake the place, retired themſelues into the caſtle. The Turks in the meane time couered with the darkenes of the night,

Dragut commeth to aid the Turks.

The Turks aſſault the caſtle S. Elmo.

S. Elmo againe aſſaulted.

with ſackes filled with tow and earth, filled vp the ditch which was vnder the bulwarke, but neither of any great wideneſſe or depth: which done, they gaue a freſh aſſault, wherein aboue 800 of them were ſlaine, part Ianizaries, and part Spachi, and beſides them many wounded, of whom the moſt part remained halfe dead in the ditch, where they periſhed, and could not be relieued. Of the Chriſtians was loſt fiue and fortie, amongſt whom was fiue knights of the Order, *Guardampes* an Auergnois, *Maſius* a Colonell of Narbona, *Contilia* a Spaniard, *Somaia* a Florentine, and *Neinec* a German.

New ſupply ſent into the Caſtle S. Elmo.

The ſame night the Great maſter thinking, as reaſon was, that they in the Caſtle of S. *Elmo* might want helpe, ſent two hundred of his Knights and as many other ſouldiers into the Caſtle; who if they had been moe, together with the foure hundred which were before in the Caſtle, might happily haue driuen the Turks both from the Rampers and the flanker, and alſo kept the place longer. But for as much as the Great maſter wanted ſouldiers, and had therefore ſent *Saluagus* into Sicilie for new ſupplies, (as we haue before ſaid) he in the meane time couragiouſly expected their comming, refuſing no labor or paine: yet bewailing ſometime with himſelfe the vnfortunateneſſe of the Chriſtian Princes, by whoſe negligence ſo fit an occaſion for the ouerthrow of the barbarous enemie was let ſlip:

The Great maſter diſappointed of a ſupplie by the fearefulneſſe of the ſhip-maſter.

But aboue all things, he maruelled exceedingly that no helpe yet came, eſpecially thoſe two gallies, which (as we haue ſaid) were in all haſte ſent by *Saluagus*: but they by the maſters default kept not the appointed courſe; for firſt whereas they ſhould haue ſhunned the Weſt part of the Iſle, and haue turned towards the Eaſt, they ſhaped their courſe Weſtward to the Iſland of Gaulos, the maſter vainly affirming, that he ſaw certaine of the Turkes Galliots lying before port Mileria: which was afterwards wel knowne not to haue beene ſo; for the truth was, that he for feare (whereby notable deſignes are many times fruſtrated) durſt not go forward. Whereby it came to paſſe, that the Great maſter was diſappointed of ſo neceſſarie a ſupplie: which thing much grieued both the Viceroy and others, but eſpecially *Saluagus*. For he ſaw it would come to paſſe, that if the Turks ſhould take the Caſtle of S. *Elmo* (the moſt aſſured bulwarke and defence of the Iſland of Malta) the other places muſt of neceſſitie be brought into extreame danger, all the way to relieue them being thereby ſhut vp. And that it might be taken, ſeemed not to him impoſſible, the enemie hauing alreadie taken one fort, and laying hard ſiege almoſt on euery ſide of that little pile. The due conſideration of theſe and ſuch like things grieued the minds of skilfull men, eſpecially ſeeing ſuch ſlacke preparation in a caſe requiring ſuch preſent reliefe. Yet in the meane time ſouldiers were taken vp at Rome by the commandement of *Pius Quartus* then Biſhop, to be ſent to Malta: and by his example to ſtirre vp other Princes to ſend aid vnto this ſacred warre, hee gaue a hundred pound of gold to *Cambianus* Legat for the Order, and commanded gunpouder and other neceſſaries for that warre to be taken out of his Caſtle S. *Angelo*, that ſo he might ſeeme to be wanting in nothing that was in him to performe. Ouer theſe ſouldiers, in number ſix hundred, he appointed *Pompeius Columna* Generall, and commanded *Camillus Medices* his Legat to accompanie him. With theſe went many voluntarie men, of purpoſe to lay downe their liues for the eterniſing of their names in ſo religious a warre, and that with ſuch an ardent deſire, as that euerie little delay ſeemed vnto them a yeare. Wherefore comming to Naples, they there found *Iohn Andreas Auria* with eleuen ſhips, the Prince of Populonia with nine, *Lanicius* with three, and three others ſet forth by other priuate Gentlemen. In theſe ſhips were embarqued all thoſe footmen which came from Rome, and ſo tranſported to Meſſana, where the kings fleet was prouiding. But whileſt the Chriſtians make ſlow preparation, conſidering the greatneſſe of the danger, the Turkes not ignorant thereof, reſolued to proue the vttermoſt before the ſtrength of the Chriſtians were readie or drawne together. For the Caſtle of S. *Elmo* once taken, they aſſured themſelues with more eaſe to carrie the reſt: for that thereby they ſhould firſt haue the hauen Marza Moxet in their power, where their fleet might in ſafetie ride ſo long as they pleaſed; and the riſing ridge betwixt the two hauens was commodious for them both to batter the towne of Saint *Michael*, and to keepe the hauen Maior, ſo that none could without their leaue paſſe in or out thereat.

S. Elmo againe aſſaulted.

Wherefore vpon theſe and other ſuch like conſiderations they began againe to batter the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo*, as it had beene with thunder: which furious batterie they continued by the ſpace of foure dayes together without intermiſſion. The night following they ſuddenly with great force gaue an aſſault, and with their ſcaling ladders had almoſt gained the top of the wall; when the Chriſtians deſirous of

A nothing more than to come to handie blowes, draue them downe againe with ſuch violence,
that neuer after they durſt ſet ladder to the wall, vntill the very laſt conflict. Whileſt things
were thus hot at the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, *Dragut* his ſouldiers vpon a brauerie, as if they had been
the onely men, went to a place called Martia Scala, which is betweene the gallows and S. *Thomas*
rode, as if they would haue done more than the reſt: which the Chriſtians beholding out
of the town of S. *Angelo*, to repreſſe their inſolencie, ſallied forth vpon them, and ſo welcommed
them, that they were glad after they had receiued a great loſſe, forthwith to retire to the
place from whence they came. Of the Chriſtians were ſlaine *Bonnemius* a Frenchman, one of
the Knights, and ſeuen others.

The Turkes repulſed.

The ſame time *Monſerratus* was by the Great maſter ſent into the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, to command
B there as Gouernor in ſtead of *Brolia*; for that he with watching and pains taken in defence
thereof, was fallen ſicke. The ſame *Brolia* had many times before written to the Great maſter,
That the caſtle was ſo well fortified and furniſhed of all things needfull, as that he thought it
impoſſible to be won by the enemy: and had with cheerfull ſpeech and braue behauior, ſo encouraged
the knights, and other the defendants, that they fought againſt their enemies with
more than mens ſtrength, and greater courage than is to be beleeued. Neither were the Turks
for that diſcouraged, although they were with great loſſe ſtill repulſed: but for certaine daies
battered the caſtle with greater fury than before, and immediatly gaue an aſſault; for they
had made a bridge ouer the ditch, of maſts and ſaile yards, of ſuch a breadth, that ten men
might go thereon in rank; and had placed about the ditch 4000 harquebuſiers, and brought all
C their fleet vnto S. *Georges* ſhore, not far from the caſtle. And when they had by the ſpace of 18
daies ſore ſhaken it, and torne the wals with 13000 great ſhot, and were now in hope euen preſently
to win the caſtle: ſee, *Beragamus* a Biſcane, one of the knights, and *Medranus* a Spaniſh
captaine, with certaine other valiant men, ran to the bridge, and to the great admiration of the
beholders, oppoſed themſelues againſt the multitude of the miſcreants. The fight hand to
hand was on both ſides both fierce and terrible: and now one of the Turkes had aduanced a
Turkiſh enſigne vpon the bulwarke, which whileſt *Medranus* layeth hand vpon, and the Turke
on the other ſide ſtrugleth to cleare himſelfe from him, in ſtriuing together, they fell downe
both dead, ſhot thorow with one bullet by one of the Turkes. At which time the 400
which we ſaid were but a little before ſent thither by the Grand maſter, ſtood in good ſtead:
D for ſeeing all brought to ſo great a danger, ſome of them (whileſt otherſome fought with the
enemy) thruſt barrels of gunpouder vnder the bridge, ſome caſt downe wildfire, ſtones, and
whatſoeuer elſe came to hand, vpon the enemie, and others farther off with their harquebuſiers
ſore gauled the Turks; ſo in ſhort time the bridge was burnt and blowne vp, which in the
fall thereof, ouerwhelmed eight hundred Turks: the reſt (as they might) retired, few whole,
but moſt part wounded. In this conflict the Chriſtians pluckt downe two enſignes; the one
Muſtaphaes, the other *Draguts*, which the Turkes had ſet vp vpon the very battlements of the
wals. On the other part toward the Southweſt, a band of the Turkes had got to the top of the
higheſt rampier, which as ſoone as they in the caſtle of S. *Angelo* perceiued, thinking to haue
beaten them off with a great ſhot, ſlew by miſchance ſeuen of the defendants vpon the ſame
E rampier, as they were going too and fro: but to recompence that errour, at the next ſhot they
rent in ſunder foure of the Turks captains, with twelue other of their moſt forward ſoldiers.
Whileſt they were here fighting, other Turks in the meane time had caſt vp a trench on that
ſide of the caſtle toward S. *Angelo*; out of which they were quickly driuen with fire, ſtones, &
other ſuch like things throwne downe vpon them by the defendants. The Turks valiantly on
euery ſide repulſed, retired into the camp, when they had in this aſſault loſt two thouſand of
their beſt ſouldiers, and of the Chriſtians ſlaine almoſt a hundred, and wounded as many moe.
The ſame day, *Valetta* the Grand maſter, perceiuing the port Marza Moxet not to bee very
ſtraitly kept by the Turks, commanded a light Brigandine to be carried out of the hauen, ouerland
to the place called Martia Scala, that from thence he might ſend into Sicilia: for hee (as
F reaſon was) conſidering in what danger the caſtle S. *Elmo* ſtood, by letters certified the Viceroy
and the Biſhop of Rome thereof, and of ſuch things as were there done; requeſting them
of ſpeedie reliefe. The copie of the letters ſent to the Viceroy, I haue here ſet downe: as for
thoſe which were ſent to the great Biſhop, becauſe they were almoſt of the ſame purport, I
haue purpoſely omitted.

The Turks make a bridge ouer the caſtle ditch.

A horrible batterie.

Medranus a valiant captaine.

Eight hundred Turks ſlaine with the fall of the bridge.

The Turks [illegible]

To

To *Garzias* of Toledo, Viceroy of Sicilia, and Admirall of the fleet, greeting.

The Great maſters letters to Garzias Viceroy of Sicilia.

Since the time that I ſent Saluagus, *I haue ſent vnto you two letters, which I cauſed to bee ſent by Melita into Gaulos; which I pray God be come to your hands. After that, when as neither meſſengers nor letters came vnto vs from you, I commanded a man with inſtructions to haſte to Meſſana, who when hee had certaine nights attempted to goe out, and was at laſt got out; hee was ſcarcely gone two miles, but hee ſaw the Turkes with might aad maine making after him; whom to eſcape, hee was glad to runne his pinace on ground: And caſting his letters into the ſea, to forſake his boat, and by flight to ſaue himſelfe. Now the Turkes hauing remooued their fleet out of the port Vulturnus, I conſidering how much it concerneth to certifie you of thoſe things which are heere done, commanded a Brigandine to be carried to Martia Scala; for ſeeing that the Turkes fleet is gone to another part of the Iſland, I hope my letters will without let in ſhort time come vnto you. And the things I would haue you to know, are theſe: The fifteenth of this moneth, all the enemies fleet (a little before night) paſſed by this port; the comming on of the night letted, that wee could not well perceiue the weakneſſe thereof; whileſt the gallies almoſt vnarmed were with much difficultie towed forth: want of water, cauſed them chiefly to depart out of the port Vulturnus, and peraduenture feare of your fleet. For, as I haue heard, they haue intelligence, that an hundred and fiftie ſaile lie at road in the port of Meſſana, for which cauſe alſo, they haue not put themſelues into the port of Saint* Paul, *but haue placed their fleete aboue the port Marza Moxet; yet a good part of their gallies lie at the port Saint* George, *ſo to bee neerer vnto their land forces: yet is not the neereneſſe ſuch, but that if your fleete come vpon the ſudden, they will with the ſame feare retire to their fleete, that they would if they were farther off. No man is now to bee ſeene at Vulturnus, for they haue left their firſt campe at Saint* Katharines *and Saint* Iohns, *hauing burnt all the countrey villages, and now lie with their fleete as I haue ſaide: and with their armie at the caſtle Saint* Elmo, *which God hath as yet kept, and as I hope will: which thing is euen for this to bee hoped for, which was but yeſterday done; when as our moſt valiant ſouldiers (by the helpe of God) for the ſpace of foure houres couragiouſly endured a moſt terrible aſſault. The Turkes hauing alſo made a bridge Weſtward toward the port Marza Moxet, wee haue foure times repulſed them to their great loſſe; yet not without ſome loſſe alſo on our part, amongſt whome* Medranus, *a worthie Captaine was to my great griefe ſlaine. With this victorie our men are ſo encouraged, that I am in hope the Caſtle may bee defended vntill your comming, eſpecially the enemies batterie not ſo furiouſly now as before maintained. If I were relieued with certaine companies of freſh ſouldiers, or at leaſt with thoſe our two gallies, I would neuer thinke that this caſtle could bee taken from vs: In defence whereof, whileſt wee euery houre looke for helpe, wee haue ſpent both our men, and whatſoeuer warlike prouiſion wee had elſe. Wee are reſolued although it coſt vs all our liues, to goe thither, relying vpon you: who, as wee hope for your deuotion and noble courage, will not be vnmindefull of our health and welfare; but knowing the danger whereinto wee muſt needs fall, if you ſhall deferre to ayde vs, will ſend vs out of hand certaine bands of men, eſpecially when they may ſo eaſily bee ſent: for now that the Turkes are departed from the Eaſt part of the Iſland, our ſouldiers may bee landed at the Blacke Rocks. our liues lie in your hands, on whom (next vnto God) reſteth all our hope: Wherefore wee moſt inſtantly requeſt you not to forſake vs: committing our ſelues, and all that ours is, to your compaſſion and protection. Fare you well from Malta the* 17 *of Iune.*

Foure gallies ſent to the great maſter for the reliefe of Malta

Theſe letters receiued, and the diſtreſſe of the beſieged caſtle perceiued, the Viceroy was (as of right he ought) greatly moued, and made ſemblance as if he had been deſirous to haue brought forth his whole fleet againſt the Turkes. But foraſmuch as the ſupplie of ſhips from Genoa and Spaine was not yet come, and that without them he thought it not good to aduenture the fortune of a battell; he forthwith ſent *Ioh. Cardona* with foure gallies, whereof two were of Malta: and with *Cardona* ioyned one *Robles* Campe-maſter, with a ſelect companie of Spaniards; with whom went alſo about eighty knights of Malta, who ſtayed at Meſſana, awaiting ſome fit occaſion to paſſe ouer: Amongſt whome were theſe chiefe men of the Order, *Pariſot* the Great maſters nephew, *Vincentius Caraffa*, *Boninſcana* and *Maldonatus*, both Spaniards, *Centius* of Aquitania, and ſome others: Who although letted by tempeſt and other occaſions,

A caſions,they came too late to Malta, as ſhall bee heereafter declared,yet ſerued they in great
ſtead , and had they come in time, before the caſtle S.*Elmo* was loſt,happily it might haue
been ſtill kept.

The Turks making no more account of ſo great a ſlaughter of their men, than of ſo many
ſheepe, deſperatly renewed the fight,as men reſolued to indure all extremities. And firſt they
moſt horribly thundered day and night with their great ordnance vpon the caſtle : afterwards
they aſſaulted the breaches with ſuch a multitude and force, that if true valor and hope of immortalitie
had not excluded all feare out of the hearts of the defendants,the terrour of the aſſault
had inforced them either to haue fled or yeelded. Dreadfull was the fight, and had they
not been obſtinatly ſet downe on both ſides, the one to win the caſtle, the other to defend it,
B that day had ended the quarrell. Fiue houres endured that moſt terrible aſſault, at length the
Turks repulſed by the valour of the Chriſtians,retired : yet did they not for all that paſſe the
night following in quiet, but with their great ordnance did ſo beat the defendants, that they
had much ado to keep the Turks from ſcaling the wals : which,that they ſhould not then dare
to attempt, was,with exceeding indeuour prouided for by the Chriſtians; of whom in this aſſault
was loſt two hundred,and of the Turks an infinit number. And *Dragut* himſelfe, whileſt
he there performed the dutie both of a Generall, and moſt valiant ſouldier, got a blow on the
head with a ſtone, whereof he in two daies after died : his dead body was afterwards carried
to Tripolis,and there honourably buried.

A moſt terrible aſſault.

Dragut ſlaine.

The commanders of the Turks army,ſtil more & more enraged with this valor of the Chriſtians,
C and the ſlaughter of their men, gathering all their fleet together, commanded them to
compaſſe about the caſtle, of purpoſe to giue thereunto their laſt aſſault, with all their forces
both by ſea and land,and to ſend new ſupplies of freſh ſouldiers one after another,vntill they
had taken the caſtle. And therfore they with great induſtry prepared bridges,ladders,engins,
armor,weapons,ſhot,and whatſoeuer things elſe was needfull for the aſſault. Which *Valetta*
perceiuing out of his caſtle S.*Angelo*,and fearing(as meet was)leſt they in the caſtle ſhould not
be able longer to indure ſo great a fury, called together in counſell his knights,two daies before
the Turkes gaue their laſt aſſault : and told them, That they all as well as he,ſaw in what
danger they which defended the caſtle S.*Elmo* were ; and that he doubted not,but that euerie
one of them(vpon a godly zeale and compaſſion) was no leſſe moued with the ſlaughter and
D danger of their fellowes and other their Chriſtian ſouldiers,than with their owne: wherefore
he requeſted them,to declare what they thought beſt to be done for their ſafety;yet ſo,as that
they ſhould not haſtily determine any thing, that agreed not with the antient valor and honor
of their ſacred militarie profeſſion. Which motion once made, & their opinions in briefe deliuered,
a decree was made, That foraſmuch as the caſtle could not longer be holden, regard
ſhould be had for the ſafegard of them that were therein:for which purpoſe it was agreed,that
12 pinnaces ſhould be ſent to fetch them away. But before, three knights were choſen, who
ſhould in haſt the night following goe thither,& tell them what was in the counſel agreed vpon,
and carefully to conſider in what ſtate the caſtle was,which if the defendants thought was
to be abandoned,they ſhould poiſon the water,& cloy the great ordnance,that it might not afterwards
E ſtand the Turks in ſtead. The three knights ſent thither,was *Medina* a Spaniard,*Rocca*
a Frenchman, & *Conſtantinus Caſtriot* an Italian ; who not without danger of their liues (being
oftentimes ſhot at by the Turks)got into the caſtle,and declared vnto them that were there in
garriſon,how carefull the Great maſter and the reſt were of them. And they on their ſide,firſt
of all gaue thanks to the Grand maſter and the reſt,for the regard they had of them : and afterward
concerning the caſtle,ſaid,That if they conſidered the ſtraightnes of the place,the ſmall
number of the defendants,& multitude of the enemy,they ſhould well perceiue in what danger
they were,if the Turks ſhould often with ſuch obſtinacy renew the aſſault:yet foraſmuch
as they had euer hitherto felt the helpe of God ſo preſent,who had ſtill mercifully defended
them againſt the rage of the enemy,& wanted nothing needful for the defence of the place;the
F keeping wherof they had requeſted of the grand maſter as an honor,although they knew right
wel it could not without moſt manifeſt danger of their liues be holden:yet they would for al
that keep it to the laſt man:for that perhaps the like honorable occaſion for them to ſhew themſelues
in,ſhould neuer again be offred : wherfore they had(as they ſaid)reſolued in that place
to ſpend their liues for the glory of God & the Chriſtian religion. The courſe of this life(they
ſaid)

Three knights ſent to view the ſtate of the caſtle S.Elmo.

The reſolute anſwere of them in the caſtle to the knights

ſaid)was but ſhort,but that honor and fame was for euer : and whereas death is to all men pre- G
fined,it were to be wiſhed, that the life which is to nature due,ſhould rather ſeem to be by vs
franckly giuen to God and our countrey, than reſerued as natures debt : which if it ſhould ſo
happen,they would ſo vſe the matter,as that the barbarous enemie ſhould haue neither plea-
ſure nor ioy,which ſhould not coſt him much bloud euen of his beſt ſouldiers.This they wil-
led the knights to tell the Great Maſter,and to requeſt him not to be too careful of them,but
to promiſe to himſelf thoſe things of them which beſt beſeemed reſolute men,eſpecially of
them who had vowed themſelues to that ſacred war. This anſwer of greater reſolution than
fortune, receiued,the three knights, when they had diligently viewed the caſtle, returned to
the Grand maſter: who calling to counſell his knights,and hauing heard the anſwer of the be-
ſieged,would needs heare alſo what opinion the three knights themſelues were of concerning H
the keeping of the caſtle:of whom *Caſtriot* was of opinion, That the place was ſtil to be defen-
ded, and that if he were there to command, he would vndertake to performe it; and there ra-
ther to loſe his life than to forſake it,after he had once taken vpon him the charge therof. But
Rocca the French knight was far of another mind,and ſaid plainly,that the place could not poſ-
ſibly be holden againſt ſo ſtrong an enemie;and that if *Iulius Cæſar* himſelfe were aliue, & ſaw
to what ſtraight the place was brought (eſpecially all the rampiers being either beaten downe
or ſore ſhaken,& ſuch a power of obſtinate enemies lying round about it) he would neuer ſuf-
fer ſo many valiant ſoldiers to be loſt,but quit the place,& reſerue his men to further ſeruice:
for why,it was the part of valiant men to performe ſo much as was of men to be performed,
but to ſtriue to do more,was no manhood at all:wherefore he thought it beſt to do that which I
men vſe with members mortified,whoſe recouerie is deſperat;in which caſe we doubt not to
make a ſeparation,ſo to ſaue the reſt of the bodie with life. The Spaniſh knight in moſt part
agreeing with *Caſtriot*,ſaid,That he thought it not good,that the place ſhould ſo eaſily be for-
ſaken;firſt,for that the ditches and bulwarks were yet defencible; and then becauſe he ſaw ſo
great a conſent among the defendants,and ſuch a cheerfulneſſe to withſtand the enemy,which
thing (as he ſaid) preſaged victorie.

The three knights of diuers opinions concerning the keeping of the caſtle S. Elmo.

These opinions of the knights thorowly in counſell debated, and euery particular well
weighed,it ſeemed good to the greater part,that they which were in the caſtle ſhould for cer-
tain daies yet hold it out;eſpecially becauſe it was not the manner of the knights of the Order
eaſily to abandon their ſtrong holds,but rather to keepe them to the laſt, that euen therein the K
barbarous enemie might perceiue with whom he had to do,and ſo ſee his pride abated.For if
they ſhould haue forſaken the place,they might haue been thought to haue done it for feare:
whereby the enemies inſolencie might haue bin increaſed,and the honorable Order of thoſe
ſacred knights diſgraced.

But the Turks intentiue to that they had before determined,the 23 day of Iune aſſembling
all their forces both by ſea and land round about the caſtle, in the dead time of the night on
euery ſide ſet vp ſcaling ladders, made bridges, wrought mines, and with 32 great pieces of
artillerie battered the reſt of the walls yet ſtanding, and preſently gaue a moſt terrible aſſault.
The defendants on the other ſide beat down ſome,repulſed other,ſlew many,euer more care- L
full how to wound the enemy,than to ſaue themſelues : and where he preſſed faſteſt on,there
to ſhew their greateſt valour.Great were the outcries made on both ſides,mixt with exhorta-
tion,mirth and mourning ; the face of the whole fight was diuers,vncertain,cruell,and dread-
full : and now it was the third houre of the day, when ſtill the victorie ſtood doubtfull ; and
had not the fury of the great ordnance been ſo terrible, that it now had beaten downe all the
wals vnto the very rocke wheron the caſtle ſtood,the defendants might for ſome longer time
haue endured the enemies force.But the very rock bared both of wals & defendants,& more
than foure hundred ſlain,a man could now ſcarcely ſhew himſelfe,but he was preſently ſtruck
in pieces. *Monſerratus* Gouernour of the caſtle, and *Garas* of Eubœoa,men of equall valor,in-
tegritie, and honour, were both ſlaine with one ſhot; for a ſhort and tranſitorie life made per-
takers of immortality together.Yet the reſt which ſtood in defence of the caſtle,nothing ter- M
rified with ſo great a loſſe and ſlaughter of their fellowes, but augmented rather as it were
with new courage from aboue, fought with greater force than before,ouerthrew the Turkes
enſignes now ſet vp in the caſtle,ſlew the enſigne-bearers,captaines,and colonels;now reſpe-
cting nothing more,but honourably to lay downe their liues for their religion and the obtai-
ning

The Turkes furiouſly aſſault the citie.

A ning of immortall fame. By this time the ſunne was mounted to the middle of heauen, great was the heat, and men exceeding wearie; the murthering ſhot neuer ceaſed, and ſuch was the multitude of the enemy, that he ſent in freſh men in ſtead of them that were wearied or wounded. On the other ſide, the ſmall number of the Chriſtians, and thoſe weakened with labor, watching, thirſt and wounds, did what men might; yet at length were ouercome by a greater force, and ſo the caſtle by the Turks woon, but with ſuch ſlaughter of their men, that it was a wonder that ſo many ſhould be ſlaine of ſo few. The defendants were all ſlain, euery man, in valiant fight.

The caſtle of S. Elmo taken by the Turks.

Here may I not in ſilence paſſe ouer the inhumane and more than barbarous crueltie of the Turks againſt the dead bodies of the ſlaine knights, that thereby may appeare, that crueltie B neuer wanteth wheron to ſhew it ſelfe mercileſſe, yea euen after death. The Turks after they had taken the caſtle, finding certain of the knights yet breathing; and but halfe dead, firſt cut their hearts out of their breaſts, and then their heads from their bodies; after that, they hanged them vp by the heeles in their red clokes with white croſſes, (which manner of attire they after an antient cuſtome vſe in time of war, as they do black in time of peace) in the ſight of the caſtles, S. *Angelo* and S. *Michael*. And yet *Muſtapha* the Turks Generall not ſo contented, commanded them afterwards to be faſt bound together, & ſo caſt into the ſea, whoſe dead bodies were in few daies after by the ſurge of the ſea caſt vp in the hauen Maior, and known by their friends, were by the commandment of the ſorrowful Great maſter honorably buried. With which the C enemies moſt barbarous cruelty he was ſo moued, that hee commanded that no Turke ſhould from that time be taken priſoner, but to be preſently ſlaine. And therupon all that were before taken, were forthwith put to the ſword, and their heads caſt ouer the wals on that ſide towards the enemie. From the beginning of the ſiege to the taking of the caſtle, of the Chriſtians were ſlain a thouſand three hundred, amongſt whom were a hundred & thirtie of the ſacred knights of the Order, all worthie to be regiſtred in the Booke of euerlaſting Fame.

Barbarous crueltie exerciſed by the Turkes vpon the dead bodies of the Knights.

The caſtle of S. *Elmo* thus loſt, *Valetta* although his mind (as he had good cauſe) was inwardly attainted with exceeding griefe, yet made ſemblant otherwiſe, becauſe he would not daunt the minds of his ſouldiers: telling them, that nothing was hapned vnprouided for or vnforeſeen. *This was* (as he ſaid) *the will of God, and the chãce of war, that ſometimes one, ſometimes an*D*other ſhould be ouercome: and that cowardiſe, not ſuch valor as was in them that were gone, gaue occaſion to liuing friends to lament: yet that the enemie was not for that to be feared, who had alſo receiued ſuch a loſſe, as he might therby rather ſeem conquered, than a victorious conqueror: wher as the loſſe of his knights was recompenced with honor and immortality, things of themſelues ſufficient to inflame al noble minds to behaue themſelues valiantly. As for himſelfe* (he ſaid) *that truſting not in his owne ſtrength, but in the help of Almighty God, he had not yet caſt off the hope of victorie ouer the relicks of the diſcomfited enemy; and that he well hoped, they were all of the ſame mind, wherein hee moſt earneſtly requeſted them to perſiſt vnto the end.* When he had thus ſaid, he being a man armed againſt all fortunes, withdrew himſelfe a little aſide: where caſting many things in his troubled mind, he determined to ſend letters to *Petrus Meſquita*, Gouernour of the citie of Melita, to certifie him and the E knights of the Order that were at Meſſana, and the Viceroy, of the loſſe of S. *Elmo*: the copie wherof, becauſe that in them euidently appeareth the Chriſtian mind of him the Great maſter, I haue thought good here to ſet downe as followeth:

Valetta encourageth his ſouldiers after the loſſe of the Caſtle S. Elmo.

Whileſt theſe Knights are ſetting forward, in the meane time chanced the miſerable misfortune of the Caſtle Saint Elmo: *which although it brought vnto vs that griefe you may eaſily imagine, we for all that, as if it had happened by ſome ſecret appointment of God, haue taken it in that part, that hee as a moſt mercifull father porpoſeth thereby to warne vs, but not vtterly to deſtroy vs. Neither doe I thinke it lawfull to doubt of his mercie and power. Yet for all that, I may neuertheleſſe complaine, that wee are of them forſaken of whome it leaſt beſeemed. So that in the ſpace of ſeuen and thirtie dayes,* F *wherein our moſt valiant ſouldiers endured all the force of the enemie (which truely was done rather by the power of God than of man) we were holpen of our owne (which owe ſo much vnto vs) not ſo much as with the leaſt helpe, which they might oftentimes haue ſent vs. But I liſt to aſcribe it, whatſoeuer it is, to God, of whom alone as we haue hitherto receiued ſo many good things, ſo reſt we in hope hereafter to receiue alſo. For, for any thing that I can ſee, wee muſt not now truſt to mans helpe: foraſmuch as wee could by no Letters, no diligence, no prayers, no admonitions, and to bee briefe, by no commands*

Valetta his letters to the Gouernor of Melita.

moue them, who of all others ought moſt to haue obeyed it. The ſhortneſſe of the time ſuffereth vs not to G *write to the Viceroy of theſe things, it ſhall be your part to certifie both him and other our friends thereof: who if they had obeyed our command, or aided vs with neuer ſo ſmall a ſupplie of ſouldiers, happily we had not loſt the caſtle Saint* Elmo: *in defence whereof we haue ſpent the beſt part of our ſouldiers. Wherefore except the Viceroy make haſt to deliuer vs from this ſiege, I feare that he cannot in time come; but eſpecially if we be here beſieged before the comming of thoſe our ſmall helpes which we as in a dreame haue promiſed vnto our ſelues, and which we now ſcarce hope will be in time preſent. For all that, we doe not diſtruſt of God his loue and prouidence: by whoſe diuine inſpiration the rare courage of the Viceroy being in ſhort time ſtirred vp, will haſten hither to relieue vs. For all our welfare conſiſteth in celeritie. Our enemies hauing drawne all their fleet into the hauen Marza Moxet, are buſied in cleanſing the caſtle, and repairing the breaches, that they may afterward the better vſe them againſt vs. Wherfore vpon the ſight of theſe our letters, ſend vnto vs the captains* Catherin, Belcacar, Belmeſt, & H Zoricius, *with their companies, that we may vſe their faithfull and valiant ſeruice. God of his mercie ſend vs aide from ſome place, and keepe you. Fare you well, from our Caſtle Saint* Angelo, *the* 24 *of June*, 1565.

Meſquita hauing receiued theſe letters, commanded a galliot forthwith to be launched, and therein imbarked ***Maſius Codonellus***, one of the knights; to whom he deliuered both the letters of the Grand maſter to him, and others of his owne, almoſt of the ſame purport, directed to the Knights of the Order which lay at Meſſana, requeſting him with all ſpeed poſſible to paſſe ouer with them into Sicilia.

Muſtapha Baſſa ſendeth meſſengers to the great maſter.

In the mean time ***Muſtapha*** the Turks Generall ſent a meſſenger to ***Valetta***, and with him an I old Spaniſh captiue, with promiſe of liberty if he would goe with his meſſenger to the towne, to talke with ***Valetta*** concerning the yeelding vp thereof, and to try if he would by any means come to agreement: who comming to the towne, the Turke ſtill waiting at the gate, the Chriſtian was let in, and brought to the Great maſter, to whom he declared what he had in charge from the Baſſa. But as ſoon as ***Valetta*** heard of the name of compoſition and yeelding, he was ſo filled with indignation, that had he not bin a Chriſtian, he would preſently haue commanded him to haue bin hanged. Wherefore he gaue him choice either to tarry ſtil in the towne, if he thought ſo good, or els forthwith to returne and tell his companion, that if he got him not packing quickely, he would ſend him farther off with a great ſhot. With this ſhort anſwer the K Turke ſuddenly returned into the campe. Whereupon ***Muſtapha*** fell into ſuch a rage, that he openly proteſted, neuer from that to forbeare any kind of cruelty againſt the Chriſtians.

The anſwer of the great maſter to the Turkes meſſengers.

Philip Laſcaris flieth from the Turks to the caſtle S. Michael.

There was then with ***Muſtapha*** one ***Philip***, of the moſt noble Græcian Familie of ***Laſcaris***, who of a boy taken priſoner by the Chriſtians in Patras, a city of Achaia, and by them honeſtly & courteouſly vſed, was therefore euer after well affected toward the Chriſtians: he priuie to many of ***Muſtaphaes*** deſignes, by a certaine diuine motion thought hee ſhould not a little profit the Chriſtians by reuolting vnto them: wherefore he reſolued to flie vnto the caſtle of S. *Michael.* Which thing when he had oftentimes attempted, at length the firſt of Iuly he caſt himſelfe into the ſea (for by land he could no way eſcape) and ſwum to the caſtle, not without danger of his life; for diſcouered by the Turks, he was many times ſhot at both with their arrowes and L ſmall ſhot. He, brought to the Great maſter, reuealed vnto him many of the enemies ſecrets, and alſo aduiſed him what was to be done at the point of S. ***Michaels***, to fruſtrat the enemies purpoſe for the aſſailing of that place; with many other things, which were vnto the defendants no ſmall helpe: and afterwards as often as need was, during the ſiege, fought valiantly againſt the Turks.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, ***Codonellus*** ſent as we haue before ſaid into Sicilia, came in ſafetie to Meſſana, where he found the Chriſtian fleet not yet readie to relieue the diſtreſſed Maltæſes; for the Spaniſh ſhips were not yet come, and ***Iohn Andreas Auria*** with eight and twentie ſhips was ready to returne to take in foure thouſand footmen, taken vp in Etruria by ***Capinus Vitellius***. Which backwardneſſe the knights of the Order conſidering, and what dan- M ger was in delay, after they had well debated the matter amongſt themſelues, they reſolued by the power of God by all meanes poſſible to helpe their brethren. And for this expedition choſe two moſt fit Generalls of their owne fellowes (the Commanders of Meſſana and Baroli) who forthwith went to ***Garzias*** the Viceroy, declaring to him what things the ſacred

A Knights of their Order had done,not for the king of Spaine only, but for the Chriſtian commonweale,
and alſo what great charge they had been at the yeare before in the Pinionian expedition,
wherein they had neither ſpared ſhips,victual,nor munition, neither their own liues,
to profit the King and the Chriſtian commonweale. Beſides this, they beſought him well to
conſider,that the loſſe of Malta concerned not the ſacred knights only,but all Italie, and eſpecially
Sicilia,for the neerenſſe of ſo troubleſome and puiſſant an Enemie. For theſe and other
like reaſons, which the ſhortnes of the time ſuffered them not to rehearſe, they requeſted of
him 4000 footmen, with whome all the Knights of the Order which were there, and many
other noble and voluntarie men would make all poſſible ſpeed to relieue the beſieged, which
they had before in vaine attempted; with which ſtrength they were in good hope, if not to
B repulſe the enemie,or to recouer that was alreadie loſt, yet at leaſt to ſtop and ſtay his farther
proceeding, vntill ſuch time as he hauing rigged vp and brought forth all his fleet, might ſet
vpon the Turks,and (as was to be hoped) vanquiſh and diſperſe them. But whilſt the Viceroy
hauing heard their requeſt,conſidereth what anſwer to make,a meſſenger came vnto him from
Spaine (but with what command from the king (although men gueſſed diuerſly) could not be
knowne. But vpon his comming,the Viceroy gaue the knights this cold anſwer, That he could
not grant what they requeſted,for that in ſo doing he ſhould disfurniſh his fleet, & not be able
afterwards to relieue them as he deſired: but if it pleaſed them to tranſport the Knights with
part of the Biſhops ſouldiers into the Iſland, they might ſo doe with their owne two gallies
they had alreadie,whereunto he would alſo ioyne another of his owne. The Knights when
C they could obtaine no more, accepted of that which was offered.

The Knights of Malta craue aid of the Viceroy.

The cold anſwer of the Viceroy to the Knights.

Whilſt theſe gallies were ſetting forward,thoſe foure gallies whereof we haue before ſpoken,
wherein were imbarked 80 knights and 600 other ſoldiers, hauing at ſea ſuffered many
troubles by the ſpace of twentie dayes, could not as yet arriue at Malta: and becauſe the Viceroy
had commanded that they ſhould not land, except they firſt knew whether the Caſtle
S. *Elmo* were ſtill holden by the Chriſtians, they ſent out a frigot to land, promiſing that day
and the next to tarrie in the ſea for her returne. In the meane time a great tempeſt ſuddenly
ariſing, it ſo fell out,that the frigot could not at the appointed time returne: wherfore the gallies
which expected her comming, fearing leſt ſhe had been either by tempeſt loſt, or by the
enemie intercepted,retired vnto Pozalo a port vpon the coaſt of Sicilia,neereſt to Malta,there
D to expect ſome good newes: where as ſoone as they had put in,they vnderſtood that S. *Elmo*
was yet defended: whereupon they put to ſea againe, with purpoſe to haue arriued at Malta.
But when they were within two leagues of the place where they thought to haue landed, they
ſaw a fire there,which cauſed them to miſtruſt that the place was poſſeſſed of the enemie, and
that he lay thereabout to intercept them: wherefore they returned againe to Pozalo; where
now vnderſtanding of the French knight come from Malta,that that fire was made by his commandment,
as a ſigne that they might without feare come forward, they with all ſpeed made
againe for the ſame place, and at the length the 29 day of Iune about midnight landed at the
Blacke rockes on the South ſide of the Iſland toward Affricke,and vnſeene of any,got in haſte
E to the citie Malta, where they were ioyfully receiued,and there ſtaid to expect what the Great
Maſter ſhould command. In the meane time it fortuned, a great foggie miſt (which ſeldome
times there chanceth) to ariſe ſo thicke, that a man could hardly ſee for it: at which time a
boy of about twelue yeares old looking by chance out of a window in the caſtle of Melita,
ſuddenly as one afraid cried out,that he ſaw a Turke going from the citie to the caſtle of Saint
Michael. Which thing ſome of the knights hearing, ran preſently out that way, and found a
Greeke of the citie Melita, who brought backe and examined (for that without the Gouernors
paſſe it was not lawfull for any man to goe out of the citie) confeſſed, That his purpoſe
was to haue aduertiſed the Turks of the comming of thoſe ſouldiers,that ſo they might haue
intercepted them as they ſhould haue come from Melita to the Grand maſter: for which treaſon
he was as he had well deſerued cut in foure pieces. Three dayes after, this new ſupplie
come from Sicilia,in the firſt watch of the night came all in ſafetie from Melita to the Grand
maſter,except two or three boyes,who ouercharged with armor and other baggage,were not
able to keepe way with the reſt. It is not to be told, how much the beſieged reioiced at the
comming of theſe their friends, and eſpecially *Valetta*, who ſeeing the floure of his Knights
and other ſouldiers, as it were by diuine prouidence come vnto him, with teares trickling

A traitor taken and executed at Melita.

The ſouldiers new come out of Sicilia, come to the Great Maſter.

downe his cheekes, and his eyes caſt vp to heauen, ſaid:

The prayer of Valetta.

I thanke thee, ô heauenly Father, which heareſt my prayers, and forſaketh not this thy little Flocke, beſet round with moſt rauening Wolues: theſe are the workes of thine euerlaſting goodneſſe, mercie, and prouidence.

Theſe new come ſouldiers requeſted of the great maſter, as a reward of their paines, That they might be put in garriſon into the Towne S. *Michael*, a place now moſt laid vnto by the Turks: which thing he (commending their forwardnes) eaſily granted; yet for all that remoued not the old garriſon. Theſe freſh and couragious ſoldiers deſirous of nothing more than to fight with the enemy, the next day ſallied out, and hauing ſlaine 200 of the Turks, & wounded as many more, without loſſe of a man returned, euery mans ſword imbrued in the bloud of his enemie. Which thing *Muſtapha* the Turks Generall hearing, knew it was they which lately came into the towne; and thereupon fell in rage with his captains, as that they had by their negligence entred. But the ſuſpicion grew moſt vpon them which were appointed for the keeping of the vttermoſt part of the Iſland: which was the more increaſed, for that three galliots of Algiers had withdrawne themſelues away; ſo that he neither truſted them nor the renegat Chriſtians, who as occaſion ſerued fled daily from him. For which cauſe he gaue out proclamation, That none of them ſhould lie by night out of the gallies, and that ſuch as did otherwiſe, ſhould therefore be burnt, or impaled vpon ſharpe ſtakes: and changing his warders, appointed *Salec* with his galliots, whom he thought to be more faithful, for the keeping of the Iſland. And that neither they nor the Chriſtians ſhould be able to attempt any thing, he chained together diuers gallies in the entrance of the hauen Marza Moxet, and cauſed the reſt of the fleet to ride neerer together thã before. But becauſe exceeding many were at that time ſick in the Turks campe, of the flix and other diſeaſes; three places were aſſigned for them; one for the wounded men neere vnto Aqua Martia, garded with 2000 Turks; another in the poups of their ſhips & gallies for the Turks voluntaries; and the third amongſt the bulwarks, where the inforced Chriſtians were cured.

Ochiall Baſſa made gouernor of Tripolis.

At the ſame time, *Muſtapha* appointed *Ochiall Baſſa* Gouernor of Tripolis, in ſtead of *Dragut* before ſlaine: who going thither with fiue gallies, and hauing ſet all things in order there, returned againe vnto the campe. With him the Baſſa had ſent two ſhips loaded with corne to Tripolis, there to make bread, wherof they began to feele ſome want in the campe. He alſo ſent *Zaloch* one of his Colonels to *Solyman*, to certifie him of the winning of the caſtle S. *Elmo*, and to deliuer vnto him the deſcription of the Iſland of Malta as they found it at their arriuall: and further to declare vnto him, That he found the Maltæſes ſtronger and better prouided, than was at his ſetting forth ſuppoſed: wherfore if it were his pleaſure longer to continue the ſiege, he ſhould ſend a new ſupplie of men, victuall, and other warlike prouiſion: which if he did, he would then be in hope to take the other ſtrong places of the Iſland alſo, though not ſo ſoone as was at the firſt ſuppoſed: and that in the mean time whileſt he expected anſwere, he would not faile to do what he poſſibly might.

A terrible batterie.

And becauſe he would not ſeeme to haue written an vntruth, he began his batterie in fourteene places with 70 great pieces of artillerie, amongſt which was three moſt huge baſilisks: for from the Gallows promontorie to Aqua Martia, and from thence to the caſtle S. *Elmo*, wherein he had placed 300 Ianizaries, the Turks had incloſed all that compaſſe with ſundrie bulwarks, trenches, and mounts, from whence they with their thundering ſhot day and night inceſſantly battered the townes and caſtles of S. *Michael* and S. *Angelo*, ouerthrew the walls, beat downe the bulwarks, and brake down the houſes in ſuch terrible manner, that ſcarce any could be ſafe therein: which of all others moſt troubled the feareful women and children. But the Turks in their trenches reſted in far more ſafetie: yet ſo, as they durſt not ſtray far out of the campe, but truſting vpon their multitude, and not that many times without their loſſe, being cut off by the horſemen of the garriſon of Malta, who were euer readie at their heeles.

When the loſſe of the caſtle S. *Elmo* was knowne at Rome, the citie was filled with mourning and heauines: ſome were ſorie for the diſhonour, other ſome feared leſt the calamities of the Maltæſes ſhould redound vnto themſelues. There was alſo amongſt others, a certain enuious and foule mouth'd kinde of men, altogether ignorant and vnacquainted with martiall affaires, who ſhamed not to lay the blame of the loſſe of S. *Elmo* vpon the Grand maſter: whom both his owne valour, with the worthy teſtimonie of ſo many famous and valiant men as were there preſent with him, as alſo this hiſtorie gathered out of the true light of things then done, ſhall

A ſhall both for the time preſent and for all poſteritie ſufficiently acquite of ſo falſe, a ſlander.
But he will eaſily blemiſh another mans name, that ſpareth not his owne: neither can Ignorance rightly
iudge of the counſels of the Skilfull; or cowardiſe, of valiant deeds.

But to returne againe to our purpoſe: we ſaid before, that three gallies were made ready at
Meſſana; in ſetting forth whereof, they which had the charge vſed ſuch diligence, that the ſe-
uenth of Iuly they departed out of harbour. In them (beſides the Knights of the Order) was
imbarqued 600 Spaniards, and 300 of the Great Biſhops ſouldiers, conducted by *Pompeius*
Colamba: the mariners were part hired, part ſlaues, to whom libertie was promiſed, if they
would luſtily do their endeuour to get into the hauen, and to be accounted of as the reſt of the
ſouldiers were. And becauſe they would relieue the beſieged not with men onely, but with
B victuall alſo, they put into the ſame gallies fiue hundred buſhels of wheat, beſide gunpouder,
ſalt-peeter, and lead for ſhot. And although it was thought a moſt hard matter, by the hauen
it ſelfe to enter into the Iſland, the Turks poſſeſſing it and all the places therabouts; neuerthe-
leſſe there was in the Knights ſuch an earneſt deſire to relieue their Brethren, that they pro-
miſed both to themſelues and others, all things eaſie & ſafe. But when they began to approch
the Iſland, they ſent a ſcout before, to vnderſtand by ſignes from the caſtle of S. *Angelo*, whether
they were to proceed forward or not: who comming ſo far that they might diſcouer the ſigne,
perceiued thereby that they ſhould retyre. Which thing the Turks perceiuing alſo, preſently
with the ſmoake of their great ordnance and other things, they ſo obſcured the aire as with a
C thicke cloud, in ſuch ſort as that thoſe ſignes were no more to be diſcerned: but all in vaine:
for why, our men had alreadie diſcried them: ſo thoſe three gallies returned againe into Sici-
lia. For, *Valetta* that good Prince thought it not meet to bring ſo many of the ſacred knights,
ſo many noble gentlemen and valiant ſoldiers, into a moſt manifeſt danger: for he ſaw certaine
of the Turkes gallies to lie by night in the mouth of the hauen Marza Moxet, at a place called
the Little ſands, to impeach the going in or out of the hauen Maior. About the ſame time, they
which lay in garriſon in the citie Melita, hearing of the notable ſallie made by the ſouldiers
lately come, and taking heart thereupon, at ſuch time as the Turks were fetching in a certaine
bootie of cattell, the horſemen purſued them, and hauing ſlaine diuers of them, recouered the
prey; and yet not ſo contented, chaſed them euen to their campe. But the other Turks ſeeing
D their fellowes flying in ſuch haſte towards them, raiſed an alarum, ran to their Generals tent,
and for that time ceaſed their batterie.

Three gallies depart from Meſſana with aid towards Malta.

The gallies vpon a ſigne giuen returne backe.

The Great maſter probably coniecturing, that the Turkes would in ſhort time aſſault both
the towne and caſtle of S. *Michael*, thought good by his preſence to encourage and ſtrengthen
the garriſon; and therefore was about to haue gon thither by a bridge made of boats from the
one point of the land to the other, betweene S. *Michaels* and S. *Angelo:* but quickely vnderſtan-
ding the certaintie thereof, returned againe into his caſtle. Some there be that thinke, For him
to haue ſo done, had been a venturous part, and full of danger, and therefore to haue beene diſ-
commended: for that great things are performed, not ſo much by ſtrength of bodie as of mind,
by politique counſell and direction, wherwith a Generall (although abſent) may yet with his
E forces be alwaies preſent; but the Generall once loſt (which may eaſily happen if he will pre-
ſent his perſon to the danger) we ſee moſt commonly all fall together with him, no otherwiſe
than doth all parts of the bodie when the ſoule departeth. But other ſome are of contrarie
opinion, That the Generals preſence, eſpecially in great dangers, is both praiſe-worthy and
moſt neceſſarie; for that he, as the ſoule, cannot prouide for or rule the bodie, except it be
preſent, yea placed therein: and that *Valetta* in ſo doing, followed the examples of the grea-
teſt kings and moſt famous Generals; as of *Alexander* the Great, *Iulius Cæſar*, *Themiſtocles*, *Ma-*
rius, and others: whoſe words vnto their ſouldiers were theſe, *I my ſelfe will be your conducter in*
the field, in the battel partaker of the danger with you, you ſhalbe in all things as my ſelfe. Beſides that,
who knoweth not, that as in other things, ſo moſt of all in martial affaires, all things are better,
more orderly, and more eaſily done when the maſter is preſent; neither was the learned Poet
his meaning any thing els, when in the wars betwixt the Latines & the Rutilians, he ſaith, *Vr-*
get præſentia Turni? wherupon they concluded, that the Great Maſter in going had done both
valiantly, wiſely, and according to his dutie. But this we leaue for martial men to determine.

At the ſame time the king of Algiers came to aid the Turks with 7 gallies and ten galliots,
and in them 2200 ſouldiers: who ſorie that he was not there at the begining, and deſi-

The king of Algiers commeth to aid the Turks

rous to do ſome notable act,and withall to make proofe of the valor of his ſoldiers,requeſted G
the great Baſſa to beſtow vpon him the firſt place in the beſieging the caſtle S.*Michael*:which
he not only granted,but joined to his forces 2000 of his own beſt ſoldiers. Theſe things obtained,
he commanded ninetie ſmall veſſels by deuiſes to be carried ouer land out of the port
Marza Moxet to Aqua Martia, for that he purpoſed on that ſide to beſiege the caſtle by water.
But *Valetta* perceiuing the enemies purpoſe, both by ſeeing that was done, and alſo aduertiſed
thereof before by a Chriſtian fugitiue; preſently called vnto him two faithfull and skilfull
ſhipmaſters of Malta,and imparting the matter vnto them, demanded what they thought beſt
to be done to keep the Turks from landing, as it ſeemed they purpoſed at the walls foot.They
quickly perceiuing the matter,anſwered,That in their opinion,if a chaine were made of maſts
and ſaile-yards as ſpars ioined together with iron rings,and ſo drawne all alongſt from the corner H
of the caſtle of S.*Angelo*, to that place where the enemy thought to land, their purpoſe
might be ſo defeated. This deuice ſo pleaſed the Great maſter, that the night following ſuch
a chain was made,and faſt mored in the appointed place.The Turks ſo ſoone as it was day perceiuing
this bar,ſtood as men doubtfull,not knowing how by any means to land their men, as
they had before purpoſed. Whileſt they ſtood ſo abaſhed,a Chriſtian fugitiue a moſt deſperat
villaine (in which kind of men fooliſh hardineſſe is accounted a vertue, and deſperation,
conſtancie) came to the king,and promiſed him to breake the chaine, and ſo with a hatchet in
his hand caſt him ſelfe into the ſea; after whom followed two or three mo to helpe him: who
ſwimming to the chaine,got vp vpon it, and began to hew apace with their hatchets. Which
the Chriſtians beholding,ſuddenly fiue or ſix of the Maltæſes ſwam thither with their drawne I
ſwords in their hands,and hauing ſlaine two of them,cauſed the other to flie:after which time
none of the Turks was ſo hardie as to attempt the ſame. The barbarous king for all that gaue
not ouer his purpoſe ſo, but with wonderfull diligence prepared for the ſiege, which the fifteenth
day of Iuly began both by ſea and land. But the defendants turning their great ordinance
vpon that place from whence the galliots came, with the furie thereof (in the ſpace of
three houres,which the aſſault endured) ſlew two thouſand Turkes, and ſunke twelue of the
Galliots:the reſt comming as far as the chaine,when they could get no farther, nor land their
men,turned their prows vpon the corner of the caſtle,but were glad at laſt to retire and leaue
that they came for vndone. The aſſault by land alſo endured fiue houres,wherein many of the
Turks were ſlaine: and of the defendants 200,amongſt whom was *Fredericus* the Viceroy of K
Sicilia his ſon,ſtrucke in ſunder with a great ſhot, *Gordius* a Frenchman, *Franciſcus Sanogher*
and his nephew *Iohn*,Spaniards,all Knights of the Order: *Medina* was alſo wounded,whereof
he afterward died. But *Valetta* conſidering into what danger the ſtate of Malta was like to fall,
if he ſhould be conſtrained to fight many ſuch fights,where his ſoldiers wearied day & night
without reſt, were ſtill to incounter with freſh men,and heard nothing of any aid or new ſupplie,
the 17 day of Iuly he ſent a meſſenger into Sicilia,who ſwam from the caſtle to the fartheſt
part of the bay to Aqua Martia,and from thence eſcaped vnknowne thorow the midſt of
the enemies, vnto the citie of Melita, and ſo in a little frigot came to Meſſana. By him the
Great maſter ſent letters to the Viceroy, requeſting him to ſend him his owne two gallies
with thoſe Knights which were at Meſſana, and ſuch other ſouldiers as might in them be L
tranſported: willing them,that as ſoone as they came to the Iſland,they ſhould houer off aloof
before the hauen,readie vpon a ſigne giuen to thruſt in. The ſame time that this meſſenger arriued
at Meſſana, came thither alſo the fleet from Spaine, wherein were many of the Knights
of the Order from diuers nations. The Viceroy deſirous to ſend theſe two gallies to *Valetta*,
ſent letters before vnto him in ſecret characters by two frigots, wherein he certified him that
he would ſend the gallies,requiring to haue from him ſome ſigne wherby they might at their
comming know whether they ſhould enter or retire: which frigots taking diuers courſes, one
of them laded with medicines,as was afterwards knowne,was intercepted by the enemy: the
other although ſhe came in ſafetie to Melita,yet for as much as all the paſſages betwixt the caſtle
of S. *Michael* and the citie Melita,were certaine dayes before by the diligence of the enemie M
ſhut vp, and three which had vſed to paſſe too and fro, intercepted and moſt cruelly
executed; and beſides that, the hauen ſtraightly kept; the Knights of Meſſana could haue
no further direction from the Great maſter,for the ſafe ſending of the two Gallies: yet neuertheleſſe
becauſe he had requeſted them, and they themſelues were of the ſame opinion (as
he

A deſperat fugitiue.

The king of Algiers notably repulſed both by ſea and land.

A hard ſhift to carrie newes.

A he had before written) that where all is in queſtion, the aduenture of a little part is leſſe to be feared; they thought it good to aduenture them, yet with this regard, not to expoſe all thoſe knights to ſo great a danger, but of them all to ſend onely fortie, with a conuenient number of other ſonldiers, and with them *Salazar* a Spaniſh captaine was ſent by the Viceroy to be landed in the Iſland Gaulos, who ſhould afterwards from thence in a boat (for that purpoſe towed along by the gallies) paſſe ouer into the Iſland of Malta as a Spie, to take view both of the citie and enemies campe.

In the meane time the Turks mindfull of the loſſe receiued in the aſſault of the caſtle S. *Michael*, and deſirous of reuenge, did ſo violently batter the caſtle with their great ordnance, that what the defendants repaired by night, that they ſtiill beat downe againe by day: and in time B of batterie made a bridge, which the 20 day of Iuly before the Sun riſing they laied ouer the ditch, that they might as if it had bin vpon euen ground, come to fight hand to hand with the Chriſtians. Which ſeen, and quickly perceiued what danger it might bring, by and by *Pariſot* the Great maſters nephew, and *Agleria*, both knights, with certaine mercinarie ſoldiers ſallied out to haue burnt the bridge, but were ſo receiued of the Turks, that they were almoſt all ſlain together with *Pariſot* and *Agleria*, and yet the exploit vnperformed. The Turks without ceaſing continued their furious batterie vntill the eight and twentieth of Iuly, which day in the afternoone they in diuers places aſſaulted the caſtle, thrice they with freſh and new ſupplies relieued their repulſed and wearied ſoldiers, and ſo fiercely maintained the aſſault, that they made no doubt but that day to win the Caſtle. But the defendants with no leſſe reſolution C withſtood them, repulſing them with their weapons, with ſhot, fire, and force, and at length inforced them with no ſmall loſſe of their men to retire from the wals. This victorie ſo incouraged the beſieged, that now they made ſmall reckoning of the enemie: but foraſmuch as our men alwaies ſpared their great ordnance but in time to fight, and ſallied not out as they were wont, the Turks thought that the garriſon was but weake, and that ſhot & pouder grew ſcarce in the Caſtle. Yet deceiued in both, for that it was rather of purpoſe, than for want, ſo commanded by the Great Maſter; who hearing nothing of the comming of any aid, and ſeeing the enemy to giue daily more fierce aſſaults, would not vainly ſpend his moſt neceſſary helps. The Turks perceiuing what little good they had done with their often aſſaults, determined now to proue what might be done by vndermining the caſtle; and had almoſt brought one of their D mines to perfection before it was by the Chriſtians diſcouered: and to the intent they ſhould the leſſe marke it, they cauſed two gallies to come as neere as they could to the wals, & to batter that place; in hope that whileſt our men gazed vpon that was done openly, they ſhould the leſſe regard what they were working in ſecret, that ſo they might in the meane time more eaſily get into the caſtle. But the beſieged carefull of all that was to be cared for, perceiuing their purpoſe, with a countermine defeated their mine, & by the couragiouſneſſe of certain of their ſoldiers, but eſpecially of one Ancient, draue out the enemy, who hauing caſt certaine pots of wild-fire before him into the mine, and following preſently after with a piece of fire-worke in his hand, forced him out. For which good ſeruice he was by the Great maſter rewarded with a chaine of gold of fiue pound weight. And becauſe of vertue ſpringeth vertue, which ſtil reſteth vpon difficulties, the next day, which was the firſt of Auguſt, the bridge which wee ſaid the enemie had made ouer the ditch, was by a ſally made by the defendants burnt downe with fire and gunpouder caſt vpon it: which was in good time done, for the next day, the Sun now declining, the Turks again aſſailing that part of the caſtle where *Carolus Rufus* had the charge, were by our men valiantly repulſed. This aſſault endured 3 houres, in which time 300 of the Turks were there ſlain: and of the knights, *Rufus* himſelfe and *Bareſus*, with certaine mercinarie ſoldiers. At this time the Chriſtians were by the enemie ſo ſhut in with the multitude of great ordnance, that they could not ſo much as looke into the ditch or ſhew themſelues, much leſſe ſally out, but they were preſently ſet off. Yet did they not for all that make ſpare of their liues when occaſion was giuen them to performe any notable exploit: as appeared by *Calderonius* a Spaniard, who ſeeing ſome viewing that part of the wall which the enemy had moſt battered and ſhaken at the caſtle bulwarke, doubted not to ſally out, but was preſently taken with a bullet and ſlaine; which miſchance when it might ſeeme of right to haue terrified the reſt from attempting the like, did indeed the more incenſe them; ſo that when they ſaw the enemy exceeding buſie in filling the ditch, they, reſolutely ſet downe to offer themſelues to moſt aſſured

A bridge made ouer the caſtle ditch by the Turks.

The Turkes repulſed.

A mine of the Turks defeated.

The bridge made by the Turks burnt.

ſured death, rather than to fall into the hands of the mercileſſe enemie, agreed to ſallie out by G night, and to meet with his deſignes. Whereupon an hundred, part Knights, part other ſouldiers, ſallying forth, cauſed the enemie to forſake the ditch and betake himſelfe to flight, of whom they ſlew about foureſcore, and loſt of their owne, ten men: amongſt whom were *Ioannes* and *Manicrinus* two Knights, whoſe heads the Turks the next day ſet vp vpon two ſpears vpon their trenches, that they might be ſeene by the Chriſtians.

The ſame day, they of the citie of Melita at night made at one inſtant a number of fires, and as if it were in triumph diſcharged great vollies of ſmall ſhot, with many other tokens of ioy: which as wel the beſieged as the Turks thought verily to haue bin done vpon diſcouerie of the Chriſtian fleet, or els the landing of ſuch forces as were come to remoue the ſiege: wheras H indeed it was neither, but done only to ſhew their cheerefulnes, and to keepe the Turks in ſuſpence with the noueltie of the matter: who for all that were not ſlacke in their buſineſſe, but with earth filled vp the ditch at the caſtle bulwarke, wherby it came to paſſe that they could not be hurt by the flankers made in that place to ſcoure the ditch, but might thereby, as vpon plaine ground, without ſtay paſſe vnto the wall, now opened and ouerthrowne with their continuall batterie, and with two great pieces (which they had planted vpon a high mount which they had newly caſt vp on the right hand the bulwarke Sauoire) they began to play vpon the caſtle, and at the firſt ſhot, ſhot into the loupe where *Franciſcus Caſtilia* commanded. *Ioannes Bernardus Godinetius* a Spaniſh knight was there ſlain with a ſmall ſhot. The ſame day *Franciſcus Aquilates* a Spaniard one of the garriſon ſoldiers, perſuaded by feare and hope (in dangers I two euill counſellors) fled out of the town S. *Michael* to the enemie; perſuading the Turks Colonels to giue a freſh aſſault, aſſuring them that they ſhould without doubt win the towne, becauſe there was but 400 ſoldiers left aliue in it, and they (as he ſaid) almoſt ſpent with labour and wounds, all the reſt being dead. Which the Turks hearing, and ſeeing faire breaches both in the wals of the new city and of the caſtle of S. *Michael*, wide enough for carts to go thorow, they determined with all their forces to aſſault both places at once, and to proue if there were yet ſo much ſtrength left in thoſe holds, as again to repulſe them: ſo the 7 day of Auguſt at one inſtant they aſſaulted the new city at the caſtle bulwark, and the caſtle S. *Michael* at the breach, with ſuch a multitude, that all the earth ſeemed to be couered with men round about. The thundring of the great ordnance, the noiſe of the ſmall ſhot, with the clattering of armour, and K noiſe of trumpets, drums, and other warlike inſtruments, with the cry of men on both ſides was ſo confuſed and great, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue been confounded together. Which when the Knights in the city Melita heard, and ſaw the heauens obſcured with ſmoake, fearing that the Turks (as at the caſtle S. *Elmo*) would neuer giue ouer the aſſault vntill they had won both the towne and the caſtle; preſently all the garriſon horſemen iſſued out of the citie, and to auert the Turks from the aſſault, ſet vpon thoſe Turks which lay at Aqua Martia: who all ſurpriſed with a ſudden feare, fled, the Chriſtian horſemen hardly purſuing them with bloudy execution, and they in their flight pittiouſly crying out vpon their fellows for helpe. Whereby it came to paſſe, that they which were aſſailing the citie and caſtle, to reſcue their diſcomfited fellowes, were glad to giue ouer the aſſault: ſo with great ſlaughter foiled on both ſides by L the Chriſtians, they returned to their trenches, when they had loſt about fifteene hundred at the aſſault, beſide them which were ſlaine in the chaſe by the horſemen of Melita. Of the defendants of both places were ſlaine aboue an hundred, and almoſt as many wounded. This fight endured about fiue houres. *Valetta* deliuered of ſo great a danger, that day and certaine others cauſed publique prayers to be made, and went himſelfe with the multitude of the citiſens to the Church, to giue thanks to Almightie God for that victorie.

Aquilates a Spaniard flieth to the Turks.

The Turkes at one time aſſault the new city and the caſtle S. Michael.

The garriſon ſoldiers of Melita ſallying out cauſe the Turks to giue ouer the aſſault at Saint Michaels.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Garzias* the Viceroy was aduertiſed from Calabria, that certaine ſhips laded with men, victuall, and other prouiſion neceſſarie for the wars, were comming from Conſtantinople to Malta: wherefore he forthwith ſent *Altamira* and *Gildandrada* two noblemen, with fiue gallies to meet them: who being come within thirtie miles of Malta, met with no ſuch ſhips, but only one frigot and a galliot; the frigot they tooke, but the galliot M eſcaped to the enemies fleet at Malta.

Muſtapha the Turks General now thinking no man ſo ſtrong which might not with continuall labour and watching be wearied and ouercome, reſolued not to giue vnto the beſieged any time of reſt, but commanded his ſouldiers againe to aſſault the breach at the Caſtle of Saint

Michel,

A *Michael*; where they were by the valour of the defendants, with no ſmall ſlaughter quickly repulſed: neither did the Baſſa giue ſo many aſſaults, for the hope he had to win thoſe places, but rather to perform the duty of a valiant Generall, and to ſatisfie *Solymans* pleaſure, who had expreſſely commanded, either to win that Iſland, or there all to loſe their liues. He alſo ſent a galliot in haſt with letters to *Solyman*; wherein he ſhewed him the ſtate of the fleet, with what difficulties the army was diſtreſſed, what ſmal hope there was of winning the places beſieged, how well the Chriſtians were prouided, with many other ſuch things.

Muſtapha ſendeth a meſſenger to Solyman.

In the meane time thoſe two gallies of Malta (which we haue before ſpoken of) departing from Meſſana, came to Syracuſa, where they ſtaied a day. The next day after, in going out of the hauen, they met with one of Malta in a ſmall boat comming from Pozalo ſore wounded: B he being demanded how hee was ſo hurt, told them, That landing by night with his boat and one companion, he was requeſted by two Sicilians which dwelt there, to reſt there that night: which they doing, about midnight fiue Turks brake into the houſe vpon them, killed his companion, carried away the Sicilians, and he wounded as he was, hardly eſcaped by the benefit of the night: moreouer he ſaid, That the Sicilians had told the Turkes, that two gallies were come into that port, with ſouldiers and other warlike prouiſion bound for Malta. Wherby the knights perceiued, that their comming would be diſcouered vnto the enemie, and that it was a moſt dangerous thing, or rather impoſſible to get into the hauen of Malta, as they had before purpoſed: neuertheleſſe, to conduct *Salazar* with his little boat, they kept on their courſe. But as they were ſailing, they deſcried two gallies and one galliot going before them, who ſeeing C the gallies comming after them, made with all ſpeed to Malta: and were no doubt thoſe gallies, from whence thoſe fiue Turkes came, which had done thoſe things which the wounded Maltæſe reported. For all that, theſe gallies kept on their courſe as far as Pozalo, from whence they certified the Viceroy by letters, all that had happened: and not daring to put to ſea, the South wind blowing with a ſtiffe gale againſt them, they returned backe againe to Syracuſa, expecting there farther direction from the Viceroy. For which cauſe, they forthwith ſent one of the knights to him to Meſſana; by whom they receiued anſwere, That they ſhould goe no farther, but to ſtay for the comming of the whole fleet, ready in ſhort time to paſſe ouer to Malta. But *Salazar* brought by the gallies to Pozalo, reſolued with his little boat to go on: & although the day he departed thence, the aire was troubled with great wind, thunder & rain, D yet the dayes following proouing more calme, he in ſhort time arriued in the Iſland of Malta, and came in ſafetie to the citie Melita, and there diſguiſed himſelfe in Turkiſh apparell, and taking with him one companion, who could alſo ſpeake the Turkiſh language, by night got into the enemies camp: where diligently marking all things, they perceiued that there was in al the Turks army of land ſoldiers ſcarce 14000, and of them many wounded and ſicke; and that the reſt was but an vnſeruiceable and feeble multitude, for that the courſe of warres had (as commonly it doth) conſumed their beſt ſouldiers. When they had thus viewed the camp, they returned againe to the citie; from whence *Salazar* with one *Petrus Paccius* a Spaniard, a venturous and valiant man, went to a certaine place neere vnto the watch tower of Maleca: which when they had curiouſly viewed, *Paccius* was there left, that obſeruing the ſignes from the Iſland of E Gaulos and the citie of Melita, hee might giue knowledge of all things to the Viceroy at his approch, as he was by *Salazar* inſtructed. As for *Salazar* himſelfe, he in his little boat (which at his comming into the Iſle hee had there left) happily returned to Meſſana, and there declared vnto the Viceroy all that hee had ſeene: conſtantly affirming amongſt other things, That the Turkes fleete was but weake, lame, and diſfurniſhed both of men and munition, farre vnable to encounter with 10000 Chriſtians. About which time alſo, one of the two frigots which were before ſent to Malta, returned with another Spaniard, & a fugitiue from the Turks campe: and foure gallies before gone from Meſſana, were alſo come in with fourteene Turks taken about the Iſland of Malta, who all confirmed the ſame that was by *Salazar* reported: F Which was, That the Turkes armie was with often aſſaults wonderfully weakened, both in number and ſtrength; ſo that they could not with ſtripes be enforced to the aſſault, for which the Baſſa had with his owne hands ſlaine diuers of them: and that which more encreaſed their feare, they ſaw none of their men wounded, but that they died thereof: Beſides that, they ſaw the Chriſtians with inuincible courage to defend their ſtrõg places, and not to ſpend one ſhot in vaine: Wherefore they were ſorie, and repented that they euer tooke in hand

Salazar a Spaniſh captaine as a ſpie entreth the Turks camp.

that

ſured death, rather than to fall into the hands of the mercileſſe enemie, agreed to ſallie out by night, and to meet with his deſignes. Whereupon an hundred, part Knights, part other ſouldiers, ſallying forth, cauſed the enemie to forſake the ditch and betake himſelfe to flight, of whom they ſlew about foureſcore, and loſt of their owne, ten men: amongſt whom were *Ioannes* and *Manicrinus* two Knights, whoſe heads the Turks the next day ſet vp vpon two ſpears vpon their trenches, that they might be ſeene by the Chriſtians.

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Michael; where they were by the valour of the defendants, with no ſmall ſlaughter quickly repulled:
A neither did the Baſſa giue ſo many aſſaults, for the hope he had to win thoſe places, but
rather to perform the duty of a valiant Generall, and to ſatisfie *Solymans* pleaſure, who had expreſſely
commanded, either to win that Iſland, or there all to loſe their liues. He alſo ſent a
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carried away the Sicilians, and he wounded as he was, hardly eſcaped by the benefit
of the night: moreouer he ſaid, That the Sicilians had told the Turkes, that two gallies were
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Turks army of land ſoldiers ſcarce 14000, and of them many wounded and ſicke; and that the
reſt was but an vnſeruiceable and feeble multitude, for that the courſe of warres had (as commonly
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that expedition;they deteſted ſuch a war,ſhrinking as much as they could from the aſſault,and
as they might ſtealing quite away,which many of them did,ſpecially ſuch as had before abiured G
the Chriſtian Faith. For which cauſe diligent watch and ward was kept, and commandement
giuen by the great Baſſa, that they ſhould reſolue with themſelues either to winne the
towne,or there all to lay vp their bones, for that the great Sultan *Solyman* had ſo commanded,
whom to gaineſay,was in it ſelfe death. Theſe and ſuch like perſuaſions, cauſed the Viceroy
ſomwhat the ſooner to thinke of the bringing forth of his fleet:the beſieged in the mean time
did what men might for defence of the place & them ſelues. There was in the caſtle one *Franciſcus*
Giuara captain of the vauntgard,a noble & valiant gentleman,of a great conceit,he about
ten foot from the towne wall, which the enemie had with their great ordnance beaten down,
cauſed a curtain to be drawne 50 foot long,& 5 foot thicke,with flankers at both ends,which
in two nights was brought to perfection, & was afterwards a great help to the beſieged.The H
enemie in the mean time began a mine vnder the corner of the towne ditch,where *Boningſegna*
a Spaniard and a moſt valiant knight had the charge: which the beſieged perceiuing, by a
countermine defeated the ſame.It hapned in the mean time, that as a fugitiue was ſwimming
to the towne,he was taken by the enemy, which much grieued the beſieged, deſirous to haue
vnderſtood ſomething of the ſtate of the enemies camp,and of their purpoſes.Now when the
former mine had taken ſo euill ſucceſſe,part of the Turkes aſſailed the caſtle S.*Michael*, & part
with gunpouder thought to haue blowne vp the caſtle bulwarke: but by the carefulneſſe and
courage of the defendants,al their attempts were diſappointed; for many of the Turks were in
both places ſlaine, and certaine bags of pouder taken from them in the mine. With theſe and
other ſuch difficulties,*Muſtapha* and *Piall* the Turks Generals diſappointed of their hope,conſulted I
with the other great captaines of the army, Whether they ſhould there ſtill continue
that deſperat ſiege,or depart? Where moſt were cleere of opinion,That it was beſt betime to
depart. Yet for all that,the old Baſſa ſaid,He would there ſtay,vntill the galliot which he had
before ſent to Conſtantinople,were returned with anſwer from *Solyman*,and in the mean time
both by force and policie to ſeeke after victorie: which thing he oftner did, than ſtood with
the broken eſtate of his armie,or of the beſieged; neither reſting himſelfe nor ſuffering others
to take reſt: for one while he battered the wals,another while he wrought mines or els made
bridges,ſometime he caſt vp mounts,and then again filled the ditches,and euer and anon gaue
one aſſault or another. In all which doing he vſed ſuch induſtrie,that whatſoeuer he tooke in K
hand,was in ſhort time brought to ſuch perfection as might haue carried a ſtronger place,had
not the valour of the defendants far exceeded all his ſtrong and politique deuiſes.

The Turks mines defeated by the Chriſtians

Robles gouernor of the caſtle of S.Michael, ſlaine.

It fortuned, that as *Robles* the Camp-maſter,and Gouernour of the caſtle S.*Michael*,was by
night viewing the ruins of the wall,he was ſtrucke in the head with a ſmall ſhot, and ſlain,leauing
behind him to his fellowes,the great deſire of himſelfe: for why,he was a man for many
his good parts (wherewith he had many times ſtood the defendants in great ſtead) worthily
beloued.In whoſe ſtead the Great maſter ſent one of the Colonels that was with himſelfe, a
moſt expert and reſolute captaine,to take charge of S.*Michaels* caſtle; who by his valiant care
and prouidence ſo well diſcharged the charge committed vnto him,that as often as the Turks
attempted the place,ſo often they were with loſſe repulſed. L

The two gallies with the galliot, deſcried by the gallies of Malta (as we haue before ſaid)
told *Piall Baſſa* the Admirall,that the Chriſtian fleet was ready to come forth: wherefore hee
fearing the ſudden comming thereof,cauſed ſeuentie gallies to be in readineſſe: beſides which
forty others lay in the hauen Marza Moxet vnſeruiceable,as wanting both men & other equipage;
for that was ſpent in making bridges,mines,& other ſuch things neceſſarie for the ſiege:
as for the men,they were part with ſickneſſe,and part with often aſſaults conſumed. Wherefore
Piall for certaine daies kept himſelfe by day in the port Maior neere the ſhore, and by
night put forth to ſea,expecting the comming of the fleet.But after long looking,when he ſaw
no man appeare,hee againe landed his ſouldiers: and becauſe at land the Baſſa began to want
pouder, of euery thirtie barrels of pouder in euery gally,hee tooke out twentie,and of ſome M
twentie fiue,or according to that proportion. After which time, the Turks began with greater
fury than at any time before, to batter the walls of both townes, eſpecially with thoſe
great pieces which they call Baſiliskes, whoſe ſhot of two hundred pound weight was ſeuen
hands about; whereby the walls of the caſtle of S.*Michael* were beaten flat. And at the ſame

time,

A time,the Baſſa at the caſtle S. *Angelo*,had with continual batterie ſo ſhaken the caſtle bulwark,
that it was almoſt fallen quite downe. Theſe breaches thus made, when the Turks ſaw both
townes bared of wals and other defendants,and laid ſo open, that nothing ſeemed now to let
them to looke vpon their enemies,they made no longer ſtay,but the 18 day of Auguſt(the Sun
being now at the higheſt)with all their power fiercely aſſaulted both the towns. Thrice they
were repulſed, and ſtill came on afreſh; yet at length beaten downe on euery ſide with grea-
ter ſlaughter, they were glad ſhamefully to giue ouer the aſſault, and againe to retire to their
trenches. In this moſt cruell fight (which endured fiue houres)the inuincible courage of the
Great maſter notably appeared, who armed with a pike in his hand, and dreadfull to behold,
was ſtill valiantly fighting in the face of the breach; whoſe preſence incouraged not the ſoul-
B diers only,but euen boyes and women to fight: for ſo it is,that men are more moued with ex-
ample, than with words. Yet of the great number of the Turkes,part ſtood ſtill in the towne
ditch,and to ſaue themſelues from the ſhot of the caſtle bulwarke,had with wonderful celeri-
tie caſt vp a defence of earth, fagots,and other like matter, which they did of purpoſe to ap-
proch and to vndermine the wals,and had therefore incloſed the ſpace of fifteen elnes: which
when the beſieged perceiued,they bent certaine pieces of artillerie vpon it,and ſlew many of
them,and with fire conſumed what was left. The next day the aſſault was at the ſame places by
the enemie renewed,who by reaſon of his number of ſoldiers might eaſily ſend freſh men in
ſtead of them which were wounded or wearie: and firſt,after their wonted manner they batte-
red both the townes all that day vntill night; afterwards the Moone ariſing, about midnight
C with a horrible crie they began a moſt terrible aſſault, which at the firſt much troubled the
Chriſtians,who yet ſtill mindfull of their wonted valor,did ſo much with their weapons and
fire-workes, that the enemie euill intreated, was glad after three houres fight to retire to his
trenches. The ſame day a mine was by the defendants perceiued,at the caſtle bulwarke, where-
in a hundred Turks there found,were almoſt all ſlaine,and the mine deſtroied. Yet for all this
did not the enemie reſt at all, but the next day ſeuen times aſſaulted the ſame breaches, vſing
now not weapons only,but fire-workes alſo; wherewith *Boſninſega* had his face ſo burnt, that
he loſt one of his eies. At the ſame time alſo,the Turkes at a place called the Spurre, laboured
mightily to haue gotten into the caſtle: where *Centius* a knight of an inuincible courage,got vp
vpon the rampier,and with a pike couragiouſly thruſt them downe that were climing vp, and
D thruſting thorow one,diſcouraged the reſt; but was himſelfe wounded in the arme with a ſmal
ſhot: yet when he had a little withdrawn himſelfe to haue his wound bound vp,he came againe
to the rampier,and neuer departed from the fight,vntill he had(as a valiant conqueror)preſer-
ued the place. So the Turks with great ſlaughter on euery ſide repulſed,left the victory to the
Chriſtians,of whom were ſlaine almoſt an hundred, and moſt of them (as at other times) with
ſhot: amongſt whom were theſe moſt valiant knights; at the caſtle *Angelo*, *Fragus*; at the caſtle
of S. *Michael*, *Scipio Piatus*, *Ioh. Baptiſta Soderinus*, *Paulus Bemportus*, *Marius Fagianus*, *Ruffinus*, and
certaine others, men worthie of longer life. The Turkes had alſo at the ſame time wrought a
mine at the caſtle S. *Michael*,which was at once both diſcouered and deſtroied.

The Turkes at once aſſaile the towns S. Angelo and S. Michael, and are at both places repulſed.

Another aſſault

With theſe ſo many and ſo great aſſaults,certain of the knights(and thoſe not of the meaneſt
E ſort)fearing leſt that which was ſo often attempted by the enemy,ſhould at length be effected;
told the Great maſter, That they thought it conuenient and neceſſarie, to remooue all the re-
cords,all the pictures and reliques of the Saints,and other their religious things into the caſtle
S. *Angelo*, there to be kept as in a place of more ſtrength and aſſurance. The Great maſter, al-
though he well knew that they which thus ſaid, ſpake it of a good mind, was for all that with
that ſpeech exceedingly moued: wherfore he ſhortly anſwered them, That ſo to do,were no-
thing els but to applauſe & diſcourage the minds,not of the Maltæſes only,who had hitherto
valiantly behaued themſelues, & don more than any man could haue hoped for; but alſo of the
mercinarie ſouldiers,if they ſhould perceiue it: wherefore he was reſolued,either together to
keep all,or loſe all: and becauſe none ſhould from thenceforth repoſe any hope in the ſtrength
F of the caſtle S. *Angelo*, he ſaid he would bring all the garriſon out of the caſtle into the towne,
that there they might together with others withſtand the enemy, & that he would leaue in the
caſtle none but gunners, who ſhould as need required ſhoot at the enemy: an anſwer truly well
beſeeming a man of his place, & to be to al poſterity commended: for how can the ſouldier
hope, which ſeeth his captain deſpaire? or aduenture, where the chieftain ſeemes to be ſtrucke

The reſolute anſwere of the Great Maſter.

with

The Turkes aſſault both the townes the fourth time.

The Turks enter the new citie.

The comfortable ſpeech of the Great maſter when the Turks were entred.

The Turks with great ſlaughter again repulſed.

with feare? Whileſt the Grand maſter with this anſwer doth both aſhame them and alſo encourage their quailing minds; the Turks (that this day as the other three before ſhould not paſſe without aſſault) with the dawning of the day aſſailed the very ſame places with the greateſt fury poſſible, eſpecially at the ruins of the caſtle: where ***San Romanus*** an Auergnois, which had the charge of that place, loſt this ſhort and tranſitorie life, winning thereby immortall fame: and at S. ***Michaels, Adurnius*** one of the knights, and ***Fagio*** with certain others, were grieuouſly wounded: for the enemy ſuddenly retiring from the aſſault, preſently ſo thundred into the breaches with their great and ſmall ſhot, that all the Iſland ſeemed to tremble, the heauens to burne, and the aire to be darkned with ſmoke. In the mean time ***Valetta*** thorowly wearied with the mornings fight, had withdrawne himſelfe a little to breath himſelfe: when ſuddenly a Spaniſh prieſt, with his hands caſt vp to heauen, came running to him, roaring and crying out, That all was loſt and forlorne, and that three or foure enſignes of the enemies were by the caſtle breach broken into the towne. Which the great maſter hearing, ſuddenly clapt his helmet vpon his head, and with a pike in his hand, ſaid vnto them that were about him, *Loe fellow ſouldiers, the houre is come wherein you may ſhew your ſelues the moſt valiant Champions of the Chriſtian religion, if it be ſo, that you now alſo retaine the ſame valour which you haue in other battels ſhewed. There is no cauſe wherefore you ſhould doubt of this laſt, for the enemie is the ſame, and the ſame God which hath hitherto preſerued vs, will not now forſake vs: wherefore follow mee, valiant hearts.* This ſaid, he haſted to the place where moſt danger was, and with him all the ſouldiers, all the citiſens men and women, old and yong, yea the very children, all againſt the common enemy. There was fought a moſt dreadfull & dangerous battell: ſome kept the enemie from entring, ſome ſet vpon them that were already entred, whom they wounded, chaſed, and ſlew, although they notably reſiſted. Within, without, all was couered with weapons, darts, dead bodies, and bloud. The Great maſter was careful of al, and in euery place preſent, commending, exhorting, directing, as occaſion required, performing at once all the duties of a moſt valiant ſouldier & worthie Generall. At length the Turkes with the ſetting of the Sun retired, and ſo the aſſault ceaſed. Thus was the Great maſter the vndoubted victor, but not without much bloud of his people, conſidering his ſmall number: for in this fight he loſt aboue 200 men, whereas of the enemies, beſide them which were entred, whereof not one eſcaped, were ſlaine aboue 2000. Theſe are thoſe foure terrible aſſaults, preſently giuen one after another vnto the beſieged.

Garzias the Viceroy in the meane tarried for nothing elſe to tranſport his armie to Malta, but for the comming of ***Io. Cardona***, who with twelue gallies was gone to Panormo, to conduct thence foure ſhips laded with prouiſion: but when he ſaw him ſtay long, he ſent to him in poſt, That if he could not with ſuch ſpeed as was required tow forth thoſe ſhips, hee ſhould ſpend no longer time, but take out the prouiſion into his gallies, and with ſpeed to come away. So the Viceroy with a fleet of 72 gallies the twentieth day of Auguſt ſet forward from Meſſana to Syracuſa, wherein he carried ten thouſand ſelect ſouldiers, amongſt whom were aboue two hundred knights of the Order of S. ***Iohn***, and aboue fortie of the Order of S. ***Stephen***, which is an Order of knights inſtituted by ***Coſmos Medices***, Duke of Florence, to the imitation of the knights of Malta in the yeare 1561, and haue their reſidence at Coſmopolis, a new built city in the Iſland of Elba in the Tuſcane ſea, ouer againſt Piombino. Beſides theſe Knights, in this fleet were diuers noble and valiant gentlemen of Italie, Sicilie, and other countries. The fleet being arriued at Syracuſa, the Viceroy ſent ***Auria*** with one gallie and a boat to Malta, to land a man, to know of ***Paccius*** (left, as we haue before ſaid, for a watch in the Iſland at Maleca) what newes, or what he had ſeen. By whom it was vnderſtood, That no ſhip was ſeene at ſea, but one galliot, which the one and twentieth day of Auguſt in the morning made towards Gaulos, & the ſame day towards night as hee was informed by the watchmen of Maleca, ſixteene gallies came to water at Saline, but what became of them afterwards, by reaſon of the comming on of the night could not be deſcried

In this while the beſieged had notably repaired the breach at the caſtle bulwarke, & had in ſundry places aptly placed certain great pieces to flanker the ditches, & to beat the mount caſt vp by the enemie at the bulwarke of Boninſegna, that they might from thence annoy all the plain of the caſtle with their ſmal ſhot. But the Turks hauing determined with all their forces at once to aſſault both the townes as before, brought an engine made of ſpars and boords, able to couer thirty men, vnder the breach at S. ***Michaels***: wherby it came to paſſe, that none of the defen-

A defendants could without danger ſhew themſelues in the breach: which when they could by
no means endure,they ſuddenly ſallied out,& putting them to flight which were there couered,
ſet fire on the engine and burnt it. In like manner,they which beſieged the new city,were
repulſed at the caſtle breach,& another like engine burnt. The next night,certain of the watch
of the caſtle iſſued out,and hauing deſtroied the Turks engines prepared for the aſſailing of
that place,and ſlaine them that were ſet for the keeping thereof,returned in ſafety into the caſtle.
But when the enemies both that day and others following reſted not, but repairing their
mines,mounts,and engines,laboured in both places ro haue beaten the Chriſtians from the
wals;all their endeuour and labour was by the induſtry and valor of the defendants made fruſtrate.
The beſieged had at the caſtle breach made a mine,and laid in it eight barrels of pouder,
B that if the enemie ſhould againe aſſault that place,he might there be blown vp : but whilſt the
Turks were for like purpoſe working a mine in the ſame place, they chanced vpon the mine
before made,which they ſpoiled, and carried away all the pouder. Thus whileſt they labour
both on the one ſide and the other,*Muſtapha* the Generall, a moſt expert and famous commander,
conſidering that Summer now ſo far ſpent,he was not to vſe longer delay;and withal,that
reſolute perſeuerance oftentimes in war findeth out a way to victory; determined with all his
power once againe to aſſault the caſtle S.*Michael*. Wherefore diſplaying the ſtately ſtanderd
of the Turkiſh Emperor,vpon the point whereof was faſtened a globe of Gold, he commanded
his ſouldiers to enter the breach ; who now like deſperat men attempted to haue performed
his command,and were by the Chriſtians valiantly encountred:ſo that in the breach was
C made a moſt terrible& doubtful fight.But when the Turks had now bin twice reiected & beaten
downe; *Muſtapha* perceiuing his ſouldiers as men halfe diſcouraged,but faintly to maintain
the aſſault,came himſelfe to the places,praying and exhorting them not to be diſcouraged,but
that day to confirme their former labors and victories;and not to ſuffer their vanquiſhed enemies
to triumph ouer them : hee told them that the enemie had now no defence left wherewith
to couer himſelfe,that all was beaten downe flat,and that there remained only a few wearie
& maimed bodies,which were not able long to indure the edge of their ſwords;that with
ſuch reſolution they had before won the caſtle S.*Elmo* : laſt of all, hee by promiſing to ſome
mony,to ſome honor and preferment,threatning ſome,& requeſting others,incouraged ſome
one way,ſome another,euery one according to his quality and diſpoſition:who moued either
D with their Generals preſence,promiſes,or threats,gaue a freſh and fierce aſſault. The fight was
on both ſides terrible,yet at length the Turks were again inforced to retire:for the defendants
had caſt vp a rampier,wheron they had fitly placed two field pieces,wherwith they ſore troubled
the enemie,and at the firſt ſhot ſtrucke in ſunder one of thoſe wooden engines,which the
enemie had made ſtronger than the reſt,couered with raw hides to keep it from burning, and
rent in pieces fortie ſouldiers which were vnder it: and the ſame night they which were in
the other towne and the caſtle bulwarke, ſallying couragiouſly out, deſtroied all the enemies
defences,and draue them from a mount which they had made vpon the fortifications of the
Chriſtians: whereby they perceiued plainly, what ſmall courage the Turks had to fight, for
E vpon that mount they were almoſt 300,wheras of our men was but 25,with which ſmal number
for all that,they had no mind to deale. The defendants had for like purpoſe as before,made
another mine at the caſtle bulwarke, but perceiuing that it was in danger to be found by the
enemie in repairing his fortifications without,they ſuddenly put fire vnto it,by force whereof
threeſcore Turks which were within the danger of the place,were blowne vp and ſlaine.

A mine of the Chriſtians found by the Turks.

The Turks deſperatly aſſault the towne of S.Michael.

The Turks enforced to retire

Garzias the Viceroy,in the mean while that theſe things were in doing, departing with his
fleet from Syracuſa,with a proſperous wind kept on his courſe toward Pachynum,where they
deſcried a tall ſhip at ſea, driuen thither (as was afterward knowne) by tempeſt : ſhee out of
the Iſland Mening was carrying a great ſupply of ſhot and pouder vnto the Turkes campe at
Malta ; but now,ouertaken by the Chriſtian fleet,eaſily yeelded,and was by the Viceroy ſent
by other mariners to Syracuſa. And now the Chriſtian fleet carried with a faire gale towards
F Malta,ſuddenly aroſe ſuch a tempeſt from the Eaſt, that they were driuen to the Iſland Æguſa,
two hundred and twentie miles Weſt of Malta, from whence the firſt of September letters
were brought from the Viceroy to the Great maſter, certifying him, That hee would in ſhort
time come with his fleet and relieue him. The ſame day alſo a Chriſtian fled out of the Turks
gallies,wherein he was captiue,to the city S,*Angelo* ; who reported, That in the Turks camp

The Chriſtian fleet driuen by tempeſt to the Iſland Æguſa.

were few men able to fight, moſt of the armie being with wounds, famine, ſickneſſe, and other G miſeries brought to extreame weakneſſe: and beſides that, that infinit numbers of them died daily: yet for all that he ſaid moreouer, that they were determined to beſiege the citie of Melita, and had already for that purpoſe mounted fiue great pieces of artillerie for batterie; and that they had but a few daies before taken twelue, & the laſt day of all fourteene horſemen of the garriſon ſouldiers of that citie. In the meane while the fleet which was driuen (as we ſaid) to Æguſa, the rage of the ſea being now well appeaſed, came to Drepanum, and from thence toward Gaulos, as was before intended: where by the way the two gallies of Malta light vpon two of the Turks galliots, and tooke them.

The Chriſtian fleet commeth to Gaulos.

The fift day of September the Chriſtian fleet came to Gaulos, where the Viceroy perceiuing not the appointed ſignes from Malta, whereby he might ſafely land, returned forthwith H backe againe to Pozalo, whither *Auria* immediatly following him, told him, That he had ſeen the ſignes, and aſſured him of ſafe landing in the Iſland of Malta: wherewith the Viceroy encouraged, the next day towards night returned againe to Gaulos.

A fugitiue diſcouereth the enemies purpoſe to the Great maſter.

The ſame day a Chriſtian captiue fled from the Turks to S. *Angelo*, and told the Great maſter, That hee was come to bring him good newes, how that the Turkes had determined to proue their laſt fortune in aſſaulting the Caſtle S. *Michael*, which they would do the next day: where if the ſucceſſe were anſwerable to their deſire, they would then tarrie, *but if not*, then forthwith to be gone: and that *Muſtapha* the more to encourage his ſouldiers, had promiſed fiue talents of gold to the enſigne bearers, that ſhould firſt aduance their enſignes vpon the wals I and farther to promote them to greater places of honor; as for the reſt, he would reward euery one of them according to their deſert, either with mony or preferment. *Valetta* thinking all theſe things to be by Gods appointment diſcouered vnto him by ſuch men, as they had from time to time been: firſt gaue thanks vnto Almighty God, and after that, with all diligence prepared ſuch things as he thought moſt neceſſary for the repulſing of the enemy. But the Turks all that day with their great ordnance battered the new citie, and the ſhipping in the hauen, in ſuch ſort that one of the great ſhips was there ſunke.

The Viceroy arriueth at Malta, and landeth his forces.

In the morning *Garzias* the Viceroy with his fleet arriued at the Iſland of Malta, and there quickly and quietly landed his forces, and whileſt his gallies watered at Gaulos, went forward with the armie about halfe a mile, inſtructing the Generalls and Colonells, what he thought K needful to be done, commanding all proclamations and commands to be made in the name of the king of Spaine, vntill they came to the Great maſter, and then in all things to obey him as their Soueraigne: and charged *Aſcanius Cornia* the Generall, in all his actions to follow the counſell of the greater part. So in few words exhorting them to play the men, hee left them marching towards Melita. About noone he retired to his gallies, and ſailing Eaſtward, came with all his fleet within the ſight of the citie of Melita, about 3 miles diſtant from the South ſhore. They of the citie vpon ſight of the fleet, in token of ioy diſcharged all the great artillerie, which was anſwered from the fleet, by diſcharging all their great ordnance twice. After that, he returned as he had before determined into Sicilia, to take into his gallies the Duke of Vrbins companies, which were come to Meſſana, and certaine bands of Spaniards at Syracuſa, L and ſo forthwith to return to Malta, to attend the departing of the Turks fleet, being now euill appointed, and already as good as halfe ouerthrowne.

The Turks, who (as is before ſaid) had purpoſed to proue their laſt fortune vpon the towne of S. *Michael*, had now certaine daies before the comming of the fleet, begun to truſſe vp their baggage: but as ſoon as they heard that the fleet was come, and the army landed, there ſuddenly aroſe a wonderfull tumultuous confuſion amongſt them, ſome cried, Arme, arme, and otherſome as faſt to be gone: and being generally all afraid, euery one according to his diſpoſition, betooke himſelfe to his weapons or to his heels, the greateſt number thruſt together into their trenches as neere as they could vnto the great ordnance: and ſo burning the engines and fortifications, with all the ſpeed they could imbarked their great ordnance and baggage. Which they in the town of S. *Angelo* perceiuing, not expecting the commandement of the Great maſter in ſo ſudden an opportunity, couragiouſly ſallied out to Burmola, where certain Turks kept a huge great piece of ordnance, who now hauing no minde to fight, betooke themſelues to flight, & forſooke the piece, which they of the town preſently drew within their wals: and if the new come forces had that day charged the enemy as they diſorderly ran to their gallies, A pily they had either found an occaſion of victory, or at leaſtwiſe taken from them the greateſt part of their artillerie. But it may be, that they followed the old militarie ſaying, That vnto the flying enemie a man ſhould make a bridge of ſiluer. Beſides that, they thinking it not conuenient to depart from the prouiſion and things which they had brought for the reliefe of the beſieged, which for the roughneſſe of the way and want of horſes were hardly carried, would not prouoke the enemy with any ſkirmiſh: wherby it came to paſſe, that the Turks without let imbarked their great ordnance, their baggage, and moſt part of their army. The 11 of September, whileſt the Turks fleet was brought out of the hauen Marza Moxet, a fugitiue of Genoa came in haſt to the Great maſter, & told him, that 10000 Turks were marching toward Melita, to meet with the Chriſtians vpon the way. Which thing the Great maſter hearing, preſently B ſent a ſufficient number of good ſoldiers to the caſtle S. *Elmo*, there to ſet vp one of the enſigns of the ſacred Order: who comming thither, found there foure and twentie great pieces, ſome for batterie, ſome for the field, which they could not in ſo great haſt remoue thence.

The Turks forſake the ſiege.

The Turks fleet departing out of the hauen Marza Moxet to the port of S. *Paul*, there landed ſeuen thouſand men, with *Muſtapha* their Generall, who was falſly informed, That the Chriſtians were not aboue three thouſand ſtrong: and from thence incouraged with the ſmall number of the enemie (as they ſuppoſed) they marched directly toward Melita. The Chriſtians alſo marching orderly & ready to giue battell, held on their way to meet them: and at the riſing of an hill both armies meeting together, they gaue a great ſhout, and withall the formoſt began the battell, where ſome few were at the firſt ſlain on both ſides. But the Chriſtians ſtill C growing vpon them both in number and ſtrength, the Turks finding themſelues ouercharged, fled, the Chriſtians purſuing them and killing them vntill they came to their gallies; where in ſtriuing who ſhould get in firſt, about foure hundred of them were drowned in the ſea, beſides eighteen hundred ſlaine in the battell at land: and had the Chriſtian ſouldiers wel known the country, they had ſlain them euery mothers ſonne. The Turks thus driuen to their gallies, lay there in the hauen all the next day, and moſt part of the night following: but a little before day, vpon the ſhooting off of a great piece, the ſigne of their departure, they al hoiſed ſaile for Gercia, leauing the Iſland of Malta ſore impoueriſhed and waſted. In this ſiege the Turkes loſt about foure and twentie thouſand, whereof moſt part were of their beſt ſouldiers: and of the Chriſtians were ſlaine about fiue thouſand, beſides two hundred and forty knights of the Or-D der, men of diuers nations, but all worthie eternall fame, whoſe dead bodies the Great maſter cauſed to be honourably buried. The Turkes in their batterie during the ſiege, ſpent as is accounted, threeſcore and eighteen thouſand great ſhot.

The Turks ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians, flie to their gallies.

The Turkes depart from Malta.

If a man doe well conſider the difficulties and dangers the beſieged paſſed thorow in this fiue moneths ſiege, the manifold labors and perils they indured in ſo many and ſo terrible aſſaults, the ſmall reliefe to them ſent in ſo great diſtreſſe, with the deſperat obſtinacie of ſo puiſſant an enemy; he ſhall hardly find any place theſe many yeres more mightily impugned, or with greater valor and reſolution defended. The late beſieged, and now victorious prince, honorably acquited of ſo great an enemy, firſt commanded publique prayers with thankſgiuing to be made vnto the Giuer of all victory: after that, he rewarded the valiant, commended the reſt, and gaue thanks to all; he charitably relieued the ſicke and wounded, bewailed the ſpoile of the Iſland, and carefully prouided for the repairing of the breaches and places battered: & yet in all this doing, diligently inquired after the enemies courſe and purpoſe, and was not in any thing remiſſe or ſecure, as in victorie moſt men are. But becauſe ſo great harmes could not without great helpes in ſhort time be repaired, and the returne of the proud enemie, not without cauſe the next yeare feared; he by letters to diuers great princes, & eſpecially to the grand Priors of the Order, in diuers countries, requeſted help; amongſt whom *George*, grand Prior of Germanie, and founder of the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, was one of the chiefeſt. The copie of which letters, becauſe they briefly containe what we haue before in this Hiſtorie at large written, I haue thought good here to ſet down, that the ſame may in ſuch order be read, as it was by the Great maſter himſelfe reported.

The carefulnes of the Great maſter.

Brother *Valetta,* Maſter of the Hoſpitall of Ieruſalem, to the reuerend and religious our welbeloued brother in Chriſt, *George* of Hohenheim, called *Bombaſt*, Prior of our Priorie in Almainie, greeting.

The letters of the great maſter to the grād prior of Almaine, Concerning the manner of the Turkes proceedings in the ſiege of Malta.

Although wee doubt not but that by the letters and relation of many, you alreadie underſtand of the comming of the Turkes to inuade theſe Iſlands, or rather vtterly to ſubuert our Societie: And the happily and heauenly victorie by vs obtained of it: yet if the ſame things ſhall by our letters alſo bee brought vnto you, wee haue thought the ſame will be vnto you a thing much more pleaſing. For ſeeing that wee are certainely perſuaded, that you in this no leſſe happie than wholeſome ſucceſſe will giue moſt heartie thanks to Almightie God, and that the fruit of this good ſhall moſt of all redound vnto you, for the honour which you beare in our Order; wee haue willingly determined to participate this our ioy with you, and plainely and openly to proteſt, That we attribute this ſo notable and wonderfull a victorie to our Lord Chriſt Ieſus, the greateſt King of all Kings, and authour of all good things. Which that you may the more worthily and willingly doe, we will declare the whole matter, not at large (for that were to write an hiſtorie) but briefly and in few words. Sultan Solyman *the moſt mortall enemie of the Chriſtian name, and eſpecially of our Societie, not contented to haue ſpoyled vs of the moſt famous Iſland of the Rhodes, the caſtle of Tripolis, and almoſt whatſoeuer we had elſe; commanded a great and ſtrong fleet to be made readie againſt vs; which departing from* Conſtantinople *the one and twentieth day of March, arriued heere the eighteenth day of May: Which fleet conſiſted of almoſt two hundred and fiftie gallies, galliots, and other ſhips. The number of the enemie that bare armes, according to the truth, was about fortie thouſand more or leſſe: Generall of the land forces, was* Muſtapha Baſſa; *and of the fleet,* Piall Baſſa *was Admirall: who hauing ſpent a few dayes in landing their forces, viewing the places, pitching their tents, and ſetting things in order (as the manner of warre is) they began firſt to aſſaile the caſtle of S.* Elmo *(ſcituat in the mouth of the hauen) with great force & a moſt furious batterie. Which when they had many dayes done without intermiſſion, and had opened a great part of the wall, and with all kind of weapons aſſaulted the breach: yet was it by the valour and prowеſſe of our Knights, and other worthie ſouldiers, kept and defended by the ſpace of thirtie fiue dayes with the great loſſe and ſlaughter of the enemie: although the Caſtle it ſelfe, in the iudgement of many, ſeemed not poſſible to be but a few daies defended againſt ſo great a force. At length the foure and twentieth day of Iune, when our men could no longer indure the multitude and furie of the enemie, enuironed and ſhut vp both by ſea and land, and deſtitute of all helpe, the caſtle was taken by the Turkes; thoſe few of our men which were left, being all ſlaine. Of which victorie they being proud, began to beſiege the caſtle and towne of S.* Michael, *and this new citie, eſpecially at the caſtle and Portingall bulwarke: and (as their manner is) with great diligence and greater force and number of great Artillerie and warlike engines, they began in diuers places at once to batter and beat downe the walls. Which ſiege, the dreadful armie of the Turks by ſea and land, made to bee moſt fearefull and terrible, with ſuch huge great ordnance, as the like for bigneſſe and force was in no place to bee ſeene; day and night thundering out their yron and ſtone ſhot, fiue and ſeuen hands about; wherewith not the thickeſt wals, but euen the very mountaines themſelues might haue beene beaten downe and ouerthrowne: by furie whereof, the wals in many places were ſo battered, that a man might eaſily haue entered as on plaine ground. Where, when the barbarous enemies had with wonderfull force and hideous outcries oftentimes attempted to enter, ſo often were they with great ſlaughter and diſhonour repulſed and beaten backe, many of their men ſlaine or wounded. Their Generalls, as well at ſea as land, after that they had in ſo many places, with all their forces in almoſt foure moneths ſiege and aſſault, with exceeding furie in vaine attempted the breaches, and loſt the greateſt part of their old ſouldiers, eſpecially Winter now comming on, wherein all warres by law of nations ought to ceaſe; thought of nothing elſe but of departure, or rather of flight: which the comming of* Garzias *of Toledo, Viceroy of Sicilia, and Admirall of the King of Spaine his fleet, with ten thouſand ſelect ſouldiers (amongſt whom was at the leaſt two hundred and fourteene of our knights, and many other noble and valiant Gentlemen; which onely with a Chriſtian zeale, voluntarily met together from diuers parts of the World to helpe and relieue vs) cauſed them to haſten. So haue you ſummarily and in few words, the proceedings and flight of the Turkes fleet, and the victorie by vs (by the power of God) thereof obtained. It ſhall be your part to conſider and coniecture, in what* *ſtate our Order and this Iſland now ſtandeth, into what poore eſtate we are brought, how many things we want; wherein except we be relieued by the helpe and aid of our Brethren, eſpecially ſuch as you are, as we well hope, and aſſuredly beleeue we ſhall, our State will quickely take end. Fare you well.*

From Malta the ninth of October, 1565.

The Great maſter thus deliuered of ſo great a ſiege, and bountifully relieued by the Chriſtian Princes, and the great Commanders of his Order; ſpeedily repaired the breaches and places battered, and with new fortifications ſtrengthened thoſe places as he had by the late paſſed dangers perceiued to be moſt ſubiect to the enemies force.

1566

After the returne of the Turks fleet to Conſtantinople, *Solyman* being exceeding angry with the gouernor of the Iſland of Chios his tributarie, as well for that he had during the late ſiege of Malta, had intelligence with the Great maſter, and reuealed vnto him many of the Turkes deſignes; as alſo for detaining of two yeares tribute, which was yerely ten thouſand duckets; and had alſo neglected to ſend his wonted Preſents to the great Baſſa's, who therfore the more incenſed the Tyrant; commanded *Piall Baſſa* his Admirall to make readie his fleet, and by force or policie to take that fruitfull and pleaſant Iſland wholly into his own hand. Who without delay, with a fleet of eightie gallies the fifteenth day of Aprill in the yeare 1566, being then Eaſter day, arriued at Chios. The chiefe men of the Iſland vpon ſight of the fleet, forthwith ſent Embaſſadors to the Baſſa with preſents, curteouſly offering vnto him the hauen, and whatſoeuer els he ſhould require. *Piall* with great kindneſſe accepted their offer, and preſently poſſeſſed himſelfe of the hauen in three places: and afterward landing, ſent for the gouernour of the city and twelue of the chiefe citiſens to come vnto him, as if he had had ſome ſpeciall matter to confer with him about from the great Sultan, before his departure thence for Malta or Italie. Who hauing a little conferred together, went to him with great feare; and that not without cauſe; for as ſoone as they were come before him, he commanded them to be layd hold vpon and caſt faſt into yrons: which done, the ſouldiers forthwith tooke the towne hall, and without reſiſtance pulling downe the townes enſigne, (wherin was the picture of S. *George* with a red Croſſe) in ſtead thereof ſet vp one of the Turks: the like whereof was done with great reioicing of the Turks, thorow the whole Iſland. After that, they rifled the Churches, and againe conſecrated them after their Mahometan manner. The gouernour of the citie, and the Senators, with their families, the Baſſa ſent in fiue ſhips to Conſtantinople: as for the vulgar people, they were at choice, either there to tarrie ſtill, or depart, as beſt ſtood with their liking. And ſo the Baſſa, when he had there placed a new gouernour, one of the Turks, with a ſtrong garriſon, and ſet vp the Mahometane ſuperſtition in that moſt fertile Iſland, departed thence for Italie: where ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Apulia, he did exceeding much harme in burning and deſtroying the country villages, and carrying away of the poore people into captiuitie; and ſo returned.

The Iſland of Chios taken by the Turks.

At this time the kingdome of Hungarie was moſt miſerably rent in pieces by the lieutenants and captains of *Solyman* and *Maximilian* the Emperor, and *Iohn* the Vayuod of Tranſiluania *Solymans* vaſſall: who grieued with the harmes done vnto him by the Emperors captaines, wherof himſelf was the cauſe, and vainly hoping to haue obtained at *Solymans* hands the greateſt part of the kingdome of Hungarie, as had ſomtime king *Iohn*; ceaſed not continually to ſolicite him to come himſelfe in perſon to make a full conqueſt of the reliques of Hungarie, yet holden by the Emperor and ſome of the Hungarian nobilitie: and flattering himſelfe in that vaine hope, called himſelfe the king of Hungary: and increaſing his ſtrength by letters vnto the nobilitie and burgeſſes of the cities of Hungarie, ſummoned them, as if it had bin by the appointment of *Solyman* his great Patron, that they ſhould all the ninth of March meet together at Thorda, to determine with him of matters concerning their common good. Which thing as ſoone as *Lazarus Suendi* the Emperors lieutenant vnderſtood, he forthwith by other letters countermanded thoſe of the Vayuods; perſuading the Hungarians not to liſten to the charms of the Vayuod and the Turke, tending to their deſtruction, but rather to yeeld their obedience to *Maximilian* the Chriſtian Emperour, whoſe purpoſe was by the aid of the Chriſtian Princes, to protect and preſerue them in peace. And hereby it came to paſſe, that the remainders of this ſore ſhaken Kingdome, diuided into factions; and diuerſly carried, according to their affection, ſome to the one ſide, ſome to the other, began afreſh to worke one anothers

The Turks ſurpriſe townes in Hungarie.

Great troubles in Hungarie.

The good ſucceſſe of the emperors captains.

confuſion, which fitly ſerued the Turks to incroach more and more vpon them: Who at the ſame time ſurpriſed the towne of Ainatſch (the captain whereof, with certaine of the gariſon G ſoldiers being gon about their buſines to Agria) and put to the ſword all them that they found in the towne. They thought alſo to haue taken the ſtrong town of Sigeth, but were by the valiant Countie *Nicholaus Serinus* gouernor thereof, couragiouſly encountred, and after foure houres hard fight ouerthrowne and put to flight. Not long after, they ranged vp and downe the country, and fet in booties as far as Iula and Rab, and did the country people much harme. For which cauſe, *Maximilian* the Emperor about the latter end of May brake vp the aſſembly of the Empire then holden at Auguſta, and began carefully to prouide things needfull for the war: appointing his captaines for the raiſing of ſuch forces in Germany, as were but a little before granted vnto him by the Princes and States of the Empire, in their late aſſemblie; but went himſelfe to Vienna. For it was told him (as the truth was) that *Solyman* now in his extreame H age was with a mightie army ſet forward from Conſtantinople, and marching thorow Bulgaria and Seruia, was come directly to Belgrade; where *Iohn* the Vayuod of Tranſyluania met him, and kiſſing his hand, had commended himſelfe and all his ſtate vnto his protection. At which time *Suendi* the Emperors lieutenant laid hard ſiege to the towne of Huſth in the borders of Tranſyluania. The Baſſa of Buda at the ſame time on the other ſide, by commandement of *Solyman*, with 8000 Turks and 25 pieces of great ordnance beſieging Palotta (a ſtrong towne about eight miles from Rab) had with continuall batterie by the ſpace of eight dayes brought the ſame into great danger, although it was valiantly defended by *George Thuriger*. But hearing of the approch of *George* Countie of Helffenſtein, ſent by the Emperor with I certaine companies of Germans to relieue the ſame, he riſe in ſuch haſt from the ſiege, that he left certaine of his great ordnance and a great part of his baggage behinde him, and retyred towards Alba Regalis. The Countie hauing relieued the town, cauſed the breaches to be forthwith repaired, and with a new ſupplie ſtrengthned the old garriſon. Thus was a moſt lamentable war at once begun in diuers places of Hungarie. After that, the Countie of Helffenſtein, ſtrengthned by the comming of the Countie *Salma* with certaine companies from Rab, departed from Palotta, and came to Veſprinium a citie about two miles off, then holden by the Turks: which citie he tooke by force the laſt of Iune, and left not a Turke aliue therein, becauſe that they a few dayes before had cruelly ſlaine certaine Chriſtians whome they had taken priſoners. So leauing ſtrong garriſons both in Veſprinium and Palotta, they returned to K Rab. Shortly after, the Countie *Salma* laid ſiege to Tatta a ſtrong towne, otherwiſe called Dotis, betwixt Rab and Comara, which at length he tooke by aſſault the eight and twentieth day of Iuly, and ſlew all the Turks, except fiftie, which flying into one of the towers of the caſtle, yeelded vpon compoſition: amongſt whom was the late gouernor of Veſprinium, and the gouernor of this place, with the Baſſa of Buda his nigh kinſeman, who were all preſently ſent priſoners to Vienna. So the Countie following the courſe of his victory (the terror of his former good fortune running before him into the Turks ſtrongeſt holds) was on his way to haue beſieged Geſtes a town neere to Palotta: when the Turks there in garriſon vpon the firſt ſight of his Armie, left all and fled out at the farther ſide of the Towne to Strigonium. After whoſe example other of the Turkes garriſons in Witha, Tſchokiku, and Sambok, caſtles there- L abouts, ſet fire on that they could not carrie, and followed their fellowes to Strigonium alſo. The Emperor vnderſtanding of the good ſucceſſe of his Captaines, cauſed publique prayers with thankeſgiuing to Almightie God to be made thorow all the Churches thereabouts.

Countie *Serinus* Gouernour of the ſtrong towne of Sigeth and the Countrey thereabout, certainly aduertiſed of the comming of *Solyman*, ſent *Caſparus Alapianus* and *Nicholas Cobub*, two of his Captaines, with a thouſand foot and fiue hundred horſe, to lie in wait for the forerunners of the Turkes Armie: who drawing neere vnto the place where theſe Turkes lay, not farre from Quinque Eccleſiæ, ſuddenly in the ſhutting in of the next day ſet vpon them, doubting no ſuch matter, and put them in ſuch feare, that they diſorderedly fled, ſome one way, ſome another, and were moſt of them ſlaine or wounded by the Hungarians in their flight. *Hali Beg* M one of the Turks great Sanzackes and leader of that companie, ſore wounded, and ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe by flight in the Mariſhes, there periſhed: his ſonne and many other notable men amongſt the Turks, were there taken and carried priſoners to Sigeth. The ſpoile the Hungarians there tooke was exceeding great: for beſide plate and coine, whereof they

A great prey.

A found good ſtore, they tooke eight Camels, fiue Mules, threeſcore horſes, and ſix carts laden with all manner of ſpoile, and many garments of great price; wherein the Gentlemen attired, returned to Sigeth in great brauerie, with two faire red enſignes of the enemies.

Maximilian the Emperor long before aduertiſed of *Solymans* purpoſe for the conqueſt of the remainder of Hungarie; to withſtand ſo mightie an enemy, had beſide the forces raiſed in his owne Dominions, procured great aid both of the States of the Empire and other Chriſtian Princes, which about this time met together at Rab. Firſt there repaired thither foure legions of German footmen, and vpwards of twentie thouſand horſemen, with foure thouſand Hungarians: the Duke of Sauoy ſent thither foure hundred Argoletiers, and many noble gentlemen out of diuers parts of Europe reſorted thither, to ſerue the Emperor in thoſe warres, of B their owne charge; eſpecially the Knights of Malta: and out of Italie, *Proſper Columna* and *Angelus Caſius*: out of France, *Guiſe* the graund Prior, *Briſſack*, and *Lanſack*, who but a little before were going to Malta, of purpoſe to haue ſerued there if the Turks fleet had come thither againe, as it was reported it would; but vnderſtanding that it came not, returned directly into Hungarie, with certaine other Knights of the Order. Many alſo of the Princes and free cities of Italie declared their good will toward the Emperor in this war; ſome ſending him men, as did *Coſmus Medices* Duke of Florence, who ſent thither of his owne charge three thouſand footmen: ſome money, as Mantua, Genoa, and Luca. Thither came alſo *Alphonſus* duke of Ferrara with a gallant companie of noble gentlemen, and other his followers. Beſide which land forces, the Emperour had alſo prouided vpon the riuer of Danubius twelue gallies, and C thirtie other ſhips for burthen, ſo made, as that the men could not be hurt with the Turkes arrowes: wherein was imbarqued three thouſand ſouldiers, moſt part Italians, vnder the conduct of *Philippus Flachius* a German and one of the Knights of Malta, who was afterward receiued into the number of the Princes of the Empire.

Solyman comming to the riuer Dranus, commanded a bridge to be made ouer that great Riuer, and the deepe fens on the farther ſide of the riuer towards Sigeth, for the tranſporting of his great armie; a worke of ſuch difficultie, that being thrice vnfortunately begun, it was againe giuen ouer, as a thing almoſt impoſſible. Wherwith *Solyman* was ſo moued, that in his rage he ſwore to hang vp the great Baſſa that had the charge of that worke, if he did not with as much ſpeed as were poſſible, bring it to perfection. Whereupon the worke was againe begun, all D the boats that were to be found in the riuer taken vp, and timber for the purpoſe brought from far, for the making of that bridge. In this worke were imploied not the vulgar people onely, of the countrey which was tributarie to the Turks, but the gentlemen themſelues alſo, were by the imperious Turke (now commanding for his life) inforced to lay their fingers to worke day and night without ceaſing, vntill the bridge (which before was thought ſcarce poſſible to haue beene made) was by the reſtleſſe induſtrie and labour of ſuch a multitude of men, in the ſpace of ten dayes brought to perfection. Wherein the ſeuerity the barbarous Tyrant vſeth towards his ſubiects, is worth the noting; whereby he extorteth from them more than is almoſt poſſible for men to performe: ſo that it is not to be maruelled, that he hath ſo good ſucceſſe in whatſoeuer he taketh in hand. Ouer this bridge (a mile in length) paſſed *Solyman*, and E incamped at a place called Muhatchz, where he ſtayed certaine dayes, vntill his armie was all come ouer. The laſt of Iuly, ninetie thouſand Turks (the vauntgard of *Solymans* army) came before Sigeth, and incamped within a mile of the towne: after whom ſhortly after followed a hundred thouſand mo out of *Solymans* campe; of whom many in approching the town, were ſlain with great ſhot out of the caſtle: the reſt for all that incamped themſelues as neere vnto the towne as they could, and began the ſiege.

The Turks with much labour make a bridge ouer the great riuer of Dranus

The Turks encampe before Sigeth.

The towne of Sigeth is ſtrongly ſcituate in a mariſh on the North ſide of Dranus vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia, commanding all the countrey round about it, which of it taketh name; and was at that time a ſtrong bulwarke againſt the Turks, for entring farther into the country that way toward Stiria. In this town was gouernor *Nicholaus Serinus*, commonly called the F Countie, a valiant man, and a mortall enemie of the Turks, with a garriſon of two thouſand three hundred good ſouldiers: who ſeeing the hugie armie of the Turks, called together into the Caſtle, the Captaines of the garriſon, and the chiefe of the Citiſens; where ſtanding in the midſt of them, he ſpake vnto them as followeth:

Countie Serinus his comfortable and reſolute ſpeech to his ſouldiers.

You ſee (ſaid he) *how we are on euery ſide beſet with the multitude of our enemies, wherein reſteth* G *their chiefe hope: but let not vs be thereof affraid or diſcouraged; for that victorie dependeth not of a confuſed multitude of heartleſſe men, but of the power of our God, who hath by a few at his pleaſure manie times ouerthrowne the mightie armies of the proud; and will not in the middeſt of theſe dangers now forſake vs, if we putting our truſt and confidence in him, do what beſeemeth valiant and couragious men. Beſides that, our iuſt cauſe, with the ſtrength of the place we hold, our owne valour, and the helpe of our friends, who I aſſure my ſelfe wil not faile vs at our need, counteruaileth their confuſed multitude, forced together by their imperious commanders out of far countries, and whatſoeuer els the proud tyrant hath brought with him into the field. Wherefore let vs all as becommeth valiant men, for the truth of our Religion, and for the honour of our Prince and Countrey, liue and die together; knowing whatſoebefall, that to a life ſo loſt, beſide neuer dying fame, belongeth a moſt aſſured hope of ioy and felicitie. As* H *for my ſelfe, I am reſolued, and ſo I hope are you alſo, that as I am a Chriſtian, and free borne, ſo will I (by the grace of God) in the ſame faith and freedome end my dayes. Neither ſhall the proud Turke, ſo long as I am able to hold vp this hand, haue euer power to cōmand ouer me, or the ground wheron I ſtand.*

This ſaid, he firſt tooke himſelf a ſolemne oath to perform what he had promiſed, and perſuaded the reſt to take the like: which done: euery man returned to the place of his charge.

Solyman commeth into the camp at Sigeth.

The fift of Auguſt *Solyman* incamped within a mile of the towne, and the next day after came himſelfe into the campe, at whoſe comming the great ordnance and ſmall ſhot ſo thundred out of the Turks campe, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue gon together, the Turks after their wonted manner crying aloud their *Alla, Alla, Alla*, and the Chriſtians anſwering them I with the name of Ieſus. The ſeuenth of Auguſt the Turks caſt vp a great mount, and thereon planted certain great pieces of ordnance. The next day following they began moſt terribly to batter the new towne in three places, and with incredible labor caſt vp a mount in the midſt of the mariſh, as it were in the towne ditch, from whence they the next day with certaine pieces of great artillerie day & night battered the inner caſtle of the town without any intermiſſion, & did great harme both to the caſtle and the defendants. The Countie perceiuing the new citie to be now ſo laid open with the furie of the Turks batterie, as that it was not poſſible to be defended, cauſed his ſouldiers to ſet it all on fire, and to retire into the old.

The defendants burne the new towne.

The tenth of Auguſt the Turks furiouſly battered the old towne in three places, & brought their ordnance into the new town: and with timber, earth, and rubbiſh, made a bridge, the more commodiouſly to goe K ouer the mariſh. For the ſpeedier accompliſhment whereof, all the Turkes were compelled to lay to their hands, and to carrie wood, fagots, earth, and ſuch like things without ceaſing. There might a man haue ſeen all the fields ful of camels, horſes, and of the Turks themſelues, like emmets, carrying wood, earth, ſtones, or one thing or other to fill vp the mariſh: ſo was there with wonderfull labor two plaine waies made thorow the deepe fen, from the towne to the Caſtle: where the Ianizaries, defended from the great ſhot with ſacks of wool and ſuch like things, did with the multitude of their ſmall ſhot ſo ouerwhelme the defendants, that they could not againſt thoſe places without moſt manifeſt danger ſhew themſelues vpon the walls.

The Turks win the old towne.

So that what by their vigilant induſtrie, and the furie of the great artillerie, the Turkes (though not without great loſſe) by force entred the old towne the nineteenth of Auguſt, vſing in their vi- L ctorie ſuch celeritie, that they ſlew many of the moſt valiant defendants before they were able to recouer the ſafegard of the caſtle. Both the townes thus loſt, and ſo many worthy men ſlain, not without cauſe brought great heauineſſe vpon the reſt which were in the Caſtle with the Countie. The Turks poſſeſſed of the old town, the next day planted their batterie againſt the caſtle in foure places, and with fagots, rubbiſh, and earth, made two plaine waies vnto it, ſtil filling vp the mariſh: and hauing with continual batterie made it ſaultable, the nine and twentieth day of Auguſt they began fiercely to aſſaile the breaches: but when they had loſt many of their men, & done what they could, they were inforced with ſhame to retire. In this aſſault, amongſt many other of their beſt ſouldiers, was loſt one of their great Baſſa's alſo.

Solyman dieth of the bloudie flix.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Solyman* far ſpent with yeres, and diſtempered with his M long trauell, fell ſicke of a looſenes of his bellie, and for the better recouerie of his health, retired himſelfe (the ſiege yet continuing) to Quinque Eccleſiæ a citie neere to Sigeth, where ſhortly after he died of the bloudie flix the fourth day of September, in the yeare of our Lord *1566*, when he had liued *76* yeares, and thereof raigned *46*. He was of ſtature tall, of feature

ſlender,

A ſlender, long necked, his colour pale and wan, his noſe long and hooked, of nature ambitious & bountifull, more faithfull of his word and promiſe than were for moſt part the Mahometane kings his progenitors, wanting nothing worthie of ſo great an empire, but that wherin all happineſſe is contained, faith in Chriſt Ieſus. *Muhamet* the Viſier Baſſa (who all commanded in *Solymans* abſence) fearing the inſolencie of the Ianizaries, and leſt ſome tumult ſhould ariſe in the camp, if his death ſhould be known, concealed it by all means: and to be ſure of them that were of all others beſt able to make certain report therof, cauſed his Phyſitions and Apothecaries to be ſecretly ſtrangled, & by a truſty meſſenger, ſent in poſt, certified *Selymus* (*Solymans* only ſon, and his father in law, then lying in Magneſia) of the death of his father, willing him in haſt to repaire to Conſtantinople, to take poſſeſſion of the empire; and that done, forthwith to B come to the armie in Hungarie. But this could not be ſo ſecretly done, but that the Ianizaries began to miſtruſt the matter: which *Muhamet Baſſa* quickly perceiuing, cauſed the dead bodie of *Solyman* in his wonted apparel to be brought into his tent ſitting vpright in his horſe-litter, as if he had bin ſicke of the gout his wonted diſeaſe, and ſo ſhewing him to the Ianizaries, both deceiued and contented them, and ſo went forward with the ſiege.

Muhamet Baſſa concealeth the death of Solyman.

The Ianizaries hauing in the laſt aſſault loſt many of their fellows, began now to vndermine the greateſt bulwarke of the caſtle, from which the defendants with their great ordnance did moſt annoy them: wherein they vſed ſuch diligence, that the fift of September they with gunpouder and other light matter prouided for that purpoſe, had ſet all the bulwarke on a light fire; and by that means poſſeſſed therof, with al their force aſſailed the bulwark next vnto the C caſtle gate, from whence they were with great ſlaughter twice repulſed by the Countie. But the raging fire ſtil increaſing, he was inforced with thoſe which were yet left aliue, to retire into the inner caſtle, wherein was but two great pieces, and 14 others of ſmall force. Thus the Turks ſtill preuailing, and taking one place after another, the ſeuenth of September they furiouſly aſſaulted the little caſtle, whereinto they caſt ſuch abundance of fire, that in ſhort time it caught hold on the buildings, and ſet all on fire. The countie thus aſſailed by the enemy without, & worſe diſtreſſed with the fire within, which ſtill increaſing, left no place for him in ſafetie to retire vnto, went into his chamber, where putting on a rich new ſute of apparell, came preſently out again with his ſword & targuet in his hand; and finding his ſouldiers with cheerful countenance & their weapons in their hands, attending his comming, ſpake vnto them theſe D few his laſt words: *The hard fortune of this ſinful kingdome hath together with our own ouertaken vs: but let vs, noble hearts, with patience indure what is to vs by God aſſigned. You know what we haue before promiſed, which hitherto God be thanked we haue accordingly performed, and now let vs with like reſolution performe this laſt. The place you ſee is not longer to be kept, the deuouring fire groweth ſo ſtill vpon vs, and we in number are but few: wherefore let vs as becommeth valiant men breake out into the vtter caſtle, there to die in the middeſt of our enemies, to liue afterwards with God for euer; I will be the firſt that will go out, follow you me like men.* This ſaid, with his ſword and targuet in his hand, without any other armor, calling thrice vpon the name of Ieſus, he iſſued out at the caſtle gate, with the reſt following him: where valiantly fighting with the Ianizaries vpon the bridge; and hauing ſlaine ſome of them, he was firſt wounded in two places of his bodie with ſmall ſhot, and E at laſt ſtrucke in the head with an vnluckie ſhot, fell downe dead; the Turks for ioy crying out their wonted word *Alla*. The reſt of the ſouldiers in flying backe againe into the caſtle, were all ſlain by the Turks, except ſome few, whom ſome of the Ianizaries in regard of their valor, by putting their caps vpon their heads, ſaued from the fury of the reſt. In this ſiege, the Turks (as they themſelues reported) loſt ſeuen thouſand Ianizaries, and twentie eight thouſand other ſouldiers, beſide many voluntarie men not enrolled in their muſter-bookes, and three of their great Baſſies. *Serinus* his head was preſently cut off, and the next day (with the heads of the other ſlaine Chriſtians) ſet vpon a pole, for all the armie to gaze vpon. After that, it was taken downe, and by *Muhamet* the great Baſſa ſent to *Muſtapha* the Baſſa of Buda his kinſman, who by two country men, ſent it wrapped in a red ſcarſe couered with a faire linnen cloth, to F county *Salma* in the Emperours campe at Rab, with this taunting letter thus directed.

The great bulwarke vndermined & ſet on fire by the Ianizaries.

The little caſtle ſet on fire.

The laſt ſpeech of countie Serinus to his ſouldiers.

Serinus ſlaine.

Serinus his head ſent to countie Salma.

Muhamet Baſſa to *Eccius Salma*, greeting.

The Baſſaes quipping letter to county Salma.

In token of my loue, behold, here I ſend thee the head of a moſt reſolute and valiant Captaine thy friend

friend, the remainder of his bodie I haue honeſtly buried, as became ſuch a man. Sigeth biddeth thee farewell for euer. G

The death of this noble and valiant captain was much lamented of all the Chriſtian army, and his head with many teares by his ſonne *Balthaſar* honorably buried amongſt his anceſtors in Tſchacaturna, his owne caſtle. *Solyman* at his comming with this mightie armie into Hungarie, had purpoſed before his returne, if he had not been by death preuented, to haue conquered both the remainder of the kingdome of Hungarie, and to haue againe attempted the winning of Vienna. For the accompliſhing of which his deſignes, he at his firſt comming ſent *Parthauus Baſſa*, with fortie thouſand Turks to helpe the Baſſa of Temeſware and the Tartars, in the behalfe of the Vayuod, to beſiege the ſtrong towne of Gyula, ſcituate vpon the lake Zarkad in the confines of Tranſyluania, H not farre from whence *Suendi* had but in Auguſt before ouerthrowne the Tartars, called in by *Solyman* for the ayd of the Vayuod, and ſlaine of them ten thouſand. And at the ſame time hee ſent *Muſtapha Baſſa* of Boſna, and *Carambeius*, with a great power to Alba Regalis; who ioyning with the Baſſa of Buda, ſhould keep the Emperor *Maximilian* buſie, whileſt he in the meane time beſieged Sigeth, as is before declared. *Parthauus Baſſa* comming to Gyula, and laying hard ſiege to the towne, was ſtill notably repulſed by *Nicholas Keretſchen*, Gouernour of the Towne: inſomuch, that in a ſallie hee had certain pieces of his great ordnance taken from him by the defendants, & the reſt cloied. But this braue captaine, not to haue been conſtrained by all that the Baſſa could doe, was at laſt perſuaded by his kinſman *George Bebicus* (from whom *Suendi* had a little before taken certaine caſtles, I for reuolting from the Emperour to the Vayuod) for a great ſum of money to deliuer vp the towne to the Baſſa: which he did, couenanting beſide his reward, That the ſoldiers ſhould with bag and baggage in ſafety depart; all which was franckly granted: who were not gone paſt a mile out of the towne, but they were ſet vpon by the Turkes, and all ſlaine except ſome few which crept into the reeds growing in the marriſh faſt by, and ſo eſcaped. The traitor himſelfe expecting his reward, was carried in bonds to Conſtantinople: where afterward, vpon complaint made how hardly he had vſed certain Turks whom he had ſometime taken priſoners, he was by the commandement of *Selymus*, who ſucceeded *Solyman*, thruſt into a hogſhead ſtrucke full of nailes with the points inward, with this inſcription vpon it, *Here receiue the reward of thy auarice & treaſon. Gyula thou ſoldeſt for gold: if thou be not faithfull to* Maximilian *thy* K *Lord, neither wilt thou be to me*: and ſo the hogſhead cloſed faſt vp, he was therin rolled vp and downe vntill he therein miſerably died.

Nicholaus Keretſchen corrupted for money, betrayeth Gyula to the Turks.

A traitor well rewarded.

The Emperors campe then lying at Rab, and the Baſſa of Buda and Boſna with thirty thouſand Turks not farre off at Alba Regalis, and many hot skirmiſhes paſſing betweene them: it fortuned that the fift of September the Turkes in hope to haue done ſome great piece of ſeruice vpon the Chriſtians, came forth of the campe in great number, and by chance light vpon a few forragers of the army, of whom they ſlew ſome; the reſt flying, raiſed an alarme in the campe: whereupon the Hungarians and Burgundians with ſome others iſſuing out, purſuing the Turks, ſlew diuers of them: in which purſute *George Thuriger* deſcrying the Gouernor of Alba Regalis, a man in great account, and very inward with *Solyman* whileſt he liued, fiercely L purſued him in the middeſt of the flying enemies, and neuer left him vntill he had taken him priſoner: and at his returne preſenting him to the Emperour, was for that good ſeruice knighted, and rewarded with a chaine of gold. There was by chance then preſent a Spaniard, who had heard him ſay openly at Conſtantinople, That he alone with his owne power was able to vanquiſh the Germane King (by which name the Turkes commonly tearme the Emperour:) With which words when that the Spaniard hardly charged him in the preſence of the Emperour, ſtill vrging him as it were to ſay ſomething for himſelfe, the Turke anſwered him in theſe few words following: *Such is the chance of war, thou ſeeſt me now a priſoner, and able to doe nothing.*

The Gouernour of Alba Regalis taken.

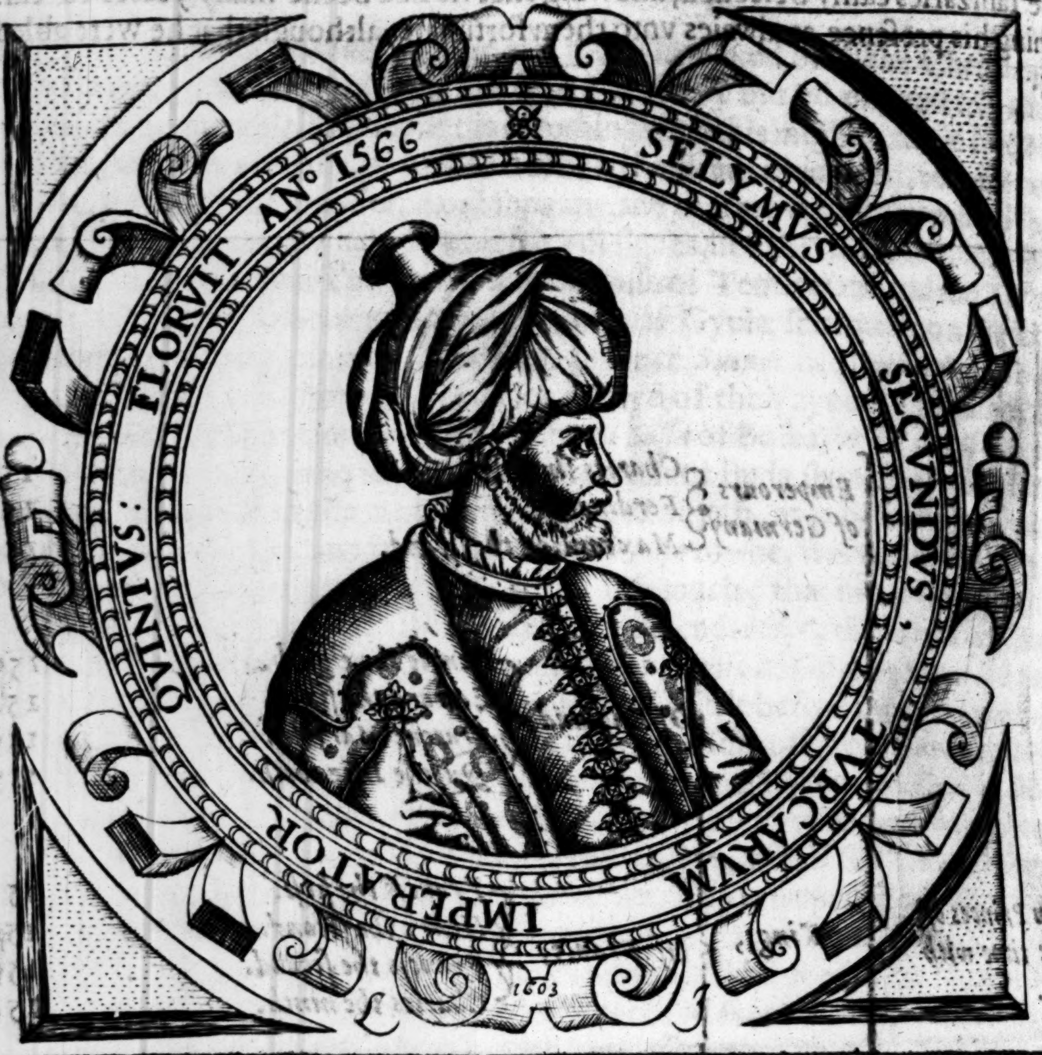
The Turks ſharp anſwere to the Spaniard.

All theſe troubles, with many moe like in ſhort time to haue inſued, were by the death of M *Solyman* within a while after well appeaſed. *Muhamet Baſſa* after he had repaired the breaches, and placed a Turke Gouernour of Sigeth, with a ſtrong garriſon for the defence of the place and commanding of the Countrey, called backe the diſperſed forces; and riſing with the armie, retired toward Belgrade, carrying *Solymans* dead bodie all the way ſitting vpright

The Turks armie returneth with the bodie of Solyman to Belgrade.

A right in his horſelitter carried by mules, giuing it out that he was ſicke of the gout: which thing the Ianizaries eaſily beleeued, knowing that he had beene many yeares ſo carried: yet ſtill wiſhing his preſence, as alwaies vnto them fortunate, although that he were able for to do nothing.

Christian Princes of the ſame time with Solyman.	*Emperours of Germany*		*Charles the fifth.*	1519.	39.
			Ferdinand.	1558.	7.
			Maximilian the ſecond.	1565.	12.
	Kings,	*Of England,*	*Henrie the eighth.*	1509.	38.
			Edward the ſixth.	1546.	6.
			Queene Mary.	1553.	6.
			Queene Elizabeth.	1558.	45.
		Of France,	*Francis the firſt.*	1514.	32.
			Henry the ſecond.	1547.	12.
			Francis the ſecond.	1559.	1.
			Charles the ninth.	1560.	14.
		Of Scotland,	*Iames the fifth.*	1514.	29.
			Queene Mary.	1543.	
	Biſhops of Rome.		*Leo the X.*	1513.	8.
			Hadrian the VI.	1522.	1.
			Clement the VII.	1523.	10.
			Paulus the III.	1534.	15.
			Iulius the III.	1550.	5.
			Marcellus the II.	1555	22 dayes.
			Paulus the IV.	1555.	4.
			Pius the IV.	1560.	5.
			Pius the V.	1566.	6.


SELYMVS SECVNDVS, TVRCARVM IMPERATOR QVINTVS: FLORVIT Aº 1566
1603

Diſsimilis Patri, Selymus *regalia Sceptra,*
Corripit: & dira concutit arma manu.
Fœdus cum Venetis frangit (Quid fœdera proſunt?)
Armataque manu Cypria regna rapit.
Inſtrauit tumidum numeroſis claſsibus Æquor:
Vt Naupactiacas nobilitaret aquas.
Moldavum fœda mulctauit morte Dynaſten:
Et magni fines prorogat imperij.
Obruit Hiſpanos multa vi: Punica regna
Deſtruit: & regnis adijcit illa ſuis.
Sed nimis in venerem pronus, vinóque ſepultus,
Extremum properat præcipitare diem. R. Knoll.

Vnlike his father, *Selymus* the royall Scepter takes:
And ſhaking armes with cruell hand, exceeding ſtirs he makes.
With Venice State his League he breakes (With Turks what league can ſtand?)
And Cyprus kingdome takes from them by force of mightie hand.
He couered the ſwelling ſeas with hugie fleets to ſee:
That vanquiſhed, vnto thoſe ſeas he might an honour be.
The Vayuod of Moldauia he brought to wofull end,
The borders of his kingdome great ſo that he might extend.
In Gulet he the Spaniards ouerwhelm'd with mightie power;
And thereby Tunes kingdome did the ſelfe ſame time deuour.
But wholly giuen to venerie, vnto exceſſe and play,
He poſteth on before his time to haſte his fatall day. *R. K.*

THE

THE LIFE OF SELYMVS, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, FIFT EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

SElymus, the only ſon of *Solyman* then left aliue, by letters from *Muhamet Baſſa* vnderſtanding of the death of his father, haſted from
Cutai, a citie of Galatia not far from Ancyra, towards Conſtantinople;
C and comming to Scutarie, was from thence by *Boſtanges Baſſa*
of the Court, conducted ouer the Strait to Conſtantinople: where
by him and *Scander Baſſa* (*Selymus* his ſonne in law, and then *Solymans*
Vicegerent) hee was conueyed into the Imperiall Pallace the three
and twentieth of September, in the yeare 1566, and there poſſeſſed
of his fathers ſeat, was by the Ianizaries there preſent, ſaluted Emperour.
He was about the age of fortie two yeares when he began to raigne, a man of an vnconſtant
and haſtie diſpoſition, wholly giuen to wantonneſſe and exceſſe: ſo that he neuer went to
wars himſelfe, but performed them altogether by his lieutenants, contrarie to the charge of
Selymus his grandfather, giuen by him to his father *Solyman*, whereof he was neuer vnmindful.
D The next day he came abroad, and ſhewed himſelf in his maieſty; and in the temple of Sophia,
after the manner of the Turkiſh ſuperſtition, cauſed ſolemne praiers and ſacrifices to be made
for his father: which done, he gaue vnto the Ianizaries a largious of 100000 Sultanines, with
promiſe to augment their wages. And all things being now in readineſſe for his intended iourney,
hee with a goodly retinue ſet forward from Conſtantinople the ſeuen and twentieth of
September: and the twentieth of October a little from Belgrade met the army comming from
Sigeth, gallantly marching vnder their enſignes, with the dead bodie of *Solyman*, whom the
ſouldiers generally ſuppoſed to haue been yet liuing, but troubled with the gout, to haue kept
his horſe-litter, as his manner was to trauell. *Selymus* alighting, came in his mourning attire to
E the horſe-litter, looked vpon the dead bodie of his father, kiſſed it, and wept ouer it, as did all
the other great Baſſaes alſo. And that the death of *Solyman* might then be made knowne to all
men, the enſignes were preſently let fall, and trailed vpon the ground, a dead march ſounded,
and heauie ſilence commanded to be kept through all the campe. Shortly after, *Selymus* was
with the great applauſe of the whole armie proclaimed Emperor, his enſignes aduanced, and
euery one of the great commanders of the army, in their degree admitted to kiſſe his hand So
marching forward, he returned againe to Conſtantinople the two and twentieth of Nouember:
but thinking to haue entered his palace (which they commonly call the Seraglio) he was
by the diſcontented Ianizaries but now come from the wars, prohibited ſo to doe; they with
great inſolencie demanding of him a greater donatiue, together with the confirmation both of
their antient and new priuiledges, before they would ſuffer him to enter. Againſt which their
F great preſumption, the Viſier Baſſaes, together with the Aga, oppoſing themſelues, and ſeeking
by all means to appeaſe them, were by them fowly entreated, and well rapped about the
pates with the ſtocks of their calliuars; but eſpecially the two great Baſſaes, *Muhamet* and *Partau*,
as the chiefe authours that their lord had dealt no more liberally with them. With which
ſo ſudden and vnexpected a mutinie of his beſt ſouldiers, *Selymus* not a little troubled, and cal-

Selymus ſaluted Emperor of the Turks in the yeare 1566.

ling vnto him the Aga(or captaine of the Ianizaries)demanded of him the cauſe thereof:who with teares trickling downe his cheekes for griefe; told him, That it was for money, Which by *Selymus* now promiſed vnto them,together with the confirmation of their liberties;& the Aga with faire words and heauie countenance moſt earneſtly intreating them,not to blemiſh the antient reputation of their wonted loyaltie with ſo foule a diſorder,nor to oppoſe the life of him their louing captaine,vnto the heauie diſpleaſure of their angrie Sultan;and farther aſſuring them,that he would not faile them in the leaſt of his promiſes,but content them to the full of their deſires;the mutinie was at length appeaſed,the inſolent Ianizaries againe quieted, and *Selymus* into the Seraglio receiued. Howbeit *Muhamet*, chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes,for certain daies after went not out of his pallace,neither came (as he was wont) into the Diuano,but kept himſelfe cloſe,for feare of ſome greater miſchiefe from them. This tumult thus ouerpaſſed,and all againe well quieted, *Selymus* with all royall ſolemnitie buried his father in a chappel which he after the manner of the Mahometan kings,had in his life time moſt ſtately built, with a colledge and an hoſpitall. Where faſt by his ſide is to be ſeene the tombe of *Roxolana* his beſt beloued wife,and of certaine others his murthered children: and by him hangeth his ſcimitar,in token that he died in wars; an honor not otherwiſe granted to the Mahometa princes. The reuenues ariſing of the country about Sigeth,of late woon from the Chriſtians,at the time of his death, were giuen to the maintenance of the houſes by him built of deuotion; which for the magnificence thereof, exceed all the reſt before built by the Mahometan kings and Emperors,except thoſe which were the buildings of *Mahomet* the Great, and *Baiazet* the ſecond. It was by many thought,that *Solyman* was in good time by death cut off, as purpoſing that yeare to haue wintered in Hungarie, and the yeare following to haue done great matters againſt the Chriſtians both by ſea and land.

Solyman buried

1567

Troubles in Hungarie.

The great army of the Turks thus drawn out of Hungarie by the death of *Solyman*,in ſome part aſſwaged,but altogether appeaſed not the endleſſe troubles of that vnfortunat kingdom. *Maximilian* the Emperor on the one ſide,and *Iohn* the Vayuod of Tranſyluania with the Turks captaines on the other,renting it in pieces,as if they had ſworne the deſtruction thereof. The Vayuod deſiring to recouer the ſtrong caſtle of Tockay, in the frontiers of his countrey,but lately taken from him by *Suendi* the Emperors lieutenant,laid hard ſiege to it,& had brought it to great extremitie,although it was notably defended by *Iames Raminger* the captain thereof: when ſuddenly newes was brought vnto him, That the Tartars (whom he had called into his country to haue aided him againſt the Emperor)did with all hoſtility after their barbarous manner,burne and deſtroy his country before them,making hauocke of all things; ſo that the country people were glad in defence of themſelues, to take vp armes againſt them. Whereupon he forthwith left the ſiege,& went to aid his diſtreſſed ſubiects againſt the Tartars,with whom he had many an hot skirmiſh;and after much bloudſhed,at laſt ouercame them,and with much adoe rid himſelfe of ſuch bad gueſts. Now in the meane time, *Suendi* ſtrengthened with new ſupplies ſent vnto him from the Emperour, had taken the caſtle of Zackmar in the borders of Tranſyluania,and with like good fortune had the caſtle of Muncatz yeelded vnto him,and after that beſieged the towne of Huſth: ſo that the Vayuod was glad to craue aid of the Turkiſh Emperour *Selymus*, vnder whoſe protection hee was: who preſently commanded *Partau* one of his chiefe Baſſaes, and then his great Lieutenant in Romania, to goe with his forces into Tranſyluania, to relieue them. But hearing that Embaſſadours were comming from *Maximilian* the Emperour, hee called him backe againe, vntill he had heard the effect of that embaſſage. At which time alſo the Baſſa of Buda enclining vnto peace, ſent Preſents to the Emperour,requeſting him to remooue certaine Hungarian captaines from off the frontiers,leſt happily they ſhould interrupt the treatie of peace, then on both ſides purpoſed; promiſing for his part,to puniſh with death all ſuch Turks as ſhould make any further inuaſion, or raiſe any new troubles. He writ letters alſo to county *Salma*, That he could not but maruell,to what end *Maximilian* the Emperor was about to intreat with his lord & maſter of peace, whilſt *Suendi* in the meane time was raging in Tranſyluania,then vnder the Turks protection;which if he proceeded ſtill to do, *Selymus* would thereof take occaſion (as he ſaid)to turne all his forces that way: wherefore he requeſted him to perſuade the Emperour to take ſome more eaſie courſe in that behalfe; promiſing alſo,that hee would for his part effectually trauell with his maſter,to haue better liking of peace than of warres,wiſhing him alſo to doe the like. Which thing

The Baſſa of Buda deſirous to further the peace.

A thing as ſoone as the Emperour vnderſtood, he commanded *Suendi* to giue ouer the ſiege of Huſth, and to keepe himſelfe quiet vntill he might by his Embaſſadours vnderſtand what the Great Turke purpoſed, and how he was affected towards peace.

Maximilian & Selymus both deſirous of peace.

Now indeed theſe two great Princes, *Maximilian* and *Selymus* (although they notably diſſembled the matter) were both of them in heart deſirous of peace, and that for diuers great and vrgent conſiderations. *Maximilian* for want of mony ſaw it was not poſſible for him to ſend into the field ſuch an armie the next yeare as he had the yeare before. And *Selymus*, beſide his other troubles, was to take order for the appeaſing of a great & dangerous rebellion in the fartheſt part of his dominions in Arabia Fœlix; where the people riſing vp in arms, and hauing ſlaine the Baſſa's and Sanzacks their gouernors, were readie to haue caſt off the Turkiſh obedi- B ence: neither was he out of feare of the Perſians, readie (as was reported) to make war vpon him. For which cauſes he wiſhed rather for peace with the Emperour *Maximilian*, than wars: and ſo much the more, for that it was impoſſible for him to ſend an armie of any puiſſance into Hungary, for want of many neceſſarie prouiſions for the maintenance thereof, in a countrey ſo much impoueriſhed by reaſon of his late wars, wherein no victuals were to be found for the reliefe of ſuch a multitude of men as he was to ſend, if he would do any good there. And truth it was (as the Turks themſelues afterward reported) that *Maximilian* with halfe the power he had in field the laſt yere, might haue eaſily recouered the greateſt part of that kingdom before loſt: but well knowing his own wants, and ignorant of theirs, he altogether inclining to peace; C and by Countie *Salma* aduertiſed from the Baſſa of Buda, That if he would ſend Embaſſadors to Conſtantinople, with the tribute woont to be there paid for Hungary, a peace vpon reaſonable conditions might be eaſily obtained; he reſolued vpon that point. And ſo certain meſſengers being ſent vp and downe to Conſtantinople to the ſame effect, it was concluded, That if the Emperor would ſend Embaſſadors to Conſtantinople with the tribute yet behind, and a large commiſſion for the treatie of peace, *Selymus* ſhould giue them his ſafe conduct, with libertie at their pleaſure to returne in caſe either of peace or war. Which agreed vpon and faithfully promiſed on both ſides, *Selymus* ſet at libertie the lord *Albert de Vuis*, who ſix yeares Leger in Conſtantinople, firſt for the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and after for *Maximilian*, had now been ſtraitly impriſoned in his owne houſe by the ſpace of 22 moneths, in ſuch ſort that neither he D nor any of his houſhold could go abroad, watch and ward being kept both day & night about his houſe, and his windowes alſo boorded vp, to the end that he ſhould not ſo much as looke out into the citie or any whither els more than the court of his houſe only. So the Emperour *Maximilian* now reſolued to ſend Embaſſadors to Conſtantinople with the tribute money and diuers other rich gifts and Preſents, as wel to the Great Turke himſelfe, as the Viſier Baſſa's his Counſellors: and conſidering with himſelfe, whom to be moſt fit, with wiſedome and honor to bring this ſo weightie a matter about, hauing to do with ſo barbarous, couetous, and mightie a people, made choice of the lord *Anthonius Varantius* of Agria (of his Councell for the kingdome of Hungarie) a Prelat of great eſtimation, who being a man of 63 yeares old, beſide his great learning, had the experience of 27 embaſſages; wherin he alwaies ſo diſcreetly bare E himſelfe, as well contented his Prince, and purchaſed vnto himſelfe the reputation of a moſt graue & wiſe man; and about ten yeres before this embaſſage, being ſent by the Emperor *Ferdinand* Embaſſador to *Solyman*, and now by *Maximilian*, to *Selymus* at Conſtantinople, returning with good ſucceſſe, was by the Emperor created a Prince of the Empire, and Biſhop of Agria. Vnto which ſo honorable a perſonage, hauing the charge of this ſo weighty a matter, the Emperor the more to ennoble this embaſſage, as alſo to purchaſe the greater credit to his embaſſador, ioyned vnto him a moſt honorable Baron called the lord *Chriſtopher Teufenbatch* of Stiria, one of his Counſellors alſo for the warres: who with full inſtructions both taking their leaue of the Emperor (then holding a Parliament at Presburgh) departed, and being attended vpon with a great and honourable Retinue, ſet forward the firſt of Iuly 1567, and ſo came to Comara a ſtrong towne in Hungarie not paſt a league from the Turks frontiers. In which place the Embaſſadors ſtaying vntill the ſeuenth of Iuly; in the meane time gaue knowledge of their comming vnto the gouernour of Strigonium, demanding for their ſecuritie in the enemies countrey, to be met and receiued by ſome of his garriſon: which granted, they tooke their barkes brought from Vienna and Poſſonium, ſufficient for their greatneſſe to haue carried them downe the riuer to Belgrade, with horſe and waggon and their whole furniture: and

Maximilian the emperor ſendeth Embaſſadors to Selymus.

ſo entring vpon the Turks dominion about a league or a little more from Comara, being ſo far waſted by the ſoldiers and gallies of Comara, they were met by an Aga of the Turks, with a Chiaus called *Becram* (ſent by the Baſſa of Buda) in certaine gallies armed with Turkiſh ſoldiers. To whom the Embaſſador at his landing deliuered his mind, and afterward his perſon, giuing them to vnderſtand, that they were with all ſafetie to conduct both him and all his to the Baſſa of Buda: which they anſwered they were ready to accompliſh; and ſo curteouſly inuited by the Embaſſadors, they came aboord their barke; and there dined together. Here they that were ſent with them, leauing them in the hands of the Turks, hauing licence to depart, returned to Comara: and they that day after fiue leagues ſailing arriued at Strigonium, where they were by the gouernor of the citie denied landing: for which ſo diſhonorable a part he was afterward ſharpely rebuked by the Baſſa of Buda. Yet as they lay that night vpon the water, certaine Turkiſh minſtrels, to do them honor, and to get a largeſſe, with their barbarous bawling inſtruments plaied them vp many a homely fit of mirth: and diuers others with ſundrie ſorts of vauting and tumbling, ſometime leaping one vpon anothers ſhoulders, and ſometime doing their trickes on the earth, all the euening ſhewed them great ſport and paſtime.

The Embaſſadors come to Buda.

From Strigonium they with fiue leagues ſailing came to Buda, leauing behind them the caſtle of Vicegrade, two leagues diſtant from Strigonium. In this citie of Buda lieth the great Baſſa by whom all Hungarie, with the prouinces thereto belonging (in the Turks power) is gouerned. This citie, ſometime the regall ſeat of the Hungarian Kings, is ſcituate vpon a little hill on the South ſide of Danubius, hauing in the South point thereof a caſtle, much higher than the citie, and of a moſt braue proſpect: in which caſtle lieth a captaine with a garriſon of fiue hundred ſouldiers (as the Turks ſay) howbeit it is thought that they are not altogether ſo manie: it is the loſſe of his head to ſtir out of his charge; and beſide, he hath commiſſion to denie the Baſſa himſelfe entrance, vnleſſe he come very ſleightly accompanied: ſo jealous are the Turks of that caſtle, as if the ſtate of Hungarie depended thereon. Herein ſtandeth the kings Palace, which taketh vp moſt part of the place, greatly beautified by *Matthias*, and ſhewing outwardly to haue been a verie ſtately thing: for there are in it both large halls and faire Galleries, and chambers built in moſt royall manner; where amongſt other roomes, the Embaſſadors found a decaied Librarie full of pictures and Latine titles of bookes: all which things when they preſent themſelues to the eyes of the Chriſtian beholders, offer a iuſt conſideration of noble and reuerend antiquitie, and withall, ſtrike into their hearts a certaine compaſſion ioyned with horror, to ſee the renowned glorie of ſo many great Kings all waſted & brought to nothing. The next morning the Embaſſadors went to ſpeake with the Baſſa: whoſe houſe was reaſonable faire (conſidering their guiſe and cuſtome, not much delighting in the beautie of their priuat buildings) ſcituat vpon the riuer ſide at the bottome of the hill whereon the City ſtandeth.

Preſents giuen by the emperors Embaſſadours vnto the Baſſa of Buda.

Vnto this Baſſa the Embaſſadors preſented two great gilt cups, a clocke all curiouſly wrought in gold, and a thouſand dollars: which Preſent the Baſſa receiued in his Diuano (being a large hall) where he ſate with his counſellors, officers, and other Turks in their places and order; ſome on his right hand, and ſome on his left, all richly attired in garments of ſilke of diuers colours and faſhions, reaching downe to their anckles after their manner: their heads couered with their paſſing white and well made turbants: in which aſſemblie nothing beeing then to be ſeene but goodly order and graue ſilence, they ſeemed to the ſtrange beholders ſo many counſellors of exceeding grauitie and reputation. Round about the Hall wherein the Embaſſadors had audience, were many ſeats couered with Turkie carpets; the reſt of the roome being all vacant. The Baſſa in a place more apparant than the reſt, ſitting in great maieſty: before whom was ſet two little chaires, on which (after he had ſtood vp a while and embraced the Embaſſadors) he cauſed them both to ſit downe. Whoſe ſpeech deliuered in the Italian tongue, after they had diſcharged themſelues of the Emperours letters and greetings, was to effect this, *viz.* That his Imperiall maieſtie (for the common benefit of their ſubiects in Hungarie) requeſted him to continue in his good purpoſe and dealing for peace: and further, to giue ſafe conduct vnto them his Embaſſadours with their retinue, vntill they were come vnto the Turks court, where they were to entreat and conclude a peace, to the ending of all troubles, and the publique benefit of their ſubiects in generall. Which ſpeech with cheerefull and friendly countenance ended, many of the Embaſſadors followers were admitted to kiſſe the Baſſa's hand, accounted no ſmall fauour amongſt thoſe *Barbarians.* The Inter-

preter

A pretor of theſe things was a Iew of Padua, who declared all that was ſpoken, in the Turkiſh
language vnto the Baſſa, and in the Italian vnto the Embaſſadors. And although (if it had been
their pleaſure) they might haue told their mind each to other in the Crouatian tongue without
an Interpretor, yet the Baſſa ſtanding more vpon his reputation, and for ſome other reſpects
beſide, would haue the matter propounded and likewiſe anſwered in the Turkiſh. In which
ſort they alſo conferred continually afterward with the Baſſa's at Conſtantinople, vnles it were
in ſome particular and priuat talke of ſmall importance, or els in ſome point beſide the matter;
for then the Interpretor ſpake in the Crouatian or Sclauonian tongue, which is familiar to
moſt of the Turks, but eſpecially to the men of war. Before this hall where the Embaſſadours
B were entertained by the Baſſa, in the baſe court ſtood all the Ianizaries in goodly array, and his
ſlaues with their red zarcul on their heads, and other ſouldiers with high and long plumes of
feathers ſtanding vpright: all which made a beautifull ſhew, and gaue all great grace to the Baſſa's
court. Theſe men ſtir not one foot in their ſtandings, and if the conſultation do laſt foure
houres long, ſo long are they to continue ſtanding without mouing. The Embaſſadors hauing
ſtaied two daies at Buda, were by the Baſſa diſmiſſed, ſending with them his Checai (the Steward
or gouernor of his houſe) a man of great reputation, and ***Becram*** the Chiaus (the ſame that
came to meet them at Comara, with a ſufficient guard and certain Ianizaries, ſent for their more
ſafe trauelling, and to prouide for them from place to place, of all things neceſſarie for their
diet, as alſo for their horſes, at the Turks charges. And thus accompanied, they imbarqued the
C tenth day of the aforeſaid moneth, towed vp the Turks gallies, which holpen by the ſwiftnes
of the riuer, carried them downe in eight days to Belgrade, where they arriued the eighteenth
of Iuly. So hauing ſtaid at Belgrade, & there leauing their boats, and taking their coaches, they
ſet forward by land the twentieth of the ſaid moneth, and with great paines trauelling thorow
Raſcia, Bulgaria, and Thracia, and paſſing a part of the great mountaine Scardus, and after that,
the mountaine Rhodope, ſo by the way of Philippopolis and Hadrianople, the two and twentieth
of Auguſt gathered faſt vpon Conſtantinople: where many of the Spahies and Chiauſais
of the court, with a number of the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers, for their greater honour came
to meet them a great way without the citie. By whom the Embaſſadors honourably mounted
on horſebacke, were by them conducted to their lodging appointed for them about the midſt
D of the citie; where the Lord ***Albert de Vnis*** the Emperors Embaſſador Lieger (not long before
inlarged) hauing long looked for their comming, now moſt ioyfully receiued them. It
was then Fryday the Turks Sabaoth, and a day of them aboue all other dayes in the weeke regarded,
and about ten of the clocke two houres before noone; at which time the Embaſſadors
were no ſooner alighted, but that *Selymus* going to heare the ceremonies of his religion, in the
Moſchie of his father *Solyman* (as his manner was ſometime to do) paſſed along before the gate
where the Embaſſadors lay, with the whole traine of his Court; and peraduenture ſomewhat
more than ordinarie, to ſhew the magnificence of his power and ſtate, to the end that the Embaſſadors
(aboue the former opinion by them conceiued) might hold him in the reputation of
a moſt puiſſant and mightie Monarch. He paſſing by, vouchſafed not once to giue them a regard,
E or ſo much as to caſt his eye aſide vpon them, although they were ſtrangers, and but euen
then arriued: but with a countenance as if hee had knowne not ſo much as any thing of their
comming, held on his way as it lay. But ***Muhamet*** the chief Viſier Baſſa, with the other Baſſa's
and great Courtiers, in moſt gratious manner as they paſſed by caſt their eyes vpon them; all
the curteſie they could then ſhew them. Six dayes after, being the eight and twentieth of Auguſt,
the Embaſſadors all three went to viſit and ſalute ***Muhamet*** (or as the Turks call him ***Mehemet***)
the chief Viſier Baſſa, as the manner was, preſenting him from the Emperor, with foure
cups of ſiluer all gilt, of moſt faire and curious workemanſhip; of which, two of them being
greater than the other, were three ſpans high, the other two being not ſo high by a ſpan, but hauing
in them two thouſand duckets of gold: beſide which, they gaue him alſo a clocke, being
F a moſt curious piece of worke, and all ouer double gilt. After which greetings and preſents deliuered,
beſide the contents of his Maieſties letters, they declared vnto him in generall points,
the cauſe of their comming, and the mind of the Emperor well diſpoſed to a peace; and what
great benefit would ariſe thereby to both parties: and laſtly turning ouer the blame of the late
wars, and laying the fault therof to the charge of others, ſweetned thereby the ſowre of their
former dealings. Neither was the Baſſa likewiſe for his part to ſeeke of good words, but an-

The Emperours embaſſadors honourably receiued by the Turks at Conſtantinople.

Preſents giuen by the Emperours Embaſſadors to the great Baſſa's.

ſwered them in Turkiſh by the mouth of *Hibraim* the chiefe Dragoman, who deliuered his mind to them in Latine or Italian, according as the Embaſſadours had before vttered theirs: which parle ſo ended, certaine of the chiefe of the Embaſſadors followers were admitted into the Diuano to kiſſe the proud Baſſa's hand. The ſame day the Embaſſadors alſo ſaluted *Partau* the ſecond Baſſa, and *Ferat* the third in order and authoritie. To *Partau* the preſented two cups of ſiluer all gilt, beſide a clocke of the ſame making with the afore named, and two thouſand dollars: and the like to *Ferat*. The next day they went to viſit the other three Baſſa's, *Achomat*, *Piall*, and *Muhamet*, preſenting euery one of them with two faire cups and a thouſand dollars. Theſe were the ſix Viſier Baſſa's to *Selymus*, then lying at court with him, men that for wealth and authoritie went before all other in the Turkiſh empire, as in the courſe of this Hiſtorie may appeare. And ſo hauing viſited them in generall, the Embaſſadors to ſet their affaires on foot, the fourth of September cloſed with *Muhamet*, to whom the ordering of Eſtate-matters was eſpecially committed. Yet after this firſt conference, becauſe it was neceſſary before ſo weightie affaires were broached, firſt to do the Turke reuerence, and to deliuer the preſents, with the Emperours letters to him written; for ſome few dayes there was not any point at all of the Embaſſadors buſineſſe handled.

Selymus not long after the Embaſſadors were arriued, went out for his diſport and pleaſure on hunting: ſo that in the mean time, after the preſents were giuen to the Baſſa's, matters ſtood ſtill altogether vnaduanced, vntill the 21 of September: and that day (*Selymus* being now returned from his diſport) it was appointed that the Embaſſadours ſhould haue audience at the Court. Whereupon they made choice out of their followers, of thoſe that ſhould attend vpon them, which were not in all aboue twelue perſons: for they to whome this charge was committed, ſaid it was neither the manner, nor yet meet, that any great traine ſhould come before ſo great a Prince, and that they might not bring with them aboue that number: whereupon they appointed but ſix a piece to attend them; and of fifteen cups of ſiluer and gilt, being moſt curiouſly and cunningly engrauen, one of the faireſt among the reſt was giuen to each of thoſe twelue to carrie, and they ordered to go by two and two before the reſt that came after in order with the reſt of the Preſent; which was two exceeding pretious clocks, like in bigneſſe to them before giuen to the Baſſa's, but far aboue them in value; & 45000 dollars for the tribute behind and yet vnpaied. The greateſt of thoſe cups was ſix ſpans and a halfe, and the leaſt two ſpans in height: ſome of them being double cups, after the high Dutch manner. The Embaſſadors (whoſe comming a great multitude of the Ianizaries attended below at the gate of their lodging; beſide many of the Spahi's and Chiauſi's, and others of good ſort (which were come to honor them with their preſence to the palace) putting themſelues in readineſſe betimes in the morning, and taking horſe ſet forward toward the court. The formoſt were they that did beare the Preſent in their hands, the people of the citie in euery ſtreet flocking together in exceeding multitudes to behold them as they paſſed: and verily there had beene ſeldome times ſeene the like embaſſage in thoſe parts: for beſides the fame that was blowne abroad in euerie quarter, That they were men ſent from one of the greateſt Princes in Chriſtendome; the diuerſitie of their attire (ſo few as they were) more than any thing beſide, did repreſent the Maieſtie of the Chriſtian Emperor to them that gazed vpon his Embaſſadors and their traine, the people conceiuing thereby, that he was lord and ruler ouer many prouinces & countries. For they that were Hungarians belonging to the Biſhop of Agria (the chiefe Embaſſador) being attired in long & ſober garments of very fine purple cloath, hauing their ſhooes pieced ouer the ſoles with yron plates, and halfe their heads ſhauen, ſeemed to differ from them but little: but on the other ſide, the high-Dutch attired in blacke, with their veluet caps, & ſhort cloaks laied with ſiluer lace, & long breeches little leſſe than Rutter wiſe, and chaines of gold about their necks, appeared very ſtrange & vncouth to the Turkiſh people: ſo accompanied in this honorable wiſe, the Embaſſadors entred the firſt gate of the Great Turks palace. This gate is built of marble in moſt ſumptuous maner, & of a ſtately hight, with certain words of their language in the front thereof ingrauen & gilt in marble. So paſſing thorow the baſe court, which hath on the right ſide very faire gardens, & on the left, diuers buildings ſeruing for other offices, with a little Moſchy, they came to the ſecond gate, where all ſuch as come in riding, muſt of neceſſitie alight: here ſo ſoon as they were entred in at this ſecōd gate, they came into a very large ſquare court, with buildings & galleries round about it, the kitchins ſtanding on the right hand, with

Preſents ſent vnto Selymus by the Emperour.

The Emperours embaſſadors honorably conducted by the Turks vnto the Court.

The firſt gate of the great Turks Palace.

The ſecond gate.

A other lodgings for ſuch as belonged to the court, and on the left hand likewiſe roomes deputed
to like ſeruices. There are moreouer many halls and other roomes for reſort, where they
ſit in counſel, handling and executing the publike affaires either of the court or of the empire,
with other matters, where the Baſſa's and other officers aſſemble together. Entring in at this
ſecond gate, in one part of the court, which ſeem'd rather ſome large ſtreet, they ſaw the whole
companie of the Solaches ſet in a goodly ranke, which are archers keeping alwaies neere vnto
the perſon of the great Turke, & ſeruing as his footmen when he rideth: they vſe high plumes
of feathers, which are ſet bolt vpright ouer their foreheads. In another place there ſtood the
Capitzi in like array, with black ſtaues of Indian canes in their hands: they are the porters and
warders of the gates of the palace, not much differing in their attire from the Ianizaries, who
B ſtood in ranke likewiſe in another quarter. And beſide all thoſe, with many more that were
out of order, as well of the court as of the common people, thoſe Knights of the court which
accompanied the Embaſſadors thither, with other great ones alſo of like degree, were marſhalled
all in their ſeueral companies. And among the reſt, the Mutfaracha's, men of all nations and
all religions (for their valor the only freemen which liue at their owne libertie in the Turkiſh
empire) ſtood there apparelled in damaske veluet and cloath of gold, and garments of ſilke of
ſundrie kinds and colours: their pompe was great, and the greater, for the turbants that they
wore vpon their heads, being as white as whitenes it ſelfe, made a moſt braue and goodly ſhew
well worth the beholding. In briefe, whether they were to be conſidered all at once, or in particular,
as well for the order that they kept, as for their ſumptuous preſence, altogether without
C noiſe or rumor, they made the Embaſſadors and the reſt of their followers there preſent,
eye-witneſſes both of their obedience, and of the great ſtate and royaltie of the *Othoman* court.
Paſſing through them, the Embaſſadors were led into the hall, where the Baſſa's & other great
men of the court were all readie to giue them entertainment: they of their traine being at the
ſame time brought into a roome that ſtood apart vnder one of the aforeſaid lodgings all hung
with Turkie carpets. Soone after (as their vſe & manner is) they brought in their dinner, couering
the ground with table-cloathes of a great length ſpred vpon carpets, and afterward ſcattering
vpon them a maruelous number of wooden ſpoons, with ſo great ſtore of bread, as if they
had bin to feed 300 perſons: then they ſet on meat in order, which was ſerued in 42 great platters
of earth, full of rice pottage of three or foure kinds, differing one from another, ſome of
D them ſeaſoned with hony, and of the colour of hony; ſome with ſoure milke, and white of colour;
and ſome with ſugar: they had fritters alſo, which were made of like batter; and mutton
beſide, or rather a daintie and toothſome morſell of an old ſodden Ewe. The table (if there
had any ſuch bin) thus furniſhed, the gueſts without any ceremonie of waſhing, ſate downe on
the ground (for ſtooles there were none) and fell to their victuall, and dranke out of great earthen
diſhes, water prepared with ſugar, which kind of drinke they call Zerbet. But ſo hauing
made a ſhort repaſt, they were no ſooner riſen vp, but certaine yong men, whom they call Giamoglans,
with others that ſtood round about them, ſnatcht it haſtily vp as their fees, and like
greedie harpies rauened it downe in a moment. The Embaſſadors in the meane time dined in
E the hall with the Baſſa's. And after dinner certaine of the Capitzies were ſent for the twelue of
the embaſſadors followers, before appointed to do the great Sultan reuerence: by whom (their
Preſents being alreadie conueied away) they were remoued out of the place where they dined,
& brought on into an vnder roome, from whence there was an aſcent into the hal, where
the Baſſa's were ſtaying for the Embaſſadors: who ſoone after came forth, and for their eaſe ſet
them downe vpon the benches, whileſt the Baſſa's went in to *Selymus*, who before this time
had made an end of dinner, and was remoued in all his royaltie, into one of his chambers, expecting
the comming of the Embaſſadors. All things now in readineſſe, and the Embaſſadors
ſent for, they ſet forward with their traine, and came to the third gate, which leadeth into the
priuy palace of the Turkiſh Emperor, where none but himſelfe, his eunuchs, & the yong pages
F his minions, being in the Eunuchs cuſtodie, hath continuall abiding: into which inward part of
the palace none entreth but the Capitzi Baſſa (who hath the keeping of this third gate) and the
Ceſigniers (that ſerue in the Turks meat) with the Baſſa's and ſome few other great ones; and
that only when they haue occaſion ſo to do by reaſon of ſome great buſines, or ſent for by the
Sultan. Being entred in at this gate, which is of a ſtately & royal building, the Capitzi by whō
they were conducted ſuddenly cauſed them to ſtay, and ſet them one from another about

A homely feaſt giuen to the embaſſadors Followers in the Turkes Court.

The third gate.

The Embaſſadors brought in vnto Selymus, with the manner of the entertainment of thē and their followers.

Itinerario Di. Marc. Antonio Pigafetta ca. 5.

fiue paces, in a little roome, which neuertheleſſe was paſſing delicate, all curiouſly painted ouer with diuers colours, and ſtood between the gate and the more inner lodgings. On both ſides of which roome, when all things els were whiſt & in a deep ſilence, certain little birds only were heard to warble out their ſweet notes, and to flicker vp and downe the green trees of the gardens (which al along caſt a pleaſant ſhadow from them) as if they alone had obtained licence to make a noiſe. *Selymus* himſelfe was in great maieſtie ſet in an vnder chamber, parted only with a wall from the roome wherein the Embaſſadours followers attended, whereinto he might looke through a little window, the portall of his ſaid chamber ſtanding in counterpoint with the third gate aboue mentioned. The Embaſſadors entring in, were led ſingle, and one after another, to make their reuerence vnto the Great Turke. And in the mean time certain of the Capitzi with the Preſents in their hands fetching a compaſſe about before the window, muſtered them in his ſight. All this while not the leaſt ſound in the world being raiſed, but a ſacred ſilence kept in euery corner, as if men had bin going to viſit the holieſt place in Ieruſalem. Yet for all that, the Embaſſadors followers placed one from another (as is aforeſaid) were not aware that the great Sultan was ſo neere, looking ſtil when they ſhould haue bin led on forwards all together: howbeit they were ſet in one after another, neither did they that were ſo ſet out, return again into the roome, but hauing ſeuerally done their reuerence, were all (except the Embaſſadors, that ſtill ſtaid in the chamber) by one and one ſent out another way into the court: neither could he that came after, ſee his fellow that went before him, after he was once taken in to do his reuerence: but ſuddenly as the former was let out, the next was aduanced forward to the doore, where *Iſman* the Capitzi-Baſſa and the Odda-Baſſa, taking him by both arms and by the necke, the one at the right hand, and the other at the left, & ſo leading him apace, by the way ſoftly felt his wriſts with their hands, leſt peraduenture he might haue ſome ſhort weapon in his ſleeue. Yet were they not all thus groped, as *Marc. Antonio Pigafetta* (the reporter of this negotiation) ſaith of himſelfe and ſome others alſo. Howbeit this hath bin, and yet is the manner of giuing of acceſſe vnto the perſon of the Great Turke, euer ſince that *Amurath* the firſt was after the battel of Caſſoua murdred by one of *Lazarus* the Deſpots men, who admitted to his preſence, in reuenge of the wrong done vnto his maſter, with a ſhort poinard that hee had cloſely hidden about him, ſo ſtabbed him in the bellie, that he preſently died. And thus like men rather carried to priſon by ſergeants, than to the preſence of ſo mightie a Monarch, they were preſented vnto his Maieſtie: he ſitting vpon a pallet, which the Turks call Maſtabe, vſed by them in their chambers to ſleepe and to feed vpon, couered with carpets of ſilke, as was the whole floore of the chamber alſo. The chamber it ſelfe being not very great, was but darke, altogether without windows, excepting that one whereof we haue before ſpoken, and hauing the walls painted and ſet out in moſt freſh and liuely colours by great cunning, and with a moſt delicat grace: yet vſe they neither pictures nor the image of any thing in their painting. The ſix Viſier Baſſa's before mentioned, were ſtanding at the left hand as they entred in at the chamber dore, one by another in one ſide of the chamber, and the Embaſſadors on the right hand on the other ſide ſtanding likewiſe, & vncouered. The Dragomans were in another part of the chamber, neere the place where the Sultan ſat gorgeouſly attired in a robe of cloath of gold all embroidred with jewels: when as the Embaſſadors followers by one & one brought before him, (as is aforeſaid) and kneeling on the ground, a Turke ſtanding on his right hand, with all reuerence taking vp the hem of his garment, gaue it them in their hands to kiſſe. *Selymus* himſelf all this while ſitting like an image without mouing, and with a great ſtate and maieſty keeping his countenance, dained not to giue them one of his looks. This done, they were led back again, neuer turning their backs towards him, but going ſtill backwards vntill they were out of his preſence. So after they had all thus made their reuerence, & were departed out of the chamber, the Embaſſadors deliuered vnto *Selymus* the Emperors letters, and briefly declared vnto him their meſſage: whom he anſwering in foure words, as, That they were to conferre with his Baſſa's, preſently they were diſmiſſed. And ſo comming out of the two inner gates, they mounted on horſebacke, & tooke the way leading towards their lodging, being at their returne accompanied with the whole order of the Ianizaries, with their Aga & other captains: among were certain of their religious men called Haagi (which vſe to follow the Ianizaries) who continually running about (and in their going, ſinging or rather howling out certaine Pſalmes and prayers for the welfare of their Great Sultan) gaue the Embaſſadours and their followers occaſion to

wonder,

A wonder, that they either left not for wearineſſe, or fell not downe like noddins for giddineſſe. All theſe were ſent, the more honourably to accompanie the embaſſadors to their lodging: and beſide theſe, many more on horſebacke than attended them at their forth comming: in regard wherof, the embaſſadors when they were come to their lodging, to requite their gredie courteſie, franckly diſtributed amongſt them aboue foure thouſand dollars, and yet well contented them not.

The embaſſadours after this entertainment at court, had diuers times conference with the great Baſſaes concerning peace, as *Selymus* had commanded: wherein by reaſon of the Turks vnreaſonable demands (as their manner is at their firſt meetings) nothing could be as then concluded: ſo that *Selymus* himſelfe being ſhortly after to depart for Hadrianople, where he was B to continue for ſome moneth (but rather as it was thought for that they could not agree vpon a point of great conſequence) the treatie for peace was intermitted, vntill ſuch time as a meſſenger diſpatched in poſt, might returne vnto the Turks court, with ſome reſolute anſwer concerning that matter. So it was, that during the raigne of the late Emperour *Ferdinand*, that the Turke his ſubiects in Hungarie payed all their taxes and tributes vnto their old Lords and maſters, abiding and liuing in the Emperors iuriſdiction, as did the ſubiects of *Ferdinand* to their lords that dwelt in the Turkes dominion and territories: now in this treatie for peace, the Turks (amongſt other their vnreaſonable requeſts) demanded to haue their ſubiects freed, & yet the ſubiects of the Emperor to pay as they were before accuſtomed. Which as it was a C requeſt nothing indifferent, ſo was it no leſſe preiudiciall and hurtfull vnto the Emperor his ſubiects in Hungarie: for which cauſe the embaſſadors would not by any meanes conſent thereunto, before they knew the Emperors farther pleaſure concerning the ſame. Whereupon they diſpatched one *Sig. Odoardo* a gentleman of Mantua, verie skilfull in the Turkiſh language and in ſuch like affaires, by reaſon that as well about this buſineſſe as at diuers times before about other the like, he had been employed from Vienna to Conſtantinople in the Emperours ſeruice. So *Selymus* ſhortly after, *Viz.* the twentieth of October, departing from Conſtantinople, in great magnificence paſſed by the gate where the embaſſadours lay, with his whole court, in armes, and in the ſame order that is vſually kept when he goeth to warre or taketh any great iourney. After whoſe departure the embaſſadors hauing ſufficiently viewed the citie of D Conſtantinople, and then at good leiſure, to paſſe the time and to ſee the countries they had ſo often both heard and read of, together with the ports and hauens on both ſides that narrow ſea which diuideth Europe from Aſia, embarking themſelues, and croſſing the mouth of the hauen betwixt Conſtantinople and Pera, paſſed all alongſt the coaſt on Europe ſide, vnto the Euxine or blacke ſea, and ſo backe againe by the other ſide of that ſtraight ſea: curiouſly noting the great ruins of the antient cities of Bythinia, with ſome others alongſt the Aſian ſhore, together with the pleaſant ſcituation they in former times had, whileſt they yet flouriſhed in their glory, but now for moſt part (or rather altogether) laid in the duſt & brought to nought: and ſo returned againe to Conſtantinople. But whileſt they thus deceiued the time, and lay long expecting the returne, as well of their owne meſſenger ſent vnto the Emperour, as of *Selymus* E himſelfe: they were aduertiſed in all haſte to repaire vnto him to Hadrianople, whether the aforeſaid meſſenger was now come with full inſtructions of all things concerning the treatie for peace. For which cauſe they with great ſpeed making themſelues ready, and taking their leaue of *Piall Baſſa* (who for that he was *Selymus* his great Admirall, then lay at Conſtantinople) ſet forward the firſt of Ianuarie in the yeare 1568, and ſo after nine daies trauel, at length arriued at Hadrianople about an hundred fiftie three Italian miles diſtant from Conſtantinople. Here they ſtayed vntill the peace was concluded, which was the ſeuenteenth of Februarie: the chiefe capitulations whereof were, That either of thoſe great Princes ſhould ſtill hold what they had got each from the other in the late wars: That the Emperour ſhould yeerely pay thirtie thouſand duckats to the Turkiſh Sultan, as a tribute for Hungarie, the tribute to F begin in the beginning of Ianuarie laſt paſt this yeare 1568: That the ſubiects of the Turke ſhould pay nothing to the ſubiects of the Emperour, neither the Emperours any thing to the Turks, but to be both of thoſe paiments free. And that vpon theſe conditions there ſhould be a firme and ſure peace betwixt theſe two great monarchs for eight yeares next following: wherein the Vayuod of Tranſyluania was (as the Turks tributarie) to be alſo comprehended. Neuertheleſſe, al things at this time thus agreed vpon, the Turks after their ſubtile manner finding

ding

The principall point wherupon the embaſſadors differed from the Turks in the treaty of peace.

1568

The chiefe capitulations whereon a peace was concluded betwixt Maximilian the Emperor, & Selymus.

ding ſundry cauillations, and raiſing many doubts about the aforeſaid capitulations, did what they might to haue in ſome part altered what they had before agreed vpon, to the bettering of G themſelues and the hurt of the Chriſtians: and ſo with many their vnreaſonable demands ſtayed the departure of the embaſſadors vntill the twentieth of March following. At which time hauing their diſpatch, and taking their leaue of the Great Turke and the Baſſaes, accompanied with *Hebraim-Beg* (*Selymus* his embaſſador vnto the Emperour) they by land returned towards Vienna, where they with the ioyfull newes of peace the tenth of May arriued, being there two daies after at the court moſt honourably receiued. And fiue daies after, audience was giuen vnto the Turks embaſſador, who well heard and better rewarded, ſhortly after returned with a full concluſion of peace from the Emperou, to Conſtantinople.

Embaſſadours ſent from Tamas the Perſian king, to Selymus

But whileſt this peace was thus in concluding, and the embaſſadors yet reſident at Hadrianople, the ſixteenth of Februarie came an honourable embaſſage from *Schach Tamas* the Perſi- H an king, vnto the great Sultan *Selymus*, to intreat a peace betwixt them, or rather to conclude the ſame, being before agreed vpon the controuerſies, for which they afterwards fell to open war. Which embaſſage for that it is no leſſe truly than plainely ſet downe in a letter ſent from Erzirum (a citie then in the confines of the Turkes dominions towards the Perſians) written by a Chiaus to *Muhamet* chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes, which Chiaus was of purpoſe ſent from Conſtantinople, to meet the ſaid Perſian embaſſador: I thought it not amiſſe for the better vnderſtanding thereof, to ſet downe the effect of the ſame letter as it was tranſlated out of the Turkiſh into the Italian by the Emperors embaſſadors interpreter. I

The effect of the letter written to *Muhamet Baſſa*, the chiefe Viſier, by a Chiaus ſent of purpoſe to meet the Perſian Embaſſadour.

* *Schach Culi Soltan, was not the proper name of this embaſſador, but a title of honour, and ſignifieth as much as a prince ſeruant to the King.*

* *Sayms are ſoldiers of greater honour than the Spahi, hauing for their ſtipend yearely 2000 Aſpers at the [illegible] of the reuenues of certaine Townes and Villages.*

* *A Meſcali is foure drams.*

* *Tumenlich is in value as much as the Turks Aſper.*

After due ſalutations, this is the effect of that which we thought good to make knowne vnto your Lordſhip. Now at this preſent (to wit in the beginning of the moneth Giumma Sulacchir) is in good health arriued the Embaſſadour of Perſia, the Kings chiefe counſellour, called * Schach Culi Soltan, *attended vpon with a hundred and twentie Gentlemen, with guilt Turbants on their heads, and well furniſhed with ſpare horſes led in mens hands. Beſides whom he was accompanied alſo with two hundred knights all apparelled in cloath of gold, with foure hundred Perſian merchants, in all about ſeuen hundred per-* K *ſons, with a thouſand nine hundred beaſts, Camels, Mules, and Horſes; fiue couple of drums, euery couple being placed vpon a ſeuerall Camell, fiue Nacars, three trumpets, fiue flutes, and other inſtruments, in all about thirtie muſitions, playing vpon theſe inſtruments: There were alſo two quiriſters or chaunters of the Alcoran, one Organiſt, one playing vpon a Turkiſh inſtrument like a Lute, two players vpon Sagbuts, with two other Muſitions, eight in all. There were alſo foure bondwomen ſeruing in the Embaſſadours owne chamber. Who when hee was with all this magnificent pompe come within one dayes iourney of Erzirum, the* * *Sayms and Spahies aſſembling themſelues together to the number of eight thouſand men, went to meet him: amongſt whome were an hundred and more, all apparelled in cloath of gold and Sattin: two thouſand men with guilt morrions on their heads: in which brauerie we marching forward, the Perſian Embaſſadour amazed to ſee ſo great maieſtie and pompe,* L *ſaid that all the armie of Conſtantinople was come to meete him: and ſo being come into the Citie, cauſed all the inſtruments to bee played vpon, euen from morning vntill night. The next morning the Embaſſadour inuited the Baſſa with all the Lords and officers; who being come, hee entreated them to heare his muſicke: and in like manner the Lord Baſſa inuited the Perſians. But as the Embaſſador was going to the banquet, came another Sultan of the Kings, who brought vnto the ſame Embaſſador a guilt Turbant, and a rich gowne wrought with gold, which he cauſed him to put on by the way. By this Embaſſadour the Perſian King hath ſent all the armour of Sultan* Baiazet, *with all his Camels and other wealth. The cauſes of the long ſtay of this Embaſſadour were ſpecially two; the one, for that the Perſian King had cauſed to bee made two pauilions of one peece, the curtaines being interlaced with gold, and the ſupporters imbroidered with the ſame: Beſides this, he ſent two bookes of Hiſtories, and two* M *hundred, which in weight weighed ten* * *Meſcals, one Balaſſe as big as a little Pearle, fourescore and two times an hundred* * *Tumenlich of ſtuffe, amounting to fourescore and two ſummes of Aſpers, and white Falcons: all which the Perſian King hath ſent vnto the Great Sultan, as to the onely Monarch and Patron of the world. This* Schach Culi *is the next in authoritie to the King, and ſo was in the time*

A *time of great King* Hyſmael. *Theſe two Perſian Sultans are the Kings chiefe Sultans and courtiers, and therefore ſet themſelues forth with all the pompe they can. Yet notwithſtanding all their brauerie, being come to Erzirum within the view of our armie, the Perſians were amazed to behold the goodly order of the* Othomans. *One part of theſe Perſians are returned againe into Perſia. And if it pleaſe God, at the comming of my meſſenger vnto you, your Lordſhip ſhall vnderſtand of what condition and ſtate theſe two Princes and Sultans are. They haue each of them yearely ſix Tumoni: which maketh after the computation of the* Othomans, *ſix thouſand Aſpers. Your Lordſhip after this account may iudge of the reſt. The other cauſe of the long ſtay of this Embaſſador, was for that in Syruan the people were vp in rebellion, wherein many of them were ſlaine: to the appeaſing of which ſedition, this* Schach Culi *was ſent, and now at laſt is come. From Erzirum in the beginning of the moneth of * Giama Sulacchir, in the* B *yeare of the Prophet* Mahomet, *975.*

** December.*

This the Perſian embaſſador was with the greateſt pompe that might be entertained by the Turks at his firſt comming to Hadrianople, all the braue courtiers with the Ianizaries & other ſouldiers of the court going forth in moſt ſeemely order to meet him. Who now entred the citie, and come before the houſe where the Emperours embaſſadors then lay, and ſeeing certain of their retinue before the dore, asked of *Iſnam* the Capitzi Baſſa, what people they were, who told them that they were the followers of an embaſſador that there lay, ſent from one of the greateſt Princes of the Chriſtians, namely the Emperour, who was deſirous to make peace with the great Sultan his maſter. Whereunto the embaſſador replied, That he would C willingly ſalute them: which *Iſnam* hearing, ſtraight way turned his horſe towards the place where they ſtood. Now the Emperors embaſſador being ſecret within a lattiſe, and ſeeing him come towards them, went forth & ſtood vpon the dore threſhold, and ſo with ſignes and words ſaluted one another. Among the others the Perſian embaſſador ſaid vnto the Emperors, That he would gladly talke with him, if it might ſo pleaſe the grand Seignior: *Hebraim* the Dragoman who then was with the Emperors embaſſadors, being interpreter. So hauing courteouſly ſaluted one the other, they departed, but neuer after came together. Two daies after, the Perſian embaſſadors (according to the maner of thoſe barbarous nations, who with empty hands ſalute not one another) by his Checaia or ſteward of his houſhold, preſented all the Viſier Baſſaes with diuers rich gifts and Preſents, euery one of them according to their degrees & places: and D the day after went himſelf to viſit them, where by the way fel out a ſtrange matter, like enough to haue coſt him his life. For a Giamoglan (as the embaſſador was going to viſit *Muhamet* the chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes for the firſt) meeting him, ſhot at him with an harquebuſh, with purpoſe to haue ſlain him; but as God would, miſſed him, & hurt but one of his chiefe followers in the arm. Wherwith the embaſſador not a little diſmaid, as ſuppoſing himſelfe to haue bin betraied, turning his horſe, was about to haue gone to his lodging: but the great Baſſa in the mean time hauing knowledge therof, preſently ſent out men to guard him, and to excuſe himſelfe of the fact. Whereof the embaſſador being aſſured, held on his way. In the meane ſpace, the fellow who ſhot the harquebuſh, being apprehended, was brought before the embaſſadour and the Baſſa; who asking him for what cauſe he diſcharged the ſhot againſt the embaſſador: E he without change of countenance boldly anſwered, That he did it for no other cauſe but for that the embaſſador was an heretick, and ſent from an hereticall king, and an enemy to their religion: and therefore that it was not conuenient hee ſhould come to intreat of peace with his lord; adding further, that he was not worthie of any peace. Which the Baſſa hearing, adiudged the deſperat villain the next day to be drawn at an horſe taile through the city, & then to haue his right hand cut off, and afterward his head, which was accordingly put in execution. After this, the Perſian embaſſador the 22 of the ſame moneth went to deliuer the Preſents ſent from his maſter vnto the grand Seignior, and to kiſſe his hand: ſending firſt before him the Preſents vpon 44 Camels, whereof 34 were the Kings of Perſia, and the other ten his owne. The Kings Preſent was an Alcoran, with the authoritie of *Ali*, as they hold. For this is their cuſtome, F alwayes to preſent one ſuch Alcoran vnto the Princes to whome they ſend their Embaſſadours. It was couered with gold, and garniſhed with moſt precious ſtones. Hee preſented alſo a booke of Hiſtories, couered as the other: he gaue alſo a box, wherein was a verie faire precious ſtone called Balaſſo, and two pearles of a wonderfull greatneſſe, with two purſes of an handfull long, full of Iewels. Beſides theſe, he preſented alſo 8 Firuari or Porcellane

diſhes

The Perſian embaſſadour honourably entertained by the Turks at Hadrianople.

The Perſian embaſſadour in going to viſit Muhamet the Viſier Baſſa in danger to haue been ſlaine.

The rich preſent ſent by the Perſian king vnto Selymus.

diſhes (which we call China diſhes) made of moſt pure earth, kept aboue fiftie yeres buried vnder the ground, to the end ſo to be fined and purified, which (as ſome ſay) wil melt and diſſolue if any poiſon be put into them. Hee gaue alſo two moſt ſtately pauilions, 20 great carpets of ſilke, and many other leſſer of ſilke and gold; alſo nine faire canopies to hang ouer the poſts of their pauillions, things not vſed among the Chriſtians. He gaue alſo nine verie faire carpets of camels haire, nine ſaddles ſet with ſtone after the Perſian faſhon, ſeuen ſtaues of ſiluer, ſeuen ſcimitars with red ſcaberts, ſeuen bowes with arrowes and quiuers, all wrought with gold and precious ſtone; he preſented alſo many other carpets called Teſtich, made of the fineſt lawne, and ſo large, that ſeuen men could ſcarcely carry one of them. All the Faulcons were dead by the way The preſents which the Embaſſadour gaue vnto the great Turke in his owne name, were alſo theſe: an Alcoran, a pauilion faire and large, certaine ſcimitars, bowes and arrowes richly garniſhed, with certain carpets of ſilk, & Camels haire. After which Preſents ſo deliuered, & reuerence don vnto the great Sultan by the embaſſador, and thirty of his followers al in cloth of gold, he returned to his lodging, very honorably accompanied, as wel by the Turks as them of his owne retinue. Firſt beſides many others, there were a great companie of the Spahies and Chiauſies, and other courtiers mounted vpon goodly horſes, well furniſhed & in decent order: here might a man haue ſeen ſtore of cloth of gold, veluet, damaske, & other kinds of ſilke. After theſe, there followed about three hundred Perſian horſemen, apparelled after their manner, ſome with gowns made of diuers little pieces of taffata of ſundry colors, repreſenting the pictures of men, women, horſes, and other beaſts; and ſome of them imbroidered with flowers and fruits of ſundry ſorts; ſome had alſo gowns of cloth of gold, but not ſo faire as the Turks; and ſome of veluet, but very few of cloth; for that the Perſians haue no great plenty either of veluet or yet of cloth, except ſuch as they haue from the Portingals that trauel into thoſe Eaſtern countries; yet of ſilk & wool it appeareth they haue great plenty, moſt part of their gowns being of wooll quilted with bombaſt. After theſe horſemen followed many Perſian footmen, peraduenture all ſeruants; after whom came the Turkiſh horſemen: and laſt of al came a horſe of the embaſſadors led by a Perſian; after which horſe followed 200 Ianizaries: and in the rereward of all came the embaſſador alone, gorgeouſly attired both himſelfe & his horſe. He himſelf was inueſted with crimoſin veluet, mingled with ſome other colors: his ſaddle and bridle were all bedeckt with iewels: the capariſon of his horſe, was all imbroidered with Turquoies and other precious ſtones: the horne vpon the top of his Turbant (which the Turks call Meteuenchia) was altogether wrought with gold, and ſet with precious ſtones: in briefe, vpon euery part of his bodie hanged iewels of great price. After the embaſſadour, followed about 140 Perſian horſemen, and others of his court apparelled as before, ſome well, ſome ill, according to their abilitie. Now although the Perſians (as is to be thought) ſhewed all their pompe, yet they made nothing ſo faire a ſhew as did the Turks; neither are they ſo faire men of complexion, being for the moſt part of a ſwart and browne color, and rather little men than otherwiſe, not much vnlike to the Spaniards. The embaſſadour being departed, the Preſents were all brought & ſhewed to *Selymus*; who allowed for their ordinary charges 500 ducats a day, for that indeed their number was great, and their beaſts many. Theſe expences beſtowed vpon the embaſſadors, do preſently begin as ſoone as any of them enter into his dominions; and end, ſo ſoone as the buſineſſe for which they come is finiſhed. But long it was not, but that this embaſſador hauing concluded a peace betwixt the two great Princes, *Tamas* and *Selymus*, & diſpatched ſuch matters as he came for, returned home again into Perſia. The Venetians alſo now at this ſame time, by their embaſſadors ſought to renew the league they had made with the great Turke, now expired: which as it was eaſily obtained, ſo was it of ſmal aſſurance, *Selymus* the next yeare quarrelling with them, and raiſing new wars, to the great hurt and diſturbance of that State, as ſhall forthwith appeare.

The embaſſadors preſent to Solyman.

An honourable allowance.

1569 *Selymus* now at peace with all the world (a thing of the Turks not much deſired) began to thinke of workes of charitie: and purpoſing to build a magnificent temple at Hadrianople for his owne ſepulture, with a Monaſterie, a Colledge, and an Almes-houſe (as had his father, and other his anceſtours before him at Pruſa and Conſtantinople, led thereunto with a vaine and ſuperſtitious deuotion) was troubled with nothing more, than how to endow the ſame with lands and reuenues ſufficient for the maintenance of ſo great a charge: for that the Mahometan Kings, are by their ſuperſtition prohibited to conuert any lands or poſſeſſions

to

A to ſuch holy vſes,other than ſuch as they haue with their owne ſword won from the enemies
of their religion,which they may (as they are perſuaded) as a moſt acceptable ſacrifice,offer
to their great Prophet : which deuiliſh perſuaſion,ſerueth as a ſpur to pricke forward euery of
thoſe ambitious Princes to adde ſomething to their empire. This his deuout purpoſe once
knowne,wanted not the furtherance of many ripe heads, deuiſing ſome one thing, ſome ano-
ther,as they thought beſt fitted his humour.But amongſt many things to him preſented, none
pleaſed him ſo well,as the plot laid for the taking of the rich Iſland of Cyprus from the Vene-
tians : a conqueſt of it ſelfe ſufficient,both for the eternizing of his name,and performance of
his owne charitable workes intended, with a large ouerplus,for the ſupplying of what ſoeuer
wanted in his fathers like deuout workes at Conſtantinople.But that which moued him moſt
B of all,was the glory of ſuch a conqueſt, which as his flatterers bare him in hand, might make
him equall with any his predeceſſors, who in the beginning of their raigne,had vſually done
or attempted ſome notable thing againſt the Chriſtians. Hereupon the matter was by *Selymus*
propounded to the great Baſſaes to be conſidered of, without whoſe aduiſe and counſell, the
Turkiſh Emperors ſeldome or neuer take any great wars in hand. Amongſt theſe graue coun-
ſellors, *Mubamet* the chiefe Viſier Baſſa,a man of greateſt authoritie (vnto whom *Selymus* was
beholden,that he had ſo quietly obtained the empire)and a ſecret friend vnto the Venetians,
ſeemed much to miſlike of that motion,perſuading *Selymus* not to yeeld thereunto: alledging
beſide the danger and vncertaintie of the expedition,that his father *Solyman* at the time of his
death had charged him ſtraitly,that the league with the Venetians ſhould be religiouſly kept,
C and that he could not with his honour without iuſt cauſe ſo quickly breake the league,which
he himſelfe had but a little before moſt ſolemnly confirmed. But *Muſtapha* the ſecond Baſſa,
ſometime *Selymus* his tutor,and therfore of him much honored, with *Piall Baſſa* the Admirall
(both enuying at the great honor of the Viſier Baſſa)ſo mightily impugned that he had before
ſaid,and ſo importuned *Selymus* with the ſhew both of honor and profit attending that action,
as alſo with the eaſineſſe thereof(a great part of the Venetian Arſenall being but a little before
burnt,and their forces much weakned)that he reiected the counſell of *Mubamet*,calling him in
his choler,Chriſtian(which among the Mahometans is a word of no ſmal diſgrace)and yeel-
ding wholly to the perſuaſion of *Muſtapha* and *Piall*, preſently cauſed preparation to be made
both by ſea and land, for the performance of that his reſolution. Which was not ſo couertly
D carried in the Turkes court,but that it was diſcouered by *M. Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian
embaſſador,and not without cauſe ſuſpected by the Venetian merchants,whom the barbarous
Turks began now to cut ſhort in their trafficke,looking big vpon them, as men ſuddenly chan-
ged,and euill intreating them with hard ſpeeches,the vndoubted ſignes of greater troubles to
enſue. The Venetian Embaſſador now out of doubt of the Turkes purpoſe for the inuaſion of
Cyprus,came vnto *Mubamet* the chiefe Baſſa,complaining of the breach of the league : and
putting him in mind of the fidelitie of the Venetian State towards the Turkiſh Emperour; re-
queſting him,that *Selymus* might not make too much haſt to begin that war,which would ſet
all Europe on a broile;but rather by his embaſſadors firſt to declare his mind to the Senat,for
E that ſo it might haply come to paſſe,that al might be quieted,to the good of both parties with-
out war. Which the politick embaſſador requeſted not of the Baſſa for any hope he had to a-
uert the war,for which the Turk had now al things in a readineſſe,but only by ſuch an hope of
compoſition,to hinder the Turks endeauors,and to win time, vntill that the State(being fully
certified of al theſe matters)might make ready their fleet & forces,and ſo in armes be ready to
anſwer their armed foes : Neither did he euer leaue the Baſſa,vntill he had by his means pro-
cured, That one *Cubates* ſhould be ſent Embaſſadour to Venice, to prooue the mindes of the
Senators,whether they would willingly deliuer the Iſland,or aduenture to haue it taken from
them by force. Theſe things and ſuch like as were then done at Conſtantinople, beeing by
letters ſent in poſt from the Embaſſadour,made knowne at Venice, brought a generall heaui-
neſſe vpon the citie ;for why,that vnderſtanding and prouident State,warned by their former
F harmes,of all others moſt dread the Turks forces. *Cubates* the embaſſadour accompanied with
Aloyſius Barbarus the Embaſſadours ſonne, and *Bonricius* his Secretarie, departing from Con-
ſtantinople, came by long iourneyes to Raguſium, where *Angelus Surianus* ſent from Venice
to meete him, was readie to receiue him, who beeing taken into his gallie, brought him
to Venice,

Mubamet Baſſa diſſuadeth Selymus from the inuading of Cyprus.

Selymus ſendeth Cubates his embaſſadour to Venice.

Hard to truſt vpon confederations.

In the meane time the Senators ſitting oftentimes in counſel, were diuided in opinions concerning the chiefe matter they conſulted vpon: ſome there were, that thought it not good to wage war againſt ſuch an inuincible enemie, nor to truſt vpon a vaine and idle hope, neither to commit all vnto the hazard of ſuch fortune as was vnto them in that war by the enemie propounded; they alledged, That they had alwaies vnfortunatly taken vp arms againſt the Turks, and that therefore they ſhould ſet before their eyes, what harmes they had ſuffered, and how that beſide the loſſes already ſuſtained, they had alwaies in the winding vp of the warres loſt ſomething more: that it were better to depart with Cyprus, ſo that they might quietly inioy the reſt, rather than to enter into armes: Time they ſaid, would at length giue them ſome one fit occaſion or other to recouer that they had loſt, and to reſtore their ſtate vnto their former honour, which for the preſent, was aboue their power to maintaine: To put their truſt in their confederats (they ſaid) was but to deceiue themſelues: they ſhould remember how often euen ſmall cauſes of falſe ſuſpition, or hope of profit, or feare of harme, had vtterly fruſtrated and broken in ſunder the moſt ſolemne capitulations of the ſtrongeſt leagues: how often deſtruction had come thence from whence ayd was alwayes to haue bin hoped for, they needed not to ſeeke farther for examples, than from their owne domeſtical affaires. Others were of a contrary opinion, as that the Iſland was by force of armes to be defended: ſaying, That nothing could be more diſhonorable, than without fight to depart with ſo notable a part of their ſeigniorie; neither any thing more commendable, than to proue all things for defence of their honour; neither would the proud Turks, with whom no aſſured league could be made (as they ſaid) hold themſelues content with this yeelding vp of the Iſland, but by intreating of them and giuing them way, become more inſolent: and when they had taken Cyprus from them, would alſo ſeeke after Creet & Corcyra, and ſo yeelding them one thing after another, ſpoile themſelues of all together: Ambitious and greedie Princes (they ſaid) grew more bold and inſolent by other mens feare; and that no great or notable matter was to be don without danger: that hard beginnings had oftentimes merrie endings; that the fauor and good will of that inſatiable and greedy nation, was not to be gained but with ſo great loſſe and charge as that ſuch a coſtly peace would be much more hurtfull than war it ſelfe: beſide that, it much concerned other Chriſtian Princes to haue the Venetian State preſerued, and that therefore it was to be hoped, that they would to the vttermoſt of their power giue them aid. The matter thus debated too and fro, it was in the end reſolued vpon, to take vp armes in defence of their honour, and by plaine force to withſtand the Turke.

The Turks embaſſador homely entertained at Venice.

So when *Cubates* the Turks embaſſadour came to Venice, neither did any man of courteſie meet him, neither was any honor done vnto him, or ſo much as common courteſie ſhewed vnto him: but being afterward admitted into the Senat houſe with his two interpretors only, he deliuered *Selymus* his letters, incloſed in a little bag wrought with ſilke & gold; and ſo whileſt the ſame letters were in breaking vp, and tranſlating out of the Turkiſh language into Italian, deliuered alſo his meſſage by word of mouth, as followeth:

Cubates the Turks embaſſadors ſpeech in the Senate at Venice.

What great account the mightie Sultan my dread Soueraigne hath alwayes made of your moſt honourable friendſhip, is therein right well declared; That in the verie entrance of himſelfe into his Empire, hee foorthwith and without any hard or new conditions renewed his league with you: which hee hath on his part alwayes kept moſt faithfully and vnuiolate; worthily grieuing the like kindneſſe not to bee ſhewed on your behalfe, neither the like care of keeping your faith to appeare in you; who by harbouring of Pyrats in your hauens, and murthering of his ſubiects, haue oftentimes broken the league. Which iniuries, although they were by war to haue beene reuenged; yet hath hee, ſo mightie a monarch, hitherto beene alwayes more mindfull of your honour and friendſhip, than of his owne maieſty and profit. But forſomuch as there is no end of theſe iniuries & wrongs, and that it is now come to that point, That longer to forbeare, might be imputed vnto him rather for cowardiſe than courteſie, as alſo that it much more concerneth your ſtate than him, and that therefore you ought no leſſe than hee to deſire, that all cauſes of vnkindneſſe might bee cut off, and order taken, that in ſo great and mutuall goodwill, there ſhould bee no falling out by new quarrells dayly ariſing: the onely remedie thereof is, if you ſhall deliuer vnto him the Iſland of Cyprus, the cauſe of all theſe grieuances. Now it beſeemeth you for your great wiſedome, to make ſmall reckoning of ſo ſmall a matter, in compariſon of the fauor of ſo great a Prince; which if you willingly of your ſelues yeeld vnto him, you ſhall right wiſely

A *prouide for your affaires, and haue him ſo great a monarch alwaies your friend and confederat: whereas if you ſhall ſhew your ſelues obſtinate, and not to yeeld to this his ſo ſmall a requeſt, his purpoſe is, by ſtrong hand not only to take from you the Iſland, the cauſe of the war, but alſo to proſecute you with moſt cruell war both by ſea and land. And thereupon I take God to witneſſe, all the blame of the calamities to enſue of ſo mortal a war, to be imputed vnto your ſelues, as the worthy reward of your wilfulneſſe and breach of faith.*

Which ſaid, he in the name of *Muhamet* the Viſier Baſſa told the Senatours, That he was right ſorie that this breach was fallen out betwixt the Emperor *Selymus* & them; and that although he doubted not but that they would right wiſely conſider of all things; yet he could B not for the good will he bare vnto them, but admoniſh them of ſuch things as he deemed for them both profitable and wholeſome: and therefore did moſt inſtantly requeſt them, and withall aduiſe them, not to enter into armes againſt ſo mightie a Prince, neither wilfully to plunge themſelues into ſuch dangers, as they could hardly or neuer find the way out; for that their ſtrength was nothing anſwerable vnto his, and that the euent of that war would be vnto them deadly: and therefore he tooke God and the loue that he bare vnto them to witneſſe, that he had in friendly ſort forewarned them of their harms, and aduiſed them for their good. Giuing them further to vnderſtand, that *Selymus* did nothing but thunder out moſt cruell threats againſt their State; which his indignation was raiſed of the manifold complaints brought againſt them to his court at Conſtantinople.

The effect of Selymus his letters to the Venetians.

C *Selymus* his letters anſwerable to his Embaſſadours ſpeech, was alſo full of falſe ſurmiſed grieuances; he complained, That the Venetians had in warlike maner entred into the frontiers of his Empire in Dalmatia, and there had done great harme; that they had put to death certain Turkiſh pyrats whom they had taken aliue: that their Iſland of Cyprus was an harbor for the pyrats of the Weſt; and that from thence they robbed his peaceable countries, and ſurpriſed his ſubiects trauelling that way for deuotion vnto the Temple of Mecha, or otherwiſe about their affaires. And that therefore thoſe cauſes of diſcord might be taken away, and the hinderance of traffique remoued, he required them to yeeld vnto him the Iſland of Cyprus: which if they refuſed to do, he would by force of arms take it from them; and by force of ſtrong hand cauſe them to do that which they might the better haue done frankly and of their owne accord; and D further, to make them vnderſtand how far the Turks did excell all other men in martial proweſſe. As for the league before made betwixt his father and them, he ſaid he had renewed the ſame, not becauſe he had any liking thereunto, but becauſe he had as then ſet downe with himſelfe, for a while in the beginning of his Empire peaceably to endure all things.

The anſwer of the Venetians to the Turkes demands.

The Venetians, for that they knew the Embaſſadours errand before his comming, hauing now read his Letters, gaue him ſuch anſwere as they had before reſolued vpon: which was, That the Venetians had at all times inuiolably kept their leagues with the *Othoman* Emperors, and had in regard thereof let ſlip many opportunities and fit occaſions for them to haue augmented their dominions in: That they could without any danger to themſelues, haue deſtroyed the Turks fleet both at the Rhodes and Malta, and other places alſo; but that they more E regarded their honour; and alwaies thought, that nothing better became great and magnificent Princes, than to performe their faith once giuen, and in all their actions to be like themſelues. And therefore had diſſembled and put vp many grieuous & bitter indignities, leſt they might be thought to haue firſt broken the league: That they had neuer paſſed their owne bounds, or inuaded the Turks; only to haue taken order, that no pyrats ſhould at their pleaſure roame vp and downe the ſeas. Now whereas all duties being on their part ſincerely and moſt religiouſly kept; *Selymus* complained himſelfe to be wronged, whereas he himſelfe had done the wrong, and had contrary to the league, denounced war againſt them, expecting nothing leſſe: ſithence that they could not by the power of the league, they would by force of arms defend F that Kingdome, which they by antient and lawfull right poſſeſſed, deliuered vnto them by their Anceſtors. That God, in whoſe helpe they truſted, would weigh in indifferent balance, all mens words and deeds; whom they tooke to witneſſe, that they were the authors of peace, and *Selymus* the cauſe of war: and that the ſame God would be now preſent vnto their iuſt complaints, and forthwith after with his power to take reuenge on them, which falſifying their faith and promiſe giuen, and violating the ſacred league, had enforced them to take vp moſt iuſt and neceſſarie armes, which they would with the ſame courage mannage, that they had taken them in hand.

The Turks Embaſſadour ſent away in ſecret from Venice.

With this anſwer the Embaſſador departed, let out by a ſecret poſtern, for feare of the people; who hauing got knowledge of the matter, were in great number aſſembled to the Court gate, muttering among themſelues, that it were wel done to rend in pieces that accurſed Turke, the meſſenger of his faithleſſe Maſter. Which outrage it was thought they would in their furie haue performed, had not ſuch as by the commandement of the magiſtrats garded him, better aſſured him of his ſafetie, than either regard of dutie or the law of nations; he by the way as he went ſtill ſtorming, and ſwearing by his *Mahomet* to be of that ſo great an indignitie reuenged. This anſwer of the Senat vnto the Turks Embaſſador concerning warre, was of ſome well liked and highly commended, as full of honour and valour. Others deemed too ſharpe, liking of nothing that was ſaid or done to the further incenſing of the Turkiſh Emperor: being of opinion, that they might haue of him obtained a more indifferent peace by curteſie, than by rigor. As for the decreed warre, they vtterly diſliked, foraſmuch as all wars were wofull, but eſpecially thoſe that were to be maintained againſt them that are too ſtrong for vs. In ſuch diuerſitie of opinions it appeared, That the Senat ſhould of that ſo honorable a decree reap ſuch commendation, as the euent thereof ſhould afford (than which nothing is more vnreaſonable:) if things fell out well, then was it wiſely and worthily done; if otherwiſe, then was it like to be reputed a fooliſh, a raſh, and wofull reſolution.

The reſolution of the Senat for war diuerſly liked and diſliked of others.

The greater the danger was now feared from the angrie Turke, the more carefull were the Venetians of their State: wherefore they forthwith ſent meſſengers with letters vnto the Gouernors of Cyprus; charging them with all carefulnes and diligence to make themſelues readie to withſtand the Turke, and to raiſe what power they were able in the Iſland, not omitting any thing that might concerne the good of the ſtate: and at the ſame time made choiſe of their moſt valiant & expert captains both by ſea and land, vnto whom they committed the defence of their diſperſed Seigniorie, with the leading of their forces. *Hieronimus Zanius* was appointed Admirall, *Lucas Michael* was ſent into Crete, *Franciſcus Barbarus* into Dalmatia, *Sebaſtianus Venerius* into Corcyra, all men of great honour, experience and valour. Other meaner captaines were alſo ſent with leſſe charge into the aforeſaid places, as *Eugenius Singliticus* a noble gentleman with 1000 footmen into Cyprus, who had alſo the leading of all the horſemen in the Iſland: after whom Countie *Martinengus* promiſed to follow with 2000 footmen moe. The ſtrong cities were now by the Venetians in all places new fortified, armor, ordnance, and victual prouided, and whatſoeuer els they thought needful for defence of their State. And for as much as they well knew they had to do with too mightie an enemie, they by their Embaſſadors ſent for that purpoſe, earneſtly ſolicited moſt of the Chriſtian princes to ioine with them in league, and to giue them aid againſt the common enemie, who as he was too ſtrong for any one of them, ſo were he not able to ſtand againſt their vnited forces. But the Emperor *Maximilian* excuſed himſelfe by the league he had not long before made with the Turke for eight yeares, which he ſaid he might not breake: yet he had before his eyes a moſt pregnant example, what ſmall reckoning the Turke maketh of his faith and league, which he without any iuſt cauſe had broken with the Venetians. The like excuſed vſe alſo *Charles* the French king, and *Sigiſmund* king of Polonia; who both ſeemed to be verie ſorie for that the Venetians were fallen out with the Turke, but could not help them for that they were in league with the Turkiſh Emperor. Neuertheleſſe the French king did them the courteſie, to offer himſelfe to be a mediator, if they ſo pleaſed, betwixt them and *Selymus*. The yong king of Portingal *Don Sebaſtian* pretended alſo for his excuſe the great plague which had but a little before raged in his kingdome, & much diminiſhed his people; as alſo that he was to maintaine wars by ſea againſt the Turkes in the Eaſt-Indies, to the no leſſe benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale, than if he ſhould aid the Venetians in the Mediterranian. Only *Pius Quintus* then Pope, and *Philip* king of Spaine, with certaine of the Princes of Italie; namely *Philibert* duke of Sauoy, *Guido Vdebaldus* duke of Vrbin, *Coſmus Medices* duke of Florence, & the knights of Malta, promiſed them aid, which they afterward moſt honorably performed.

The Emperour, the French king and the King of Polonia entangled with their leagues, refuſed to aid the Venetians againſt the Turks.

What Chriſtian Princes promiſed to aid the Venetians.

Selymus of himſelfe angrie with the Venetians, and firme in his reſolution for the conqueſt of Cyprus, was vpon the report of *Cubates* his Embaſſadors bad entertainment at Venice, further inraged: he deemed the Maieſtie of the Turkiſh Emperor contemned, and himſelf in the perſon

A perſon of his Embaſſador diſgraced: ſeeing that they whom he had thought would haue yeelded vnto any thing, rather than the league ſhould haue bin broken, had ſent him ſuch a ſhort anſwer, and ſo contemptuouſly vſed his Embaſſador, vnto whom they had not afforded ſo much as common curteſie. It did not a little moue him alſo, that the Venetians had in their letters ſent by his Embaſſador, omitted the glorious titles vſually giuen the Turkiſh Emperors: wherfore in ſome part to ſatisfie his angrie mood, he cauſed *Marcus Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian Embaſſadour, and all the Chriſtian merchants of the Weſt thorowout his Empire, to be clapt vp in priſon, and their ſhips ſtayed vnder an arreſt. And ſetting all other things apart, ſet himſelfe wholly for the preparing of ſuch things as ſhould be needfull for the intended war.

But foraſmuch as the Iſland of Cyprus was the prey whereafter the greedie tyrant ſo much B gaped, and for which the bloudie wars betwixt the Turke and the Venetians with their Chriſtian confederats, preſently enſued; it ſhal not be from our purpoſe to ſpend a few words in the deſcribing thereof, as the ſtage whereon the bloudie tragedie following was as it were acted: as alſo how it came firſt into the hands of the Venetians, and by what right of them ſo long poſſeſſed (although it be in ſome part before declared) vntill it was now by *Selymus* the Great Turke, againſt all right iniuriouſly demanded, & at length by ſtrong hand by him wreſted from them. This Iſland lieth in the fartheſt of the Cilician ſea: it hath on the Eaſt Siria, on the Weſt Pamphilia, Southward it regardeth Ægypt, and Northward Cilicia, now called Caramania. It is worthily accounted amongſt the greateſt Iſlands of the Mediterranian, containing in circuit 427 miles, and is in length (after the deſcription of *Strabo*) 175 miles, and in bredth not C aboue 65. It aboundeth with corne, wine, oyle, cotton wooll, ſaffron, hony, roſin, turpentine, ſugar canes, and whatſoeuer els is needfull for the ſuſtentation of man, whereof it ſends forth great abundance to other countries, of whom it craueth no helpe againe. It was in antient time called *Macaria*, that is to ſay, Bleſſed. The people therein generally liued ſo at eaſe & pleaſure, that thereof the Iſland was dedicated to *Venus*, who was there eſpecially worſhipped, & therof called Cypria. *Marcellinus* to ſhew the firtilitie thereof, ſaith, That Cyprus aboundeth with ſuch plenty of all things, that without the helpe of any other foraine country, it is of it ſelf able to build a tall ſhip from the keele to the top ſaile, and ſo put it to ſea furniſhed of all things needfull. And *Sextus Rufus* writing therof, ſaith, *Cyprus famoſa diuitijs, paupertatem populi Romani, vt occuparetur ſolicitauit, ita vt ius eius inſulæ auarius magis quam iniuſtius ſimus aſſecuti, &c.* Cy- D prus famous for wealth, allured the pouertie of the people of Rome to lay hold vpon it, ſo that we haue rather couetouſly than iuſtly got the rule thereof. In the heart of the Iſland ſtandeth Nicoſia, ſomtime the regall and late metropoliticall citie thereof. And in the Eaſt end thereof Famaguſta, ſometime called Tamaſſus, a famous rich citie, the chiefe and only port of all that moſt pleaſant Iſland. Other faire cities there be alſo, as Paphos, Amathus (now called Limiſſo) and Cyrene. This Iſland of it ſelfe long time maintained the maieſtie of a Kingdome, as then when *Richard* the firſt, King of England, paſſing that way with his fleet for the reliefe of the Chriſtians then diſtreſſed in the Holy land about the yeare 1191, was prohibited there to land; and certain of his people by force of tempeſt there caſt on ſhore, were by the Cypriots either E cruelly ſlaine or taken priſoners: which barbarous violence king *Richard* tooke in ſo euil part, that he there by force landed his armie, and reſted not vntill he had taken *Iſaac* the king priſoner, and ſubdued the Iſland. The king he ſent in chaines of ſiluer to Tripolis, there to be kept in cloſe priſon; the kingdome he kept a while in his owne hand, which not long after he gaue, or as ſome ſay, exchanged with *Guido* the titular King of Hieruſalem: for which cauſe the Kings of England for a certain time afterwards were honored with the title of the Kings of Ieruſalem. This kingdome by many diſcents came at length to *Ianus* ſon of king *Peter*, who in the yeare 1423, was by *Melechel* a Sultan of Ægypt taken priſoner; but afterwards for the ranſome of 115000 Sultanins was ſet at libertie and reſtored to his kingdome, paying vnto the Sultan and his ſucceſſors a yerely tribute of 40000 crownes. This *Ianus* left a ſon called *Iohn*, who after the death of his father maried the daughter of the Marquis of Mont-Ferrat: after whoſe death F he married one *Helena* of the moſt noble houſe of the *Paleologi* in Græcia, by whom he had one only daughter called *Carlotte*; but by another woman a baſe ſon called *Iames*. This King *Iohn* was a man of no courage, altogether giuen to pleaſure, & according to the manner of his effœminat education, ſhewed himſelf in al things more like a woman than a man: which *Helena* his wife, a woman of a great ſpirit, quickly perceiuing, tooke vpon her the ſoueraignty and whole

The deſcription of Cyprus.

King Richard in England.

How the Kingdome of Cyprus came to the Venetians.

gouernment of the Realme, gracing and diſgracing whom ſhe pleaſed, and promoting to the G
Eccleſiaſticall dignities ſuch as ſhee beſt liked; aboliſhing the Latine ceremonies, and bringing
in them of the Greekes, and tooke ſuch further order as pleaſed her ſelfe in matters of
ſtate concerning both peace and warre; her husband in the meane time regarding nothing but
his vaine pleaſure: wherby it came to paſſe that all was brought into the power of the Greeks
the queenes friends. Now the queene her ſelfe was much ruled by the counſell of her nurſe,
and the nurſe by her daughter: ſo that the people would commonly ſay, The daughter ruled
the nurſe, the nurſe the queene, and the queene the king. The nobilitie aſhamed and wearie of
this manner of gouernment, by generall conſent of the people, ſent for *Iohn* the king of Portingals
couſin german (whom ſome call the king of Portingal) to whome they gaue *Carlotte* the
kings daughter in marriage, with full power to ſupplie that want of gouernment which was in
king *Iohn* his father in law. He taking the authoritie into his hands, quickely reformed the diſordred H
kingdome, as well in matters concerning religion, as ciuile policie. The Latine Ceremonies
were againe reſtored, and the gouernment of the daughter, the nurſe, and the Queene,
brought to an end. But the miſchieuous daughter doubting the countenance of the yong king,
perſuaded her mother, as ſhe tendred her owne life, to poiſon the king. Which thing the wretched
woman (by the conſent of the queene mother, as was reported) in ſhort time performed,
and ſo brought that noble prince, wel worthie longer life, vnto his vntimely end: whereby the
gouernment was again reſtored to the Greeke queene, who in the name of her weake husband
commanded again at her pleaſure. But aboue all, the nurſe and her daughter inſulted vpon the
yong queene *Carlotte:* which ſhe not well brooking, grieuouſly complained thereof to *Iames*
her baſe brother, requiring his helpe for redreſſe thereof: who not long after ſlew the nurſes I
daughter, not ſo much in reuenge of the wrong by her done vnto his ſiſter, as to prepare a way
for himſelfe for the obtaining of the kingdome: grieuing inwardly, that ſhee or her husband
ſhould be preferred before himſelfe. Which thing *Helena* the queene quickly perceiuing, perſuaded
the King her husband to cauſe his baſe ſon to enter into the orders of prieſthood, and
ſo to become a Church-man, thereby to cut off all his hope of aſpiring vnto the kingdome:
which the king at her inſtance did, and made him Archbiſhop of Nicoſia. In the meane time
Carlotte by the perſuaſion of her mother and the nobilitie of the country, married *Lewis* ſon to
the duke of Sauoy: who being for that purpoſe ſent for, came with all ſpeed to Cyprus. After
that, the queene mother and the old nurſe (deſiring nothing more, than to reuenge the death of K
of the nurſes daughter, vpon *Iames* now Archbiſhop) deuiſed firſt how to thruſt him out of all
his ſpirituall promotions, which were great, and afterward quite baniſh him the kingdome.
Hereupon the queene wrot letters againſt him to the Pope, to haue him diſgraded, for that he
being a man baſe borne, with his hands imbrued with guiltleſſe bloud, was vnworthie of holy
orders. Which letters by chance came to *Iames* his hands: who inraged therewith, accompanied
with a number of his friends and fauorits, ſuddenly entred the court, ſlew ſuch of his enemies
as he found there, diuided their goods amongſt his followers, and as king poſſeſſed himſelfe
of the regall citie. In this broile the Greeke queen *Helena* died, and ſhortly after her husband
alſo. All things being thus in a hurley and out of order, certaine of the nobilitie for redreſſe
thereof, ſent for *Lewis* the husband of *Carlotte*, as for him to whom that kingdome in the L
right of his wife moſt iuſtly belonged: who vpon his arriuall was of all ſorts of men ioyfully
receiued & welcommed as their king. *Iames* the vſurper vnderſtanding before of the comming
of *Lewis*, and perceiuing the inclination of the people towards him, fled with diuers of his
friends to Alexandria to craue aid of the Ægyptian Sultan: in whoſe court he found ſuch fauour,
as that he was by the Sultans commandement royally apparelled and honored with the
title of the king of Cyprus, which he promiſed for euer to hold of the Sultans of Ægypt as
their vaſſal and tributary. At which time the Sultan alſo by his embaſſadors commanded *Lewis*
to depart the Iſle: who by all means ſought to haue pacified the Sultan, declaring vnto him his
rightfull title, yet offering to pay vnto him the wonted tribute, and to allow vnto *Iames* a yerely
penſion of 10000 duckets during his life. But all in vaine; for *Iames* ſtill preſent in the Sultans M
court, and wiſely following his owne ſuit, at laſt concluded with the great Sultan (who
thought it more honour to make a king, than to confirme a king) and receiuing of him a great
armie, returned into Cyprus: where in ſhort time he ſo diſtreſſed *Lewis*, that he was glad to forſake
the Iſland, with his wife, and to returne into his country; leauing the kingdome of Cyprus

A again to *Iames*: who now by the ſupportation of the Ægyptian Sultan poſſeſſed therof, yet liued not without care of *Carlotte* & her husband *Lewis*, whom he knew the Cipriots wonderfully affected. Wherfore for the more aſſurance of his eſtate, he thought it beſt to ioyne in league and friendſhip with the Venetians, whom he knew to be of great power at ſea, and of all other fitteſt to croſſe whatſoeuer *Lewis* ſhould in the right of his wife attempt againſt him. Which league he afterwards made, and the better to confirme the ſame, tooke to wife *Catharin Cornelia*, the daughter of *Marcus Cornelius* a Magnifico of Venice, being before adopted to the Senat, and euer after their reputed daughter. Not long after this marriage, *Iames* died in the yere 1470, leauing the queene great with child, who in due time was deliuered of a faire ſon; vnto whom with the mother the Venetian State became tutors, as their adoptiue fathers, & in their B behalfe tooke vpon them the gouernment of the realme. This childe ſhortly after died alſo, not without ſome ſuſpition of poiſon; after whoſe death great troubles aroſe in the kingdom, inſomuch that *Andreas Cornelius* the queens vncle, a moſt graue counſellour, and gouernor of the Realme vnder the queene, was by the conſpiracie of certaine noblemen ſlaine, and all the Iſland readie to reuolt from the queene. For appeaſing of which troubles, the Venetians were glad oftentimes to ſend their admirals with their gallies into Cyprus, to take order in the matter, and to aid the queene: who at length perſuaded by *George Cornelius* her brother, whileſt it was yet in her power, as a louing daughter to yeeld vp the kingdom vnto her adoptiue fathers, which ſhe deſtitute both of counſell and power, could not long hold ſo far from her friends, beſet on the one ſide with the Great Turke, and on the other with the mightie Sultan of C Ægypt. She I ſay thus perſuaded by her brother, came to Venice, where ſhe was with the greateſt honor that could be deuiſed, receiued by the Duke & whole State at ſea in their great and goodly ſhip the Beucentaure, and ſo with all royall triumph brought thorow the midſt of the citie vnto the place moſt richly for the time appointed for the receiuing of her: where ſhortly after attired in all her royal habiliments ſhe came in great maieſtie vnto the Senat houſe, and there before the tribunal ſeat of *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* then duke of Venice, laied downe her crowne and ſcepter, and as a moſt louing daughter reſigned vp her kingdome, to the great honor and profit of her country. Thus the kingdome of Cyprus was deliuered into the hands of the Venetians in the yeare 1473; which they peaceable held from that time, paying vnto the Sultans of Ægypt ſuch tribute as had the late king *Iames*: which yearely tribute they in like D manner payed vnto the Turkiſh Emperors, after that the kingdome of Ægypt was by *Selymus* the firſt conquered in the yeare 1517, as due vnto him by law of armes: with which yearely tribute both *Selymus* himſelfe, and *Solyman* after him, held themſelues well contented. But now this Turkiſh Emperor *Selymus* the ſecond, of whom we ſpeake, deſirous both of the honour of ſuch a conqueſt, and of ſo rich a prey, made no account of the accuſtomed tribute, but of the fruitfull Iſland it ſelfe: whereof he, as is before declared, hath by his Embaſſadour made a proud demand, but is thereof denied by the Senat.

Sabellic. Enne. ad. 10. lib. 8.

Selymus throughly furniſhed with all things neceſſarie for the inuaſion of Cyprus, in the beginning of Februarie ſent a great power both of horſe and foot into Epirus, and the frontiers of E Dalmatia, to forrage the Venetian territorie, eſpecially about Iadera; of purpoſe by that war ſo neere at home, to withdraw them from the defence of Cyprus ſo far off. About the middle of April following he ſent *Piall Baſſa* with foureſcore gallies and thirtie galliots to keepe the Venetians from ſending aid into Cyprus. This *Piall* was an Hungarian, borne of baſe parents, but turning Turke, and giuing himſelfe to armes, was firſt preferred for his valor ſhewed againſt the Chriſtians at Zerbi, and afterward by many degrees riſe to the honor of one of the greateſt Baſſa's. He departing from Conſtantinople, and cutting through Peloponeſus and Heleſpontus, came to Eubœa, and there for certaine dayes lay in ſuch order, as if he ſhould haue preſently giuen the enemie battell: but vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that the Venetians grieuouſly viſited with the plague, and ſlowly relieued by their friends, were not like in haſte to come out, he tooke his courſe to Tenos an Iſland of the Venetians, to haue taken it from them. F This Iſland is one of the Cyclades, and was by nature ſtrong, but ſtronger by the induſtrie of the defendants; who liuing far from the Chriſtian countries, and compaſſed about with ſuch cruell and warlike enemies, as people far diſtant ſtood in dread of, could neuer for any feare or danger be remoued from the Chriſtian religion, or induced to ſubmit themſelues to the Turks gouernment, as moſt of the other Iſlands had. *Piall* here landing his forces, ſought both

1570

Selymus inuadeth the Venetians.

Piall Baſſa ſent againſt the Venetians.

by faire meanes and foule to haue perſuaded the Inhabitants to haue yeelded vp their Towne: but when he could get nothing of them but foule words againe, he began by force to aſſault the ſame. Two dayes the Towne was valiantly both aſſaulted and defended: but at length the Turkes perceiuing how little they preuailed, and that the defendants were reſolutely ſet downe for the defence of themſelues and their Countrey, ſhamefully gaue ouer the aſſault, and abandoning the Iſland, directed their courſe toward Cyprus. For *Muſtapha* authour of that expedition (for his antient hatred againſt the Chriſtians made Generall by *Selymus*) had before appointed *Piall Baſſa* at a time prefixed to meet him at the Rhodes, and that he that came firſt ſhould tarrie for the other, that ſo they might together ſayle into Cyprus.

Muſtapha hauing before ſent a great part of his armie by land into Pamphilia, embarqued the reſt with *Haly Baſſa* Generall of the forces at ſea, who yet ſtaied for him with the reſt of the fleet at Conſtantinople. This *Haly* was one of the chiefe Baſſa's, a man of great account, and ſometime an eſpeciall and noted follower of *Muhamet Baſſa*, but now (as it is oftentimes elſewhere ſeene, that men together with the change of fortune, change their mindes and affections alſo) was become a great fauorite of *Muſtapha*. Now to colour ſo manifeſt a wrong & breach of the Turks faith, *Muſtapha* the Generall, according to the Turkiſh manner, a little before his arriuall in Cyprus, gaue the Venetians there to vnderſtand by letters of his comming, as alſo of his purpoſe for the taking of that Iſland from them: for that without ſome ſuch ſlender denouncing of war vnto them againſt whom it is intended, the Turks generally account their expeditions not to be altogether ſo lawfull or fortunate as otherwiſe; and therefore writ vnto them in this ſort:

Muſtapha Baſſa vnto the Venetians.

Muſtapha Baſſa his Letters vnto the Venetians.

That the kingdome of Cyprus by antient right belongeth vnto the kingdome of Ægypt, you are not ignorant; which being conquered by the Turks, is together with it become of right a part alſo of the Othoman *Empire: that Iſland we come to challenge, leading after vs two hundred thouſand valiant ſouldiers, vnto which power, and the wealth of the* Othoman *kingdomes (all which, the moſt mightie Emperor is about, if need ſhall be, to ſend thither, and to bend his whole ſtrength thereon) all the vnited forces of the Chriſtian kings are not comparable; much leſſe the Venetians, ſo ſmall a part of Europe, forſaken of their friends, can ſuffice. Wherefore we will and exhort you, for the antient amitie which hath beene betwixt your State and the victorious* Othoman *Familie, to yeeld this kingdome vnto the moſt puiſſant Emperour, whoſe verie name is become dreadfull vnto all the nations of the world; and quietly and without reſiſtance to leaue the Iſland, with the loue and friendſhip of ſo great a Monarch to be for euer inuiolably kept betwixt him and you. Whereas if you ſhall before ſuch wholeſome counſell, fondly prefer your vaine hopes, you are to expect all the calamities of war, with ſuch dreadfull examples as the angrie Conquerors vſe to make of their vanquiſhed enemies. For reſolution whereof, we yet giue you halfe a moneths ſpace to bethinke your ſelues in: and ſo fare you well.*

Muſtapha Baſſa goeth for Cyprus.

The Turks fleet deſcried in Cyprus.

The Turks land in Cyprus.

All this being now in readineſſe, and a moſt royal gally of wonderfull greatneſſe and beauty by the appointment of *Selymus* prepared for the great Baſſa the Generall; he together with *Haly Baſſa* and the reſt of the fleet departed from Conſtantinople the ſix and twentieth of May, and at the Rhodes met with *Piall*, as he had before appointed. The whole fleet at that time conſiſted of two hundred gallies, amongſt whom were diuers galliots, and ſmall men of war, with diuers other veſſels prepared for the tranſportation of horſes: with this fleet *Muſtapha* kept on his courſe for Cyprus. They of the Iſland in the meane time carefully attending the enemies comming, from their watch-towers firſt diſcouered their fleet at the Weſt end of the Iſland, not far from Paphos: from whence the Turks turning vpon the right hand, and paſſing the promontorie Curio, now called Del Le Gate, landed diuers of their men, who burnt and ſpoiled certaine villages, and with ſuch ſpoile and priſoners as they had taken, returned againe vnto the fleet; which holding on their former courſe, came at length to a place called Salinæ (of the abundance of ſalt there made) where they knew was beſt landing, and there in an open roade came to an anchor, where the Baſſa's without any reſiſtance vpon a plaine ſhore landed their armie.

A Now all the hope of the Chriſtians, was to haue kept the Turks from landing, which they ſhould with all their ſtrength and power haue done; neither was it a matter of any great difficultie, for had the defendants but kept the ſhore, and from the drie and firme land valiantly repulſed their enemies, they might vndoubtedly with their ſhot and weapons haue kept them from landing, or els haue done them greater harme: knowing in the mean time, that in all the Iſland was no good harbour for them to put into, and that riding in an open road ſubiect to all wind and weather, they could not long without danger of ſhipwracke ride it out: but they either terrified with the greatneſſe of the fleet, or preuented by the celeritie of the enemie, to their great hurt omitted ſo faire an opportunitie, as the wofull ſequell of the matter declared. It exceedingly incouraged the Turkes that they had ſo eaſily footed the Iſland, which they B thought they ſhould not haue done without a bloudie fight.

The Baſſa now landed, preſently intrenched his army, and forthwith ſent the fleet to tranſport the reſt of his forces out of Pamphilia into the Iſland. And at the ſame time ſent out certaine ſcouts to take ſome priſoners, of whom they might learne the ſcituation of the country, the beſt waies to paſſe them with his army, the ſtrength of his enemies, & what they did, and many other ſuch like things which it concerned him to know. But the greateſt queſtion among the Turks themſelues was, Whether they ſhould firſt ſet vpon Famaguſta or Nicoſia? Famaguſta ſtandeth low, altogether ſubiect to the ſcortching heat, which was then great, according as the time of the yeare, and nature of the countrey required: wherefore the Baſſa for feare of diſeaſes to ariſe in his army of the immoderate heat and vnwholſome ſcituation of the place, C thought it better to begin his wars with the ſiege of Nicoſia, and to make that city the ſeat of the warre, for the conqueſt of the reſt of the Iſland. So hauing put all things in order, and well viewed the countrey, and finding nothing he needed to ſtand in doubt of, he ſet forward with his armie toward Nicoſia, which was about thirtie miles diſtant, being the chiefe and richeſt citie of all the Iſland. Which way ſoeuer the army marched, it ſpread a great deale of ground, and the neerer it came, the greater was the ſlaughter of the countrie people, and the number of priſoners taken of al ſorts. But when newes of the enemies approch was brought into the city, a generall feare preſaging future miſerie poſſeſſed the hearts of all men. There was not in the citie any valiant or renowned captaine, who as the danger of the time required, ſhould haue taken vpon him the charge: neither any ſtrong army in the Iſland to oppoſe againſt the enemy: D the Gouernour of the city was one ***Nicholaus Dandulus***, a man too weake for ſo great a burthen; who alwaies brought vp in ciuile affaires, was to ſeek how to defend a ſiege. Of the citiſens and country people he had taken vp foure thouſand footmen, and a thouſand horſemen, all raw ſoldiers, commanded by the gentlemen of the country, men of all others moſt courteous: but as well the captaines as the ſouldiers, as men brought vp in a plentifull countrey, fitter for pleaſure than for war. The greateſt hope and ſtrength of the city, was repoſed in twelue hundred Italian footmen, and ſix hundred horſemen. The whole number of the ſouldiers in garriſon for defence of the city, was deemed about 8000 horſe and foot; too weake a companie againſt ſo fierce and ſtrong an enemy; and the more, for that the Baſſa an old and moſt expert Generall was there in perſon himſelfe preſent, a moſt ſeuere and abſolute commander, whom E it would haue beene a hard matter to haue withſtood with equall power. The Venetians had euer had great care of the Iſland of Cyprus, as lying far from them, in the midſt of the ſworne enemies of the Chriſtian religion, and had therefore oftentimes determined to haue fortified the ſame: yet fearing thereby to ſeeme to diſtruſt or dread the Turks, and ſo giue them occaſion of offence, left it ſtill vndone. This citie of Nicoſia ſtandeth in the middeſt of the Iſland, in a plaine and champaine country, compaſſed round with a wall, as if it had been drawne with a compaſſe, and is in circuit about fiue miles: for the manner of the ſcituation, and magnificent buildings, as well publicke as priuat, many haue compared it vnto the beautifull citie of Florence in Italie: and was for the wholeſome and commodious ſcituation thereof notably peopled. This citie had the Venetians of late fortified with new wals, thicke rampiers, and eleuen F ſtrong bulwarkes, according to the manner of the fortification of our time, and had raiſed three great fortreſſes for defence of the wall, which they furniſhed with a ſtrong garriſon, great ſtore of artillerie, and other warlike prouiſion. Neuertheleſſe, they found by experience in this war, That fortifications are ſtrengthened by the defendants, rather than the defendants by the fortifications.

Muſtapha Baſſa marcheth towards Nicoſia.

Nicholaus Dandulus Gouernor of Nicoſia.

The deſcription of Nicoſia.

The Turks before Nicoſia.

The 22 of Iuly, the Baſſa with his army incamped within a mile & a halfe of the city, when G
preſently the Turks by troups iſſuing out of the campe, rid contemptuouſly before the walls
and gates of the citie, and with often & lowd outcries vpbraided the defendants: which by
them being anſwered with ſilence, was taken as a token of their feare. And *Muſtapha* himſelfe
comming as neere as he might without danger, tooke full view of the wals and ſcituation of
the citie. Shortly after, the enemy drew neerer vnto the citie into a more open plaine, and with
their tents filled the lower part of the hil, which they called Mandia: but the Baſſaes tent they
ſet aloft vpon the hill, to the terrour of the defendants and incouragement of the Turks. The
campe being fortified, the Turkes with incredible labour and celeritie brought their trenches
from far, and at the firſt caſt vp ſome few forts, but afterwards, as their armie increaſed, many
mo, which they raiſed ſo high, that they ouertopped the wals of the citie, and made the place H
more dangerous for the Chriſtians to defend. There hauing placed 70 great pieces of batterie,
they began to batter the citie both day and night without intermiſſion, with ſuch an hor-
rible thundring, that the earth trembled, the houſes ſhooke as if they would haue falne down:
at which time many were ſlaine, both with the deadly ſhot, and the broken pieces of ſtones
beaten out of the wals: neuer was ſuch a feare as then within the citie of Nicoſia: euery day
the enemie brought his trenches neerer and neerer, and reſted not vntill he had with reſtleſſe
labour brought them vnto the verie brim of the towne ditch, which the citiſens before the
comming of the Turks had not well ſcoured. Being come ſo nigh, they firſt skirmiſhed a farre
off with their ſmal pieces: but afterwards, they not only battered the wals with their great ar-
tillerie, but with ſmall ſhot, arrowes, and ſtones, ouerwhelmed the defendants, as if it had bin a I
ſhower of haile, ſo to haue driuen them from off the wall & rampiers. In few daies, not onely
all the curtaines betwixt three of the bulwarks, was by the furie of the great ordnance beaten
downe, but all places thereabout lay full of the dead bodies of the aſſailants & defendants. For
although the Chriſtians fought at great diſaduantage, both for the number of men, and indiffe-
rencie of the place: yet deſperation ioyned with extreme neceſſitie, of all other the greateſt
weapon, gaue them ſuch courage, as with ſhot, ſtones, timber, and ſuch like, to keep down their
enemies, and defend their wals, and oftentimes to make great ſlaughter of them, with their ar-
tillerie & murthering pieces, bent vpon them as at a certain marke, who the thicker they ſtood
the greater was their harme. They alſo oftentimes diſmounted many of the great pieces and
made them vnſeruiceable, and with featherbeds and ſacks of cotten wool, made vp their brea- K
ches: which the Turks labored again to burn with pitch barrels, and earthen pots full of wild
fire. After long fight the Turkes entring the ditch, made themſelues two wayes to the walls,
which they fortified on both ſides with fagots & earth, in ſuch ſort, as that they were ſafe from
the loupes of the bulwarks which flankered the ditch. All this quickly performed, ſome pre-
ſently ſet vp ſcalling ladders: others filled the ditches with rubbiſh, wood, fagots, & earth, and
others in the mean time with mattocks and leauers were digging down the foundations of the
bulwarkes Conſtance and Podocatera, taking name of them that had the chiefe charge in the
building thereof. The Chriſtians fight valiantly indured the firſt aſſault of the enemie, and
ſtrucke downe dead into the ditches many of them that were climing vp the ladders: & had in
ſhort time ſlain mo than they were themſelues in number, & inforced the reſt to giue ouer the L
aſſault. Theſe things were done in the beginning of the ſiege, whileſt yet both parties were
ſtrong: in which hard conflicts a great number of ſouldiers were loſt, & moſt of the canoniers
ſlain. After this aſſault, both parties for a while buſied themſelues & ſpent the time in their in-
genious deuiſes: wherein it appeared, that the Turks were much cunninger in deuiſing of means
to take cities, than were thoſe Chriſtians in defending the ſame.

Nicoſia battred and aſſaulted, & by the Chriſtians valiantly defended.

Now had the Venetians in the firſt motions of theſe warres, prayed aid of diuers Chriſtian
Princes, from moſt part of whom they receiued but cold comfort, as is before declared: yet
now at length (though ſomewhat late) they had drawn into the confederation of this war, the
Pope & the king of Spain: by whoſe example ſome other princes of Italie moued, put to allo
their helping hands. The Venetians, as they whom the matter moſt concerned, had in good M
time put their fleet to ſea, but knowing themſelues too weake to incounter the Turks, they lay
ſtil vpon the coaſt of Dalmatia, about Iadera, expecting the comming of the Spaniſh Admirall
with his gallies. Two moneths (wherein much might haue been done) were now paſt in this
expedition, and yet no newes of his comming: ſo that what the ſpeed and induſtrie of the

A Venetians had well prepared, was by the delay and lingering of the Spaniard, marred. Beſides that, the plague began to ariſe in the fleet, lying ſo long in one place; which at length grew ſo hot, that many of the gallies had neither mariner nor ſouldier left in them: neither did this mortality ſo ſeaſe, vntill there were twentie thouſand dead thereof; amongſt whom were many noble gentlemen of great account, which might haue done their country good ſeruice, had they been in time imployed.

Sommer now almoſt halfe ſpent, and the plague well ceaſed, the Venetian Admirall weary of expecting of the comming of *Auria* the Spaniſh Admirall; gathering together his fleete which he had before diſperſed to auoid the infection, ſailed to Corcyra, where he met with *Venerius*, another of the Venetian commanders, who there ſtaid for him, hauing but a little be- B fore taken from the Turks Ceſtria, now called Suppoto, a town vpon the ſea coaſt ouer againſt Corcyra. The whole fleet of the Venetians beeing aſſembled together, was an hundred and ſeuenteene ſaile, amongſt which were 12 great galeaſſes; but all too weake to giue battell to the Turks, as being themſelues ſtronger in ſhipping than in men. Neuertheleſſe, the Admirall ſorie and wearie to ſee the ſpoile of the Venetian territorie, & moued with the diſtreſſe of the beſieged in Nicoſia, rather than for any hope he had with that ſtrength to do any good againſt the Turkes fleet, departed from Corcyra towards Crete, and the twelfth of Auguſt landed at Suda, a port of that Iſland. In the latter end of this month, *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, and *Auria* Admirall for the king of Spaine, arriued there alſo, whom the Venetian Admirall welcomed with great ioy and triumph. The whole fleet of the confederat Princes now at length C met together, conſiſted of an hundred ninetie two gallies, and twelue galeaſſes, beſide victualers and other ſmall veſſels, laded with munition and other neceſſarie prouiſion for the fleet. Of theſe gallies the Pope had ſet forth twelue, the king of Spaine fortie two, the reſt with the galeaſſes were the Venetians. In this fleet were imbarked thirteen thouſand ſix hundred threeſcore ſouldiers: of whom the Pope ſent eleuen hundred, the king of Spaine three thouſand nine hundred, and the Venetians eight thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty. Theſe three great commanders entring into counſell, what courſe to take in their proceedings in this war, after long diſcourſe too and fro, at length by the perſuaſion of *Zanius* the Venetian Admiral, reſolued to go directly for Cyprus, and to giue the Turks battell, in hope thereby to raiſe them from the ſiege of Nicoſia. About the middeſt of September, this great fleet furniſhed with all things D needfull for ſuch an expedition, looſed from Crete, and with a faire gale of winde ſet forward for Cyprus; in all their courſe keeping ſuch order, as if they ſhould preſently haue met with the enemie. In the middeſt of theſe troubles died *Petrus Loredanus*, Duke of Venice, leauing the reſt of the care of that warre to *Aloyſius Mocenicus*, who ſucceeded him in the Dukedome.

The Venetian fleet of an hundred and ſeuenteene ſaile at Corcyra.

The Chriſtian fleet ſetteth forward toward Cyprus.

Whilſt the Chriſtans thus ſlowly proceed in their ſo weightie affaires, *Muſtapha* in the mean time laid hard ſiege to Nicoſia: and diuiding his armie into foure parts, aſſaulted foure of the bulwarkes of the citie, with greater force than at any time before from the beginning of the ſiege. The aſſault was both long and terrible: furie, and the very ſight of the warlike Generall, who was there a preſent witneſſe, and beholder of euery mans forwardneſſe or cowardiſe (a E matter of great moment) beſides their natural fierceneſſe, carried the Turks headlong without any perill or danger. And on the other ſide, the greatneſſe of the danger, the feare to loſe both life and libertie, with the hope of reliefe, encouraged the defendants to dare any thing: ſo that the Turks could not approch the wals, or mount the ſcaling ladders, but they were preſently ſlain, or together with the ladders thrown to the ground. Many of the Turks were there ſlain, but eſpecially ſuch as were moſt forward: and of the defendants were alſo more loſt than ſtood with the ſafetie of ſo ſmall a number: and foraſmuch as few or none eſcaped out of that fight vnwounded, the poore defendants were brought vnto a ſmall number. Many ſkilful men were of opinion, that the citie might haue bin that day taken, if the aſſault had by the Baſſa bin longer maintained, by bringing ſtill on freſh men: but ſuch was his loſſe, as that he was glad for F that time to giue ouer the aſſault, and ſo with diſhonour to retire.

After this aſſault, it was by ſome of the captaines thought good, that they ſhould (whileſt they were yet of ſome reaſonable ſtrength in the city) ſally forth vpon the enemie: ſo to make ſhew, that they had yet ſome good hope in themſelues, and withal by ſo ſudden an eruption to performe ſomething vpon the ſecure enemie. Of which motion, *Dandulus* the Gouernor in no

The Chriſtians ſally out of the citie vpon the Turks.

caſe liked, as loath by ſuch a dangerous piece of ſeruice to diminiſh the number of the defendants, and ſo to giue the enemie an eaſier means to take the citie. Yet ſeeing all the captaines generally of another mind, he yeelded vnto their deſire. So in the hoteſt time of the day, when as the Turks leaſt thought that the Chriſtians would haue ſallied out, certaine Italian companies vnder the conduct of *Caſar Plouianus* of Vincentia, and *Albertus Scotus*, iſſued out by the gate that leadeth to Famaguſta, and vpon the ſudden brake into the enemies trenches: where they found the Turks ſome playing, ſom ſleeping, but fearing nothing leſſe than that the Chriſtians, whom they dayly braued, durſt to haue aduentured to come forth. At the firſt entrance the Italians preuailed, and brought a great feare vpon that quarter of the Turks army, and ſlew many. But when the Turks, awaked with the alarme, came running in on euery ſide, the Italians oppreſſed with the multitude, were glad to retire: in which retreat diuers of them were ſlain, and amongſt them their two leaders *Caſar* and *Albertus*: ſo that this ſally ſerued to no other purpoſe than to weaken the defendants themſelues, & to cauſe the Turks to keep better watch and ward againſt ſuch ſudden eruptions.

Scouts ſent out of the citie, taken by the Turks and executed.

All hope of long defending the citie now almoſt loſt, and that the defendants could hardly ſtand vpon the wals, or ſhew their heads without preſent danger; they for want of better counſell, rather than for any hope of good ſucceſſe, ſent out certain ſcouts, men ſkilful of the waies and paſſages of the country (whom they had for great reward induced to vndertake the matter) to craue aid of the country people, that were in great multitude fled into the ſafety of the mountains: and to tell them, that if they came not in time to their reliefe, their wiues & children, whom they had before ſent into the citie, muſt needs in ſhort time fall into the enemies hand, or periſh with hunger: but theſe meſſengers were by the vigilant enemy intercepted, & in the ſight of the beſieged tortured to death.

Letters ſhot into the citie.

Muſtapha Baſſa in vain perſuadeth them of Nicoſia to yeeld

About the ſame time diuers letters were ſhot with arrows into the city, to perſuade the beſieged Chriſtians to yeeld themſelues; for that in ſo doing they ſhould find the Baſſa a mild and mercifull conqueror: wheras otherwiſe if they ſhould by wilfull holding out delay his victory, they were ſure to indure whatſoeuer could be indured or ſuffered. But when *Muſtapha* had thus in vaine with hope and feare tried the minds of the defendants, he called forth to parley certaine ſouldiers that were ſtanding vpon the bulwarke called Conſtantius, of whom ſome were by the conſent of the Gouernor ſent forth vnto him: vnto whom *Muſtapha* by his interpretor complained, That no anſwer was giuen vnto his letters; he ſet forth vnto them the glory, power, and greatneſſe of the Turkiſh empire; and debaſed the ſtrength of the Venetians: then he perſuaded them to yeeld, propounding vnto them the miſeries that would fall vpon them if the city ſhould by force be taken; which he threatned would be far greater than the danger the Turks were to vndertake for the winning thereof; and that therefore it concerned none ſo much as themſelues, whether the city were giuen vp by compoſition, or els woon by ſtrong hand: he ſhewed vnto them the profit that ſhould ariſe vnto them by yeelding of it vp, & offered to them large entertainment, if they would ſerue him: and to conclude, told them, that they ſhould neuer afterwards find at his hands ſo great grace as was at that inſtant offered them. The crafty Baſſa did what he might to haſten the winning of the city, both for that hee doubted the comming of the Chriſtian fleet, & that his great armie was exceedingly troubled with contagious & grieuous diſeaſes, ariſing of the immoderat heat and drought in that ſo hot a country. But the ſouldiers thinking any thing more aſſured than the Turkiſh faith; anſwered him, That they did not as yet doubt their own ſtrength, & that they were ready to indure any thing that could happen, rather than to prefer the vncertain friendſhip of an vnknowne prince, before the gracious fauour of ſuch worthie princes as they had ſo good experience of.

Muſtapha encourageth his ſouldiers.

This anſwer cut off all the Baſſaes hope for taking of the citie by compoſition: wherewith being both grieued & enraged, he commanded all things to be made ready for the aſſault: and the more to encourage his ſoldiers, promiſed vnto them great rewards & honors that ſhould firſt or ſecond mount the wals. After that, he gaue a general aſſault vnto the city with al his power: wherein both he as a moſt worthie captaine, and his ſouldiers, fought moſt fiercely. You haue to do (ſaid he) with the ſmall and laſt remainders of your enemies; which are ſcarce able to ſtand or hold their weapons in their hands, rather than with enemies indeed: ſhall you not then eaſily ouercome them, being both few & feeble, that haue vanquiſhed them when they were many & luſty? The end of al your labors is at hand, your hoped rewards approch; onely

A play you the men,and faint not in this aſſault;the ſpoile of this rich city ſhal be the worthy reward
of your labours;the fruit of all your trauell conſiſteth in this one moment. Whileſt he
thus incourageth ſome, and reproueth others, they mindfull of his promiſes, and theſe of the
diſgrace,altogether with their thick ſhot ſuffer no man to ſtand in ſafety vpon the wals,& out
of their forts alſo with their great ordnance greatly annoied the defendants.This done, they
attempted by the ruines of the wall, and in other places by ſcaling ladders to haue entred the
citie.Which terrible aſſault was by the cruel enemy maintained,not for ſome few houres,but
for diuers daies together without any intermiſſion,freſh men ſtil comming on in ſtead of them
that were wounded or ſlain.Yet did the defendants valiantly indure all that ſtorm,and in ſuch
weake caſe as they were,worthily performed what was poſſible for ſo few to doe: yet ſtill in
B hope (the poore comfort of men in miſery) that reliefe might come by the approch of the
Chriſtian fleet. At length,when the matter was brought to this point,that the Turks were in
great hope to haue gained the wals,& *Muſtapha* himſelfe probably gueſſed,That the Chriſtians
were now weary of the long aſſault, and ſore weakned with wounds & other infinit miſeries,
not to ſeeke in a city ſo hardly diſtreſſed, and was in that his opinion alſo confirmed by
certain fugitiue Chriſtians:he neuertheleſſe vpon the ſudden cauſed a retreat to be ſounded,&
ſo retiring into his trenches,lay ſtil all the next day without any thing doing. The defendants
thinking that he had giuen ouer the aſſault,becauſe of ſome aid that was comming to their reliefe,
became more careleſſe of the enemy, & vpon the vain hope of ſuch aid,with leſſe diligence
C repaired their breaches and prouided for the repulſing of their enemies. But the Baſſa
in the mean time had choſen out of his whole army about 200 of his beſt captains & ſoldiers,
all men of approued valour and agility of body, whom the next day after,he ſent early in the
morning,to make proofe if they could with ſcaling ladders ſecretly and without any noiſe ſet
vp,get into the foure bulwarkes which hee had before ſore ſhaken with his great ordnance.
Theſe reſolute men leading the way, got firſt vp,after whom followed diuers others,and ſo
tooke the aforeſaid bulwarks: when preſently after,other companies of their fellowes which
ſtood ready for the purpoſe,comming on forward,did with their ſcaling ladders in diuers places
recouer the top of the wals: for now the matter was not done by ſecret ſurpriſe, but by
open force. In euery one of theſe bulwarkes were 70 Italians and as many Epirots, who there
D kept watch and ward;theſe men part aſleep, as fearing no ſuch danger,and part lying laſily vpon
the ground,were there ſurpriſed on the ſudden and ſlain: other ſome of them awaked with
the ſtrange and vncouth noiſe,betooke not themſelues luſtily to their weapons, but forſaking
their ſtations leapt down out of the bulwarks at ſuch places as were next vnto them, ſome for
feare ran vnawares into the middeſt of their enemies.Vpon this alarme ſome of the Chriſtian
captains came ſpeedily to the walls with their companies,as did *Eugenius*, who whileſt hee in
vain crieth out to ſuch fearefull ſouldiers as he met, that they ſhould not ſo cowardly flie, and
ſtaieth others that were flying,was himſelfe ſhot thorow with a ſmall ſhot and ſlaine. Other
captains in other places likewiſe labored in vain to haue ſtaid the flying ſouldiers, whoſe perſuaſions,
requeſts,and authoritie in ſo generall a feare, nothing at that time preuailed.

Nicoſia moſt terribly aſſaulted by the Turks.

The Turks gain the bulwarkes and walls of Nicoſia.

E The defendants thus beaten from the wals & bulwarks,gathered themſelues into the market
place: but the citiſens ſtealing home to their owne houſes, there ſtood in the entrances of
the ſame,fearefully expecting the deſtruction of the country,together were their owne.In the
meane time the Gouernor of Aleppo with his regiment ſcoured the wals of the city round about,
as he had in charge from the Generall: and without reſpect put to ſword all that he met,
armed or vnarmed. At the bulwarke called Barbarus,it fortuned him to light vpon a companie
of Italians,who for a while fought deſperatly,but were in the end ouerthrowne and ſlain.
When he had thus cleared the wals,& left ſuch companies as he thought good in places conuenient
for the keeping of them,he came downe into the more open places of the city:& ſeeing
them that were gathered together into the market place to haue caſt themſelues into a ring
F and to fight as men altogether deſperat,he cauſed certain murthering pieces to be bent vpon
them: which they perceiuing,layed downe their weapons,and yeelded themſelues vnto the
mercy of the enemy. By and by all the gates of the city were ſtrongly guarded by the enemy,
to the intent that no man ſhould go in or out. *Dandulus* the Gouernor,& *Contarenus* the Biſhop
of Paphos,with the reſt of the nobilitie, & better ſort of the citiſens,had got themſelues into
the towne hall,and there ſtood vpon their guard: vnto whom *Muſtapha* ſent word, that hee

Nicoſia taken by the Turks.

would

A great ſlaughter.

would take them all to mercie,if they would without further reſiſtance yeeld themſelues. But G
whiles meſſengers run too and fro, the Turkes violently brake in vpon them, and there ſlew
them euery man. After the death of theſe noblemen, the cruell enemy ſpared none: and hauing
ſlain ſuch as they found abroad in the ſtreets,brake into the houſes,where they made hauocke
of all things: yong babes were violently taken out of the armes of their mothers, virgins
were ſhamefully rauiſhed,and honeſt matrons before their husbands faces deſpightfully
abuſed,churches were ſpoiled,and all places filled with mourning and dead bodies:the ſtreets
were in all places ſtained with bloud,for in the city was ſlain that day fourteen thouſand eight
hundred threeſcore & ſix perſons. Neither was there any end of the ſpoile, vntill the greedie
enemy had carried away all the wealth that long peace had heaped vp. It is reported, that the
prey there taken,amounted to twentie hundred thouſand millions of duckats: 200 of the moſt
goodly and beautifull youths were choſen out of purpoſe to be ſent to Conſtantinople for a H
preſent for *Selymus*. In the city were taken alſo 250 pieces of great ordnance: whereof ſome
were by the enemie carried away, and the reſt left for defence of the citie. Thus the famous
citie of Nicoſia, ſometime the regall ſeat of the kings of Cyprus, fell into the hands of the
Turks,the ninth day of September in the yeare 1570,in whoſe power it ſtill remaineth.

Cyrene yeelded vnto the Turks.

Muſtapha hauing as he thought beſt diſpoſed of all things in Nicoſia, with the very terrour
of his name,rather than by any force,brought moſt part of the reſt of the townes in the Iſland
vnder his obeiſance;and by faire intreaty and promiſe of good vſage,brought backe again vnto
their wonted dwellings the rude country people,who vp the comming of the Turks were
fled with all that they had into the mountaines:them as men not to be feared,he commanded
to till and ſow their land as they were woont. The city of Cyrene is ſtrongly ſcituated,not far I
from the ſea,and was then well furniſhed of all things needfull for the induring of a long ſiege.
Hither the Baſſa ſent one of the Sanzackes to ſummon the citie,more to proue the courage of
the defendants,than for any hope he had to haue the citie deliuered vnto him. But *Alphonſus*
Palacius then Gouernor of the city, terrified with the loſſe of Nicoſia,no ſooner ſaw the enemie,
but that without any further deliberation or force vſed againſt him, he deliuered vp the
towne vnto the Sanzacke; couenanting only in reward of his cowardiſe, That he might in ſafetie
depart from thence with all his garriſon ſouldiers: which was eaſily granted, and the citie
ſurrendred.

Famaguſta beſieged.

Muſtapha raiſeth his ſiege.

Not long after, *Muſtapha* leauing a thouſand horſemen, and three thouſand foot in garriſon K
in Nicoſia,marched with the reſt of his armie to beſiege Famaguſta. And the more to terrifie
them of the citie,he by a poore countrey fellow,whom he had for that purpoſe ſet at libertie,
ſent vnto them in a basket the head of *Nicholaus Dandulus*, late Gouernour of Nicoſia, and at
the ſame time ſent before him diuers horſemen, who vpon their horſemens ſtaues carried the
heads of many of the noblemen ſlaine at Nicoſia, wherewith they rid as in triumph about the
wals of the citie. Which thing he did,in hope that they of Famaguſta terrified with ſuch a ſpectacle,
and the late ouerthrow of Nicoſia,would for feare of like miſery yeeld themſelues. But
deceiued in this his expectation,he encamped his armie about three miles from the citie. Afterwards
hauing taken view of the citie, and well conſidered of the ſcituation thereof, he with
wonderful celeritie caſt vp diuers mounts againſt the ſame,and at the ſame time cauſed batterie L
to be laid againſt the great tower which defended the hauen:he himſelfe alſo in the meane
while battering the gate that leadeth to Amathus. But perceiuing by the deſperat ſallies of the
defendants,their great courage,and that it was like to haue much more to do in this ſiege than
he had in the winning of Nicoſia,and Winter alſo now drawing faſt on (being about the latter
end of September)he thought it beſt betime to prouide, that by lying there he hazarded not
the honour he had with ſo much labor and danger before gained: and the rather, for that it was
commonly reported,that the Chriſtian fleet was at hand: wherefore he riſe with his armie,
and retired himſelfe further off into the countrey, where he ſhortly after bilited his ſouldiers
in the villages round about for that Winter.

The Turks at ſea aduertiſed of the comming of the Chriſtian fleet, prepare themſelues for battell.

The Baſſaes at ſea, *Haly* & *Pial*, lying before Famaguſta,doubting the comming of the Chriſtian M
fleet, which then lay at Creete,ſent out ſix galliots to diſcouer the doings of the Chriſtians:
who returning with certaine priſoners taken in the Iſland of Creete, declared vnto the
Baſſaes what they had learned concerning the Chriſtian fleet,and that it was already vpon the
way to Cyprus. Vpon which intelligence the Baſſaes put their fleet in order of battell, and ſet

forward

forwards towards Limiſſo to haue met with the Chriſtians: who with a proſperous winde were comming betwixt the Iſlands of Caprathos and the Rhodes: but there vnderſtanding by their eſpials, that Nicoſia was loſt, and that the Turks were come to beſiege Famaguſta, they called a Councell of all the chiefe commanders in the fleet, to conſult what were beſt to do in ſo dangerous a caſe. ***Columnius*** the Popes Admirall, and then chiefe commander in the fleet, with ***Zanius*** the Venetian Admirall, were of opinion, That it were beſt to hold on their courſe for Cyprus, and to relieue Famaguſta: for that it was like that the Turks proud of their late victorie, were for deſire of prey, for moſt part gon aſhore into the Iſland, and ſo left their fleet but ſlenderly manned. Beſide that, they alledged, That the Venetian Senat had expreſly decreed, That they ſhould giue the Turks battell. But ***Auria*** the Spaniſh Admirall thinking it, as indeed it was, to be a matter of great difficultie and danger, was quite of another mind, ſaying, That he could not but maruell, how the Venetian Senators ſitting at their eaſe in counſell, could before they knew their own ſtrength, and power of the enemie, the nature of the countrie, and purpoſe of their foes, determin what were fit for martial men to do; vnto whoſe actions no certaine rule could be preſcribed. All the ſhores (he ſaid) were kept with the enemies garriſons; ſo that what need ſoeuer they ſhould haue, they could neither come by water or wood, or put into any harbor. Beſides that, the enemie would giue them battell at his owne pleaſure, & not at theirs: for that they were not of ſo much power, as to inforce him to fight: And that if the Senate, which vſed to do all things warily, and with great aduiſement, did but ſee the weakeneſſe of their gallies, wanting both ſoldiers and mariners, they would be of another mind. He alledged further, That they were to wage war in the enemies countrey, where there was no port to receiue their fleet, no peaceable place, no confederate Citie, nor King to friend: whereas the time of the yeare grew euery day worſe and worſe, when as they had neither harbor to put into, neither were able to abide the ſea. And now that Nicoſia was loſt, for the reliefe whereof they were come ſo far, there was no reaſon longer for them to ſtay, the enemie ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſing the Iſland with his great armie, as that there was not any hope to do any good againſt him. And that to keepe him from victuall, and ſo to diſtreſſe him, was not poſſible, lying in a moſt fertile Iſland, and in the midſt of his owne dominions: whereas they, who were to be ſtill relieued from far, ſhould ſooner feele the want than the enemie. He was victualled (as he ſaid) when he came from home, but for three moneths, in hope to haue made a ſhort diſpatch, and had now two thouſand miles home. He ſaid moreouer, that he had expreſſe commandement from the King, to returne to Meſſana before Winter, and that therefore ſo ſoone as the moneth was out he would depart. The Venetian Admirall deſiring nothing more, than by battell at ſea to ouerthrow the Turkes, and ſo to relieue the diſtreſſed Cypriots, vrged the Spaniſh Admirall to proceed in the voyage; ſaying, That ſo great aid was not ſent from the Pope and the King, onely for the reliefe of Nicoſia, but to deliuer the whole Iſland from the danger of the Turke. Of the ſame opinion with the Spaniſh Admirall were diuers other great captaines in the fleet; namely ***Sfortia***: who ſaid, That nothing was to be ſo done, as might raſhly expoſe vnto caſualtie or power of the enemie, the publique fortune and majeſtie of the Chriſtian commonweale, which was in that fleet greatly hazarded: That longer ſtay might bring further danger: that in that fleet conſiſted the whole welfare of the commonweale, wherin more might be loſt, if any miſhap ſhould chance thereunto, than was good to be gained by the relieuing of Famaguſta. The great commanders thus differing in opinions, the Councel was in a heat diſſolued, and nothing concluded. Vpon which ſo foule a diſagreement the fleet began now to returne backe againe, but ſo, that it was not now as before, one, but three Fleets, euery admiral by himſelf drawing after him his fleet. ***Auria*** the Spaniſh Admiral, who firſt returned, after he had been two days wonderfully with tempeſt toſſed at ſea, came at laſt to Carpathos, and departing thence, with much ado arriued with his fleet in the Iſland of Crete: from whence he by a meſſenger ſent of purpoſe, requeſted leaue of ***Columnius*** the Popes Admirall, that he might with his good will preſently returne home. Whereunto ***Columnius*** anſwered, That he would giue him no ſuch leaue: but rather charged him, in the dutie he owght to the good of the Chriſtian commonweale, not to depart; but to keepe companie with the reſt of the fleet vntill it were paſt Zacynthus, that ſo with their vnited forces they might more ſafely paſſe by the enemies countries: whereas otherwiſe, if any thing ſhould by his haſtie departure fall out otherwiſe than well, it ſhould be imputed to the diſhonour of him that had for-

The commaunders of the Chriſtian fleet of diuers opiniõs for giuing of the Turks battell.

The Chriſtian fleet returneth vpon the foule diſagreement of the commaunders.

ſaken his friends,and not of them that were ſo by him forſaken. But vnto this *Auria* anſwered,
That the welfare of the kingdoms of Sicilie and Naples conſiſted in the ſafety of this fleet: G
and that therefore hauing haſt home, he could not ſtay to keepe companie with their heauie
galleaſſes and other ſhips of burthen,which muſt oftentimes be towed forward. This he openly
pretended for his departure; yet ſecretly ſought (as it was deemed) to finde an occaſion
whereby to withdraw himſelfe (being as he accounted the better man at ſea) from the command
of *Columnius*,whereunto he was full ſore againſt his will ſubiect.

After they had thus a while ſpent the time with reaſoning the matter to & fro, *Auria* of himſelfe
without further leaue hoiſed ſaile,& ſo at length came to Meſſana in Sicily: neither did
Columnius & *Zanius* ſtay in thoſe quarters long after him, but hauing endured much trouble at
ſea,arriued at laſt, *Columnius* in Italie, and *Zanius* at Corcyra. Thus this mightie fleet, which H
had all this Sommer filled the Mediterranian with all the countries thereabout, with the expectation
of ſome great matter, was by the diſcord of the Generals diſſolued, hauing done nothing
at all worth the remembrance. In this idle expedition many thouſands of right valiant
men loſt their liues, being dead of diuers diſeaſes proceeding of change of diet,and vnſeaſonableneſſe
of the weather in that hot climat; amongſt whom was the valiant Countie *Hieronimus
Martinengus*, ſent by the Senat with three thouſand ſouldiers for the defence of Famaguſta;
who alſo moſt of them periſhed in that voyage. The Venetian fleet was no ſooner arriued
at Corcyra,but *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* was ſent from the Senat to diſcharge *Zanius* the Admirall
of his office, and to ſend him priſoner to Venice: in whoſe roome was placed *Sebaſtianus
Venerius* Gouernor of that Iſland. I

Zanius the Venetian admiral diſcharged of his office, and ſent in bonds to Venice.

The Turks Baſſa's at ſea certainly aduertiſed of the departure of the Chriſtian fleet, were
not a little proud thereof; as by the confeſſion of their enemies,their betters. Yet foraſmuch
as the ſeas began then to grow rough,and no enemie appeared,they thought it to no purpoſe
to keepe the ſeas with ſo great a fleet,and therefore reſolued to leaue *Muſtapha* with his army
in Cyprus,the next yeare to make an end of his conqueſt ſo happily begun; and ſeuen gallies
at ſea before Famaguſta,that no reliefe ſhould that way be brought into the citie,and ſo to depart
themſelues with the reſt of the fleet to Winter in more ſafer harbours: *Piall* with the
greater part of the fleet to Conſtantinople,and *Haly* with the reſt to the Rhodes. And becauſe
they would for their greater credit prepare ſome worthie preſent for their great Lord & Maſter
Selymus, they fraughted a great gallion of *Muhametes* the chiefe Baſſa's, and two other tall K
ſhips,with the richeſt of the ſpoile of Nicoſia,and the choice of the priſoners there taken. But
when they were now readie to hoiſe ſaile and depart, as they were carrying out of the gallion,
certaine barrels of gunpouder which *Muſtapha* the Generall had commanded for his better
prouiſion to be landed, a noble gentlewoman captiue in the gallion, wiſhing rather to die
with honor,than to liue diſhonored,ſecretly fired the pouder; by force whereof the ſaid gallion
with the other two ſhips, were ſuddenly rent in pieces, and all that was therein blown vp
into the aire. Of all that were in thoſe three veſſels, none eſcaped with life but the maſter of
the gallion,and two Chriſtian captiues, but there periſhed together with the rich ſpoile. But
the Baſſa's following their former reſolution, departed from Cyprus,and afterwards in ſafetie
arriued at Conſtantinople: where both then and all the Winter following, ſuch preparation L
was in making,as if *Selymus* had the next yeare purpoſed ſome far greater matter than the conqueſt
of Cyprus.

A deſperate fact of a woman.

Whileſt *Sebaſtianus Venerius* (now the Venetian Admirall) yet lay at Corcyta,the rude Acroceraunian
people,more famous for nothing than for their theft and want of all things; by
truſtie meſſengers promiſed to deliuer into his power the ſtrong caſtle of Chymera,kept by a
garriſon of 300 Turks,if he himſelfe with a few gallies and a conuenient number of footmen,
would come into the bay of Ambracia: offering him good hoſtages for the better aſſurance of
their promiſe. Of which their offer he gladly accepted, and forthwith went to the appointed
place with a companie of horſemen, three thouſand footmen, and certaine gallies; who were
no ſooner landed,but that preſently a thouſand of thoſe rough mountaine people came vnto M
them: with which power taking the hill, and repulſing the Turkes garriſon comming to the
reliefe of the caſtle, he ſo diſcouraged them that were in the Hold, that the next night they
let themſelues downe with ropes into the valley below; but being deſcried,were there all either
taken or ſlaine. And ſo in a verie ſhort time was that ſtrong caſtle taken by the Admirall,

The ſtrong caſtle of Chymera taken by Venerius.

and

A and a ſtrong garriſon of Chriſtians put into it in ſteed of the Turks.

Quirinus taketh a caſtle of the Turkes in Peloponeſus.

Not long after, *Quirinus* the Viceadmiral a man of great courage, landed with 24 gallies in Peloponeſus neere the bay of Maine, and there vpon the ſudden both by ſea and land beſieged a ſtrong caſtle, which the Turks but two yeres before had build to trouble the Chriſtians paſſing that way. Which caſtle he tooke in fiue houres, and put to the ſword fiue hundred Turks which lay there in garriſon; and razing it downe to the ground, carried away with him foure and twentie great pieces of Artillerie into the Iſland of Zacynthus.

At ſuch time as *Muſtapha* before lay at the ſiege of Famaguſta, *Bragadinus* gouernour of the towne, and *Baleanius* a moſt expert captaine, from out of the high places of the citie beholding B the great armie of the Turks (which couered the ground almoſt as far as they could ſee, with the cunning manner of their fortification, were therwith much moued: and therefore thought it good betime to giue the Senat knowledge thereof, and in ſo great a danger to craue their aid. And that their requeſt might be of more weight, and haue the better hearing, they intreated *Hieronimus Ragazonius* Biſhop of the citie, a reuerend and deuout man, to take vpon him that charge; vnto whom they ioyned *Nicholas Donatus* a noble gentleman of Cyprus. The Biſhop at the firſt was very vnwilling to go, as loth in ſo great danger to leaue his flocke: but at length ouercome with the intreatie of the gouernour, and teares of the beſieged, ſuffered himſelfe to be intreated: and embarked in a gally about the going downe of the Sun, looſing out of the hauen, and hoiſing ſaile, with a faire gale of wind paſſed through the Turks fleet, which C then lay at anchor before the city; and by the comming on of the night, and by the great way he made, got him quickly out of ſight. After foure dayes ſailing he came to Crete, & ſo at laſt to Venice: where, as he had before vnto the Admirall, ſo there vnto the Senat he declared the dangerous eſtate of the citie, the ſtrength of the enemie, the weakenes of the defendants againſt ſo great a multitude, and the want of many things needfull for the holding out of the ſiege: and to be briefe, that except they ſent ſpeedie reliefe, the citie could not be kept. *Zanius* at that time Admirall, carefull for the beſieged, cauſed foure tall ſhips to be laded with all manner of victual and a great quantity of gunpouder, and put into them 1700 ſelect ſoldiers, all which he ſent from Crete to the reliefe of them of Famaguſta; appointing *M. Antonius Quirinus* with twelue of the beſt gallies in all the fleet, to conduct the ſame thither. This *Quirinus* was a D moſt valiant and expert captaine, meanely diſcended, but by ſeruice growne to be a man both of great reputation and wealth: and therefore *Zanius* at his departure to Venice, although hee knew the matter required haſte, yet preſuming vpon his wiſedome and carefulneſſe, left it to his diſcretion, when and how to performe that piece of ſeruice. *Quirinus* (not without cauſe) doubting to ſet forward, the ſeas as then full of the Turks gallies, ſtaied vntill Winter was wel ſpent, and then ſetting forward the ſeuenteenth of Ianuarie, kept aloofe from the ſhips, which with a proſperous wind came directly before Famaguſta, in hope that the Turks gallies which lay in the mouth of the hauen, might ſo be drawne farther into the ſea, in hope of ſome good bootie, he himſelfe ſtaying with his gallies in place conuenient out of ſight. Neither had the euent deceiued his expectation, had not his fierce nature hindered the ſame: for the Turks vp-E on the dawning of the day deſcrying the ſhips, made haſtily toward them: but *Quirinus* not able longer to ſtay himſelfe, and before deſirous to fight with them, ſhewed himſelfe too ſoon in the open ſea, before the enemie was come neere the ſhips: whom as ſoone as the Turkes had ſeene, and that there was no hope to withſtand him, they ſtaied their oares, and with all ſpeed retired. But *Quirinus* following faſter vpon them, they were glad for ſafegard of their liues, with all the power they could to run three of their gallies aground, and to run to ſhoare themſelues: which three gallies, *Quirinus* did with his great ordnance beat all to pieces, and ſore gauled the other foure. The hauen thus cleered, he returned againe vnto the ſhippes, and brought them with the ſupplie in ſafetie to Famaguſta: vpon whoſe arriuall was great reioycing both amongſt the garriſon ſoldiers and the citiſens: for the Turks thought nothing leſſe, than that the Chriſtian gallies durſt at that time of the yere haue put into thoſe dangerous ſeas: which *Quirinus* well knowing, came forth againe with his gallies, and roaming vp and downe at his pleaſure, tooke two of the enemies ſhips richly laded comming to the camp, with which booty he inriched his ſoldiers: & further incited by occaſion, landed his men in diuers places alongſt the ſea coaſt in Pamphilia, and there did great harme. So hauing filled the Countrey with the terrour and fame of his name, he returned againe to Famaguſta, where he notably encou-

Quirinus a valiant gentleman

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encouraged the garriſon ſoldiers, perſuading them to remember their wonted valor: and filling them with hope that the Chriſtian fleet would be with them in the beginning of the next G Sommer, to deliuer them from their enemies, and to raiſe the ſiege. So hauing in twenty days diſpatched that he came for, and done what good ſeruice els he could, he departed from Famaguſta, and within fiue daies after arriued at Crete.

Negligence ſeuerely puniſhed by Selymus.

It was not long, but *Selymus* had knowledge of this late ſupplie put into Famaguſta, and of the harmes done by *Quirinus*; wherewith he was ſo highly diſpleaſed, that he commanded the gouernor of Chios his head to be ſtrucke off, and the gouernour of the Rhodes to be diſgraced, whoſe charge it was to haue kept thoſe ſeas, ſo that nothing ſhould haue been conueied into Famaguſta. Neither ſpared he *Piali Baſſa*, but depriued him of his Admiraltie, and placed *Partau Baſſa* Admirall in his ſteed, for that he had not the yeare before diſcomfited the H Chriſtian fleet at the Iſland of Crete, as it was ſuppoſed he might haue done.

From the beginning of this war, the Venetians, with *Pius Quintus* then Pope, who greatly fauored their cauſe, had moſt earneſtly from time to time ſolicited *Philip* king of Spaine, to enter with them into the participation and fellowſhip of this war; which their requeſt ſtanding indeed with the good of his State, he ſeemed eaſily to yeeld vnto: and therefore ſent *Auria*, his Admirall the laſt yeare, with his fleet to aid them, but with ſuch ſucceſſe as is before declared. As for to ioine with them in perpetuall league and confederation (as it was termed) againſt the common enemy, that he referred vnto the diſcreet conſideration of the two Cardinals, *Granuellan* and *Pace*, and *Io. Zunica* his Embaſſador, ſent for that purpoſe to Rome: promiſing to performe whatſoeuer they ſhould on his behalfe agree vpon or conſent vnto. At the ſame time, I and for the ſame purpoſe lay alſo *Surianus* the Venetian Embaſſadour at Rome: vnto whome the Pope ioined Cardinal *Morone*, *Aldobrandinus*, and *Ruſticucius*, with certain other of the chief Cardinals, as men indifferent to both parties, to moderat and compoſe ſuch differences & difficulties as ſhould ariſe betwixt the aforeſaid Commiſſioners for the King and the Venetians, concerning the intended league. But theſe graue men, ſent from ſo great Princes about *ſo great* a matter (as well there could not be a greater) were no ſooner met together and ſet in conſultation, but that forthwith they began to iar about the capitulations of the league. Neceſſarie it was thought that a league ſhould be agreed vpon againſt ſo puiſſant and dangerous an enemie, but to find the way how the ſame might be concluded to the contentment of all parts, ſeemed a matter almoſt impoſſible. Oftentimes theſe commiſſioners ſat, but the oftner the farther off: K if one difficultie were by the diſcretion of ſome appeaſed, in ſtead therof at the next meeting ariſe three others. The chiefe command of the army to be raiſed, the proportion of the forces, the manner of the war, with many other like circumſtances incident to ſo great actions, made great differences among them: but moſt of all, the indifferent proportioning of the charge, the Spaniſh commiſſioners ſeeking to turne the greateſt part thereof vpon the Venetians, & the Venetians vpon them: which was done with ſuch earneſtneſſe & ſtudy of euery man towards his own part, as if they had all there met for the bettering of the particular ſtate from which they were ſent, rather than for the common good: For the Spaniard, who in former time was glad to keepe the frontiers of his large dominions in Italie, Sicilie, Sardinia, Corſica, Majorca, Minorca, yea and of Spaine it ſelfe, with ſtrong garriſons for feare of the Turke; now that the war L was riſen betwixt the Venetians & him, & the danger therof tranſlated far off into other mens territories; enioied now in his own an vnwonted quietnes, to the great content of his ſubiects, and eaſing of his owne charge in maintaining of ſo many garriſons as before; whereof many were now thought needleſſe. Beſides that, he by the Indulgence of the Pope raiſed ſuch great ſummes of money vpon his Clergie, as was thought by many, ſufficient to diſcharge the charge of the war: For which cauſes he cared not for entring in any further league with the Venetians, but as it were in courteſie to ſend them a yearely aid, to maintaine a defenſiue lingering warre, and ſo to keepe the Turkes buſied vpon the Venetian, a farre off from his owne Territories. But the Venetians, in whoſe Dominions the fierce Enemie dayly raged, as well in Dalmatia as in Cyprus, were euen for the ſame reaſons mooued to haſten and ſhorten the war, M that the Spaniard was to protract it: for beſide the neerneſſe of the danger, and the infinite calamities by them ſuſtained, their yerely reuenues ariſing for moſt part of their cuſtomes, were greatly impaired, and their traffike (the maintenance of their ſtate) almoſt quite cut off; which cauſed them more earneſtly to confederate themſelues with the Spaniard. But hard it was

A to ioine in one, States ſo far differing in reſpect of their particular profit, and almoſt by nature contrarie. Thus was all the laſt yeare, and a great part of this alſo, ſpent by the aforeſaid Commiſſioners in turbulent and fruitleſſe conferences, but nothing was as yet concluded concerning the league: which troubled the Venetians not a little, being of themſelues too weake for ſo mightie an enemie as was *Selymus*, and yet no other certaine ſtrength from their friends to reſt vpon. But whileſt they ſtood thus doubtfull of the league with Spaine, and quite out of hope of any attonement with *Selymus*; vpon the ſudden when they leaſt expected, it was by good fortune laied as it were in their laps, to make choice whether they would (as they had before moſt earneſtly deſired) ioine in league with the Pope and the King of Spaine, or els fall to agreement with *Selymus*: and that by this meanes.

Muhamet Baſſa a ſecret friend vnto the Venetians, puts them in hope of peace.

B *Muhamet* the chiefe Baſſa, a ſecret friend vnto the Venetians, of whom he had been of long time honored, had no great liking of the proſperous ſucceſſe of *Muſtapha* in Cyprus, & therefore deuiſed night and day, how to croſſe the riſing of him, the competitor of his honor; and withall to helpe the Venetians, vnto whom he was much beholden. He by ſecret meſſengers had before oftentimes ſounded the mind of the Venetian Embaſſadour, and put him in hope, that if ſuit were made vnto *Selymus* for peace, it would vndoubtedly be granted; and further promiſed, to be himſelfe a helper and interceſſor for the ſame. But finding the Embaſſadour to caſt many perils, and to giue ſmall credit vnto their talke, who had before by truſting them deceiued him: he did not ſo giue ouer the matter, but referring the further tempering with him vnto a more fitter time, for the preſent he tooke opportunitie to enter into diſcourſe with C *Selymus* himſelfe concerning the Venetians; and told him that it was reported, That they weary of the long altercation they had had with the Spaniards concerning the league, & now deſtitute of all hope & aid, would now haply of their owne accord grant him that which they had before to him denied. And perceiuing him not vnwillingly to heare ſo of them, he proceeded further in the matter, to know his pleaſure what he would haue done therein; cunningly by the way of good counſel perſuading him vnto that which he moſt wiſhed himſelf to be done. Immediatly after, he ſecretly aduertiſed *M. Antonius* the Venetian Embaſſador, That there was great hope of peace, & that therefore the Senat ſhould vnder the colour of exchanging of priſoners, and redeeming of merchants goods, ſend ſome fit man to Conſtantinople, with whome he would in ſecret confer of al ſuch matters as might farther the pacification. This vnexpected D newes from the Embaſſador brought to Venice, was wel heard of the Senat: for they thought it much to concerne their State, to haue a way opened whereby vpon tolerable conditions to make peace with the mightie tyrant, if that the league betwixt them and the king of Spaine could not be concluded. Hereupon they made choice of one *Iacobus Ragazonius* to goe about the matter to Conſtantinople. This *Ragazonius* was a man of great ſpirit and dexterity of wit to take any matter in hand, and of a great reach and deepe iudgement in the managing therof; and withall exceeding rich, and of ſo good carriage of himſelfe, as that he was therefore famous: all which things were thought of great moment to win the fauor of that couetous and barbarous nation. The Senat, although they had not yet made proof what men thought of the E matter, yet doubted they not, but that vpon the report of the ſending of this notable man, men would thereof diuerſly diuine, euery man according to his owne fantaſie; and that many of the wiſer ſort would indeed ſurmiſe, as the truth was, that he was ſent for to intreat of peace, although the exchange of priſoners, and redemption of merchants goods, were the only things were openly pretended: & the Senat, although they thought it not amiſſe to haue it ſo vnderſtood, becauſe ſuch a ſuſpition was like enough to ſtirre vp both the Pope and the Spaniard to accept of ſuch conditions of the deſired league, as they had before reiected; yet leſt the hope of the league (which they for many cauſes thought good to cheriſh) therby cut off, might cauſe the Pope and the Spaniard both to be cold in the matter, they certified both them and other Chriſtian Princes, of the ſending of *Ragazonius*; yet of purpoſe concealing the ſecret drift of his going. *Ragazonius* thorowly inſtructed by the Senate, was in a gallie conducted to Raguſium: which *Caſſan beg* (the great Baſſa *Muhametes* ſon, gouernor of Liburnia) vnderſtanding, met him vpon the frontiers, & told him, That he was ſent by his father, both to meet him and ſafe conduct him: which the martial man, contrary to the manner of the Turks, courteouſly performed, honorably entertaining him, and afterward ſending him with a ſafe conuoy vntill he was out of all danger. *Ragazonius* comming to Conſtantinople, was there by night ſecretly recei-

The Venetians ſend an Embaſſadour to Selymus to entreat with him of peace.

Ragazonius the Venetian Embaſſadour commeth to Conſtantinople.

The conference betwixt Muhamet the Great Baſſa, and Ragazonius.

ued into the city, and at firſt brought into a little baſe Inne, and a guard ſet ouer him that he G
ſhould ſpeake with no man. But after three dayes he was remoued to a much better place, and preſented with diuers kinds of daintie diſhes of ſundrie kinds of meats. The effect of his meſſage was, to try the Turks minds, and after conference had with the Embaſſador, to entreat of peace. At length hauing acceſſe to the great Baſſa *Muhamet*, after he had deliuered vnto him (as he had in charge) his meſſage concerning the exchange of priſoners and merchants goods; *Muhamet* asked him, If he had nothing in charge from the Senat concerning a pacification to be made? Wherunto he anſwered, that he had, but that he muſt firſt ſpeake with the Embaſſador, without whoſe aduice and counſel he was not of himſelfe to do any thing. At that firſt incounter, the Baſſa to terrifie the meſſenger, declared vnto him the innumerable multitude of the Turks horſemen and footmen, which no nation (as he vainly boaſted) was able by force or H
policy to withſtand: alſo his great and inuincible fleets at ſea, with whom all the power of the Chriſtians joined together, was not able to encounter; and much other ſuch like ſtrength and wealth of his: and that the Venetians were now no more able to withſtand *Selymus*, than they were in times paſt to reſiſt his father and his anceſtors. Yet he diſcourſed of this matter in ſuch ſort, as not therby to cut off the hope of the pacification: but ſaid, That the Venetians ſhould beſt haue prouided for the ſafetie of their ſtate, if at the firſt they had liſtned vnto him, friendly & faithfully aduiſing them not to haue entred into armes, in which doing they ſhewed more courage than power: and that yet, as the caſe now ſtood, and that *Selymus* was in a moſt aſſured hope, in ſhort time to become lord and maſter of the whole Iſland, it ſhould be to their great I
good, to prefer the fauor and good will of the Turks before war, & by the voluntary yeelding vp of Cyprus, gaine vnto themſelues perpetuall peace and tranquilitie. As for the Iſle it ſelfe, it was not now worth the hazarding of ſo many dangers, being deſtitute of inhabitants, which were almoſt all either ſlaine or fled, the cattel driuen away, the townes ranſackt and burnt, and the whole countrey, of late moſt pleaſant and beautifull, now ſo ſpoiled & vnpeopled, that it could not of long time yeeld vnto him that ſhould haue it, any profit or commodity. *Ragazonius* being a coole and aduiſed man, and withall perceiuing that the Baſſa was not to be contraried in his talke, ſo tempered his anſwer, as that he ſhewed no token of feare, neither let any word fall that might offend his eares, ſaying, That he was right glad that he had found ſo much fauor in his ſight, as to haue acceſſe and leaue to talke with ſo great a prince, who for wiſdome K
and grauitie excelled all the reſt of the princes of the great Emperours court: who ſo far as he might with his loyalty towards his ſoueraigne, had alwaies moſt gratiouſly fauored the Venetian ſtate: who alſo not ignorant of the vncertaintie of worldly things, knew of all others beſt, that on both ſides were both men & armes, and that moſt mighty princes had oftentimes with ſmall forces bin ouerthrowne, the euent of things neuer deceiuing men more than in matters of warre: no power vpon earth being ſure, which could not within ſome bounds containe the ſtrength of it ſelfe: and that therefore he was in good hope, that he ſo worthy a man knowing beſt what belonged both to peace and war, would deuiſe ſome ſuch courſe as might ſort to the good and quiet both of the Venetian State and Turkiſh empire; in which doing hee ſhould find ſufficient matter for his eternall praiſe and glory, if by his diſcreet wiſdome a pacification L
might be made. Such talke hauing paſſed at their firſt meeting, *Ragazonius* had leaue to ſpeake with the Embaſſador, who then lay at Pera vnder ſafe keeping. In paſſing ouer to Pera, *Ragazonius* might ſee a fleet of Turkiſh gallies encountring one with another in manner of a fight at ſea, which the Turks had of purpoſe prouided to ſhew vnto him as a ſtrange ſight. Wherat *Ragazonius* ſmiling, ſaid vnto the Turks that were preſent with him, That it was a pretty childiſh ſport for him that had neuer ſeen the like before: but not to the Venetians, who were acquainted with theſe matters in earneſt; as the Turks ſhould wel know whenſoeuer they had a mind to make proofe what they were able to do at ſea. *Ragazonius* comming to the Embaſſador, had conference with him at large, & reſolued with him what to do in his negotiation. And ſo returning to *Muhamet*, eaſily diſpatcht with him for the exchange of priſoners & merchants goods: but when they came to talke of the capitulations of a pacification to be made, at the firſt they M
were ſo far off, as if they would neuer haue met: but after much and often conference, ſomtime the one yeelding, and ſomtime the other, the matter was brought to ſome conformity, ſo that there was no ſuch great difference betwixt them, but that they were like enough to haue agreed: *Pius* the Pope, and *Philip* the king of Spaine, aduertiſed of the ſending of *Ragazonius*

to

The Pope and the K. of Spaine fearing leſt the Venetiãs ſhould make peace with the Turk, haſten the confederation.

A to Conſtantinople, began to imagine as the truth was, that he was ſent about ſome treatie of
peace, what colour ſoeuer the Senat pretended to couer the ſame. And therefore doubting leſt
the Turkiſh Emperor hauing once made peace with the Venetians, ſhould turne his great for-
ces already prepared, vpon the one or both of them, they thought it good for troubling of that
peace, now with all ſpeed to haſten the league, which they had ſo long before delayed. For
which purpoſe the Pope ſent the noble **Columnius** to Venice: who admitted into the Senat,
declared at large how matters had paſſed at Rome concerning the league: and afterwards,
what profit might ariſe of ſuch a league concluded, & what harmes might enſue of the ſame,
neglected. And to haſten the matter, ſet as it were before their eies, how much it concerned the
B common good, but them eſpecially, to haue the ſame with ſpeed confirmed. As for to giue any
truſt vnto the Turks, was (as he ſaid) not beſeeming their deep wiſedome & iudgement, ſeeing
they ſo often had bin by them rather deceiued than vanquiſhed. In concluſion, he requeſted
them, That for his Holineſſe ſake, moderating in ſome part their hard demands, they would
with ſpeed ioyn with him & the king in a moſt firm & Chriſtian league. Although this ſpeech
of **Columnius** had much moued the minds of the Venetians, ſo that many inclined to the league;
yet were there many doubtfull thereof, and could not be reſolued whether it were better to
embrace peace with the Turke, or the league with the Pope and the king. Peace pleaſed them,
neither did the league diſpleaſe them: it ſeemed a matter moſt difficult, whether to reſolue vp-
on. They were fearefull of the league either receiued, or reiected: the hope of victory, the in-
C conſtancie of the Turks, their owne ſtrength at ſea, the large promiſes of the Chriſtian Prin-
ces, the certain hope of the league, & vncertainty of the peace, perſuaded them to embrace the
league. On the other ſide, the bad ſucceſſe of the yeare before, their forces ſhaken, and almoſt
ſpent in Cyprus, the ſuſpected & doubtful faith of their confederats, with the vncertaintie of
the ſucceſſe, induced them to prefer the hoped peace before the league. So the Venetians in
ſuſpence betwixt both, gaue the embaſſador daily more doubtful anſwers than other: neither
by promiſe binding themſelues, neither by flat denial cutting off the hope of the league, by ex-
amples and arguments rather refelling what was by others alleadged, than any way declaring
what they themſelues thought. Somtime they alledged ſuch things as might make a man be-
leeue, that they were willing to ioyne in league, and by & by again they would ſeem neither to
D reiect nor accept of the ſame. In which doubtfulneſſe many daies paſſed. At length the matter
being propounded in the Senat, there found not vnlike diſpoſition of minds that it had among
the meaner ſort; for ſome of the Senators inclined to the league; whoſe reaſons were groun-
ded not vpon profit only, but vpon credit and honor alſo, which they wiſhed to be chiefly re-
garded; declaring alſo, what great ſecurity, honor & glory, ſhould redound vnto them, by en-
tring into ſuch an honorable league. But the remembrance of former loſſes, the ſtrength of the
Turke poſſeſſing a great part of the world, compared vnto their own, the terror of the enemies
name, the feare of euill ſucceſſe, the ſmall hope of preuailing, induced others to like better of
peace: whoſe opinion was alſo confirmed by this, That the confederation with thoſe Chriſti-
ans, was of no more aſſurance or continuance than the Turks peace: beſide that, they alledged,
E That leagues were therfore of leſſe aſſurance, for that confederations & amities were ſeldome
or neuer ſincerely & faithfully kept on both ſides, euery man commonly ſeruing his own turn,
without care of other men. They alſo ſet as it were before their eys what great occaſions, euen
ſmal ſuſpitions might giue princes to breake their leagues, what ſtrange effects the feare of the
loſſe of goods, or ſome part of their territory might worke. After this ſo weighty a matter had
bin thus with great contention thorowly debated on both ſides in the Senat, it was at laſt put
to voices: & ſo by the conſent of the greater part, the league was as more honorable receiued,
and the Turks peace reiected, and a decree of the Senat to that effect made. **Ragazonius** by ſe-
cret letters from the Senat vnderſtanding of al theſe matters, began to deale more warily with
Muhamet the great Baſſa in matter concerning the pacification, & more hardly to yeeld to his
F demands, and propounding many difficulties of purpoſe deuiſed, requeſted of him, That hee
might by his good leaue returne to Venice, to be reſolued of many things by the Senat, wher-
of he was not able himſelfe to iudge, and ſo to return to him again with more certaine inſtru-
ctions: aſſuring him, that the Senat would vpon knowledge of the conditions of the peace doe
and deuiſe many things for the furtherance of the ſame: which could not ſo well be done by
letters, as if he were there himſelfe preſent to reſolue them vpon euery particular. This his re-

The Venetians reſolue to accept of the League with the Pope and the King.

queſt obtained,he with great ſpeed got him out of Conſtantinople:but was ſcarcely got out of the gates,when report of the league which the Venetians had made with the Pope and the king of Spaine,was brought vnto the court,and had in ſhort time filled the citie: which made all the way as he trauelled more troubleſome,and fruſtrated that alſo which was before concluded concerning the exchange of priſoners and merchants goods. *Ragazonius* being come to Venice,declared at large in the Senat the drift and purpoſe of the Turke,and what conference he had had with the great Baſſa,and in what forwardneſſe the peace was:for which his diſcreet carriage of the matter,his wiſedome was highly by the whole Senat commended,and he himſelfe afterward honourably rewarded.

A perpetuall league concluded betwixt the Pope, the K. of Spaine, and the Venetians.

The proportioning of the charge of the warres againſt the Turke: and the other capitulations of the league.

In the meane time the Commiſſioners at Rome after long conſultation concluded a league, which they would haue to be perpetuall, as well for inuaſiue as defenſiue warres againſt the Turke: and was by ſolemne oath confirmed by the Pope,the king of Spaine,and the Venetian Senat the 24 day of May,in the yeare 1571. For the execution of which league,it was agreed vpon, That the ſea and land forces ſhould conſiſt of two hundred gallies, an hundred ſhips,fiftie thouſand footmen,and foure thouſand fiue hundred horſemen;with a proportionat quantitie of great artillerie,victuals,and other things neceſſarie,to be euery yeare ready in March,or at fartheſt in Aprill,to meet together at ſuch place in the Eaſt, as ſhould be vnto them for that purpoſe appointed,to be imploied as the Admirals ſaw cauſe,& as the preſent ſtate of things ſhould require. For maintenance of which charge it was agreed, That the king of Spain ſhould defray the one halfe,and the other halfe to be diuided into three equal parts;whereof the Venetians ſhould beare two parts,and the Pope the third; which if it ſhould be too heauie for him, then that remained by him vndiſcharged,to be diuided into fiue parts;whereof the king was to diſcharge three,and the Venetians two. The charge thus proportioned, they tooke order alſo for the prouiſion of victuals,to be at a reaſonable price taken vp in any the confederats dominions,where the army or fleet ſhould chance to ſtay: yet ſo,that it ſhould be at the King of Spaine his diſcretion, out of his kingdomes of Naples and Sicilie, firſt to take his prouiſion for the victualling of Guletta,Malta,and his owne nauie. It was alſo agreed, That if the king of Spaine ſhould at any time,when as the confederats had no common war, inuade Algiers,Tripolis,or Tunes,that then the Venetians ſhould of their owne charge, aid him with fiftie gallies well appointed: as alſo,that the king ſhould in like manner and with like forces aid them as oft as they ſhould by the Turks be inuaded. But if it ſhould fortune the Roman territorie to be inuaded,that then the aforeſaid princes ſhould be bound with all their forces, to the vttermoſt of their power, to defend thoſe places,and the perſon of the Pope. And that in managing of the confederat war,the three Admirals ſhould conferre together of all matters,and whatſoeuer the greater part ſhould agree vpon, that to be reputed as agreed vpon by them all: That *Don Iohn* of Auſtria, *Charles* the fifth his naturall ſonne, and brother to the king, ſhould haue the chiefe command of the forces both at ſea and land: but not to diſplay his owne enſigne, but the common enſigne of the confederats: Alſo, that ſuch places as ſhould be gained from the Turke by the confederat armie,ſhould be diuided amongſt the confederat princes, excepting Tunes,Algiers,and Tripolis,which ſhould remaine onely to the king of Spaine: That all controuerſies ariſing amongſt the Generals ſhould be decided by the Pope, vnto whom the Venetians ſhould lend twelue gallies,furniſhed of all things ſauing men and victuals,which the Pope ſhould of his owne charge ſupplie: Which gallies at the end of the warre hee ſhould againe deliuer, in ſuch caſe as they then were: That an honourable place ſhould bee left for *Maximilian* the Emperour, the French King, the King of Polonia, and the King of Portingall to enter into this league, whome with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, it ſhould beſeeme the Pope to ſtir vp in ſo good a quarrell: and that it ſhould not be lawfull for any the aforeſaid confederat Princes to intreat of peace,or enter into league, without the knowledge and conſent of the other confederats. And for the better proceeding of al things,it was agreed, That euer in Autumne the confederate Princes ſhould by their Embaſſadours at Rome conſult of the next yeares warres, and according as the time and occurrents ſhould require, to determine, whether their forces were to bee increaſed or diminiſhed. This League thus at length with much adoe concluded, was not long after in Iune with great pompe and triumph openly proclaimed in Rome,Venice,and Spaine, to the great ioy of the greateſt part of Chriſtendome.

The league proclaimed.

Whileſt

The Venetians the more to trouble the Turke, ſeeke to ſtir vp Tamas the Perſian king to take vp armes againſt him.

A Whileſt theſe things were in doing, the Venetians the more to intangle the Turke, thought it good to make proofe, if they might by any meanes ſtir vp *Tamas* the Perſian king to take vp armes againſt him: who as he was a prince of great power, ſo did hee exceedingly hate the Turks, as well for the difference betwixt the Perſians and them about matters of their vain ſuperſtition, as for the manifold iniuries hee had oftentimes ſuſtained. There was one *Vincent Alexander*, one of the Secretaries for the State, who hauing eſcaped out of priſon at Conſtantinople, was but a little before come to Venice, a warie wiſe man, and of great experience; who for his dexteritie of wit, and ſkilfulneſſe in the Turkiſh language, was thought of all others moſt fit to take in hand ſo great a matter. He hauing receiued letters and inſtructions for the Senat, and furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, trauelling through Germanie, Polonia, and the B forreſts of Mœſia, in Turkiſh attire, came to Moncaſtron, a port towne vpon the ſide of the Euxine or blacke ſea, at the mouth of the great riuer Boriſthenes: where he embarked himſelfe for Trapezond, but was by a contrarie wind driuen to Sinope, a citie of great traffique; from whence hee trauelled by rough and broken wayes to Cutay, keeping ſtill vpon the left hand, becauſe he would not fall vpon any part of the Turks army (which was then marching towards Cyprus through all thoſe countries) neuertheleſſe he fell vpon a part thereof, from which he with great danger rid himſelfe, being taken for a Turke, and by blind & troubleſome wayes, through rocks and foreſts, arriued at length at Erzirum, a ſtrong city of the Turks, then vpon the frontiers of the Turks dominions toward the Georgians. This iourney of *Alexanders* was not kept ſo ſecret, but that it was vented at Conſtantinople by a ſpie, who vnder the C color of friendſhip, haunting the Venetian embaſſadors houſe at Pera, had got certain knowledge of the going of *Alexander* into Perſia. Whereupon certaine courrors were ſent out with all ſpeed to beſet the three ſtraight paſſages into Perſia, whereby it was ſuppoſed he muſt of neceſſitie paſſe, with certain notes alſo of the fauor of the man, of his ſtature, and other markes, whereby he was beſt to be knowne. But he in ſo dangerous a country doubting all things, and fearing ſuch a matter, leauing his company behind him, with incredible celeritie poſted from Erzirum to Tauris, and was a great way gone before the Turks currors came into thoſe quarters: who yet hearing of him, followed after as far as they durſt, but could not ouertake him. *Alexander* comming to Tauris, vnderſtood that the court lay at Casbin, about twelue dayes iourney farther vp into the countrey; comming thither, the fourteenth of Auguſt of this yere D 1571, he chanced to meet with certaine Engliſh merchants, with whom he had before beene acquainted: by whoſe help he not onely got to ſpeake with *Ayder Tamas* the kings third ſon, but learned of them alſo the manners and faſhions of the Perſian court, and how to beare himſelfe therein. The Perſians by reaſon of the intollerable heat do moſt of their buſineſſe at that time of the yeare by night. Wherefore *Alexander* about midnight brought in to *Aider*, declared vnto him the cauſe of his comming: and the next night admitted vnto the ſpeech of his aged father, deliuered his letters of credence, and in the name of the Senat declared vnto him, with what perfidious dealing *Selymus* the Turkiſh Emperour was about to take away Cyprus from the Venetians, with what greedineſſe and pride he had ſet vpon the Chriſtians, and that diſcharged of that war, he would of all liklyhood ſet vpon the Perſians; hauing the ſelfeſame E quarrell vnto the Perſians that he had vnto the Venetians, that is, an ardent and inſatiable deſire of ſoueraigntie: a ſufficient cauſe for the greedie Turke to repute euery King the richer that he was, the more his enemie. After that, ſetting forth to the full the proweſſe of the Chriſtians, the wonderfull preparation they had made both at ſea and land, he perſuaded the King with all his power to inuade the Turke, now altogether buſied in the wars of Cyprus; and to recouer again ſuch parts of his kingdom as *Solyman* the father of *Selymus* had taken from him. Warres he ſaid were more happily managed abroad than at home: that ſithence he alone (the Chriſtian princes all then at quiet) had withſtood the Turks whole force and power, he needed not now to doubt of his moſt proſperous ſucceſſe, the Chriſtian princes now ioining with him. That he was much vnmindful of his former loſſes & wrongs, if he thought he inioyed an F aſſured peace; which he ſhould find to be nothing els but a deferring of war vnto more cruell times: and that the Turke if he ſhould ouerrun Cyprus, would forthwith turne his victorious armes vpon him: The end of one warre was (as hee ſaid) but the beginning of another: and that the Turkiſh Empire could neuer ſtay in one ſtate: and that hee would obſerue not the Turkes wordes, but his deeds; and how that the *Othoman* Emperours according to the oppor-

Alexander the Venetian Embaſſadour hath audience with the Perſian king

tunitie of the times, vſed by turnes, ſometime force, ſometime deceit, as beſt ſerued their purpoſes: G
That no princes had at all times by diſſembled peace and vncertaine leagues more deluded
ſome, vntill they had oppreſſed others. He wiſhed alſo, that at length this his cunning
dealing might appeare vnto the world: and that Princes would thinke, that being combined
together, they might more eaſily ouercome the Turk, than being ſeperated, defend their own:
That in former times ſometime will, ſometime occaſion, was wanting to them to vnite their
forces: & that therefore they ſhould now combine themſelues for their common good againſt
the common enemy: That it concerned no leſſe the Perſians than the Chriſtians, to haue the
power of the Turke abated: and that this taking vp of arms, ſhould be for the good of the Perſian
king howſoeuer things ſhould fall out; if well, he ſhould then recouer what he had before
loſt, with much more that was the Turks: if otherwiſe, yet by voluntarie entring into arms to H
countenance himſelfe, and to giue the Turks occaſion to thinke that he feared him not: which
was (as he ſaid) the onely way to preſerue their common ſafety, which would be vnto all the
confederat princes eaſie enough, if they themſelues made it not more difficult than the power
of the enemy. The ſpeech of the embaſſador was willingly heard: wherunto the King anſwered,
That he would conſider therupon what he had to do: and in the mean while, a faire houſe
was appointed for the embaſſador and his followers, & bountiful allowance appointed of the
kings charge. He was alſo many times ſumptuouſly feaſted by the noblemen, whom he ſtil requeſted
to be mediators to the king, to take that honorable war in hand. The king had at that
time a ſon called *Iſmael*, a man of a great ſpirit, whom he then kept in durance, for that he with I
too much inſolencie made roads into the frontiers of the Turks dominions, to the diſturbance
of the league his father had before made with the late Turkiſh Emperour *Solyman*: vnto him
Alexander hauing acceſſe, was of him courteouſly heard; who fretting & languiſhing for verie
griefe of reuenge vpon the Turks, wiſhed, that either the king his father had his mind, or hee
himſelfe the power of a king: and ſaid, That if euer it were his good fortune to obtaine the
kingdome, he would indeed ſhew what he then in mind thought. But of him more ſhal be ſaid
hereafter. Whileſt this matter went more ſlowly forward in the Perſian court than the Embaſſador
would haue had it, newes was brought vnto the court, of the great victory which the
Chriſtians had much about that time obtained of the Turks at ſea: vpon which occaſion the
embaſſador ſolicited *Tamas* more earneſtly than before, to make himſelf partaker of the victorie K
of the Chriſtians, by entring into confederation with them, & by taking vp of arms, rather
than to hold vncertain friendſhip with the Turks in their miſeries, by whom he had bin ſo often
wronged. This he ſaid was the only time for the Perſian king to recouer his former glory,
the like offer wherof would neither often chance, neither long ſtay: & that if he ſuffered ſo fit
an oportunitie to ſlip away, he ſhould afterwards in vaine wiſh for the ſame, when it were too
late. This ſo wholeſome counſell was well heard, but preuailed nothing to ſtirre vp the aged
king: who then troubled with rebellion in Media, or weary of the former warres he had had
with the Turke, & glad of ſuch peace as he had then with him, anſwered the embaſſador, That
foraſmuch as the Chriſtian Princes had made a perpetuall league amongſt themſelues, hee
would for two yeares expect the euent, and afterward as occaſion ſerued, ſo to reſolue vpon L
peace and war. This improuident reſolution of the king, brought afterward vnprofitable and
too late repentance vnto the whole Perſian kingdome; when as within a few yeares after, all
the calamities which the Senat had by their embaſſadour (as true prophets) foretold, redounded
vnto the great ſhaking thereof. For the Cyprian war once ended, & peace concluded with
the Venetians, *Amurath* the ſonne of *Selymus*, ſucceeding his father in the Turkiſh Empire,
inuading the Perſian king, tooke from him the great countrey of Media, now called Siruan,
with a great part of Armenia the Great, and the regall citie of Tauris, as ſhall be hereafter in
due place declared. At which time the Perſian, who now refuſed to take vp armes, or ioyne in
league with the Chriſtian princes, repented that he had not before hearkened vnto the wholſome
counſell of the Venetians: and taught by his owne harmes, wiſhed in vain, that the Chriſtian
Princes would againe take vp armes and ioyne with him againſt the Turke. M

The anſwere of Tamas the Perſian king vnto the Venetian Embaſſadour.

Muſtapha Baſſa returneth to the ſiege of Famaguſta.

Muſtapha the great Baſſa and Generall of the Turks armie, furniſhed of all things that could
bee deſired for maintenance of his ſiege, and ſouldiers in great number dayly repairing vnto
him out of Cilicia, Syria, the Leſſer Aſia, and the Countries thereabout, beſide great
ſupplies brought vnto him by *Haly Baſſa* from Conſtantinople; inſomuch, that it was

thought

A thought he had in his army two hundred thouſand men: began now that Winter was paſt, in the latter end of Aprill, to draw neerer vnto Famaguſta, and with incredible labour to caſt vp trenches and mounts againſt the city, of ſuch height, that the defendants from the higheſt places of the citie could ſcarcely ſee the points of the Turks ſpeares, or tops of their tents, as they lay incamped: which was no great matter for the Baſſa to performe, hauing in his campe fortie thouſand pioners alwaies ready at his command.

The deſcription of Famaguſta.

The citie of Famaguſta is ſcituat in the Eaſt end of the Iſland, in a plain and low ground betwixt two promontories, the one called S. *Andrews* head, and the other the head of Græcia. It is in circuit two miles, and in forme foure ſquare; but that the ſide toward the Eaſt, longer and more winding than the reſt, doth much deforme the exact figure of a quadrant: it is almoſt on B two parts beaten vpon with the ſea, the other parts toward the land are defended with a ditch not aboue fifteen foot broad, a ſtone wall, and certaine bulwarks and parapets. Vpon the gate that leadeth to Amathus ſtandeth a ſix cornered tower: other towers ſtand out alſo in the wal, euery of them ſcarce able to containe ſix pieces of artillerie. It hath a hauen opening toward the Southeaſt, defended from the iniurie of the weather by two great rockes, betwixt which the ſea commeth in by a narrow paſſage about fortie paces ouer, but after opening wider giueth a conuenient harbor to ſhips, whereof it cannot containe any great number, and was now ſhut vp with a ſtrong chaine. Neere vnto the hauen ſtandeth an old caſtle with foure towers, after the antient manner of building. There was in the citie one ſtrong bulwarke, built after the manner of the fortification of our time, with paliſadoes, curtaines, caſemets, and ſuch like, in C ſuch manner, as that it ſeemed almoſt impregnable. All which, although they made ſhew of a ſtrong and well fortified citie, yet for that there wanted many things, it was thought too weak long to hold out againſt the great power of the Turke: but what wanted by reaſon of the ſcituation and weake fortification, that the Gouernor and other noble captaines ſupplied in beſt ſort they might, with a ſtrong garriſon of moſt valiant ſouldiers, the ſureſt defence of ſtrong places. There was in the citie two thouſand and fiue hundred Italians, two hundred Albanois horſemen, before entertained by the Gouernor; and of the Cypriots themſelues were muſtered two thouſand and fiue hundred moe, all men reſolutely ſet downe to ſpend their liues in defence of their countrey.

The number of the defendants of Famaguſta.

Muſtapha with wonderfull celeritie hauing brought to perfection his fortifications, planted D his batterie of 64 great pieces; amongſt which were foure great baſiliskes of exceeding bigneſſe, wherewith he continually without intermiſſion battered the wals of the city in fiue places, but eſpecially that part of the wall that was between the hauen and the gate that leadeth to Amathus. And with great morter pieces caſt vp huge ſtones, which from high falling into the city, with their weight brake down the houſes they light vpon, & fell oftentimes through their vaults, euen in the bottom of their ſellars, to the great terror of the beſieged. The wals in diuers places ſore ſhaken, and the houſes beaten down, he began to aſſault the city: which the defendants (their forces yet whole) valiantly repulſed, and not only defended their wals and draue the Turks from the breaches, but furiouſly ſallied out vpon them, and hauing ſlaine and E wounded many, wonderfully diſturbed their fortifications, & abated their courage: neither did the enemy with greater fury maintaine the battery or aſſault, than did the Chriſtians the defence of the city, ſtil ſending their deadly ſhot into the thickeſt of that great multitude; inſomuch that in few daies the Baſſa had loſt 30000 of his men: and the captains themſelues wondering at the valour of the defendants, as if they had not now to doe with ſuch Chriſtians as they had before ſo oftentimes ouerthrown, but with ſome other ſtrange people, began to deſpaire of the winning of the city. The Turks thus doubting, and almoſt at a ſtand, the Chriſtians in the mean time made vp their breaches with earth, baskets, wool-ſacks, and ſuch like, not ſparing their very beds and bedclothes, cheſts, carpets, & whatſoeuer els might ſerue to fill vp the breach. Among many wants they feared, the greateſt was the want of pouder, which with continuall ſhooting began greatly to be diminiſhed: wherefore to reſerue ſome part thereof againſt al extremities, they thought it beſt whilſt yet ſome ſtore was left, to vſe the ſame more ſparingly, and to ſhoot more ſeldome. But the Turks ſtill drawing neerer and neerer the city, and caſting vp mounts higher than the wals of the city, with earth & fagots filled vp the ditch: which done, they of the broken ſtones made wals on either ſide, to ſaue themſelues from the flankering ſhot of the Chriſtians; then giuing a freſh aſſault, they vſed not only their ſhot and

Famaguſta aſſaulted & notably defended by the Chriſtians.

Famaguſta againe aſſaulted by the Turkes other miſſiue weapons, but came foot to foot, and notably fought in the breach hand to hand. G Which manner of fight (as if it had been ſo agreed vpon) they euery day maintained for the ſpace of ſix houres. And although the Turks by reaſon of their multitude were diuided into many parts, and freſh men ſtill ſucceeded them that were wearie, yet ſuch was the courage of the defendants, that euery man requeſted to haue the places of moſt danger, and from thence with couragious hand repulſed the Turks with exceeding great ſlaughter. But for all that, the furious enemy maintaining the aſſault, not only by day, but by often alarmes in the night alſo, kept the Chriſtians continually in doubtfull ſuſpence and readineſſe, as if they ſhould haue receiued a preſent aſſault: and as ſoone as it was day, with freſh men that had ſlept their fill, deſperatly aſſailed the Chriſtians almoſt ſpent and maigre for lacke of ſleepe and reſt. Force not H preuailing, the reſtleſſe enemie leauing nothing vnattempted, by a queint deuiſe was like to haue taken one of the gates of the citie: there was growing in the Iſland great plentie of a kind of wood much of the nature of the Firre or pitch tree, eaſie to be ſet on fire, but hardly to be quenched, but differing in this, that in burning it gaue forth ſuch a noyſome ſmell, as was not by any man well to be indured: of this kind of wood the Turks brought a wonderful quantity to one of the gates called Limoſina, which once ſet on fire, could not by the defendants by any means be quenched, although they caſt whole pipes and tuns of water at once into it, but moſt terribly burning cloſe vnto the gate by the ſpace of foure daies, with the vehemencie of the heat and loathſomneſſe of the ſmell, ſo troubled the defendants, that ſcarce any of them could indure to ſtand vpon the wall, but forſaking the ſame, were euer and anon like to haue giuen I the enemie leaue to enter.

Bragadinus encourageth the defendants.

Bragadinus the Gouernor, more carefull of the common ſafety than of his own danger, ceaſed not ſtil to be going about from one place to another, telling the Italians, That now was giuen the fitteſt occaſion they could deſire, for them to ſhew their valor in, & to gaine great honor of their barbarous enemies: that it would be to their eternall glory, if by their only means without any other help, the city ſo far off from the reliefe of the Chriſtians might be defended, and the great power of the Turks defeated: this (he ſaid) was the onely time wherein it ſtood them moſt vpon to play the men; for if they could keep that little was left, the reſt of the Iſland would be eaſily recouered: and although the Turks armie exceeded far in number, yet did they excell them in proweſſe and valor, whereby a few, and as it were but an handfull of K men, had oftentimes preuailed againſt moſt infinit multitudes: now all the eyes of the world, as well friends as foes to be fixed vpon them, ſo that if they held out againſt ſo great a power, both their enemies would admire their valour, and all Chriſtendome extoll their inuincible courage and proweſſe; and that they themſelues ſhould thereby reape both great profit & honour: neither that any thing could be alledged, why they ſhould not be compared with the worthy knights of Malta, who to their eternal fame had deliuered themſelues out of the mouth of the Turke, & left vnto the world a moſt faire example for men valiantly to ſtand in ſo good a quarrell vpon their owne defence: Nicoſia (he ſaid) was loſt rather by the cowardiſe of the defendants, than by the valour of the enemie. He alſo praiſed the fidelitie and courage of the Græcians, who for any feare or danger could neuer be remoued from the Venetians, or indu- L ced to ſubmit themſelues vnto the Turks gouernment: and perſuaded them, with the ſame reſolution to defend their owne city, that they ſaw in the Venetian ſouldiers, fighting for them, and for their owne honour to ſtriue with the Italians, in defence of their State, their countrie, their wiues, and children, againſt the tyrannie of the Turks; foraſmuch as aid would in ſhort time come, and ſet them free from all danger. The Senat alſo in like manner had ſent letters to Famaguſta, willing them to be of good cheere, and yet a while to hold out the ſiege, and that they ſhould be in ſhort time relieued. *Baleonius* alſo Generall of the garriſon ſouldiers, himſelfe in armes was preſent at euery skirmiſh, carefully foreſeeing what was in euery place and at all times to bee done; and by incouraging of his ſouldiers, and aduenturing of his perſon, ſhewed himſelfe to be both a worthie commander, & valiant ſouldier. Neither did the ſouldiers alone, but euen the women alſo what they might, ſtriuing aboue the power of the ſtrength M both of the minds and bodies, ſome bringing meat, ſome weapons vnto the defendants, and others ſtones, beds, cheſts, & ſuch like ſtuffe to make vp the breaches. But victuals beginning now to wax ſcant, 8000 of the vulgar ſort of people were turned out of the citie, who all in ſafetie were ſuffred to paſſe thorow the midſt of the Turks army, to ſeeke their liuing in the countrey.

Baleonius a valiant captaine.

A Thus whileſt open force preuailed not according to the Turkes deſire, they began in foure places to vndermine the citie, in hope to haue found entrance: but the defendants doubting ſuch a matter, by diligent liſtening, and great veſſels ſet full of water neere vnto the walls, and drums laid vpon the ground, by the mouing thereof diſcouered their workes, and with countermines fruſtrated thoſe of the enemy: yet in ſo great a ſtir and hurly-burly all things were not poſſibly to be diſcouered; wherby it came to paſſe, that whileſt the defendants were altogether buſied in defending the walls, a mine not perceiued was ſuddenly blowne vp neere vnto the tower ſtanding vpon the hauen; by force whereof a great part of the wall thereabout was in a moment with a moſt horrible noiſe ouerthrowne. With the fall thereof the Turkes thinking the city as good as taken, with an horrible ſhout and outcrie mounted the wall, and in B the breach ſet vp their enſignes; Countie *Peter*, who had the charge of that part of the wall, being not now able to defend the ſame, ſo ſuddenly ouerthrowne: which *Neſtor Martinengus* quickly perceiuing, came ſpeedily from his owne ſtation, to repulſe the enemy now readie to haue entred. The fight became there moſt fierce and terrible, on the one ſide hope, on the other deſperation, enraged their minds: the Turks were in hope, that if they forced themſelues but a little they ſhould forthwith win the city; and the defendants propounding nothing vnto themſelues but ſhamefull death and torture, fought as men altogether deſperat. The Turkes truſted to their multitude, and the Chriſtians to their valour: In the meane time, *Andreas Bragadinus* with certain great pieces aptly placed, out of the caſtle ſlew a number of the Turkes as they were comming to the breach. *Baleonius* hearing of the danger, came in haſte with a C companie of couragious ſoldiers, to relieue them that were fighting at the breach, and cheering vp his followers, thruſt himſelfe with the formoſt into the face of the breach; and there not only appointed what was to be done, and with cheerefull countenance encouraged his ſoldiers, but with his owne hand hauing ſlaine many, tooke one of the Turks enſignes, when as he had before ſlaine the bearer thereof, and tumbled him headlong into the ditch. With the ſight wherof others incouraged, both on the right hand and on the left, made there a notable battell, as men fighting for their laſt hope. In fine the Turkes were glad to retire, leauing behind them foure thouſand carkaſes of their ſlaine fellowes in the towne ditch, with fourteene of their enſignes, which were brought into the city. Neither was this victorie gained without ſome loſſe of the Chriſtians; about a hundred were ſlaine, among whom were *Robertus Maluetius*, *Dauid* D *Nocius*, *Celſus Feto*, *Eraſmus Firmo*, all captaines.

The Turks ſeeke to vndermine the citie.

The breaches notably defended.

For all this, they in the citie tooke ſmall reſt, the Turks great ſhot ſtill thundring in amongſt them; and that in ſuch furious ſort, as that in one day (which was the eight of Iune) were numbered about fiue thouſand great ſhot, ſhot into the citie. With which continuall batterie, one of the round bulwarkes of the towne was ſo ſhaken, as that a part of the front thereof was fallen downe into the ditch, and another part ſtood leaning readie to fall, in ſuch ſort as that it was not longer to be defended: which the Chriſtians perceiuing, preſently vndermined the ſame bulwarke, and in the mine placed certain barrels of gunpouder. The Turks comming to aſſault the place they had ſo ſore battered, the defendants after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, feigned themſelues to retire for feare, ſo to draw the enemie the faſter on; who was no ſooner come to the E place deſired, but that fire being put to the mine, blew vp the bulwark with all them that ſtood thereon; of whom ſome were ouerwhelmed with the earth it ſelfe, other ſome were blowne vp into the aire, and falling downe againe, miſerably periſhed; and other ſome, ſhot as it were out of a gun, fell downe a great way off, and ſo were rent in pieces: which was vnto the defendants a moſt pleaſant ſight. About ſix hundred of the Turkes periſhed at this aſſault, amongſt whom were *Muſtapha* Generall of the voluntarie ſoldiers, and *Feregates* a man of great marke amongſt the Turks. But by the haſtie firing of the mine, there periſhed alſo about an hundred of the Chriſtians, ouertaken in their owne deuice, amongſt whom were alſo ſome of great account.

They of Famaguſta blow vp one of their owne battered Bulwarks, with ſix hundred Turks thereon.

The Turks inflamed with their loſſes, were more inraged with the ſpeeches and perſuaſions of *Muſtapha* their General; who moſt earneſtly exhorted them, with one conſent to aſſaile their enemies, now driuen into a corner of the Iſland, ſpoiled of all their country, truſting more vnto the ſtrength of the place, than of themſelues, entreating for nothing more, than with their liues to depart thence. But what place (ſaid he) is there impregnable for the Turks? Nicoſia, Zigeth, and ſuch other ſtrong Townes woon, what are they but the monuments and teſtimo-

Famaguſta hardly aſſaulted.

nies of the cowardiſe of the Chriſtians, and the proweſſe of the Turks? This day (ſaid he) will G confirme your former labors and victories; which you before vndertooke for honor, but here ſhall you haue honor mixt with gold, and prey ſufficient to make you all rich. The Turks encouraged with this ſpeech of their General, as men forgetful of al dangers, began a more terrible ſiege than euer before; & hauing with incredible labor made three great mines, & blowing them vp, ouerthrew a great part with the wall of the caſtle, the notable defence of the hauen: which done, they with all their force oftentimes aſſailed the city, as if it ſhould haue bin their laſt labor; neither ceaſed they ſo to do night or day. At which time alſo that part of the city which is beaten vpon with the ſea, was aſſaulted by them in the gallies alſo.

The poore Chriſtians ſpent with deadly wounds, continual labor, perpetual watching both night and day, and now brought to ſmal number, hardly withſtood the furious enemy, aſſailing H them in ſo many places at once, and held out that tempeſt rather with courage than ſtrength. In the meane time the enemies armie increaſed daily, the Turks in hope of the like ſpoile they had at Nicoſia, continually repairing out of the countries round about, vnto the campe. The Chriſtian captaines ſeeing their men with continuall aſſaults ſore ſpent, (inſomuch, that how many ſoeuer they ſeemed to be, there was not aboue three hundred ſound men *left*) but ſeuen barrels of pouder remaining, want of all things daily increaſing, hope of aid ſtill decreaſing, and the Venetians (their onely comfort) ſo far from them; the captaines (*I ſay*) themſelues began to quaile in courage: and the rather, for that ſuch reliefe as was ſent from Venice, could not poſſibly be brought vnto them, but ſtaied at Crete; the Turks gallies ſtill lying before Famaguſta, I ſo that nothing could in ſafetie be brought thither. This feare of the captaines themſelues could not long be hid or diſſembled, but that it was by the citiſens perceiued: who hauing neither power to hold out the ſiege, neither place left to flie vnto, overcome with neceſſitie, came flocking to the Gouernour, crauing of him aid and comfort, and with aboundance of teares beſought him in this common deſperation to take compaſſion on them, their wiues, and children, a people that had alwaies ſo well deſerued of the Venetian State. Their walls (*they ſaid*) were beaten downe, their bulwarks ouerthrowne, the few ſouldiers that remained, ſpent with wounds, watching, and famine; the enemies ſtrength increaſing daily, ſo that they muſt needs in ſhort time all periſh with the ſword, if the citie were by force taken: wherefore *they* beſought him, that yeelding to neceſſity, which no power was euer able to withſtand, he would K at laſt, while time yet ſerued, prouide for the ſafetie of ſo faithfull and kinde a people, and not to refuſe any conditions, how hard ſoeuer.

The citiſens of Famaguſta requeſt the gouernour in time to yeeld vp the citie.

The requeſts and teares of the citiſens of Famaguſta, with the due conſideration of the deſperat ſtate of the citie, moued *Bragadinus* to compaſſion; who comforting them in beſt ſort he could, perſuaded them to be of good cheere, for that he had care both of them & their ſtate, & would ſo prouide for them, as that they ſhould neuer repent themſelues of their fidelity and loialty to the Venetian State. He in the meane time conſidering the greatneſſe of the danger which preſently hung ouer all their heads, propounded the matter in a generall counſell called together for the ſame purpoſe: wherein after a little debating of the matter, they all agreed to yeeld: only *Baleonius* at the firſt diſſenting, as doubtfull of the Turkes faith; but afterwards L yeelding vnto the opinion of the reſt. So an herauld being ſent vnto the Baſſa, a truce was taken for certain days to parley in, and hoſtages on both ſides giuen, during which time not ſo much as a dart was throwne, or an arrow ſhot from either ſide. After a few days parley the conditions were agreed vpon, whereupon the city ſhould be yeelded into the power of the Baſſa, which were theſe: Firſt, That the inhabitants of the city yet aliue, ſhould in ſafetie enioy their liues, libertie, and goods, with the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion: That the Gouernor with the reſt of the captains and ſoldiers might in ſafetie depart with bag and baggage, and at their departure to take with them fiue great pieces of ordnance, and three horſes, which ſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe them to make choice of, and that the Turkes ſhould ſafely conduct them into Crete, finding them both victual and ſhipping. All which things were with more kindnes promiſed, than with fidelitie performed. Yet all theſe matters agreed vpon, and conceiued into M writing; as alſo by ſolemne oath on both ſides confirmed; the Gouernour ſending a meſſenger before, requeſted that he might haue leaue to come to ſee the Baſſa, and to deliuer vnto him the keyes of the citie. Leaue being granted, *Bragadinus* the Gouernour, *Baleonius*, *Andreas Bragadinus*, *Laurentius Theupolus* Earle of Paphos, *Io. Antonius Quirinus*, *Aloyſius Mar-*

A parley betwixt them of Famaguſta and the Turkes.

tinengus,

A *tinengus* with a great ſort of other captaines came into the campe: but before they entred into the Baſſa's pauilion, they were commanded to deliuer their weapons, which they all did. At the firſt meeting *Muſtapha* entertained them courteouſly, and with many glorious words, as if it had been in admiration, extolled their worthie valor and courage: ſaying, That he was glad now to know them by face, whoſe valiant minds he had before knowne by their moſt valiant deeds. Now proweſſe and valour ſeemed not only in ſafetie, but alſo honored of the enemie: when after a long diſcourſe the falſe Baſſa reuolued vnto the miſchiefe and treacherie he had before reſolued vpon; complaining that certaine of his men taken at the ſiege, had been afterward againſt all reaſon and order ſlaine. Which the gouernor and the reſt vtterly denying, he ſtart vp as in a rage, and with high words and ſterne countenance vrging the fact, commanded B them all to be forthwith caſt in bonds; and ſo bringing them out of his pauilion, in the ſight of the army, contrary to his oath and promiſe, cauſed them all to be ſlain. At which time *Bragadinus* & *Theupolus* were oftentimes commanded to lay down their heads, to haue had them ſtrucke off: yet was their execution deferred, and their liues reſerued, not to ſaue them, but with more exquiſit puniſhment and torture to ſatisfie the barbarous cruelty of the faithles and vnmerciful tirant. The next day after, *Bragadinus* hauing his ears before cut off in deſpight, was brought forth to be wondred at, and tortured with the moſt extremeſt kind of torture that tyrannie it ſelfe could haue deuiſed: for diſpoiled of his jewels and attire, and a basket laid vpon his ſhoulders filled with earth, he was inforced oftentimes to cary the ſame, to repaire the rampiers that were ouerthrowne; and euer as he paſſed by, the proud Baſſa inſulting vpon him to C fall downe and to kiſſe the ground at his feet: and ſo buffetted with the Turks fiſts, and ſpurned as a dog with their feet, was in great deriſion & deſpight asked, Whether he hoped that Chriſt his God would come to help him or not? Which indignitie of it ſelfe bitter & miſerable, the dignitie of the man made much more miſerable: whoſe comely and ſtately countenance, with his long and reuerend beard, euen in that extreame miſerie added vnto him a certaine majeſtie and grace. In this ſo foule a ſight of vertue troden vnder foot, the poore Chriſtians could neither wel ſtay their tears, nor let them fall, for feare of the diſpleaſure of the Turks. But the forſworne Baſſa, not only forgetfull of all humanity, but inraged rather with extreme cruelty, cauſed that noble and worthie *Bragadinus* to be ſet in a chaire, & his skin to be flaine off from him quicke: a puniſhment vnworthie of him that ſuffered it, but moſt worthie him that inflicted the D ſame. Yet in ſo great & horrible a torture he was not heard to let fall any word not beſeeming a faithfull Chriſtian and the honor of his country: only he called vpon God for mercie, & deteſted the Turks perfideous trecherie, and ſo breathed out his life. But the tirant, worthy eternal infamie, not ſatisfied with the torture of the liuing man, cauſed the head to be cut off from the dead bodie, and vpon the point of a ſpeare to be ſet vp on a high place for all men to looke vpon. His skin alſo ſtuffed with chaffe, he cauſed to be hanged vp at the yards arme, and ſo to be carried about; not ſo true a trophy of his victory, as a teſtimonie of his perfideous and Turkiſh cruelty. Two dayes after, Countie *Theupolus* after he had bin moſt ſhamefully intreated, full of the marks of the Turks crueltie, was (to make an end withall) ſhamefully hanged in the market place. With what cruelty the Baſſa had tyranniſed vpon the nobility, with the ſame he alſo raged E vpon the meaner ſort of the citiſens, of whom ſome he ſlew, ſome he chained in the gallies, & carried away the reſt into bondage. Three hundred Chriſtians, ſome ſoldiers, ſome citiſens, which came forth with the gouernour to ſee the Turks campe, were there alſo all ſlaine. *Neſtor Martinengus* a famous captaine eſcaped the tyrants hands, being hidden by one of the Baſſa's Eunuchs, who by the helpe of a Greeke fiſherman got to Leptis, and from thence to Crete, and ſo afterwards to Venice, where he faithfully reported to *Aloyſius Moſenicus* the duke, the whole proceſſe of that war, with the loſſe of the city; and that in the ſpace of threeſcore and ten days there was aboue a hundred and forty thouſand great ſhot diſcharged againſt the city. Such noblemen and gentlemen as eſcaped out of this ſo general a ſlaughter, baniſhed their country, and in miſerie, diſperſed without hope of returne, led afterward a miſerable & vagrant life, though F ſome of them euen at this day (as I haue bin credibly informed) are by the Venetian State right well maintained. The countrey people and artificers were generally by the Turkes ſpared, for the peopling of the Countrie. This was the fatall ruine of Cyprus, one of the moſt fruitfull and beautifull Iſlands of the Mediterranian: the loſſe whereof, not without cauſe, grieued manie Chriſtian princes, as ſometime a kingdome of it ſelfe, but now a prouince of the Turkiſh

Bragadinus ſhamefully and horribly murthered by the faithleſſe Baſſa.

The forſworne Baſſa tyranniſeth vpon the dead bodie of Bragadinus.

Theupolus hanged.

Neſtor Martinengus by good fortune eſcapeth.

Cyprus loſt.

Empire: our ſinnes, or the euill agreement of Chriſtian Princes, or both, the cauſe thereof, I know not; neither if I did, durſt I ſo ſay.

The Turks arriue in Crete with a great Fleet.

Whileſt *Muſtapha* yet lay at the ſiege of Famaguſta, the other two great Baſſa's, *Partau* and *Haly*, the one the Admirall, and the other Generall of the ſouldiers (appointed by *Selymus* for the keeping of the ſea, that no reliefe ſhould be ſent by the Venetians to Famaguſta, and further as occaſion ſerued to infeſt their dominions) about the midſt of May arriued in Eubœa with two hundred and thirtie gallies; whither *Vluzales* Viceroy of Algiers, with diuers other the Turks notable pyrats, reſorted vnto them with their gallies. With this fleet departing from Eubœa, and ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Myſia, Ionia, Caria, and ſo directly toward the Rhodes, they were met with thirtie gallies moe of the Turks aduenturers. After that, hauing left certain galies for to lie before Famaguſta, they directed their courſe for the Iſland of Crete, & the 13 of Iune put into the bay of Amphimalea, now called Suda, and there landed 12000 men.

The deſcription of Crete.

The Iſland of Crete, now called Candia, is greater than Cyprus, but leſſer than Sicilia or Sardinia: but for fertilitie comparable with any of the Iſlands of the Mediterranian. It was in antient time famous for many things, but eſpecially for an hundred cities which therein ſtood, as witneſſeth amongſt others, *Seneca: (Vrbibus centum ſpecioſa Creta)* but at this time it hath only three; Candia a Colonie of the Venetians, whereof the Iſland now taketh name, Canea, and Rhetimo. The circuit of the Iſland is fiue hundred & twenty miles, full of hils; for which cauſe the people of the countrey are much delighted in hunting. In it is no nauigable riuer, or venomous beaſt. It is now moſt famous thorow a great part of the world, for the good Malmſey which there groweth, and is from thence in great abundance ſent into many far countries. Therin alſo growes great plentie of Cypreſſe trees, ſeruing for the vſe of ſhipping. It is at this day ſubiect to the Venetians. The Turks being landed, and ranging vp and down the country, did what harme they poſſibly could, burning and ſpoiling all as they went; vntill that at laſt they were vpon the ſudden encountred by *Franciſcus Iuſtinianus*, who but a little before their landing was come into the Iſland with a thouſand ſoldiers; and now joining with the Iſland people, notably charged them, being altogether diſperſed and ſeeking after prey; and hauing ſlaine many of them, inforced the reſt to retire to their gallies. The next day the Turkes landing againe in great number, burnt diuers townes, and ranſacked Setia and Rhetimo, where they tooke a rich prey, and carried away many priſoners: but loded with their bootie, diſperſed and fearing nothing leſſe than to be at that time ſet vpon, they were aſſailed by *Lucas Michael* a valiant captaine, two thouſand of them ſlaine, and with the loſſe of their bootie and priſoners, glad to retire vnto their gallies. Thus repulſed from Crete, they tooke their courſe to Cythera, Zacynthus, and Cephalenia, Iſlands ſubiect to the Venetians: where beſide other harmes by them done, they carried away with them ſix thouſand poore Chriſtians into moſt miſerable captiuitie.

The Turkes driuen out of Crete

Departing thence, and ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Epirus, they came to Suppolo an hauen towne in Epirus, which *Venerius* in the beginning of theſe wars had taken from the Turks, but was now againe by them recouered. After that, they came to Dulcigno, which the Turks had but a little before beſieged by land, for that the Gouernour thereof, and of Antiuari (another towne of the Venetians vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia) had compacted with three hundred Epirots, to ſtirre vp the countrey to rebellion, and to reuolt to the Venetians: for the effecting whereof, the Epirots requeſted of the Venetians ſix thouſand ſoldiers to make head, which the Venetians promiſed to ſend them. Whereupon the aforeſaid Epirots forthwith tooke arms, and raiſed moſt part of Epirus into rebellion: vnto whom was ſent at the firſt one captain with an hundred Italians from Catora. But when the Epirots vainly expecting the promiſed aid, ſaw themſelues on euery ſide hardly beſet with their enemies, deſpairing of any good ſucceſſe, they yeelded themſelues to the mercie of *Achmetes Baſſa*, *Selymus* his great lieutenant in Græcia (who to repreſſe that ſo dangerous a rebellion, was come thither with an armie of fourescore thouſand Turks:) ſo was a moſt faire occaſion loſt, whenas the reſt of the Epirots, inflamed with the hope of libertie, were readie to haue come vnto their friends, alreadie in armes, and by their example like enough to haue raiſed all Græcia into rebellion. But now deceiued of their expectation, bewailed their miſery, and truſting to the promiſes of the Venetians, they had caſt themſelues and all theirs into moſt manifeſt danger. They of Dulcigno ſeeing themſelues hardly beſet both by ſea and land, ſent to *Partan Baſſa*, and couenanting with him, that

A faire occaſion let ſlip.

A they might in ſafetie depart, deliuered vnto him the towne: and ſo *Sara Martinengus* Gouernor of the towne, with the garriſon ſouldiers, were in foure ſhips conueyed in ſafetie to Raguſium: as for the citiſens, promiſe was kept with them after the Turkiſh manner. In the ſame hurley the Turks tooke alſo the townes of Antiuari and Budua. Antiuari was both by ſcituation and fortification ſtrong, and furniſhed with a good garriſon: neuertheleſſe *Alexander Donatus* Gouernor thereof, a man of no experience in martial affaires, ouercome with the preſent feare, and deſpairing to be able to hold the towne, cowardly yeelded the ſame vnto the enemie. Which his beaſtly cowardiſe the Senat ſuffered not vnpuniſhed, but confiſcating his goods, and remouing him from the Senat, caſt him into exile. From Antiuari, the Turks following their good fortune, departed with their fleet into the bay called Rizonicus, but now the B bay of Catharo, and both by ſea and land laid hard ſiege vnto the ſtrong towne of Catharo, called in antient time Aſcriuium: againſt which they caſt vp two great bulwarks, and planted thereon nine great pieces of artillerie, wherewith to haue battered the towne and the caſtle: but the defendants as reſolute men ſallying out, put them from their ordnance, and inforced them againe vnto their gallies.

Dulcigno, Antiuari, & Budua, ſtrong towns of the Venetians vpon the coaſts of Epirus and Dalmatia, yeelded to the Turke.

Cowardiſe puniſhed.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Vluzales* and *Caracoza*, both men of great account and name among the Turks, got leaue for ten dayes of the Admirall, with 60 gallies to ſpoile the Iſlands neere thereabouts ſubiect to the Venetians. Who comming to the Iſland of Curzola, about eightie miles Eaſtward from Raguſium, landed their men, with purpoſe to aſſault the towne of Curzola, of the ſame name with the Iſland. Which *Anthonius Contarenus* the gouer- C nor thereof perceiuing, in the dead time of the night fled for feare out of the towne, into the rocks and places of more ſafetie, after whome the townesmen followed alſo: ſo that in the towne were not left aboue 20 men, and about 80 women, who with weapons in their hands, after the reſt were fled, came to the walls, as wiſhing rather there to die, than to fall into the hands of the barbarous enemie. But at ſuch time as the Turks began to approch the town, and the women with ſtones, fire, & ſuch weapons as they had were beating them off, & with greater courage defending the place, than was to haue bin in their ſex expected, by the goodnes of God a great tempeſt aroſe ſuddenly out of the North, which ſo outragiouſly toſſed the gallies, that *Vluzales* & *Caracoza* were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, & to get them thence into a place of more ſafetie. Sailing alongſt the coaſt, they by the way ſpoiled Lyſna, Bracia, and Liſſa, D little Iſlands vpon the coaſt of Dalmatia, out of which they carried away with them 1600 poore Chriſtians into captiuity. Theſe arch pirats at their pleaſure roaming vp & downe the ſea, fortuned to light vpon a ſhip of the Chriſtians, bound from Meſſana to Corcyra, which they tooke, and in rifling thereof found certaine letters directed to the gouernour of Corcyra, certifying him of the league, then but lately concluded among the Chriſtian Princes: which letters they ſent in poſt to *Selymus*, to giue him knowledge thereof: who thereupon writ to his Admirals, with all hoſtilitie to infeſt any of the dominions of the Chriſtian confederats.

Curzola forſaken by the men, is defended by women.

Selymus aduertiſed of the league lately concluded betwixt the chriſtian Princes.

The Turks fleet thus raging and raigning in the Adriatique, brought a great feare not onely vpon the coaſts of Dalmatia, Iſtria, and the Iſlands thereabouts, which were by them moſt afflicted; but alſo vpon the ſea coaſts of Apulia, and all alongſt that ſide of Italie; yea and vpon E the citie of Venice it ſelfe: inſomuch that they were glad to fortifie as well the Citie as the frontiers of their dominions, with new fortifications and garriſons; as did alſo the King and the Pope in Italie: for why, no ſhip or gallie could now looke out of any port, but it was preſently ſurpriſed and taken by the Turks: which with the ſundrie calamities before receiued, ſo confounded the Venetians, that they in their aſſemblies and conſultations ſeemed rather to quake for feare, than after their wonted manner, grauely to conſult how the enemie was to be repulſed. Yet for the more ſafetie of their citie, and for feare leſt the Turks fleet ſhould forcibly breake in vpon them, they ſtrongly fortified the paſſages through the rock or banke which defendeth the city from the ſea, and kept continually twelue thouſand men in readineſſe in the citie for the more aſſurance thereof.

All the Turks fleet being againe met together, *Partau* and *Haly* departed from Aulona the 26 of Auguſt, and failed directly to Corcyra: which little Iſland ſeemed to be compaſſed in round with the great enemies fleet. *Partau Baſſa* at his firſt arriuall there, landed 800 horſemen and a thouſand foot, who ranging vp and downe the Iſland, did great hurt and burnt the verie ſuburbs of the citie: at which time the garriſon ſoldiers ſallying out vpon them with a thou-

The Turks put into the bay of Lepanto.

ſand horſemen and fiue hundred foot ſlew a great number of them, and amongſt the reſt one *Paphus Rays* a man of great name. Thus the Turks fleet hauing done wonderfull harme in the Venetian territorie, as well in the Iſlands, as vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia, inriched with the ſpoile of thoſe countries, and carrying away with them fifteene thouſand moſt miſerable captiues; departing from Corcyra, arriued all in the bay of Corinth (now called the gulfe of Lepanto, where we will for a while leaue them to ride in ſafetie.

The Forces of the confederat Princes meete together at Meſſana.

Don Iohn of Auſtria.

At ſuch time as this great fleet (the terrour of that part of Chriſtendome) firſt put into the Adriatique, *Venerius* the Venetian Admirall then lying with fifty gallies at Corcyra, and fearing if he ſtayed there longer, to be inforced with ſo ſmall a power to fight againſt ſo ſtrong an Enemie, or els ſo to be ſhut vp, that he could not ioine his forces with the Spaniſh fleet, which was dayly expected; vpon the comming of the fleet departed thence to Meſſana, there more commodiouſly and more ſafely to attend the comming of *Don Iohn* of Auſtria Generall of the Spaniſh forces. At his comming, *Columnius* met him with twelue gallies (which the Great duke of Florence had ſent in the aid of the Confederats) and three gallies of Malta, who onely were yet come thither, and with great honor receiued him. Not long after, *M. Antonius Quirinus* and *Antonius Canalis* came thither alſo with ſixty and two gallies, before appointed by the Venetians for the reliefe of Famaguſta, but now called backe againe to ioyne with the reſt of the fleet: and in ſhort time the gallies of Sicilie arriued there alſo. At laſt after long expectation, in the latter end of Auguſt came *Don Iohn* with the Spaniſh fleet, a man then about foure and twentie yeares old, in whom wanted no honorable parts, his mothers blemiſh only excepted: who although he was moſt deere vnto his father *Charles* the fifth, yet left he him nothing by his will, but only at his death commended him vnto his ſon *Philip*, as his brother. The Venetian and the Popes Admirals hearing of his comming, went to meet him, and that with ſuch triumph and ioy, that all the former heauines before conceiued of his long ſtaying, was turned into gladneſſe, with moſt aſſured hope of triumphant victory: their doubled forces, and two great fleets joined in one, encouraged them aboue meaſure, filling all the Weſt with the expectation of ſome great matter. The Venetian fleet conſiſted of an hundred and eight gallies, ſix galleaſſes, two tall ſhips, and a great number of ſmall galliots. Vnto them were joined twelue gallies of the Popes, of whom *Columnius* was Admirall. And with *Don Iohn* the Generall, and *Auria* the Spaniſh Admirall, came foureſcore and one gallies, of whom three were from the knights of Malta. In this fleet, beſide mariners, were reckoned to be twenty thouſand fighting men: an army not onely beautifull for ſhew, as conſiſting of moſt choice bodies; but indeed moſt ſtrong and puiſſant, old beaten ſouldiers almoſt throughout it, in euery place intermixed with others of leſſe skill: many knowne to be men of great experience, rich and luſtie bodies, were by name called forth to this ſo honorable ſeruice; and diuers other of great nobilitie, as well old men, as young and luſty gallants, for the naturall hatred they beare vnto the common enemie, came, and as voluntary men cheerfully thruſt themſelues into that religious war: euery of which noblemen, as they were greater by birth or power, ſo had they drawne after them a greater number of their fauorits and followers, ſtrong and able bodies, of their owne charge brauely armed; who ſought for no other pay for their paines and danger, but by ſome notable victorie to eterniſe their names, or honorably to ſpend their liues in ſo iuſt a quarrell, as for the defence of the Chriſtian faith and religion. Amongſt theſe moſt honourable and reſolute men were three of greateſt marke, *Alexander Farneſius* Prince of Parma, in time to be the honor and glory of Italie his natiue country, whoſe vntimely death in the Low-countries euen his honorable enemies lamented; and being dead, is not without cauſe and worthy deſert accounted amongſt the moſt politique and famous leaders of our age. The ſecond was *Franciſcus Maria* Prince of Vrbin, a yong man honorably diſcended and of an inuincible courage: and the third *Pau. Iordanus Vrſinus*, an honorable gentleman of the familie of the *Vrſini* in Rome.

Alexander Farneſius Prince of Parma.

All the power of the confederat Princes thus met together at Meſſana, and all things now in readineſſe, a counſel was called by the General, to reſolue what courſe to take in thoſe moſt dangerous wars againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy: vnto which counſel were admitted only *Don Iohn* the Generall himſelfe, and *Aloyſius Rechezenes*, of ſome called *Requiſenius* great Commendor of Caſtile, the Generals Lieutenant, or rather director of his actions; *Sebaſtianus Venerius* the Venetian Admirall, and *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* Generall proueditor, of equall authoritie and reputation with the Admirall, and one Secretarie: *Marcus Anthonius Columnius* the Popes

Admirall,

A Admirall, with ***Pompeius Colonna*** his kinſman. The chiefe point whereon theſe great commanders were to reſolue, was, Whether they ſhould aduenture the generall fortune of a battell againſt ſo ſtrong an enemy, or onely ſeeke to defend the frontiers of their owne dominions? Which queſtion (as all other of like ſort) was of diuers diuerſly phantaſied, euery man pleaſing himſelfe with his owne reaſons. ***Requiſenius*** (***Don Iohn*** his chiefe counſellor; without whom he willingly did nothing, and vndoubtedly a man of great valor and experience) ſpeaking firſt, ſaid, That the enemies ſtrength was neceſſarily to be knowne, before they committed all to the fortune of a battel: and that therfore delay was to be vſed, leſt improuident haſt ouerthrew all. Matters of war that were to be decided by the ſword, were (as he ſaid) with great & ſound aduiſe to be adminiſtred, for that the errors of battel, whereby al was to be put in hazard, were B not to be againe amended. He highly commended the aduiſe of ***Scipio Africanus***, who counſelled great commanders, not to fight with the enemie but vpon ſome great aduantage, or elſe thereunto forced by neceſſitie. But as things now ſtood, what opportunitie could be miniſtred, or aduantage taken; the enemie keeping himſelfe cloſe within the bay of Corinth, and no apparant means how to draw him out from thence? Neither that he for his part was of ſo great ſpirit, as within the harbor in place of diſaduantage, without hope, to ſet vpon an enemy in common eſtimation ſtronger than himſelfe: for what diſhonour ſhould they incurre, if hauing receiued ſome notable loſſe, they ſhould be inforced with ſhame to giue ouer the enterpriſe begun? And to beſiege Oricus, Dirrachium, or Caſtrum Novum, frontier townes of the Turks, ſo to draw them out to battell; what were this other than to ſhew a certaine feare and C diſtruſt in themſelues, and to diſcourage the minds of the ſouldiers? for as well the enemy, as the common ſouldier, would forthwith deeme ſuch a poore attempt to proceed of a meere feare, as to make a vain ſhew of ſomething doing, when as they durſt not incounter the enemy in his full ſtrength. As for the other reaſon drawne from Neceſſitie: what neceſſitie had they, ſo deſperatly to ſet vpon the enemie: who vpon the approch of Winter muſt needs in ſhort time lay vp his gallies; and being already in ſafe harbor, would neuer be drawn to the hazard of a battell, eſpecially like hope, like ſtrength, and like danger appearing on both ſides? Wherfore, it were beſt (in his opinion) only to make a great ſhew of their forces, ſo to terrifie the barbarous enemy: but in no caſe to hazard the hope of the whole Chriſtian common-weale, vpon the fortune of a battell. He farther alſo propounded vnto them, the vncertaine euents of D things, the common chance of war, the ſtrength of the enemie, as wel by ſea as by land; with whom they themſelues were not (as he ſaid) indeed comparable: then, what an infinit heap of miſeries was like to ouerwhelme the Chriſtian common-weale, if they ſhould in any thing miſcarrie: and that therefore, ſafe aduiſe was in this caſe to be preferred before that which was attended vpon with greater danger.

The Venetians vrge battell.

On the other ſide, the Venetians, who thought all delay both infamous and dangerous to their State, were farre of another opinion. Wherefore ***Venerius*** and ***Barbadicus*** not onely vehemently perſuaded, but moſt inſtantly requeſted the Generall & the reſt of the great commanders, that ſo ſoone as opportunity ſerued, they would commit the matter to the trial of a battel, & not to make that counſell, which their couragious minds might make moſt glorious & E fortunat, by declining of battell to become diſhonourable or fruſtrat. If deſire of honour (ſaid they) moue vs not, ſhall neither theſe things moue vs? the loſſe of ſo great and chargeable a preparation, the ſpoiling of our frontiers, & the inſolencie of our enemies, which we encreaſe by delay? We defend our ſelues and ours, we inuade not them: we go not about to driue the Turke out of his empire; but that we our ſelues be not by him driuen out of our owne countries. Wherefore we ought ſo much the more readily & ſpeedily to thinke of battell, by how much the neceſſity of him is greater that repulſeth a danger, than of him that offreth the ſame. What, are our weapons blunt, or our hands benummed? ſhall the Turkes ſo often prouoke vs, and we ſtill be vnreuenged? ſhall we alwaies ſhew our weapons, & neuer fight? one fortunat battell is able to blot out the infamie of former time, and to fil vs with the hope of future hap- F pineſſe: if nothing elſe, let the verie indignitie of the matter ſtirre vs vp to battell. And what doubt is there, but that the enemy ſwelling with pride, will come forth with his fleet, and giue vs battell? Thinke you that a ſmall diſcredit will inſue to our honour & reputation, if contented with a vain brag, hauing not once skirmiſhed with the enemy, or ſo much as ſeene him, we ſhall return home, to the general ſhame of all Chriſtendome? See how many peſtilent inconueniences will enſue, if we ſhall take this courſe. This manner of proceeding will fill all mens minds with deſpaire: the people will murmure, That they are to no purpoſe oppreſſed with exactions and tributes: the confederat princes (carefull of this war) will ſay, that they haue in vaine wearied themſelues with often embaſſages and care therof: the proud enemy will account our departure, or declining of battel, for a manifeſt victory. The next yere we may look for him again with a greater and a ſtronger fleet, which will not only make a more heauie war, but deſtroy and beare downe all before it: at which time, who can aſſure vs that the Chriſtians ſhall haue the like preparation, if we ſhall now delay to fight? What labour is to be taken, what coſt to be beſtowed, to ſet forth again ſo great a fleet? Vnto theſe cauſes which impoſe vpon vs a neceſſitie and force to fight, is adioined not onely a ſingular regard of our honor, but a moſt notable opportunity alſo offered: we neuer had a greater fleet, nor better furniſhed with men, munition, & all things elſe to be required for the gaining of a notable victory: and who knoweth not, that the Chriſtian gallies are far ſtronger than the Turks? beſides that, the greateſt part of their beſt ſouldiers are in hope of prey gone into Cyprus, who there ſeeking after the ſpoile, and forgetfull of the enemy, without controlment glut themſelues with the pleaſures of that rich Iſland; whereby their fleet is ſo much the weaker. All which things, as they promiſe no hard victory, ſo do they propound vnto vs honor, glory, fame, and moſt honorable rewards; and open vnto vs the way both for the defence of the preſent, and recouerie of that hath been before loſt. What then ſtand we ſtill looking for? or why do we not in Gods name ioyne that battell, which is vnto vs not onely neceſſary, but profitable alſo.

Cornea & Serbellio perſuade the giuing of battell.

Thus much ſaid, ahey began to intreat and beſeech the Generall and the reſt, not longer to ſuffer the Chriſtian common-weale to receiue loſſe vpon loſſe, but to repoſe their onely hope in the good ſucceſſe of one worthy battel: and neuer to look for the like opportunity, if they let ſlip the preſent. This matter of ſo great conſequence, thus throughly debated amongſt the greateſt commanders, they thought it good to heare alſo the opinions of other notable captaines, of no leſſe experience than themſelues (then in the fleet) before they would conclude any thing. Amongſt the reſt, ***Anthonius Cornea***, and ***Gabriel Serbellio***, both Spaniards, & for their great wiſedome and valour had in generall reputation of all men; being demanded their opinions; with moſt ſubſtantiall reaſons, declared the neceſſitie of giuing battell, and that it was not ſo dangerous, as to be therefore ſhunned or delaied: forſomuch as that violent enemy was far eaſier to be dealt withall at ſea than by land; where he muſt fight without his huge multitude of men, the Turks chiefe hope, and only means wherby they haue obtained ſo many victories againſt the Chriſtians. And ſo concluded their opinions, with an effectual perſuaſion to ſet forward to Corcyra, and without delay as occaſion ſerued to giue the enemy battel. Which their opinion being generally well liked, was ſhortly after by the Generall and the reſt approued, & a reſolution ſet downe for the giuing of battell: which was no ſooner known, but there was a general reioicing through the army, euery man cheerfully preparing himſelfe to lay down his life in the publicke defence of the Chriſtian common-weale, and that with ſuch an earneſt deſire of battell, that euery day ſeemed now nothing elſe, but a delay of a moſt aſſured victorie.

The confederats put their fleet in order of battell.

Yet before they ſhould come into the ſight of the enemy, the three Admirals thought it good to bring forth the fleet into the ſea, and there to martiall the ſame, in ſuch ſort, as if they ſhould euen then preſently haue ioyned battel: to the intent, that by ſuch orderly diſpoſing of their fleet, & by appointing vnto euery man his place he was to keep, they might ſo acquaint them with the order of the battell, as that they ſhould when time ſerued, of themſelues without farther direction, martiall themſelues, and ſo more readily enter into battell. The next day the Admirals brought forth their fleets into the open ſea: in the right wing (which conſiſted of three and fifty gallies) was ***Auria*** placed: in the left wing was ***Auguſtinus Barbadicus*** with the like number of gallies alſo: and in the middle battel ſtood the Generall with ſeuenty gallies: on the right hand of the Generall ſtood ***Columnius***, and on the left ***Venerius***, his aſſociats, Thus with equall front the fleet ſet forward, as if they ſhould euen preſently haue ioyned battell. Betwixt the wings and the middle battell, was left no more ſpace but for three gallies to row: in the rereward behind the Generall, followed ***Requiſenius***, the great Commendor of Caſtile, with his gallies: after ***Columnius*** followed the Admirall gallie of Genoa, wherin was ***Alexander Farneſius*** prince of Parma: and behind ***Venerius*** came the Admirall gally of Sauoy, and in her the Prince of Vrbin: in the ſpace betwixt the middle battel and the left wing, was

A placed *Paulus Iordanus*: and betwixt the middle battell and the right wing, was *Petrus Iuſtinianus* with the gallies of Malta: vpon the left wing attended *Anthonius Canalis*: and *Quirinus* on the right. About halfe a mile behind all the reſt, followed *Aluarus Bacianus* Marqueſſe of Sancrace, and Admirall of the Neapolitan fleet, with thirtie gallies; a man of great experience in matters at ſea; and now ſo placed, to be at all times readie to relieue this or that part of the fleet, as the fortune of the battel, or impreſſion of the enemie ſhould require. The Chriſtians had repoſed great hope in ſix galeaſſes; which furniſhed with great ſtore of ordnance & certain ſelect companies of moſt reſolute ſouldiers, ſeemed rather like caſtles than ſhips. Theſe galeaſſes conducted by *Franciſcus Dodus*, a moſt expert captaine, were placed about a mile before the fleet; two of them before each wing, and the other two before the middle battell: ſo farre B diſtant one from another, as that with equall ſpace they anſwered the whole breadth of the front of the fleet, which was almoſt the ſpace of fiue miles, & ſerued the ſame in ſtead of moſt ſtrong bulwarkes. The gallies throughout the fleet kept not cloſe together, but ſuch a conuenient diſtance one from another, as might ſerue for them at libertie to diſcharge their ordnance when time ſhould require. In the wings, as alſo in the maine battell, were the Popes, the Kings, and the Venetian gallies indifferently intermixed; that by the equalitie of the danger they ſhould haue more care to relieue one another, than if they had ſerued apart. *Ioannes Cardonius*, a moſt valiant captaine, with 8 gallies of Sicilie and two galiots, was appointed to go ten miles before the fleet to deſcrie what hee might, of the enemies doings, and in his returne to ioyne the one halfe of his gallies to the one wing, and the other halfe to the other.

Six galeaſſes.

C In this ſort they departed from Meſſana, with purpoſe to ſeeke out the enemie: and not long after came to Paxo, where, of a ſmall broile at the firſt, was like to haue riſen a great miſchiefe: for the next day, whileſt *Don Iohn* ſtaied there to take a view of the Venetian gallies, and how they were furniſhed both of men and munition, he finding them but weakly manned for ſupplying of that want, appointed foure thouſand Spaniards and a thouſand Italians to be put aboord into the Venetian gallies, where moſt need was.

The Chriſtian fleet departeth from Meſſana, to giue the Turks battell.

Amongſt theſe ſouldiers, was one company vnder the command of *Mutius Tortona* their captaine, a man of an vnquiet and furious nature: who going aboord the gallie of *Andreas Calergus*, firſt fell to words with the captaine of the gallie, and after much ſtir, into plain fight; ſo that in a trice they were altogether by the ears, as well the ſoldiers as the captains: of all which D ſtir, *Mutius* was the onely author. *Venerius* being not far off, and hearing of the matter, ſent the captaine of his own gallie to appeaſe the tumult: who thruſting himſelfe into the midſt of the furious multitude, was by *Mutius* in his fury fouly intreated, & diuers of them that came with him ſhrewdly beaten. Which thing *Venerius* (himſelfe alſo of an hot nature) taking as done in diſgrace of the Venetians, and therewith exceedingly moued; to the terrour of others, cauſed *Mutius* & his enſigne-bearer to be hanged vp at the yards arme of the ſame gallie, to the great offence of all the Spaniards. The Generall alſo taking this execution in euill part, full of choler and indignation, grieuouſly complained, That he himſelfe as Generall, was therein not a little wronged, and that it became euery commander, to know what belonged to his place, and not to incroach vpon his betters: ſo ſhould the conditions of the league be the better kept, if E euery commander could keep himſelf within the bounds of his own authority. *Venerius* he ſaid, (whoſe authority was inferiour vnto his) could not of right without his command determine any thing againſt *Mutius* a Spaniſh captain: And that therin his honor was empaired: for which if he had not a publique and honorable amends, he threatned by force of arms to redreſſe his wrong, and the league being broken, to carrie away with him the kings gallies. Neither wanted there ſome, who fauouring *Don Iohn* his quarrell, and angrie with the Venetians, layed ſtill more coles on the fire that was alreadie too great. Hereunto *Venerius* ſent word vnto the Generall, That he ſhould do well to moderat his anger, and at leiſure to aduiſe himſelfe, & better to vnderſtand the matter, ſo ſhould he plainly ſee, that there was neuer more iuſt or wholſome execution done vpon any, than vpon thoſe mutinous perſons: But if he, carried away with the heat of youth, ſhould attempt any more violent courſe than ſtood with the common quiet, it were not to be maruelled if hee afterward repented. He (as hee ſaid) was alſo in armes, and readie to ſhew himſelfe a man. The matter was growne to that heat, that it was not onely not farre from the breaking off of the league, but euen at the point to haue ſet all on a broile, and to haue put the whole fleet in danger: had not *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, againſt

Mutius Tortona a Spaniard, raiſeth a mutinie in the fleet at Paxo.

Tortona & his antient hanged.

Diſcention betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius the Venetian Admirall.

this tempeſt oppoſed himſelfe: he with all his power laboured to cure the wounded mind of the Generall, and to appeaſe his anger: telling him, That the common enemy would hardly be withſtood by them al, being at vnitie and concord amongſt themſelues; but if vnto the forraine danger were alſo ioyned domeſticall diſcord, then were the Chriſtian common-wealth vndone. But if he would moderat his anger, and more regard the honor and credit of the Venetian Admirall, than the puniſhment of a ſeditious man, euen they which were vnto him friends, and enemies vnto the Venetians, would highly commend his moderation and ſtayedneſſe: yea, that howſoeuer the matter was done, it could not be now vndone. But whatſoeuer *Venerius* had done, was in his opinion iuſtly done: That it was alwaies ſo accounted and obſerued, that when many princes ioyned their forces together in matters that concerned the common managing of the war, nothing was to be done without the command of the Generall: but in matters belonging to the priuat gouernement of euery mans regiment, euery Generall had power of life and death ouer them that were vnder his command: which to be ſo, was as hee ſaid hereby to be vnderſtood. King *Philip* was king of many kingdoms, & that he might long ſo be, he heartily wiſhed: now if any Millanoies had committed any capitall crime worthie death in the kingdome of Naples, ſhould the iudgement of that crime be of right to be referred vnto the king himſelfe, as the chiefe ſoueraigne? or vnto the Gouernor of *Millaine*, where the offender was borne? or rather to the ciuill magiſtrat of Naples, in whoſe iuriſdiction the fault was committed, and ſo of right there to be executed? What difference was there then, but that *Mutius* might rightly ſeeme to haue beene iuſtly puniſhed by *Venerius*, who although he were a Spaniſh captaine, had yet raiſed a mutinie in a Venetian gallie, which was vnder the command of the Venetian Admirall. Beſide that, the diſcipline of war ſometime required a ſeuere and exemplarie kind of puniſhment: for which cauſe it was both notably and truly ſaid of *Clearchus*, That a Generall ought to be more feared of his ſouldiers, than the enemy: and that amongſt the antient Romanes it had beene the cuſtome, euen for priuate men with more ſeuere puniſhment to reſtraine the factious citizen, than the moſt cruell enemy; that the fact was not ſo much to be regarded, as the intention of him that did it: That it was the dutie of commanders to withſtand the madneſſe of the mutinous. The author of ſedition and tumult he ſaid had ſuffered but condigne puniſhment to his fact: who if he had eſcaped vnpuniſhed, would but haue bin the more diſordered; but now by his exemplarie puniſhment, would deter others from the like inſolencie. Beſides that, the externall danger was ſuch, as ought to reconcile them, were they neuer ſo much enemies: That ſuch men as they were, ſhould aboue al things regard what might profit or hurt the common cauſe; in contemplation whereof all priuat iniuries were to be remitted: and the rather, for that the honor and diſhonour of the good or bad ſucceſſe of ſuch an important action ſhould redound vnto themſelues, but eſpecially vnto the Generall. His owne duty he had as he ſaid diſcharged, in dealing ſo plainly and faithfully with him, and could no more but pray vnto God, with mercifull eye to behold the troubled Chriſtian common-weale in ſuch a moſt dangerous time.

Don Iohn ſtill beareth a grudge againſt Venerius.

Barbadicus the Venetian Proueditor a notable man.

Thus was the mutinie at Paxo by the great labor of *Columnius* hardly appeaſed: neuertheleſſe *Don Iohn* could not afterwards indure to participat vnto *Venerius* his counſels, or ſo much as to come in his company: all was done by *Barbadicus* the Venetian Proueditor. This *Barbadicus* was not inferiour to *Venerius* in courage and valour, but far beyond him in diſcretion; a tall and goodly perſonage, well coloured, his beard grizie, though not for age, for why he was not aboue fiftie yeares old: beſides that, in his eyes and countenance appeared a viuacitie or liuelineſſe of ſpirit; in his very gate and comely motion of his bodie, hee carried a certaine grace and maieſtie: his talke and ſpeech was alwaies calme and temperate, his counſell graue and ſound; ſo that hee was both greatly honoured and beloued of all men: his chiefe endeauour alſo was, to further the hope of attonement betwixt the Spaniards and the Venetians, ſo well begun by *Columnius*. And ſo all things brought into ſome reaſonable tearmes, they departed from Paxo, and came to Corcyra; the ſpoile whereof well declared the enemies late beeing there. From thence they departed to Cephalenia: where they by Letters from *Pau. Contarenus*, Gouernour of Zacynthus, were aduertiſed, That the Turkes fleete of three hundred and three and thirtie ſaile, of one ſort and other, lay in the gulfe of Corinth, now called the gulfe of Lepanto. Whereupon they ſhortly after remooued, with purpoſe to haue gone to Petala, an hauen oppoſite ouer againſt the Iſlands (or rather rockes) called Echinades,

The Chriſtian fleet at Cephalenia.

A Echinades, but now Corzulares, and ſo to the Bay of Corinth, to draw the enemie forth to
battell: but ſtaied with contrary windes, they put backe againe into the valley of Alexandria,
another Port in the Iſland of Cephalenia: from whence they afterward departed to the Iſlands
Corzulares, where by the way they vnderſtood by letters out of Crete, That Famaguſta was
loſt: with which bad newes they were no whit diſcouraged, but rather inflamed with the deſire
of reuenge. From the Iſlands they went to Galanga, a good harbour, where they ſtayed
one night, purpoſing the next day to haue gone to the mouth of the gulfe of Lepanto, there to
dare the Turks to battell.

The Turkes Baſſaes *Partau* and *Haly*, who then lay in good ſafetie within the gulfe, hearing
of the approch of the Chriſtian fleet, began to conſult with the reſt of their moſt expert captains,
B Whether to giue the Chriſtians battell, or to keepe themſelues ſtill within their ſafe harbour:
vpon which doubt they were amongſt themſelues of diuers opinions. Amongſt the reſt
Chirocbe a man of great yeares and authoritie, and withall a moſt noble captaine, exhorted the
Baſſaes, in no caſe, when no need was, vpon a vaine glorie to aduenture all to the fortune of an
vncertain battell: it was (as he ſaid) the part of wiſe and worthy commanders, to moderat with
reaſon their happy fortunes, for that thereunto were incident many accidents whereby their
former felicity might be diſgraced: they had already run alongſt the enemies coaſts, ſpoyled
the frontiers of his countries, and were with much honor & greater ſpoile in ſafety returned,
hauing increaſed the Turkiſh empire with many ſtrong townes of the enemies: the Iſland of
C Cyprus was with wonderfull good fortune brought vnder the Turks obeiſance, the enemies
great prouiſion at ſea fruſtrated, in ſuch ſort, as that hauing loſt diuers of their gallies, they were
neuer yet able to draw their ſwords: they had with their fleet at their pleaſure romed vp and
downe the Adraticke, & diſplayed their victorious enſignes almoſt vnto the very citie of Venice.
What could they then deuiſe or wiſh for more honourable or glorious, than with the
ſafety of their fleet, yea without any loſſe at all, to haue performed ſo great matters? Now the
three generall commanders of the enemies fleet to be ſo at diſcord among themſelues, as that
they were ready to fall in ſunder of themſelues; who now vpon the approch of Winter, & for
want of victuall, muſt needs in few daies return home with their fleet, neuer after to meet again
with the like ſtrength at ſea: and therefore to what purpoſe were it, by force of armes and vncertaine
D battell, with danger to ſeeke for the ſoueraigntie & command of the ſea, which would
forthwith of it ſelfe without any danger fall vnto them? Neither ſhould they by the doubtfull
victorie ſo much increaſe their honour, as by the vncertaine euent of a battell blemiſh the
ſame, if any thing ſhould fall out otherwiſe than well. And that therefore they ſhould do well
to take heed, that in ſeeking to augment their former victories, they hazarded not their honor
already gained; but wholeſomely delay the war, and keep themſelues in ſafety with their fleet
within the gulfe, and not to goe out at the enemies pleaſure, but when they ſhould ſee good
themſelues, at ſuch time as the enemy was not ſo well prouided: ſo ſhould they (as hee ſaid)
without any great labour or danger attaine to the full of their owne deſires.

Chirocbe diſſuadeth the Baſſaes from giuing battel vnto the Chriſtians

Partau Baſſa was of opinion, That the Chriſtians would not at all offer him battell: which
E opinion the Chriſtians had alſo of him: and in this queſtion, for giuing or not giuing of battel,
ſeemed neither to approue nor diſlike that *Chirocbe* had ſo grauely ſpoken, but as a man indifferent
& loth to incurre any blame, ſhewed himſelfe ready either to ſtay or to ſet forward, as
ſhould be thought beſt by the greater part. But *Haly Baſſa*, a man of an hoter ſpirit, and the great
champiō of the Turks, could not indure to heare of any delay, but of preſent battel. The pleaſure
of *Selymus*, the hope of victory, the remembrance of the diſpleaſure *Piall Baſſa* had the laſt
yeare incurred, for not giuing the Chriſtians battell, induced him now in no caſe to refuſe battel,
but forthwith to go out of the gulfe, & to accept therof, if it were offred. In which his opinion
he was the more confirmed by the relation of *Caracoza* a famous pyrat, and of great account
among the Turks: who in a ſwift galliot taking view of the Chriſtian fleet, had reported
F it to be much leſſe than indeed it was; deceiued as was afterward thought, by not taking full
view therof, by reaſon of his poſting haſt; or els blinded by the Iſland, which lying behind the
fleet, ſuffered him not perfectly to deſcry the ſame. Vpon which report there was great reioycing,
amongſt the Turks, who now after their accuſtomed manner dreamed of nothing but victory
& ſpoile. So that *Haly*, vainly perſuaded that his fleet was both the greater and ſtronger,
would now needs fight, in hope that the Chriſtians vpon firſt ſight of the Turks fleet would

Partau Baſſa ſtandeth indifferent for giuing or not giuing battell.

either retire and ſaue themſelues by ſhamefull flight: or elſe in aduenturing battell at ſo great ods, by their fooliſh hardineſſe receiue a notable ouerthrow. This opinion of the Baſſa was alſo not a little confirmed by the perſuaſion of *Caſſanes*, *Barbaruſſa* his ſonne, *Vluzales*, and *Chais-Beg*, Gouernor of Smyrna, al men of great marke & experience, eſpecially in matters at ſea. And although *Partau* the other Baſſa ſtood wauering, as a man in doubt, and *Chiroche* Gouernour of Alexandria, with *Carabuzes* Gouernor of Silicia, and *Mechmet* Gouernor of Euboea, men of no leſſe worth than the other, vpon better conſideration, were of a quite contrary minde, for not giuing the Chriſtians battell: yet ſuch was the authoritie of *Haly*, or rather his opportunitie, forced to his owne Deſtinie, that his opinion preuailed; ſo that now out they needs muſt, and fight. Albeit that two other eſpials ſent out after *Caracoza*, and hauing more perfectly viewed the fleet, returning with ſpeed, told the Baſſaes, as truth was, That the Chriſtians very ſtrong and well appointed, were comming with enſignes diſplayed of purpoſe to fight: and that their fleet was in number much greater than was before ſuppoſed. With which newes ſo far contrary to their expectation, the Baſſaes were exceedingly troubled: and demanding whether the formoſt gallies were all Venetians or not: and being anſwered, that they were intermixt, ſome Venetians, ſome Spaniſh, and of the other Weſtern countries; they began to doubt the worſt, and became exceeding penſiue. Neuertheleſſe knowing themſelues to be of all things well furniſhed, hauing now victualled in the bay of Corinth, and there alſo taken in twelue thouſand Ianizaries and Spahies, drawn out of the garriſons of Ætolia, Acarnania, Peloponeſus, and the other countries thereby, all reſolute men, and foure thouſand other common ſouldiers, & that they could not now with their honor ſhrinke back, they held it ſtil for the beſt, to hold on their former reſolution for the giuing of the Chriſtians battell. Yet before their ſetting forward, calling together the captains and chiefe commanders of the fleet, *Partau* the more to incourage them, ſpake vnto them as followeth.

The Turkes reſolue to giue the Chriſtians battell.

Partau Baſſa encourageth the Turks.

Wee are to fight (ſaid hee) *fellowes in armes, with that kind of men whome our anceſtours haue driuen out of Eubœa, the Rhodes, Mitylene, Peloponeſus, and Tripolis, and wee our ſelues but yeſterday out of the famous Iſland of Cyprus: whoſe cities and ſtrong townes, in number infinite, our Emperour hath, as the rewards of his warres: whome we haue alwayes vanquiſhed as well by ſea as by land: and ſhall it then now repent you, that you in this warre, embrued in the Chriſtian bloud, haue ſunke or taken many of their Ships and Gallies? That you haue carried away great and rich ſpoils? That you haue taken whole Iſlands and Cities at the firſt aſſault? That we haue by proofe ſhewed vnto the World what force is in the Turke to ſubdue ſtrong Cities and Townes? and what little power is in the Chriſtians to defend the ſame? What direction brought vs victory before, the ſame ſhall alſo at this preſent giue vs the like. Not to ſpeake of that, that we farre excell them both in number of men and gallies, this is more to be reckoned of, that we excell them in valour and proweſſe: for you beeing old expert ſouldiers, from your infancie trained vp in the warres, hardened in infinite battels, and full of courage and ſtrength, ſhall fight againſt weake, freſh-water, and effeminat ſouldiers; who entertained for pay (of the refuſe of all nations) know nothing belonging to the warres; or forcibly preſſed out of cities, ſerue not becauſe they would, but becauſe they muſt neither will nor chooſe. But not to ſpeake more of the manner of the Chriſtian ſouldiers, who are nothing elſe than the perpetuall excercise of your renowne and proweſſe: and to come vnto him, vnder whoſe fortune and conduct they ſerue. What ſhould I ſay? Should I compare either of vs (who haue ſpent our liues in victories and triumphs: who borne and brought vp amongſt armes, haue with our right hands gained vnto our ſelues honour and fame) with this ſtripling and halfe moneths captaine, who neuer ſaw battels but theſe? who in a leſſe matter neuer ſhewed proofe of himſelfe, why ſhould he be accounted of in a greater? who in ſo weightie a cauſe needeth a tutour: and ſuch a one, as indeed beareth the name of a Generall, more for his honour, than for any worth in himſelfe. Beſides, amongſt the enemies is ſuch diſſention, that euerie man regardeth his owne priuat, ſerueth as pleaſeth himſelfe, contemneth, and is contemned: whereas with vs is ſuch conſent, that it cannot be deuiſed, how the ſouldiers in generall ſhould more truſt their commanders, or the commanders their ſouldiers. What things were by the diſcipline of warre or carefulneſſe of a Generall to be prepared, all thoſe you haue abundantly and plentifully in readineſſe: onely this laſt warlike labour remaineth; which once diſpatched, our enemies ſhall be diſcomfited euen in that wherein their greateſt confidence reſteth. They ſhall be diſpoiled of their honour and trafficke at ſea: and that * citie once ſubdued, which is alone the glorie of the ſea, there ſhall be no hope left*

for

* *viz Venice.*

A *for the Chriſtians, whether by ſea or land: and (that we haue alwaies wiſhed) Italie, faire Italie (wherin theſe matters are plotted againſt vs) ſhall be in our hand and power: wherefore let vs with ſuch courage aſſaile our enemies, as beſeemeth moſt victorious conquerors, men ſo many times conquered: And ſo ſet forward, as if you ſaw our Emperor himſelfe encouraging you, and giuing you the ſignal of battel; of his bountie, and the preſent victorie, expecting all felicitie and bliſſe.*

This comfortable ſpeech with great grauitie deliuered by the Baſſa, ſo encouraged the Turks, as that they all with one voice and mind ſeemed to deſire nothing more than battel: for they ſtill poſſeſſed with the firſt report of *Caracoza*, and encouraged by the Baſſa's ſpeech, were in good hope to haue fought the battell vpon great aduantage, and therefore thought vpon nothing but preſent victorie. B Whereupon ſetting forward with great cheerefulneſſe, they came out of the gulfe, and ſhaped their courſe for the Iſlands Echinades, about midway betwixt Lepanto and Patras, before little Iſlands, or rather obſcure rocks, ſcarcely appearing in the ſea, but now to be made famous thorowout the world, by the moſt notable battell that euer was fought in thoſe ſeas.

The Turks fleet commeth out of the gulfe of Lepanto.
The Iſlands Echinades, or Corzulares.

The Chriſtians alſo comming ſtill on towards the enemie, the ſeuenth of October in the afternoone vnderſtood by their eſpials, that the Turks fleet was comming, and euen now at hand: whereupon the Generall commanded the great Enſigne of the Confederats (the appointed ſignall of battell) to be forthwith diſplaid, and a great warning piece to be ſhot off out of C his Admirall gallie. And himſelfe gliſtering all in bright armor, with *Cardona* Admirall of Sicilia, and *Soto* his ſecretarie, in a long boat went to all the ſquadrons of the fleet one after another, exhorting them with cheerefull countenance to follow their leaders, and to play the men: remembring, that they that day carried in their hands the wealth, honour, glorie, and libertie of their countries, yea and the verie religion of their forefathers; and that that daies victorie would bring vnto them and theirs perpetuall felicitie: whereas otherwiſe, if they ſhould as cowards ſuffer themſelues to be ouercome and vanquiſhed, it would be vnto them the beginning of all manner of moſt wofull calamities. To which and other his like ſpeeches, the Captaines and ſouldiers (before of themſelues cheerefull enough) in euery place where hee came, gaue ſuch applauſe with the ioyfull crie of Victorie, Victorie, ſo often and ſo cheerefull in all D places reſounded, as that it was taken as a luckie aboadment of the glorious victorie ſhortly after enſuing. In like manner *Auria* in the right wing, and *Barbadicus* in the left (for the fleet kept the ſame order that they had appointed before at Meſſana) ceaſed not by all comfortable ſpeeches to encourage their followers: ſhewing vnto them, That now the time was come they ſo long wiſhed for, wherein they not oppreſſed with multitude, might at length ſhew their true valour againſt the falſe and faithleſſe enemies; who being indeed nothing els but baſe & contemptible ſlaues borne to bondage, and hauing loſt their owne libertie, came to impugne the libertie of others; bringing with them a greater terror of their name, than valour of their perſons: and that therefore, if euer, they would now ſhew themſelues valiant and couragious, and that day, wherein of all others true force was to be ſeene, to abate the pride of the barba- E rous and cruell enemie, and to make their reioicing for the conqueſt of Cyprus ſhort, before they had well taſted the pleaſure thereof. At which time alſo, the Captaines generally thorowout the fleet, with cheerefull countenances and couragious ſpeech encouraged their ſouldiers; leauing nothing vnſaid that might hearten them on, or vndone, that might further the victorie.

Neither were the Turks wanting to themſelues (although it was fallen out much contrarie to their expectation, to ſee the Chriſtians, who they before thought durſt not haue ſhewed themſelues, now readie to dare them battell) but encouraged with their former victories, and furthered with a faire gale of wind, came on proudly with their fleet orderly and gallantly ſet after their wonted manner in forme of a Croiſant or halfe-Moon, their fortunat enſigne: neuertheleſſe in their comming on they were much troubled with the brightneſſe of the Sun, which then ſhining full in their faces, with his bright beames ſo dazled their eies, that they could not well ſee how to their moſt aduantage to direct their gallies. In this fleet of the Turks were two hundred and fifty gallies, fifty galiots, and twenty brigadines & other ſmall veſſels: all which a far off ſhewed like a thicke wood, but comming neere hand, preſented (as we ſaid) the forme of a Croiſant. The middle battell in number much like the Chriſtians, was conducted by the

The number & order of the Turks fleet.

great Baſſa's *Haly* and *Partau*, attended vpon with *Agan* Maſter of the Turks Arſenall; *Muſtapha Zelibi* the Treaſurer; *Achmat Bay*, with *Mahomet* his younger brother, the ſonnes of *Haly*: G *Achmat Aga* Gouernor of Teuthrania: *Aſſis Caiga* Gouernor of Calipolis: *Caracoza*, *Caſſanes* the ſonne of *Barbaruſſa*; *Malamur* Gouernour of Mitylene: *Dely Solyman Gider* Captaine of Chios; *Caſſambeius* Gouernour of the Rhodes; *Proui Aga* Captaine of Nauplium; *Giaper Zelibi* Preſident of Calabra, *Dordagnan*, *Dondomeni*, and many others, whoſe barbarous names I purpoſely omit: all men of great account and place, and for their experience at ſea the chiefe ſtrength of the Turkiſh Empire. The right wing was by the appointment of the Baſſa's commanded by *Mahomet Bey* with fiftie ſix gallies, with whome were alſo many worthie Captaines; and in the left wing was *Vluzales* the old Arch-pyrat, but now the Vice-Roy of Algiers, with ninetie fiue Gallies, accompanied with *Caraiolo* and *Arabey* his two ſonnes, H with a multitude of pyrats, men of his owne profeſſion, but moſt valiant and expert ſouldiours. In the reereward came *Amurates Dragut*, with thirtie Gallies, and diuers other ſmall veſſels.

The great and notable battell betweene the Turks and the Christians, commonly called, The battell of Lepanto.

Now was the day well ſpent, when both the fleets were readie to giue battell; the Enemie ſtil comming on almoſt in the ſame order that the Chriſtians did: for their middle battel came directly againſt our middle battel, and their wings againſt ours. So the ſignal of battel on both ſides giuen by the ſhooting off of certain great pieces: the Turks after their manner comming on with an hideous cry, firſt light vpon the ſix galeaſſes, which lying at anchor almoſt a mile before the fleet, as moſt ſtrong bulwarks, out of their forecaſtles poured out their murthering ſhot vpon the Turks, now come within their danger; and in their paſſing by ſo plagued them, I by diſcharging their whole broad ſides, firſt the one, and eftſoons the other vpon them, that hauing receiued great loſſe, and diuers of their gallies ſunke, they were inforced to breake their order, and to fall further off. Which ſo much the more troubled the Turkes, for that they had before ſuppoſed, thoſe great carts & vnſeruiceable ſhips (as they accounted of them) to haue caried little or no great ordnance on their ſides, after the maner of their gallies: for the vſe of the galeaſſes was not vnto the Turks known, vntil now that they had receiued from them moſt notable harme: which as it was the beginning of their miſery, ſo was it vnto the Chriſtians of greateſt importance for the gaining of the victorie. At which time alſo the wind, which al that day had much fauoured the Turkes, was now (God no doubt fighting his owne battell) come about to the Weſt, and with a pleaſant gale in the time of the fight carried the ſmoke K of the great ordnance vpon the Turks, to their no ſmall diſaduantage. Yet for all this loſſe and diſorder in their fleet, the fierce enemie with wonderfull pertinacie paſſing by theſe galleaſſes, quickly repaired again to their places, & made good their diſordred ſquadrons, and withal their force aſſailed the Chriſtian fleet. The trumpets, drums, & other inſtruments of warre had ſcarcely wel ſounded, when all ſhook with confuſed cries, flames of fire, thundring of artillery, and other noiſe of the mariners & ſeamen: wherwith many were ſo aſtonied as if they had bin both deaf and blind, hauing vpon the ſudden almoſt loſt the vſe both of their ſight & hearing. At which very inſtant a man might haue ſeen the whole ſhowers as it were of arrows and darts mixt with the deadly ſhot, flying from the one fleet to the other; the maſts broken, the ſaile-yards ſtrucke downe, the tackles rent, and all confuſed with horror and feare. *Haly* beholding the Admiral gally (which was eaſie to be known by the flag) & vſing the ſurpaſſing cheerfulnes of his mariners & rowers, ran vpon her with ſuch violence as if he would haue preſently ſtemmed her: but being with like force incountred by the Admirall, they met together with ſuch violence, that both their beaks were with the feaze broken off, and ſo fel into the ſea. There began a moſt cruell fight betwixt theſe two great commanders, who had before drawne vnto them the ſtrongeſt gallies in their fleets, and the choiſeſt men in their armies. In the Admirall gallie of the Chriſtians were 400 ſelect men pickt out of the whole army, moſt of them Captains & Antients, men of approued valor; who not only valiantly repulſed the furious enemies, but with greater courage inforced them to ſhrinke backe, and preſſing hard vpon them, entred the gallie euen to the main maſt; where the enemy ſtrengthned with new ſupply, fought couragiouſly, repulſed the Spaniards, and cleered again their gallie. Many were there wounded on both ſides, and many ſlain. *Don Iohn* ſeeing his men giue way, ſent in new ſupply; wherewith the other encouraged, beſtirred themſelues more luſtily than before, and hardly charge the Turks, who with like hope and like courage encounter them. The battell was like vnto the

A terrible onſet

A dreadful and doubtfull fight betweene the two Admirall gallies.

ebbing and flowing of the ſea: thrice the Turks were driuen euen vnto the maine maſt, and thrice ſtrengthned with new ſupplies, they with great ſlaughter repulſed the Chriſtians back againe.

Venerius perceiuing the danger of the General, was about to haue aſſailed the poupe of *Haly* his gallie, ſo to haue indangered her, being ſet vpon both before and abathe: but in comming thither he was incountred by *Partau* the other Baſſa, who with a companie of gallies oppoſed himſelfe againſt him, and that with ſuch celeritie, that hauing made ſhew as if he would haue charged him afront, he by and by ſet vpon his ſide. Which vnexpected manner of fight ſo ſuddenly faſhioned, at the firſt much troubled the Chriſtians; who afterward gathering courage, notably defended themſelues. *Venerius* (vpon whoſe valor the Venetian State reſted) gallantly armed, not only incouraged his men, one while with intreating, another while with threatning, but was himſelf in the midſt of them fighting; whoſe great honor much moued the mindes of his ſoldiers, but his reuerend yeres more; to ſee him (being aboue 77 yeres old) to performe all the parts of a braue youthful commander, in the very face of the greateſt danger. The fierce enemy hauing ſlaine many of the Chriſtians, preſſed on more furiouſly, & fighting cloſe together, entred the prow of *Venerius* his gally now bared of defendants, and with their multitude rather than true valor oppreſſed the Venetians: who had there no dout bin ouercome, had not *Ioannes Lauretanus* and *Catherinus Malipetra*, two valiant captains, and lying not far off, ſpeedily come to their reliefe. By whoſe comming in, the fight was in the turning of an hand quite altered; ſo that they which a little before fiercely aſſailed the Venetian gallies, were now glad to defend their owne: ſo for a ſpace the fight ſtood indifferent, but in proceſſe of the battell, thoſe two worthie captaines, whileſt they alſo performe the parts of moſt reſolute ſouldiers, were both ſlain; ſhot through with ſmal ſhot. The fall of theſe notable men did rather enrage than diſcourage the minds of their ſoldiers; ſo that blinded as it were with fury, and ſuddenly become other men, they deſperatly preſſed in vpon the Turks: ſo that whileſt they on the one ſide kill and wound them, and *Venerius* more hardly chargeth them on the other; the terrour of the battell was turned from them that were euen at the point to haue been vanquiſhed, vpon the victors; and our men after great ſlaughter of the Turks, tooke two of their gallies: *Partau* the Baſſa in a long boat eſcaped the danger, and ſo got him out of the battell. Not farre off thence, *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, as a valiant Chiefetaine hardly aſſailed other of the Turks gallies, and made amongſt them great ſlaughter: one ſingled from the reſt, he tooke, and diſordred the other. *Lignius* the Admirall of Genoa with like courage thruſt himſelfe into the thickeſt of the enemies, and there made a notable fight. Many an enemie fell about the Prince of Parma, *Rueres*, *Vrſinus*, *Cornea*, and *Iuſtinianus*; who for their preſent honor, and future fame, fought moſt couragiouſly.

Venerius comming to the relief of Don Iohn is incountered by Partau Baſſa.

Venerius in danger.

Lauretanus & Malipetra ſlaine.

At which time *Chiroche* or *Sirocke* (of ſome called *Mahomet Bey*) with his right wing with great confidence came forward againſt the left wing of the Chriſtian fleet; but falling before he was aware into the danger of the galleaſſes, was from out of them miſerably beaten with the great ordnance, hauing many of his men ſlaine, and diuers of his gallies ſunke and torn, few of the hugie and deadly ſhot falling in vaine into the ſea, by reaſon of the thicke ſtanding of the Turks gallies: where alſo diuers of the enemies were burnt with pots of wildfire caſt into their gallies out of the tops of the galeaſſes. *Chiroche* to auoid the danger of the galeaſſes, & to ſhun the dangerous ſhelfe betwixt him and the main (which the riuer Achelous running betweene the borders of Acarnania and Ætolia, and there falling into the ſea, maketh) ſent a great part of his gallies vnder the conduct of one *Alis* a notable renogat of Genoa, to caſt about aloofe vpon the right hand, and ſo to come vpon the backe of *Barbadicus* the leader of the left wing of the Chriſtian fleet. Which he perceiuing, forthwith turned his gallies, and with their prows receiued the firſt onſet. The great ordnance firſt on both ſides diſcharged, diuers of the gallies grapled faſt together, in ſuch ſort, as that they incountred one another not with their miſſiue weapons onely (as with their ſmall ſhot, arrowes, and darts) but with their drawne ſwords foot to foot. Amongſt the reſt, the fight of two of the Chriſtian gallies was moſt notable; in the one was *Barbadicus* himſelfe, in the other *Marcus Ciconia*, vpon whom fell ſix of the enemies Gallies, and vpon *Barbadicus* fiue; who although they were on euery ſide diſtreſſed with a moſt doubtfull and dangerous fight, yet did they moſt valiantly with worthie reſolution endure the ſame. In the furie of this battell, *Barbadicus* encouraging his ſouldiers, and fighting himſelfe

The right wing of the Turkes fleet ſore gauled by the galeaſſes.

A terrible fight betwixt Chiroche and Barbadicus.

The death of Barbadicus.

euen there where moſt danger was, was hit in the left eye with an arrow, and ſo ſtrucke into the braine almoſt through the head: wherewith falling preſently downe, he was taken vp for dead; howbeit he died not thereof vntill three dayes after. The ſuppoſed death of this worthie man much troubled the Chriſtians, and both the armies felt his fall (ſuch force there is in the valour of one worthie man) for the Turks now as conquerours luſtily boorded the galley, troubled with the loſſe of the Captaine, and the Venetians as men diſcouraged gaue way: the galley had there vndoubtedly beene loſt, had not *Federicus Nanius* and *Syluius Porcia* with their gallies ſpeedily come to her reliefe: by whoſe comming in ſuch an altoration was made, as that the galley before halfe taken, was not only cleered, but diuers of the Turks gallies alſo boorded, and ſome of them taken, not without the great ſlaughter of the Turkes. In this ſo hard and mortall a conflict, *Syluius* was grieuouſly wounded in the thigh and in his right ſide. It is reported of *Barbadicus*, That lying that euening at the point of death, the battell then ended, he like another *Epaminondas*, asked which part had got the victorie: and being told that the Chriſtians had got it, and that the Turkes fleet was moſt part taken, and the reſt ſunke or burnt; he with his eyes caſt vp to heauen, gaue vnto God immortall thanks therefore, and not long after joyfully departed this life, to liue in bliſſe for euer.

Ciconia hardly beſet, and in danger to haue been loſt, is relieued.

Ciconia in the meane time hardly beſet with ſix of the enemies gallies, (as we haue before ſaid) was himſelfe ſore burnt with wild-fire and hurt in the face; and hauing endured a long and terrible fight, was now euen at the point to haue been loſt; when ſudden reliefe comming in, he was now contrarie to all hope ſaued, and therewith ſo much encouraged, that with his wearie and wounded ſouldiers, as men from death reuiued, he afreſh charged the enemie, and tooke one of his principall gallies, with one of the Turks faireſt enſignes, which in the Venetian Armorie is yet there to be ſeene: of his worthy valour, his honeſt wounds in his face and the fore part of his bodie, were moſt certaine and vndoubted witneſſes.

A hard fight betwixt Io. Contarenus and Chiroche.

Not far off, in the ſame wing *Ioannes Contarenus* an honourable and valiant gentleman, did with his great ſhot exceeding great harme amongſt the Turkes gallies: which *Chiroche* perceiuing, and therewith inraged, ran ſo fiercely vpon the ſide of *Contarenus* his gallie, that with his beake he had wel neere ſtemmed her; & preſently grapling faſt with her, was like to haue borded her: whom neuertheleſſe the Chriſtians notably repulſed, with greater ſlaughter than was thought poſſible for ſo ſmall a number to haue made: neither did the enemies fal vnreuenged, but all imbrued with the bloud of the Chriſtians. Seldome hath bin ſeene a more cruel fight, or more reſolute Captaines to incounter hand to hand. But after the battell had of long time ſtood doubtfull, the hope of the Chriſtians increaſed vpon two cauſes, for which the courage of the enemy quailed: firſt for that many of the Turkes being ſlaine or wounded, they were brought to a ſmal number; then for that both parties ſaw *Chiroche* himſelfe ſlaine: from which time the enemy, aſwel deſtitute of a leader to conduct thē, as of freſh ſupplies to relieue them, began to be cut down right, or taken. Which their danger was the more increaſed, becauſe the gally bulged with the great ſhot, was now leake, & in danger to ſinke: wherefore the Turks in that wing ouercome with diſpaire, began to thinke rather how to ſaue themſelues by flight than by fight, repoſing their truſt in nothing more than in the neernes of the main. But as they were turning about toward the ſhore, they were preuented by the Chriſtians: who entring the gally, and hauing ſlaine or driuen ouerboord almoſt all that were left, tooke *Chiroche*, yet breathing, but halfe dead; and ſeeing ſmal hope of his life, with freſh wounds made an end of him.

Chiroche ſlaine, and his Galley taken.

A hard and doubtfull battell.

Diuers and doubtfull was the whole face of the battell: as fortune offered vnto euery man his enemy, ſo he fought; according as euery mans diſpoſition put into him courage or feare, or as he met with mo or fewer enemies, ſo was there here and there ſometime victorie, and ſometime loſſe. Many fights were in ſundrie places ſeene mingled together: ſome gallies whiles they run to ſtem others, are themſelues by others ſtemmed: ſome, which you would thinke were flying away, falling by fortune vpon one victorious gallie or other, ſuddenly take them: other ſome, as if they had been of neither part, row vp and downe betwixt the battells. The chance of war in one place lifteth vp the vanquiſhed, and in another ouerthroweth the victorious: all was full of terror, error, ſorrow, and confuſion. And albeit that fortune had not yet determined which way to incline, yet the Chriſtians at length began to appeare much ſuperior both in courage and ſtrength; and the Turks ſeemed now rather to defend themſelues, than to aſſaile their enemies.

Bacianus in the rereward intentiuely marked all the whole fight, and euer as need required, ſent in preſent aid, without reſpect whether they were the Popes gallies, the king of Spaines, or the Venetians, that were diſtreſſed. In this long and terrible fight it chanced, that the Turks ſeeing the Chriſtian Generals gallie hardly charged on the prow by *Haly Baſſa*, to be almoſt bared of defendants in the poupe, all the ſoldiers hauing their hands full before, were about to haue boorded her abaſte, and to that purpoſe were fetching a compaſſe about her: Which *Bacianus* quickly perceiuing, gliſtering in bright armour came ſpeedily in with certaine gallies, and by oppoſing of himſelfe againſt them, ſtaied their courſe. In all the battell was not ſeene a more cruell fight; for hauing diſcharged many volleys of ſhot, and arrowes and darts without number, they grapled at length together, and came to the ſword, where with the formoſt, *Bacianus* not only with words, but with his preſence and valour wonderfully encouraged his ſoldiers, hauing receiued in his targuet of proofe two ſmall ſhot. Many were on both ſides ſlain. The Spaniards attempting ſundrie times to haue entred the Turks gallies, were with great loſſe repulſed: but not giuing it ſo ouer, neither giuing the enemie leaue to breath, or ſo much as to looke behind him, valor was vanquiſhed by pertinacie, and the Spaniards hauing ouerthrown and ſlaine their enemies, enioyed their gallies.

A terrible fight betwixt Haly Baſſa and Don Iohn.

Now had *Don Iohn* with like courage and ſtrength, but with doubtful victory, fought three houres and more with *Haly Baſſa*: when after ſo dreadfull and dangerous a fight, and many a deadly wound on both parts giuen and receiued, our men began to faint, and brought to the vttermoſt of their deuoire, were in danger to haue bin ouercome, had not *Don Iohn* betaken himſelfe vnto his onely and laſt refuge. He had (as is before ſaid) reſerued vnder the hatches 400 of his beſt and ſelect ſoldiers, for their valor choſen out of the whole army againſt all the euents of ſo long and dangerous a battell: theſe men attentiuely attending euery becke of *Don Iohn*, vpon ſigne giuen, as was before appointed, ſuddenly ſtart out, and with a terrible crie and deſperat onſet aſſailed the enemie, before almoſt ſpent with labor and wounds. This freſh and vnexpected company ſo ſuddenly grown vp, firſt aſtonied, and afterwards confounded, & with a great ſlaughter vanquiſhed the Turks, and poſſeſſed the gallie. The Baſſa deadly wounded in the head with a ſhot, and all imbrued with bloud, was taken, and as a joyfull ſpectacle brought to *Don Iohn*; who ſeeing him readie to breathe his laſt, commanded him to be diſpoiled of his armor, and his head ſtrucke off. Which preſently ſet vpon the point of a ſpeare, he for a ſpace held vp aloft with his owne hand, as a trophie of his victorie, as alſo with the ſight thereof to ſtrike a terror into the minds of the other Turkes, who in the other gallies faſt by fought yet right valiantly: neither was he therein deceiued; for the Turks beholding the knowne countenance of the Baſſa their late General, and a flag of the croſſe ſet vp in the top of his gally, and the noiſe of the Chriſtians, crying Victorie, running thorow the army; were therewith ſo diſcouraged, that confounded with feare they turned their gallies and with might and main made toward the land, which was not much more than a mile off. Which *Canalis* and *Quirinus*, yet breathing with the late ſlaughter of the Turkes, perceiuing, with their gallies hardly purſued the flying enemie, and ſunke and tooke diuers of their gallies. *Partau* his ſon by the ſtaying of the reſt got time to run his gallie on ground, and ſo forſaking her, ſaued himſelfe and his men by running aſhore: ſo did alſo diuers others run themſelues aground and forſake their gallies, which preſently became a prey vnto the Chriſtians. In this hot conflict *Caracoza* the famous pyrat (who abiuring the Chriſtian religion, had turned Turke, and of long time done exceeding much miſchiefe vpon the coaſts of the Chriſtian countries) valiantly fighting, was ſlaine by *Buzzacharinus* of Padua, by whoſe death many were deliuered of a great feare.

Haly Baſſa ſlain

The Turks middle battell diſcomfited.

Caracoza the famous pyrat ſlaine.

Haly Baſſa had brought forth with him his two ſons *Achmat* and *Mahomet*, the one 23 yeares old, and the other 13, the nephews of the great Emperor *Selymus*, by his ſiſter married to *Haly*; them their father had placed in a great gallie, with a ſtrong guard of the Ianizaries: who ſeeing the diſcomfiture of the maine battel, with the danger now drawing neere vnto themſelues, were exceedingly affraid, and therefore to ſaue themſelues, thought it beſt with all ſpeed to make toward the maine. But in ſo doing they were preuented by *Requiſenius* the great Commendor, who with his furious Spaniards bourding the Turkes, alreadie diſmaied and running away, ſlew of them a great number; and after a great fight and much cruell execution done, tooke the gallie, and that which pleaſed him more, the two ſonnes of *Haly* both aliue: in the time of which fight, the poore Chriſtians who faſt chained in the gallie, had as ſlaues long ſerued in great miſery; now perceiuing the Chriſtians to preuaile, brake off their gyues, looſed one another, and with ſuch weapons as firſt came to hand luſtily laid about them, and notably furthered the victorie.

The doubtfull lying of Iohn Andreas Auria with the right wing of the Chriſtian fleet.

Twelue of the Venetian gallies taken by Vluzales.

A notable fight of the Knights of Malta.

Vluzales flieth.

Notwithſtanding all this good ſucceſſe, the fortune of the battell ſtood yet doubtful in the right wing. There ſtood in either battell two of the moſt noble chieftains one againſt another: on the Chriſtian part *Iohn Andreas Auria* the Spaniſh Admiral; and for the Turks *Vluzales*: both moſt valiant & expert commanders, wel known the one to the other, for that they had of long vſed the ſame ſeas, equall for their military diſcipline, as alſo for their noble acts, but far vnequall for number of their gallies: for the Turks had of one ſort & other almoſt twice ſo many. *Auria*, whether it were for that he would in the beginning of the battel warily decline the danger, and not hazard his gallies, wherein his chiefe honor would be alſo indangered; or elſe affraid leſt the enemy, who far exceeded him in number of gallies, ſhould extend his wing at large, and incloſe the Chriſtian fleet behind; vpon the ſignall of battell giuen, ſhrunke farther off from the reſt of the battel: but whether vpon policy, that it might be at his choiſe either to fight, if the reſt of the army preuailed, or to retire if they ſhould be ouercome; or that he vpon martial policy declined the force of too ſtrong an enemy; diuers men diuerſly gloſed: but what the cauſe was indeed, the wiſeſt could not ſurely tell. Howſoeuer the matter ſtood, it ſeemed his purpoſe was by policy to counteruaile what he wanted in ſtrength. This his falling off ſeemed vnto the Turks moſt ſtrange, to whom his quick departure ſeemed at the firſt in maner of a flight. Neither was *Auria* content with that ſpace he had firſt ſeperated himſelf from the armie; but the ſecond time fell off further, and there ſtaying & houering aloofe off, ſeemed to await ſome good opportunity to take the enemy at ſome aduantage: hauing in the meane time one of the galeaſſes of Piſa lying before him, as it were in ſtead of a bulwark, which with often ſhot much troubled the enemy. *Vluzales* alſo extending his wing, tooke ſuch a ſpace, as that he ſeemed able to haue compaſſed in and incloſed *Auria*; yet offered not battel, but rather lay as expecting if any aduantage ſhould be giuen him by the Chriſtians, than raſhly or vnaduiſedly to offer himſelf or his galies to any deſperat danger. He had not long ſo lien, but that according to his deſire, 12 of the Venetian gallies, which had withdrawn themſelues from *Auria*, & without any order or direction romed to and fro, fell into his danger: theſe gallies cut off from the reſt, *Vluzales* with wonderfull celerity incloſed, and with the multitude of his gallies bording them one by one, ſlew the defendants, and tooke the gallies. In this fight many of the knights of the Order of S. *Stephen* moſt valiantly fighting were ſlain. *Benedictus Superantius* a noble Venetian, ſeeing moſt part of his men ſlain, himſelfe mortally wounded, and his gally now almoſt taken; reſoluing rather preſently to die, than to fall into the hands of his enemies, deſperatly put fire to the ſtore of pouder he had in the gally, and blew vp himſelfe, his ſoldiers that were left, with a great number of the enemies together. The report of the great ordnance, and noiſe of the battel in that part of the fleet being heard, they which had now in the middle battel got the victorie, together turned their gallies thitherwards to aid *Auria*, but not in one ſquadron together, but comming along one after another, as euery man had ſooner or later cleered himſelfe of his enemie: amongſt the reſt, *Petrus Iuſtinianus* (Admirall of the gallies of Malta) comming formoſt, was incountred with three of the Turks gallies, with whom he with his knights had a great and moſt terrible fight. Which *Vluzales* beholding, and aboue all others hating the knights of the Order, ſpeedily ſent in other three gallies to helpe their fellows. So *Iuſtinian* hardly beſet with ſix gallies, and oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies, had loſt fiftie of his moſt valiant knights, with one of his enſignes, and with much adoo hardly defended himſelfe. But being now brought to the laſt caſt, and the gally in the iudgment of all men giuen for loſt, lo two other of the gallies of Malta, who had ſo valiantly fought with other three of the enemies gallies, that they were now vpon point to haue taken them all, ſeeing the danger of their Admiral, forſooke their vanquiſhed enemies, & with all ſpeed came to reſue him: where they found him yet aliue, but ſhot in with three arrowes, and ſtill fighting couragiouſly at the decke of his gally, with thoſe few he had yet left, beſet round with their enemies: but by the comming in of theſe two gallies, as if it had bin by help ſent from heauen, the Turks were notably repulſed, and the Admiral with his gally reſcued, as a prey out of the mouth of the greedie Lyon. *Vluzales* vnderſtanding that the maine battel and right wing of the fleet was ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians; for feare gaue ouer the fight, and leauing the gallies he had taken

A and hoiſing ſaile, was the firſt in that wing that fled. Which *Cardonius* perceiuing, who was
come in before the reſt, ſuddenly ſhewed himſelfe at his backe, and by aſſailing the hindermoſt
gallies, did what he might to ſtay their flight vntil the reſt of the victorious gallies were come
in. But whileſt he ſo eagerly purſueth the flying enemy, fifteen of the Turks captaines inraged
with ſuch an vnwonted diſgrace, and mindfull of their wonted proweſſe, ſtaid their flight, and
contrary to the expectation of the Chriſtians, turned themſelues and renewed the battell:
What minds they bare, the euent ſhewed; for in a trice almoſt all *Cardonius* his ſouldiers and
mariners were ſlaine: nothing letted the taking of the gallie, but that *Vluzales* ſeeing *Don Iohn*,
Columnius, and *Venerius* neere at hand, and making towards him, and *Auria* alſo comming faſt
on, was afraid longer to ſtay, and therefore giuing ouer the fight, fled as faſt as hee could: yet
B carrying away with him one gallie of Cyprus, and one enſigne of the knights of Malta, as teſtimonies
of his own valor when he ſhould appeare before *Selymus*. The Chriſtians although
weary of the long fight which they had almoſt by the ſpace of fiue houres indured, yet ſo long
as they were in any hope to ouertake any of their flying enemies, hardly purſued them in
chaſe: but when they perceiued it preuailed not to follow farther, and that it was more than
time to ſee to their wearie and wounded ſouldiers and mariners, they ſtaied from farther purſuit,
for why the night came now faſt on, vnder the couert whereof the craftie old pyrat flying
for life with ſailes and oares, eſcaped with thirtie (or as ſome write, fortie) gallies againe into
the bay of Lepanto.

The Chriſtians hardly purſue the flying enemy

C It was a right horrible ſpectacle to ſee, how in this battell the ſea ſtained with bloud, & couered
with dead bodies, weapons, and the fragments of the broken gallies; beſides the great
number of them that were ſlain, & beaten into the ſea: many of the Turks blinded with feare,
caſting away their weapons, to eſcape the fury of the enemy, threw themſelues headlong into
the ſea; but finding no hope to recouer the land, laboured againe to come to the gallies, or els
fainting by the way, were miſerably drowned. Others, either halfe dead, weake, and vnskilfull
of ſwimming, or ouercharged with their armour, the ſea alſo deuoured: yea many that could
well ſwim, wearied and wounded, ſunke for feare. Others vpon plankes and the pieces of the
broken gallies, ſought to ſaue themſelues; and not knowing what to follow or what to ſhun,
wofully periſhed. Other ſome ſwimming, and pitifully intreating their enemies, rather to take
D them priſoners than to kill them, were (as it often times chanceth where things are done vpon
choler, rather than vpon diſcretion) without compaſſion ſlaine: in which doing, the Chriſtians
thought they did rather reuenge former iniuries to them done, than to do them any wrong:
with ſome mercie more preuailed than wrath; who remembring the common chance of war,
choſe rather to take the Turkes priſoners (wofully crauing nothing but their liues) than without
mercie to kil them. The number of the Turks loſt in this moſt famous battell, could hardly
be known, by reaſon that many of them were drowned. *Antonius Guarnerius* writing the hiſtorie
of this war, reporteth two & thirty thouſand to haue periſhed: but they which write more
ſparingly thereof, reported not paſt halfe ſo many to haue bin ſlaine: of whom theſe were of
greateſt name; *Haly Baſſa* the Generall, *Mahomet Bey* (otherwiſe called *Chiroche* or *Sirochus*)
E Gouernor of Alexandria, *Caſſanes* the ſonne of *Barbaruſſa*, with his ſonne *Malamur* Gouernour
of Mytilene; *Gider* Gouernor of Chios, *Caſſambeius* Gouernour of the Rhodes, *Proui Aga* captaine
of Nauplium, *Muſtapha Zelibi* the great Treaſurer, *Caracoza* the famous pyrat; with many
others, whom but to name were tedious. The chiefe priſones there taken, were *Achmat* & *Mahomet*
the ſonnes of *Haly Baſſa*, both afterwards ſent as Preſents to the Pope, of whom the eldeſt
died by the way at Naples; the younger preſented vnto the Pope by *Columnius* at Rome,
was there honorably kept priſoner: and *Mechmet Bey*, Gouernor of Eubœa; and about three
thouſand fiue hundred others were in that battell taken alſo. The chiefe of them that eſcaped
by flight, were *Partau Baſſa*, who ſeeing all go to wracke, fled in time in a long boat to land: and
Vluzales, who (as it was afterwards certainly knowne) but with fiue and twentie gallies, and ten
F galliots fled to Lepanto Of the enemies gallies were taken an hundred threeſcore & one, fortie
ſunke or burnt: and of galliots and other ſmall veſſels were taken about ſixtie. The Admirall
gallie then taken amongſt the reſt, was ſo goodly and beautifull a veſſell, that for beautie
and richneſſe ſcarce any in the whole Ocean was comparable vnto her. The decke of this gally
was on both ſides thrice as great as any of the others, & made all of blacke Walnut-tree like
vnto Ebony, checkered, and wrought maruellous faire with diuers liuely colors and variety of
hiſtories

The number of the Turks ſlain in the battell of Lepanto, diuerſly reported.

The ſurpaſſing beautie of the Admirall gally.

hiſtories. There was alſo in her diuers liuely counterfeits, engrauen and wrought with gold, G
with ſo cunning hand, that for the magnificence thereof it might well haue bin compared vn-
to ſome princes palace. The cabbin gliſtered in euery place with rich hangings wrought with
gold twiſt, and ſet with diuers ſorts of precious ſtones, with certaine ſmall counterfeits moſt
cunningly wrought. Beſides this, there was alſo found in her great ſtore of the Baſſaes rich ap-
parell, wrought with the needle, ſo curiouſly and richly emboſſed with ſiluer and gold, that
his great lord and maſter *Selymus* himſelfe could hardly put on more royall or rich attire. His
casket there alſo found with ſix thouſand duckats in it, with a yerely penſion of three hundred
duckats, was giuen in reward to a Greeke, borne in Macedonia, which ſlew the Baſſa, and was
therefore alſo knighted by *Don Iohn*: who had alſo giuen vnto him the Burrell of the Turkes
ſtanderd, which at his returne to Venice (where he had of long time before dwelt, and ſerued
in the Arſenall) he ſold vnto a goldſmith: whereof the Senat hauing intelligence, redeemed H
it of the goldſmith, paying for euery ounce a duckat, and layed it vp amongſt the trophies of
that moſt famous victorie. It was all of maſſiue ſiluer, guilt & engrauen round about with Tur-
kiſh letters. On the one ſide was written, *God doth conduct and adorne the faithfull in worthie*
enterpriſes: God doth fauour Mahomet. On the other ſide, *God hath no other God, and Mahomet*
is his Prophet.

The Greek that ſlew the Baſſa, honourably rewarded.

This notable victorie thus happily obtained, *Don Iohn* the Generall, with *Venerius* and *Co-*
lumna, the other two Admirals, came together; whom the Generall friendly embraced, but
eſpecially *Venerius*, calling him father, & attributing vnto him the greateſt part of the victory.
Afterwards, all together with their hands and eyes caſt vp towards heauen, they vpon their
knees gaue immortall thanks to Almightie God. So did alſo the reſt of the captaines and ma- I
ſters; commending one anothers valor and good ſeruice: but eſpecially theirs, who for their
religion and countrey had there moſt honourably ſpent their liues; which were in number
about 7566. Amongſt whom, the chiefe men that were ſlaine, were *Ioh.* and *Bernardinus*, of
the honourable familie of *Cordona* in Spaine, *Horatio Caraffa*, and *Ferantes Biballus. Virginius*,
and *Horatius*, noble Romanes, of the honourable Familie of the *Vrſini*. Of the Venetian
Nobilitie, *Auguſtinus Barbadicus*, *Benedictus Superantius*, *Vincentius Quirinus*, *Ioannes Lau-*
retanus, *Marinus Contarenus*, *Catherinus Malipetra*, *Georgius* and *Andreas Barbadicus*, *Mar-*
cus Antonius Landus, *Franciſcus Bonus*, *Hieronimus Contarenus*, *Antonius Paſchaligus*, *Hieroni-*
mus Venerius, all of the order of the Senatours. Beſides diuers other honourable Gentlemen, K
who well deſerued to be enrolled in the eternall monuments of Fame. Of the knights of Mal-
ta were alſo many ſlaine, amongſt whom of the Germane Nation theſe were chiefe: *Ioachim*
Spart, Commendour of Moguntia and Franckfort, *Ro.* of *Hambergh*, Commendour of Hem-
mendorf, and *Fra. Droſt*. Of them that were wounded, theſe were of greateſt name: *Don*
Iohn the Generall, *Venerius* the Venetian Admirall ſhot through the foot, *Paulus Iordanus*,
Troilus Sauell, and *Mar. Molinus*, with diuers others of leſſe fame, to the number of almoſt ſeuen
thouſand.

The number of the Chriſtians ſlain in the battell of Lepanto.

Great was the ioy conceiued of this victory, but to none more welcome, than to the poore
Chriſtians faſt chained to the Turks gallies, of whom twelue thouſand were thereby deliue-
red from moſt miſerable thraldome, and contrary to al hope reſtored to their antient liberty. L

A generall reioyſing, eſpecially in Venice, for the victorie.

Two daies after this victorie, *Venerius* ſent *Humfredus Iuſtinianus* with newes thereof vnto
the Senat at Venice: who comming in at the Adriaticke port about noone the 19 of Octo-
ber, by ſhooting off of certain great pieces, gaue warning vnto the city of his comming, which
at that time hung in a great ſuſpence betwixt hope and feare. The citiſens generally awaked
with the report of the great ordnance, came flocking by heapes to the port, euery man longing
to heare the firſt newes. There they might ſee *Iuſtinian* comming a far off with his gallie, but
when he was come neerer, they might perceiue all the mariners attired like Turkes, & foure
of the Turkes enſignes hanging behind at the poupe of the gallie, which filled their mindes
with the hope of good newes, deeming it to be (as indeed it was) part of the ſpoyle of the
enemie. But after that *Iuſtinian* was landed (which he had much to doe for the preaſe) and was M
gone to the court, with a world of people following after him, crying out for newes; and had
there deliuered his letters, and at large diſcourſed of all the ſucceſſe of the battell (which
was forthwith blowne into the Citie) and that the mariners alſo after his departure had re-
ported the victorie, and that the enemy was in a great battell ouerthrowne: good God, how
the

A the people as men ouerioyed, ran vp and downe the ſtreets, doubling and redoubling the ioyfull
name of victory. The Senatours alſo reioycing together, gaue thanks to God with publick
praiers and ioyfull hymnes in euery Church: and afterwards by ringing of bels, peals of ordnance,
bone-fires, and other ſuch like things, ſhewed al the tokens of ioy poſſible. And to make
this ioy the more generall, all priſoners were ſet at libertie, and all debts that exceeded not
the ſumme of fiue and twentie crownes, payed out of the common treaſurie; which was generally
done through all the Venetian ſeigniorie: and a decree made, That that day wheron
the victory was gotten, which was the ſeuenth of October, dedicated to the memoriall of *Iuſtina*,
ſhould for euer be kept holy day: and for the perpetuall remembrance thereof, a great
maſſe of money was coyned, with the impreſſion of *Iuſtana* vpon it, and an inſcription declaring
B the victorie. Many alſo their neighbor Princes ſent their Embaſſadors congratulatorie to
Venice; namely, the Dukes of Sauoy, Florence, Ferrara, Parma, Mantua, and Vrbin, and the
Knights of Malta. In which ſo publicke ioy no man was ſeene to put on any mourning garments,
or to ſhew any token of heauineſſe, although many had loſt their deareſt friends & neereſt
kinſmen; whoſe liues they reckoned not loſt, but giuen vnto the Chriſtian common weale.
The like reioycing was alſo made in Rome, in Spaine, Naples, Sicilia, and Malta; eſpecially
at ſuch times as Embaſſadors from their neighbor Princes, came to ioy them of this victorie:
yea and afterwards in other countries further off was like reioycing and ſignes of ioy, as with
vs here in England.

This is that notable battell, commonly called the battell of Lepanto, fought neere vnto the
C Iſland Curzolari, the ſeuenth day of October, in the yeare 1571, the like whereof was neuer
fought at ſea againſt the Turke, wherein he loſt his chiefe ſtrength at ſea, with moſt of his beſt
ſea captains: and might thereby well perceiue what he and his ſucceſſors were to feare, if the
Chriſtian Princes at vnitie amongſt themſelues, all diſcord ſet apart, ſhould in zeale of their religion
ioyne their inuincible forces againſt them.

In the middeſt of all this ioy, generally conceiued of the late victory, one of the chiefe priſoners
of the Turks, hearing it compared with the loſſe of Cyprus (for that *Selymus* had therein
loſt his fleet, his beſt men of war, with great ſtore of ordnance) by a fit compariſon ſhewed it
not to be ſo, ſaying, That the battell loſt, was vnto *Selymus* as if a man ſhould ſhaue his beard,
which would ere long grow again; but that the loſſe of Cyprus was vnto the Venetians, as the
D loſſe of an arme, which once cut off, could neuer be againe recouered. Declaring thereby the
great inequalitie of the loſſe.

A wittie and fit compariſon made by a Turke to ſhew that the loſſe of Cyprus was greater than the loſſe of the battell at Lepanto.

The rich ſpoyle taken from the enemie in this moſt glorious victorie, was thus diuided amongſt
the princes confederat. Vnto the Pope were allotted 19 gallies, two galliots, nine great
pieces of ordnance, two and forty leſſer pieces, and foureſcore and one priſoners. Vnto the king
of Spaine eight and fiftie gallies and an halfe, ſix galliots and an halfe, eight and fifty great pieces
and an halfe, eight great murthering pieces & an halfe, an hundred twenty eight leſſer pieces,
and a thouſand ſeuen hundred and thirteen priſoners. Vnto the Venetians were aſſigned for
their ſhare, nine and thirty gallies and an halfe, foure galiots and an halfe, nine and thirtie great
E pieces and an halfe, fiue great murthering pieces and a halfe, foureſcore and ſix leſſer pieces,
and a thouſand one hundred threeſcore and two priſoners. The reſt were beſtowed vpon ſuch
other princes as had giuen aid, or otherwiſe well deſerued in that ſeruice.

The ſpoile of the enemy diuided amongſt the confederats.

The ioy conceiued of this victorie was not ſo great amongſt the Chriſtians, but that the ſorrow thereof was amongſt the Turks far greater. *Selymus* himſelfe was then at Hadrianople, where eight dayes after the battel, news was brought vnto him, That his fleet was ouerthrown and almoſt all taken or ſunke by the Chriſtians. Which ſo ſoone as he heard, he was ſtrucken with exceeding griefe: and ouercome with melancholy, would not that day ſuffer any man to ſpeake with him. And the rumor of the ouerthrow ſtill increaſing, had in ſhort time filled all places with feare, teares, mourning, and heauineſſe: ſome bewailing their parents, ſome their children, ſome their husbands, ſome their friends or kinſmen, there loſt. But that which moſt grieued the Turkiſh Emperor, was the loſſe of ſo many worthy & expert captains, of ſo many skilfull maſters and notable ſouldiers; who brought vp all their liues at ſea, were not thought inferior to any then liuing: beſides the perpetuall ignominie and vnwonted diſgrace, thereby inflicted vnto him and his poſteritie for euer. Wherefore full of wrath and indignation, he was about to haue commanded all the Chriſtians in his dominions (in number infinit) to be put to death,

death. Doubting indeed nothing more, than that they wearie of the Turkiſh thraldome, and deſirous of innouation, ſhould with weapons put into their hands, riſe vp againſt him, and take part with the other Chriſtians his enemies. But whileſt the other Baſſaes (as men diſmaid with the crueltie of the command) ſtood all ſilent, *Muhamet Baſſa* for his former deſerts in great fauor with the tyrant, thought it good to make proofe if his fury might by reaſonable perſuaſion be mitigated, and ſome better courſe taken, both for the honor of *Selymus* himſelfe, and the common good of the State: yet well knowing how full of danger it was, in that tyrannicall gouernment, openly to ſpeake any thing contrary to the good liking of the wilfull Emperour, he durſt not apertly contradict him: but leaning as it were to his opinion and pleaſure, by little and little to draw him from himſelfe; & ſo before he were aware, to lead him into his owne deuiſe, and by delay moderat the rigour of his former fury. To which purpoſe, he cunningly ſet vpon him in this ſort.

Muhamet Baſſa cunningly diſſuadeth Selymus from ſo rigorous a reſolution, by filling his head with moſt neceſſary conſiderations.

Your anger (ſaid hee) *moſt magnificent and inuincible Emperour, againſt the Chriſtians, is moſt iuſt: and in this my deſire exceedeth all others, That they ſhould endure and ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as they haue of right deſerued. Yet it behooueth vs ſo to ſatisfie our wrath, as men better regarding their owne good, than the hot deſire of reuenge. And foraſmuch as I am for your many and vndeſerued fauours, in all loyaltie bounden vnto your highneſſe aboue others; I reckon it in part my dutie, ſomuch the more franckely to deliuer my opinion, ſuch as it is, in matter of ſo great importance. Neither will I attemper my ſpeech in any reſpect to the comforting of your grieued minde: for how can it be that you, who following the worthie examples of your noble progenitours, haue alwayes heeretofore ſhewed your moſt heroicall and couragious minde, contemning all the chances of Fortune; ſhould not for euer after ſhew your ſelfe to be rather dreaded of all men, than dreadfull of any? Let others, whoſe Kingdomes built vpon vncertaintie are, ſubiect to the reuolution of time, and change of Fortune, yeeld vnto their euill haps: as for you, whoſe Empire is founded by the mightie hand of the moſt Higheſt, and compaſſed about with an impregnable defence, and are your ſelfe by the power of God appointed King and Commander of Nations and people in number infinite; Fortune may well a little pricke you, but neuer ouerthrow you. As for this late miſchance, if it muſt needs ſo fall out, as proceeding from ſome immutable and eternall cauſe; muſt it be therefore alwayes fixe and permanent? Onely thoſe miſeries and miſchiefes which the cowardiſe or fooliſhneſſe of men bring vnto themſelues, haue their firme and certaine calamities: other common euents comming from other cauſes, haue alſo their common and ſudden changes: but how this late miſhap at ſea may be amended, and your former glorie there againe recouered, is hereafter to be conſidered. Now for the preſent (in mine opinion) this one thing, as of all others moſt neceſſarie, to is be prouided, That the weake and worſt fortified places of your Empire, moſt ſubiect to danger, may be preſently ſtrengthened with ſtrong garriſons; and that by your preſent repaire to the imperiall Citie, you cheere vp the mindes of your heauie and diſmayed ſubiects: which done, what ſhall let, but that you may at your pleaſure be reuenged to the full of the Chriſtians? For there is no cauſe why we ſhould feare the Chriſtians, ſix hundred times and more before ouerthrown: both our enemies and we are the ſame men we haue been for many ages, we beare the ſame minds, the ſame bodies, the ſame ſtrength, the ſame weapons, wherewith wee haue gotten infinite victories, both of them and others. And although ſuch be the ſtate of man, as that hee cannot otherwiſe but ſometime or other taſte of the worſt tunne; yet I thinke this preſent misfortune to be rather imputed vnto ſome fatall cauſe to vs vnknowne, than to the valour of the Chriſtians. Beſides that, we may well enough oppoſe one ouerthrow againſt our ſo many and infinite victories: yea wee are to giue immortall thankes vnto almightie God, that we haue by force of armes ſubdued the rich and famous Iſland of Cyprus, and that your high deſignes haue in that point ſorted to your hearts deſire. And hard it is in mine opinion to iudge whether this late vnfortunat battell ſhall more hurt vs, or the Chriſtians: for beſides that the multitude of the Turkes hath no feeling of ſo ſmall a loſſe, they will not as men diſcouraged, giue themſelues to mourning and vaine lamentations, but with greater courage and furie come forth againe into battell, and reuenge this loſſe with the infinit calamities of the Chriſtians: who after this their good hap, will according to their woonted manner giue themſelues to exceſſe, pleaſure, careleſneſſe, and eaſe, vnto their owne farther confuſion. Thus haue I in briefe faithfully declared mine opinion: yet with that ſubmiſſiue loyaltie, as that whatſoeuer ſhall proceede from the mouth of your imperiall Maieſtie, ſhall be of me deemed moſt wiſely and magnificently conſidered of.*

A The Baſſa was in ſuch grace and authority with *Selymus*, that his opinion in counſel preuailed, & the tyrants wrath by his perſuaſion was well aſſuaged. But by the comming of *Vluzales* to court, the remainder of his former griefe and malancholy was fully quieted: who after he had excuſed himſelfe of the late ouerthrow, & declared what he had himſelfe done in the battell, and in teſtimony thereof, preſented him with one of the enſignes of the knights of Malta, told him alſo, how that he had left the Chriſtian fleet ſo rent and torn, as that it could not poſſibly be made ſeruiceable againſt the next yeare: which newes was both of *Selymus* and the reſt gladly heard. In the mean time *Selymus* placed this *Vluzales* in the ſtead of *Haly Baſſa* that was ſlain: & ſtraitly commanded the great officers which had the charge of his nauie, to build new ſhipping night & day: and further inioyned euery Gouernor out of his prouince he had B in charge, to haue in readineſſe one gally or two againſt the next Spring, as wel for the defence of his own dominions, as to reuenge the loſſe he had ſo lately ſuſtained: whereunto alſo many of his great men put to their helping hands, & cheerfully furthered his deſire. New ſupplies of ſoldiers were alſo preſently raiſed, & put into his frontier towns, great ſtore of new ordnance caſt, weapons and armor prouided, and whatſoeuer els the neceſſity of the preſent time required. So with the Turks ſtood reaſon & induſtry, rather than with the Chriſtians, who (as ſome note) rather wanted diſcretion how to vſe the victory, than valor to gain the ſame: which whether it chanced for that proſperity begetteth negligence, or that men ioying in their preſent bliſſe, regard little the time to come, I leaue it to the iudgement of the wiſer to determine.

Selymus repaireth his nauie with all diligence poſſible.

After this ſo memorable a victory, the three great commanders of the fleet ſat in counſell C to conſult, what farther courſe they were beſt to take. But foraſmuch as Winter began now to approch, and that they could not much doe vntill their fleet were new furniſhed and manned, they all reſolued for that time to diſſolue the fleet, and the next Spring in the beginning of Aprill, to meet together againe at Corcyra. Whereupon *Don Iohn* and *Columnius* returned to Meſſana, where they in ſafetie arriued in Nouember; and departing thence, and taking their leaue the one of the other, arriued, *Don Iohn* at Naples, and *Columnius* at Rome: where they were in both places with great ioy and triumph receiued.

The chriſtian fleet diſſolued.

The Venetians for all that grieued with the loſſe of Cyprus, gaue not ſo ouer, but repairing their nauie with thirtie gallies, wherein were imbarked ſix thouſand ſouldiers, woon a caſtle in Epirus called Margarita: and alſo recouered the towne of Suppoto, which the Turkes had D that Sommer before taken from them; but now hearing of this ouerthrow, did vpon the approch of the Venetian fleet, againe forſake it. The gallies alſo of Crete conducted by *Canalis*, intercepted many of the Turkes veſſels laded with captiues and the ſpoiles of Famaguſta, as they were paſſing thence to Conſtantinople.

Suppoto againe recouered by the Venetians.

Although vpon the late obtained victorie, a certaine reconciliation had bin made betwixt *Don Iohn* and *Venerius*, yet of the former diſſention remained an inward heart-burning of one of them againſt the other: for which cauſe, the Spaniards requeſted the Venetians to appoint another Admirall in his place. *Venerius* was now indeed a man of great yeres, and his ſtrength far ſpent; yet for that in his aged body reſted great wiſedome & courage, & that they thought him for his great deſerts worthy all honor, they were wonderfull loth, and vnwilling therein E to gratifie the Spaniard: for why, they well knew there was no other cauſe of the Spaniards proud hatred, but that he had ſtood againſt them vpon the honour of the Venetians: and farther, they liked not that the Spaniard ſhould ſo preſumptuouſly preſcribe vnto them, whom they ſhould place or diſplace, in or out of their honorable offices. Neuertheleſſe, not forgetting what commoditie came by concord, & what euils of diſcord, and that they might not againſt ſo mighty an enemy wel ſpare the help of the Spaniard, they reſolued to make choice of ſome other; who ſucceeding *Venerius*, might with one conſent manage their wars together with *Don Iohn* and *Columnius*. There was then one *Iacobus Fuſcarinus* their chiefe Gouernor in Dalmatia, who but a little before had notably fortified Iadera and the other frontier townes, and for the ſpace of foureteene moneths had notably repreſſed the furious incurſions of the Turks: of F him then abſent and not deſirous of the place (as of a man of worthie deſert) the whole State by generall conſent made choiſe for their Admiral & General by ſea againſt the Turke: which moſt honourable place he receiued not with all the ſolemne ceremonies thereto belonging, at Venice, as the manner was, but at Iadera: from whence he in the Admirall gallie ſent for that purpoſe by *Aloyſius Grimanus* his ſucceſſour in Iadera, ſailed ouer to Corcyra: where he found the old Admirall *Venerius*, with no leſſe care prouiding for all things, than if he ſhould G himſelfe haue ſtill continued the war. Of which great care *Fuſcarinus* at his comming eaſed him, by taking it wholly vpon himſelfe.

Caſtra novum in vain attempted by the Venetians.

Whileſt *Fuſcarinus* thus lay making his preparation againſt the next Spring at Corcyra, *Sara Martinengus*, who had the charge of the Adriaticke (by the counſell of *Venerius*, who was now returned to Venice) vpon the ſudden landed his men, & beſieged Caſtro Novum, a ſtrong towne of the Turks in the borders of Iſtria; where at his firſt comming he tooke the ſuburbs, and had in ſhort time brought the towne to great extremitie. But in the height of his hope to haue woon the towne, hearing that the Beglerbeg of Græce was with great power comming thither, he was glad to raiſe his ſiege, and with all ſpeed to get him againe to ſea. The Turkes H in like manner, to diſtreſſe the ſtrong towne of Cataro, holden by the Venetians in the borders of Dalmatia, built a great and ſtrong fort vpon the paſſage from ſea to the towne, wherein they placed great ſtore both of men and artillerie: in hope by keeping them of the towne from all reliefe by ſea, at length to gaine the towne which they had many times in vaine attempted by force; for by land it was alreadie enuironed with the cruell enemy, poſſeſſing the countrey round about it. *Iacobus Superantius* the great Prouidetor, then lying at Corcyra with the Admirall, vnderſtanding how Cataro a towne of no ſmall importance, was thus both by ſea & land by the enemie diſtreſſed: with twentie gallies manned with the moſt choice ſouldiers could be pickt out of the whole fleet, tooke vpon him the raſing of the fort, and relieuing of the towne. *Superantius* with this ſelect company, and certaine other gallies which met him by the I way, came by night before the mouth of the bay of Cataro, and there diuiding his fleet, left the one part thereof at anchor before the fort, and with the other himſelfe couragiouſly paſſed by the fort, further into the bay: at whom the Turks out of the fort made diuers ſhot, but (by reaſon it was darke) to ſmall purpoſe. In paſſing by, *Superantius* tooke ſuch view as he could of the fort, and by and by began on that ſide to batter the ſame; as did alſo the other gallies on the other ſide: and withall, landed their men on both ſides; who vpon ſignall giuen, ran reſolutely to the fort, and by plaine force entering the ſame, preuailed vpon the fearefull Turkes, and put them to the ſword euery mothers ſonne; ſo that of all that great garriſon, was not one left aliue to carrie newes of the ſlaughter. This fort was in length fiue hundred paces, but not ſtrong towards land, from whence no ſuch feare was doubted. In it was taken ſeuenteen great K pieces of ordnance, with much faire armour, and great abundance of victuals: and ſeuen galliots which lay at anchor vnder the fort. Cataro thus relieued, *Superantius* with victorie returned againe to Corcyra.

Superantius releeueth Cataro, and taketh a great fort of the Turks.

1572

Fuſcarinus the Venetian Admirall with all things in readineſſe, hauing long lien at Corcyra, expecting the comming of the confederates, as was before appointed; ſent *Superantius* the Prouidetor with fiue and twenty gallies to Meſſana, to haſten the comming of *Don Iohn*, and to attend vpon him by the way. But comming thither, and thinking to haue found a great fleet and a ſtrong power in good forwardneſſe to haue ſet forward, he found ſuch ſmall preparation, as well ſhewed the Spaniards ſmall care for repreſſing of the Turke, and that they would not be very forward in the ſeruice intended. Which filling him with griefe and indignation, L cauſed him to complaine vnto himſelfe, of their vnfaithfulneſſe, and to bewaile the ſtate of his countrey, with the whole Chriſtian common-weale: for *Don Iohn* had before ſolemnely promiſed vnto the Venetian Embaſſadour, that all things ſhould be in readineſſe againſt the appointed time: but now a great part of Sommer was paſt, when ſcarce ſome few companies, & about fiftie gallies were met together at Meſſana; and when *Auria* would come with the reſt, no man could tell. So that the carefull Prouidetor ſtood now no leſſe in doubt of the Spaniards delay, than of the Turks fury.

Selymus ſendeth out Vluzales with two hundred gallies.

Selymus, after the great ouerthrow he had receiued at the Iſlands Corzulares, for feare hee ſhould be driuen quite out of the ſea, was aboue all things carefull for the renewing of his nauy: and hauing partly new built, partly repaired two hundred gallies, commended them to the conduct of *Vluzales*, with expreſſe charge, That by how much things had fallen out worſe the M laſt yeare, he ſhould with ſo much the more care now beware the like danger; and not to goe out of the bounds of the Archipelago, or to aduenture battell but vpon aduantage, or at leaſtwiſe vpon an euen hand.

This *Vluzales* (otherwiſe called *Occhiall*) was an Italian borne in Calabria, who in his

A youth taken at ſea by the Turks,and chained in the gally,and afterwards renouncing his faith, by many degrees grew vnto the higheſt preferments among the Turks,& ſo became an exceeding plague as wel to his own country as all other of the Chriſtians bordering vpon the Mediterranian. He now Admiral for the Turke, after the manner of the proud Barbarians, threatned with fire and ſword to be reuenged vpon the Venetians: which knowne at Venice, much troubled them,as wel acquainted with the furie of the old Archpyrat. Beſide that, *Ant.Barbarus* their embaſſador,al the time of this war kept in ſafe cuſtody at Conſtantinople,had by letters certified them,what a great fleet,& what a ſtrong army *Selymus* had prouided againſt them: and that he himſelfe told 250 ſaile of gallies when they ſet forward from Conſtantinople,beſide ſome other that were to meet with them at Calipolis: and that therefore they ſhould B beware how they incountred with the Turks fleet but vpon equal ſtrength. It was alſo at the ſame time commonly reported, That king *Philip* chiefe of the Confederats, careleſſe of the warres againſt the Turke in the Eaſt, was about to turne his forces vpon the kingdomes of Tunes or Algiers, neerer vnto him; as indeed he did the yeare following. The Venetians intangled with ſo many difficulties,were euen at their wits end,& day by day the Senat ſate from the riſing of the Sun to the ſetting of the ſame,conſulting how all theſe miſchiefs were to be remedied. But for as much as the greateſt danger was to be feared from the Turks fleet,as then houering euen ouer their heads; they by Letters commanded *Fuſcarinus* their Admirall, That whether the confederats came vnto him or not,he ſhould forthwith take his courſe toward the Eaſt, and there according to the enemies deſignes, and his owne diſcretion and valour, to doe C what he ſhould thinke beſt to be done for the common good of his country: and not to refuſe to joine with the enemy in battell,if he ſaw any good hope of victory. Neither ceaſed they at the ſame time,both by their Embaſſadors and letters,earneſtly to call both vpon the Pope and the King,to haſten their forces to incounter the enemy before he ſhould come out of his own ſeas; and to carry the terror of the war home to his owne doores, rather than to receiue it at their own. The like meſſage was alſo done to *Don Iohn*, putting him in minde what his place, what the time,and what the danger of the time required; intreating him (if it were poſſible) of himſelfe to adde ſomething vnto that haſt which the neceſſity of ſo important a cauſe required. Who neuertheleſſe,for all the meſſengers and letters to him ſent (which were many) went ſtill on faire and ſoftly, delaying from day to day; telling, That he would by and by D come,and that the Spaniards would alwaies be ſo good as their word. Which was ſo far from his thought,that afterwards finding one excuſe after another, he not only ſtaied his comming, but called backe againe *Requiſenius* alſo,whom he had ſent before with twenty gallies to Corcyra. Now were two months (fitteſt for the wars) vainly ſpent; when *Superantius* grieued to ſee time to no purpoſe ſo ſlip away,& fearing leſt the reſt of the Sommer ſhould to as ſmall effect in like maner paſſe alſo,with great inſtance importuned him to haſten his journy. Then at length *Don Iohn* anſwered,that the Venetians requeſted but reaſon,neither that he wiſhed for any thing more,than to ſatisfie their deſires; but that a greater care hindered the leſſe, which was firſt to be preuented: He was aduertiſed (as he ſaid) that the French king pretending the ſuppreſſing of certaine pirats,had aſſembled a great fleet at Rochel,with purpoſe indeed to E inuade Spain,now that the king was buſied in theſe wars againſt the Turk: and that therfore they muſt pardon him if he preferred the regard of Spain before others,being expreſly commanded from the king, not to depart from Meſſana vntil he had other commandement from him. But whether this excuſe by France proceeded of a true feare or otherwiſe, the Venetians much doubted; and the rather,for that the French king vnderſtanding thereof by the Venetians,was therwith(as reaſon was)exceedingly offended: proteſting,that he was euer ſo far from that purpoſe of hindering any the confederat princes in that their religious war, that if the troubles of his own country would haue ſo permitted,he would gladly haue giuen them aid therein. Many there were alſo that thought, *Enuie the antient enemy of vertue and valor*, to haue had a great power in this delay; doubting whether the Spaniards would more reioyce of the victorie well hoped for,if they ſhould joine with the Venetians; or grieue if the ſame ſhould by the Venetians be obtained without them. *Superantius* wearie of diſcourſes and long expectation,and almoſt out of hope of any helpe in time from the Spaniard; how vntowardly ſoeuer things went,thought better yet warily to moderate his griefe,than in ſo dangerous a time to giue any occaſion for the Spaniard to fall quite off. Yet ſpake he not fauningly or flatteringly of the

Vluzali a renegat Chriſtian and now the Turks Admiral

Superantius haſteneth Don Iohn.

matter, but with a certaine modeſt grauitie declared, That he had thought heauen would ſooner haue fallen, than that *Don Iohn* would not at the appointed time haue come to Corcyra. G
And withall beſought him, and wiſhed him to beware that he brought not the common State into ſome great danger: if they had to do with ſuch an enemy as might be delaied with, then he ſaid he could eaſily abide delay; but now for that the war and the enemy was ſuch, as wherein, or with whom neuer any Generall had delaied without loſſe, to what end did he longer defer or trifle out the time? or what other fleet did he expect? If they ſhould diuide their forces, then were they all too weak, but vnited together, ſtrong enough to defend the common cauſe. The neerer the enemie came, the more haſte were to be made to joine with the Venetian fleet. And what could be (as he told him) more honorable or glorious, than for him a noble yong gentlemen royally diſcended, of whome the world had conceiued a great hope, that he H
would in martiall honour exceed the glory of his moſt famous anceſtors, againe to vanquiſh the proud Turke, the greateſt and moſt mightie monarch of the world; to fight the battell of the Higheſt, to aſſure the Chriſtian commonwealth againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy, and to purchaſe vnto himſelfe immortall glorie and renown. As for the French, there was no ſuch thing to be feared as was pretended, who with ſuch ſlender preparation, not worth the name of a fleet, was not ſo vnaduiſed as to ſet vpon a kingdome of ſuch ſtrength and power as Spaine. Furthermore he ſaid, that it concerned not the Venetians more than the king himſelfe, to haue the Turks repreſſed: whoſe kingdoms of Naples, Sicilia, & Spain, were no leſſe than their territorie, expoſed to danger by ſea. The good ſucceſſe of their affairs in the Eaſt would open the I
way to the conqueſt of Affrick: but if the Turk ſhould preuaile, then were they to deſpaire, not of Affricke, but of all Italy, Sicilie, yea and of Spaine it ſelfe. The time (he ſaid) and neceſſitie of the war, with the extremitie of the danger of the whole and common State, required that he ſhould with all his power and ſpeed poſſible, take vpon him the defence of the common cauſe, or to ſay more truly, of the Chriſtian commonweale, then ſo dangerouſly impugned. Theſe reaſons drawne from the common good and the truth it ſelfe, much moued the Generall: but the kings pleaſure was to be preferred before all reaſons or dangers that could be alledged. But hearing afterward, what reſolute command the Venetian Senat had ſent vnto their Admirall, he became exceeding carefull: for hee feared leaſt if the Admirall ſhould without his helpe fight the battell and gaine the victory, he would conuert all the glory thereof vnto him- K
ſelfe, but if he ſhould chance to be ouerthrowne, it would turne to his vtter reproch and perpetuall infamie, that in ſo neceſſarie a time he had withdrawne himſelfe from the common cauſe. Wherefore as a man perplexed, and in doubt what to do, he ſtood for a while as one at his wits end: yet at laſt, he vpon deliberation reſolued to take a middle courſe, and ſo neither without the command of the king (by whoſe preſcript order all was to be done) to depart with the fleet from Meſſana; neither altogether to fruſtrate the Confederates of the expected ayd. And to that purpoſe ſent two and twentie gallies vnder the conduct of one *Lilly* of Andrada (a noble gentleman) to the Venetian Admirall at Corcyra; with whom went alſo *Columnius* with the Popes fleet. Now was *Pius Quintus* the late Pope dead, and *Vgo Boncompanius*, by the name of *Gregorius Decimus Tertius*, Pope in his ſtead; who vpon the ſame conditions with L
his predeceſſour, had entred into the league, and liking very well of *Columnius*, kept him ſtill for his Admirall.

Don Iohn in doubt whether to ſend aid to the Venetians or not.

He ſendeth Lilly of Andrada, with 22 gallies.

Long had *Fuſcarinus* expected the comming of the confederats, & albeit that the yere was far ſpent (Auguſt being then come) and no ſuch aid ſent as he had expected; yet deſiring to do ſomthing worth the remembrance, and beſeeming their honor, he earneſtly perſuaded *Columnius* and *Lilly* to ſet forward with him toward the Eaſt, and with their vnited forces to giue the enemy battel: telling them, That if they were al of like courage, they ſhould go not only to the glory of the preſent battel, but to the great honour and aduancement of the whole Chriſtian commonweale. After that, he extenuated the power of the enemy; ſaying, That he could not but maruell, from whence ſuch a number of gallies as was reported, could ſo ſuddenly be gathered, or whereupon ſo great confidence & boldneſſe was growne vnto them, ſo lately ouer- M
thrown & put to flight: the enemies fleet (he ſaid) was the yere before ouercome & diſperſed, the captaines and mariners ſlaine, and that therefore it was not credible, that ſo many gallies could with ſuch celeritie be built, and ſuch a number of mariners and maſters as was needfull, in ſo ſhort time prouided: That the prouiſion of the enemy was by flying fame made farre

greater

A greater than indeed it was or poſſibly could be: for why, they might eaſily gueſſe what the Enemy was able to do, by the Chriſtians themſelues, who could not without much ado & great labor build their fleets, and traine vp their mariners and maſters: and that therfore letting fame flie, which commonly maketh things greater and more dreadfull than they are; he was verily perſuaded, that the enemie was glad to vſe moſt vnskilfull & ignorant as well mariners maſters as ſoldiers; who ſuddenly taken vp in the inland countries, and put into the gallies, knew not ſo much as the very names of the ropes and tacklings, and other equipage: and then thoſe gallies which they had were like enough to be but weake, as of them which were the laſt yeare rent and bruiſed, and now againe botched vp; or in haſte built of greene timber, could not be nimble or greatly ſeruiceable. Wherefore he exhorted them, as valiant men to ſet forward B againſt the enemie, and that with the greater courage, for that the laſt yeares victory had opened vnto them the way for the gaining of another. Which if it ſhould ſo fall out, as good hope there was, they ſhould thereby take from the proud enemie both power and hope (but in long time) to be able to recouer his ſtrength at ſea: ſo that they in the meane time without feare, might at their pleaſure take the rich Iſlands in the Archipelago. Now if the Turkes declining battell, ſhould retire themſelues into the Helleſpont, then might they with fire and ſword ſpoile all the frontiers of their dominion on this ſide the ſtraits, and open a way vnto the Chriſtians to do great matters.

Hardly were *Columnius* and *Lilly* perſuaded by the Admiral: neither did they therunto giue their conſent, vntil it was decreed, That they ſhould not in any caſe joine battell with the ene- C mie, but with their gallions & galeaſſes firſt placed in the front of the battel, in whom conſiſted the greateſt hope of the victory. So ſetting forward toward the enemy, & come to Commentitia, letters were brought vnto them from *Don Iohn*, certifying them, That he was now by letters from the king commanded to come towards the Eaſt, and to joine his forces with the confederats; but yet that for certain daies he could not come, vntill he were better prouided of all things neceſſary: & that therefore they ſhould in the mean time carefully look vnto all things, promiſing ſo ſoone as he poſſibly could to come vnto them. Vpon theſe letters, *Columnius* and *Lilly* began to doubt, whether to go on further, or to expect the comming of the General: yet foraſmuch as he had not expreſly written any thing concerning their ſtaying, and *Fuſcarinus* vrged them forwards, on they went, with their fleet diuided into three battels. The whole fleet D conſiſted of 155 gallies, ſix galleaſſes, and twenty tall ſhips: in the right wing was *Superantius*; in the left wing *Canalius*; and in the middle battel, *Columnius*, *Fuſcarinus*, and *Lilly*; and in the rereward followed *Quirinus*. Before each battel went two of the galeaſſes ſtil in readines for preſent battell. In this order they came firſt to Zacynthus (commonly called Zante) and ſo to Cerigo: the next day after to Colubraria (commonly called Dragonaria) ouer againſt Cerigo. Here *Angelus Surianus* a valiant gentleman, ſent before to diſcouer the enemy, & what ſtrength he was of, returning vnto the fleet, declared vnto the Admiral, That the Turks fleet, conſiſting of 160 gallies, ſixty galliots, and foure great ſhips, lay about Maluaſia, in the enterance of the bay called Sinus Argolicus, vpon the borders of Peloponeſus, about fifty miles off from the E Chriſtian fleet. Shortly after, the ſame fleet was againe diſcouered making for Malea: whereupon the Chriſtians, before reſolued to fight whereſoeuer they ſhould meet the enemy, forthwith put themſelues in order of battel, and ſo with their galeaſſes in the front, made with what ſpeed they could toward him. Theſe two fleets were thought for many reſpects almoſt equal: the enemie was in number moe, but inferior in ſtrength. The Chriſtian fleet by reaſon of the heauines of the galleaſſes, made but ſmall way; and the enemy afraid of the great ſtore of ordnance the galleaſſes carried, durſt not come neere them. The Turks fleet was rather nimble than ſtrong, but ours more firme and forward. Looke wherein each exceeded the other, therewith they endeuored to helpe themſelues and annoy the enemy. The Chriſtians fearing to be circumuented by the multitude of their enemies, oppoſed their ſhips & galeaſſes before them as a moſt ſure fortreſſe: and the Turke, by how much he had had the worſe ſucceſſe the yeare before, was ſo much the more carefull to beware how he indangered himſelf within the reach of the galleaſſes. The Chriſtians deſired nothing more than to fight and to come to handie blowes: but the Turke, who thought it ſufficient for the preſent not to be ouercome, ſomtime made away as faſt as he could, and by and by ſtaied againe, if happily he might haue taken the gallies ſeperated from the galleaſſes; neuer ſeeming willing to aduenture further than reaſon

The number & order of the chriſtian fleet.

The Chriſtian fleet and the Turks almoſt equall.

The Turks warily declineth battell.

and diſſention were. The enemy ſeeing the Chriſtian fleet comming ſtill on, and readie to
giue battell, firſt ſeemed as if he would haue done the like, but afterwards turned his courſe vp- G
on the right hand, and kept aloofe alongſt the coaſt of Malea: At which time the Chriſtians,
although they were very deſirous to haue followed them, yet the Turkes with their nimble
fleet were quickely too far gon for the Chriſtian fleet to ouertake them, eſpecially with their
heauie ſhips. That day almoſt ſpent as it were in the chaſe of the enemy, towards the going
downe of the Sunne, the enemy put into the current of the ſea betwixt Cerigo and the Hares
Iſland, in bredth about ten miles, and there diuiding their fleet into three parts, lay in good or-
der, as expecting the comming of the Chriſtians, with the prowes of their gallies turned, as if
vpon the confidence of the place, which they had filled ouerthwart, they had purpoſed no-
thing more than to fight. Yet both fleets ſeemed reſolued; the one not to fight without the
galleaſſes, and the other not to come neere thoſe hot ſhips, from whom they had but the yere H
before receiued ſo great harme. And although the enemy, as was afterwards knowne, purpo-
ſed nothing leſſe than to fight, but vpon great aduantage; yet fearing by open flight to diſho-
nor his lord and maſter, and by granting as it were of victorie, to increaſe the fame of the Chri-
ſtians, the craftie pyrat made a great ſhew of that he leaſt indeed purpoſed. For pretending a
great deſire to fight, he indeed deluded the Chriſtians hope: who although the wind had fai-
led them, yet in hope the enemie would abide them battel, with much labor and rowing came
ſo neere him, that the great ſhot began to flie too and fro on both ſides: but when the matter
ſhould haue come to haue bin tried by dint of ſword, then it plainly appeared what the enemy
had indeed purpoſed: for ſtill keeping the prowes of his gallies vpon the Chriſtians, he by lit- I
tle and little ſhrunke backe; and beſide that the ſhadow of the night began then to approch,
he cauſed al his great ordnance, charged only with pouder, to be ſhot off, & ſo in the thicke of
the ſmoke retired vnſeene; colouring his ſubtill departure alſo, by certaine lights left in their
cock-boats, making ſhew as if the whole fleet had ſtill there ſtaied. By this meanes the Turks
with great celeritie eſcaped, being alſo holpen in this, that the Chriſtians hindred by the hea-
uineſſe of the galleaſſes, could not but faire and ſoftly purſue them: for theſe galleaſſes, as they
are veſſels of great ſeruice, ſo are they alſo heauie and vnweldie, and not fit for chaſe. The de-
parture of the enemy at length knowne, the Chriſtians alſo vnwilling to fight by night, retur-
ned to Cerigo. Two dayes after, the Turkes ſtayed in the bay of Tenarus (now *called Meta-*
pan) & the Chriſtians at Cerigo; contented in that, that the enemy was the cauſe that the bat- K
tell was not fought, and reckoning his wearie and couert declining of battell, as a ſecret con-
feſſion of the victorie. The third day after, the Chriſtians deſirous of nothing more than to
ioine in battell with the enemie, in their former order ſet forward from Cerigo, and ſailing all
the night, were in the breake of the day deſcried from land by the Turks: whereupon *Vluzales*
by ſhooting off of certaine warning pieces commanded all his men to go aboord, and to put
themſelues in readines for battell. And now the Chriſtians were not far off, when as the Turks
(leſt declining of battell might reproue them of feare) came out of the hauen, with their fleet
diuided into three battels: whereof the left wing was extended a great way into the ſea, the
right wing ſtill keeping neere vnto the maine, and in the middle battell was *Vluzales* himſelfe:
who came all on no faſter than the tyde draue them, ſtaying their courſe oft times of purpoſe, L
to haue drawne the gallies of the Chriſtians from the galleaſſes and ſhips. *Vluzales* ſeeing his
fleet thus in order, and fearing nothing more than the galleaſſes, commanded both the wings
of his fleet (hauing in each of them foureſcore gallies) to fetch a great compaſſe about, the one
on the right hand, and the other on the left, aloofe off from the galleaſſes, and ſo to aſſaile the
wings of the Chriſtians on the ſides or behinde: in hope ſo to haue diſordered their battell,
and without danger to haue drawne the gallies from the galleaſſes and the other heauie ſhips.
Which their intent the Chriſtians perceiuing, in their wings turned about their gallies alſo, in
manner of the new Moone, their maine battell ſtill facing the middle battell of the Turks. The
wings of the Turkes fleet thus farre ſeperated from the middle battell, ſeemed to preſent vnto
the Chriſtians a great aduantage: which *Fuſcarinus* (intentiue to all the offers of good fortune) M
quickly perceiuing, and calling vnto *Columnius* and *Lilly*, and ſhewing them the enemies main
battell at hand, and the wings gone a great way off, requeſted and perſuaded them, That not
ſtaying for the heauie Ships and Galleaſſes, they would with him vpon the ſudden aſſaile
the enemies middle battell now deſtitute of the wings: not doubting but ſo to ouerthrow

Vluzales meaning nothing leſſe, yet maketh ſhew of battell.

The Turks politiquely retyre.

The Chriſtians deſirous of battell, go againſt the Turks.

the enemies greateſt ſtrength there, before the wings could, now they were ſo farre gon, ioyne themſelues to the battell againe. What could (as he ſaid) haue hapned more wiſhedly, than to haue their battel diuided? So that they might at more aduantage fight againſt euery part thereof, now ſeperated, than againſt all three parts at once. If they had thought themſelues not only equall, but too ſtrong for the whole enemies fleet vnited, ſhould they not the better ouercome them apart and diſperſed? The opportunity, as he ſaid, was but ſhort, and therefore to be forthwith reſolued vpon. If they would take the preſent occaſion of victory then offered, and as reſolute men charge their enemies, little fearing any ſuch thing, they ſhould by their celeritie and valour, teach the Turks what the Chriſtian diſcipline of war and power was able to do: but if they would therein vſe delay, they ſhould ere long in vaine wiſh for the like occaſion they had let ſlip, when as their battell was againe ſtrengthned with the wings. This the Admirals ſpeech was of moſt that heard it ioyfully receiued, and his counſell well liked; and that with ſuch a generall cheerefulneſſe of the ſouldiers, as ſhewed in them no want of courage to haue giuen the enemy preſent battell. But *Columnius* and *Lilly* being of the ſame mind they had bin alwaies, ſaid it were dangerous ſo to do, for feare of drawing the whole three battels of the Enemy at once vpon them, againſt which they ſhould be too weake, without the help of the galleaſſes and heauy ſhips: and therefore ſaid flatly, That without thoſe veſſels ſo much feared of their enemies, they would not in any caſe hazard the fortune of a battell. But whether *Columnius* and *Lilly* were of that opinion for that they ſo thought, or were ſo charged by *Don Iohn* (of whome they altogether depended) not to fight in his abſence, many doubted. The wings of the Chriſtians in turning about to confront the wings of the enemy, were a little diſordered: which the Turks perceiuing, and taking the preſent opportunitie, with fifteen of their gallies were about to haue charged the ſtragling gallies: which *Superantius* perceiuing, to ſtay their courſe, went out couragiouſly againſt them with foure gallies, & made with them a great fight: in the heat whereof, *Superantius* ſeeing fortie more of the enemies gallies comming towards him, and dodbting to be incloſed, with all ſpeed ſent for reliefe, which came preſently in, namely twentie gallies, with two of the galleaſſes: which forthwith ſent their thundering ſhot ſo thicke and furiouſly amongſt their enemies, that in a little time eighteene of their gallies were by them all rent and torne; and the Turks therewith diſmaied, were glad in ſuch haſt to returne, as if they had rather fled than retired. *Superantius* hauing at that fight but one of his gallies ſhot through, returned againe vnto his place. Of this light fight many deemed what would haue bin the euent of the whole battell, if the opinion of *Fuſcarinus* had preuailed. Both the fleets falling again into their order, although the Chriſtians could not ſo faſt follow, as the Turks went before them; yet came they ſo neere them, that oftentimes they changed bullets, as well with their ſmall ſhot as their great. And yet for all that, it was by many ſignes gathered, that neither the Turks would abide preſent battell, neither the Chriſtians longer delay, if by their enemies they ſo might. The Chriſtians had agreed (as is before ſaid) not to ioine in battell without their galleaſſes and tall ſhips: which *Vluzales* well vnderſtood, both by the fugitiues and his owne eſpials, as alſo by their manner of ſailing. And he himſelfe, although he had no great deſire to fight, yet to be the better able to fruſtrat the endeauors of the Chriſtians (who with great labour drew with them the galleaſſes and other heauie ſhips) ſent his chargeable great ſhips to Maluaſia, there to be vnrigged; whereby he diſcharged himſelfe of a great burthen, and made himſelfe able at his owne choice and pleaſure, to leaue or take, to fight or not: and alſo with ſuch ſoldiers and other neceſſaries as were in the ſame great ſhips, ſupplied the wants of his whole fleet. By which policie the matter was brought to that paſſe, that if the Chriſtians would needs draw the enemie to battell, they muſt of neceſſitie forſake their galleaſſes, their moſt aſſured ſtrength; or if they would not leaue them, then they could not by any meanes inforce the readie enemie to fight. The day now declining, the enemy ſuppoſing himſelfe to haue done enough for that time, both for the abating of the heat of the Chriſtians, and encouraging of his own people, in ſeemly order, as one not affraid, ſailed with his fleet to Corona. The Chriſtians in like manner retiring themſelues to Cerigo.

The Turks fleet at Corona, and the Chriſtians at Cerigo.

Whileſt things thus went, *Don Iohn* by a frigot ſent of purpoſe, gaue knowledge to the fleet, that he was come to Corcyra, ſharply blaming the great commanders for their departure, and that they ſtayed not for his comming: and further commanded them as their Generall, all other things ſet apart, forthwith to meet him at Zacynthus, there to reſolue of all matters.

Don Iohn ſendeth word to the fleet to meet him at Zacynthus.

Columnius wholly deuoted to the Spaniards, and preferring the fauour of *Don Iohn* before the
reſt,hearing his meſſage,was in ſuch haſt to haue returned,that he would haue perſuaded *Fuſ-* G
carinus to haue left the heauy veſſels and other weeke gallies at Cerigo, and with 100 of the
beſt gallies with all ſpeed to haue returned to the Generall. Of which opinion was alſo *Lilly*.
But *Fuſcarinus* more careful than the reſt, as hee whome the danger more concerned,would
not yeeld to that perſuaſion: for that in ſo doing,they ſhould(as he ſaid) leaue the ſhips & gal-
leaſſes,the chief part of their ſtrength,in danger to be ſpoiled by the enemy; whom they now
kept at a bay without the helpe of their Generall; and ſhould,as he well hoped, by often pro-
uoking of him,at one time or other draw him to battell, and haue ouer him a notable victorie.
And therefore requeſted them for the loue of God,and the zeale they bare vnto the common
good of all Chriſtendome, not to depart farther off, nor to ſuffer the enemy to eſcape out of
their hands,neither by their departure to leaue the Iſlands of the Venetians ſubiect to the fury H
of the enemy: whereas the Generall might at his pleaſure & without danger come vnto them,
they lying betwixt the enemie and him. But *Columnius* and *Lilly* reſolutely ſet down,hap what
hap ſhould, to do what *Don Iohn* had commanded, would not liſten to the reaſonable perſua-
ſions of the Venetian Admiral,but told him flatly, That if he would not in that they had ſayd
yeeld vnto them,they would forthwith leaue him vnto himſelf,& with their gallies preſently
returne to Zacynthus,as the Generall had commanded. Whileſt they were yet thus diſcour-
ſing,news was brought,that the enemy was come with his fleet into the fret of Cerigo: which
cauſed them all with one conſent to reſolue in ſuch order to paſſe by the enemy, as if they
ſhould haue giuen him preſent battel: wheras before,they were determined by the perſuaſion
of *Fuſcarinus* to haue gon to Crete,and there leauing the ſhips & galeaſſes in ſafety, to haue af- I
terwards returned to the Generall. In ſuch order the Chriſtians paſſed by the enemies fleet,
which lay ſtill in the fret of the ſea without mouing,ſtanding as it were rather vpon the guard
of themſelues,than reſolued for battel. In three days ſailing they came to Zacynthus, where
they found not *Don Iohn*, but two of his gallies,& commandment,that they ſhould there leaue
their heauy ſhips,& with their gallies come to Cephalenia,where they ſhould not fail to meet
him. Hereupon the Venetians were exceedingly grieued,& muttered thorow the whole fleet,
That the Spaniards bearing themſelues vpon their wealth,were too proud,aud in compariſon
of themſelues, regarded neither the conditions of the league, neither any other mans credit,
but troad all men vnder foot; and would now vſe the Venetians not as their friends & confe- K
derats,but as their ſlaues and vaſſals,feeding them in the meane time but with vain hope. Yet
foraſmuch as the time & neceſſity ſo required,they were content to be ouerruled: and ſo lea-
uing the ſhips & galleaſſes at Zacynthus,went with the reſt of the fleet to Cephalenia: whither
Don Iohn was not yet come,but had ſent word thither, That if they had any deſire to ioine their
forces with his,they ſhould yet come further back vnto him in Corcyra. This meſſage(which
they had rather feared than expected) much troubled the Venetians; who readier to ſuſpect
euery miſchiefe,than to hope for any good, began to fret and complaine, That the Spaniards
could very well tell the Venetians what they had to do,and forget in the mean time,what was
on their own part to be performed. A hard thing it was to ſay,and yet to be ſaid,that now they
had more to do with thoſe their dallying friends and confederats,than with their enemies: for L
with their enemies they were to fight but in time of battel, but with them them they were to
wreſtle at all times & in all places. They were by them (as they ſaid) drawne from the fight of
their enemies,when as they might haue bin ouerthrowne: not to the intent that with their vni-
ted forces they might more ſafely fight againſt them, or vnder the conduct of *Don Iohn* gaine
the victory; but rather leſt any thing ſhould haue bin done which might be to the honour or
profit of the Venetians: and that time which was to haue bin beſtowed in the managing of the
war,ſpent in lingering and delaying, and vain going forward & backward to no purpoſe. One
only way there was(as they ſaid)to haue diſpatched with the Turke, which was, by ouercom-
ming him in another notable battell, and ſo to haue vtterly broken his ſtrength at ſea: which
courſe the confederats made no leſſe difficult by their ofwardneſſe & delaies, than the enemie M
by declining of battell: That they had long ago by many ſecret ſignes probably coniectured,
that the Spaniards had more care to hinder and croſſe other mens doings, than to do any thing
of themſelues: That their endeauors were to fruſtrate thoſe great hopes which promiſed vn-
to the Chriſtian Common-weale the greateſt felicitie and happineſſe, together with im-

Don Iohn ſendeth for the fleet to Cephalenia, where he alſo faileth to meet them.

Don Iohn commandeth the fleet to repaire vnto him to Corcyra.

mortall

A mortall glorie: and, That the Turks of late diſcouraged with the fortunat proceedings of the Chriſtians, might againe reioice at their miſhaps.

The Venetians, notwithſtanding all theſe their murmuring ſpeeches, loth to fall off from the Spaniard, kept ſtil on with the reſt vntill they came to *Don Iohn* at Corcyra, who then lay with 53 gallies, & 18 ſhips at Spilca, in the vttermoſt end of the Iſland. At their firſt meeting, *Don Iohn* ſhewed himſelfe not a little offended, that they had not with more dutie before attended his comming: and they again not a little complained of his long ſtay, with many other their grieuances, which were tedious here to rehearſe. The fleet now all with much adoe at length met together, which conſiſted of two hundred gallies, nine galeaſſes, and thirtie ſix tall ſhips: it was by generall conſent agreed, That they ſhould againe ſet forward toward the enemie. B They were not yet vnder ſaile, when two of their eſpials brought them newes, that the enemies fleet (weakly furniſhed both of mariners and ſoldiers) was come to Nauarinum: which filled them all with good hope, that the Turks fleet ſo euill prouided, might in that place vpon the ſudden be eaſily oppreſſed, and the rather, if they came vpon them vnexpected. Wherfore, becauſe they would not be deſcried, they kept not their courſe on right forth, but ſailing by night, kept aloofe vpon the right hand: and hauing paſſed Zacynthus, came with great ſilence vnto the Strophades, where they lay at anchor all that day. In the euening they looſed thence, ſo caſting their courſe, that the more to terrifie the enemie, they might before day fal vpon him; and be ſeene in the mouth of the hauen where he lay, before there could be any report made of their comming thither. But this courſe ſo well ſet, the time was ſo euill caſt, that C it was faire day long before they could come to the appointed place; when the Turkes out of their watch towers diſcouered a farre off the comming of the Chriſtian fleet, gaue warning thereof vnto their fellowes: whereupon an alarme was preſently raiſed in the towne, and all men in armes ran headlong to the wals and to the hauen. But the Turks out of hope with their euill rigged fleet to be able to withſtand the Chriſtians, and not daring to truſt to that weake harbor, and all now in a great hurly burly, ran confuſedly hand ouer head, ſouldiers and mariners, aboord: and whileſt they had yet time, got them in haſt out of that harbor, & as men chaſed by their enemies, got them into ſafe harbour at Modon, a ſtrong towne of Peloponeſus, about ſix miles off. ***Columnius*** was ſent before the reſt of the fleet to haue purſued them: but they were got ſo far before him, that they had recouered the harbor before he could ouertake D any of them. The Chriſtian fleet comming before the harbor, and leauing a ſpace as it were of purpoſe for the enemy to come out into, there lay in the face of the towne, daring the Turkes battell. But when they had ſo lien almoſt all that day, and no man durſt come out; and now towards the euening certaine ſignes of tempeſt appeared, the Chriſtians fearing to be by force of weather driuen on ground, put farther off again to ſea. Then at length *Vluzales* ſent out certain light gallies to follow in the taile of the fleet, when the confederats ſuddenly ſtaying their courſe, and turning their powers vpon them, draue them headlong againe into the harbour: and afterwards retired themſelues with the whole fleet into the Iſlands Oenuſæ, now called Sapientia, right oppoſit againſt Modon. The next day wanting freſh water, they remoued vnto the bay of Meſſana, there to water in the mouth of the riuer Pamiſus, which there falleth E into the ſea: where in paſſing by Corone, they were oftentimes ſhot at out of the towne; and landing their men to water, were incountered by certaine troups of horſmen, ſent for that purpoſe by *Vluzales*. There was water dearly bought with the liues of many there ſlaine on both ſides: in the end, the Chriſtians preuailing, watered, and ſo againe returned vnto the Oenuſæ from whence they came.

The Chriſtian fleet altogether at Corcyra, ſetteth forward againe towards the enemie.

The Chriſtians offer the Turks battell.

Methone or Modon (for it is by both names known) ſtandeth almoſt in an Iſland ſtretching far into the ſea, where toward the Weſt runneth out a long point of the land a great way into the ſea; in the vttermoſt part whereof, ſtandeth a great round tower. The towne it ſelfe, is on the one ſide incloſed with the ſea, and toward the land ſo ſtrongly fortified, as that it ſeemeth almoſt impregnable: Towards the South commeth in a faire bay about three miles wide, ſafe F from all winds except the Northerly wind onely; & ſhut vp by a little Iſland in the mouth of the bay, maketh a ſafe & quiet habor, with two entrances therinto on either ſide of the Iſland. Within this bay lay the Turks fleet, with the ſternes of their gallies toward the land, and their prows towards the ſea. At the Southerly comming in of the bay ſtandeth an hil, which the inhabitants call Albus: on the top whereof, the enemy had placed ſix great pieces of ordnance, where-

The deſcription of the bay of Modon.

Don Iohn refuſeth to follow the counſell of the Admirall.

wherewith to keepe the Chriſtians from entring that way. So had they alſo vpon that point of G
the maine, which (as we ſaid) runneth out from the towne, and vpon S. *Bernards* rocke, planted
other great pieces of ordnance to defend that paſſage alſo. The Chriſtians comming vnto the
mouth of the bay, there lay with their fleet diuided into foure parts; but yet doubtfull what to
doe: for beſide that the entrances of the bay were but narrow, they were alſo far more dangerous
to be entred, by reaſon of the great ordnance planted vpon them. Neuertheleſſe, the Venetian
Admirall in hope of good ſucceſſe, and loth to let the fearefull enemy ſo to eſcape out
of their hands, would faine haue perſuaded the Generall with his whole fleet to haue entered
the bay, and there in the harbor to haue oppreſſed the enemy: which he ſhewed to be no matter
to do, for that the enemy was too weake in ſtrength, & could not be from land relieued. In
which doing, they ſhould indeed ouerthrow but one fleet; but in the ouerthrowing of that one, H
cut in ſunder all the ſinewes of the Turkiſh empire by ſea: and raiſing a tumult in the bay, and
filling all with a generall feare, ſhould vndoubtedlly at the firſt onſet put the enemy to flight:
Which done, what ſhould let, but that carrying about with them the terrour of the victorie,
they ſhould with their victorious fleet, take from the Turke al the Iſlands of the Ægeum? That
truly and wiſely it was ſaid of *Themiſtocles*, That whoſoeuer had the command of the ſea, muſt
needs alſo preuaile in the reſt, and at length carrie away the victorie by land alſo. It was (as he
ſaid) the part of good chieftaines, not to be wanting vnto themſelues when occaſion was offered:
beſides that, they were the ſame Turks, whom they had but the yere before vanquiſhed;
and what had that one yere either taken from them, or giuen vnto the Turks? or what ſhould
they feare ſix pieces of ordnance mounted vpon a hill, who if they ſhould vndertake the battell, I
were not to feare the great ſtore of ordnance in 260 of the enemies gallies and galliots? I
my ſelfe (ſaid he) will be the guide and leader, in whatſoeuer ſhall ſeeme moſt difficult & dangerous:
and will in perſon my ſelfe be the firſt that ſhall enter the harbour, and aduenture the
firſt danger. Great victories (he ſaid) were not to be gained but with great aduentures; and that
therefore the matter were to be haſted, before more aid ſhould be ſent vnto the Turks. Wherfore
they ſhould as reſolute men attempt that, the Turks thought the Chriſtians durſt not to
haue attempted; and with the ſame courage breake into the bay, wherewith they had but the
yere before broken the ſtrength of the ſame enemie; & by the power of God, carrie away another
notable triumph of the vanquiſhed Turks: who ouercome in a ſecond battell at ſea, muſt
needs depart with all their maritime territories. With euill liking of the Spaniards was the K
Venetian Admirall heard: and *Don Iohn* the General, deeming both the time and place vnfit for
the attempting of ſo great an exploit; rehearſed on the one ſide, the ſtrength of the enemy, the
diſaduantage of the place, the difficultie of the battell, with the manifold and great calamities
receiued by the ouerhaſty and raſh attempts of their enemies: That the enemies ſtrength was
not to be ſo much deemed by the eye, or by report, as by reaſon; & that many in ſeeking to increaſe
their former glory, had in ſo doing ouerthrown the ſame: That the Chriſtians in entring
and aduenturing the harbor, ſhould on the one ſide be beaten with the artillerie from the hill;
and on the other, with the artillerie out of the caſtle of Modon: and that it was not like that
Vluzales ſhould if need were, lacke aid from land, who but the other day had ſent great troups
of horſemen to haue kept the Chriſtians from watering: That a matter of ſo great importance, L
was (by *Fuſcarinus* his leaue) not raſhly to be taken in hand, vpon an heat and hautineſſe of ſtomacke,
but vpon graue and mature deliberation: fot if they ſhould in a place of ſo great diſaduantage,
hazard the fortune of a generall battell, it ſhould ſeeme that either he knew not that
kind of fight, and force of the enemy, or elſe would make the bay of Modon more famous by
the ouerthrow of the Chriſtians, than was the Curzulari by the ſlaughter of the Turks. Then
what a ſhame would it bee, if they which were about to oppreſſe the enemies fleet, ſhould
themſelues be ouerthrowne, and that in their owne deuice. He had rather (as he ſaid) preſerue
his own fleet, than to take 600 of the enemies gallies, and to account the ſame for a greater honor.
Which he determined not, for that he would not haue any thing done; but that vnripe occaſions
ſhould not be too much haſtned, and as it were thruſt headlong forward: whereas time M
would giue opportunitie for the ouerthrow of the Turks fleet, ſo that they ran not blindly on
headlong: & that in future time, the Venetians would reioice that they had ſo moderated their
deſires. The Chriſtians (he ſaid) had ſufficiently preuailed, if thoſe things ſhould fall out well,
which were warily and aduiſedly conſidered and reſolued vpon.

A The matter thus on both ſides debated, and nothing done, they returned with the fleet into the port of Nauarinum. This proceeding, as it diuerſly moued the Spaniards and the Venetians, ſo brought it forth diuers ſpeeches, euery man ſpeaking in fauour of his owne nation. The Spaniard openly vaunted, That hee had moſt prouidently reſolued; for that how deere the counſell of the Venetian Admirall would haue coſt if it had been followed, the thing it ſelfe (as he ſaid) ſhewed, by the extreame danger thereof preſented, not in the doubtfull opinion of men, but laied open before their eies. The Venetians on the other ſide more deſirous of battell, the neerer they had ſeene the opportunitie to haue preuailed vpon the enemy, the more impatiently they endured ſo aſſured a victorie to haue beene let ſlip out of their hands; and thereof ſpake accordingly.

The caſtle of Modon in vain beſieged by the Chriſtians.

B The Chriſtians lying at Nauarinum, conſulted of many things what they were beſt to take in hand: & reſoluing at laſt, by ſea and land to beſiege the caſtle of Modon, which kept the paſſage into the bay, and defended the Turkiſh fleet, they returned again thither, & landed 7000 of their beſt ſouldiers, to beſiege the caſtle. And at the ſame time, appointed the galeaſſes with certaine gallies to batter it alſo from ſea: which the more commodiouſly to doe, they ioined two of their greateſt gallies together ſide to ſide, which they made faſt with maſts and ſtrong ropes, and ſo bourded them cleane ouer, whereon as on a platforme, they placed gabions all afront, filled with earth, and great ordnance betwixt to haue battered the caſtle. But when this engine (in manner of a floating fort) ſhould haue performed the ſeruice for which it was deuiſed, it proued vnſeruiceable, after it had with much adoe beene brought thither, being ready C to ſinke with the weight of the great ordnance and other things wherewith it was ouercharged. For which cauſe, and for that they vnderſtood a great number of horſemen to be come into the towne, they gaue ouer the ſiege vainly begun, and put againe with their fleet to ſea. It fortuned at the ſame time, that a tall ſhip of Venice departing from Zacynthus, and comming alongſt the coaſt of Peloponeſus with prouiſion for the fleet, was deſcried by the enemie; who thinking to do the Chriſtians a great diſhonour, if they could almoſt in the ſight of their fleet ſurpriſe her, they ſent out certaine light gallies to haue taken her; *Vluzales* in the meane time with the reſt of his fleet, lying in the very mouth of the bay, ready to come out if the Chriſtian fleet ſhould once ſtir to relieue her. Which the Chriſtians perceiuing, and well hoping that ſo the enemy would be drawn to battel, ſent out *Columnius* with his gallies to reſcue D the ſhip, and others alſo which lying aloofe, might get in betwixt the Turks gallies & the bay: *Don Iohn* and the Venetian Admirall, lying ready to haue giuen battel, if *Vluzales* ſhould haue come forth: but the Chriſtians comming on with a ſmal gale, the enemy being afraid, by ſhooting off of certain warning pieces within the bay, in time called backe the gallies that were already gone out of the bay: who all forthwith came in, excepting *Mahomet* the nephew of *Barbaruſſa*, a moſt famous captaine amongſt the Turkes, who as one of great courage, and deſirous of honor, ſtaied a little without the bay, with greater courage than diſcretion, expecting who ſhould aſſaile him. Him the Marques *S. Crucis* ſet vpon, and had with him a great and terrible fight: but in the end the Marques preuailing, ſlew *Mahomet* with all his Turks, and with honor carried away the gallie. So the diſhonor which *Vluzales* would haue done the Chriſtians, fell E vpon himſelfe, hauing in his owne ſight loſt one of his beſt captains with his gallie.

Mahomet ſlain.

The next day, becauſe the yere ſhould not paſſe without ſomething done, nor the hope of ſo great a preparation come to nothing, the Chriſtians determined to beſiege the caſtle of Nauarinum (which was in antient time called Pylus) more famous for nothing, than for that it was the natiue place of old *Neſtor*. The citie of Nauarinum ſtandeth vpon a riſing ground, ſtretching ſomewhat into the ſea, whereinto it hath a large proſpect, and a faire large hauen, but ſubiect to the Northwind. It is defended with a point of the main, running compaſſe into the ſea, whereon ſtandeth an old caſtle. Some ſent before to view the ſcituation of the place, brought word backe, that the caſtle might in three daies be woon. The performance of which exploit, was committed to *Alexander Farneſius* Prince of Parma, whom the Venetians furniſhed with F munition and victuall. He landing with two thouſand Italians, a thouſand Spaniards, and 500 Germans, began with twelue great pieces to batter the caſtle. And albeit that the batterie was plantdd ſo farre off, as that it did the enemie no great harme; yet happily the enterpriſe had taken effect, if by taking the ſtraight and troubleſome paſſages through a rough and thicke forreſt, the citie had bin kept from reliefe: but foraſmuch as thoſe paſſages were left free, the

The Prince of Parma in vain beſiegeth Nauarinum.

enemie cunningly oppoſed policie againſt force; for ſallying out of the citie, they gaue the G Chriſtians an hot skirmiſh: and in the mean time whileſt the Chriſtians were ſo buſied, by a port toward the foreſt on the other ſide of the city, receiued in great number both of horſe & foot. The report of this new come aid cauſed the Prince to raiſe his ſiege, and to goe againe a boord. And now reſted all the hope of the gaining of the towne in the ſtrength of the fleet; and that not ſmall, for that the Turks not relieued with victuals by land, were by the confederats kept from them alſo by ſea: for at that time the Turks were troubled with two great miſchiefes, the Plague, and Famine. For no prouiſion had there bin made, as in a thing not feared, and that little being ſpent that was in the towne, they were inforced to ſeeke for victuals further off: which comming but ſparingly, as in time of dearth, was oftentimes by the way intercepted by the ſouldiers that lay about in the countrey villages, wanting victuals no leſſe than H they in the citie. And the more men the Beglerbeg of Græce brought downe for defence of the ſea towns, ſo much the more the wants of all things daily increaſed. So that no man doubted, but that in ſhort time all would be brought to extreame penurie. What a death the mortalitie had made, the want of men in the gallies well declared: for many of the gallies for lacke of mariners and ſouldiers were ſent away into Eubœa, or left at Maluaſia, or carried away to Conſtantinople. Thoſe which ſtaid in the bay of Modon, were ſcarce 100 gallies, and 40 galliots: and they ſo ſlenderly manned, that the greateſt gallies had ſcarcely an hundred & twentie men left in them, and they ſo meagre & faint, as that they could ſcarcely hold vp their weapons. The Chriſtians vnderſtanding of theſe things, were in good hope, that by continuing the ſiege, they ſhould without danger gaine a notable victorie: for which cauſe *Foſcarinus* perſuaded I the Spaniards (of whoſe conſtancie he doubted) to hold it out, as men of reſolution; ſhewing them, that in the euent of this action reſted for them for euer to be feared or contemned of the Turks: who except they ſhould be changed into fiſhes or into birds, could not (as he ſaid) without a notable ouerthrow eſcape their hands out of the Bay. But vnto this his hope and counſel, the euent was not correſpondent: for the Spaniards, whether it were for the tediouſneſſe of the ſiege, or for want of victuals, or for the approch of Winter, or els moued with ſome other reaſons, began to thinke of the matter diuerſly: and at the firſt a report was raiſed, That the Chriſtians giuing ouer the ſiege, would ſhortly returne home: and the reaſon was, for that they wanted bisket, and had ſcarcely victuals left for fifteene dayes, which was to be reſerued K for their long iourney home: beſides that, the approch of Winter did call them from the action; and that hauing done what they might, they could neuer draw the enemy forth to battell; and that therfore hauing ſufficiently and as far as was poſſible already diſcharged their duties, they were now alſo to regard their ſafetie, and to foreſee that their fleet, wherein the welfare of them all was repoſed, were not too far endangered. At the firſt theſe ſpeeches were diuulged by the common ſouldiers and mariners of ſmall credit or reputation; but afterwards by moe, and they alſo men of better place and ſort: Yea *Don Iohn* himſelfe, whether it were to ſome other purpoſe, or that hee ſo ſpake in good earneſt, began to lay the fault vpon others, why that he, ſo lately come from Meſſana, ſhould in ſo ſhort time want victuals and all things elſe neceſſarie.

The weakneſſe of the Turkes fleet.

The Venetians murmure againſt the Spaniards.

With theſe vnexpected reports, and ſo far different from the confederation, the Venetian L Admirall with the reſt of the Venetian commanders were exceedingly troubled, and grieued aboue meaſure: for it ſeemed not credible, that they which but a little before were come from the moſt fertile and plentifull countrey of Sicilia, in all ages the moſt faithfull and abundant granarie and ſtorehouſe of Italie, both in peace and warre, could ſo ſoone want victuals. Could eighteene tall ſhips (which ought by the capitulations of the league to haue come loaded with bisket, victuals, and other warlike and neceſſary prouiſion) become emptie? or but to haue brought ſo much as might but ſuffice for a month only? If this were done without the knowledge of *Don Iohn*, where was then the care of a Generall? If he winking therat, where was his zeale to the confederation, or to what purpoſe came he to Corcyra? was it to auert the Chriſtian fleet (hauing once or twice met with the enemy) from doing any good vpon him? Could M it come into any mans head (beſides that in ſo doing he was therein to extinguiſh the glory of a moſt certain victory, like to worke the Turks confuſion) by the infamy of a voluntary returne to increaſe the glory & renowne of his enemy, and bring a perpetuall ignominy and diſgrace vnto the honour of the Chriſtians? Verily the Spaniards, therein to ſhew themſelues not ſo

willing

A willing to haue the power of the Turks abated, as the ſtrength of the Venetians not increaſed.

The Venetian Admirall perſuadeth the Spaniards in no caſe to returne from the enemy

These things *Fuſcarinus* and the Venetians ſometimes fretted at amongſt themſelues; and otherwhiles the Admirall himſelfe expoſtulated the ſame with *Don Iohn* and *Columnius*: & in the preſence of the greateſt counſellors ſhewed, not only how profitable, but alſo how neceſſarie perſeuerance was in all martiall affaires: That it was an old and viſual matter for men in beſieging of their enemies, to ſuffer many difficulties: if they ſhould, hauing performed nothing, return with the fleet, who would doubt but that both their labor & charge was again the next yere to be renewed? And what could this delay be els, but a propagation of their further calamities? That therefore it much concerned the Chriſtian commonweale, although they had not all things in abundance, yet reſolutely and with patience to indure the ſcarcity of victuals.
B If want of bisket were feared, the Generall might eaſily remedie that matter, by ſpeedily ſending for thoſe ſhips which lay laded with victuals good ſtore at Tarentum, which thing might in ſhort time be performed. In the mean time he promiſed to ſupply the Spaniards wants with part of his owne ſtore: and that he had rather his men ſhould liue with rootes, than to let the enemies fleet coupt vp, ſo to eſcape his hands: That the deſire to protect the honour of the Chriſtians, would ouercome all difficulties. Beſides that, the matter would be but ſhort, if it were done at once, in one continued courſe, and would vndoubtedly be by them performed, if they gaue not ouer the thing they had ſo well begun, vntill they had accompliſhed it. They (as he ſaid) might in good ſafety lie with their fleet in the ports of Nauarinum, Sapientia, and Ca-
C praria: wheras the enemie, lying ſhut vp in the bay of Modon, ſhould haue but a bad & dangerous Winter harbor; and October being now begun, ſhould in ſhort time be in danger to periſh with bluſtering ſtormes and rage of the ſea, familiar vnto that time of the yere; or elſe enforced with the extremitie of the weather, and with want, to aduenture into the open ſea, and with their weake forces to ioyn battell. What ſhould therfore let, why they ſhould not for 10 or for 15 daies continue the ſiege, as beſt beſeemed the honor of themſelues, the valor of their ſouldiers, and worthineſſe of the Chriſtian name? What a terrour it would be vnto the enemy, to ſee the Chriſtians ready to indure all extremities and wants, to gaine the victorie ouer the Turks? Again, what diſhonor and diſcredit would it be vnto themſelues, if they ſhould ſuffer the enemy (ſhut vp and not daring to fight) to eſcape: eſpecially, when as they might ſitting
D ſtill, end the war? The Senat of Venice, he ſaid, moſt reſted vpon the valor & courage of *Don Iohn*, & therefore he requeſted him not to deceiue the great hope they had of him conceiued: for how much ſhould he himſelfe blemiſh his owne honor, if when he had before relieued the afflicted ſtate of the commonweale, he ſhould now, when it was moſt of all to be holpen, forſake the ſame? Which ſhould not be much vnlike, as if a man ſhould with great labor purchaſe great ſtore of precious pearles, and vpon an humorous paſſion caſt them all into the ſea: That men generally held a great opinion of him the Generall, an honorable remembrance of his victorie, and regard of his valor; all which, how much the more pregnant and honorable ſhould they be, by the ſecond vanquiſhing and ſubduing the moſt mighty monarch of the world: and that if the action well begun, ſhould be effectually proſecuted by the goodneſſe of God, the
E direction of the commanders, and the reſolution of the ſouldiers, in ſhort time the Chriſtians ſhould carrie the victorie from the Turks, and make him their Generall equall not only with the great chieftains of the preſent time, but euen with the moſt famous commanders of al former ages.

Don Iohn replieth vpon the Venetian Admirall.

Whereunto *Don Iohn* replied, That the action then in hand no leſſe concerned the Spaniards than the Venetians: and that he had in his life deſired nothing more, than to ſtand the Chriſtian commonweale in ſtead: That he pointed at the ſame marke with *Fuſcarinus*, & in zeale to doe good vnto the Chriſtian commonweale, gaue place to no man; but indeed to perform it, was a thing much more difficult than to ſay it: leſſer things (he ſaid) were to be ouerpaſſed, to reſerue themſelues for the performance of greater: and therfore marueiled that *Fuſcarinus* alone could not ſee things moſt manifeſt before his eyes, who otherwiſe could with
F his piercing wit ſee through the deepeſt matters: could he thinke by any other means to abate the power of the Turk, than if they kept their fleet whole; that it was euer the maner of the greateſt & moſt worthie cōmanders, rather to ſhun the preſent dangers, than to encreaſe their territories: That nothing was ſo well purpoſed, which might not be of ſome wrongfully ſuſpected: but his faithfull meaning to be pure and without ſpot; and albeit that the opportunitie ſerued not for him to ſhew it: yet was his deſire and endeuour nothing leſſe: And that *Fuſcarinus*

rinus ſhould do well more intentiuely to conſider, what the cauſe, the matter, and the time required G: That the manner of war at land and at ſea, were much different: and that although warres of both ſorts were to giue place vnto the moſt vnſeaſonable time of the yere, vnfit for any kind of war, yet might men at land, better indure the Winter ſtormes in their tents & cabins, than at ſea in their gallies, where oftentimes, will, skill, wiſedome, nor valour helpe not: but that (except it be ſo prouided and foreſeene, that the ſeaſonable time of the yere, and commodious for ſayling, may be taken) all muſt together periſh by ſhipwracke. What, would hee haue them to ſtriue aboue their power with the winter ſtormes, and famin, the greateſt extremities of nature? Beſides that, he was verily perſuaded, that the Turks inioying the commodities of a good harbor, & of a rich citie, would there in ſafetie winter; the countrey of Peloponeſus relieuing them with all neceſſaries: when as the Chriſtians in the mean time, except H they in time returned home, ſhould lie expoſed to the rage of the ſea, ſtanding as it were in a continuall watch, not laying away their weapons in the depth of Winter & dead time of the yere, which in reaſon ought to giue reſt to all men. And that therfore euery man ought for the preſent to beare his owne grieuances, and not by the harms of his friends and confederats, to ſeeke his own auaile. And that he, bearing himſelfe vpon the inward integrity of his good wil toward the Venetians, would this ſay, howſoeuer *Fuſcarinus* ſhould vnderſtand it, that if the kings fleet ſhould by long ſtaying there periſh, it would no leſſe concerne the Venetians, than the king himſelfe: and taking God to witneſſe, would ſolemnly promiſe, Nothing to be vnto him more leifer or religious, than to be preſt ſo ſoon as the time of the yere would giue leaue, and by his endeuour to make all men to know, that he had no leſſe care of the Venetian State, I than of the kings affaires; neither deſired any thing more, than to be accounted, & indeed to be a moſt conſtant vpholder of that moſt Chriſtian league; and that beyond all expectation, euen in the iudgement of the Venetians themſelues: but for the preſent they muſt pardon him, if he gaue place vnto the neceſſity of the time. As for the offer of the communicating of their victuals, that would not be any helpe, but the deſtruction of both the fleets; for ſo they ſhould both ſooner feele the want: wherefore it were much better to preſerue the fleet, which they might vſe in the next yeres wars, than wilfully to caſt away the ſame by famine, & the rage of the ſea. In briefe, what an indignitie ſhould the Chriſtians ſuſtain, if they themſelues ſhould by the ſame means be ouerthrowne, whereby they had thought to haue ouerthrowne others.

The Spaniards about to return without the knowledge of the Venetians.

Now the Spaniards were ſo reſolutely ſet downe for their departure, that not only with- K out the conſent of the Venetians, but euen without their priuitie, their departure was reſolued vpon, and ſecret commandement giuen vnto the maſters of the gallies, with all the haſte that might be, to depart thence to Meſſana. Which the Venetian Admirall vnderſtanding, & therwith troubled as with an vnexpected matter, came aboord the General, & greatly complained of his purpoſe for ſo ſudden a departure: requeſting him a while to ſtay, vntil the two gallies made faſt together in the harbor of Nauarinum (as is beforeſaid) with the ordnance vpon them might be put in good ſafety, & neither they, or any thing elſe left for a prey vnto the enemie. With much adoe, *Fuſcarinus* perſuaded him to ſtay that night, that thoſe gallies might bee brought out of the harbor, and all things put in order for their departure. The reſt of the night was ſpent in debating of the matter too & fro: where *Don Iohn* would needs haue it conceiued L into a publike inſtrument in writing, That the fleet by the generall conſent of the three Admirals returned for lacke of victuals: whereunto the Venetian Admirall hardly conſented. But when the inſtrument ſhould haue bin made and confirmed, *Don Iohn* better aduiſed by one of his Secretaries, That the ſame would redound vnto the great diſhonour both of the king and himſelfe, that the fleet comming out of the fruitful country of Sicilia, ſhould in a months ſpace want victuals; changed his mind for the writing, & onely requeſted the Venetian Admirall to credit him & *Columnius*, in that they had ſaid concerning the want of victuals: promiſing him, that if vpon the way he ſhould meet with the victuals that were ſent for, he would forthwith return & giue him aid, as the time and occurrents ſhould require: but in the mean time to proceed by common conſent, to do that which was moſt needfull. Hereupon they returned: and M comming to Corcyra, they met the expected ſhip laded with victuals. Now is not *Fuſcarinus* vnmindfull of his dutie, but comming to *Don Iohn*, put him in remembrance of his promiſe; telling him, That it was not vnlike, but that the enemy ſo ſoone as hee vnderſtood of their departure, would come out of the bay, and returne with his fleet towards Conſtantinople; and

being

A being but weake manned, and worſe furniſhed of mariners, might eaſily be ouertaken vpon the way and ouerthrowne. But *Don Iohn* was not by any meanes to be thereunto perſuaded, pretending, that he was by the King commanded forthwith to returne. So the expectation of great matters to haue bin this yeare done, came to nought, but vaniſhed into ſmoake: and nothing performed worth ſo long a diſcourſe, more than to ſee with what difficultie great actions are managed, wherein the hands of many great ones are required; who jealous of their owne honor, or enuying at others, corrupt with delaies the faireſt opportunities, & by their croſſe dealing, no leſſe than the enemy, hinder the common good, whereat they would all faineſt ſeeme to aime. From Corcyra *Don Iohn* departed to Meſſana, and *Columnius* vnto Rome. *Fuſcarinus* with greater honor than ſucceſſe returned to Venice, where he was with great joy receiued, B both of the Senat and the citiſens in generall: and ſo (no leſſe famous for his patience & moderation towards the other confederats, than for his policie and valour) with the good liking of all men gaue vp his charge, in few yeares after to receiue a greater.

About this time, *Amida* King of Tunes (of whom much is before ſpoken in the life of *Solyman*) being but a little before driuen out of his kingdome by the Turks (who had of long by little and little incroched vpon him) and as a priuat man liued in exile with his two ſonnes at Guletta with *Franciſcus Touares* Gouernour thereof; hearing of the great ouerthrow of the Turks at Lepanto, and of the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians, ſent Embaſſadours to *Don Iohn* Generall of the confederat princes, then lying in Sicilia, humbly requeſting his aid for the C recouerie of his kingdome, promiſing to defray the whole charges of the warre, and for euer to hold his kingdome of the King of Spaine, as his vaſſal and tributarie. Whileſt his requeſt well conſidered of, and the matter thought of no ſmall conſequence for the ſafetie of the Chriſtian countries lying ouer againſt that part of Affricke, to haue ſo dangerous an enemie remoued; *Don Iohn* the yere following (in the beginning of October) by the commandement of the king of Spaine his brother, departing from Drepanum in Sicilia, with an hundred and fiue gallies and fortie ſhips, arriued the next day about noone at Guletta, where the gallies of Malta came vnto him, and ſhortly after *Iohn Andreas Auria* the Admirall with nineteene moe, and *Columnius* the Popes Admirall with fourteene moe, all well appointed. At his arriuall at Guletta, he vnderſtood by *Amida* and the Gouernour, the whole eſtate both of the citie and of the king-D dome of Tunes: and that the Turks and Moores, terrified with ſo great a fleet, were about to forſake the citie. Wherefore hauing well viewed the place, he the next day after landed his forces about foure miles from the citie, and ſent two thouſand fiue hundred footmen before the reſt of the armie to the citie; who found it all deſolate, the Turks and Moores being before for feare fled, ſome to Carauana, ſome to Biſerta: who entring without reſiſtance, came to the caſtle, wherein they found two hundred Moores, who ſaid they kept it for *Amida* their King; but yet would by no meanes ſuffer the Chriſtians to enter. All which was forthwith made knowne to *Don Iohn*, who then becauſe it was almoſt night, would not mooue, but early the next morning ſet forward with his whole armie; and entring the citie, before abandoned by the inhabitants, and ſo comming to the caſtle, found nothing therein but great ſtore of oile, E butter, and wooll.

Amyda the exiled King of Tunes craueth aid of Don Iohn.

1573

Amida the late King, by the commandement of *Don Iohn* all this while ſtayed at Guletta. But whileſt *Don Iohn* was yet at Tunes, newes was brought to him the thirteenth of October, That the Turks garriſon before fled out of Tunes, with diuers Moores, comming to Biſerta, were there kept out by the citiſens, and not ſuffered to enter: for which cauſe they began to burne and ſpoile the country thereabout. Whereupon the Generall ſent *Touares* the Captaine of Guletta thither with part of the armie; who encountering with thoſe Turks ouerthrew them, and had the citie by the citiſens peaceably deliuered vnto him.

The kingdome of Tunes thus eaſily once againe recouered from the Turkes, *Don Iohn* thorowly informed of the faithles & cruell dealing of *Amida* the late king, and that in deteſtation F of the Chriſtians and their religion, he had already had intelligence with the Turks, and procured the death of ſome of the Chriſtians; gaue this definitiue ſentence vpon him, being yet in the caſtle of Guletta: That foraſmuch as he had of long time bin the author of great diſcord and endleſſe troubles in that kingdome, and had moſt vnnaturally depriued *Muleaſſes* his father, firſt of his kingdome, and afterward of his ſight; and in like manner tyrannized ouer his naturall brethren, the rightfull heires of that Kingdome, whereby the Turkes had taken occa-

The iuſt iudgement of God vpon Amida the late king of Tunes.

ſion both to inuade and poſſeſſe the ſame: he ſhould therefore by the commandement of the king of Spaine be carried priſoner with his two ſonnes into Sicilia, there to remaine for euer. G Which heauie doome he taking moſt grieuouſly, and yet crying out for mercie, was forthwith thruſt into a gallie, and with his wife and children tranſported into Sicilia, there to liue in perpetuall exile: the iuſt reward of his mercileſſe and vnnaturall dealing with his father and brethren; God no doubt requiting him with the like meaſure hee had before meaſured vnto them.

Mahomet, Amida his brother, made King of Tunes, and vaſſal to the King of Spaine.

After that (the king of Spaine ſo commanding) *Mahomet Amida* his elder brother, and right heire of that kngdome, was appointed king in his place: who departing from Guletta to Tunes, was receiued as King, and there by ſolemne oath promiſed for euer to be the King of Spaine his vaſſal, and to do whatſoeuer he ſhould command.

H There was before departed out of Tunes fortie thouſand Moores, who now came and offered their ſupplication to *Don Iohn*, that they might againe returne and liue with their new king: which their requeſt being eaſily granted, they in great numbers euery day returned into the citie. Shortly after, fifteene hundred Turkes, with 3000 of thoſe wilde people which ſome call Arabians, ſome Alarbes, ſore troubled all the paſſages about the city: who were at laſt by the Chriſtians ouerthrowne, and an hundred and fiftie Chriſtians whom they had taken priſoners, reſcued. After that, *Don Iohn* by the aduice of his moſt expert and ſkilfull captaines, commanded a ſtrong caſtle to be built in the middle way betwixt Guletta and Tunes: and for the performing thereof left *Gabriel Serbellio* with two thouſand Italians; and *Calazar* a Spaniard with other two thouſand at Guletta. And ſo hauing performed that hee came for, I and diſpoſed of all things as he thought beſt, returned againe into Sicilia.

The Venetians weary of the delayes and croſſe dealing of the Spaniard, reſolue to ſue vnto the Turkes for peace.

A griefe of griefs it is, and ſorrow almoſt vnconſolable, when worthy actions moſt happily begun, ſort not to ſuch happy end as was in reaſon hoped for. The greateſt and moſt famous victory of all ages gained againſt the Turke, ſeemed to haue lightened the Chriſtian commonweale, and great hope there was, that the Chriſtians falling into vnitie amongſt themſelues, would by an happy exchange make the Turkiſh empire the ſeat of their wars, and to turn into the Turks dominions, the terrour, ſlaughter, and other calamities of war, which had ſo many yeres afflicted the Chriſtian commonweale. But by how much the more the joy was amiddeſt ſuch daily calamities and teares; ſo much greater was the ſorrow ſo great an hope to be come K to nought, and men to be ſo blinded with the darkeneſſe of enuy and diſdaine, that they could not ſo much as think, with what diſhonor and danger of the common ſtate, they ſhould ſhrinke from ſo iuſt, ſo honorable, and ſo needfull a ſeruice, including in it ſelfe the general good of all Chriſtendome. When poſteritie ſhall conſider what things might then haue bin done, and the deuices whereby the common cauſe was ouerthrowne; it will worthily blame and greatly lament ſo notable a victorie and fit opportunitie, ſent as it were from heauen for the effecting of great matters, to haue bin let ſlip & paſſed ouer ſo lightly regarded. This made, that they who before had repoſed all their hope in arms, had now no other confidence or hope of their welfare, but in concluding of peace. Truly the Venetians both ſpoke & thought honorably of king *Philip*, as of a moſt faithfull, juſt, deuout, and honorable prince: yet greatly blaming his officers and others of great authoritie about him, as men more regarding their owne priuate, than the L good of the Chriſtian commonweale. In theſe perplexities of the Venetians, king *Philip* promiſed them to ſet forth a greater and ſtronger fleet againſt the next yeare, and to be ſooner in readineſſe with all his forces and warlike prouiſion, and ſo to help them in all he might. Who for all that gaue ſmal credit vnto thoſe promiſes, for that with the like they had bin oftentimes before deceiued. And therefore as truſting moſt vnto their owne ſtrength, they with all carefulneſſe and expedition entertained moe ſoldiers; of whom ſome they put into ther fleet, the reſt they placed in their garriſons in Crete, in Dalmatia, and their frontier townes in Epirus. Neither were the Turks then idle, as the report went; yet were they thought to manage that war with greater fame than ſtrength: for they had of purpoſe giuen it out, That they would M the next Spring with diuers armies inuade the Venetian Territories in Crete, in Dalmatia, in Epirus, yea and in Italie it ſelfe; and with their innumerable multitude both of horſe & foot ſo ouerwhelme the Venetians, that they ſhould not be able poſſibly to hold out. This and more too they brauely vaunted of: but indeed *Vluzales* comming to Conſtantinople, had brought his Fleet ſo ſhaken and ſo weake, as that it ſeemed not poſſible but in long time to be againe repaired, and furniſhed with ſoldiers and mariners, in ſtead of them that had beene loſt, ſome in fight, but moe by the contagiouſneſſe of the infection. But howſoeuer the matter ſtood, the Venetians carefull with the expectation of great matters, and in ſmall hope of good ſucceſſe, comparing their own ſtrength with the ſtrength of the enemy: yet were they no leſſe diſcouraged with the delaies and croſſe dealing of the confederats, than with all the prouiſion of the enemy. It ſtucke in their minds, how that the Spaniards at ſuch time as Cyprus might haue bin defended, delaied their comming ſo long, that Nicoſia being loſt, it was time to returne: neither could they forget that lingering delay to haue bin the cauſe of the great mortalitie amongſt their men, dying in the fleet at Iadera: They remembred alſo, that the commodities which of ſo notable a victorie were moſt plentifully to haue bin reaped, were by the ſlender proſecuting of the ſame, ſo ſparingly taken, that the former dangers ſtill remained: And that *Don Iohn*, who ought by appointment to haue bin at Corcira in the beginning of Sommer, was ſcarcely come thither in the latter end of Auguſt: And that he in the third yeare of this war, at ſuch time as their fleet was with great labor and charge again repaired, would not or liſted not to aduenture to haue againe ouerthrowne the enemies fleet, but in the verie action to haue alwaies trifled away the greateſt part of Sommer, before his Spaniards could ſet forward: and when he might ſafely haue come to Cerigo, to haue called backe *Fuſcarinus* and the reſt, then facing of the enemy, & euen readie to haue giuen him battell: It was then ſecretly ſuſpected, the Spaniards to haue ſtayed of purpoſe, and to haue dallied on the time, that the Venetians hauing ſpent their forces, might be the more expoſed and ſubiect to their iniuries: It ſtucke faſt not in their mindes alſo, but euen almoſt in their eyes, what things had happened of former times in their confederations with that nation: they were grieued in the ſpace of three yeares an hundred times, twentie hundred thouſand duckats to haue bin to little or ſmal purpoſe ſpent in that war: Beſides that, they doubted leſt the Flemings with their confederats ſhould ſo intangle the king of Spaine in defending of his owne territories, as that he ſhould not be at leiſure to ſend any aid into the Eaſt: in which caſe, what hope or helpe were they to looke for? How ſhould they then defend the reſt of their Seigniorie in the Eaſt: How ſhould their emptie coffers ſuffice to maintaine ſo great armies both by ſea and land, as might withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemie? Long were the diſcourſes, and effectuall the perſuaſions, that the Venetians had amongſt themſelues, to induce one another, and all in generall, more circumſpectly to conſider, not only what had alreadie paſſed, or was preſently in hand; but alſo more warily to foreſee what would be the courſe and what the euent of a matter ſo important: and betime to breake off the confederation, which they had alwaies found to haue ſtood them in ſmall ſtead. In reuoluing of theſe things, onely one remedie ſeemed moſt effectual for the curing of their afflicted State: which was, by deſiſting from war, to conclude a peace with the Turke, howſoeuer: which they were the rather in good hope to obtaine, for that diuers ſpeeches concerning the ſame had paſſed at Conſtantinople, and were from thence againe reported at Venice. All men thus inclining to peace, the Senat referred the proceeding therein vnto *M. Antonius Barbarus* their Embaſſador, (who all the time of theſe wars had lien in ſafe cuſtodie at Conſtantinople) willing him therein to vſe the helpe of the French Embaſſador, who had alwaies been a perſuader of peace.

Selymus himſelf deſirous of peace

Selymus hauing got the Iſland of Cyprus and diuers other places from the Venetians; & yet well wearied with the harmes and loſſes he had himſelfe receiued both by ſea and land, was alſo deſirous enough of peace. So that the French Embaſſador might, as it was thought, haue got a reaſonable and indifferent peace, if he had but expected the opportunitie of time. But he (whether moued with the common harmes, or ſome other ſecret cauſes to him beſt knowne) in making too much haſt, and ſeeming too deſirous of peace, much hurt the common cauſe of the Venetians, which he moſt deſired to haue furthered. *Selymus* hauing found him, reſolued with *Muhamet* the great Baſſa, what he would haue done: who at ſuch time as the ſame Embaſſador came vnto him about the matter, told him, That he had himſelfe many times moued, yea & ſo far forth as he might, importuned his great lord and maſter for peace, but could neuer find him willing to heare thereof, vntill that now at length ouercome and wearied with the continuall ſollicitation of ſuch as might do moſt with him, he had yeelded thereunto. So the thing that *Selymus* himſelf vndoubtedly deſired, that the crafty Baſſa ſeemed him with moſt difficulty to grant, rather vpon the inſtance and contemplation of them that labored for the ſame, than for

Muhamet Baſſa dealeth cunningly with the French Embaſſador, ſoliciting the peace in the behalfe of the Venetians.

any deſire he had thereunto of himſelfe. For certaine daies at the firſt the French Embaſſador G was moſt curteouſly heard, and the Baſſa with faire & cunning ſpeech promiſed, that the matter of pacification ſhould eaſily & in ſhort time be compoſed: and ſo at their firſt conferences things paſſed rather in general terms, than that any conditions of peace were particularly agreed vpon: only this was on both parties conſented vnto, That the Venetians ſhould ſend their embaſſador of purpoſe, for the ful concluding and confirming of the deſired peace. Which charge was by the Senat committed to *Iacobus Superantius*, in whoſe wiſdome and valor they had repoſed great hope and confidence. He was no ſooner come to Conſtantinople, and the Turkes deliuered of the feare of the Chriſtian ſword, by the diſſolution of the confederation, but that all things were changed, and the Venetians glad to endure the proud looks of the Turks, their diſdainfull eares, their deſpightfull ſpeeches, their long and inſolent attendance, with many H other ſhamefull indignities: Yea the Baſſa was ſo ſhameles, as proudly to aske them, How they durſt be ſo bold as to impugne the great Emperor *Selymus* his fleet at ſea. Whereunto the Embaſſador anſwered, That the Venetians had alwaies honored the Majeſtie of the Turkiſh Emperors, neither had at any time taken vp arms againſt him, but in their own reaſonable defence, when force was by force to be repulſed, a thing lawful euen for the wild beaſt in the wild wilderneſſe to do. At the firſt intreatie of the peace, the Baſſa ſeemed to put the Venetian embaſſador in good hope, that the Venetians according to his requeſt ſhould enioy their territories in Dalmatia in as ample manner as in former times, and bounded with the ſame bounds, whereof they had in theſe wars loſt ſome part about Iadera. But when the matter ſhould haue come to the ſhutting vp, the Turke began to ſhrinke from that he had before promiſed, refuſing not I only the reſtitution of the territorie they had indeed by treaſon got; but by cautelous expoſitions of his meaning, framing the concluſion of the preſent peace vnto the forme of their former leagues, required, That as the Turkes had now yeelded vnto them Maluaſia and Nauplus, ſo now they ſhould redeliuer vnto them two other places of like worth and importance: As for not reſtoring the territorie they had taken about Iadera, to colour their deceit, they pretended that they might not by their law reſtore vnto the Chriſtians any towne or place wherein were any church or temple dedicated or conuerted vnto the Mahometane religion, as was there: and further, That the ſame territorie was alreadie giuen by *Selymus* in reward vnto his ſouldiers, men of deſert, from whom without great iniurie it might not be againe taken. Hereupon the French Embaſſador complained, That promiſes were not performed: and the Vene- K tians ſo fretted, that they were euen about to haue returned as men ſhamefully deluded, without concluding of any thing. Yet when no better could be obtained (the Turks ſtil ſtanding vpon ſuch hard termes) the Embaſſadours by the appointment of the Senate concluded a peace with the Turke; wherof theſe were the chiefe capitulations: firſt, That the Venetians ſhould giue vnto *Selymus* three hundred thouſand duckets, one hundred to be preſently payed, and the other two hundred by equall portions in two yeres next following: then, That the merchants goods ſhould be indifferently on both ſides reſtored: and laſtly, That ſuch places of the Venetians as the Turke was alreadie poſſeſſed of, ſhould ſtill remaine vnto the Turks; but that ſuch towns or places as the Venetians had taken in the Turks dominion, ſhould be again forthwith reſtored. For the firſt payment of the money the Turke was earneſt, thereby as by a fine L for an offence committed, to make this league vnto him more honorable.

The Venetians ſend their Embaſſador of purpoſe to Conſtantinople to entreat a peace.

A peace concluded betweene Selymus & the Venetians.

1574

The peace proclaimed at Venice.

This peace at Conſtantinople concluded the eleuenth day of Februarie in the yeare 1574. was by the decree of the Senat confirmed; and afterwards the 13 of April following ſolemnly proclaimed in Venice, to the great wonder of the other Confederates. For the better ſatiſfying of whom, the Popes Nuntio, with the Embaſſador of Spaine, were ſent for into the Senat houſe. And although there were many things that grieued the Venetians, yet did they forbeare all hard ſpeeches, and of that their moderation receiued ſo much the more honor, as it is more difficultie for an angrie man to ouercome himſelfe, than others. The duke with calme & temperat ſpeech, framed to the purpoſe, declared vnto them, That anger and hope, two euill counſellors, being ſet apart, he had concluded a peace with the Turke: not for that he was deſirous M of the Turkes friendſhip, which what account it was to be made of, he right well knew; but for the loue he bare to the State, which was not onely with loſſe, but euen with death it ſelfe to be maintained. How he had been ſpoiled of the kingdome of Cyprus, he further declared: and that the Venetian ſtate grew euery day weaker and weaker by the continual war:

and

A and that therefore, before it were by loſſe vpon loſſe come to the vttermoſt of extremity, they not able to maintaine ſo heauie a war, were to take ſome better courſe for the preſeruation of that which was yet left of their Seigniorie: for that the ſafetie of the Venetian State ſhould at all times be a ſure fortreſſe and defence of the Chriſtian commonweale againſt all the furious attempts of the enemie, and vncertaine euents of time.

The fame of this ſudden and vnexpected peace was for the iuſt and common hatred of the Chriſtians againſt the Turks, generally euill taken: and the Venetians for the concluding thereof hardly ſpoken of, as if they had betrayed the whole Chriſtian commonweale, or at leaſtwiſe their Confederates. For men were for the moſt part of opinion, that the Turkes peace would be but feigned and deceitfull; and that hauing gained time to ſet things in order, according B to his deſire, he would for the naturall grudge he bare vnto the Chriſtians, come to his old courſe, and as he had alwaies done, breake the league and take vp armes. Some ſaid, That the Venetians forſaken of their friends and confederats, would in their owne deuices periſh; yet ſo, as that their deſtruction would turne to the generall harme of all Chriſtendome: and theſe men were of opinion, That in that caſe, and againſt that enemie, a dangerous warre was to be preferred before vn vncertaine and diſhonorable peace. Neuertheleſſe the Venetians, beſides that they for the preſent eaſed themſelues of many an heauie burthen, ſo haue they thereby enioyed the fruits of a long and happie peace, and found the ſame vnto their State both wholſome and profitable vntill this day. It was thought by the ſequel of matters, That *Selymus* was the more willing to haue peace with the Venetians, that he might the better recouer C the kingdome of Tunes and the ſtrong caſtle of Guletta from the Spaniards: who with the knights of Malta now gaped more after Tripolis and the other port townes holden by the Turks vpon the coaſt of Barbarie, than how to defend the Venetians their Confederats. Thus with the loſſe of Cyprus and ſome part of the Venetian territorie in Dalmatia, ended the mortall and bloudie war betwixt *Selymus* and the Venetians. In the courſe whereof is well to be ſeene, what great matters the vnited forces of the Chriſtian Princes were able to do againſt this moſt mightie Enemie, if all diſcord and contention ſet apart, they would in the quarrell of the Chriſtian Religion joine with heart and hand againſt him, and fight the battell of Chriſt Ieſus.

The peace by experience found profitable vnto the Venetians.

Selymus now at peace with them who before moſt troubled him, to keepe his men of war D buſied, ſhortly after conuerted his forces againſt *Iohn* Vayuod of Valachia, and ſo at length ioined all that prouince to his empire. This countrey of Valachia was in antient time called Dacia: it hath on the Eaſt the Euxine (now called the Blacke ſea) on the South the famous riuer Danubius, on the Weſt Tranſyluania, and on the North Ruſſia. It is diuided into two parts, the one called Tranſalpina, & the other Moldauia (of the riuer Moldavus running thorow the middeſt thereof) but far paſſing the other both in greatneſſe and abundance of paſture. That part called Tranſalpina, *Mahomet* ſyrnamed the Great (which woon Conſtantinople) made ſubiect to the Turkiſh empire; but vpon Moldauia, the other part, he only impoſed a yearely tribute of two thouſand duckets. After which time the Vayuods of that country, aided ſometime by the Hungarians, and ſometime by the Polonians, riſe vp oftentimes againſt the Turks, and refuſed E to do their homage. It chanced, that *Bogdanus* Vayuod of that country, fauoring the Polonians, and joyning in league with them, liued much in Ruſſia, as purpoſing from thence alſo to haue taken his wife. Which *Selymus* ſuſpecting, with a great power chaſed him into exile, and placed in his ſtead one *Iohn* (called of his countrymen *Iwan*, and of ſome *Iuonia*) the ſuppoſed ſon of *Stephanus* ſometime Vayuod of that country: who with *Ieremias Czarnieuiczius* (a Moldauian, who afterward notably betrayed him) hauing of long time liued amongſt the Turks, to be the more gratious amongſt them, renounced his faith, and being circumciſed, turned Turke, and following the trade of merchandiſe, became among them a merchant of ſuch fame, that he became very familiar and well acquainted with the great Baſſa's of the Court, and at length with *Selymus* himſelfe. He vnderſtanding by his friends neere about the Turkiſh Emperor, of his purpoſe for the remouing of *Bogdanus*, corrupted with rewards the great Baſſa's, to be mediators for him to *Selymus*, that commended by them, he might be preferred to be Vayuod of Moldauia: ſtill increaſing the ſuſpition *Selymus* had conceiued of *Bogdanus*, and telling him, That he ſupported by the Polonians, was like enough in ſhort time to reiect his obedience to his Imperial Maieſtie. *Selymus* at the inſtance of the Baſſa's nominated this

Selymus chaseth Bogdanus out of Moldauia, and placeth Iohn Vayuod in his ſtead.

Iohn to be Vayuod, who with a great power of the Turks horſemen entring into Moldauia, eaſily poſſeſſed himſelfe of the Countrey, *Bogdanus* being then abſent in Ruſſia, and as then ſuſpecting no ſuch matter: who yet afterwards attempted in vaine by the helpe of the Polonians to haue againe recouered his Countrey, but finding no poſſibilitie ſo to do, fled afterwards into Muſcouia, where he long time after liued. G

Ioh the Vayuod falleth into ſuſpition with Selymus and the Baſſa's of the Court.

Iohn now quietly poſſeſſed of Moldauia, for ſome few yeares held the ſame with the good liking of the Turke, paying him his woonted tribute: but afterwards repenting himſelfe of his wicked reuolt from the Chriſtian Faith, and now eftſoones againe embracing the ſame, and (ignorant of his owne fortune) perſecuting with too much ſeueritie thoſe which withſtood his comming into the Countrey, eſpecially ſuch great men as tooke part with *Bogdanus*; and now after his returne vnto the Chriſtian Faith, not fauouring the Turks as he was woont, but H croſſing them in many matters, became ſuſpicious both vnto *Selymus* and the Baſſa's his old friends. Which the Vayuod of the leſſer Valachia (commonly called Valachia Tranſalpina) vnderſtanding, he became a ſuter vnto the great Baſſa's of the Court for his brother *Peter*, and earneſtly trauelled with them, that as *Iohn* ſupported by *Selymus*, had driuen *Bogdanus* out of Moldauia, ſo *Peter* his brother might in like manner by his helpe driue *Iohn* out alſo. In which his ſute he ſpared for no coſt, neither ceaſed by malicious ſuggeſtions to increaſe the ſuſpicion alreadie conceiued of *Iohn* the Vayuod: who hauing reiected the Mahometan Religion, and againe embraced the Chriſtian Faith, would (as he ſaid) in ſhort time, as had *Bogdanus*, joyne hands with the Polonians, and caſt off his obedience towards the great Sultan, by whome he I had beene ſo highly promoted. Beſides that, this malicious man offered, That his brother *Peter* for ſuch his preferment, ſhould pay yerely vnto *Selymus* twice ſo much more as did *Iohn*, namely an hundred and twentie thouſand duckets by the name of a tribute.

The Baſſa's before corrupted, and moued with the greatneſſe of the tribute, perſuaded *Selymus*, by an Embaſſador to ſend for *Iohn* the Vayuod, to come vnto him himſelfe in perſon, and to command him to giue place to ſuch a man as he ſhould ſend thither in his ſtead: which if he ſhould refuſe to do, then to denounce vnto him open war. Hereunto *Selymus*, who had euen then much emptied his coffers with the loſſe of his fleet in the battell of Lepanto, and the chargeable warres againſt the Venetians, was eaſily induced: and to that purpoſe ſent his Embaſſador to the Vayuod: who hauing audience the one and twentieth of Februarie, at the ſame K time that *Henry Valoys* (afterward the French King) was crowned at Cracouia, deliuered his meſſage as followeth:

The commaunding ſpeech of the Turks Embaſſador to Iohn the Vayuod.

Selymus *the Great Emperour of the Turkes ſendeth me vnto thee, Iohn, Vayuod of Valachia, his Tributarie; with this commaund, (whereunto his pleaſure is, that thou ſhouldeſt without delay ſend him anſwer:) firſt, he chargeth thee to ſend him not ſuch a tribute as he was wont, but twice ſo much more, to wit, an hundred and twentie thouſand duckets. If thou ſhalt refuſe ſo to do, there is another readie to giue it both for himſelfe and his poſteritie. But* Selymus *mindefull of thy conſtancie, fidelitie, and valour, will not be troubleſome vnto thee in thy gouernment, if thou forthwith ſend the aforeſaid tribute. Which if thou ſhalt refuſe to do, then his will is that thou ſhouldeſt giue place to another, and thy ſelfe* L *returne with me to Conſtantinople, there to anſwer the matter: otherwiſe, I am in his name to denounce all hoſtilitie and the calamities of war both vnto thee and thy countrey.*

This proud meſſage of the Embaſſador ſtrooke farther into the minde of the Vayuod than any would haue thought: yet diſſembling his griefe, hee commanded him to be brought to the Lodging appointed for him; telling him, That in a matter of ſo great importance, and ſo much concerning the whole State of his Countrey, hee could not giue him ſo preſent anſwere as hee required; but that vpon mature deliberation had with his Nobilitie and Counſell, hee would in ſhort time anſwere him accordingly. The Embaſſadour being gone to his Lodging, the Vayuod forthwith began deepely to conſider of *Selymus* his demands, and that in the Turkes Faith was no aſſurance, which hee kept or brake with the Chriſtian Princes as beſt fitted his owne turne: and beſides that, That if hee ſhould graunt to M pay that ſo great and heauie a Tribute in ſo great pouertie of his Kingdome, ſore waſted with ciuile warre, *Selymus* would not be therewith long contented, ſo long as any man would giue him more, but happily would the next yeare exact a greater, and in the

end

A end ſuch an one as hee with all his ſubiects ſhould not be able to pay; which it ſhould not be ſafe for him at any time to refuſe, ſo long as any man would giue it. Wherefore calling together the nobilitie and States of his countrey, he brake with them in this ſort:

The ſpeech of the Vayuod vnto his nobilitie and ſubiects.

If euer you were to conſult and deliberate of a moſt important and difficult matter, this verily is that time: for Selymus *the Turkiſh Emperour, enflamed with inſatiable auarice, and I know not by whoſe perſuaſion, not contented with his woonted tribute, exacteth of vs twiſe ſo much more. If you ſhall grant it, it ſhall not much concerne mee, as not to be payed by mee your Soueraigne, but by your ſelues and your poſteritie: if wee denie it, forthwith he denounceth vnto vs fire and ſword, with all the calamities of warre. And in this bareneſſe of our Kingdome, almoſt ſpoyled by ciuile warres, how* B *ſhall wee be able to pay it him? wherefore declare your mindes. Verily I foreſee, that if you ſhall in this yeeld vnto* Selymus, *and grant him ſo great a tribute, hee will not therewith long hold himſelfe contented, but euerie yeare extort a greater, vntill he haue altogether eaten vs vp. Wherefore it were better for vs (in mine opinion) to loſe our liues together with our wiues and children, than to ſuffer ſo great an indignitie: neither is it mine owne eſtate that troubleth me; for why, it is you that are to pay it, and not I. Wherefore if you liſt not to endure this ſo diſhonourable and baſe a ſeruitude, let mee forthwith ſo vnderſtand from you: and I will for my part ſo prouide, as that I will not onely not pay vnto the barbarous tyrant the new and heauie tribute he demandeth, but not ſo much as any tribute at all; ſo that you be not wanting both to your ſelues and me. I know right well (beloued and fellowes in armes)* C *what I owe both vnto you and the common-weale, for whoſe good and welfare I am alwaies ready to lay downe my life.*

He had no ſooner thus ſaid, but that a ſecret ſorrow and vnwonted ſilence had as it were oppreſſed the whole aſſembly. At length, as men awaked out of an heauie and dead ſleepe, they murmured among themſelues, that the Turkiſh Emperour ſhould ſo without reaſon oppreſſe them, with doubling and redoubling of his tribute: and were generally of opinion, That the Vayuod had not ſo plainly as truly ſpoken of the intollerableneſſe thereof: and that therfore they had rather die, than to indure ſo great diſhonor, ioyned with ſo foule a ſlauerie. And therupon offered vnto the Vayuod to ſerue vpon their own charge, and with him vpon the banke D of Danubius to meet the proud enemy, and there in defence of their liues and libertie, to fight it out vnto the laſt man. The Vayuod in few words commending their fidelitie, and taking of them an oath for the faithful performance of that they had ſo reſolutely promiſed, ſent for the Turks Embaſſadour, and gaue him this ſhort anſwer:

The anſwere of the Vayuod vnto the Turkes Embaſſadour.

I, for the antient fidelity and allegeance which I owe vnto my Lord and dread Soueraigne, the mightie Emperour Selymus, *would willingly yeeld vnto him the tribute hee requireth, were it not that I know the mindes of my people to aborre the ſame: wiſhing rather to endure all calamities, hap whatſoeuer hap may, than to yeeld vnto ſo diſhonourable and ſhamefull ſlauerie. Wherefore ſithence I cannot by any meanes extort the ſame from my ſubiects, tell my Lord* Selymus, *That I moſt humbly requeſt* E *him, not to take the ſame in euill part; whoſe amitie I wiſh to be vnto me, rather an ornament and refuge, than diſgrace or hinderance. And that vpon that good hope I both asked, and for my ſingular fidelitie obtained of him the Vayuodſhip of Moldauia: which my good hope I moſt heartily beſeech him may not deceiue me.*

With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the embaſſador vnrewarded, & with a ſafe conuoy brought him vnto the banke of Danubius: which his homely vſage of the embaſſador, cauſed him not a litle to be ſuſpected, to be in mind changed from *Selymus*. The Embaſſadour ſent away, the Vayuod not ignorant of the ſudden inuaſions of the Turks, forthwith began to raiſe his armie: and at the ſame time, ſent Embaſſadors vnto *Henrie* King of Polonia his neereſt neighbor, certifying F him of the dangerous ſtate of Moldauia, the ſureſt bulwarke of the Polonian kingdom, which once ouerthrowne, opened a faire and eaſie way for the common enemie into Polonia: and therefore requeſted him, that as the kings of Polonia had of antient time, euen for the ſafetie of their owne State, protected that countrey; ſo it would pleaſe him now in like manner in ſo dangerous a time, to giue him aid; or at leaſtwiſe to giue leaue vnto ſuch of his ſubiects as were willing to ſerue for entertainement, to come vnto him, whom he would with all

honour and bountie vſe according to their place and qualitie. Whereunto the king anſwered, G
that foraſmuch as he and his predeceſſors the kings of Polonia, had for the ſpace of more than
an hundred yeres bin in league with the Turkiſh kings and Emperors, he could not either ſend
him aide, or yet giue leaue vnto any of his ſubiects to ſerue againſt the Turke, as hee deſired.

The Vayuod entertaineth the Polonian Coſſackes.

With this anſwer the Vayuod was much troubled, as there deceiued where he moſt hoped
for reliefe: yet hearing of certain companies of the Polonian Caſſacks, which hauing long lien
in hope of prey vpon the ſide of the great riuer Boryſthenes, were returning empty home, he
by fit meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, offered them great entertainment to ſerue him in his warres
againſt the Turke; of which his offer, they (as men liuing for moſt part by ſeruice) gladly accepted;
and ſo without the knowledge of the king went vnto him, to the number of twelue
hundred, with their captains, men of great courage and valor, of whom *Suiercenius* was chiefe:
who were by the Vayuod honorably entertained, and did him in theſe wars right worthy ſeruice. H
Theſe Coſſacks are light horſemen, lying moſt commonly vpon the borders of the Polonian
kingdome towards the Tartars: an hardie and valiant kind of men, whoſe beſt liuing,
is the ſpoile they take from the enemie; and their beſt lands, their horſe and launce. For albeit
that the Turks and Tartars are moſt commonly in league with the Polonians, and ſeeme neuer
ſo deſirous of peace; yet do they oftentimes in great numbers, vpon the ſudden break into the
countries of Podolia, and Ruſſia, part of the Polonian kingdome, and there do great harme, if
they be not in time repreſſed or cut off by the aforeſaid light horſemen, who for that purpoſe
lie alwaies in wait for them, as doth the Hawke for the prey.

Selymus ſendeth his forces againſt the Vayuod.

Selymus vnderſtanding the anſwer of *Iohn* the Vayuod, was therwith exceedingly enraged, I
and the more by the bitter complaint of the embaſſador, who angry with the Vayuod, that he
was of him no better regarded nor rewarded, ſpared not to the vttermoſt of his power, to incenſe
the angrie Emperour againſt him, as if his honor had bin in the perſon of himſelfe contemned
and violated. Wherefore without delay, he ſent thirty thouſand Turks, and two thouſand
Hungarians vnto the Palatine of Valachia Tranſalpina, that ioyning thoſe forces to his
owne, he might take *Iohn* the Vayuod, and ſending him in bonds to Conſtantinople, to place
Peter his brother, Vayuod in his place. The Palatine glad of this command, and hauing raiſed
his owne power, together with the Turkes & the Hungarians, ſwam ouer the riuer Moldavus,
hauing in his army about an hundred and two thouſand fighting men: a power, not onely ſufficient
to haue driuen the Vayuod out of Moldauia, but alſo to haue ſhaken a right puiſſant K
king in his kingdome. The Palatine in the midſt of ſo great a ſtrength, little fearing, & leſſe regarding
the ſudden comming of the Vayuod, ſuffred his men with their horſes to lie diſorderedly
here and there, diſperſed in the large medows and paſtures al alongſt the faire riuer ſide;
ſo the better to refreſh themſelues, wearie of their long trauel. In the mean time certain ſcouts
came to the Vayuod then at dinner, certifying him, that the enemy with an huge army (the certaine
number whereof they could not well deſcry) was come ouer the riuer: and now reſting
themſelues, had turned off their horſes into the rich meadows thereabout, in ſuch diſordered
and careleſſe manner, as that they might with a ſmall power be eaſily ouerthrowne. The Vayuod
glad of this newes, forthwith ſent before *Suiercenius* with his Coſſackes, and 5000 other
light horſemen, more certainly to deſcry what the enemy did, with the manner of his lying; L
and he himſelf with the reſt of his army followed faire and ſoftly after. *Suiercenius* with great
ſilence approching the enemies camp, ſuddenly light vpon the enemies ſcouts, in number about
500; who encloſed before they were aware, were taken euery man by the Coſſacks, and
by them ſtraightly examined of the ſtate of their armie and campe. Who for ſafegard of their
liues now in their enemies power, franckly confeſſed, how that the Palatine lay ſecurely thereby,
reſting his armie, not ſo much for the refreſhing thereof after his trauell, as with greater
ſtrength to ſet vpon the Vayuod with his freſh ſouldiers: and that in the army were about ſeuenty
thouſand Valachians, thirtie thouſand Turks, and three thouſand Hungarians; who now
diſperſed, and ſleeping in ſecuritie, might eaſily be ouerthrown. Of all theſe things *Suiercenius* M
aduertiſeth the Vayuod; requeſting him with all poſſible ſpeed to haſten his comming, for the
obtaining of a moſt notable and aſſured victory: he in the mean time lying cloſe with his men
not far from the enemie. The Vayuod certified of all theſe things, came without delay, and

The Palatine with the Turks ouerthrowne by the Vayuod.

forthwith commanded *Suiercenius* with his men to giue the onſet vpon the enemy: purpoſing
himſelf with the reſt of his army on the other ſide, to charge the diſordered camp in three places.

A ces. *Suiercenius* according as he had in charge, with a great and terrible outcry, ſuddenly ſet vpon the ſecure enemies: who diſmaid with the ſuddeneſſe of the vnexpected danger, ſtood as men aſtonied, not knowing which way to flie, or how to make reſiſtance. But whiles *Suiercenius* with his light horſemen thus on the one ſide filleth the camp with tumult, terrour, ſlaughter, and feare, behold, euen as a ſudden tempeſt, commeth the Vayuod, bearing all the diſordered camp downe before him: neither had the enemies any means to flie, hauing put their horſes a great way off from them into the rich paſtures; but there taken vnarmed, were miſerably ſlain. In all the camp was lamentation and mourning, death raging in euery place with ſuch furie, that of ſo great an armie as of late paſſed the riuer, few or none eſcaped, more than the Palantine with *Peter* his brother, who by great chance with much ado getting horſes, ſwam ouer B the riuer, and ſo came to the caſtle of Brailouia in Valachia; all the reſt were ſlaine, and left to be of the beaſts of the field, and birds of the aire deuoured. It was a moſt horrible ſpectacle to ſee the ground couered with the bodies of the dead, al ſtained with gore bloud, and their weapons of all ſorts lying by them. In the campe were found great riches, all which the Vayuod gaue vnto his ſouldiers, and there ſtaied foure daies to refreſh his wearied men. After that, he with his victorious armie entred into Valachia, the Palatines countrey, where he tooke many caſtles and townes, and put to the ſword all that came in his way, men, women, and children, without reſpect of age or ſex: and burnt all the country towns and villages before him as he went; ſo that all that part of the countrey of Valachia Tranſalpina, was couered with ſmoke and fire, to the terrour of the beholders. The aged fathers were in euery place drawne forth to C ſlaughter, the young babes were cut in pieces, the matrons and virgins defiled, and afterwards ſlaine: and in briefe all the crueltie that could be deuiſed, performed: in the bloudie execution whereof, the Vayuod commended his men, perſuading them in like manner ſtill to proſecute the victorie, & that the reſt of their labors was al but for prey and bootie, for the enriching of themſelues. In this hauocke of all things, it was told him, That the Palatine with his brother *Peter*, the men whom he moſt ſought after, were in the caſtle of Brailouia not farre off: whereupon he forthwith marched thither with his armie. The citie of Brailouia ſtandeth vpon the riuer Danubius, and had in it a caſtle of ſome good ſtrength, defended both by the nature of the place, and a ſtrong garriſon of the Turks, which *Selymus* had appointed for the keeping thereof, as the key of the countrey: not far from this citie the Vayuod encamping his arD mie, writ vnto the captaine of the caſtle, forthwith to deliuer vnto him the Palatine, with *Peter* his brother, his mortall enemies, who neuer wronged by him, had inuaded his countrey, and ſought after his life, and being ouerthrowne in battell, were fled vnto him: which if he ſhould refuſe to do, he threatned neuer to depart thence, vntill he had to his further harm, conſtrained him by force to yeeld them. Theſe letters he ſent by two Valachian captiues, to be deliuered vnto the captaine of the caſtle: whereunto he returned anſwere by foure Turks, two of the citie, and two of his owne ſeruants, by whom he alſo ſent ten great ſhot, and as many ſmall, with two Turkiſh arrowes, and this meſſage.

For that I know thee to bee the ſeruant of my dread Soueraigne Selymus, *I regard thee: and will not denie the ſame men to bee with mee, whome thou ſo much requireſt. But foraſmuch as I vnderſtand, that thou of late haſt ſlaine a great number of the ſeruants of the great Emperour, who by his commandement were bringing* Peter *the brother of the Palatine into Moldauia: I therefore tell thee, that except thou betime raiſe thy ſiege, I will feed thee and thy followers, with ſuch diſhes as theſe; whereupon thou and thine armie gorged to the full, ſhall all afterwards dangerouſly ſurfeit and caſt. Farewell.*

The blunt anſwer of the captaine to the Vayuod.

This rough anſwer ſo much moued the Vayuod, that he commanded hands to be laid vpon the aforeſaid foure meſſengers; and their noſes, lips, and eares, being cut off, both their feet to to be with great nailes faſt nailed vnto a long piece of timber, and ſo with their heads hanging downward, to be ſet vp before the citie, & ſo left for the captain and the citizens to gaze vpon. Signifying withal vnto the captain that ſent them, that he himſelf with the other fugitiues his gueſts, ſhould in like manner be ſerued, if they fel into his hands. Immediatly after, he aſſaulted the citie, and vſing the cheerfulneſſe of his ſoldiers, by plain force tooke the ſame, the defendants being not able to hold them out. There was made great ſlaughter of the Turks, wheras

Barbarous crueltie.

The citie of Brailouia taken by the Vayuod & raſed down to the ground, no man was taken to mercie; the very babes were ſlaine, together with their mothers, & blood ran like riuers into the Danubius. For the ſpace of foure daies this bloudie execution indured: no place ſerued for refuge, euen the moſt ſecret and obſcure places were ſearched, and the poore creatures there found, drawn forth and ſlain. The fury was ſo great, that no liuing thing, no not ſo much as the very dogs were ſpared. Much gold, ſiluer, plate, iewels, and other rich ſpoile was there found, all which became a prey vnto the greedie ſouldiers: for that citie was of all others in thoſe quarters the richeſt, as a place much frequented, and inioying long peace, as after ſuch time the Turks were fully poſſeſſed of Græcia, not being troubled with any wars; vntil now, that it was by the Vayuod firſt ranſackt, and afterwards raſed down to the ground, and nothing thereof left ſtanding, more than the bare caſtle it ſelfe: which the Vayuod durſt not aduenture vpon, for that it was wel fortified, and furniſhed with ſo ſtrong a garriſon, as that it could not without his great loſſe be taken.

The Turkes againe ouerthrowne by the Vayuod.

Whiles the Vayuod was thus buſied in the ſpoile of Brailouia, news was brought vnto him of the comming of fifteen thouſand Turks to the reliefe of the caſtle: againſt whom he forthwith ſent *Suiercenius* with his Coſſackes, and other eight thouſand Moldauian horſemen, who ſuddenly comming vpon the Turks, diſordered & fearing no ſuch matter, ſlew almoſt 14000 of them, and chaſed the reſt vnto the caſtle of Teina. Of this victorie *Suiercenius* in all haſt certified the Vayuod; and withall, that there was another great power of the Turkes comming, which might eaſily be alſo ouerthrown, if he leauing the ſiege of the caſtle of Brailouia, would without delay come and ioyne his forces with his. He glad of that newes, and well perceiuing how difficult and dangerous that ſiege would be vnto him, riſe forthwith with his armie, and went to *Suiercenius*; and afterwards vpon conference had with him, laid ſiege to Teina: which city taken without much labor, he put to ſword all the people found therein, not leauing one aliue: and by the ſeruice of *Suiercenius* ouerthrew the Turks comming towards Brailouia.

Selymus in doubt to haue bin thruſt out of Valachia by the Vayuod.

Selymus in the meane time much troubled with the proceedings of the Vayuod, and doubting to be quite thruſt out of Valachia Tranſalpina (which he was like enough to haue been, had not the treaſon of *Czarniewiche* hindered the matter) prepared new forces for that ſeruice; and after the manner of the Turks in time of their greateſt diſtreſſe, appointed generall ſupplications and praiers to bee made vnto his Prophet *Mahomet*, for the better ſucceſſe of his warres, the vndoubted ſigne of his feare.

The Vayuod after ſo many victories againſt the Turkes, purpoſing for a while to breake vp his great armie, called vnto him his old friend *Ieremias Czarnieuiche*, vnto whom, as vnto the man hee of all others moſt truſted, he had reſolued to commit the charge, with part of his armie, to keepe the Turks from paſſing againe ouer the riuer Danubius into his countrey: and in deliuering to him his charge, ſpake vnto him as followeth:

The kind ſpeech of the Vayuod to Czarnieuiche

Sith Fortune hath hitherto anſwered our deſires (worthie Czarnieuiche*) with moſt rare and perpetuall ſucceſſe againſt the Turkes, our moſt cruell enemies, wee are thankfully to take the ſame, and to render moſt humble and heartie thankes vnto Almightie God, that it hath pleaſed him, the Author of all Victorie, ſo to haue proſpered our endeauours againſt theſe fierce and deuouring enemies. Now what remaineth for the preſent, but to diſband mine armie, wearied with labour and trauell, and to giue my ſouldiers leaue to depart home to reſt themſelues, that ſo I may as occaſion ſhall require againe of their freſh forces for our better ſeruice: you in the meane time with thirteene thouſand of my ſelect ſouldiers, ſhall lie vpon the ſide of Danubius, to keepe the Turkes from paſſing the riuer. Haue good regard I pray you, vnto this your charge, which I vpon an eſpeciall truſt, grounded vpon your antient loue and fidelitie, haue at this time impoſed vpon you. And let mee from time to time with all expedition vnderſtand from you of euerie motion of the enemie, that ſo we may in due time prouide for him accordingly.*

And ſo in token of his greater fauour, taking his leaue of him with a kiſſe (as the manner of thoſe people is) gaue leaue vnto the greateſt part of his ſouldiers to depart home, yet with this charge, to be alwaies in readineſſe whenſoeuer they ſhould be called vpon.

Czarnieuiche hauing receiued his charge, & promiſing vnto the Vayuod the vttermoſt of his faithful deuoire, went towards Danubius, & there moſt carefully kept the paſſages with continuall watch and ward. It was not long but that great numbers of the Turks were come downe

A to the other ſide of the riuer, and moe were ſtill comming, yet none of them was ſo hardie as to aduenture the great riuer, *Czarnieuiche* with his horſemen lying in the faces of them, ready to receiue them on the other ſide. Which the Baſſa whom *Selymus* had ſent with his armie, perceiuing, ſent certaine men pickt out for the purpoſe, to *Czarnieuiche*, to ſound him, if hee might by any means be drawn to come ouer, in ſecret to talke with him: & the more to moue him, beſide his conduct for his ſafetie, ſent him by the ſame meſſengers thirtie thouſand Hungarian duckats for a Preſent. With which ſo faire a bate *Czarnieuiche* allured, receiued the mony, & faithfully promiſed to come: and ſo ſhortly after, ſecretly paſſing ouer the riuer, had conference with *Peter* the Palantines brother, who then lay on the further ſide of Danubius, with a great power of the Turkes. In this conference, *Peter* declared vnto him in how great danger B the Vayuod ſtood, and how highly *Selymus* was offended with him, That he his tributarie and vaſſaile ſhould worke the deſtruction of his ſo great armies: which his heauie diſpleaſure he could no otherwiſe ſatisfie but with his head: and that therefore hee ſhould no longer rule in Moldauia, for that gouernment was by the great Emperor giuen vnto him. Wherefore (ſaid he) if thou be wiſe, whileſt it is yet in thy power, gain the good will of *Selymus* by ſome good deſert: for an eaſie matter it is to begin any war, but an hard matter to end the ſame. Foraſmuch as it is not alwaies in the ſame mans power to begin wars, and at his pleaſure to make an end. Euery foole may when he liſt enter into armes, but muſt lay the ſame downe when it pleaſeth the conqueror. Now you haue a faire opportunitie, and it is in your own power to procure his friendſhip for euer, better ſtanding with your affaires than warre. And albeit you may hope C well of the power of the Vayuod, yet wiſedome would not, that you ſhould prefer vncertainties before things certain: you haue now receiued 30000 duckats, the earneſt of your further deſerts; which ſhal hereafter haue alſo their due rewards in moſt full and bountifull meaſure. Wherefore if you will do your ſelfe good, and prouide both for your ſafetie and preferment, confound not your owne good fortune, with the broken and deſperat ſtate of the Vayuod, but ſuffer the Turks to paſſe as friends ouer the riuer of Danubius: for I am come (ſaid he) with a great and puiſſant army from the mightie *Selymus*, to take vpon me the gouernment of Moldauia, and to ſend the Vayuod in bonds to Conſtantinople: and of me, being once Vayuod, what is it that for ſo great deſert thou and thine may not aske and obtaine? Wherefore I pray thee conceale the comming of the Turks, and withdraw thy ſelfe from the riuer: ſo ſhall we paſ-D ſing ouer the riuer with our populous army, eaſily oppreſſe the Vayuod with all his power, and at once reuenge all the former iniuries and diſgraces done both vnto *Selymus* and vs.

Czarnieuiche hath ſecret conference with Peter the Palantines brother, who cunningly perſuadeth him to giue the Turks paſſage.

With greedie men what will not the foule deſire of gold worke? *Czarnieuiche* ouercome with the golden promiſes of *Peter*; and forgetfull of his faith before giuen vnto the Vayuod, yeelded vnto all he requeſted: and drawing his forces further off from the riuer, as if it had bin for his more ſafety, gaue the Turks free paſſage. There was then in the Turks armie two hundred thouſand men, well appointed, & furniſhed with great ordnance and all other things neceſſary both for the field and for ſiege, who by the ſufferance of the falſe traitor paſſed quietly ouer the riuer. *Czarnieuich* forthwith poſting to the Vayuod, certified him, how that the Turks truſting to their multitude, had paſſed the riuer of Danubius, againſt whom he was not able (as E he ſaid) to make head: and that therefore he ſhould do well, without delay to goe againſt them with ſuch forces as he had then in a readineſſe, which ioined vnto his, might eaſily ouerthrow them. Glad was the Vayuod of this newes, and filled with the hope of good ſucceſſe, demanded of him what ſtrength the enemie might be of? They are (ſaid he) not much aboue twelue thouſand that be already come ouer, but are ſtill comming more & more, and will before your comming thither be aboue fifteene thouſand.

Czarnieuiche corrupted, giueth the Turks leaue quietly to paſſe ouer the riuer of Danubius.

The Vayuod lay then at the ſiege of the caſtle of Teina (hauing before taken the citie) but hearing this news, raiſed his ſiege, and ſo in foure daies came and incamped within three miles of the enemy: and forthwith ſent foorth *Suierceuius* with his Coſſackes, and *Ieremias* Generall of the horſemen, with ſix thouſand horſe, to take view of the enemies camp, and to vnderſtand what might be of their deſignes. Theſe two captains marching together, chanced to fall vpon the Turks ſcouts, in number about ſix thouſand horſemen, with whom they had a light skirmiſh, and in ſhort time put them to flight. Of theſe ſcouts they tooke one, and him grieuouſly wounded; who being examined of the ſtrengh of the enemie, and feeling himſelfe wounded to death, told them diſſemblingly, that the Turks were not in number many. But the Coſſacks doubting of the truth of that report, & probably coniecturing by ſo great a number of ſcouts, G that the enemy was of far greater ſtrength than was ſuppoſed or reported, quickly certified the Vayuod thereof, wiſhing him in time to prouide for the ſafety of himſelfe and his army, and not too much to rruſt *Czarnieuiche*, whom they had a good while before ſuſpected. But the Vayuod nothing doubting of the faith of him whom he had a long time found moſt faithful in the time of his hardeſt diſtreſſe, and vſed as a moſt truſtie companion in all his trauels, anſwered nothing, but that he knew whom he truſted; & that it was not now time to ſtand in doubt, or to be afraid, and that he would ere long come and take view of the enemies camp himſelfe: for that he was not come ſo farre to flie, but to fight in defence of his countrey and ſubiects, euen to the laſt gaſpe. And ſo fortifying his campe neere vnto a lake that runneth out of Danubius (for the more conuenient watering of his armie) he ſet forward with all his power against H the enemie.

Neere vnto the enemies campe was an high hill, from whence the Vayuod had thought to haue deſcried the number of them, with the manner of their lying: but comming thither, he could deſcry nothing but foure companies of ſcouts a far off, one company from another; who alſo vpon the ſight of the Moldauians withdrew themſelues of purpoſe out of ſight vnto the army, which then lay in a low valley behind an hill, not to be diſcouered vntill a man were almoſt vpon it. The Vayuod ſuſpecting the enemy to be at hand, diuided his horſmen, in number 30000, into 30 companies, and placing before euery company certain field pieces, ſo marched ready to giue battell. His footmen, in number many, a rude and homely *kind of people*, I but vnto him of all others moſt faithfull, and armed with ſuch countrey weapons as they had, he placed by themſelues. So marching on, he came to another hill, from whence he might not far off eaſily deſcry the huge army of the enemie, and how he had bin by the treaſon of *Czarnieuiche* deceiued: whereupon he preſently ſent for him; who ſent him word back again, That he could not now come, the enemy beeing ſo nigh at hand, but that he ſhould forthwith ſee him in the field as forward as the forwardeſt againſt the enemy. *Czarnieuiche* had then vnder his command 13000 of the moſt choice ſouldiers in the army: who vpon the ſignall of battel on both ſides giuen (for the Turks were now alſo ready) firſt according to his promiſe ſet forward, as if it had bin to haue giuen the onſet: but being come neere vnto the enemie, *forthwith* (as he had before agreed) cauſed his enſigne to be let fall, and his men with their caps vpon the K points of their ſpears and ſwords, in token of their voluntary yeelding and ſubmiſſion, to bow downe their heads and bodies; whom the Turks with their ſpears and lances holden vpon hie, ioyfully receiued as their friends, or rather as men taken to mercy. The reſt of the army almoſt diſcouraged with this ſo ſudden a reuolt of ſo great a man, retired in haſt to the Vayuod, crying out vnto him, That all was loſt. But he nothing diſcouraged therewith (as a moſt reſolute man in the moſt ſudden dangers) with comfortable words cheered them vp, willing them as couragious men to follow him againſt the enemy, whom they in all things exceeded, excepting number, which alwaies gaue not the victorie. The Turks perceiuing the Moldauians lately reuolted, vpon the ioyning of the battell (as men in conſcience wounded) to ſhrinke backe, thruſt them perforce into the head of their battel, making of them no more account, but to L blunt the enemies ſwords; and ſuch as hung backe, they themſelues ſlew: vpon whom as falſe tiartours the Vayuod cauſed his field pieces to be moſt furiouſly diſcharged; ſo that moſt part of theſe trecherous men there ſlain, ſome by the Turks, ſome by their owne friends, receiued the iuſt reward of their infidelity and treaſon, accompanied with perpetuall infamie. Ouer the dead bodies of theſe traitors the Turks comming on, were at the firſt notably encountered by the Moldauians; and after a moſt cruell fight, as if they had been diſcouraged, began to retire, but indeed of purpoſe to haue drawne the Chriſtians before they were aware, within the danger of their great ordnance, and ambuſhes, which they had before aptly & couertly placed for that purpoſe. Which *Suiercenius* well acquainted with the Turks fineneſſe, perceiuing, with much ado ſtaid their further purſuit, and ſo auoided the danger prepared for them. The Turks M deceiued of their expectation, came on againe afreſh, with no leſſe fury than at the firſt: whom the Ghriſtians right valiantly receiued, and made with them a moſt cruell and mortall battel; wherein many both of the Turkes and Chriſtians fell, and neuer riſe againe. But what was ſo ſmal a power againſt ſuch a world of men, after long fight, the Moldauians oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies, began to giue ground: & ſeeing no other remedie, but either to fly

Czarnieuicbe reuolteth vnto the Turks.

Traitors iuſtly rewarded.

The battell betwixt the Turks and the Moldauians.

The Moldauians ouerthrown

or

A or to die, betooke themſelues to flight, wherein moſt part of them were ſlain, the furious enemie
ſtill hardly purſuing them at the heeles: of the Coſſackes were left onely two hundred
and fiftie. The horſemen (the chiefeſt ſtrength of the Vayuod) thus by the treaſon of *Czarnieuiche*
ouerthrowne, the Vayuod with twenty thouſand footmen, and ſuch horſmen as had now
after the battell ioyned themſelues vnto the footmen, retired vnto a towne not far off, which
he but a little before had raſed; but was now glad in the ruines thereof to fortifie himſelfe
againſt the ſudden and furious aſſaults of the Turks: who the ſame night ſo beſet the Vayuods
camp with ſuch a multitude of men, that no man could go in or out of the campe; or the
vttermoſt part of that hugie armie be from any place deſcried.

The Vayuod hauing fortified himſelfe within the ruines of an old towne, is beſieged by the Turkes.

The next day (which was the 11 of Iune) the Turks ſhot diuers great ſhot into the Vayuods
B camp, but to ſmall purpoſe; for the Chriſtians had (for ſo ſhort a time) notably fortified themſelues
within the ruines of the old towne. Which the Turks well perceiuing, and withall conſidering
how hard and dangerous a matter it would be to aſſault the Vayuod in his ſtrength:
they ſent meſſengers vnto him, to perſuade him without delay to yeeld himſelfe, & to repoſe
more truſt in the mercie of the Turks, than in his owne broken forces; eſpecially in his ſo hard
diſtreſſe, being ſo beſet, as that he could not poſſibly eſcape; and out of hope of all reliefe, and
therefore ſhould by ſuch voluntary yeelding, ſeeke for grace of his enemies, rather than by a
deſperat obſtinacie to caſt himſelfe into a moſt certain deſtruction, where no mercy was to be
expected. Wherunto the Vayuod anſwered, That he was not ignorant into what danger he was
brought, rather by the treaſon of *Czarnieniche* and his followers, than by the valor of the enemie,
C yet had left with him a ſtrong power of moſt valiant & reſolute men, who would in his
quarrell and defence of themſelues, ſell their liues very deare vnto the Turks: neuertheleſſe,
that to auoid the farther effuſion of bloud, he could for his part be content to yeeld vnto his
hard fortune, ſo that the great commanders of the Turks army would condiſcend vnto ſuch
reaſonable conditions as he ſhould propound, & for the performance thereof giue him their
faith, not once or twiſe, but ſeuen times by ſolemn oath to be taken. Of this his offer the Turks
accepted, willing him to ſet down the conditions: which were, firſt that the Polonian Coſſacks
might in ſafety depart into their country, with their horſes and armor: then, that they ſhould
without any violence offered to his perſon, ſend him aliue & in good ſafety vnto the great emperor
Selymus, before him to anſwer his owne cauſe: as for the Moldauians, he ſaid he needed
D not to couenant any thing, for that the iniurie offered vnto them tended alſo to the hurt of the
Emperour himſelfe, and of him whom he ſhould appoint Vayuod, whoſe ſubiects they were.
Theſe conditions (as reaſonable) were well liked of the Turks, and ſo according to his deſire,
confirmed ſeuen times by the ſolemne oath of euery captaine and commander in the armie,
both for themſelues and their followers. Vpon this agreement, the Vayuod brought al his armie
out of their trenches wherin they had lien ſtrongly incamped, and there with heauy heart
tooke his laſt leaue of his ſouldiers, to the generall griefe of them all: amongſt whom he diuided
ſuch mony & iewels as he had, as a remembrance of his kindneſſe. And there in the ſight
of them all diſarming himſelfe, accompanied only with *Oſmolius* a Polonian, went in maner of
E a ſuppliant to the Turks camp, where he had ful foure hours talke with the great commanders
of the armie; vntill that at laſt *Capucius Baſſa* (either offended with his ſpeech, or vnmindfull of
his faith before giuen) with his ſcimitar vpon the ſudden ſtrucke him a great blow ouerthwart
the face, and another croſſe the bellie: whom ſo wounded, & as yet but halfe dead, the Ianizaries
tooke and cut off his head, which was forthwith ſet vp vpon a lance, for al men to behold.
His dead body they bound by the feet vnto two camels, & ſo ſhamefully tore it in pieces: and
happy was he that could get any little piece therof, or embrue his ſword with the leaſt drop of
his bloud. This was the lamentable & wofull end of *Iohn* the Vayuod of Moldauia, a right valiant
and worthie man, ſhamefully murdered by the perfidious Turks; who had he been more
conſtant in the Chriſtian faith, had not happily fallen into ſo great miſerie. Whoſe wofull fall
may ſerue as a moſt notable example of the vncertaintie of theſe worldly things: for as no man
for a time had of the Turks moe or more glorious victories, ſo in the end, and as it were in demonſtration
of mans fragility, no man periſhed more miſerably. The Vayuod thus perfidiouſly
murthered, the Turkes with like treacherie foorthwith ſet vpon the Moldanians, and ſlew
them down right as beaſts appointed for the ſlaughter. Which the Coſſackes beholding, and
hoping for no better meaſure, thruſt themſelues into the thickeſt of their enemies, & there valiantly

The Vayuod ſhamefully and perfideouſly murthered by the Turkes.

liantly fighting were all ſlain, except ſome few of the better ſort reſerued for ranſome, among G whom was *Seiuerceuius* with ſome other captains; who were afterwards for great ſums redeemed, when as they could by no means be perſuaded to forſake their religion and turn Turke.

All Valachia made ſubiect to the Turks.

The loſſe of Moldauia dangerous to Polonia.

After this victorie and ſhamefull murder of the Vayuod, the Turks ouerran all Moldauia, & put to the ſword all the nobilitie of that countrie, with many of the countrie people: of whom they alſo as their manner is in countries new conquered, ſent great numbers in colonies into the farther parts of the Turkiſh empire: & for the more aſſured poſſeſſion therof, placed ſtrong garriſons in euery towne and caſtle, as they thought it moſt conuenient. Thus all Valachia (both the higher and the lower) fell into the Turks hands in the yeare 1574, and was by *Selymus* ioyned vnto the Turkiſh empire, none of the leaſt things by him done: for beſide the gaining of ſo great a country (the moſt aſſured bulwarke of Polonia) he hath therby opned a faire H and eaſie way for his ſucceſſours, at their pleaſure to enter into Podolia, or Ruſſia, parts of the Polonian kingdome, yea and into Polonia it ſelfe: which they will vndoubtedly in time doe, if God in mercy bridle not their immoderat deſires, and with his mightie hand protect the dangerous ſtate of that Kingdome.

Selymus at the ſame time, not a little grieued with the loſſe of the kingdome of Tunes, and that *Don Iohn* had there done the yeare before; began forthwith to caſt in his minde, how he might again recouer the ſame, and withall, thruſt the Spaniards out of the ſtrong caſtle of Guletta; which they had now almoſt fortie yeares kept, euer ſince that it was by *Charles* the fift taken from *Barbaruſſa* in the yere 1535: for he well ſaw it to be a matter of no ſmall moment, to I whom that ſtrong fortreſſe (ſtanding ſo commodiouſly in the frontiers of Affricke) belonged. There was (and ſtil is) vpon that coaſt diuers of the Turks aduenturers, which liuing altogether vpon ſpoile, had to that place ſafe recourſe, as to a moſt aſſured refuge: and if no bootie were to be met with therabout, then would they run out towards Malta, Sardinia, Sicilia, & the other Iſlands thereabouts; yea oftentimes into Italie and Spaine, and from thence carrie away with them great booties both of men and cattell, and whatſoeuer thing elſe came in their way: for which cauſe many of the Turks men of war reſorted thither in hope of purchaſe. But after that, Guletta was poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, they were not only depriued of that ſo commodious an harbor, but many times intercepted euen by them of that place, and by the gallies of *Malta*: which two places ſerued as two moſt ſure bulwarkes againſt the Turkes and *Moores* aduen- K turers, by whoſe meanes they many times came ſhort home. For which cauſe the Turks, eſpecially theſe pyrats (of whom the Turke maketh great account, as not his leaſt ſtrength at ſea) wonderfully deſired to haue both thoſe ſtrong places gotten out of the hands of the Chriſtians. In the caſtle of Guletta was continually a ſtrong garriſon of a thouſand Spaniards, who kept them of Tunes in great ſubiection, and oftentimes cut ſhort theſe pyrats and rouers, who much troubled thoſe ſeas. Wherefore the Turkiſh Emperor *Selymus*, hauing made great preparation both for ſea and land ſeruice, commanded *Sinan*, *Piall*, and *Vluzales*, his chiefe Baſſaes, & men of great experience, with all ſpeed to paſſe ouer with his fleet into Affricke, to beſiege Tunes and Guletta. Who when they had put all things in readineſſe according as they had in charge, ſet forward, and with three hundred ſaile of gallies came before Guletta the thirteenth L day of Iuly: whether alſo reſorted vnto them other the Turks men of war from Alexandria, Algiers, and other places in, ſuch number, as that al that coaſt ſeemed to be couered with ſhipping. The Turks at their firſt arriuall laied ſiege to the water tower, wherein were eight hundred ſouldiers well prouided of all things needfull for defence, who moſt valiantly maintained the place, vntill ſuch time as that moſt of them being by the often aſſaults of the enemie ſlaine; the reſt by the commandement of the captaine retired to him into the caſtle. In taking of this tower the Turks loſt 3000 of their men.

Guletta beſieged by the Turks.

After that, they began to beſiege the caſtle of Guletta, againſt which they caſt vp diuers mounts, and from thence moſt terribly battered the caſtle: from whence the deadly ſhot was ſent again among them not ſparingly; ſo that in one day 200 great ſhot were reckoned to haue bin ſhot out of the caſtle amongſt the thickeſt of the enemies. But after many furious aſſaults, M too tedious to report, and much harme done on both ſides, the Turkes to their great aduantage tooke the channell of the lake of Tunes; and fearing leaſt ſome reliefe ſhould bee ſent to the beſieged, maintained their aſſault day and night without intermiſſion. Neuertheleſſe, certaine companies of Spaniards ſent from the new caſtle by *Serbellio*, got into Guletta; after

A which,they in the beſieged caſtle ſallied out,and the twentieth of Auguſt repulſed the Turks, with an exceeding great ſlaughter. But the Baſſaes fully reſolued vpon the winning of the place to gage their whole forces,and without ceaſing ſtill bringing on freſh ſoldiers,after they had all the day continued a moſt terrible aſſault,at length about two houres after Sun ſet,they tooke the caſtle the 23 day of Auguſt, when there was now ſcarcely two hundred ſouldiers left aliue to defend the ſame; who altogether with the other weake people in the caſtle were without mercie cut in pieces. What wealth the Turks found in this caſtle, is hard to ſay; but certaine it is,that they had therein great ſtore of victuals, armour, ſhot,and pouder, and foure hundred great pieces of artillerie.

Guletta taken by the Turks.

Guletta thus taken,the Turks forthwith laid ſiege to the new caſtle,appointed by *Don Iohn* B the yeare before to haue bin built betwixt Guletta and Tunes, which was not yet altogether finiſhed: wherein the two antient and valiant captains, *Serbellio* and *Salazar* (left there of purpoſe for the building thereof by *Don Iohn*) lay with a garriſon of foure thouſand good ſouldiers. The Baſſaes when they gaue the firſt ſummons to the caſtle, the foure & twentieth of Auguſt,required to haue it forthwith deliuered vnto them: to whom *Serbellio* ſtoutly anſwered, That he had promiſed the king his maſter, to giue him a better account of the place; & being now alſo very old,could not indure the Turkes heauie yoke, but would therefore hold it out vnto the laſt man: which both he & *Salazar* truly performed,not omitting any thing that was by men to be done for defence of the place; and ſallying out,ſometime the one,and ſomtimes the other,made great ſlaughter of the Turks,giuing them alſo repulſe vpon repulſe when they C came to the aſſault. But the great Baſſaes,little feeling, and leſſe regarding the loſſe of men, ſo that therby they might gain the place,after many moſt terrible and deſperat aſſaults,at length (namely the thirteenth day of September)when they had withal their force for the ſpace of ſix houres furiouſly aſſaulted the caſtle, and ſlaine moſt of the defendants,at laſt tooke it. *Serbellio* ſhot in with two bullets,and wiſhing rather to die than to fall into the hand of the enemie,thruſt himſelfe into the middeſt of the Turkes,there to haue periſhed: but by the haſtie comming in of *Piall Baſſa*, both he and *Salazar* were taken aliue,as for all the reſt that followed them, they were put to the ſword. The Baſſa in his rage ſtrucke *Serbellio*, and the more to grieue him,cauſed his ſonne to be cruelly murthered before his face. Neither was this victorie by the Turkes obtained without bloud, hauing in leſſe than three moneths ſpace that the D ſiege endured,loſt aboue thirtie thouſand men.

The new caſtle beſieged.

The notable anſwere of Serbellio.

The new caſtle taken.

Theſe ſtrong holds (the greateſt ſtrength of that kingdome)thus taken,the Turks marched to Tunes,which they eaſily tooke,and afterwards ouerthrew the fortifications therof,becauſe it ſhould no more rebell. *Mahomet* the yong king,but the yere before placed in that kingdome by *Don Iohn*,was there taken,and in bonds ſent aboord to be carried with *Carrera* captaine of Guletta,priſoners to Conſtantinople:and thus the kingdom of Tunes, with the ſtrong caſtle of Guletta, fell againe into the poſſeſſion of the Turkes, to the farther trouble of the Chriſtian countries lying ouer againſt it. The proud Baſſaes hauing (as they thought)beſt diſpoſed of all things at Tunes and Guletta,departed thence,& with their fleet of 400 ſaile, came the fourth of October within ſight of Malta. But vnderſtanding that they of Malta were prouided for their comming,and remembring what diſhonor their moſt magnificent Emperor *Solyman* had not many yeares before there ſuſtained (whereof diuers of them had bin eye-witneſſes) they turned thence, and ſailed directly to Conſtantinople.

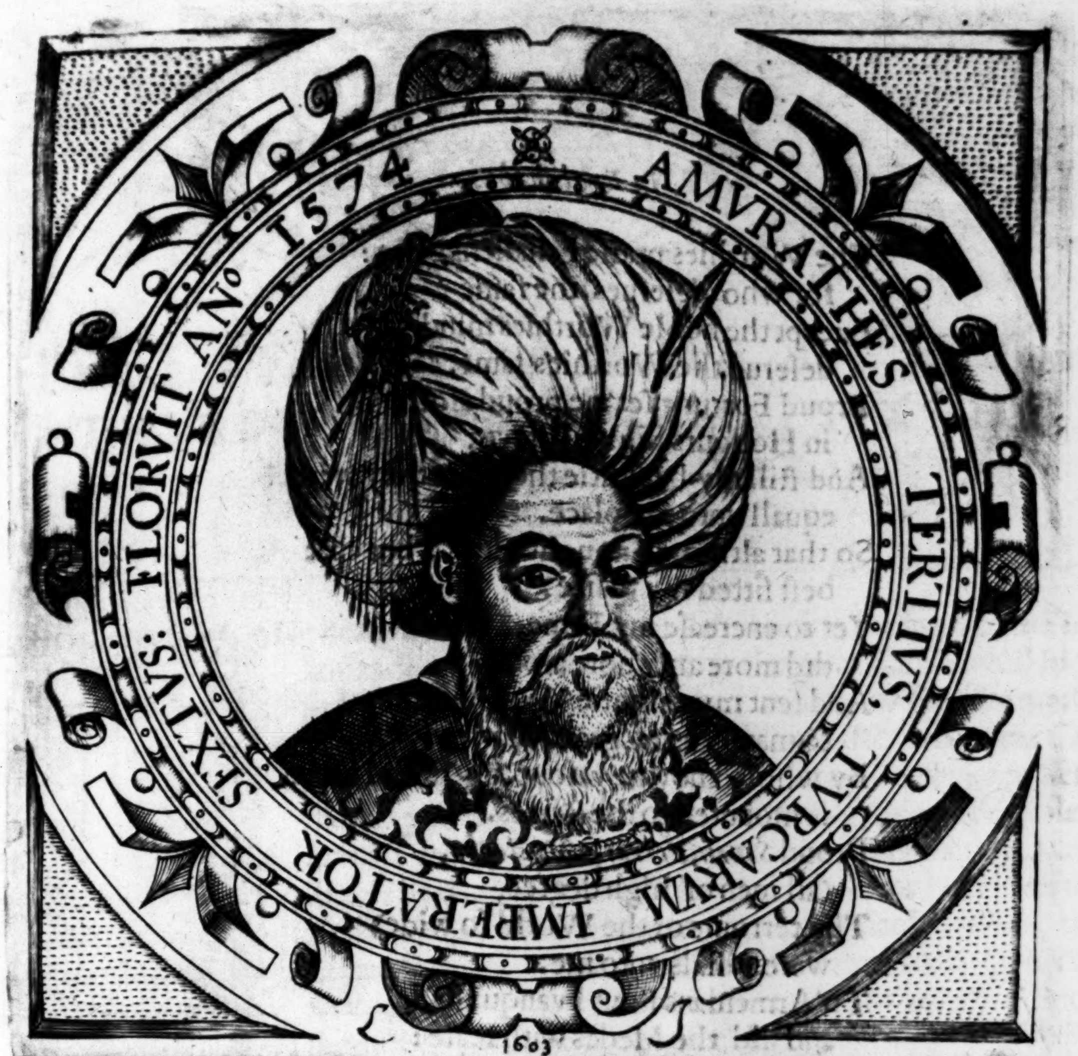
Tunes yeelded to the Turks.

Shortly after, this great Emperor *Selymus* ſpent with wine and women,vnto whom he had giuen his greateſt ſtrength,died the ninth of December,in the yeare of our Lord 1574; when he had liued one and fiftie yeares, and thereof raigned eight,and lieth buried at Hadrianople. He was but of a mean ſtature,& of an heauie diſpoſition,his face rather ſwollen,than fat,much reſembling a drunkard. Of the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors he was of leaſt valour,and therefore leaſt regarded, altogether giuen to ſenſualitie and pleaſure: and ſo dying, left his empire vnto *Amurath* his eldeſt ſonne, a man of more temperance,but not much greater courage; who neuertheleſſe by his valiant Baſſaes and men of war, did great matters, eſpecially againſt the Perſians,the mortal and dangerous enemies of the Turks, as ſhall be hereafter in this Hiſtorie declared.

Selymus dieth.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Selymus the second.	*Emperours of Germany*		*Maximilian the second.*	1565. 12.
	Kings,	*Of England,*	*Queene Elizabeth.*	1558. 45.
		Of France,	*Charles the ninth.*	1560. 14.
		Of Scotland,	*Queene Mary.*	1543. 20.
			Iames the sixth, that now raigneth.	1567.
	Bishops of Rome.		*Pius the V.*	1566. 6.
			Iulius the XIII.	1572. 12.


AMVRATHES TERTIVS, TVRCARVM IMPERATOR SEXTVS: FLORVIT ANo 1574
1603

Non ego fortis eram: Quis tanto nomine dignus?
Ni fortem faciat mens generoſa virum.
Me tumidum fortuna tumens euexit in altum,
Et par fortunæ, mens mea ſemper erat.
Sic quamuis tenero mihi nil niſi molle placeret:
Nominis augendi raptus amore fui.
Emiſique meos ad fortia facta miniſtros:
Per quos ſublatum eſt, nomen in aſtra meum.
Muſtapha, Ferhates, Sinan, *& ter maximus* Oſman:
Terrores orbis ſuccubuere mihi.
Armenios domui fortes Medoſque feroces:
Et mihi paruerat Regia Tauriſij.
Sed mihi quid prodeſt tantorum parta labore
Gloria? Si ſubito maxima queque ruant?
Et nihil eſt tanti, quod non breuis auferet hora
Sic mea cum multis gloria victa iacet.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

In Engliſh thus:

The Worthies praiſe I challenge not:
  for who deſerues the ſame?
Except the noble Worthies minde,
  deſerue the Worthies fame.
Proud Fortune ſet me proud aloſt,
  in Honours higheſt grace:
And ſtill my haughtie thoughts they were
  equall vnto my place.
So that although nought pleas'd but that
  beſt fitted my deſire:
Yet to encreaſe my Fame, I ſtill
  did more and more aſpire.
And ſent my mightie Worthies out,
  to mannage my great Warres:
By whoſe knowne valour, my proud name
  is mounted to the ſtarres.
Proud *Sinan, Ferrat, Muſtapha,*
  (all men of high degree,
The terrours of the World ſo wide)
  were vaſſals vnto me.
Th'Armenians ſtout I vanquiſhed,
  and fild the Medes with feare:
And Regall Tauris ſtately towers
  at my commandment were.
But what auailes my glorie great,
  got with ſuch Worthies paine,
If in the twinkling of an eye
  it come to nought againe?
And nothing is of ſo great State,
  which Time ſhall not caſt downe:
Euen ſo with many others moe,
  muſt periſh my renowne.

R. Knolls.

THE

THE LIFE OF AMVRATH THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, SIXTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

Amurath takes vpon him the Turkiſh empire the 25 day of Decemberin *the yeare* 1574.

THe death of the late Emperor *Selymus* was for feare of the inſolent Ianizaries notably concealed by the great Baſſa's, vntil ſuch time as *Amurath* his eldeſt ſonne, then in Aſia, by ſpeedie meſſengers aduertiſed thereof, about twelue dayes after arriued at Conſtantinople, and there receiued into the Seraglio, tooke poſſeſſion of the Empire the fiue and twentieth day of December, ſolemne amongſt vs Chriſtians, for the natiuitie of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus. He was about thirtie, or as ſome write ſeuen and twentie yeares old when he began to raigne, of a manly ſtature, but pale and corpulent, wearing his beard thin and long: in his countenance appeared not the fierce nature of the *Othoman* Princes, being indeed himſelfe of a peaceable diſpoſition, a louer of iuſtice, and in the manner of his ſuperſtition very zealous. The riot and exceſſe growne amongſt the Turks by his fathers euill example, he reformed by his owne temperance, and the ſeuere puniſhment of notorious drunkards: yet is it reported, that he would oftentimes himſelfe drinke plentifully of wormewood wine: he was much ſubiect to the falling ſickeneſſe, and ſore troubled with the ſtone: more ſpare handed than was for the greatneſſe of his ſtate: and yeelding more to the counſell of his mother, his wife, and ſiſter, than of his great Baſſa's, which was of many imputed to him for ſimplicitie. At his firſt comming to Conſtantinople, to appeaſe the murmuring of the Ianizaries (grieued to ſee themſelues ſo diſappointed of the ſpoile of the Chriſtians and Iewes, which they were woont to take in the vacancie of the Empire) hee beſide the vſual largeſſe which the Turkiſh Emperours at their firſt entrance into the Empire beſtow vpon them, augmented alſo their dayly wages, and granted them this priuiledge, That their ſonnes as ſoone as they came to be twentie yeares old, ſhould be inrolled amongſt the number of the younger Ianizaries, and be partakers alſo of their immunities; whereby hee woon their fauours exceedingly. And immediatly to rid himſelfe of all competitors, he after the vnnaturall manner of the Turkiſh policie, cauſed his fiue brethren, *Muſtapha*, *Solyman Abdulla*, *Oſman*, and *Tzihanger*, to be all ſtrangled in his owne preſence. The mother of *Solyman* pierced through with the cruell death of her yong ſonne, as a woman ouercome with ſorrow, deſperatly ſtrucke her ſelfe to the heart with a dagger, and ſo died. At which ſo tragicall a ſight it is reported that *Amurath* let ſome teares fall, as not delighting in ſuch barbarous crueltie, but that the ſtate and manner of his gouernment ſo required.

The deſcription of Amurath.

He pacifieth the Ianizaries, and augmẽteth their priuiledges.

He ſtrangleth fiue of his brethren.

A deſperat woman.

1575

In the beginning of his raigne he eſtabliſhed diuers wholeſome lawes, altered the coine, and bountifully relieued the poore. And albeit that he was of a milde and peaceable nature, yet becauſe he would not ſeeme to degenerate from the *Othoman* Princes his progenitors, he proſecuted his fathers wars, and by the Tartars called Præcopenſes, in the moneth of October in the yeare 1575 entred into Ruſſia, part of the Polonian Kingdome, where hee burnt and deſtroyed

Ruſſia inuaded by the Turks.
Leon. Goreci. de Bell. Iuoniç.

deſtroyed two hundred noblemens houſes, beſides an infinite number of townes and villages, made great ſlaughter of the poore countrey people, and carried away great numbers of cattel and priſoners bound in thongs made of raw hides. But whileſt they were diuiding the ſpoile with *Peter* the new Vayuod of Valachia, who had before ſolemnely promiſed to giue the Tartars no paſſage that way, the Polonian Coſſacks, who had lien waiting for their returne vpon the riuer Boriſthenes, brake into the Tartars country, and there requited them with like harme, and brought backe with them a number of old captiues, who little expected that their ſo ſudden deliuerance.

The Polonians at this time were at variance among themſelues about the election of their new king; *Henry Valoys* their late king being the laſt yeare, after the death of *Charles* his brother the French King ſecretly ſtolne from them into France, to take vpon him that kingdome: after whoſe departure ſome of the Polonian Nobilitie made choice of *Maximilian* the Emperor: other ſome no leſſe inclining vnto the choice of the great Duke of Muſcouie; and ſome vnto others alſo. Whereof *Amurath* vnderſtanding, and loth that either of thoſe two great Princes his enemies, ſhould be inueſted or ſtrengthned with that ſo great a kingdome, and ſo neere vnto him; to hinder that their election, and to bring in another of leſſe power, & ſo leſſe dangerous vnto himſelfe, euen in the beginning of his raigne wrot vnto the Polonians to that purpoſe, commending vnto them *Stephen Battor* the Vayuod of Tranſyluania for their King, in manner following:

Amurath God of the earth, Gouernour of the whole World, the Meſſenger of God, and faithfull ſeruant of the great Prophet, vnto the moſt honourable Nobilitie and Counſellors of the Kingdome of Polonia, greeting.

Amurath his letters vnto the Nobilitie of Polonia.

It is not vnto the world vnknowne (moſt honorable and mightie Senators) our Noble Progenitors to haue of long time and for many yeares holden good friendſhip and religious leagues with the kingdome of Polonia: For which cauſe it hath ſeemed good and reaſonable vnto vs, to put you in remembrance of this ſo antient a league and bond of friendſhip; for that we vnderſtanding your Kingdome to be of late become deſtitute of a King, by the departure of the noble King Henry *your crowned King (diſcended of the royall race of the French Kings) our friend: who for the ſmall regard you had of him (ſo great and worthie a Prince) and for your diſloyaltie, is departed out of your Kingdome, without purpoſe of returning any more into Polonia. Whereupon, as it is reported vnto vs (but how truly we know not) you paſſing ouer your ſaid crowned King* Henrie, *are about to make choice of a new King, and eſpecially of* Maximilian *the Emperour, or of the Duke of Muſcouie, both men of running wits, and of vs greatly hated: for why, you may well know they will be troubleſome and grieuous not vnto euery one of you only, but euen vnto vs alſo. Wherefore be you ware that you be not deceiued; and take heed leſt your confederations and leagues cannot long by their valour and proweſſe be eſtabliſhed; and withall conſider well the great dangers and loſſes which you may thereby fall into, whereof we haue thought good to giue you a taſte: wherefore beware that heauier things befall not your State. We know there are right noble and wiſe men amongſt you, which know better than they how to rule and gouerne: and if ſo be it pleaſe you not to make choice of any of your owne Nation, there is not farre from you one* Stephen Battor *Prince of Tranſyluania, a man of great honour and valour, by whoſe labour and dexteritie you may eaſily procure the peace and quiet of your Kingdome. Whereas if you ſhall doe otherwiſe, we take to witneſſe your God, and his ſeruant our Great Prophet, to deſtroy all your wealth and goods, which together with your ſelues, your wiues, and children, ſhall be giuen for a prey vnto our ſoldiers; with the chiefe men of your cities of Cracouia and Leperis: which for all that we ſay not, as any thing at all doubting of your fidelitie and conſtancie toward vs. As for the reſt, which it pleaſed vs by word of mouth to haue told vnto you, we haue giuen charge vnto this our Embaſſador and Counſellor, vnto whom our deſire is that you ſhould giue full credence. From Conſtantinople the laſt of September, in the yeare of our Prophet* Mahomet *983, and firſt of our raigne.*

This the Great Sultans commendations ſo much preuailed with the Polonians, that notwithſtanding that *Maximilian* the Emperour was by the Archbiſhop of Gneſna and ſome others choſen king, yet was that his election by the greater part of the Nobilitie reuoked, and

both

A both he and the great Duke of Muſcouie being paſſed ouer, the noble Princeſſe *Anne* (of the moſt honorable *Iagellonian* houſe) choſen Queene of Polonia: yet with this condition, That ſhe ſhould marry *Stephen* the Vayuod of Tranſyluania, to them by *Amurath* commended: Who afterward elected King, all the time of his life right worthily gouerned that noble kingdome, not only defending the ſame in ſuch ſtate as he found it, but alſo notably extending the bounds thereof, enlarging it with ſuch territories as he by force of arms got from his neighbors, eſpecially the Muſcouite. Of this election *Amurath* would oftentimes afterwards boaſt and ſay, That he had giuen the Polonians their King. But of him, and of the league by him made with *Amurath*, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

Stephen Vayuod of Trãſyluania vpon the commendatiõ of Amurath choſen king of Polonia

1576

The yeare following, great troubles aroſe in Perſia, whereby the flouriſhing ſtate of that B moſt mightie Kingdome was ſore ſhaken, and opportunitie giuen for the Turkiſh Emperour to inuade the ſame; which he laying hold vpon, entred into that bloudie warre, which to the great quiet of the Chriſtian commonweale, for long time after exerciſed the forces of thoſe moſt puiſſant Princes one vpon another. For the better vnderſtanding whereof, it ſhall not be amiſſe compendiouſly to ſet downe the ſame troubles of the Perſian kingdome, the very ground of the long and mortall war betweene thoſe two moſt mightie Monarchs.

Old *Tamas* the Perſian King, ſonne to the noble *Hiſmael*, who with great glory had more than fiftie yeares worthily gouerned that large kingdome, and mightily withſtood the often inuaſions of the Turkiſh Emperors, now ſpent with yeares, died the eleuenth of May in the yeare 1576, leauing behinde him eleuen ſonnes; namely *Mahamet* the eldeſt, of an infirmitie C in his eyes ſyrnamed *Codabanda*, a man of a peaceable and quiet diſpoſition, more delighted with the ſweet pleaſure of a contented life, than the carefull honours of ſo great a Kingdome: *Iſmahel* the ſecond ſonne, of a more fierce and troubleſome nature, ſo much abhorring quietneſſe, that not regarding the league hardly concluded betwixt his aged father and the Turkiſh Emperors *Solyman* and *Selymus*, he would now and then without his fathers knowledge vpon a youthfull heat breake out into the frontiers of the Turks dominions, and there make great ſpoile; for which doing, although he was both of his father and the people the more regarded, yet was he by his fathers commandement (who in outward ſhew ſeemed to miſlike of thoſe his youthfull pranks, tending to the breach of the league) reſtrained of his libertie, and ſent to the caſtle of Cahaca, betwixt Tauris and Caſbin, where he remained at the time of his D fathers death: *Aidere* the third ſonne, no leſſe ambitious than was his brother *Iſmahel*, but not of like valour, kept by *Zalcan*, *Pyry Mahamet*, and other his kinſfolkes, all men of great power and authoritie: The other eight were, *Mamut*, *Solyman*, *Muſtapha*, *Emanguli*, *Alichan*, *Amet*, *Abrahim*, and *Iſmahel* the younger.

The eleuen ſons of Tamas the Perſian King.

The old King before his death had by his laſt will and teſtament ſolemnly appointed *Iſmahel* his ſecond ſonne to ſucceed him in the kingdome; as of all his ſonnes moſt fit to take vpon him ſo great a charge. Which thing *Mahamet* his elder brother ſeemed not much to diſlike, contenting himſelfe with ſuch honours as his father had before beſtowed vpon him.

Iſmahel appointed by his Father to ſucceed him in the kingdome.

Tamas thus dead, *Iſmahel* was by the Sultans ſent for to Cahaca, to take vpon him his fathers kingdome at Caſbin; when in the meane time there aroſe a great tumult in the city, yea euen E in the kings palace: for *Aidere* the third brother, who in the time of his fathers greateſt ſickeneſſe had entred the chamber where he lay drawing towards his end, and in his ſight moſt preſumptuouſly ſet the royal crowne vpon his head, to the manifeſting of his ambitious deſires, for which he was then worthily reproued: now after the death of his aged father, caried headlong with the ſame aſpiring humor, and ſupported by *Zalchan* and other his mighty fauourits, had ſo effectually dealt with the great ladie *Periaconcona* his eldeſt ſiſter, and the other Sultans Counſellours of Eſtate, put in truſt to ſee the will of the dead king put in execution, as that the ſucceſſion could not be any longer kept from him, & preſerued for *Iſmahel*, but by the help of ſome fine and ſecret deceit. This ladie *Periaconcona* (elder than all the yong princes the ſons of *Tamas*, her brethren, a woman of great ſpirit and deep conceit) left in great truſt by her father, ſeeing the proceedings of her brother *Aidere*, durſt neither openly to moue any thing vnto the Sultans, preiudicial to his deſignes, neither could ſhe in her heart indure ſo great an iniury to be done to her brother *Iſmael*, appointed by his father to ſucceed him. Wherfore in this perplexity, ſhe caſt in her wily head, how to ſatiſfy her ambitious brother preſent, how to ſaue the right of *Iſmahel* abſent, the honor of her dead fathers will and teſtament, and the ſafety of the kingdome,

Aidere aſpireth to the kingdome of Perſia.

dome. For hauing thorowly debated the matter with the Sultans, ſhe reſolued that *Aidere* G inueſted in royall apparell, and ſetled in the great gallerie, ſhould attend the acclamation of the people, and be there openly enthroniſed as the very elected King. With which vaine ſhew the vnwiſe youth (blinded with ambition) ſuffered himſelfe to be led: and being ſet in his maieſtie, verily perſuaded himſelfe, that he ſhould now be honored both of his friends and foes, as King. But vnto theſe his ſo haſty and proſperous deſignes, the ſucceſſe that ſprung from the ſubtiltie of thoſe Counſellors and his diſſembling ſiſter, were nothing conformable: for that ſhe by their aduice tooke order for the gates of the palace to be preſently locked, leauing at euery paſſage a ſure gard, and onely one wicket open, ſafely warded with a companie of moſt faithfull and valorous captaines and ſouldiers, wholly deuoted to *Tamas* and *Iſmabel*: with ſtraight charge, to ſuffer euery man to enter in, ſauing onely the knowne friends of *Aidere*. In H this ſort did ſhe thinke to haue entertained the young man, vntill ſuch time as *Iſmabel* ſhould arriue at Cahaca, and ſo put in execution what he thought beſt for the honour of himſelfe, and the generall quiet of the kingdome.

Who joyeth now but *Aidere?* in conceit a king, repleniſhed with vnwonted joyes, receiuing honour from all men ſauing from his beſt friends. By means wherof perceiuing now the prohibition of them, and moued alſo with the great ſtir of *Zalcan* his greateſt fauorit (who diſcouering the deceit, and crying vpon king *Aidere*, threatned the lady, the Sultans, and the reſt that waited vpon the feigned ſucceſſion, indeed ordained but for the ſcorne and diſpight of the ambitious man) ſtrucken with an exceeding feare, and full of ſorrow, hee withdrew himſelfe cloſely amongſt certaine women in the court, hoping ſo to find ſome way to eſcape with life. I

Aider ſlain, and his head caſt amongſt his Fauorits.

In the meane time ſo greatly increaſed the cries and threatenings of the friends and fauorits of *Aidere* (who now had all of them prepared themſelues for ſome dangerous and pernicious attempt) that the Counſellors, with conſent of the ladie his ſiſter, were inforced to take order, That to bereaue this tumultuous and ſeditious people of all their hope and courage, *Aidere* ſhould be depriued of his life. Whereupon *Sahamal* the Georgian, vncle to *Aidere* by the mothers ſide, by the appointment of the ladie *Periaconcona* & the Sultans, after long ſearch made for him, at laſt found him hidden amongſt the women, and without further delay taking him by the lockes, ſtrucke his head from his ſhoulders, and in the place where *Zalchan* and the reſt of his vnfortunate fauourites ſtood crying and threatning, amongſt the thickeſt *preiſe of the* proud conſpiratours flung the head all bloudie and as it were yet breathing *for heat*; crying K aloud vnto them, ***Behold there your King, enioy him at your pleaſure.*** At which ſudden and horrible ſpectacle euery man burned in rage and anger: neither for the preſent wanted there manie a raſh head, that vainly threatened moſt cruell reuenge: but in the end, when they perceiued the neere ſucceſſion of *Iſmabel* ineuitable, and the death of *Aidere* irreuocable, euery man betooke himſelfe to his owne priuat affaires, and ſo at laſt diuided themſelues one from another, and ſo departing from the Palace, ſcattered themſelues ſome one way, ſome another, euerie man as he thought beſt for his owne ſafetie.

Iſmabel ſaluted king.

He murdereth eight of his yonger brethren.

Shortly after, *Iſmabel* the deſired king arriued at Casbin, where he was of his ſiſter and the Sultans joyfully receiued as their lawfull & vndoubted ſoueraign, & with the great acclamation of the people ſaluted king: who as ſoone as he ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of the royal ſeat, & his L power now anſwerable to his deſires, he after the manner of the Turkiſh policie, moſt vnnaturally cauſed the heads of his eight yonger brethren to be ſtricken off: & withal vſed ſuch farther diligence, that not only all thoſe which were neere vnto them in bloud or affinitie were bereaued of their liues, but alſo all the fauorits of his late ſlain brother *Aidere*, were deſtroyed in that publike ſlaughter: ſo that all the ſtreets of Casbin were defiled with bloud, & all the city reſounded with mourning & complaints. Which vnexpected cruelty, altogether vnworthy ſo worthie a thought king, ſo altered the minds of his ſubiects in general, that all their former hopes were now conuerted into new fears, and their joy into mourning. But much greater and far more lamentable did the miſeries grow, as ſoon as it was giuen out, That he would change the religion of the Perſians (who with great deuotion honour their fooliſh Prophet *Aly*) into M the ſuperſtition of the Turks (who with no leſſe impietie obſerue & maintain the wicked rites of *Ebubekir, Haumer, Oſman*, & others, by them ſuppoſed to be the moſt true ſucceſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet.*) For by meanes of this vncouth noueltie and vnexpected change, and by force of an Edict concerning that matter, publiſhed by this new King, many of his prophane Prieſts, many of the gouernors of his friendly and ſubiect cities (too much deuoted to their former ſuperſtition, were driuen ſome into exile, ſome clapt into priſon, ſome had their eyes pluckt out (among whom was the Caliph of Casbin) and not a few others in ſundry ſorts depriued of their liues. Yea many Ladies ioyned in bloud with *Iſmahel* himſelfe, and diuers others of his kinsfolkes (to whom neither ſex, nor age, nor innocencie, could be a ſufficient defence) endured ſundrie torments and ſtrange calamities: ſo that in Perſia was neuer felt greater troubles, or a more dangerous change.

In this ſo great an innouation, and among theſe tumults, there went abroad withall a general rumor, not in the cities of Perſia only, but in the regions of the Turks alſo, euen as far as Conſtantinople, That *Iſmahel* with a puiſſant armie of ſuch as fauored this new proclaimed vanity, was determined in perſon himſelfe to go to Babylon, now called Bagdat, there to receiue the crowne of the empire at the hands of him that he ſhould find to be the ſucceſſor of their great Calyph, and in the chiefe place among their vncleane Prieſts: as had ſometime *Solyman* the great Emperor of the Turks, and the Perſian kings of antient times. In this world of troubles, when as the feare of further miſeries increaſed, rather than any hope of antient quietneſſe; he was when he leaſt feared, by the helpe of the aforenamed Ladie *Periaconcona* ſuddenly bereft of his life: but whether ouertaken in ſome of his owne amorous practiſes, or poiſoned by his ſaid ſiſter; or that ſhe (as ſome probably affirme) hauing ſecretly conſpired with *Calil Chan*, *Emir Chan*, *Pyry Mahamet*, *Curchi Baſſi* (being all at that time men of great account, and as it were Preſidents of the kingdome) who diſguiſed in womens apparell, and brought in by her, ſtrangled him at ſuch time as he had priuatly withdrawne himſelfe amongſt his paramours, is vncertaine. Howſoeuer it was, ſufficeth it, that he by the helpe of the ſaid ladie *Periaconcona*, was by vnnaturall death taken out of this world the foure and twentieth day of Nouember, in the yere of Grace 1577; to the exceeding joy of all thoſe nations, who by his death thought themſelues now freed of many great and dangerous troubles: when he had raigned on yeare, ſeuen moneths, and ſix dayes.

Iſmahel ſuddenly murthered by the deuice of his ſiſter Periaconcona.

1577

Iſmahel thus taken out of the way, the ladie began forthwith to perſuade with the great Sultans (the miniſters of *Iſmahels* death) that as they had for the general good of Perſia contriued the death of the late king; ſo now that they would take vpon them the protection of that great kingdome, with the preſeruation of the maieſtie and libertie thereof, vntil ſuch time as it were knowne who ſhould worthily ſucceed in that Crowne, which now remained in their hands. There was at that time many of the greateſt Princes and Gouernours of that kingdome aſſembled at Casbin, there gaping after ſuch mutations of thoſe troubleſome times, as might beſt ſerue their priuat deſignes. *Emir Chan* burning in ambitious deſires, was in hope by meanes of a match to be made with a ſiſter of *Periaconcona* (who was alreadie greatly inclining vnto him) to be exalted to the ſoueraigntie of all Perſia. *Mirizi Salmas* the chiefe Sultan hoped on the other ſide to aduance into the Eſtate, either *Mahamet Codabanda* the eldeſt brother of the dead King, or els *Hamze* the eldeſt ſon of the ſaid *Mahamet*; and by beſtowing vpon him his daughter in marriage (as afterwards he did) ſo to increaſe the glory of his Houſe. Others there were that thought they ſhould be able to draw *Abas Mirize* (the middlemoſt ſonne of *Mahamet*) out of Heri, and to make him King. Neither wanted the infant *Tamas* his aſpiring friends, whoſe Tutor waited likewiſe for ſome opportunitie to ſettle him in the kingdome, and ſo by meanes of his greatneſſe to make himſelfe greateſt amongſt his fellowes. A number of others there were, that ſecretly waited vpon euery occaſion that time ſhould preſent for their preferment. Howbeit in this ſo great varietie of thoughts, the Sultans anſwered the lady with one conſent, and promiſed her in moſt liberall termes, all the protection that their forces could affoord, or their weapons procure: and yet did euery one of them, both in action and word, Clerke-like diſſemble their ſeuerall imaginations, whereunto their minds were as prone and readie, as their hearts were cunning cloſely to conceale them.

Amurath the Turkiſh Emperor now wakened, firſt at the death of the old renowned *Tamas*, and then at the rumour of the deſire *Iſmahel* had to paſſe with an armie to Babylon, as alſo at the freſh report of the Turkiſh ſuperſtition newly publiſhed in Perſia; and withall throughly inſtructed what harme this late King had done in Perſia, what diſſentions he had raiſed, and how hardly the prouinces of that Empire had endured thoſe calamities; began foorthwith to thinke hereby a faire occaſion to bee miniſtred vnto him, to take vp Armes againſt the Perſians;

Amurath intentiue to the ſtirs in Perſia.

Mahamet reſolueth to take vpon him the Perſian kingdome.

Mahamet proclaimed king of Perſia.
The head of Periaconcona preſented to Mahamet on a Launce.

Perſians, and matter ſufficient ſuggeſted for him to put in execution the great deſire he had of ſome new conqueſt. For it is an antient cuſtome, which is growne to be as it were a law among the *Othoman* Kings, That they may not challenge their due honors in their life time, nor their proud monuments after their death, vnles they attempt ſome great and ambitious actions and enterpriſes, and performe ſome exploit conformable to their Majeſty. *Amurath* therefore bent vpon theſe great ſtirs in Perſia, would not direct his mind any other way, or take any other war in hand, vntill he might firſt ſee what iſſue theſe marueilous innouations in Perſia would bring forth: which in the perſon of *Mahamet* the ſucceeding King, ſeemed to be more pregnant than euer before, and miniſtred vnto *Amurath* new occaſions of victorious and ſtrange hopes. For as ſoone as *Iſmahel* was dead, the afore named *Mirize Salmas* (in dignity chiefe man among the Sultans, though in bloud and nobility inferior to them all) after many letters diſpatched to and fro, at laſt aſſured *Mahamet Codabanda*, how with all quietneſſe of minde, and ſecuritie of perſon, he might come and poſſeſſe himſelfe of the kingdome. He was alſo aduertiſed by the ſaid *Salmas*, of the whole conſpiracie plotted againſt his brother to bring him to his end; and likewiſe made acquainted, how the fraudulent Ladie, with the Sultans, had capitally conſulted againſt himſelfe: and how ſhe, fauoring *Emir Chan*, and *Abas Mirize* of Heri her nephew & his ſon, more than became her, did little regard the due and rightfull ſucceſſion of him being the eldeſt brother. So *Mahamet* bearing himſelfe vpon the faith and diligence of *Mirize Salmas*, and deſiring withall to ſee his eldeſt ſon *Hamze Mirize* aduanced to ſome ſuch ſoueraign dignitie as he ſaw was due to the liuely hope euery man perceiued to be in him, in regard of his vertue and prudence for managing the commonwealth and matters of warre (wherein alſo he ſhewed himſelfe vnto his father jealous and ſuſpicious, leſt ſome other man ſhould vſurpe vpon him that honor and authority which ſo properly appertained vnto him) reſolued in the end not to leaue the kingdome in the hands of priuate perſons, nor the lightneſſe of an vnconſtant woman of ſuſpected modeſtie, and a rebellious conſpiratour againſt her owne bloud, wherewith ſhe had without any pittie or remorſe of conſcience, now twice defiled her ſelfe. And therefore he wrot backe againe, That he was minded to take the rightful ſucceſſion vpon him, and that for the ſame purpoſe he was putting himſelfe vpon his journey: with *ſtraight* charge notwithſtanding, That *Mirize Salmas* ſhould before his entrance within the *gates of Casbin*, preſent him with the miſchieuous head of *Periaconcona*; a woman (in reſpect of the ſcorne exerciſed againſt her brother *Aidere*, and of the treacherous death of her other brother *Iſmahel*, and of the peruerſe imaginations which ſhee had conceiued to cauſe the ſucceſſion to fall into other mens hands, & of the prodigal familiaritie which ſhe had with ſome of the Sultans) wel worthie of a thouſand deaths. Secretly did *Mirize Salmas* put in execution whatſoeuer *Mahamet* had priuatly enioyned him, ſo that by his meanes he was preſently and ſolemnly proclaimed King of Perſia. And afterwards hauing gathered together many ſquadrons of men wholly deuoted to the bloud and name of *Mahamet*, the ſame *Mirize Salmas* met him on the way, carrying the head of that manlike Virago *Periaconcona* vpon the point of a lance, with her haire diſperſed, and ſome other vncouth ſights to the terror of the beholders. From which noueltie (one miſchiefe as it were hudling vpon the necke of another) there ſprung vp diuers inward hatreds, ſundrie tumultuous ſeditions, and much ciuile wars: this new King by the inſtigation of *Mirize Salmas*, ſeeking on the one ſide to be reuenged on the Sultans for his brothers death; and they on the other ſide oppoſing themſelues with all their power againſt him, the State of Perſia began to fall into great inconueniences, and of theſe nouelties to reape new loſſes. *Sahamal* the Georgian fled into his mountaine of Brus, fearing the wrath of his new Lord: *Leuent Ogli* likewiſe another of the Lords of Georgia, vnderſtanding of the flight of *Sahamal* his neighbour, eſtranged himſelfe ſo farre from his old loue and antient deuotion towards the Perſian Kings, that he ſeemed now to deſire ſome new innouation. The Nations alſo that were neighbours to the Turks, and the people of Media Antropatia (now called Siuan) diſliked of this new King: and in the end it appeared, that Perſia vnder this king, through many mutations, was in ſhort time fallen into moſt notable miſerie, and the ſtate thereof more weakened than it had been of long time before.

Of all theſe things had *Amurath* from diuers places intelligence, but more particularly from *Vſtreff* of Van (a citie of Armenia the greater, ſcituate vpon the lake of Actamar) who ſent him moſt perfect information of all the ſtirres in Perſia; Diſcourſing vnto him of the death of Iſ-

mubel, the conſultations of the Sultans, the trecheries and death of *Periaconcona*, the broils betweene the King and the Sultans, the nature of the new King (being diſeaſed in his eyes, little eſteemed of his ſubiects, beſotted in affection towards his ſonnes) the facilitie to ouerrule the chiefe Gouernors of the Georgians, and the people of Siruan, euill affected towards the new King: and to be briefe, whatſoeuer had in truth ſucceeded in Perſia, and might enflame the mind of the ambitious Sultan, to conuert his forces againſt an enemie of ſmall counſell, and much confuſion: adding thereunto, That neuer was there greater opportunity to ouercome that king, than now was offered, and therefore wiſhed him, not in any caſe to let ſlip ſo faire an occaſion, as the *Othoman* Kings had neuer before, for the obtaining of ſo certaine and glorious victories.

Amurath of long time wholly bent to marke the euent of the troubles in Perſia, now ſtirred vp with theſe aduertiſements from *Vſtref*, ſetled himſelfe more deeply in his former conceits to proue his forces in ſubduing the Perſian king, the antient enemy of the *Othoman* Emperors, and his onely corriuall and odious competitor in the Eaſt. But no one thing did more enflame him thereunto, than to thinke, how he ſhould haue to his enemie a king not acquainted with deeds of armes, doting vpon his children, and weakned with the diſſention of his ſubiects: and on the other ſide entring into the conſideration of his owne forces, of the infinit number of his men, both horſe and foot, of the meanes he had to find money; of his artillerie and engines of war, wherin he far ſurpaſſed the Perſians; he did more and more reſolue with himſelfe, to take the occaſion that was now offered him to begin the war. For the compaſſing of which his purpoſe he was greatly fauored by the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendome, at that time beeing wholly in league and amitie with him. So not finding any thing contrarie to his deſignements, hee reſolued at laſt to confer with the chiefe Baſſa's, which had the gouernment of his empire, Whether it were better vpon this occaſion to begin the prepenſed war; or if they thought not this opportunitie to be ſo fit, then to lay it aſide, and to conuert his forces and counſell againſt the commonwealth of Chriſtendome. For ſuch is the barbarous policie whereby this empire is mannaged, That it is lawfull for them to breake any league, be it by neuer ſo many promiſes or ſolemne oaths confirmed, whenſoeuer any enterpriſe is to be attempted for the aduancing therof. So that although this war could not be moued either againſt the Perſians or Chriſtians without breach of their promiſed faith: yet among the manifold conſultations that paſſed among the great Baſſaes, there was not any man found that made any account of that defect, but al with one accord, without further reſpect ſought to ſet forward the ambitious deſire of their proud lord and maſter. At laſt after long conſultation and large diſcourſes, it was agreed vpon by the great Baſſaes *Mahomet*, *Sinan* and *Muſtapha*, That it would by better and leſſe danger to attempt war againſt the Perſians, than againſt the Chriſtian Princes. *Muſtapha* amongſt the reſt preferring the valor of the Latines (whereof he had made good trial eſpecially at Famaguſta) before the armies & forces of the Georgians & Perſians. Wherby it is apparant to the world, that neither the zeale of their religion, nor any iniurie receiued from the Perſian king, but only the ambitious deſire of *Amurath* (to ſubdue a kingdome, both in his owne conceit and other mens relations, euill gouerned, by an effeminat and ſottiſh king, and through ciuile diſſention brought into great danger) was the firſt prouocation of making this war.

No aſſurance in the Turks league.

Ambition the cauſe of the Perſian war.

A conſultation holden amongſt the Baſſaes about the manner of the inuaſion of Perſia.

Vpon this reſolution there aroſe new conſultations touching the manner thereof, and vpon what coaſt they ſhould begin their iourny, for the more honourable ſucceſſe thereof. Which point *Amurath* greatly vrged; proteſting before his chiefe counſellors, That he would not enter into that warre, except he were in great hope to beare away the victorie. Some thought it moſt conuenient to ſend the army to Babylon, & from thence to Syras, called in old time Perſepolis, the chiefe citie of the country of Perſia: others there were that gaue aduiſe, That the armie ſhould be directly ſent to Tauris, there to erect ſtrong fortreſſes; and to take poſſeſſion of all the countrie round about it: and there wanted not ſome (as it is reported) that thought it better to ſend two ſeuerall armies for both the forenamed places, & ſo by bringing the enemy into a ſtrait, to enforce him to yeeld to whatſoeuer ſhould be of him required. But *Amurath* durſt not repoſe ſuch confidence in his forces, as to thinke, that with his battels diuided and ſo weakened he ſhould be able to conquer that enemie, who had alwaies moſt valiantly fought againſt the monſtrous and puiſſant armies of his anceſtours. And therefore firmely reſolued with himſelfe, to ſend one only army, and ſo with his vnited forces to ſeeke the ouerthrow of the enemie. And ſo preferring the ſtrong hope he had conceiued to conquer the countrey of Siruan, and the chiefe cities of Media the great, before the difficultie of making war vpon the coaſt of Scyras, repoſing alſo great hope in the notable helpe that was promiſed him by the Tartars called Præcopenſes, he confirmed the great Baſſaes his counſellors in the ſame opinion: and withall diſcouered vnto them a matter, which to all of them, but eſpecially to *Sinan*, ſeemed moſt ſtrange; namely, that he was determined not to go himſelfe in perſon with his army, but to ſend one of his worthieſt captains in his ſtead. The cauſes why he ſo did, were many, but eſpecially, for that he was troubled with the falling ſickneſſe, and feared greatly (and that not without good cauſe) leſt his ſon *Mahomet* (being much fauored of the people) might peraduenture in his abſence be vntimely aduanced to the empire; beſide the dangers that he ſuſpected at the hands of the Chriſtian Potentates: and withall perſuaded it to be vnto himſelfe a great honour to performe thoſe things by his ſeruants, which had in thoſe countries bin vnfortunatly attempted by his moſt noble predeceſſors in their owne perſons. G

While they were thus conſulting about the expedition, and the great Baſſaes, *Sinan*, *Muſtapha*, and others, made means to be ſent as the Soueraigne miniſters of their lords deſignement, hee diſpatched away ſundrie poſts and light horſemen, with order to the Baſſaes and Gouernors of Van, Babylon, and Erzirum, in the frontiers of his dominions, That they ſhould by often inrodes ſpoyle the townes and caſtles of the Perſians, and by all means to doe them what harme they could. Which they were not ſlacke to put in execution, and eſpecially *Vſtref* (or rather *Huſreue*) Baſſa of Van: who with often incurſions did much miſchiefe, as well in the countries tributarie, as ſubiect to the Perſian king. A forcible preparatiue for greater troubles to enſue. I

Vſtref Baſſa beginneth the wars in Perſia.

Now in theſe great preparations for the Perſian war (which for many yeares after notably exerciſed the greateſt part of the Turkes forces, to the great quiet of the Chriſtian commonweale) *Stephen Bathor* the late Vayuod of Tranſyluania, but now by the commendation of *Amurath* become King of Polonia; in the beginning of his raigne, by his Embaſſadour the great lord *Iohn* of Syenna, entred into a ſtrong league and confederation with the great Turkiſh Sultan *Amurath* at Conſtantinople. Which for that it ſheweth in what tearmes that famous kingdome then and yet ſtandeth with the Turkes great empire, and withall containeth matter well worth the Chriſtian conſideration, it ſhal not be impertinent to our purpoſe (omitting the long and glorious ſtile of that barbarous Monarch, ſeruing to no other end but to ſhew the greatneſſe of his power) plainely to ſet it downe as it was on his part at the ſame time by him confirmed. K

The League betwixt the moſt puiſſant and mightie Princes, Sultan *Amurath* the Turkiſh Emperour, and *Stephen* king of Polonia, agreed vpon and concluded at Conſtantinople, in the yere of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſu 1577, and of the Prophet *Mahomet* 985.

The league betwixt Amurath the Turks Sultan, and Stephen king of Polonia.

I Sultan Amurath, *the ſonne of* Selym Chan, *the ſonne of* Solyman Chan, *the ſonne of* Selym Chan, *the ſonne of* Baiazet Chan, *the ſonne of the Great Emperour* Mahomet Chan, *&c. Prince of theſe preſent times, the onely Monarch of this age, of power able to confound the power of the whole World, the ſhadow of Diuine clemencie and grace, Great Emperour of many Kingdomes, Countries, Prouinces, Cities, and Townes, Lord of Mecha, that is to ſay, of the houſe of the glorie of God, of the reſplendent Citie of Medina, and of the moſt bleſſed Citie of Hieruſalem, Prince of the moſt fruitfull Countrey of Ægypt, Imen, Zenan, Aden, and many other ſuch like: In moſt louing manner declare, That the moſt glorious and renowned* Stephen *King of Polonia, great Duke of Lithuania, Ruſsia, Pruſia, Maſouia, Samogitia, Kiouia, Liuonia, and many other Countreys, the Prince of the couragious followers of Ieſus, Gouernour of all the affaires of the people and Families of the Nazarets, the welcommeſt cloud of Raine, and moſt ſweet fountaine of Glorie and Vertue, eternall Lord and Heire of the felicitie and honour of the aforeſaid noble Kingdome of Polonia, vnto whome all the diſtreſſed repaire for refuge, wiſhing a moſt happie ſucceſſe and bleſſed end to all his actions: offering vnto vs many religious vowes and eternall praiſes worthie our perpetuall loue and moſt holy League, and with great deuotion performing theſe and other like honours, a* L

ſu

A for the diſpatch of his Letters to our moſt glorious Court, for the new confirming of the moſt ſacred league and confederation with vs, ſending the honourable Lord Iohn of Synnia (his moſt faithfull counſellour) his Embaſſadour to our Imperiall Court; declaring his loue and integritie, and purging himſelfe of all the ſuſpition of hoſtilitie, hath requeſted the league and confederation to be renewed. At whoſe inſtance wee haue giuen theſe our letters confirming the ſaid league of peace and confederation: Wherein we command, That none of our Counſellours, Beglerbegs, Sanzackes, Generals of our Armies, Captaines, or Seruants, ſhall doe, or on my behalfe preſume to doe any hurt vnto the Kingdome, Countries, Cities, Caſtles, Townes, Iſlands, or whatſoeuer elſe to the Kingdome of Polonia belonging. And in like manner, that none of the Nobilitie, Generals, Captaines, or others whoſoeuer belonging vnto the king of Polonia, ſhall dare to doe any harme vnto my Kingdomes, Cities, Caſtles, or Townes confining vnto the B Kingdome of Polonia. In briefe, my will is, that he being a mortall enemie vnto mine enemies, and a faſt friend vnto my friends, ſhall doe no grieuance or harme vnto any my ſubiects, or things whatſoeuer vnto my iuriſdiction belonging. So in like manner commanding alſo, that no hurt by any meanes, or for any occaſion be done by our people vnto the ſubiects, or whatſoeuer elſe vnto the Iuriſdiction of the King of Polonia appertaining.

The creatures, Embaſſadours, Meſſengers, and men of whatſoeuer condition elſe, ſhall on both ſides freely without let or trouble come and goe without any harme receiuing, either in their perſons or goods.

It ſhall be lawfull alſo for the King of Polonia his ſubiects, to ſeeke throughout our Empire for any the Polonian captiues taken before the time of this league; and the ſame ſo found (if they haue not recei- C ued the Turkiſh Religion, but ſtill remaine Chriſtians) to redeeme without the contradiction of any man.

And that whatſoeuer ſhall be taken and carried away after the confirmation of this league, ſhall be all againe freely and without any thing paying, deliuered and reſtored.

That the merchants on both parts may freely traffique with all kind of merchandiſe in the blacke and white ſea, as alſo vpon the maine; and ſo paying their vſuall and lawfull cuſtome, to be in nothing wronged or moleſted.

If any of the Polonian merchants ſhall die in our dominion, the goods of him ſo dead ſhall not be embeſeled, but kept in ſafetie vntill his brethren or other his friends ſhall come with the king of Polonia his letters: vpon the ſhewing whereof, hauing alſo our letters mandatorie, the goods ſhall be forthwith re- D ſtored vnto the dead mans heires. In which ſort alſo my merchants ſhall be dealt withall, if any of them ſhall chance to die in the kingdome of Polonia.

If any wrong be done within the limits of mine Empire, vnto any belonging vnto the kingdome of Polonia, after the date of theſe letters confirming the league; the doer of the wrong ſhall by my commandement be ſought out, and being found ſhall be puniſhed, and the wrong done, without any delay or contradiction forthwith recompenced. And the like Iuſtice to be alſo on the behalfe of the king of Polonia adminiſtred.

If any debtor ſhall depart out of mine empire into the Polonian territorie, whereſoeuer he ſhall chance to be found by his creditor, he ſhall be brought to the Iudge of that place to be examined, and whatſoeuer it ſhall be prooued him of right to owe, the Iudge of that place ſhall according to the equitie of the cauſe E make the creditor to be ſatisfied.

But if the debtor cannot himſelfe perſonally be found, no other man ſhall by reaſon of another mans debt be taken, detained, or moleſted: neither ſhall the innocent be troubled for the guilty, in either or both our kingdomes.

In briefe, vpon whatſoeuer conditions and capitulations the league of peace and confederation was in the time of my father, my grandfather, or great grandfather of famous memorie, made with the kings of Polonia, vpon the ſame conditions and capitulations be it now made alſo.

Whatſoeuer hurt hath hitherto bin done to either part by reaſon of the diſagreement of the Gouernors and Captaines, ſhall all be on both parties neglected and forgotten.

Alſo after the time of theſe letters confirming the league and confederation, Whereas the King of Polonia ſhall in time pay a certain ſumme of money vſed to be paied vnto the Tartars; the Tartar Chan and his ſonne Mirzeleby their Princes, ſhall reſtore the ſame again, and not to dare to ſuffer his armies by any meanes to hurt the Polonian territories. So that on the part of the Tartars and their armies, no harme ſhall be done vnto the kingdome of Polonia: neither on the part of the Polonians, to the territories of the Tartars. And if any harme ſhall by the Tartars be done in the king of Polonia his territories, it *ſhall by my commandement be againe reſtored. And ſo likewiſe on the part of the Palatine of Moldauia, or the inhabitants of the kingdome of Moldauia, no harme ſhall be done vnto the countries ſubiect vnto the King of Polonia: but if any be done and certainely knowne, to be by my commandement againe recompenced.*

On the part alſo of the King of Polonia and his ſubiects, whatſoeuer harme ſhall be done vnto the territorie or ſubiects of the Moldauian Palatine, or Tartars, the harme ſo done to be recompenced, and the doers thereof puniſhed.

Alſo that all ſuch fugitiues as hauing done any notorious felonies or other villanies in Moldauia, and ſo are fled into Polonia, ſhall at my requeſt, or at the requeſt of the Palatine of Moldauia, be reſtored, and in no caſe denied.

That all the Polonian captiues within my dominions, yet profeſſing the Chriſtian religion, may by the King of Polonia his ſubiects be redeemed, not paying any more for them than their Lords and Maſters paied: euery ſuch maſter of the ſlaue taking his oath that he coſt him ſo much. But ſuch captiues as haue receiued the Turkiſh faith, to be forthwith ſet at libertie: and ſo the Turks ſlaues in the Kingdome of Polonia to be likewiſe manumiſed.

That our Embaſſadors on both ſides (ſo long as we are in league and amitie) may freely come and goe, and not be ſtaied in any place, and being willing to meet together, may at their pleaſure ſo doe. And being entred into the confines of either part, to be forthwith by ſome good and faithfull guide appointed vnto them, conducted vnto the place they are to goe vnto. And this to be on both ſides kept.

No man to dare to hurt, or ſtay any merchant, hauing paied his thirtieth part, or lawfull cuſtome.

If any of our ſubiects ſhall haue any ſuit with any of the King of Polonia his ſubiects, the Iudges ſhall without delay be bound to adminiſter Iuſtice. All theeues and robbers ſhall be diligently ſought out; and being found, to be ſeuerely puniſhed: and the goods taken away, without impeachment to be reſtored vnto the right owners, their heires, or to the King.

The SanZackes of Siliſtria and Bolograue, the Cuſtomers and Water-baylifes ſhall not ſuffer any man but merchants and ſuch as are ſent in our ſeruice, to paſſe ouer the riuer Nyeſter; who paſſing ouer, if they ſhall bring with them any ſlaue or bondman out of Polonia, he ſhall be ſent backe againe. The ſheepheards, if they will tranſport their ſheepe into the Iurſdiction of the King of Polonia, ſhall not ſo doe without the leaue of the Polonian Gouernours, before whom they ſhall alſo number their ſheepe: of whom if any ſhal be loſt, the Gouernours ſhall cauſe them to be ſought for, and to be reſtored vnto the ſheepheards, as alſo to pay for their hay.

The Zauzij, Ianizaries, or Poſts, ſhall not dare in time of peace or war, to take any horſes from the Polonian merchants, or other the Kings ſubiects comming into our Kingdome.

The Palatines of Moldauia, in whatſoeuer condition they haue been towards the former Kings of Polonia, they ſhall now alſo ſtill ſo be hereafter. The thirtieths and Cuſtomes of both parts, ſhall continue in their old manner, and not be encreaſed. The Polonian kings ſubiects and Merchants, as well Armenians as of any other Nation, whenſoeuer they ſhall enter into Moldauia, or any other part of our Empire, ſhall not trauell by vncertaine and vnknowne, but by the common and high waies: wherein if they ſhall ſuffer any loſſe or harme, either in their gooas or perſons, the doers of ſuch wrongs ſhall bee ſought for, and ſenerely puniſhed. Which merchants ſhall bee ſuffered without any moleſtation quietly to come and goe, hauing paied their thirtieths: and no merchant to be troubled for anothers debt.

If any the Polonian Kings merchants or ſubiects, be willing for ready mony to redeeme and carry away any ſlaues taken out of the Polonian Kingdome, and yet profeſſing the Chriſtian religion, the Iudges ſhall in no caſe withſtand them, neither preſume to take them from them, or againe to redeeme them. But if any of ſuch ſlanes haue receiued the Turkiſh religion, they ſhall not be againe demanded by the King of Polonia.

Such ſlaues as haue not receiued the Turkiſh religion, if after a certaine ſpace they ſhall be ſet at liberty by their maſters, and in the letters teſtimoniall of their libertie, it ſhall be declared that they haue receinea the Turkiſh religion; yet ſhall they not by the Iudges be therefore detained.

In the Citie of Buruſa, the Polonian merchants hauing paied their vſuall thirtieths, ſhall not be further preſſed with any other vnuſuall payment.

My will is alſo, that the territories at this preſent in the poſſeſſion of the King of Polonia, as hereafter to be by him taken from the Muſcouite or any other the Chriſtian Princes, to bee compriſed within this league, and ſo to be royally by him poſſeſſed.

A *And for the confirmation of the articles and conditions in theſe our letters of confederation contained, I ſweare by the power of the moſt mightie God, and of his moſt holy Prophet, and by the moſt cleane and pure Spirits of all the Prophets; That for all the daies of my life, and ſo long as nothing ſhall on the behalfe of the King of Polonia be done contrarie to the peace and league, nothing ſhall alſo on my part bee done contrary vnto the ſame. Witneſſe the Almightie, the vpright Iudge and diſcerner of mens actions. From Conſtantinople the yeare of the holy Prophet* Mahomet 985, *the* 14 *of the moneth Cziemaſi Eumel, and of Chriſt* 1577.

This league betwixt theſe two mightie Princes ***Amurath*** and king ***Stephen*** thus concluded,
and after the death of ***Stephen*** by ***Sigiſmund*** the third (which now raigneth) renewed, as it hath
B bin euer ſince to the Polonian kingdom for the time commodious, ſo hath it as with an Adamantine band ſo bound that moſt famous Kingdome, as that in the hardeſt diſtreſſes of the
Chriſtian commonweale, and moſt indeed concerning it ſelfe, it hath affoorded no more help
than hath the members farther off, which is (I rue to ſay it) none at all. As in theſe late and preſent wars betwixt the Chriſtian Emperor and the two laſt Turkiſh Sultans, it is too plainly to
be ſeene: wherein had it in due time giuen but ſuch reaſonable helpes as it might well haue
ſpared, much no doubt might haue been done for the repreſſing of the common enemie, and
the recouerie of the greateſt part of that is loſt of Hungarie: but thus bound, ſtandeth as a dead
member, ſeruing to no vſe more than to the more ſpeedie deſtruction of it ſelfe, together with
the reſt of the ſicke bodie. For what aſſurance it can haue in this long (I muſt needs ſay) but
C euill aſſured peace, is well to be ſeene in that in the great conſultation of this great Sultan ***Amurath*** with his Baſſa's after the Perſian war, for the inuading of Chriſtendome, the Polonians for
all this league ſo ſolemnly conſtrained, were nothing the more regarded, but laid in the ſame
ballance with the leaſt, and preſerued only by the Prouidence that all gouerneth: which leading the Turk againſt the Chriſtian Emperor their neighbor, hath giuen them that peace they
were otherwiſe hardly to haue looked for. Vnto whom for all that, hauing to his endleſſe
praiſe maintained a long and moſt chargeable war, they haue not lent any great help or friendly hand; yet lying themſelues ſtill in the Lyons mouth, and like enough to be the next (God
grant I be therein deceiued) that is to be of him deuoured.

But leauing theſe the heauie conceits of a melancholy mind, and ominous forbodings of
D that I wiſh not, to returne againe toward Perſia, ***Amurath*** his greateſt care. Amongſt many the
ambitious competitors for the managing of theſe Turkiſh ſo great deſignes, was the great Baſſa ***Muſtapha*** (euen he, who in the raigne of the late Emperor ***Selymus*** conquered Cyprus, carrying thence together with his victorie perpetual infamie, for his faithleſſe and cruell dealing
with ***Bragadine*** the worthie and renowned Gouernour of Famaguſta) appointed Generall of
the Turks army into Perſia: and authoritie giuen him, to prouide whatſoeuer he ſhould thinke
needfull for ſo great a warre. And commandement giuen vnto the Baſſaes, and other commanders of the greateſt part of the Turkiſh Empire Eaſtward, that they ſhould themſelues with
their ſouldiers of all ſorts, bound by their perpetual annuities to go to the warre, in the begin-
E ning of the Spring this yeare 1578, repaire to Erzirum, a citie of Capadocia bordering vpon
Armenia, there to attend the command of their new Generall. Who hauing his diſpatch from
Conſtantinople, and for faſhion ſake conducted by moſt of the court ouer the ſtrait to Scutari,
and from thence paſſing through the countries of Amaſia and Siuas, in the very beginning of
Sommer arriued at Erzirum, and there ſtayed vntill ſuch time as his people, victuals, artillerie,
and other his neceſſary prouiſion was come thither. From whence he departed for Siruan, hauing firſt taken a diligent ſurueigh of his whole armie, muſtering the ſouldiers of euery Nation
by themſelues: namely, of the Meſopotamians twelue thouſand, of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians foureteene thouſand, of the Syrians two thouſand, of them of the Leſſer Aſia (now
comprehended vnder the name of Natolia) ten thouſand, of the Iews and Philiſtims one thouſand, and of the Cilicians foure thouſand. After whom followed the ſouldiers of Grecia, the
glorie and hope of all the campe, valiant men, to the number of ten thouſand: and after them
the familiar and faithfull guard of the Generall, ten thouſand Ianizaries of Conſtantinople,
with harquebuſies on their ſhoulders, and ſcimitars by their ſides: of the citie alſo of Erzirum, and the Iuriſdiction thereof, appeared foure thouſand, vnder the enſigne of of ***Beyran Baſſa*** their Generall. All theſe were ſtipendaries to the Turkiſh Emperour: vnto whome other

Muſtapha Baſſa made Generall of the Turks armie.

1578

Muſtapha commeth to Erzirum and there muſtreeth his armie.

voluntary aduenturers ioyned themſelues,in number not inferiour to the reſt,but better furniſhed, G
and of greater courage. So that in this generall ſuruey of the armie were found about an
hundred and ten thouſand men, moſt part horſemen: yet was there not any ſtirred out of Arabia,
Ægypt,Affrica,or Hungarie, or other places alongſt the ſea coaſts: neither were the Prouinces
from whence theſe ſouldiers were drawne,left deſtitute or vnfurniſhed of their ordinarie
garriſons. Beſides this multitude of men, *Muſtapha* brought with him fiue hundred ſmall
pieces of artillerie,with many loads of mony for his ſouldiers pay, with further order for the
taking vp of more at Aleppo,and other places,if his occaſions ſhould ſo require.He cauſed alſo
great quantitie of corne to be tranſported by the Great ſea called in antient time Pontus
Euxinus,to Trapezond,ſo to be conueied to Erzirum,beeing but foure daies iourney diſtant
thence. To be ſhort, hauing taken order for all things hee thought neceſſary for the warre, H
hee in ſeemely array departed from Erzirum, and in eight daies arriued at the ruines of
Chars, and in the fruitfull countrie thereabout reſted himſelfe: but was there ſurpriſed with
ſuch a violent tempeſt of wind and raine, as rent in ſunder his tents, and did great harme; by
means whereof many fell ſicke and were conſtrained to forſake the armie.

Muſtapha at Chars.

Muſtapha cunningly encampeth his armie at Chielder.

Hauing ſtaied three daies at Chars,the bounder of the Turkiſh and Perſian empires,hee departed
thence with his armie,and that euening lodged vnder the mountains of Chielder,ſuppoſed
to be part of the hils Periardo: where hearing the Perſians to be in armes, hee thought
it beſt for the ſecuritie of his armie, ſo to pitch his tents as that hee might well diſcouer the
comming of the enemie,and not to be aſſaulted at vnawares. And therefore planting himſelfe
in the plaine, he gaue order that *Beyran*, Baſſa of Erzirum, ſhould take poſſeſſion of a certaine
hill on the right hand;and *Deruis* the Baſſa of Caramit ſhould keepe another hill that ſtood on I
the left hand; and with them *Oſman Baſſa*, *Mahamet Baſſa*, *Muſtaffade Baſſa*, aduenturers,with
many others as well ſtipendarie as voluntarie men, ſhould likewiſe pitch their tents vpon the
ſame hils, in ſuch ſort, as that they making as it were two wings to the camp,might diſcouer
the comming of euerie man,and yet he himſelfe being ſhadowed with the two hils,might lie
vnperceiued of any.

Mahamet the new king of Perſia, as yet ſcarcely ſetled in his kingdome, ſtirred vp by the
fame of theſe motions,reſolued in himſelfe to ſtand vpon the defence of his ſtate,& for a time
to diſſemble the conceiued hatred which he bare to ſome of the Sultans of Perſia,and princes
of Georgia,and to make ſome apparant ſhew that hee was reconciled to them; for that without K
them he could not promiſe vnto himſelfe any form of an armie,or defence:wherein(notwithſtanding
all the troubled ſtate of his kingdome) he wrought ſo cunningly,that almoſt all
the great men of account tooke vpon them the protection of his ſtate and kingdome. And ſo
Tocomac a Sultan, the Chan and Gouernour of Reiuan, a famous man, well knowne vnto the
Turks,and of great reputation amongſt the Perſians,was choſen Generall of this expedition;
with charge,That gathering together the greateſt number of men he could out of Atropatia,
out of Media the greater, and other places neere vnto the Turks,he ſhould by all means poſſible
ſtop their paſſage into Georgia and Media Atropatia. And therupon precepts were ſent out
into all parts of the kingdome, That all the Chans, Sultans,and ſouldiers whatſoeuer, ſhould
come readie preſt to attend vpon their new Generall.Many obedient to the kings proclamation, L
came;but many there were that would not ſtir a foot,for their obſtinacie in the broiles begun,
and for the ſuſpition they had of vnlooked for miſchiefes: at whoſe diſobedience the
king much grieued;but now there was no remedie but to make the beſt of the matter,and for
the ſafegard of his honour to make the beſt reſiſtance they could. So with thoſe few which for
the loue of their prince and country were met together in thoſe parts, being in number not aboue
twentie thouſand, *Tocomac* was diſpatched about his buſineſſe,if happily he might with
theſe ſmall forces oppreſſe the enemy in ſome ſtrait and troubleſome paſſage, where the great
multitude ſhould rather ſerue to the confuſion of themſelues, than to the helpe of one another.
Theſe twentie thouſand were all horſemen, armed with ſcimitar and bow,with ſome
harquebuſiers among,and furniſhed with very fine and well tempered armour; but aboue all, M
courageous they were,& reſolute,and wel the more,for the valor and proweſſe of their Generall.
So prouided of all things neceſſary, they ſet forward,and keeping the way of Tauris and
Genge,they came to the turning of Chars, where they were aduertiſed,that the enemies army
was already paſſed.

Tocomac Generall of the Perſians.

A They were now come within a days iourney of Chielder, when they ſent quicke and faithfull ſcouts, to bring them certaine news of the condition and number of the Turks army; who came thither euen at the very time that *Muſtapha* was incamping his armie between the two hils, wherupon the two Baſſa's *Beyran* and *Deruis*, with their people, had alreadie pitched their tents. Theſe ſcouts diſcouering the Turkiſh hoaſt aloft, perſuaded themſelues that there was not any other battell than thoſe which they ſaw vpon the hills; whereof with all ſpeed they could they returned newes to *Tocomac*, who at eaſe had followed theſe his ſcouts a far off. *Tocomac* thus miſinformed by his ſcouts of the number of his enemies, held on his way boldly, with purpoſe to aſſault them; and hauing diſcouered their tents vpon the hils, was throughly confirmed in the opinion he had before conceiued of the number of his enemies, & the ſcouts B relation, and with ſo much the more confidence ſet forward to aſſaile them. But *Beyran* and *Deruis*, who quickly from the hils perceiued the Perſians comming in the plain, although they knew them to be men of great courage, yet repoſing an aſſured confidence in their Generals battell, with all ſpeed mounted vpon their horſes, and ran to meet them. So in the aforeſayd plaines vnder Chielder, within one houre after noone was ioyned a moſt bloudie battel, wherin at laſt were ſlain ſeuen of the Turks Sanzacks, with a very great number of ſoldiers, without any apparant loſſe at all among the Perſians, who fighting cloſe together in a great heat, and all bebloudied, vrged their happie and fortunate victorie.

But *Muſtapha* who perceiued all that had paſſed, and ſtaied waiting till the fight was at the hoteſt, and the medly at the thickeſt, that ſo the flight of the enemies might breed their greater C diſorder; and now ſeeing that his people could no longer endure the fury of the enemies rage (euen as if it had lightned & thundred, and as though the earth had ſhaken) with ſuch cries and acclamations as the Turks vſe in their aſſaults, for the more terror of the enemies, exciting his army, ran as it were headlong vpon his aduerſaries, and ſo renewed a moſt terrible battell. The Perſians wonderfull courage endured this vnexpected and dreadfull aſſault, and with incredible ſignes of valour, in that little time of daylight that was left (for the night began now to approch) continued their manifold ſlaughters, and at laſt being fauored by the darkneſſe of the night, withdrew themſelues with as little loſſe as poſſibly they might. Neither durſt *Muſtapha* any longer purſue them, but was glad by night to returne to his campe. Of the ſucceſſe of this battell the Perſians certified their king; as alſo of the greatnes of the Turkiſh army, with their D further purpoſe for the annoying thereof. And by the Turkes alſo were preſented to *Muſtapha* (who had alreadie ſent away poſts with news to *Amurath*) 5000 heads, which by their color, countenance, & beards, bewraied themſelues to be Perſians, and 3000 Perſiansa liue. Of this victorie *Muſtapha* greatly reioiced, and to make it ſeeme the greater (ſeeking by all means to conceale his owne loſſes, and to raiſe a greater terror by the fame thereof, amongſt his enemies, cauſed the heads of thoſe three thouſand that were brought before him aliue, to be preſently cut from their ſhoulders, and gaue order, that of thoſe heads there ſhould be framed a bulwarke in thoſe fields, for a moſt horrible and vncouth ſpectacle.

Muſtapha commeth with his battel to relieue his diſtreſſed people.

A bulwarke made of the heads of the ſlain Perſians.

The ſame day that *Muſtapha* imploied himſelfe about this barbarous and cruel worke, there came vnto him certaine meſſengers from *Manucchiar* the younger ſon of the Georgian widow E *Dedeſimit* (a great prince in that country) who told him, That with his good fauour and leaue, *Manucchiar* their lord and maſter was comming to ſalute him, and to offer himſelfe vnto him as his obedient and deuoted ſeruant. At which newes *Muſtapha* redoubling his joy, gaue commandement, That all the Baſſa's and captains of the army, with all ſolemne pompe, with trumpets, drums, peales of ordnance, and all other ſignes of munificall and joyfull entertainment, ſhould go forth to meet the ſaid *Manucchiar*, and to accompanie him to his preſence. Which they did accordingly; and ſo encountering him with all ſignes of honor, conducted him to the great pauilion of *Muſtapha*, who there cauſed him againe to be ſaluted with like triumph. *Manucchiar* diſmounted from his horſe, and againſt his wil beholding the ſtrange and vncouth pile of heads all pale and filthie to behold, and indeed imagining what the matter meant: yet notwithſtanding, before all other things hauing done his due reuerence to the great Baſſa, and according to his degree placed himſelfe next to his ſide, after he had preſented him with ſuch gifts as his country yeelded, he gaue him to vnderſtand, That for the honor & eſtimation which he bare to the Turkiſh valor, he was alwaies deuoted to the houſe of the *Othomans*; and as he had oftentimes deſired to ſpend his goods & life in their ſeruice, ſo at this preſent time, moued

The ſpeech of Manucchiar to Muſtapha.

by his antient deſire, allured by the ſtrange fame of this victorious and wonderfull armie, and G ſtirred vp by a particular fantaſie, to learne the painfull and hard precepts of the art militarie, vnder ſuch a Generall, commander of other commanders; he offered him all deuotion and ſeruice, more than euer he had done to any heretofore, & himſelfe hauing nothing in the world more deere vnto him, conſecrated his own life to his commandements; deſiring that the ſame might be imployed in the conflicts of war vnder his banners, among warriors and ſouldiers of fame and renowne: and therefore beſought him to accept of him in the name of *Amurath*, whoſe obedient vaſſal he vowed himſelfe to remaine for euer.

The anſwere of Muſtapha.

Graciouſly did *Muſtapha* receiue all this diſcourſe from *Manucchiar*, and hauing ſhewed him againe the pile of heads, together with his battels, armor, and prouiſion of war, told him, That as all theſe forces are the gift of God, who alwaies fauored the righteous counſels of the *Othman* Emperors, in ſuch ſort that they lord it ouer all the world, euen to the aſtoniſhment of all H that liue in the world at this day: ſo had he for his particular choſen the better part, in comming now to yeeld himſelfe, and to ſubmit his obedience to his Lord, although it had beene better if he had done it before. And as concerning the deſire he had to be his companion and fellow in theſe warlike affaires, he did very friendly accept of his comming, and promiſed him all good entertainement and aſſured ſafetie. And ſo in exchange of the preſents which hee brought him, he apparelled him in cloath of gold, honored him with a battel-axe and targuet wrought with gold and ammell, and neuer permitted him to go from his pauilion without a traine of his ſlaues following him.

A terrible raine and tempeſt.

This Georgian prince thus ſolemnly entertained, the General gaue order thorow the camp, I That they ſhould the next morning remoue from thoſe mountaines: and now euery man was putting himſelfe in readineſſe, when as there riſe a moſt terrible tempeſt of winde and raine, mixt with thunder & lightning; which continued with ſuch violence by the ſpace of foure dayes together, as if the heauens had bin diſſolued into waters. Whereby it came to paſſe, that out of the dead carkaſſes & heads before mentioned iſſued a moſt horrible ſtink: ſo that thereby, & by the foulneſſe of the weather, with the other anoiances always attending vpon ſo great a camp, the whole army was exceedingly troubled, and diuers diſeaſes aroſe among the Turks. But at the laſt the weather breaking vp, *Muſtapha* riſe with his campe, and ſet forward toward Teflis: and being not able by reaſon of the foulneſſe of the way to paſſe any farther, that day ſtayed in the plains, where the lake Chielder Giol ſtandeth, and there refreſhed his ſicke and K wounded ſoldiers: remouing thence, the next day about noone he came to the caſtle of Archichelec, ſometime a caſtle of the Georgians, but taken from them by *Solyman* in his wars againſt

Muſtapha ſurueieth his army at Archichelec, & lacketh forty thouſand of his men.

Tamas, and euer ſince holden by the Turks. Here *Muſtapha* ſurueyed his army, and by diligent account taken, found himſelfe to want 40000 of his ſoldiers: wereof ſome were ſlaine in the battell, ſome were dead of ſickneſſe, and many wearie of ſo long and perilous a journey, were by night ſtolne out of the campe, and returned to take their eaſe at home. From thence the armie remoued, and lodged at night neere the mariſh called of the Turks Peruana Giol, or lake of ſlaues, and the next day came to Triala, where at this day are to be ſeene the ruins of a great citie and of many churches; whereof ſome are yet repaired and maintained by deuout Chriſtians, the reliques of thoſe happy and religious forces, that with ſo great and faithfull zeale L paſſed the ſeas and mountaines through thoſe barbarous nations into the holy land, men worthie of eternall praiſe. The next day the Turks aſcended the high and craggie mountaine that ſtandeth vpon Teflis: from the top whereof diſcending the day following, they ſeiſed vpon a caſtle of the Georgians, called by the Turks Giurgi Chala. Departing thence, and lodging in

The Turkes victuallers cut off by the Georgians.

certaine plaines, the next day they came neere to the riuer that runneth by Teflis. But in theſe foure dayes march from Archichelec, where *Muſtapha* tooke view of his armie, many of the Turks who in ſeeking for victuals for themſelues and their horſes, had ſtragled from the army, were cut off by the Georgian captaines, who with a number of their owne countrey ſouldiers ſecretly followed the Turks armie, and well acquainted with all the wayes of the countrey, lay in ambuſh vpon ſuch places as the victuallers were to paſſe through, and ſo ſuddenly ſetting M vpon them, ſpoiled them at once both of their goods and liues.

Muſtapha comming to Teflis, found that caſtle empty, for that *Daut Chan* lord thereof, hearing of the comming of the Turks, forſook the ſame and betooke himſelfe to the fields, prouiding better for himſelf in ſo doing, than by ſtaying ſtil in the caſtle, to haue bin there taken priſoner.

A ſoner. This caſtle for the conuenient ſcituation thereof *Muſtapha* cauſed to be repaired and fortified, and planted therein an hundred pieces of artillery, and appointed *Mahamet Baſſa* Generall Gouernor of that place, with a garriſon of ſix thouſand ſoldiers, which done, he departed for Siruan. At which very time thoſe of Soria, which had brought a thouſand loads of rent corne to the campe from Aleppo, being themſelues in number a thouſand perſons, with fiue hundred others of Omps (in antient time called Hus, the citie of the patient *Iob*) and other places of Soria, men neither of dutie bound, nor of themſelues willing to follow the campe, returned homewards towards their owne countrey: but vpon the way they were ſet vpon by *Aleſſandro*, *Giuſuf*, and *Dauid* (three of the Georgian lords) and all ſlaine except ſome few, who by the ſwiftneſſe of their horſes eſcaped with *Naſſardin* their Captaine.

B Now after that *Muſtapha* had paſſed the diſcent of the ſteepe mountaines of Teflis, the next day he incamped in certaine low plaines; where the Embaſſadors of *Aleſſandro* ſyrnamed the Great, ſonne of *Leuent* a Georgian Prince, came vnto him and told him, That their Lord was readie, if it ſo pleaſed him, to come vnto him to do him reuerence, and by word of mouth to promiſe him that deuotion he had alwayes in minde borne to the *Othoman* Emperors. With a glad heart and cheerefull countenance did *Muſtapha* receiue theſe Embaſſadors: and preſently ſent them backe to will their lord to come, and to tell him, That his friendſhip ſhould be vnto him moſt deere and acceptable. And after their departure, tooke order with all the commanders of his armie, to receiue him with all the ſignes of joy that might be; which at his comming was accordingly by them performed. Who after he had preſented vnto the Gene- C rall the rich gifts he had brought with him, he offered his obedience to the Baſſa with moſt liuely ſpeeches he could poſſibly deuiſe, calling *Amurath* his Lord: ſeeming to take it in euil part, that he paſſed not through his territorie, where he ſhould (as he ſaid) haue had plentie of all things for the reliefe of his army; yet hoping that in his returne from Siruan he would take it in his way; whereas he ſhould find him moſt readie to beſtow all that he had in the ſeruice of his Lord: telling him moreouer, That although he could not for many vrgent reſpects go with him into Siruan, yet he would alwayes accompanie him in minde, and continually pray vnto the Creator of all things, for his proſperitie and moſt happie ſucceſſe. Courteouſly did *Muſtapha* receiue both his preſents and ſubmiſſion, and in exchange thereof beſtowed vpon him certaine gifts after the Turkiſh manner, and in magnificall termes gaue him anſwer; pro- D miſing him in his returne to paſſe through his countrey: and ſo diſmiſſed the Perſian Duke with like honour wherewith he was entertained at his comming.

Aleſſandro the Georgian ſendeth Embaſſadors to Muſtapha.

Aleſſander curteouſly entertained by Muſtapha.

Muſtapha holding on his journey toward Siruan, through mooriſh and troubleſome wayes; in twelue eayes after he departed from Teflis, came into the confines of Siruan, neere to the riuer Canac, and there reſted on this ſide the riuer one day. At which time they of the city of Sechi, bordering vpon the Siruanians and Georgians, foure dayes journey from Sumachia, came to offer themſelues to *Muſtapha*, as ſubiects to the Turks. Of whoſe ſubmiſſion the Generall gratiouſly accepted, promiſing to them his aſſured protection.

The Turks army ouerwearied with the continual trauell of twelue dayes march, but yet far more afflicted with hunger, not finding in thoſe parts ſo much as one wild beaſt to aſſuage their greedie deſire of meat, ſought by all means, euery man for himſelf, to get ſomthing, eſpecially when they vnderſtood their Generall would paſſe the riuer into a countrey vnto them all vnknowne, where they were altogether vncertaine what to find for their reliefe. So whileſt they were inquiring among themſelues, who were able to conduct thē to ſome ſuch place as where they might ſupply their wants, behold, certain Perſians were taken, who being ſtraitly examined on that point, after much reſiſtance at laſt told them, that not farre off, after they had paſſed certain mariſhes, where Canac diſchargeth it ſelfe into Araxis, they ſhould find many fields ful of ryce & corne in the blade, and a little farther certain fat heards of cattel, ſufficient to relieue the whole army. Of this news was the general certified; who although he greatly doubted the ſubtiltie of his enemies, yet to gratifie his ſouldiers, and to make them more willing to follow him into Siruan, he licenſed euery man that had a deſire thereunto, to go and prouide himſelfe of victuals, and ſo ſuffered all that would, to go freely. Whereupon there went of themſelues, and were ſent by their Captaines, about ten thouſand ſeruile perſons, with Camels, Horſes, and Mules, to fetch away this prouiſion of corne and cattell: but the euent anſwered not to their deſires. For *Tocomac* with the other Perſian Captaines, and the reſt of the ſouldiers that

The Turks armie afflicted with hunger.

were eſcaped from the ouerthrow giuen them in the plaines of Chielder, hauing gathered together the remainder of the army, and recouered ſuch places as they thought ſafe and friendly G for them, carefully attended the marching & paſſing of the Turkiſh armie. And being certainly informed by them of Reiuan and Georgia, what way they kept, and that of neceſſitie they muſt arriue at the banks of Canac, they began to deuiſe how they might in ſome meaſure be reuenged of their former loſſe, and impeach their enemies entrance into Siruan. But wanting rather ſtrength than courage to aſſaile the whole armie, they thought it beſt to ſtay in ambuſh in ſome fit place, vntill ſome part of the Turkiſh armie (allured with the prey of the the corne and cattell) ſhould for the reliefe of their common neceſſities diſcend into thoſe fields. And the rather to draw them on, ſent out diuers men, who as if they had gon about their owne buſineſſe, and by chance at vnawares had lighted vpon the Turks campe, reuealed vnto them as H a great ſecret, what a good prey was hard by them. And ſo withdrawing themſelues out of ſight priuily, awaited the comming of the Turks: when as within the ſpace of three dayes it ſo fell out, that the aforeſaid ten thouſand forragers arriued at the wiſhed place; where they had no ſooner begun to charge themſelues with the prey, but they were ſurpriſed by the Perſians and all ſlaine, ſauing a few, who by haſtie flight ſaued themſelues. The noiſe of this hot skirmiſh being heard into the Turkiſh hoaſt, cauſed *Muſtapha* to imagine that the matter was fallen out euen as indeed it was; and therefore riſing with his whole army, haſted with all poſſible ſpeed to haue ſuccored the poore people, who were now all ſlaine. And albeit hee came not in ſo good time as to yeeld them reliefe, yet came he very fitly to reuenge their death vpon the Perſians, ſtaying too long to load themſelues with the ſpoile of their enemies. I

Ten thouſand of the Turks forragers ſlaine.

The place from whence the Turks were to haue had the aforeſaid bootie, was almoſt in manner of an Iſland, incloſed with the riuers of Araxis and Canac: whereinto *Muſtapha* entred with his whole power, *Deruis Baſſa* leading the one wing, as did *Beyran Baſſa* the other, and he himſelfe comming on in the middle with the maine battell. The Perſians ſeeing *Muſtapha* with all his forces haſting towards them, & withall remembring the late ouerthrow by them receiued in the plains of Chielder; began to bethinke themſelues how much better it had bin for them to haue contented themſelues with the late ſlaughter of the forragers, and with ſpeed to haue got them away out of that ſtrait, than by ſtaying longer, to be incloſed with the *multitude of* their enemies, as that they could now no way eſcape without moſt manifeſt *peril. In this perplexity* diſcourſing among themſelues, whether it were better to fly, or with ſo great diſaduantage K to join battel, and ſo rather to die honorably, than to liue with reproch: at laſt they reſolued to reſerue themſelues to the further ſeruice of their prince and country; deeming it rather a point of wiſdome than of diſhonor, not to aduenture vnto moſt deſperat and aſſured death, ſo many worthie men as might in future time ſtand their country in good ſtead: yet did they not ſee how by flight well to eſcape, for that they were in ſuch ſort ſtrained within the riuers, as that there was no ground left for them to eſcape by, than that which contrary to their expectation was by the Turks alreadie poſſeſſed. In theſe difficulties euery man began to betake himſelfe to his owne priuat conceit and fortune. *Tocomac* with *Emir Chan* and other the great commanders of the armie, were the firſt that turned their backs, and by the helpe of their couragious horſes got ouer the riuer of Canac: whoſe example mooued many others to attempt the L like, though not with like fortune; for that their horſes being not of ſuch courage, and out of breath, lay many of them drowned in the riuer. Wherewith others being amaſed, as perceiuing ineuitable death in flying, preſent before their eyes, and repoſing all their hope euen in diſpaire, ran as it were headlong in a rage and furie vpon their enemies, and in fighting ſhewed vnſpeakeable valour: but what was one againſt an hundred? for there they were alſo all ſlaine, though worthie of immortall fame. Thus was the Perſian armie quite diſcomfited in this demie Iſland, being firſt ſtained with the bloud of the enemy, and afterward with the ſlaughter of the neighbour and proper inhabitant: and ſo became the perpetuall ſepulchre of a moſt couragious and warlike people. The Turks in this laſt conflict loſt not not aboue 3000 men, beſide M the ſlaughter of the 10000 forragers: although *Tocomac* to make his loſſe to ſeeme the more tollerable, made report to the king of a greater ſlaughter made. The Perſian Captaines full of ſorrow for this vnexpected ouerthrow, with the licence of their General departed euery man to his ſeuerall gouernment: as *Emanguli Chan* to Genge, *Serap Chan* to Naſſiuan, *Tocomac* himſelfe to Reiuan, and all the reſt to other cities, to the gouernment whereof they were before

The Perſians fly and in flying are many of the drowned in Canac.

A ſore by the King appointed, and ſo remained expecting his further pleaſure from Caſbin.

Muſtapha was now come to the riuer of Canac, which he was to paſſe ouer into Siruan; and therefore made ſtraight proclamation through his whole armie, That euery man ſhould be in readineſſe againſt the next day to paſſe the riuer. At which proclamation all his people ſuddenly aroſe in a tumult, and with iniurious termes euen to his face reproued his folly and inhumanitie, propounding vtter danger vnto himſelfe, & an vniuerſall confuſion vnto the whole armie: and therfore prayed him to ſurceaſe from proceeding any further, vnleſſe he were minded to caſt them all away. But his reſolute mind was not by their threats or intreaties to be remoued, neither gaue he them other anſwer than this, *That ſo had* Amurath *commanded, and that if all the reſt ſhould ſhew themſelues vnwilling to obey their Soueraigne, he himſelfe would not nor could* B *not, but would be the firſt man to attempt and performe that which they all ſo abhorred and reproued. Valiant ſouldiers* (he ſaid) *were diſcouered and knowne not in idleneſſe and eaſe, but in great paines taking, and difficult enterpriſes: who neuer ought to be affraid to change this momentarie life for euerlaſting honour, or to ſhun death, if the ſeruice of their Prince ſo required. And for mine owne part* (ſaid hee) *I moſt earneſtly requeſt you, that after I haue attempted the paſſage of the riuer, if any thing happen vnto me otherwiſe than well, yet carrie my dead bodie to the other ſide of the riuer; to the end that if I cannot whileſt I yet liue execute the commandement of my Soueraign, I may yet at leaſt performe the ſame when I am but a ſpeechleſſe and liueleſſe carkas: foraſmuch as the deſire of my Lord is not in any ſort to be fruſtrated, for making too great account of mine owne life.*

The reſolute anſwer of Muſtapha to his tumultuous ſouldiers.

Diuers and ſundrie murmurings & whiſperings followed vpon this ſpeech of the General, C who notwithſtanding the next morning did firſt of all wade ouer the deepe & ſwift riuer himſelf: after whom preſently followed the Baſſa's with all their ſlaues, by whoſe example the reſt alſo were induced at laſt to do the like, and ſo continued vntil the darkneſſe of the night interrupted their paſſage; by which occaſion more than halfe the armie could not then get ouer. In this paſſage, being with great tumult and diſorder attempted, it came to paſſe that about 8000 perſons carried away with the violence of the riuer, were miſerably drowned, with the great outcry of all the hoaſt. The like hapned alſo to many mules, camels, and ſumpter horſes, vpon whoſe backes diuers perſons being mounted, in hope to haue paſſed drie ouer the riuer, were likewiſe headlong ouerwhelmed therein. With great complaints and blaſphemous curſings was the whole night ſpent, by them that were yet on this ſide the riuer, whoſe fears were not D a little increaſed by the example of their vnfortunat fellows, before drowned. And like enough it was, ſome peſtilent ſedition to haue inſued thereupon, had there not a ſhallow foord by great chance bin diſcouered, which gaue ſafe paſſage to thoſe that were left: for in the paſſage which the people made that followed *Muſtapha*, the grauell of the bottome of the riuer being raiſed and remoued by the heauy hooues of the cattel, was driuen down the riuer to a place where by great good hap there was alſo a foord; and there gathered together in a heape, had in ſuch ſort raiſed the depth of the channel, that it made as it were a ſhelfe for their commodious paſſage, ſo that the remnant of the army, carriages, and artillerie paſſing ouer the ſame, there was not ſo much as one man that periſhed. So hauing with much difficultie at laſt got ouer the riuer of Canac, they reſted themſelues that day and the next, and there ſtaied vntill the whole armie was muſtered, and againe put in order. Remouing thence, the day following they incamped in certain barren champaines where was neither corne nor cattel: neither could they perceiue or learne, that in thoſe quarters were any villages at all. By meanes whereof the hunger of their beaſts increaſing, they were inforced to giue their horſes and mules leaues and ſtalks of verie drie and withered reeds, & ſuch other like things of little or no ſuſtenance at all: and the men themſelues were faine to ſatisfie their hunger with thoſe vttermoſt reliques which they were faine to picke out of ſuch poore victuals as now by corruption were become loathſome to mans nature: and that which worſe was, they ſaw no end of theſe miſeries they were ſo entred into. Notwithſtanding there was now no looking back, but needs on they muſt, and follow the fortune of their leaders: among whom *Muſtapha* before all the reſt ſet forward on his determined journey. He had not long marched, but there was diſcouered good ſtore of ſundrie plants, and ſhortly after a very large plaine countrey all greene and flouriſhing, and garniſhed with many trees; by the only ſight whereof euery man was refreſhed with the hope of reliefe, and with more than ordinarie paces haſted vntill they were entred into thoſe Champaines, abounding with all kinde of corne and fruits that could be of an hungrie man deſired. In this place

Eight thouſand Turks drowned in paſſing the riuer.

Famin in the Turks hoaſt.

The Turks army refreſhed.

did euery man ſatisfie his appetite, and forgot in part the forepaſſed calamities. Through this G fruitfull and pleaſant countrey *Muſtapha* leading his armie, at laſt arriued at Eres, the chiefe citie in that coaſt of Siruan, as you trauell from Georgia.

This citie of Eres was forſaken of a number of her inhabitants, as ſoone as it was knowne, that the Tyrks were come to Canac: who all followed their gouernor *Samis Chan*, who with *Ares Chan* gouernor of Sumachia, and other the gouernors of Sechi and other places of Siruan, forſooke the cities, & all together withdrew themſelues into the mountains, as places of more ſuretie, attending the euent of theſe ſo great motions. So that as the Turkes entred the citie vndiſturbed, ſo were they with the prey they found therein nothing inriched; for that in this common danger euery man had carried away with him the beſt things he had. Here ſtayed *Muſtapha* two and twentie dayes, during which time he erected a fortreſſe in the ſaid city; H whereupon he placed two hundred ſmall pieces of artillerie, and for the keeping thereof appointed *Caitas Baſſa* with a garriſon of fiue thouſand ſoldiers. In the meane time alſo he commanded *Oſman Baſſa* (one of the voluntarie captaines) with ten thouſand men to poſſeſſe Sumachia, ſometime the metropoliticall citie of that prouince, with the title of Viſier and Gouernor generall of Siruan. Giuing him further in charge, that in any caſe he ſhould cleere the paſſage to Derbent, and giue preſent aduertiſements to the Tartarians, of his arriuall there: whom he ſuppoſed by that time to be come into thoſe quarters, for that they had before ſo faithfully promiſed to *Amurath*. *Oſman* comming to Sumachia, preſently ſeiſed vpon the citie, and was friendly entertained of thoſe that remained there: whom he likewiſe curteouſly I entreated, without doing or ſuffering any outrage to be done vpon them. Of which his curteous vſage they of Derbent vnderſtanding, ſent preſently to offer their citie vnto him, beſeeching him to receiue them into his protection, and to defend them from the Perſians: vnder whom although they had long liued in ſubiection, yet differed they from them in the ceremonies of their Mahometane ſuperſtition, wherein they better agreed with the Turks.

Muſtapha returneth out of Siruan.

Muſtapha hauing thus brought the countrey of Siruan into the Turkiſh ſubiection, and finiſhed his fortreſſe at Eres, and put all things in ſuch order as he thought beſt; importuned by the Ianizaries and the people of Grecia, and ſomewhat inforced by the ſeaſon of the yeare, which was now far ſpent; departed from Eres, and turned his courſe homeward toward the countrey of *Alexander* ſyrnamed the Great, as he had promiſed in his late paſſage into Siruan. K And hauing trauelled a long journey, he ſent before him certaine engines and pioners to make a bridge ouer Canac, ſo without danger to paſſe ouer his armie. Hauing paſſed the riuer, hee gaue notice to *Sabamall* (one of the Lords of Georgia) of his arriuall, who preſently came and yeelded himſelfe as vaſſal to the Turks: and being entertained of the Baſſa with great pompe, and rewarded after the Turkiſh manner, tooke his leaue, and ſo returned into his mountaine of Brus.

Muſtapha ſetting againe forward, and trauelling by night, becauſe he would not loſe the opportunitie of the faire weather, by the error of his guids loſt his way, and ſo fel into rough and difficult paſſages, whereby he was inforced to ſtay and wait for day light: which ariſing, did manifeſt vnto them, that they were now entred into the countries of his friend *Alexander*. And L therefore he gaue forthwith proclamation through all the armie, That no man vpon paine of death ſhould be ſo hardie as to moleſt or diſquiet any of the ſubiects of *Alexander*, but to haue good reſpect vnto them, and to entreat them with all curteſie. The day following he ſtill trauelled on in the ſame country, when there arriued from Zaghen certaine Embaſſadors of *Alexanders*, with great abundance of cattell, corne, fruits, and other reliefe ſent for a preſent to the Generall, with a ſolemne excuſe that he came not himſelfe, becauſe the infirmitie of his bodie would not ſuffer him. Wherewithall *Muſtapha* reſted ſatisfied, and leauing the citie of Zaghen on the right hand, cauſed the meſſengers of *Alexander* to guide him the way to Teflis: which they ſo directly did, that within the ſpace of three dayes they conducted him thither with his armie, without the feeling of any annoyance; from whence they returned, being well rewarded for their paines by the Generall. Who now come to Teflis, found the garriſon hee had there left for the keeping thereof, ſo hardly pinched with famin, that they were glad to eat cats, dogs, ſheepskins, and ſuch like vnwonted food: for neither durſt they for feare of the enemie go out of the caſtle to prouide for themſelues, neither if they had ſo done, had it any thing auailed, ſuch was the carefulnes of the enemie in keeping of his things: but now by the comming

Muſtapha relieueth his diſtreſſed garriſon at Teſlis.

A ming of the Generall they were relieued with meat, money, and plentie of all things. Hauing ſtaied there two daies, he put himſelfe againe vpon his way; and with fire and ſword deſtroied whatſoeuer came in his way in the Champains ſubiect to the ſaid city: only the ſepulchres of *Simons* progenitors (lord of that country) were left vntouched by the Turks fury. The next day they trauelled ouer rough and ragged mountaines, full of a thouſand difficulties, which were the more encreaſed by wonderfull great ſnowes that were fallen: by reaſon whereof, many ſoldiers, horſes, camels, and mules periſhed. In which diſtreſſe the army continued two daies; during which time the ſouldiers were fallen into ſuch a diſorder, that forgetting the feare of the enemies countrey wherein they were, euery man without regard tooke vp his ſeueral lodging apart, ſome here, ſome there, where they might finde either ſome thicke buſh or ſome B ſmall cottage, or ſome quiet valley to ſhelter themſelues in from the wind, the ſnow, and the ſtormes. Of which diſorder certaine Georgian lords vnderſtanding by the ſcouts which from time to time waited vpon the Turks armie, ioyned themſelues together, & in the night ſecretly approched vnto it, expecting the opportunitie of performing ſome notable exploit: and hauing obſerued, that *Hoſaine Bey* had withdrawne himſelfe with his regiment from the reſt of the armie vnder certaine mountains, to defend himſelfe from the ſtorme and wind, they tooke the occaſion preſented, and ſo aſſailing him, ſlew his ſlaues and al his ſquadrons, tooke a great bootie of many loads of money and apparell, led away with them all his horſes, and whatſoeuer elſe they could find, and ſcarce gaue him leiſure to ſaue himſelfe, by flying into the tents of *Beyran Baſſa*. The next morning the Turks remoued, and in the euening came to a caſtle called C Chiurchala, where they ſtaied a whole day to make prouiſion of victuall: which was attempted by ſending abroad many of their ſlaues into the fields, conducted by them of the caſtle, who were all miſerably cut in pieces by the Georgians. From this place the Turks armie departed in great hunger, ouer diuers rough places of the Georgians, where they were oftentimes faine to reſt themſelues: and at laſt came to the confines of *Dedeſmit*, of her called the widowes countrey. In the entrance whereof, they muſt needs paſſe thorow a narrow ſtrait, betweene certaine mountaines, where the riuer Araxis windeth it ſelfe with a thouſand turnings in the low vallies: a dangerous place, and ſo narrow, that no more but one man alone could at once paſſe through it. Betweene this ſtrait and a very thicke and hillie wood, they lodged vpD on the banke of the ſaid riuer: and from thence they remoued the next morning, and trauelled ouer very ſteep mountaines and rough forreſts, ouer yce and ſnow more harder than marble, and ouer other hanging rocks, in ſuch miſerable ſort, that many camels, mules, and horſes, tumbling downe headlong into the riuer, there miſerably periſhed. Through theſe ruinous crags and diuers other miſeries, they marched al the next day, and after that another day alſo, as miſerable to the army as the former: and ſo at laſt being ſore afflicted with hunger, ſpoiled of the enemy, tormented with the hard ſeaſon of the yeare, and ſcituation of the place, they arriued in the territories that lay vnder Altunchala, or Golden Caſtle, the princely widowes pallace, where they had all maner of reliefe, for all the miſeries they had endured ſince their departure from Chiurchala, by the ſpace of ſix daies: which if it had bin a faire common trauelled way, E might haue been performed in one onely daies iourney.

The miſerie of the Turks army in paſſing the ſtraits of Georgia.

The widow, with *Alexander* her eldeſt ſonne, came downe from her caſtle, and went vnto the pauilion of *Muſtapha*; offering him diuers Preſents, & promiſing vnto him all faithful obedience. Whome *Muſtapha* courteouſly receiued, declaring vnto her, what honourable entertainment he had giuen to *Manucchiar* her younger ſonne there preſent, who had bin with him in all the expedition into Siruan. And for the preſent, diſſembling the priuy diſpleaſure he bare againſt *Alexander* (whom he thought to haue bin one of them that ſpoiled the Sorians in their returne from the campe) he embraced him courteouſly, and prayed her to be content to leaue him alſo there with him: giuing her farther to vnderſtand, that he would ſend both her ſonnes to Conſtantinople to *Amurath*, with letters of credence for their yeelded obedience, for their fauour ſhewed to his armie, in giuing it ſo ſecure paſſage, and ſo many helpes: and laſtly, that for their good deſerts, they might be of the ſaid great Sultan both honourably entertained and rewarded. The aged Ladie, although her mind was herewithall ſore troubled, yet outwardly in her countenance ſhewed her ſelfe pleaſed; and ſeemed courteouſly to yeeld, what ſhee was of neceſſitie conſtrained to grant: as well for that hee was alreadie poſſeſſed of one of her ſonnes, as alſo for that both herſelfe and her whole ſtate were now in his power; and as it

The Georgian widow ſubmitteth her ſelfe, with her ſonne Alexander to Muſtapha.

were at his deuotion. And therefore leauing both her ſonnes behind her, ſhe returned her ſelfe G heauie to her caſtle.

Muſtapha commeth to Erzirum, & diſchargeth his armie.

In this place *Muſtapha* hauing refreſhed his army two daies, departed thence toward Chars, and after many daies trauell at laſt arriued at Erzirum, to the great reioycing of the whole armie, which was there preſently diſcharged by the Generall, without any muſtering at all, and leaue giuen for euery man to returne into his countrey.

Muſtapha magnifieth his own exploits to Amurath.

Muſtapha ſetling himſelfe in Erzirum, diſpatched poſts with letters of plentifull aduertiſements to his great lord and maſter, of all things that had paſſed: not forgetting to magnifie his own exploits aboue meaſure. He certified him of the battels he had had with the Perſians, the obedience he had receiued of the Georgians and Siruanians, the mutinie of his owne ſoldiers, the fortreſſe hee had built at Eres, the garriſons left in that citie with *Caitas Baſſa*, and in H Sumachia with *Oſman Baſſa*: and in briefe, whatſoeuer elſe had paſſed, and whatſoeuer he had taken from the enemy. Neither did he faile to propound vnto *Amurath*, what he thought conuenient to be attempted the next yeare, for the ſtrengthening of thoſe places hee had already conquered, and for preparing the way for new enterpriſes. And principally he put him in mind of a fortification to be made at Chars, a place very fit for any paſſage into Georgia or Armenia, by ſcituation fruitfull and commodious both for men and cattell. And withall he ſent vnto him the widowes two ſonnes, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, the Georgian princes, certifying him of their ſubmiſſion, and that hee had receiued in their countrey all good entertainement and friendly welcome: and withal declaring his opinion, That *Manucchiar* was the meeter man for gouernment than his brother *Alexander*, and the readier to do him ſeruice. Greatly did *Amurath* commend the valor and diligence of *Muſtapha*, and highly pleaſed himſelfe with this con- I ceit, That of theſe beginnings might grow mightie conqueſts, to the enlargement of his Empire, and that by this means he ſhould be able to ſurpaſſe the glory of his predeceſſors. And the more his ambitious thoughts were occupied about theſe wars, the leſſe he troubled himſelfe with thinking how to annoy Europe with his forces.

It was not long after the departure of *Muſtapha* from Eres, but that the Tartarians hauing left the fens of Meotis, and the vnmountable ſhores of the Blacke ſea, and hauing paſſed ouer the rockes vpon Cholchis, and ſurueyed the frozen crags of the mountaine *Caucaſus*, were now arriued vpon the confines of Siruan, and there attended the commandment of the Turks. Theſe Tartarians beeing of them that are called Præcopenſes, to the number of thirtie thou- K ſand, conducted by their lord and captaine *Abdilcherai*, a yong man of great valor and fame, and of a comely perſonage, were come according to the faithfull promiſe of *Tartar Chan*, with a full reſolution to attempt whatſoeuer ſhould be commanded them in the name of *Amurath*. Now *Oſman Baſſa* vnderſtanding of their approch, according to the charge before giuen him by *Muſtapha* the Generall, enuited them to enter into Siruan, and by encreaſing of the Turkes forces, to further theſe beginnings of *Amuraths* glory, and theſe his conqueſts (or more truly to ſay, theſe magnifical & famous termes of victory.) All which was moſt diligently put in execution by *Abdilcherai*: who hauing entred the yron gates where Derbent ſtandeth (which by the Turks at this day is called *Demir Capi*, and ſignifieth the gates of yron) & ſo from thence paſſing into the countrey of Siruan, there ſtaied, and thereof gaue aduertiſement to *Oſman*, as L was by him appointed. *Ares Chan* late Gouernor of Sumachia, who for feare of the great army of the Turks, had abandoned the city, the chiefe place of his charge, and betaken himſelfe to the ſafegard of the mountains, hearing of the departure of the Turkiſh Generall, reſolued with the other Gouernours of Eres and Sechi (who following his example, had in like manner fled) now to returne againe to their forſaken country, and to make proofe if he could by any means take reuenge of the iniurie done vnto him by the Turks. So paſſing vnder Sumachia, & hauing put to the ſword certaine of *Oſmans* ſtragling victuallers that were gone out of the citie, he encamped with all his people a little from Sumachia, and by good fortune ſurpriſed certaine meſſengers ſent from *Abdilcherai* the Tartar, to certifie *Oſman Baſſa* of his arriuall, and to know his pleaſure what hee ſhould put in execution. Theſe Tartarians brought before *Ares*, after M much torture diſcloſed the letters they carried: which the Perſian captaine read, and conſidering the great number of the Tartarians that were come (for the letters made mention of thirty thouſand) he reſolued not to ſtay any longer in thoſe quarters, but preſently raiſed his campe, and retired towards Canac, meaning from thence to certifie the king of thoſe nouelties, and

A vpon the banks of the ſaid riuer to attend the kings anſwer. The Tartarian captaine comming
to Sumachia, was appointed by the Baſſa to paſſe ouer the riuer of Canac, into Genge, the coun-
try of *Emanguli Chan*, with the ſpoile thereof to enrich himſelfe, and by all means to make his
arriual vnto the Perſians moſt terrible. With this charge the Barbarian departed, thirſting now
for nothing more than for the bloud and ſpoile of the enemy: and with poſting iournies came
to Canac, where *Ares Chan* was yet encamped: whom he vpon the ſudden moſt furiouſly aſ-
ſaulted, and like a deuouring flame diſcomfited all his hoaſt. And taking him aliue, ſent him to
Sumachia to *Oſman*, who forthwith cauſed him to be hanged by the necke out of a lodging in
the ſame ſtatehouſe where he had not long before ſate as Gouernour. The Tartarian after that,
ſwimming ouer the riuer, and courſing a little aboue Genge, found *Emanguli Chan* with his
B wife, and all his familie, and a great part of the nobilitie of Genge in a valley hunting the wild
boore, and aſſailing him, put him to flight, tooke from him his wife, al the ladies, & many ſlaues;
and ſlew many of the reſt that were come thither to ſee the ſport: and after that, rode on to
Genge, which he tooke, and yeelded it wholly to the furie and luſt of his barbarous ſouldiers,
who left no manner of inhumane crueltie vnattempted, in ſatisfying their immoderat and bar-
barous affections. And ſo being loaded with the ſpoiles, & weary with the ſlaughter of their
enemies, they returned merrily toward Siruan: & paſſing again ouer Canac, came to the high-
er ſide of Eres into certain low champaigns, enuironed about with hils, & there hauing pitch-
ed their tents, without any feare ſetled themſelues to ſleepe and to reſt their wearie bodies.

Ares Chan hanged at Sumachia.

Emanguli Chan taken, & Genge ſacked by the Tartarians.

In the meane time, and long before theſe actions, were newes come to the Perſian court of
C all the Turks proceedings: whereupon the Perſian king hauing gathered new forces, had diſ-
patched *Emir Hamze Mirize* his eldeſt ſonne with 12000 ſouldiers to paſſe into Siruan, to ſee
what hurt the enemy had done, and to attempt the reuenge of the forepaſſed iniuries; but
aboue all things to puniſh the villany of them of Sechi, and the other cities of Siruan, that not
induced with any neceſſit y, had ſo voluntarily yeelded themſelues to follow the obedience
and religion of the Turks. The Perſian Prince departing from Casbin, accompanied with his
mother *Begum*, who would needs follow her beloued ſonne, was on his way towards Siruan,
vnder the guiding and gouernment of *Mirize Salmas*, chiefe of the Sultans, and had now left
behind them the countries of Ardouil and Carabach, when he was certified by the aduertiſe-
ments come from *Ares Chan*, of the arriuall of *Abdilcherai*, with his great number of Tartarians,
D and was thereby at the firſt ſtrucken into a great quandarie, and almoſt out of comfort: yet
prickt forward with an honourable deſire of glorie and reuenge, hee proſecuted his intended
enterpriſe for Siruan, and haſtening his iourney, came to Eres long before the king his father
thought he could haue ſo done. This his notable celerity ſerued him to great purpoſe, for that
Caitas Baſſa was boldly gone out of the fortreſſe, and went ſpoiling the country, carrying away
with him whatſoeuer he met withall, and committing ſuch inſolencies as hungrie ſoldiers be-
yond all honeſtie vſe to do in ſtrange and fruitfull countries. But when he was in the midſt of
theſe ſpoiles, and leaſt feared the enemy, he was ſuddenly aſſailed by the Prince, and hauing no
means to eſcape his fury in this extremitie, after a fierce and bloudy battell (wherein the Turks
although in number few, yet ſhewed many effects of valor) he was there ſlaine with all his ſol-
E diers, leauing the fortreſſe, the ſpoiles, and the country committed to his cuſtodie, free to the
pleaſure of the victor: which the Perſian Prince hauing once againe gotten into his poſſeſſi-
on, tooke away the two hundred pieces of artillerie that were left in the fort by *Muſtapha*, and
preſently ſent them to Casbin to his father.

Eres recouerd by the Perſians.

The Prince encouraged with ſo happie a beginning, leauing his mother at Eres, followed
on his iourney toward Sulachia, but by the way deſcending the hils, he diſcouered where the
Tartarians lay encamped. Whereupon he ſtood in great doubt, whether to aduenture vpon ſo
mightie an enemie, or to content himſelfe with the victorie he had alreadie gotten, and ſo to
returne into Perſia: to returne he thought it too great a ſhame, and choſe rather to aduenture
himſelfe to moſt manifeſt perill. And therefore deſcending the hill, and drawing nigh the
F enemie, he perceiued that the armie was all laid downe to reſt, and that their horſes were ſome
couched, ſome ſtanding, but al vnſadled: wherupon without any ſtay ſetting ſpurs to his horſe,
he pricked forward with all his hoaſt, and moſt terribly aſſaulted the Tartarians, now buried
in their ſpoiles and ſleep; and hauing ſlaine their firſt and ſecond watch, although with ſome
loſſe, among the tumultuarie ſouldiers he made an vniuerſall confuſion and ſlaughter, putting

ſome to flight, killing others, and taking diuers of them captiues. Among whom was their Generall *Abdilcherai*, who was taken aliue, and ſent to the king. G

Sumachia beſieged by the Perſian Prince.

After theſe victories, the Perſian prince ſcoured to Sumachia, and compaſſed the city round about, wherein the Turkiſh Baſſa *Oſman* ſat as Gouernour, to the reproch of Perſia; and there encamping himſelfe, ſent word to *Oſman*, That if he would yeeld himſelfe, he would let him depart with life and goods: otherwiſe, if he would obſtinatly hold it out, and not yeeld the citie, which he ſo vniuſtly poſſeſſed, he ſhould be conſtrained to ſurrender it by force, & his life withall. *Oſman* who as then knew nothing of the Tartarians ouerthrow, but ſtil hoped of their returne, thought it beſt to entertaine the Prince with faire words vntill their comming; and therefore gaue him courteous anſwer, that he was very ready to yeeld vp the city; but withall intreated him, that he would ſtay but for three dayes, and grant him time to put all things in H readineſſe, that ſo he might freely depart, as it had pleaſed him in courteſie to offer. The prince glad of ſuch an anſwer, ſuppoſing it to haue proceeded of a ſincere meaning, expected of the Turke the performance thereof. But *Oſman* meaning nothing leſſe, than to commit himſelfe to the faith of his enemie, and ſeeing that the Tartarians whom he looked for, appeared not, hee reſolued to ſaue himſelfe by ſecret flight; doubting, as hee had good reaſon, that if he ſhould longer ſtay, to be betraied by the inhabitants of the citie themſelues: and therefore ſomewhat before the aſſigned term of three the daies appointed for the ſurrendring of the citie, he by the help of a darke night, and the couert of the high and rough crags, with great ſilence withdrew himſelfe out of Sumachia, carrying away with him all his ſubſtance, and ſo in ſafety arriued at Derbent.

Sumachia yeelded vnto the Prince.

The next morning the inhabitants of Sumachia opened the gates of the citie to the I Prince: who ſeeing their infidelitie, firſt by giuing of entertainment to *Oſman*, and now by helping him to eſcape, without giuing him any knowledge thereof, did put in execution the effects of his wrath & indignation, which euen at Casbin he had conceiued in his mind againſt them; and with great crueltie did puniſh the miſerable and vnfortunate citiſens, laying their houſes euen with the ground, raſing both the old and new wals of that citie, of late ſo deſired a receit for the Turks. But when he was to depart thence, he ſtood in doubt, Whether to go on to Derbent, or to returne to Perſia: the ſtrength of that citie, the approch of Winter, and the long iourney he was to take homeward, perſuaded him to lay aſide the enterpriſe for Derbent: whereupon he reſolued to returne to Casbin; yet firſt to make his returne by them of Eres and Sechi, and vpon them as vpon rebels to inflict well deſerued puniſhment. So making his pre- K ſent repaire thither, ſpared neither ſex nor age, nor any condition of perſons, but vpon them al poured forth his furious indignation, without exception. Which done, he with his aforeſaid mother *Begum*, and his armie, though ſomewhat diminiſhed, yet victorious and triumphant, returned to Casbin.

Abdilcherai beloued of the Perſian queene.

Young *Abdilcherai* the Tartarian was kept ſafe in the kings palace at Casbin, but with ſuch eaſie impriſonment as was agreeable to his calling: which was day by day ſo inlarged, as that he ſeemed not to liue as a priſoner, but rather as a companion of thoſe of the court, & as it were in apparant libertie. By which occaſion hauing inſinuated himſelfe into the loue of *Begum* the kings wife, he ſpent his time in courting her, and ſhe again in entertaining of him in all ſecret and couert manner. Yet theſe their mutual affections and interchangeable fauors paſſed not ſo L ſecretly, but that in the court and all ouer the citie it was a rife report, That the ſhameleſſe ladie, prodigall of her honor, had participated both her bed and her ſelfe with the Tartarian priſoner. Howbeit neither the king nor the prince knew any thing of it. But the king perceiuing the yong gentleman to be generally commended, valiant, courteous, and of a comely ſtature, & withal nobly born (for he gaue it out that hee was the brother of *Tatar Chan*) perſuaded himſelfe, that it would ſtand with the great good of his ſtate, of a captiue to make him his ſon in law, by giuing him his daughter in mariage: wherby he was in good hope there might grow ſuch an amitie and vnion between the Tartarian Præcopenſes, and himſelfe, as that they would from thenceforth not only refuſe to fauor *Amurath* in thoſe wars, but alſo become enemies vnto him, and in the fauor of Perſia turne their arms and affections againſt him. Which his deepe M and conſiderate purpoſe ſo diſpleaſed the Sultans of Casbin, that they ſought by all meanes they could poſſibly deuiſe to auert the king from that ſo ſtrange a policie: but all in vaine, for the king being fully reſolued, and now vpon the point to make a concluſion of the marriage: the Sultans entering into the palace with their followers, and finding there the vnfortunate

Tartarian,

Abdilcheral ſlaine in the court.

The Perſian Queene made away.

A Tartarian, ran him through the body, and cutting off his priuie members, flapped them vpon his mouth after a moſt barbarous and filthie manner. It is reported, that the Queene was then alſo murdered by them: certaine it is, that the poore ladie neuer after that day ſaw the light of the Sun: but whether it was put in execution by the appointment of the king her husband, or that the Sultans did it for the publicke intereſt, is not certainly knowne. Vpon theſe murders ſprung vp many troubles, and much ciuile diſſention, threatning the vtter confuſion of the Perſian kingdome, to the ſingular benefit of *Amurath*. All which tumultuous diſorders the king by brideling his owne affections, and the motions of his ſonne *Emir Hamze Mirize*, wel appeaſed, procuring at laſt a perfect vnitie, as then moſt neceſſarie for the defence of his kingdome.

Oſman Baſſa being in Derbent (the only place of refuge now left for the Turks in Siruan) B ceaſed not with all carefulneſſe to deuiſe what he poſſibly could, for the aſſuring of that country (of late woon, and now againe almoſt loſt) vnder the gouernment of *Amurath*. For the better eſtabliſhing whereof, together with his owne ſafety, he thought it good to enter into friendſhip with old *Sahamal* the Georgian, lord of the mountaine of Brus. With this man did *Oſman* practiſe many tokens of good will, & he again interchangeably towards *Oſman*: whereupon there aroſe great friendſhip betweene them, at leſtwiſe in outward apparance: whereunto in ſhort time there was added a ſtrait knot of alliance: for that *Oſman* tooke to wiſe a daughter of the ſaid *Sahamals*, the greateſt ſigne of his ſincere loue towards him. Neuertheleſſe ſhortly after *Oſman* vpon ſome reaſonable coniectures began to ſuſpect (as indeed the truth was) that *Sahamal* for all the faire ſhew of friendſhip he made towards him, might for all that receiue ſome C ſecret order from the Perſian king, to betray him, & to free the city from the Turks, and ſo to reduce all that prouince vnto the antient deuotion: in which iealous ſuſpition hee was fully confirmed by the ſpeeches of his wife, the daughter of *Sahamal*; who rauiſhed with the honor, valor, & riches of her husband, could not conceale any thing that ſhe knew deuiſed againſt him, but frankly told him, That her father being ſecretly reconciled to the Perſian king, held friendſhip with him, and that letters went betweene them of great matters, and particularly of the affaires of Siruan. Hereupon the Baſſa perſuaded himſelfe, that all the friendſhip of *Sahamal* was but deepe diſſimulation, and the marriage of his daughter nothing but a meane to procure his death. Neuertheles he made ſhew vnto his wife, as if he had made no ſuch reckoning of it as indeed hee did, but kept it in ſtore to his owne ſafetie, and the deſtruction of *Sahamal*, D whom for all that he ſtill entertained with all honor and kindneſſe due vnto a moſt louing father in law. But to preuent the malicious purpoſe of *Sahamal*, hauing inuited him according to the cuſtome to a certain ſolemne feaſt, he acquainted certaine companies of his moſt truſtie & valiant ſouldiers with his determination, enioyning them, that as ſoone as *Sahamal* was entred into his court, euen in the very diſmounting from his horſe they ſhould all fal vpon him, cut off his head, and put all his retinue to the ſword. Which his cruell command was by them accordingly at *Sahamals* comming put in execution, he in lighting from his horſe being ſlain, and all his followers murdered, when forthwith were ſent forth by *Oſman* two thouſand horſemen to ſpoile and ſacke all the countrie of the ſaid Georgian Lord, to the great maruell and aſtoniſhment both of far and neere. The Perſian king hearing of theſe news, tooke the matter grieuouſly, as foreſeeing that the recouerie of that country and prouince of Siruan would proue a matter of great difficultie, and fearing greatly that it would ſtill remaine (as indeed it doth) in the poſſeſſion of the Turks. This was the end of the Turks attempts againſt the Perſians in Siruan this yeare 1578, wherein they loſt aboue ſeuentie thouſand men, deuoured partly with the ſword, and partly with famine, & the other miſeries of war. And ſo Winter comming on very ſharply, euery man withdrew himſelfe from the field, wholly attending the keeping of that they had already gotten, vntill the comming on of the next Spring.

Sahamal ſlaine by Oſman.

The conſultations of Amurath

Amurath aduertiſed by letters from *Muſtapha*, of all that had hapned in the late expedition againſt the Perſians, vpon theſe proſperous ſucceſſes (which the Baſſa had for the aduancing of his own credit deſcribed to be far greater than indeed they were) began to caſt many deuiſes in his head, touching ſuch matters as were to be attempted the next yere. And firſt he thought it neceſſary to ſend his forces againe into Siruan, to recouer ſuch places as were firſt conquered by *Muſtapha*, but afterward againe ſubdued by the Perſian, ſo to eſtabliſh his gouernment in that countrie. But vpon better conſideration, he ceaſed further to thinke of that matter, for the great hope he had conceiued of the aid that was promiſed him by *Tatar Chan*, who had faithfully

aſſured

aſſured both him and *Oſman*, that he would ouerrun that prouince anew, and do great matters in G
furtherance of the Turks deſignes: all which for all that fell out to be but windie words: yet
in reſpect of this hope hee laied Siruan aſide, and committed the defence thereof to the falſe
promiſes of the Tartarian, and the valour of *Oſman*. And pleaſing his ambitious deſires with
more haughtie thoughts, he began to deuiſe with himſelfe, for ſending his armie directly to
Tauris, there to erect a fortreſſe; which being ſtrongly fortified and furniſhed with a garriſon
of moſt valiant ſouldiers, ſhould neuer be again ſubdued by all the power of Perſia; and by this
meanes to keepe in ſubiection all thoſe great countries betweene Tauris and Erzirum.
Which his conceit being of great weight and importance, was much increaſed by the perſuaſion
of others, very inward with him; euery man being almoſt of opinion, That it was an
eaſie matter for ſo great an hoaſt in few daies to performe that ſeruice, and to pierce, not only H
into Tauris, but farther to paſſe whetherſoeuer he would deſire. Yet after he had more deeply
conſidered of an enterpriſe of ſo great importance, and with more indifferent iudgement
compared his owne forces with his enemies, he began to finde many difficulties and dangers,
which in the heat of his ambitious deſires he at the firſt ſaw not: for beſide the length and tediouſneſſe
of the iourney, hee doubted that in ſending his armie for Tauris, it might be on the
one ſide aſſailed by the Georgians (of whoſe obedience he had as yet no great aſſurance) & on
the other ſide by the Perſians, & ſo brought into great danger; which he was alwaies to feare,
whenſoeuer he ſhould haue occaſion to ſend new ſupplies vnto the fortreſſe by him intended
at Tauris. Whereupon laying aſide all his former conceits, as too eager and perilous, he reſolutely
concluded with himſelfe, firſt to make ſure his owne borders, and afterwards by little I
and little to enter into the enemies country, ſtil fortifying in conuenient places as he went; and
ſo ſurely, although but ſlowly, to triumph ouer his enemies, rather than by thruſting his armie
headlong vpon vncertainties into places ſtrongly fenced both by nature & the power of moſt
mightie enemies, to be inforced with ſhame to abandon the enterpriſe ſo haſtily begun.

Muſtapha careful to put in execution Amurath his command.

Of this his reſolution hee aduertiſed *Muſtapha* by writing; giuing him in charge, againſt the
next Spring to prouide all ſuch things as ſhould be neceſſarie for the building of certaine forts
vpon the way that leadeth from Erzirum into Georgia: that hauing made thoſe waies ſafe,
and brought the people vnder his obedience, hee might afterwards attempt greater matters.
Whereupon *Muſtapha* preſently directed forth precepts to the cities of Aleppo, of Damaſco,
Caraemit, and other places of Soria and Meſopotamia, for the taking vp of cunning workmen, K
of pioners, & ſuch like, to the number of twentie thouſand: and likewiſe wrot to all the countries,
out of which hee had raiſed his armie the laſt yeare, That all their ſouldiers (yea and in
greater number alſo) ſhould be in readineſſe againſt the next Spring, to returne to the warres.
The rumor whereof he cauſed to be ſpread euen as far as Ægypt. He commanded alſo the taxes
and tenths of thoſe countries to be collected, & further vſed the Chambers of Aleppo, and
other places, for ſuch maſſes of mony as he thought neceſſarie for theſe purpoſes.

In this while the two Georgian brethren, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, ſent (as we haue before
ſaid) by *Muſtapha* to *Amurath* at Conſtantinople, in doubtful hope, expecting the end for which
they were both ſent vnto the court, were both examined, and exhorted to embrace the Mahometan

Manucchiar turneth Turke.

religion: whereunto *Manucchiar* eaſily yeelded. Whereas on the other ſide *Alexander* L
his elder brother could by no allurements or means be induced to conſent to ſo infamous and

Alexander conſtant in his religion.

damnable a change of his religion, although he knew he ſhould therefore be depriued of his
ſtate: but proteſting his obedience at all times to *Amurath*, and his loue to his brother, requeſted
only, that he might but as a priuate man goe and liue in his countrey, there to be buried amongſt
his anceſtours. Which his requeſt the Turkiſh Emperour referred to the diſcretion of
Manucchiar, to do therein as he ſaw good: who conſented thereunto. Hereupon *Manucchia* was
circumciſed, and the name of *Muſtaffa* giuen him, with the title of the Baſſa and Gouernour of
Altunchala, and of all his mothers and brothers countries: and being thus created a Turke, had
his brother *Alexander* a Chriſtian, committed vnto him, and ſo both returned into their owne M
countries.

Emanguli Chan taketh vpon him the defence of Siruan.

Now in the Perſian court at Gasbin, were many conſultations had for the repreſſing of the inuaſions
of the Turks. And among others carefull of thoſe matters, *Emanguli Chan* Gouernour
of Genge, doubting to loſe his honourable gouernement, by reaſon of the late ſacke of his citty,
and ſpoile of his country by the Tartarian, by thoſe plots that were daily in contriuing for
the

A the ſending of men into Siruan to impeach the deſignements of *Oſman Baſſa*, and if it were poſſible, to driue him out of Derbent; tooke occaſion to offer vnto the King, vpon paine of his head to defend Siruan, and not to ſuffer *Oſman* the Turke to attempt any new fortifications, or further conqueſts in that Prouince. Of which his offer the King accepted, and thereupon the gouernment of Genge, and guarding of the countrey of Siruan againſt the forces of *Oſman*, was frankely committed vnto him: And commandement giuen to the Gouernours of Tauris, Reiuan, and Naſſiuan, and to diuers other captaines that were neereſt, to be readie at all times with their power to aſſiſt *Emanguli Chan*, if it ſhould fortune either the Tartarians or Turkes, with any great power to enter into Siruan: which order ſo taken, was thought ſufficient for the ſecuritie of that prouince.

But how to protect the Georgian Countrey, was thought to be a matter of greater importance, euery man being almoſt of opinion, That ſome great power of the Turks ſhould be ſent thither, for the more aſſurance of the conqueſt thereof alreadie begun, and for the ſuccour of the fortreſſe at Teflis, which muſt needs otherwiſe fall againe into the hands of the Georgians. This matter ſo troubled the Perſian King, as that he ſeemed to haue bent his whole counſels and thoughts thereupon: when *Simon* a Georgian a famous captaine (ſometime priſoner with *Iſmahel* the late King, at Cahaca, and by the familiaritie hee had with him, ſeduced from the Chriſtian faith; for defence whereof he had in the time of King *Tamas*, choſen to liue depriued of his libertie and ſtate) thinking it now a fit time to obtaine at the Kings hand ſuch helpe as he had long deſired, for the recouerie of his dominion vſurped by *Dauid*, otherwiſe called *Daut Chan*, his yonger brother (who for the obtaining thereof of King *Tamas*, had voluntarily renounced his Chriſtian religion) offered now vnto the King his faithfull ſeruice, for the defence of that part of the Georgian Countrey wherein Teflis ſtood (being in right, part of his owne Inheritance) againſt the Turks: reproouing by way of diſgrace, his younger brother of cowardiſe, and promiſing the performance of great matters in himſelfe, both for the defence of that euill defended countrey, and further annoying of the enemie. With great content did the Perſian King conſent to the requeſt of *Simon*, and named him *Chan* of all that Kingdome which he poſſeſſed before whileſt he was a Chriſtian: and ſent with him *Aliculi Chan* into Georgia, with fiue thouſand horſemen, and certaine pieces of artillerie taken at Eres, when B *Caietas Baſſa* was ſlaine. *Simon* afterwards comming to Georgia, was joyfully receiued of his countreymen, and there preſſed about three thouſand ſouldiers of his owne and of his neighbours; excuſing himſelfe that he was become a Perſian, not becauſe he preferred the Mahometane ſuperſtition before the Chriſtian Religion; but only ſo to be deliuered from his long impriſonment, and by that meanes to maintaine his eſtate. And in this order were the affaires of Georgia aſſured and ſtrengthned in the beſt manner that might then be.

Simon with Aliculi Chan ſent for the defence of Georgia.

Now began the Spring to approch, and euery man prepared himſelfe to the diſcontinued trauels of the wars begun: and now were met together at Erzirum, out of all the wonted prouinces, all the Turks forces, with all things neceſſarie for the intended war. With this armie, in all things equall with the firſt, *Muſtapha* ſet forward, and in twelue dayes came to Chars, not perceiuing in his ſouldiers any ſigne of diſcontentment at all. And foraſmuch as here they were to ſtay, and to fortifie both with walls and ditches that ruinated Citie, and that with as great ſpeed as was poſſible; there was no remedie, but that beſide the pioners and enginiers that were brought for that purpoſe, many of the Spaoglani, yea and of the Ianizaries alſo, muſt be ſet to worke. Whereupon they all ſuddenly in a tumult, began with bitter proteſtations to tell the General, That their ſtipends wherwith it pleaſed the Sultan to fauor them, were not beſtowed vpon them to imploy their forces and vertues in ſuch ſeruile works; but onely with their ſwords and other weapons, to exerciſe that force and hardineſſe for which they were eſteemed worthie of that honour. Whereunto the Generall anſwered in moſt haughtie termes, and not yeelding one jot to their inciuilitie, but vſing all meanes of authoritie and terrour, brought them to worke ſo much as hee deſired. So that within the ſpace of 23 dayes the towers and walls were erected, the ditches digged, the artillerie orderly planted vpon the walls, and the water brought round about it. Many inconueniences happened in the armie while they were buſie in this worke; and namely vpon the 25 day of Auguſt, when they had almoſt euen finiſhed the whole building, the ſoldiers endured a moſt ſudden cold by reaſon of the ſnow that then fell in great aboundance.

1579

The meeting together of the Turks armie at Erzirum.

Chars fortified in 23 dayes ſpace.

Snows at Chars in Auguſt.

Haſſan Baſſa ſent with twentie thouſand to the ſuccoring of Teflis.

Chars thus fortified, the Generall reſolued to ſend ſuccors into Georgia to Teflis; without which it was moſt certaine that the fortreſſe would be yeelded to the Georgians: but in what ſort to relieue it he remained doubtfull. To ſend part of his armie with ſome valiant captaine ſeemed dangerous, and to go himſelfe with all his forces, would ſound (as he thought) to his diſcredit with his great Lord and maſter; whom he had already made beleeue, that he had ſubdued the Georgians, and brought all that prouince to his obedience and deuotion. In this ambiguitie, the deſire he had to preſerue his credit with *Amurath* preuailed: and ſo hee made choice of *Haſſan Baſſa* ſonne to *Muhamet* principall Viſier of the Court, a gallant gentleman, and of great valour, to whome he deliuered betweene eighteene and twentie thouſand ſoldiers; joining vnto him one *Reſuan* Captaine of certaine aduenturers that voluntarily offered themſelues to follow the forces of *Haſſan*; aſſigning vnto him likewiſe fortie thouſand duckets, and many loads of rice, meale, and barley, with other things neceſſarie both for dyet and war, and ſo ſent him away for Teflis.

The Perſians aſſaile the Turks, and make of the a great ſlaughter.

The Perſians ouerthrown, and Alichuli Chan taken.

The miſerie of the Turks in gariſon at Teflis.

Haſſan with this charge ſet forward, fully reſolued to put theſe ſuccours into Teflis, or to loſe all: and at length came to the famous ſtrait of Tomanis, where the ouergrowne woods on the one ſide, and the deep vallies & craggie rocks on the other, would aſtoniſh a right conſtant beholder. When vpon the ſudden, the Perſians and the Georgians, vnder the conduct of *Aliculi Chan* and *Simon*, at vnawares ſet vpon the Turkes, and joined battell with them. For theſe two valiant captaines remaining for the moſt part in the borders of Teflis and Tomanis with 8000 ſoldiers, waiting for ſome opportunitie to annoy either them of the the fort of Teflis, or elſe ſuch as ſhould come to their ſuccors; vnderſtanding by their eſpials, of the comming of *Haſſan* with this aid, had ſcattered themſelues all alongſt the ſaid ſtraight, in hope there to aſſaile the Turks, and holpen by the aduantage of the place, to driue them headlong into the deep valley, and at once to bereaue them both of their goods and life. But *Haſſan* carefull of nothing more than how to auoid that danger, choſe rather to make his journey through the thicke woods, and ſo as he might to eſcape the ambuſh that the enemie might lay for him vpon that ſtraight paſſage. And ſo entring with his armie into the wood, which he was to haue left vpon his left hand, to diſcouer what might be plotted againſt him, he was hardly charged by the enemy, and conſtrained to fight with a thouſand windings and turnings in & out, through a thouſand crooked paths and doubtfull cranks, in a moſt confuſed medly, with great ſlaughter of his men: who not accuſtomed to this kind of fight, nor acquainted with the ſcituation of the place, were in the skirmiſh driuen ſo far, that downe they fell, and being not able to recouer themſelues, were preſently ſlaine. And thus with much ado he at length paſſed the ſtrait of Tomanis. *Haſſan* deeming himſelfe much diſgraced, by ſuffering his enemies, in number ſo far inferior, to haue done him ſo much harme, and ſo to haue eſcaped his hands; and further, conſidering that in ſuch places ſleights & ſtratagems more auaile than open forces; burning with deſire of reuenge would needs ſtay neere vnto thoſe ſtraits, as if it had been to refreſh his wearied army, but indeed to try if the Perſians would aduenture againe to trouble him, or no: and appointed *Reſuan Baſſa* with certain bands of the ſoldiers of Græce, and of his own aduenturers, to lie in ambuſh within the couert of the ſtrait, attentiue to euery ſtir of the enemie. Two dayes the Turkes armie lay thus diuided, and were now reſolued the third day to remoue thence towards Teflis: when as the Perſian captaines *Aliculi Chan* and *Simon*, vainely imagining that this ſtay of the Turkes was for feare of the Perſians, fooliſhly returned and gaue a freſh onſet vpon the flanke of *Haſſans* ſquadrons. Who forthwith raiſing all his ſouldiers, and giuing a ſigne to *Reſuan*, withall ſpeed compaſſed in his enemies, and ſtraightening them on both ſides, tooke ſome of them aliue, cut in pieces other ſome, and put all the reſt to flight. Among others that were taken aliue, was *Aliculi Chan* the Perſian captaine, who ouer raſhly charging vpon the face of *Haſſan*, fell into his hand. The next day following (being the eleuenth day after *Haſſans* departure from Chars) he joyfully arriued at Teflis, where he found among the poore beſieged Turks many miſeries; whereof ſome were alreadie dead, and ſome yet ſicke: for they were ſo plagued with famine, that they not onely deuoured their horſes, but euen the very skinnes of the ſame horſes, of ſheepe, and of dogs, and in ſuch moſt miſerable wants had paſſed the time: whom *Haſſan* at his arriual comforted with gifts and good words; exhorting them to perſiſt conſtant in the ſeruice of their King, whoſe honour (as hee ſaid) was neuer more than there to be reſpected. And for as much as the ſouldiers of the Fort did with one voyce requeſt

A *Haſſan* to appoint them a new gouernor, becauſe they did all miſlike *Mahamet Baſſa*; who the laſt yeare was left by the General in that fort; *Haſſan* remoued the ſaid *Mahamet*, and put *Amet Baſſa* in his place: and ſo after he had filled vp the places of the dead ſoldiers with a new ſupply, and ſet all things in order, he tooke his leaue, recommending the charge and cuſtodie of that fort to their truſt and valour. *Haſſan* returning from Teflis, and being without any trouble come to the ſtrait of Tomanis, was aduertiſed by his ſcouts, That it was ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed by the enemie, and ſo ſhut vp with artillerie, as that it was not to be paſſed through: for *Simon* thinking (as indeed it fell out) that *Haſſan* would returne that way, had ſo belayed that ſtrait, as that the Turks could not without moſt aſſured loſſe paſſe the ſame: which thing much troubled the Baſſa, and filled his head with many conceits, how he might make his journey ſome B other way, and decline the danger prepared for him. Thus perplexed, and altogether doubtfull what to do, or which way to turne himſelf: *Aliculi Chan* the Perſian (who to purchaſe his libertie could haue bin content to haue done any thing) offered *Haſſan* to ſhew him a ſhort and ſafe cut, whereby he might without danger paſſe with his armie out of that troubleſome country; yet couenanting before, that he ſhould promiſe him to ſet him at libertie for his ſo good ſeruice. Which his requeſt the Baſſa did not ſticke in large manner to promiſe, although he afterwards to his great diſhonor performed not the ſame. So bending his journey on the right hand, he was guided by *Aliculi* through ſtrange and vncouth wayes, out of thoſe woods and dangers, not meeting ſo much as with any one of his enemies. But when the Perſian duke well hoping for his libertie, put the Turke in minde of his promiſe; he with deepe and feigned ſighs proteſted, That he was right ſorrie that he could not performe what he had promiſed to do for him, foraſmuch as it lay not in his power to ſet any man at libertie, that was taken in battell by the ſoldiers of his great lord and ſoueraigne: yet gaue him his faith, that ſo far as his intreaties and fauors with the Generall *Muſtapha* could preuaile, he would vſe all the moſt earneſt meanes he could, to procure his libertie and returne to his owne countrey.

Simon the Georgian perceiuing that the Turks were remoued, imagined forthwith, that they had taken this new way: but being afterward certified by his faithfull ſpies, that it was ſo indeed, he ran all headlong, & as it were deſperat, to meet with this ſo happy an army. And all inflamed with rage for this great fortune of the Turks, he fell vpon the taile of the Turkiſh hoſt: which with vnmeaſurable furie he wholly deſtroyed, leading away with him all the people, all the horſes, and all the treaſure of *Mahamet Baſſa* which he brought from Teflis, and all the treaſure of *Haſſan Baſſa* likewiſe. As for *Aliculi Chan*, whom *Simon* moſt greedily ſought for, he was ſent away in the front of the armie, ſo that he was not to be reſcued. *Haſſan* holding on his way, came to Chars in the ſpace of eight dayes after his departure from Teflis, and there preſented vnto *Muſtapha* the General, the Perſian captaine *Aliculi*, recounting vnto him the dangers he had indured, & whatſoeuer els had hapned in that expedition. *Aliculi* the vnfortunate Perſian was by the commandement of *Muſtapha* carried to Erzirum, & there in the caſtle committed to priſon. Not long after, *Muſtapha* returned himſelfe alſo to the ſaid citie of Erzirum, with his army ſore weakned and diſcontented, which was there preſently by him diſcharged.

Simon deſtroieth the rereward of Haſſans Armie, & taketh from him his treaſure

Muſtapha returneth to Erzirum, & there diſchargeth his Armie.

About the ſame time that theſe things were in doing, *Amurath* to make a ſafer and more eaſie paſſage for his forces into Georgia, ſent *Vluzales* his Admiral with a great fleet into the Euxine ſea to Mengrelia, called in antient time Cholchis; who entering the famous riuer of Phaſis (now Faſſa) there fortified, and layd ſuch a beginning, that it is now one of the Turks proud Beglerbegſhips, although thoſe fortifications ſhortly after the departure of the Admiral, were for the preſent againe by the Mengrelians demoliſhed. And this was the end of the ſtirres of this yeare 1579.

Of all theſe ſucceſſes *Muſtapha* afterwards ſent aduertiſements to the court to *Amurath*, recounting vnto him the fortifying of Chars, the deſerts of *Haſſan*, as well for the ſuccouring of Teflis, as for the taking of *Aliculi* the Perſian. And becauſe the ſaid General had the yere before perſuaded *Amurath*, That the country of Georgia and the people thereof were brought vnder his obedience, to the end that he ſhould not maruell at ſo many loſſes and ſo many battels, and therby doubt of ſome falſe informations, he declared vnto him, that al theſe troubles were not raiſed by the natural and homebred Georgians, but by two certain captains *Aliculi* and *Simon* ſent out of Perſia, who had made all theſe ſtirs: of which one of them now remained with him in priſon, for him to determine of at his pleaſure. With great delight did the Turkiſh Empe-

rour

Haſſan Baſſa for his good ſeruice rewarded by Amurath.

four read all that *Muſtapha* had written, and by two of his Gentlemen vſhers ſent to *Haſſan* a battle-axe all gilt and ſet full of ſtones, a targuet of gold and pearle, and a rich garment of cloath of gold, in reward of his good ſeruice, for which he greatly commended him: and withall gaue order, That *Aliculi* ſhould be kept where he was in the caſtle of Erzirum, in diligent and ſafe cuſtodie.

Theſe inuaſions of the Turks much troubled the Perſian King in his court at Casbin, conſidering, that now they had both throughly acquainted themſelues with all the paſſages into Georgia (in the difficultie and roughneſſe whereof conſiſted the chiefe defence of that prouince) as alſo that diuers of the Georgian Princes were more than inclining vnto the Turkes ſeruice, ſo that he could not but iuſtly feare, that his enemies would in time begin to pierce into the noble cities of Media the greater, yea and peraduenture euen vnto Tauris before any of the reſt. Which his care of foreine inuaſion was doubled with domeſticall feares: *Mirize Salmas* his chiefe Viſier, and vpon whom he moſt reſted, ſtil filling his head with a jealous ſuſpition, That *Abas Mirize* his ſon (made gouernor of Heri by *Tamas* his grandfather) was about in theſe troubles with the Turk to proclaim himſelf king of Perſia, to the great ignominie of his father, and preiudice of *Emir Hamze* his eldeſt brother, the worthy and vndoubted heire of that kingdome. This *Mirize Salmas* (according to his longing deſire) had married a daughter of his to the ſaid *Emir Hamze*, with the conſent of the king his father: but yet not content with that honour, ceaſed not continually with ambitious deuiſes, to ſeeke out meanes how to bring to paſſe, that the Perſian eſtate might wholly remaine to his ſonne in law, vndiuided and entire from the participation of his brethren: & therefore little regarding the perils that might happen from the Turks, and blinded with the deſire of his owne greatneſſe, he went about to turne the King (being a man very credulous and inconſiderat) againſt *Abas Mirize*; either to take him and commit him to priſon, or at leaſt to bereaue him of all authoritie and command. And the better to perſuade the king thereunto, he diſcouered vnto him, how little *Abas Mirize* his ſonne had reſpected him in diuers occaſions; and that in theſe late wars he had not ſo much as ſent forth one man againſt the Turks, but had forbidden ſuch as were of his iuriſdiction of Heri, to come to Casbin, at ſuch time as they were ſummoned both by letters and commandement, to haue paſſed with *Emir Hamze* into Siruan; by reaſon whereof not one of them would ſtir a foot, anſwering, That they were enioyned ſo to do by *Abas Mirize* their lord; who had not only cauſed himſelfe to be called king of Heri, but had giuen it out, that he meant to claime the ſucceſſion in the whole kingdome. Theſe complaints much preuailed with the king, both in reſpect of the loue he bare to *Emir Hamze* his eldeſt ſonne, and alſo of the credit he gaue to his Viſier: eſpecially being accompanied with the crafty packing of the ſaid Viſier, who as he was very cunning in ſuch practiſes of himſelfe, ſo did he make them much more effectual with the effeminate king, by the meanes of diuers great Ladies, and other deuices that were to him very familiar and vſual. Inſomuch that the King carried away with light beleefe, did continually bethinke himſelfe how to find opportunity to repreſſe the boldneſſe of his diſobedient ſon; not forgetting for all that, to make ſuch preparation againſt the Turks, as ſhould be ſufficient to ſtay their paſſage to Tauris, if they had any purpoſe ſo to do. But leauing the Perſian King to his troubled cogitations for a while, let vs againe returne vnto the Turks General, the great Baſſa *Muſtapha*.

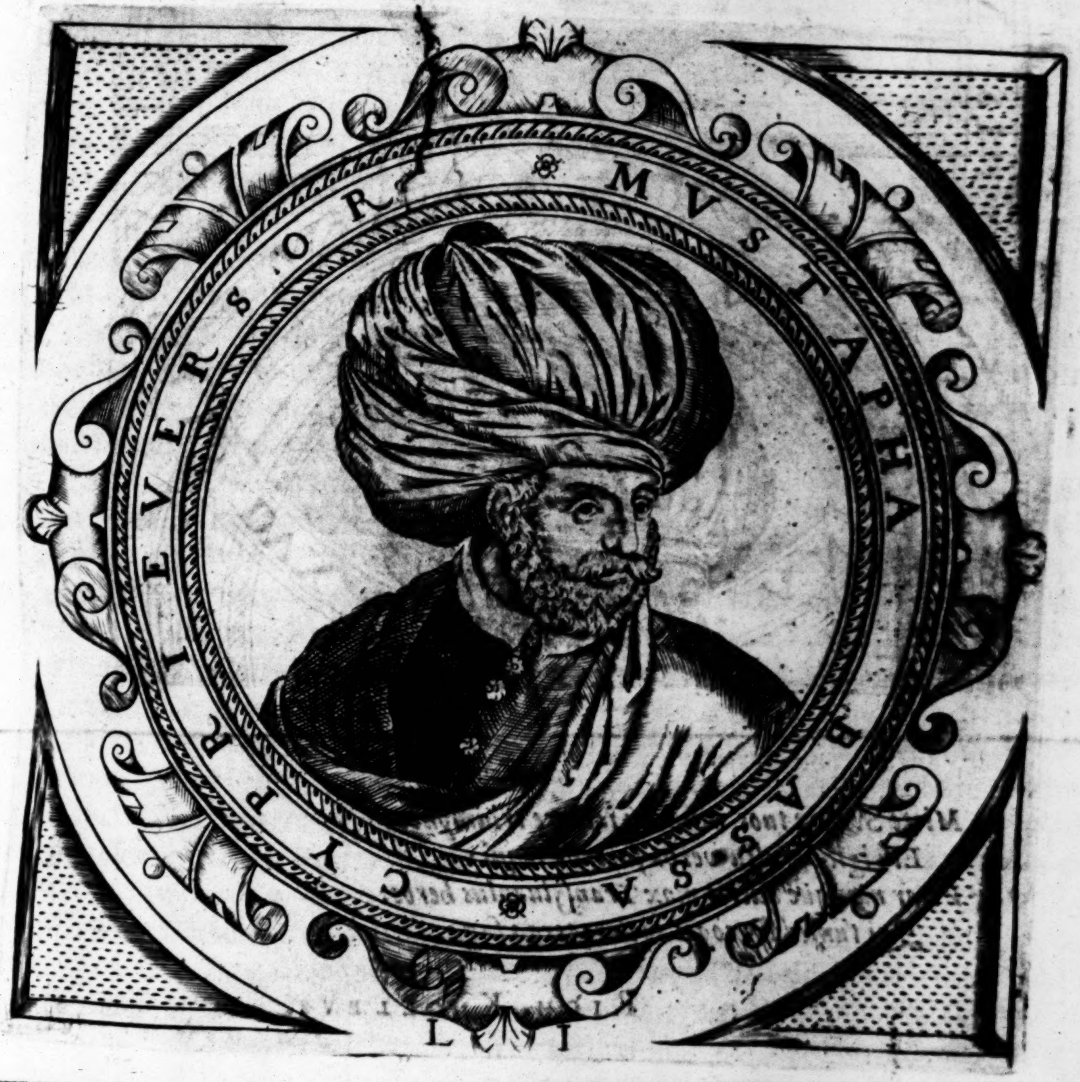
Muſtapha diſcharged of his Generalſhip, & called home to Conſtantinople.

He now lying at Erzirum, after many troubles abroad, was ſurpriſed and almoſt ouerwhelmed with vnexpected quarrels at home, many grieuous complaints being made of him to *Amurath*, wherby he was induced afterwards to take from him his Generalſhip, and to call him to the Court to giue account of his actions. Which ſeemed not to be done without cauſe, he hauing before raiſed a great diſcontentment in the minde of *Amurath*, by ſending ſuch a ſtrong power to the ſuccors of Teflis: whereby he coniectured, that the affaires of Georgia were not in ſuch ſecuritie as *Muſtapha* had already informed him they were, & alſo generally offended the minds of the ſoldiers of his armie, who all in an vprore, accuſed him of improuidencie and prodigality, for that now this ſecond yeare he had with ſo much ado gathered together ſuch a number of ſoldiers, to the trouble of the whole empire, and infinit charge of their lord, & yet performed nothing worthy the glory of *Amurath*, or anſwerable to ſo great a charge. Which complaints although they were of ſome moment, yet would the Turkiſh emperor for the great fauours he bare vnto him his antient Tutor, neuer haue conſtrued them ſo hardly againſt him, A as for the ſame to haue been induced to haue depriued him of his place, if the inueterate enuy of *Sinan Baſſa* had not miniſtred ſtrength and force to theſe hard accuſations, and ſet (as it were) an edge vpon *Amurath* to do what he afterwards did.

But foraſmuch as the courſe of time, and proceſſe of the preſent hiſtory, bringeth now forth theſe two mightie champions of the Turks together (the enuious competitors the one of the others honors, who liuing many yeares together, haue left the wofull remembrance of their greatneſſe and valour vnto the world, but eſpecially vnto the afflicted ſtate of Chriſtendome, the large wounds by them made, as it were yet bleeding) ſtay with me a while, and without griefe, if thou canſt, behold the liuely counterfeits of two ſo great enemies (who both liued within theſe few yeares, and the later of them died but the other day) as they are by the skilfull hand of the cunning workeman moſt perfectly deſcribed, and thus to be ſeene. B

A compariſon betwixt Sinan Baſſa and Muſtapha, two ancient enemies both to themſelues and the Chriſtian common weale.

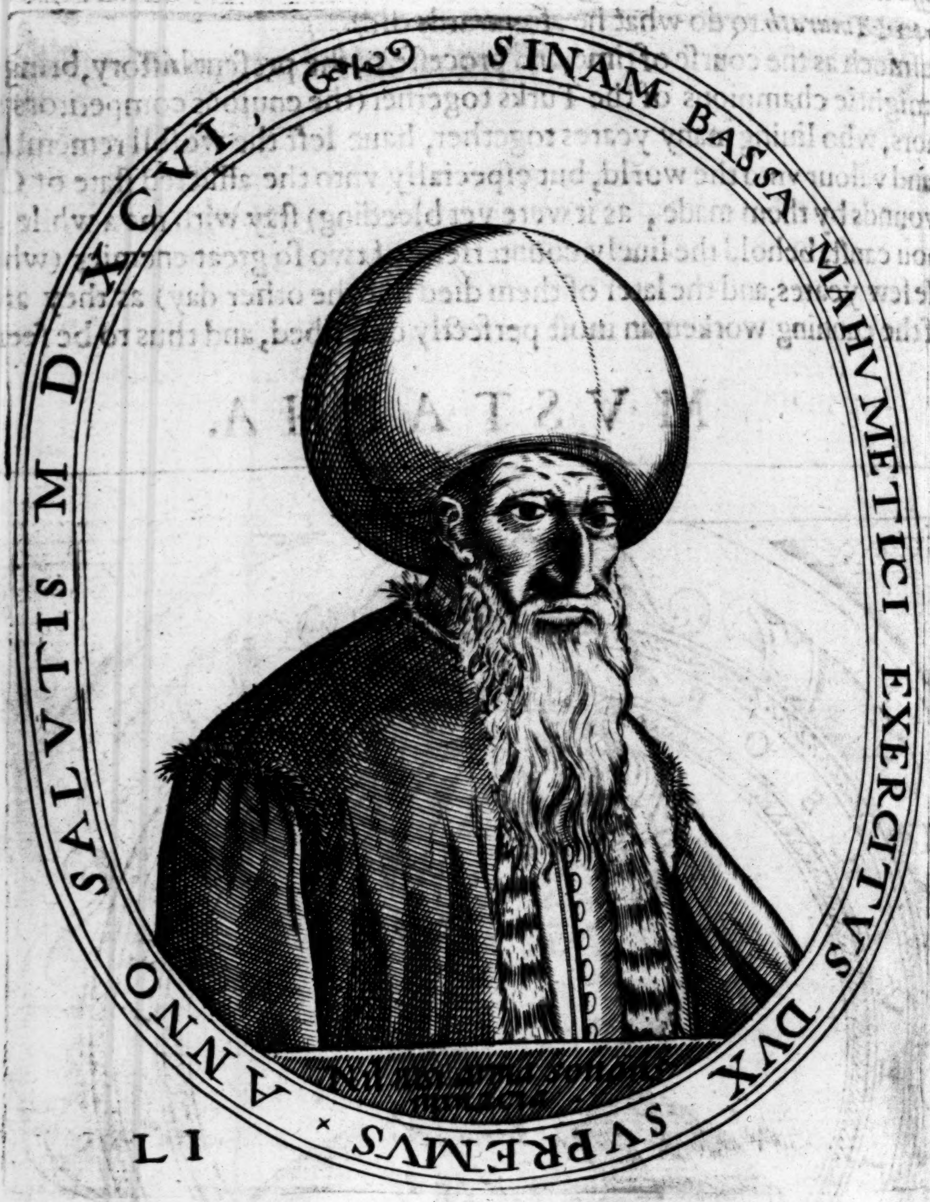
MVSTAPHA.



Quid Cyprus iactas? Quid Medos marte ſubactos?
Quid fuſos Perſas? Quid tua facta refers?
Dum te perfidiæ damnet Bragadinus: *& ipſe*
Theupulus *indigna morte peremptus erit.*

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

What do'ſt thou boaſt of Cyprus woon? or of the Medes orethrowne?
What of the Perſians put to flight? or of thy deeds ſo knowne?
Whileſt *Bragadinus* thee condemnes of extreame periurie,
And *Theupulus* to thy diſgrace, a ſhamefull death did die.


SINAM BASSA MAHVMETICI EXERCITVS DVX SVPREMVS × ANNO SALVTIS M DXCVI,
LI

Mitte Sinane *tuos nimium iactare triumphos:*
Et rigido vultu verba ſuperba loqui:
Vltor namque aderit mox Tranſyluanius heros:
Qui tumidum coget te dare terga fugæ.

Rich. Knolleus.

Proud *Sinan* ceaſe to vaunt too much of thy great triumphs woon,
Or with ſterne looke for to extoll the deeds by thee erſt done:
For why, the Tranſyluanian Prince will take reuenge of thee,
And ſwelling in thy greateſt pride, enforce thee for to flee.

R. Knolls.

This *Sinan* was a moſt antient enemie to *Muſtapha*, and in all things thought himſelfe his match. For if *Muſtapha* had ſubdued Cyprus, ſo had he conquered Tripolis, Guletta, with the kingdome of Tunes in Affricke: and if *Muſtapha* were a man of great courage, and reuerend for his yeares, *Sinan* would be his equall both in the one and the other, yea and did not ſticke to thinke himſelfe his better too, for that in the enterpriſe of Giamen in Arabia, hee performed ſuch an exploit as *Muſtapha* neither durſt nor yet knew how to put in execution, ſo carrying away the glorie of that famous conqueſt: for which euer after there was between them a continuall heart burning, one of them enuying at the others glorie, and both in word and deed, as occaſions fell out, in all things oppoſing themſelues one againſt the other. At laſt happens this opportunitie for *Sinan*: who taking the occaſion of the complaints of ſo many againſt *Muſtapha*, cauſed a great number of them to frame their ſupplications to *Amurath*, which he for his part did in moſt malignant manner inforce and exaggerat againſt his old aduerſary; accuſing him, that this ſecond yeare he had moſt manifeſtly ſhewed himſelfe to haue gone vnto the wars not as a worthy General deſirous of noble and honorable enterpriſes, but as a man that would make merchandiſe of bloud, and of his ſoldiers paies; employing the moſt liberal prouiſion of corne and mony, not as rewards of well deſeruing men, not to the erecting of ſuch fabriks as were needfull, and might haue bin built therewithall, but onely to his owne proper gaine, ſo to inrich himſelfe with his peoples loſſes, to the great ſhame of his lord, and conſuming of the publick treaſure: adding hereunto, that if the things done by *Muſtapha* were well ſearched, it would be found, that he had neglected many good opportunities, attempted many things in vaine, and not done any good either to the Emperor or his ſouldiers, but onely to himſelfe: whom rather than they would follow againe as their Generall, all his people in an vprore ſhewed themſelues ready and willing to aduenture themſelues in any other farre greater labour that by their Lord and Soueraigne ſhould be commanded them.

Sinan accuſeth Muſtapha to Amurath.

Theſe and ſuch like complaints, with the hard opinion alreadie conceiued againſt him by *Amurath*, were the occaſion why hee reſolued to put him from his place. Beſide that, hee thought it a thing dangerous to his ſtate, to ſuffer one & the ſelfe ſame General any long time to command ouer ſo great armies, deeming it not ſo much for his honour, ſtill to employ one man, as to ſhew that he had varietie and choice of ſubiects, worthy of ſo great a charge. And therfore being deſirous to find out the truth of that was reported to him concerning *Muſtapha*, he ſent the chiefe of his gentlemen porters, with fifteen others, to bring him to the court, with his Chancellor and Treaſurer, to ſhew the accounts of ſuch monies as he had receiued, and to giue vp an account of their whole office. Vnto this meſſenger had *Amurath* deliuered three diuers letters, which he ſhould warily ſhew as occaſion ſerued: one of them was ſo written of purpoſe, that *Muſtapha* in the receiuing thereof might by the ſame meſſengers be ſtrangled: in the ſecond was the emperors warrant for the doing of that was to them commanded; & in the third was contained, that *Muſtapha* ſhould forthwith ſend his Chancellor & Treaſurer to the court by thoſe meſſengers. *Muſtapha* in the meane time by diuers means, but eſpecially by the guilt of his owne conſcience, venting the diſpleaſure of the Emperor towards him, and ſuſpecting (as the truth was) his life to be by thoſe meſſengers ſought after, at ſuch time as the Captain Porter came to his camp, found many delaies to put him off, and would not in any caſe be ſpoken withall. But when the meſſenger would indure no longer delay, he was at length admitted to his preſence, hauing a circle appointed for him, out of which hee and his companions might not ſtir or approch neerer vnto him, the Baſſaes guard ſtanding in arms round about him. The meſſenger perceiuing the Baſſa's warines, wilily pluckt forth the third letters, concerning the ſending of his Chancellor and Treaſurer to the court. Then began the craftie old Baſſa to find many excuſes to haue delayed the matter: but being hardly preſſed by the meſſenger, and ſeeing no other remedie, he with much difficultie deliuered them both, couenanting before with the meſſenger, to haue both their liues ſpared: who comming to Conſtantinople, where forthwith clapt faſt into the tower called Iadicula, as there to haue been ſeuerely examined of all the doings of the Baſſa. But *Muſtapha* after long delay comming at length to Conſtantinople, the ninth of Aprill in the Spring following, and vſing the mighty and potent mediation of diuers great ladies and other his gracious friends in court, preuailed ſo much in that corrupt gouernment, as that he was againe at length receiued into the fauour of *Amurath*, without any further proceeding againſt him, his Chancellor, or Treaſurer, who by his meanes were afterwards alſo inlarged and ſet at liberty: yet was he neuer after admitted to thoſe honors, which hee perſuaded himſelfe were of right due vnto him, for his good and faithfull ſeruice of long time done to the *Othoman* Emperours.

Io. Leuncla in ſupplement. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 79.

Muſtapha by the mediation of certain great ladies appeaſeth the diſpleaſure of Amurath.

In this time that *Muſtapha* was Generall at Erzirum, *Muhamet* the Viſier Baſſa was treacherouſly ſlaine at Conſtantinople : after whom ſhortly after died alſo *Achmet Baſſa*, who ſucceeded in his place : ſo that the ſaid ſoueraigne dignity, in honor next vnto the Turkiſh Emperour, was by rightfull ſucceſſion due to *Muſtapha* the next Baſſa ; but that he was not thought worthie of it by him that might, and of right ought, to haue gratified him therewith, as ſhall be a little hereafter declared, when we haue briefely ſet downe the ſudden and ſtrange death of the ſaid *Mubamet* the Viſier, worthie in all hiſtories to be regiſtred, as a mirrour for all ſuch as adminiſter iuſtice in ſo great place, to looke vpon. G

The ſtrange death of the great Viſier Baſſa Mubamet

This Baſſa, a man of as great fame as euer was any that had gouernment in the *Othoman* empire, in the time that he all commanded, had for ſome light cauſes depriued a certaine ſouldier of Conſtantinople, of his yearely penſion, which with many labours and dangers he had gotten to maintain himſelfe; which penſion, the Baſſa beſtowed vpon another ſouldier, ſo that the other poore ſoule remained in miſerie, altogether vnprouided for. Vnto which miſerable eſtate ſeeing himſelfe now brought, and not guilty to himſelfe of any fault worthy ſo great puniſhment, he determined with himſelfe to reuenge the iniury with the bloud of that great Baſſa, and to bereaue him of life, that had bereft him of liuing: which becauſe he could not by any fit means put in execution (by reaſon of the guard of ſlaues that keep the perſon of the Viſier, ſo that no man can come neere him that holdeth that high place) except hee could by ſome means acquaint himſelfe in the Viſiers houſe, & ſo inſinuat himſelfe into his acquaintance; he reſolued to take vpon him the rude habit of thoſe religious which the Turks call Deruiſlars, and after their manner to preſent himſelfe euery morning before the Viſier to aske his almes: and ſo he did, counterfeiting withall a certaine kind of folly and lightneſſe of mind, as do thoſe Deruiſlars, to make the people beleeue, that they contemne all worldly things, as men rauiſhed only with heauenly cogitations; which yet was by ſome that knew him, thought to haue happened in him, through the griefe he had conceiued for the loſſe of his ſtipend. *Mubamet* not only the firſt time, but alſo at all other times that this counterfeit hypocrite came before him, cauſed him to be comforted with his almes, and as it were with a kind of priuat ſtipend, enioyned him euery morning to come vnto him into the Diuano, and there together with others appointed for the ſame purpoſe, to ſay his deuout praiers, and in ſinging praiſes to their wicked Prophet, to intreat God for his ſaluation : for it is a cuſtome of all the noblemen, that at ordinary houres of praiers, al their prieſts aſſemble themſelues in the Diuano, which is made ready for them, and there all together the Infidell wretches do with their vnclean mouthes mumble vp their ſuperſtitious praiers, or rather moſt abhominable blaſphemies. By this means did this diſſembling companion ſo inſinuat himſelfe into the Viſiers acquaintance, that the counterfet foole went in and out of the Diuano at his pleaſure, no man gainſaying either his going in or comming out, but daily ſat in the preſence of the Viſier, and ſo hauing ſaid his praiers, & taken his almes, with all reuerence quietly departed. At laſt when the crafty hypocrite thought that the time was come wherein he might moſt fitly execute his purpoſe, hauing vtterly reſolued with himſelfe to die, ſo that he might ſatisfie the deſire he had of reuenge, ſo long couertly foſtered in his heart ; hauing conueied a very ſharpe dagger ſecretly into one of his ſleeues, he went according to his cuſtome, to require his almes, with an aſſured reſolution (when hee had ſaid his praiers, and reached out his hands to receiue his woonted almes) ſpeedily to charge vpon the Viſier, and with the dagger to ſtrike him to the heart. According to the accuſtomed manner was the counterfeit hypocrite (for who would euer haue ſuſpected ſo long & ſo traiterous a diſignement) admitted into the Diuano, where *Mubamet* the Viſier ſat in his houſe, to giue publick audience, & after the vſual manner, before any of the ſuters that attended for anſwers & diſpatch of their buſines ſuſpected any ſuch deceit, he was admitted neere to the Viſier, & ſitting right againſt him, according to his old woont poured out thoſe vaine deuotions which thoſe hypocritical Barbarians vſe to mumble vp in their praiers: which being finiſhed, whileſt the Viſier ſimply reacheth vnto him his woonted almes, the traiterous villain in receiuing it ſuddenly drew out his dagger, and once or twice ſtabbed it into the Viſiers breaſt, out of which ſo deadly wounds guſhed out his bloud and life together. Whereupon the ſtanders by aſtonied with the ſtrangeneſſe of the act, ran in, but lo the old hoary Viſier lay all foiled in his own bloud, deadly pale, and breathing forth his laſt gaſp. The miſchieuous murderer they preſently laid hands vpon, & bound him faſt: but the rumor of the ſtrange fact did by & by flie vnto the emperors ears: who ſuſpecting that ſome of the other great Baſſaes deſiring to mount

into

A into that high dignitie, had prouoked the traitor to do this deteſtable act, would needs vnderſtand of the traiterous murderer, what occaſion had moued him ſo trecherouſly to kill his Viſier. Who reſolutely anſwered him, That he did it to deliuer the citie of Conſtantinople from the tyranny of him, by whom hee was vndeſeruedly depriued of his penſion. But when hee could get no other anſwer of him, hee deliuered him into the hands of the ſlaues of the dead Viſier, who with moſt exquiſit torments put him to death.

Mahamet thus dead, after him ſucceeded *Achmetes* the next Baſſa, who (as is before ſaid) ſhortly after died alſo, ſo that it was now *Muſtapha* his courſe to ſucceed in that chiefe roome, for that he was the third in the order of the Baſſaes. But when he had vſed all the meanes that he poſſibly could, to haue obtained that ſo honorable a place by order due vnto him, yet could he B not find ſo much grace in the ſight of *Amurath* his great Lord, as to haue it granted him vnder ſeale, although in effect hee made him ſit as Viſier, and all matters of ſtate were brought vnto him as chiefe Viſier: but in his ſtead the ſeale was ſent to *Sinan Baſſa*, who was now made Generall for the Perſian warres. Which diſgrace not a little diſcontented *Muſtapha*, fearing leſt ſome other ſtrange accident ſhould in ſhort time light vpon him.

1580

Sinan Baſſa choſen Generall for the Perſian warre.

After that *Muſtapha* was thus diſplaced from his Generalſhip, *Amurath* nominated *Sinan Baſſa* to be Generall in his ſtead for this expedition againſt the Perſians, and for the preſeruation of Chars and Teflis, giuing him ſoueraigne authority to command, and to ſet in order all ſuch preparations as he ſhould thinke neceſſarie for ſuch enterpriſes as he ſhould thinke good to attempt in his firſt yere: who although by reaſon of his great fauor, he grew haughtie and glorious, yet did he not foreſlow to diſcourſe throughly with himſelfe vpon all his deſignements: and namely, beſide the ſuccouring of Teflis, he determined to build a fort at Tomanis, to aſſure the paſſage thither from Chars; and withall to attempt all the means he could to induce the Perſian king to ſend Embaſſadors for peace, with ſuch conditions as ſhould be acceptable to *Amurath*. With theſe and ſuch like diſcourſes did he buſie himſelfe whilſt he was yet making preparation to ſet forwards towards Erzirum.

Of all theſe changes and alterations was the Perſian king aduertiſed, as alſo that this new Turkiſh Generall *Sinan* was carefull, how this long war might by ſome means be appeaſed, and a good peace concluded. Vpon which occaſion, and by the perſuaſion of *Leuent Ogli* the Georgian, and of *Mirize Salmas* the Viſier, hee was induced to ſend embaſſadors to Conſtantinople, to demand peace of *Amurath*. Vpon which reſolution he diſpatched *Maxut Chan* (of ſome called *Maxudes*) his embaſſador, with direction that he ſhould go to *Sinan*, and of him to receiue guides to conduct him to Conſtantinople with letters to *Amurath*, and as much as lay in him to labour for the pacifying of all theſe troubles: and in any caſe to conclude vpon it, ſo that hee would be content with Chars and Teflis. With theſe inſtructions the embaſſador departed, & at length arriued at Chars, and ſo came to Erzirum, and was from thence conducted towards Amaſia. But when he came to Siuas, he found *Sinan* the Generall there encamped, gathering together his armie for the execution of his deſignements: for *Sinan* vpon the arriual of *Muſtapha*, departing from Conſtantinople the fiue and twentieth day of Aprill, was now come ſo farre on his way. Of the comming of this Embaſſadour, The Turks receiued great ioy, and newes thereof was in poſt ſent by *Cicala Baſſa* to the court. The Perſian embaſſador enformed *Sinan* of all that he had to treat with *Amurath* on the behalfe of King *Mahamat*; and laboured earneſtly to perſuade him, of the equitie of the cauſe, and of his requeſt: declaring vnto him, That foraſmuch as both the Nations were conioyned vnder the law of *Mahomet* their common Prophet (though there ſeemed ſome ſmall difference not worth thoſe troubles) it were a very inconuenient thing for them to contend among themſelues, and to ſeeke the ouerthrow or vtter deſtruction of one another: and that therefore he was in good hope to obtaine of *Amurath* this deſired peace, if he had no other cauſe wherwith he found himſelfe agrieued, as in truth he had not. Wherefore he beſought the Generall, that he would with ſafe conuoy conduct him to *Amurath*, to the end that if it were poſſible, theſe bloudie wars might take end; at the very report whereof, the reſt of the world reioiced, and ſtood attentiuely waiting to ſee what would be the iſſue thereof.

The Perſian King ſendeth Maxut Chan his embaſſador to Amurath.

This embaſſador, *Sinan* entertained after the beſt manner the rudeneſſe of his nature would afoord: and thinking that the very fame of his valor, had wrought in the minds of his enemies this reſolution to come to demand peace, granted vnto the Embaſſador a ſure conuoy to con-

The admonition of Sinan to the Perſian Embaſſadour.

duct him to Conſtantinople; and wrote to *Amurath* in his letters, all that he thought was fit
to be demanded, repreſenting vnto him what great and important matters (hee hoped) might G
now be obtained. But before he diſmiſſed the ſaid embaſſadour, he aduiſed him not to goe to
Amurath, without reſolution to offer vnto him ſome great good conditions, and to yeeld vnto
him all that country which he by force of armes had before conquered: for he knew the mind
of *Amurath* verie well, that he was reſolued in himſelfe, not to yeeld ſo much as one hand
breadth of that ground which hee had woon with the ſword. Which motion of the proud
Baſſa ſo troubled the Embaſſador, that fearing he ſhould not be able to conclude any thing, he
ſtood in doubt, whether to proceed on his iourney to Conſtantinople, or to returne backe
againe into Perſia: but conſidering better what belonged to his dutie in ſo weightie a buſineſſe,
and hoping to receiue more reaſonable conditions from the mouth of *Amurath* himſelfe, H
hee gaue large words to *Sinan*, and ſo with a ſafe conuoy departed from Siuas, and by long
iournies came to Scutari, and ſo paſſing ouer that little ſtrait, the fourth of Auguſt arriued at
Conſtantinople.

The preparations of the Perſian king againſt the Turks.

The Perſian king in the mean time, ſtirred vp with the report of the Turks preparations; to
cauſe it to be noiſed, that hee likewiſe intended ſome important matters, commanded all the
Chans and Gouernors of his kingdome, to meet together with all their forces at Tauris, where
hee himſelfe with the Prince *Emir Hamze* his ſon met them. And after many conſultations
there had for the repreſſing of the Turkiſh inuaſion (for as yet it was not certainly known what
Sinan meant tn attempt) he reſolued to ſend ſouldiers into Georgia towards Teflis, whether of
neceſſitie ſuccours muſt be ſent by the Turks to them of the fort: and withall, determined alſo I
to goe himſelfe with all his armie from Tauris to Caracach, a place very commodious and
neere, to guard both Tauris and Siruan, being ſcituat euen in the middeſt betweene the one and
the other; and there to expect the remouing of *Sinan*, whoſe ambitious nature the king knowing,
doubted that he to ſurmount *Muſtapha*, would attempt ſome greater enterpriſe; yea peraduenture
to run euen vpon Tauris. But when it came to the point that he ſhould ſend ſome of
his captaines into Georgia, he made choice of ſuch as had beſt experience of thoſe countries,
and were neereſt vnto them: with whom he ſent *Tocomac* alſo, and the reſt whoſe ſeruice hee
had before vſed againſt the Turkes; commanding them to ioyne their forces with *Simon* the
Georgian, and by all meanes poſſible to annoy the enemie: whom if they ſhould perceiue to
bend for Tauris, they ſhould not faile to follow him; to the end they might ioyne together K
with him, and ſo incounter the enemies army. All thoſe captaines were reſolute men, and led
with them ten thouſand ſouldiers; which being ioined with them of Georgia, amounted to
the number of thirteene thouſand: who arriuing at Genge, gaue knowledge to *Simon* of their
comming, and that in his behalfe they were ready to do great matters.

Now was the Perſian Embaſſadour with all due honour receiued at Conſtantinople, where
he was honorably entertained by the great Baſſaes of the court; but eſpecially by *Muſtapha*,
who within two daies after ſuddenly died, of a ſurfeit taken of eating too much of muske Melons,
and immoderat drinking of Zerbet (a kind of pleaſant drinke which the Turks vſe made
of water and ſugar:) but moſt men thought him to haue poiſoned himſelfe, as fearing the former
indignation of *Amurath* to be againe inflamed by the new complaints of the Perſian Embaſſador L
againſt him, for that he in the time of his Generalſhip, had diſhonourably ſuppreſſed
certain embaſſages ſent from the Perſian king; which he now fearing to be called in queſtion
for, the former ſtorms as yet ſcarce wel appeaſed, made himſelfe now away. After his death it
was commonly reported, that if hee had longer liued, he ſhould haue bin vndoubtedly ſtrangled:
which to preuent, he became the worthy executioner of himſelfe, that had moſt vniuſtly
cauſed others to be moſt ſhamefully murdered. Which was the more like to be true, and the
rather beleeued, for that the infinit wealth he had of long time ſcraped together, was immediatly
after his death taken into the kings treaſuries, ſome ſmall portion thereof being left vnto
his nephews: a moſt certain token of *Amuraths* indignation againſt him. The Perſian Embaſſador
hauing audience the 7 of Auguſt, with many liuely reaſons & much eloquence, perſuaded M
the Turkiſh Emperor to deſiſt from the war begun, as contrary to the will & pleaſure of their
common Prophet *Mahomet*: as alſo to the peace, which was ſo royally, & with ſo many capitulations,
not long before concluded between *Tamas* and *Solyman* his grandfather; and was not
to haue bin broken and wars raiſed, but vpon ſome great quarrell or iniurie done; which the

A Perſians had not at any time offered, but had alwaies wiſhed vnto him all happineſſe; as they had manifeſtly declared, by ſending vnto him an embaſſage to that purpoſe by Sultan *Tocoman*, whereby hee might plainly perceiue, the good mind and zeale the Perſian King had for the maintenance of the peace. And although in the ſhort raigne of *Iſmahel*, there was ſome rumor raiſed, that he meant to go vnto Babylonia, and ſome ſuch like newes: yet that was but a youthfull part, and an effect of that heat which is commonly proper to ſuch as beeing kept long in ſtrait priſon cannot vſe their liberty with moderation, and had therefore receiued due puniſhment for it, by ſudden and vnexpected death. But as for the king that now is, he did aboue all others imbrace amitie with his maieſtie, and therefore did moſt earneſtly deſire, that it would pleaſe him to temper his anger conceiued, which had incenſed him to take vp armes againſt a B king ſo much his friend, being of the ſame religion, and better affected towards him than all the reſt of the Nations in the World.

This Embaſſador the Turkiſh Emperour diſmiſſed without any reſolution at all, but onely gaue order, that whatſoeuer he had to ſay touching this peace, he ſhould communicate it with his Viſier. Many were the diſcourſes which hapned; for that the Turke required all thoſe cities & countries, which til that time he had conquered with the ſword, or (as their proud manner of phraſe is) whereon his Generals horſe had trod, to be yeelded again vnto him: and the Embaſſador on the other ſide, had no warrant from his king to yeeld any more than that part of Georgia, which is on this ſide the riuer of Araxis. Wherupon the ſaid embaſſador began to feare, leſt he ſhould be ſuſpected for a ſpie, and ſo be euil intreated: wherewithall he did finde himſelfe too manifeſtly charged by the hard ſpeech that the Viſier vſed towards him. Being thus doubtful wherupon to reſolue, perceiuing himſelf ſtrained to the grant of theſe demands, and receiuing alſo ſome threatnings withall, he determined with himſelfe to enlarge his ſpeeches with the Viſier in diuers and ſundrie particularities, and to giue him good hope that hee ſhould be able to perſuade with his king, the yeelding vp of ſo much as *Amurath* had and did demand. Hereupon was *Maxut Chan* the embaſſador in friendly manner and without any outrage ſent from Conſtantinople to Chars, and commiſſion giuen to *Sinan* (then at Chars) that without delay, & with all fidelity, he ſhould cauſe the embaſſador to be conducted to Van, and from thence into Perſia, whereſoeuer he did deſire: all which was faithfully performed.

But to returne againe to *Sinan* the Generall, who from Siuas had ſent the ſaid embaſſadour to Conſtantinople (as is before declared:) & being departed thence, arriued at Erzirum, where he tooke a ſuruey of his army, and other prouiſion neceſſarie for this expedition: and ſo from thence was now come to Chars, from whence hee diſpatched the Perſian embaſſadour, much diſcontented that no other concluſion for peace could be wrought.

Sinan muſtreth his army at Erzirum.

Maxut Chan at laſt arriuing at the Perſian court, reported vnto the king all that had happened in this his embaſſage: the ſum whereof was, That *Amurath* would not condiſcend to any condition of peace, vnleſſe the whole countrey of Siruan might be yeelded vnto him, for that hee had once (as he ſaid) conquered the ſame. Neither did the ſame embaſſador forbeare to tell the king, the ſuſpition *Amurath* had conceiued of him, to haue been a ſpie rather than an embaſſador; and of the large promiſes he was fain to make to the Turke, to auoid the manifeſt danger of impriſonment or death: all which for all that, now lay in his Maieſties power to performe or not. The king for the preſent remained well ſatisfied with that *Maxut* had done, and in reward of his great trauell and expences, gaue him the charge of the Chamber at Tauris, naming him the Chamberlaine of that rich and great citie. Of which new office (though very honourable and of great importance) he tooke ſmall pleaſure, for that one *Emir Chan* his antient enemie was chiefe Gouernor of that city, from whom he feared ſome dangerous trecherie: wherfore he appointed his deputie for the execution of the office, & withdrew himſelfe from Tauris to Caſſangich, a place of his owne, there to paſſe away the time vntill it ſhould pleaſe the king otherwiſe to diſpoſe of him. But *Emir Chan*, who ſtill nouriſhed in his mind the antient hatred hee had conceiued againſt him, tooke this as a moſt fit occaſion to bring him into diſgrace with the king: certifying him, That *Maxut* not contented with the great preferment it had pleaſed him to beſtow vpon him, had in contempt of his rewards abandoned Tauris, and ſubſtituted in his place a moſt baſe perſon to repreſent the kings maieſty & to manage his treaſure: and that he abſented himſelfe far from that citie and the court there, hauing withdrawne himſelfe into the confines of Turkie, no doubt for ſome miſchieuous intent, either to yeeld

Maxut Chan reporteth vnto the king what he hath done, & is for his good ſeruice by him rewarded.

himſelfe vnto them, or els to haue intelligence with them, and was like enough to be guilty to himſelfe of the great errour he had already committed, by offering Simah vnto the Turkiſh G
king, and making promiſe of ſo large conditions, whereby he had obtained ſuch a ſure & ſafe conuoy to conduct him; when as hee had before diſcouered himſelfe to be a fauourer of the Turks, and a traitor to his owne king: and that therefore it were good to make triall of this inclination, and ſo peraduenture to decline ſome great miſchiefe, tending to the danger of the Perſian ſtate. This malicious accuſation ſlily contriued, ſo wrought in the mind of the ſuſpitious king, that he commanded *Emir Chan* ſecretly to apprehend *Maxut*, and to bring him to the court, and (if he could not by other meanes) but by torture to wreſt from him the truth of all thoſe matters. Glad was *Emir* to haue his enemie thus put into his hands; and thought it long vntill he had brought this ſhame vpon *Maxut*: who hauing already heard ſome inckling thereof, reſolued with himſelfe to do any thing, rather than to fall into the power of his hatefull H
enemie. And therefore at ſuch time as fifteen tall fellowes were for that purpoſe ſent vnto him from *Emir Chan*, who in the kings name ſummoned him to the court, he without making any ſhew that he took the matter otherwiſe than wel, entertained them courteouſly, & made them great cheere: but when he perceiued them to be ouercome with ſleep, which crept vpon them by reaſon of the exceſſe wherewith they had ouercharged themſelues, he cauſed them to be ſtraitly bound, and with long cords hanged them downe into a deep well, and there ſhut them vp, ſecretly couered. Then gathering together the moſt precious things he had in his houſe, and ſetting his wiues, his children, his brethren, and nephews on horſebacke, fled with all his familie in the euening, and the next day arriued at Salmas, and was there friendly entertained I
by the Turkiſh Baſſa, & from thence conueied to Van, where he was alſo courteouſly welcommed by *Cicala Baſſa*, and honorably accompanied, ſent to *Sinan* the Generall, who very glad of his comming, ſent him with all diligence to Conſtantinople to *Amurath*. And this was in effect the end of the firſt enterparlance of peace betwixt the Perſians and the Turks.

Maxut Chan flyeth vnto the Turkes.

Sinan remained at Chars eight daies, and there againe ſurueyed his armie and proviſion; and afterwards ſet forward towards Tomanis, with reſolution there to build a fort. But being come thither, he could by no meanes put that his deſignement in execution, by reaſon of the immoderat rain, which continually by the ſpace of eight daies fell in ſuch abundance, as that neither did the Sun appeare, or the skie cleare. Beſide that, *Sinan* greatly feared leſt the enemie taking the opportunitie of this rain, of the ſtraight, and of the building, ſhould aſſault his armie, K
and finding it in euill plight and out of order, greatly endamage it: wherefore caſting off his former determination for fortifying at Tomanis, he remoued thence, to carry ſuccours to Teflis. But as ſoon as he was riſen with his armie, and paſt the ſtrait, *Tal-Ogli* Captaine of the Ianizaries of Damaſco, and *Homar* Sanzacke of Saffeto, hauing receiued ſecret intelligence, that hard by, a little out of the way, was good ſtore both of corne and cattell, reſolued with themſelues to go thither to ſetch in that booty: and ſo with two thouſand ſouldiers greedy of prey they ſet forward. Now *Simon* the Georgian and the Perſians, following the Turks armie a far off, had diuided his ſouldiers into all ſuch places as where there was either corne, or water, or any ſuch thing as might allure the Turks to ſcatter themſelues from the camp: and perceiuing theſe hungry Turkes careleſly to run headlong to lay hold on this deſired bootie, he ſuddenly L
fell vpon them, and cut them in pieces, being diſordered; ſo that of thoſe two thouſand eſcaped but *Tal-Ogli* the Captaine of the Ianizaries only, *Homar* the Sanzacke and all the reſt being left dead vpon the ground.

Sinan commeth to Teflis.

Sinan holding on his way, in two daies came to Teflis; where preſently he called a counſell of all the chiefe men of his armie, taking order, That euery man vpon his oath, ſhould depoſe the truth touching the greatneſſe of Teflis: which he did onely in reproch of *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa, who moſt vntruly had informed *Amurath*, That it was as great and populous as Damaſco, whereas in truth it was not in any reſpect to be compared vnto that ſo famous a City. After that, he diuided the treaſure and ſuccors he had brought, among the ſouldiers of the fortreſſe, cheering them vp with good words, and promiſes of great matters. And becauſe the ſouldiers there in garriſon complained greatly againſt the Baſſa their Captaine, hee cauſed a bil of complaint to be framed againſt him, & finding him guilty, that he had conuerted the ſouldiers pay to his own vſe, he condemned him to the reſtitution thereof, and ſo immediatly diſcharging him of his office, placed in his roome *Guiſuf Bey*, a lord of Georgia; who for the antient

A tient enmitie betweene him and *Simon*, had yeelded himſelfe to the Turkes, and was by *Sinan* ſo welcommed, that *Sinan* truſted him with the cuſtodie of that fort, which with ſo many dangers had beene maintained and defended till that day.

Sinan departeth from Teflis

All things thus ſet in order at Teflis, *Sinan* with his army departed thence, and hauing againe paſſed the ſtrait of Tomanis, there came vnto him *Muſtaffad Baſſa* (afterward gouernour of Aleppo) declaring vnto him, That not far off was great ſtore of corne and cattell, and no bodie but onely a few Georgians to keepe the ſame, and therefore wiſhed him to ſend forth ſome to fetch it in, whereof, though it had bin much more, his armie then ſtood in great need. *Sinan* was well affected vnto this *Muſtaffad*, and therefore the eaſilier induced by him to ſend for the aforeſaid bootie: but moued with the freſh remembrance of that which had happened to *Tal-*B *Ogli* & *Homar*, he gaue order, That to fetch in this corne and cattel there ſhould go out 10000 horſemen and their ſeruants, among whom was alſo the ſame *Muſtaffad* as their Generall. Now ſtood *Tocomac, Simon*, and the other Perſian captains in ſecret ambuſh, waiting when any of the Turks ſhould come to fetch in this bootie. Whereupon the aforeſaid ſoldiers being now come, as they deſired, and hauing almoſt charged all their mules & horſes with that which beſt pleaſed them to make choice of; the hidden Perſians all on a ſudden iſſued out of their lurking places among them, and with great ſlaughter put them to flight, and with ſuch furie purſued the victorie, that they ſlew of them 7000, carried away many priſoners aliue, and the mules and horſes laden with the ſtolne bootie. *Muſtaffad* was the firſt that fled, and the firſt that brought the vnhappy news of that ouerthrow to *Sinan*: which was forthwith confirmed by the report C of ſuch as had by ſpeedie flight eſcaped the furie of the enemie. Whereupon *Sinan* diſpatched the Baſſa of Caramania with a great power, charging him whereſoeuer he ſhould find the enemie, to ſet vpon him; and preſently riſing himſelfe with his whole campe, followed the ſaid Baſſa: but all too late; for the Perſians after the aforeſaid victorie, without ſtaying had withdrawne themſelues into their ſtrong places, knowne only to ſuch as were wel acquainted with the difficult paſſages of Georgia: and hauing there diſpoſed of their prey, were now returning to await ſome freſh occaſion of new ſlaughter. But when they deſcried the whole armie of the Turks vpon the riſing of a certaine hill, they were affraid to meet them, yea and ſtood in ſome doubt alſo, leſt *Sinan* ſhould diſcend from the hill, and ſo aſſault them: for which cauſe they retired themſelues againe into the ſtrength of the mountaines; yet not with ſuch ſpeed D but that the Turks ouertooke ſome few of them, and ſlew about fiftie or threeſcore of them, whoſe heads in ſigne of triumph they carried a good part of the way vpon the points of their ſpeares: and tooke priſoners about threeſcore and ten moe.

Seuen thouſand Turks ſlaine by the Georgians and Perſians.

At laſt *Sinan* with all his armie hauing paſſed theſe dangerous places of Georgia, arriued at Triala, were it was told him, That the Perſian king in perſon himſelfe being already departed from Tauris, with an exceeding great armie was comming to bid him battell. At which news he cauſed proclamation to be preſently made thorow all his army, That euery man ſhould put himſelfe in readineſſe for the voyage to Tauris, whither he himſelfe meant to go to meet with the king his enemy. In the mean time (as is reported) he diſpatched certain poſts to the Perſian E king, then at Carachach, to entreat him to ſend another Embaſſador to *Amurath* for peace, thinking by that meanes (as ſome do coniecture) to remoue the king from the reſolution of comming to aſſaile him, if he had any ſuch meaning. After this proclamation made, he diſcended into the open and large plaines of Chielder; where preſently he muſtred his whole army, and gaue it out, That before he would ſet forward toward Tauris, he would make triall of the readineſſe and nimbleneſſe of his ſoldiers, in ſuch ſort as if they ſhould preſently joine battel with the enemie: which without further delay he put in execution the next morning, formally ranging his whole armie in order of battell, and then ſending out ſome few others to ſhew themſelues vpon the top of certaine hils, as if they had been enemies that came to ſeiſe vpon his armie; he cauſed all his artillery to be diſcharged, and commanded euery man to skirmiſh & beſtir himſelfe altogether after the ſame manner as if the enemie had beene there preſent before them: where the thundring of the great and ſmall ſhot, the thicke ſtormes of arrows, with the brightneſſe of the armor and weapons, yeelding forth lightnings as if it had bin firy beames, and the noiſe of drummes and trumpets and other inſtruments of warre, with the enſignes of blew and yellow flying in the winde, made ſuch a medly of all things, as if it had been the turmoyle of a very battell indeed. In the end hee cauſed the retreat to be ſounded; and then

Sinan derided of his ſoldiers.

ſetting all his armie in order againe, made the like ſhew the ſecond time, and ſo the third time G
alſo : which was indeed performed with the great ſcorne and deriſion of his ſouldiers, who
deemed it rather childrens play, than any commendation to the proud Baſſa. Theſe counterfeit
ſhewes of war thus finiſhed, yet did he not ſet forward toward Tauris, as he had giuen it
out, but loitered eight dayes in thoſe plaines of Chielder. At which time there arriued out
of Perſia one *Aider* the Aga, as an Embaſſador from the King, who was by *Sinan* with great ioy
entertained. Diuers were the things by this Embaſſador propounded, ſuch as had *Maxut Chan*
before : but the concluſion of all was, that the Perſian King would be content voluntarily to
relinquiſh Chars and Teflis, and ſo remaine as he did before, in amitie with *Amurath*; and ſo
deſired *Sinan* to conclude a peace with his Maſter, if it might be : as for himſelfe, this meſſage
done, he was preſently to returne into Perſia. For this peace *Sinan* promiſed to deale with H
Amurath, ſo that the Perſian King would ſend another Embaſſador to Conſtantinople. Vpon
which concluſion the ſaid *Aider* returned into Perſia, and at Tauris declared to the King, what
he had ſeene, what promiſes he had receiued of *Sinan*, and withall exhorted him to ſend a
new Embaſſador vnto the Turkiſh Court. After this, when the publique rumor of the comming
of the Perſian King, was found to be falſe, *Sinan* in ſtead of going to Tauris, returned to
Chars, where he idely ſtayed a whole moneth, to the generall maruelling and murmuring of
all his armie, aſtoniſhed to ſee themſelues (to the great charges of their King, and the diſturbance
of his whole Kingdome) brought forth not for any honorable conqueſt, but as it were
onely of purpoſe to make a vaine ſhew of war.

Sinan commeth to Erzirum, & there breaketh vp his armie.

At laſt he departed from Chars, for that now Winter was come on, and the *froſts & ſhowes* I
did his armie great harme; and ſo comming to Erzirum, there preſently diſmiſſed euery man
to goe and winter in his owne countrey; but remained ſtill himſelfe in the ſame citie. From
whence he by ſpeedie poſts diligently aduertiſed *Amurath* of the ſuccors he had left at Teflis,
of the loſſes he had receiued from the enemie, of all that which was by *Muſtapha* miſreported,
of the comming of the Perſian Embaſſador to him, of the promiſe made vnto him touching a
new Embaſſador, & to be ſhort, of all his whole actions. Beſides all this, he aduertiſed *Amurath*,
That the enterpriſe of Perſia was a very hard, long, & difficult matter, & ſuch a one as needed
another manner of preparation than had bin as yet appointed for it : and that if he deſired
to ſubdue Perſia, it was then very neceſſary that he ſhould ſpeak with him at large, & diſcourſe
vpon many particularities, which could not ſo well without exceeding tediouſneſſe be declared K
by writing. After that, he ſent other meſſengers alſo, to ſolicite *Amurath* for his returne to
Conſtantinople; continually telling him, That it was not poſſible to ſignifie by writing, what
he purpoſed to report to him by word of mouth, for the better accompliſhing of the enterpriſe
begun. Nothing in the world did *Sinan* abhor more than this war, hauing his mind altogether
bent againſt the affaires of the Chriſtians in Europe, and therefore ſought by all means poſſible
for the diuerting of thoſe wars from the Eaſt, into ſome other quarters. At laſt he wrought ſo
much, he entreated ſo much, he writ ſo many letters, and ſolicited the matter ſo earneſtly, that
Amurath was perſuaded to ſend for him to Conſtantinople, as ſoone as euer he was certified of
the arriuall of the new Embaſſadour from Perſia, of whom *Sinan* had before aduertiſed him.
For he was reſolued either to grow to a peace with the ſaid Embaſſadour, if he came with honourable L
conditions; or if he came not, or that after his comming they could not agree vpon
the peace, then to put in execution thoſe his conceits whereof hee muſt needs in particular
talke with *Sinan* by word of mouth. At length the promiſed Embaſſador called *Ebraim Chan*,
a man of great eloquence, and highly honoured in Perſia, came to *Sinan*; whereof *Sinan* gaue
preſent intelligence to *Amurath*, beſeeching him again, to permit him to come to Conſtantinople.
Which his requeſt *Amurath* then granted. Wherupon *Sinan* forthwith returned to the
Court, where he attended the vniuerſall gouernment of the whole Empire. At his firſt comming
to the preſence of *Amurath*, (wherein he diſcourſed not with him of any thing, but of
the comming of the Perſian Embaſſadour) the conditions were ſet downe which they were
to require for the reducing of the capitulations of this peace to a good end. After which M
agreement the Embaſſadour being now come, and moſt magnificently receiued in Conſtantinople,
had audience. At wich time he with much glorious ſpeech laboured to perſuade
Amurath, That his King had a moſt ardent deſire to be reconciled vnto him, and to ioyne
his forces with his againſt the Enemies of the Mahometane Religion; and that for that pur-

poſe

A poſe he was now eſpecially come thither: which his good purpoſe, if it were anſwered with like zeale on his part, there would thereof enſue the greateſt vnitie and friendſhip that euer was betweene any Mahometan Princes. Whereunto *Amurath* gaue him no other anſwer, but that he ſhould thereof talke with his Viſier, and with him entreat of all matters concerning the peace: and ſo he was by *Amurath* entertained and diſmiſſed both at one time.

Now had *Amurath* called to Conſtantinople his eldeſt ſonne *Mahomet* (who afterward ſucceeded him in the Empire) being then about ſixteene yeares old, to circumciſe him, according to the cuſtome of the Turkes; following therein the inueterate Law of the Hebrewes. Vnto which ſolemnitie many Chriſtian Princes were ſolemnly inuited; who accordingly ſent thither their Embaſſadors with great gifts and preſents, in token of peace and confederacie, namely B *Rodulphus* the Emperour, *Henrie* the third the French King, *Stephen* King of Polonia: the State of Venice, the King of Perſia, the Moore Kings of Morocco and Fez, the Princes of Moldauia, Valachia, and others. With all triumph and ioy was the circumciſion of this yong Prince ſolemniſed by the ſpace of fortie dayes and fortie nights, in the great market place of Conſtantinople; where all the Embaſſadours aforeſaid had their ſcaffolds prepared and furniſhed according to their degrees and States, and receiued ſuch entertainment as might be ſhewed at ſuch a kinde of barbarous ſpectacle: Only the Perſian Embaſſador, who had alſo his ſcaffold ſeueral to himſelfe, but not regarded as the reſt, reioyced not at theſe feaſts and triumphs: for among ſundrie other wrongs and ſcorne done by the commandement of *Amurath* vnto the Perſian nation, (as by hanging vp certaine counterfeit pictures of Perſians made of laths and C ſticks, and then burning them, and in many ſcornefull ſorts abuſing them) the Turke, for the great diſpleaſure he had conceiued for the harme done to *Oſman Baſſa* and the Turks in Siruan much about that time, and for the diſdaine he had taken againſt *Ebraim Chan* (as one not condiſcending to the conditions of peace which he expected, nor yeelding to any more than the other Embaſſador had done before, ſeemed to haue come as a Spie to marke the Turkiſh affaires, or to mocke *Amurath*, rather than to put in execution any good matter to pacifie the mindes of the two mightie Princes) commanded the ſtanding before appointed for him, in diſgrace of him to be caſt downe, and himſelfe and all his followers to be ſhut vp as cloſe priſoners in the houſe of *Mahamet Baſſa* at Conſtantinople; where he was ſo ſtraightly kept, that though an hundred of his followers there died of the plague, which ſhortly after began to D wax hot in the citie, yet could he not obtaine ſo much fauor as to be remoued into ſome other place, but there was inforced to tarrie it out, vntill that afterward order was taken, he ſhould be carried thence as priſoner to Erzirum. To end theſe ſolemnities, *Mahomet* the yong prince was circumciſed, not publiquely, but in his fathers chamber, by *Mechmet* one of the inferiour Baſſa's, ſometime the Emperour *Solymans* Barber.

1581

Amurath circumciſeth his eldeſt ſon Mahomet.

Io. Leunc. ſup. Annal. Turc. pag. 82.

Now whileſt *Sinan* as great Viſier ſat commanding in Conſtantinople, the gariſons of Chars and Teflis (kept in by the enemie, and hauing receiued none other reliefe than a little which *Sinan* before his departure from Erzirum, had by good hap cauſed to be ſecretly conueyed vnto them) were thought to be driuen to great wants. Which thing *Sinan* right well knew, E and fearing leſt thoſe two places which had with ſo much ado beene both gained and maintained, ſhould for want of new ſuccors fall againe into the hand of the enemie: he both boldly and freely counſelled *Amurath* to ſend a new garriſon to Van, for the ſafetie of the countrey thereabouts, and then vnder the conduct of ſome valiant captaine, to ſend ſuccours to Teflis. Vpon which point *Amurath* asked *Sinan* his opinion, and willed him to bethinke himſelfe of ſome fit man. Hereupon *Sinan* propounded diuers vnto him, but none of them pleaſed him; for why, he was before reſolued, in deſpight of *Sinan* and of his counſel, to beſtow this charge vpon *Mahamet Baſſa* nephew to *Muſtapha* the late Baſſa, and for his ſake hated of *Sinan*. This Baſſa *Mahamet* he ſent to Erzirum, with the title of the Baſſa of that prouince; honouring him withall with the name of Generall of the armie for Teflis. And preſently gaue commandement to *Haſſan* the Baſſa of Caraemit, to *Muſtaffa* ſometime called *Manucchiar* the Georgian, F to all the Sanzackes, the Curdi, and the ſouldiers of Erzirum, that they ſhould reſort to the ſtandard of *Mahamet* their Generall, and ſo to follow him to Teflis. Whereupon there aſſembled together out of all the ſayd places about fiue and twentie thouſand ſouldiors, with all things neceſſarie for the reliefe of the diſtreſſed garriſon which was in Teflis. Commandement was alſo giuen to the Baſſa's of Aleppo and Maras, to repaire to Van with all their ſouldiers, and there to abide till Winter: which they accordingly did, not moleſted nor troubled by any enemie. G

In the end of Auguſt *Mahamet Baſſa* departed from Erzirum, with the Baſſa of Caraemit, and all his armie, carrying with him money, corne, and all other things needfull for the reliefe of Teflis, and in eight dayes came to Chars, and from thence to Archelec, not troubled by any. At Archelec he found *Muſtaffa* (otherwiſe called *Manucchiar*) the Georgian, with all his ſouldiers, whome the Generall moſt ioyfully entertained, and honoured him with gifts, and withall admoniſhed him to continue in his obedience to *Amurath*, and to conduct him with his armie the ſhorteſt and ſafeſt way to Teflis: for that ſome were of opinion, that it were beſt to go by Tomanis, and ſome other, by the way of *Muſtaffa* his countrey: wherein *Muſtaffa* did readily reſolue him, that the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt way lay through his owne countrey, being H also in his opinion the ſafeſt. This counſell of *Muſtaffa* pleaſed *Mahamet* greatly, ſo that hee made choice of him to be the guide of his armie, repoſing himſelfe wholly vpon his good direction: and ſo departed thence towards Teflis, paſſing through Akunchala and Carachala, both belonging to the ſaid Georgian, abounding with all things neceſſarie for the ſuſtenance of man, neither were they euer diſturbed by any enemie. Hauing paſſed *Muſtaffa* his country, they came to a friendly caſtle called Gori, from whence they diſcouered in certaine fields a great armie of the Georgians mingled with Perſians, but apparelled after the manner of Georgia: theſe were thoſe Captaines of Perſia, ſent from the Perſian King (as in other yeares before) to aid the Georgians, who ſecretly conioyned with *Simon Chan* the Georgian, had changed their apparell, becauſe the treatie of peace ſhould not be diſturbed, and their King accounted vniuſt of his word, who vnder a colour of a treatie of peace, whiles *Amurath* attended I nothing elſe but to ſuccour and defend his conquered Countries, without purpoſe to annoy any other places, went about to procure the deſtruction of the Turks. Theſe then as ſoone as they ſaw the Turkiſh armie, and perceiued that they alſo themſelues were by them deſcried, ſent Herauldes vnto them with haughtie words of defiance, and to offer them battell. With great griefe of minde did the Baſſa receiue this proud defiance: but hauing no other purpoſe but onely to bring his ſuccours ſafe to Teflis, he diſmiſſed the Herauldes, and ſtudied by all meanes he could to ſhun battell. That euening he was fauoured in his purpoſe by the great and continual raine which then fell, and ſerued for a reaſonable excuſe of his delay; but the next day prouing faire, and the Sun ſhining bright, both the armies marched in ſight the one K of the other all day, vntill about foure houres and an halfe before night; at which time the Turks arriued neere to a riuer that ſeperated the one armie from the other. There the Baſſa fell in conſultation with *Muſtaffa*, whether they ſhould paſſe ouer the riuer before night, or ſtay on that ſide they were vntil the next morning. In which caſe *Muſtaffa* aduiſed him to ſtay, as fearing leſt the enemie ſhould ſet vpon the armie diſordered in paſſing the riuer, and ſo annoy them. Notwithſtanding the General diſliked this aduice of *Muſtaffa*, hauing taken a ſtrong conceit euen vpon the firſt diſcouerie of the enemie, that there was ſome intelligence & compact betweene *Muſtapha* and the Perſians, and that to that end he had maliciouſly perſuaded him to come that way, and not by the way of Tomanis: and therefore the Baſſa thinking, that if there were any ſuch plot laid betweene *Muſtaffa* and the enemie, to ſet it in ſome confuſion, L would not in any caſe follow the counſell of the ſuſpected Georgian, to ſtay that night; but commanded, that with the greateſt ſpeed that might be, all his ſoldiers with their treaſure & corn ſhould paſſe ouer the riuer, to the end that before night he might on the other ſide of the riuer incamp his army in ſome good place, to the ſcorne and deriſion of his enemies. *Mahamet* his lieutenant, a bold yong man & an hardy, was the firſt that ventured ouer, and after him the cariages of mony & of corne, and then the whole army, with ſuch ſpeed, that ſome of the confuſed multitude were drowned in the paſſage, being rather troden down with the horſes & camels, than brought to their deaths either by the depth of the chanell, or ſwiftneſſe of the riuer.

Mahamet Baſſa refuſeth batell offered by the Georgians and Perſians.

As ſoone as the Georgians perceiued that the Turkes had paſſed the riuer, without ſtaying vntil they might ſettle themſelues in any good order, they in great haſt & fury ran vpon them, M and preſently aſſailed them, whiles they were yet all in confuſion and out of order: by reaſon whereof the Turkes, although they turned their faces vpon their enemie, and made ſome good reſiſtance, yet in ſhort time you might haue ſeene the banks of the riuer in many places ſtained with the Turkiſh bloud, and many carkaſes of the Turks here and there ſcattered, without any

apparant

A apparant loſſe among the Georgians and Perſians. Amongſt them that fell in this ſlaughter, were a number of Sanzackes, of the Curdi, and Meſopotamians: which the reſt perceiuing, and by the ouerthrow of their owne, coniecturing the loſſe of others, turned their backes and fled: the like did the remnant of the Meſopotamians, and after them at laſt the whole armie: whom the Georgians preſſed ſo ſore in their flight, that many of the Turkes ſeeing no other way to eſcape, caſt themſelues into the riuer, and ſo (though hardly) eſcaped with their liues. Great was the ſhame, great was the confuſion, but greateſt was the loſſe they receiued, for that in the heat of the battell the Kings mony and corne was taken by the Georgians and Perſians, euery man ſauing only ſo much for himſelfe as he could ſecretly hide vpon his owne bodie, or conuey by the meanes of ſome truſtie ſlaue, which by the helpe of their ſwift horſes B was preſerued rather by fortune than by valour.

The Turkes diſcomfited, & the treaſure and corne taken by the Georgians and Perſians.

The Turks thus diſcomfited and ſpoiled of their reliefe, the next morning gathered themſelues together againe, one with another curſing the heauens, the King, and their aduerſe fortune: ſome of them alſo threatening the Georgian Renegate *Muſtaffa*, as though all this miſchiefe had hapned through his treacherie and ſecret intelligence with the enemie. Notwithſtanding, when they found that they had ſtill remaining ſo much money and other eaſements as might ſuffice to comfort the afflicted minds of the ſouldiers beſieged in the fort, they reſolued to hold on their way towards Teflis; and in their journy vſed ſuch ſpeed, that the day following they arriued there in the euening. But when they of the Fort ſaw their friends whom they had ſo long expected, arriued in ſuch bad ſort, and ſo euill furniſhed, they were C aſtonied & wonderfully grieued at this common loſſe, and all in a confuſion proteſted to *Mahamet*, That they would abandon the place, if they had not forthwith neceſſary prouiſion made for them. But the Generall after he had with large promiſes mitigated their firſt furies & inſolencies, preſently in the morning cauſed a Diuano or counſel to be called in the caſtle, where hauing gathered together all the chiefe men in his armie, he ſpake vnto them in this manner:

Mahamet with his diſcomfited army commeth to Teflis.

For as much as it hath pleaſ:d God, that ſo great and important an occaſion of victorie which was offered vnto vs for the honour and glorie of euery one of vs, is now fallen out ſo vnfortunately, that it hath not onely not miniſtred vnto vs any matter of triumphing ouer our enemies, as we ſhould haue done, but rather hath made them (I know not how) to carrie away from vs both the triumph, and alſo our D *armour, our horſes, our ſlaues, and our ſpoiles; yea and (the remembrance whereof doth moſt grieuouſly trouble and afflict me) our Sultans money, and our publique munition and forces ſolemnly deliuered to our conduct, is now became a bootie and a prey vnto them; that the honour which might haue made euerie one of vs famous among noble and valorous ſouldiers, is now fallen from our foreheads, and to our great detriment doth adorne the heads of ſtrangers, or rather of our enemies: and that notwithſtanding all this, we are now come to thoſe couragious ſouldiers, which with their great valour haue defended this Fort euen in the middeſt of their enemies weapons and treacheries; and to whom we ſhould yeeld that aid and reliefe which the vertue of euery one of their mindes doth deſerue, and which King* Amurath *had put into our hands to bring hither vnto them; there is now no remedie, but to reſolue vpon ſome good* E *meanes, that we fall not wholly into the vtter diſgrace of our Lord and King; and that is, To maintaine theſe ſoldiers in the cuſtodie and defence of this fort: and though it be with all our wants, and all our own diſhonors, to comfort theſe that haue ſo long time looked for vs, and ſo well deſerued all manner of reliefe. We cannot excuſe our ſelues, that our enemies were better than wee either in number or inſtruments of war; for both in the one and the other we were far beyond them: neither yet can we ſay, that they ſet vpon vs by night, or at vnawares; for when we ſaw their number, their weapons, their horſes, and finally their approch, and their manner of aſſault, yet we would needs paſſe ouer the riuer and ioyne battell with them. Which we now know hath fallen out very lamentable vnto vs, becauſe wee were more readie to take our flight than to endure the fight; and to vſe our feet, than to occupie our hands. And therefore it is verie requiſit, as well to ſatisfie the rigor of iuſtice, as to performe the dutie of ſouldiers, that wee ſuffer not our lord & king to loſe his mony, which he truſted into our hands, & which we haue loſt, not by greater ſtrength* F *nor by any treacherous ſtratagem of our enemies, but by our owne too too important feare, and too baſe a regard of our liues, before which, it was the dutie of euery one of vs to haue preferred the care of honour. For if by fighting and couragious ſuſtaining the aſſaults of our enemies, though they had bin ſtronger, and better armed than we, this misfortune had hapned vnto vs, and that we could in any ſort haue repreſented to the king and the world an honorable and bloudie battell, wee ſhould not now haue had any need to ſeeke*

The oration of Mahamet Baſſa in the caſtle of Teflis.

meanes how to repay this loſſe, and to reſtore the thing that violently was taken from vs by ſuch as were more mightie than our ſelues, and theſe honorable ſouldiers ſhould more eaſily haue digeſted with vs this lamentable calamitie. But we haue loſt that money, and in very deed hauing as it were willingly beſtowed it vpon the Georgians and Perſians, to redeeme our liues, and to ſaue vs from their fury, are bound to repay it, or els for euer hereafter to be challenged as lawfull debtors to the King for it. And therefore my good friends and companions, if you will take a good courſe, let euerie one of vs without further conſultation, put his hand into his priuate purſe (if he haue not fooliſhly caſt that alſo into the hands of the rauenous enemie) and with our owne money let vs ſuccour the neceſſitie of theſe men, and haue regard to the honour of our King. So ſhall we make our flight leſſe blame-worthie, we ſhall iuſtifie our actions more honeſtly, and that which is of greateſt importance, we ſhall better pacifie the wrath of Amurath, *which he might moſt iuſtly conceiue againſt vs. I my ſelfe before you all am moſt read to diſburſe foure thouſand duckets towards it: if it ſhall pleaſe you all to follow me accordingly, we ſhall deliuer theſe ſouldiers from their great neceſſitie, and acquite our ſelues from the intricate bonds of moſt troubleſome diſpleaſures.*

The Turkes among theſelues make a purſe of 30000 duckets for the reliefe of the garriſon of Teflis.

There might a man haue ſeene a thouſand countenances changed a thouſand manner of wayes; for one ſoftly whiſpered many a curſe and ſhame vpon the King, vpon *Mahamet*, yea and vpon God himſelfe; another denied to diſburſe any thing; another determined priuily to ſteale away; and ſome ſaid one thing, and ſome another: but in the end euery man was induced to follow the example of *Mahamet*; and thereupon hauing made a purſe according to euery mans abilitie, there was collected thirtie thouſand duckets among them. And preſently after, word was ſent to *Leuent Ogli* at Zaghen, to ſend thither graine, muttons, and other neceſſary prouiſions, that they might the better continue the defence of the Fort.

Mahamet deuiſeth how to betray Muſtaffa th. Georgian.

Two dayes onely ſtayed *Mahamet* in Teflis, and hauing changed ſuch ſouldiers as deſired to be diſmiſſed, and alſo appointed *Homar Baſſa* Gouernour of Teflis, in ſtead of *Giuſuf* that there gouerned before, he departed. But before his departure conſultation was had, Whether they ſhould keepe the way of Tomanis, or the way they came through the countrey of *Muſtaffa* the Georgian: and in the end they reſolued to keepe the way of Tomanis, and thereupon order was taken that they ſhould all paſſe the riuer. The Curdi were the firſt that went ouer, and had alreadie pitched their Tents vpon the farther ſide of the water; when the Generall began to reuoke his former order, and ſent them word, That they ſhould returne, becauſe he was now determined to goe backe the ſame way he came. At which meſſage the Sanzackes were in a rage, and in plaine termes ſent him anſwer, That theſe mutabilities beſeemed not them, being men accuſtomed to warre, but to be rather childrens play, than manly reſolution, and that for their parts they were minded not to change their journy, but would go on the ſame way they had begun: and ſo forwards they went (ſay the General what he could) and by the way of Tomanis arriued at Chars long before *Mahomet*; who was much grieued at this their ſo great diſobedience: but ſeeing no other remedy, he with the Baſſa of Caraemit and *Muſtapha* the Georgian, put themſelues on their journey, euen by the ſame way they came to Teflis. At laſt *Mahamet* arriued at Altunchala, the chiefe Caſtle of *Muſtaffa* the Georgian, and burning with the deſire of reuenge of thoſe loſſes, (which he thought himſelfe to haue receiued by the treacherie of *Muſtaffa*) or, as ſome thought, ſeeking by this means to make *Amurath* beleeue, that in truth all the forepaſſed miſchiefes had happened not thorough their cowardiſe, but through the treacherous and malicious deuices of the Georgian, and ſo to make their receiued loſſes ſeeme more pardonable: he deuiſed with himſelfe how to finde out ſuch a plot, as that *Muſtaffa* might vpon the ſudden be taken away, as guiltie of ſo foule a treaſon. And that he had deuiſed, was in this ſort: To call a Councell into his owne Pauilion, as if hee had receiued ſome commandement from the Court; and hauing cauſed *Muſtaffa* to come into that roome, whileſt the ſaid counterfeit commandement ſhould be in reading, to cauſe his Lieutenant, with thoſe chiefe of his band that ſtood about him, to fall vpon him and preſently to cut off his head. This pretended Councell was accordingly called; wherein ſate the Baſſa himſelfe, and with him the Baſſa of Caraemit, certaine Sanzackes ſubiect to the Iuriſdiction of Erzirum, the Capagi Baſſa or chiefe Gentleman Vſher, and the Generals Lieutenant; with whome he had vpon their ſolemne oathes for ſecrecie, communicated his intended deceit. The Georgian *Muſtapha* was alſo called accordingly: who

both

A both becauſe he was beloued of moe than one; and had alſo vſed all diligent circumſpection, but eſpecially hauing heard in the armie ſome priuie whiſperings of ſuch a matter, knew full well of all that was deuiſed againſt him, and therefore prouided alſo for his owne defence. But as touching his going to the counſell, he thought he might not denie ſo to do, leſt by his abſence he might ſeeme guiltie of the fault whereof he was (peraduenture not without cauſe) ſuſpected; and thereby to leaue his cities for a prey to their enemies, now in the heart of his countrie. And therfore reſoluing to go, he deuiſed how ſo to do with moſt ſafetie; and ſo, as if need ſhould be, he might be able to turne the miſchiefe intended againſt him, vpon the head of the Generall himſelfe. And therefore hauing choſen out fiftie of his moſt faithfull and reſolute ſouldiers, he commanded them to follow him to the counſell appointed in the Gene- B rals pauillion: and being come thither, to ſtay there ready and attentiue at his firſt and one only call, ſuddenly and forcibly to ruſh into the pauillion with their weapons; and rather than any wrong ſhould be done vnto him, to ſhew their valour againſt the Turks, without exception of any perſon whatſoeuer. Theſe men by nature enemies vnto the Turks, vnderſtanding well his meaning, ſetled themſelues vpon the execution: and taking vnto them ſome other alſo of their faithfull and truſtie friends, followed him euen to the pauillion of *Mahamet*: where *Muſtaffa* entring into the place of counſell, deſired of the Generall, to know what his pleaſure was; who preſently cauſed the counterfeit commandement to be read; whereunto *Muſtaffa* gaue an attentiue eare. But when the other Baſſa's and Sanzackes began to ſit downe (contrary to the maner C of the Turks, who whenſoeuer any commandement of the Emperors is in reading, vſe alwaies to ſtand vp, and not to ſit downe vntill it be full read) the Georgian tooke his leaue, promiſing to be euer readie to performe, not onely that order of the kings, but alſo whatſoeuer elſe hee ſhould command. And ſo being about to depart, the Capigi Baſſi (or great Vſher) of *Mahamet* came vnto him, and plucking him by the ſleeue, would haue forced him to ſit downe. Then *Muſtaffa* crying out aloud, drew his ſword, wherwith he ſtrucke *Mahamets* lieutenant, that was right againſt him; and with his left hand hauing raught the roll from his pate, with his right hand ſuddenly (to the great aſtoniſhment of all that were preſent) at one only blow parted his head, his necke, and his breaſt in twaine, euen to his very ſtomacke; ſo that he died (a ſtrange ſpectacle to behold) beeing thus cut in ſunder, with his cleft head and two ſhoulders hanging D downe vpon their ſeuerall ſides. After this firſt, he redoubled his ſecond ſtroke, aiming at the head of the Baſſa of Caraemit: but it being defended with the wrythen rols of the turbant, it ſlipped downe by his eare; yet ſo, that with a piece of the ſaid turbant it carried his eare quite away, with a little alſo of the fleſh of his cheeke: and all enraged, eagerly aſſailed *Mahamet Baſſa* the Generall (who now all in confuſion was riſen vp in the tumult) and wounded him with fiue mortall wounds; which were yet afterwards by cunning hand healed, when they had brought him euen to deaths doore. At the crie of this Georgian all his people ruſhed in together: vpon whoſe confuſed tumult, and the feare that *Muſtaffa* through his furie had ſtrucke into the Turks, the camp was preſently raiſed: and euery man with all ſpeed departing thence, put himſelf on his way towards Chars, whether alſo were brought the two wounded Baſſaes E and the reſt that were ill handled and greatly ſcared with theſe ſudden and vncouth ſtirres.

Muſtaffa notably reuengeth himſelfe of the trecherie intended againſt him by Mahamet the Generall.

Of all this trecherie intended againſt him, *Muſtaffa* ſent preſent information to the Turkiſh Emperor; finding himſelfe greatly grieued, at the falſe ſuſpition that *Mahamet* had wrongfully conceiued againſt him, to his great diſhonor: and wrought ſo cunningly, that *Amurath* in token of his good liking and contentment, ſent him both cloth of gold and a battleax al gilt. *Mahamet* on the other ſide entermeddling heere and there with all the art that poſſibly he could deuiſe, all hatefull and iniurious termes, ſent large aduertiſements of all the misfortunes that had hapned; and aggrauated to the king, both the treacheries of *Muſtaffa*, and alſo the ſlender ſecuritie of thoſe wayes and countries.

As ſoone as *Amurath* vnderſtood the calamities of his ſouldiers, the loſſe of his mony, the great diſhonour of his people, and the apparant danger wherein the fort of Teflis ſtood, when it was like to be abandoned: all inflamed with rage & anger, he called vnto him the Baſſaes of his court (among whom ſat as chiefe, the proud and haughty *Sinan*) and rated them all exceedingly; reprouing their lewd counſell, and recounting the loſſes that he had from time to time receiued, as if they had hapned through their defaults, and eſpecially *Sinan*, as the principall occaſion of all theſe miſchiefs: who like an improuident foole (as he ſaid) would needs relin-

The proud anſwere of Sinan to Amurath.

Sciaus Baſſa made Viſier in Sinans place.

quiſh the charge of his armie and like a king ſit idle at Conſtantinople, ſtanding(as it were) at
ſome publicke triumph to behold and heare the miſeries and misfortunes of others: hauing before G
in the time that *Muſtapha* was Generall, moſt vainly boaſted, with the like power that he
had, to fetch the Perſian king out of Caſbin, and to deliuer him in bonds to *Amurath*, but had
in deed performed nothing worth the remembrance. *Sinan* could do no leſſe but make anſwer
to the wrathfull king, yet not with ſuch mildneſſe and modeſtie as in ſuch a caſe hee ſhould
peraduenture haue done; but in proud and peremptorie manner, without any reuerence or regard,
told him plainly, That as the laſt yere a little before his returne to Conſtantinople, ſuccors
had been conueyed to Teflis without any loſſe or trouble (as in truth they were) euen ſo
had they been this yeare alſo, if he had put his aduiſe in execution as much as he deſpiſed and
contemned it: for he did then giue him to vnderſtand, that *Mahamet Baſſa* could not be a fit
man for ſo great a charge; & that it was neceſſary to haue choſen in his roome ſome other captaine H
of valour and diſcretion; but ſeeing he would needs make choice of the ſame vnfit man,
he was not now to blame any other for this errour, but onely himſelfe. As for his comming to
Conſtantinople, it was a thing long before thought moſt needful; not only for his aduice, how
the matter of peace might be brought to ſome good paſſe; but alſo becauſe if that treaty came
not to the deſired iſſue, then hee had to talke with him how hee might compaſſe the ouerthrow
of his enemy: which thing as yet he had no fit time to declare vnto him, but was now
ready to reueale it, if it were ſo his pleaſure. Wonderfully was *Amurath* grieued with this ſullen
anſwer, when he conſidered that a ſlaue of his own, ſhould ſo arrogantly and manifeſtly reproue
him of folly and improuidence. Notwithſtanding being deſirous to know of him what
that ſecret & important matter was, which he had to reueale vnto him for the eaſie compaſſing I
of his commenced enterpriſe, he diſſembled his diſcontentment conceiued againſt him, and
commanded him to diſcloſe thoſe his deuiſes which he had to vtter. *Sinan* in briefe, of all his
aduiſes, propounded theſe two things: firſt, his counſell was, not to proceed in this war as they
had hitherto done; by ſeeking with forts and fortreſſes to hold & keep the enemies countries;
for that their treaſures were not able to yeeld ſuch ſtore of money, as was ſufficient for the
maintenance of ſo many and ſo great garriſons: contrary to the opinion of *Muſtapha* (of late
dead) who with great pertinacie had perſuaded that dangerous, chargeable, and *difficult* maner
of war. His ſecond aduice was, that the true means to bring this war to wiſhed end, conſiſted eſpecially
in the reſolution of *Amurath* himſelfe, who if he would go in perſon himſelf, & againſt K
ſo mighty a king oppoſe the perſon of a king, then might he moſt aſſuredly promiſe vnto himſelfe
all ſpeedy and honorable victory, for that at the only name of his comming, the Perſians
would eaſily come to any agreement; or if not, he might then proceed in his wars, & ſo obtain
moſt glorious conqueſts. This his aduiſe ſo little pleaſed the effeminat king, that in ſtead of the
great opinion he before held of him, he now conceiued an enuious affection againſt him: and a
further ſuſpition (foſtred by the great Ladies of the court, eſpecially *Amuraths* mother) That
Sinan had thus counſelled the King, himſelfe to goe in perſon, not for any good could come
thereof, but only that ſo he might find means for the prince his ſon to make himſelfe king, and
to driue out his father. Which ſuſpition was in ſuch ſort nouriſhed in the mind of *Amurath*, eſpecially
being aſſured of the great affection which the Prince carried towards *Sinan*, and hee L
likewiſe towards him, that he reſolued to rid him out of his ſight; and ſo depriuing him of all
charge, preſently baniſhed him the court, and out of Conſtantinople to Demotica (a Citie of
Thrace) from whence afterwards he by moſt humble ſupplication obtained to be remoued to
Marmara a little beyond Selymbria. And into his place of Viſierſhip, was preferred *Sciaus Baſſa*
(who had married *Amuraths* ſiſter) an Hungarian borne, a goodly perſonage, and of honourable
iudgement: but aboue all men a ſeller of Iuſtice and preferments, and yet a great friend to the
peace with the Chriſtian Princes, which *Sinan* had alwaies moſt wickedly maligned.

1582 The Perſian Captaines in the meane time, with their ſpoyles and diuers of their enemies
enſignes, were with great ioy receiued at home in Perſia: but when the diſcord that fell
out betweene *Mahamet Baſſa* and *Muſtaffa* the Georgian was alſo reported, the former M
ioy was redoubled; euery man beeing of opinion, that theſe diſcords might bee great impediments
vnto the Turks further attempts into Perſia; which it was feared they would the
next yeare attempt, to the great danger of Naſſiuan and Tauris. Vpon which occaſions,
the Perſian King perceiuing that hee could not haue a fitter opportunitie to imploy himſelfe

againſt

Mahomet the Perſian king reſolueth to go to Heri againſt his ſonne Abas Mirize.

againſt *Abas Mirize* his ſonne (then with him in diſgrace) determined with himſelfe, to leaue the matters on this ſide of his kingdom in their preſent ſtate, and to march toward Heri: whereunto he was earneſtly ſolicited by his elder ſon *Emir Hamze Mirize*, but eſpecially by *Mirize Salmas* his Viſier. Vpon which reſolution, committing the defence of Reiuan, Naſſiuan, & that ſide of his kingdome, to *Emir Chan* Gouernor of Tauris, he ſet forward himſelfe with his armie towards Casbin, and ſo marching through diuers prouinces, arriued at length at Saſuar, being on that ſide the chiefe of all the cities ſubiect to the iuriſdiction of Heri: which citie he tooke by force, and without delay cauſed the Gouernor thereof to be beheaded, although he alledged a thouſand excuſes for himſelfe, and obiected a thouſand accuſations mos againſt the ſeditious Viſier. The king after this, departing thence, and hauing alſo put to death certain captains & Sultans, that were accuſed by the Viſier to be confederats in the rebellion of his ſonne, he arriued at laſt at the deſired city of Heri. Very ſtrong is this citie by ſcituation, compaſſed about with a good wall, and watered with deepe channels of running Springs, conueyed into it by *Tamerlane* their founder or reſtorer: beſide that, there was in it many valiant captains, enemies to *Mirize Sulman*, ready to lay down their liues in defence of themſelues and of *Abas* their Lord, ſo that the winning thereof, could not but proue both long and difficult. As ſoon as the king approched the city, he felt in himſelfe many troubled paſſions ariſing of griefe and pittie; it grieued him to thinke that he ſhould beget ſo graceleſſe a ſonne, who in ſtead of maintaining his ſtate and honour, ſhould ſeeke his ruine and deſtruction: it grieued him alſo to remember the bloud of his ſubiects, before ſpilt vpon ſo ſtrange an occaſion; & ſcarcely durſt he enter into the cogitation, thenceforth to ſhed any more of the bloud of his people. Neuertheleſſe, being ſtil more and more ſolicited by his Viſier, he attempted to vnderſtand the mind of his ſonne; and (if it might be poſſible) to get him into his hands. But whiles the king trauelling, with theſe thoughts lay with his army before Heri, *Abas Mirize* in the meane time, writ diuers letters to his father and to his brother; wherein he beſought them, That they would make knowne vnto him the occaſion of this their ſtir: for if deſire of rule had moued them to ſeeke the depriuation of him, being their ſonne and brother, from the honor he lawfully poſſeſſed, and which his father himſelfe procured for him of his grandfather *Tamas*, they ought to abandon their imagination, for that he was always ready to ſpend his wealth and his bloud, together with his eſtate, in their ſeruice, and acknowledged his father to be his good father & king: but if they were not induced hereunto for this cauſe, but by a deſire to reuenge ſome treſpaſſes that he had committed to the preiudice of the crown of Perſia, or his fathers honor, he was moſt ready to ſubmit himſelfe to any amends; and with all reaſon, to yeeld vnto them the kingdome, yea the whole world, and euen his owne life, the rather to ſatsfie their mindes with a more full contentation. With twice and thrice reading ouer, were theſe affectionate letters conſidered & digeſted: and at laſt, both the father and the brother perceiuing in them ſuch liberality of words, & ouercome with pitty, or if not with pitty, yet with great admiration & contentment, they determined to put the matter in practiſe; and moderating their deſire of reuenge, to attempt the reducing of the yong mans mind to ſome good paſſe. Whereupon they wrot backe vnto him, That no greedie deſire to vſurpe his gouernment, had induced them to make ſo great a voyage, to trouble ſo much people, and to ſhed ſuch abundance of bloud, but only his diſobedience and preſumption, in that he had cauſed himſelfe to be called the king of Perſia; and had not ſent ſo much as one captaine to aid them in the late wars againſt the Turks. Glad was *Abas* the young Prince, when he vnderſtood the accuſations that were laied againſt him, hoping to make it manifeſt before all men, how the king & his brother were miſinformed in theſe particularities: and therefore incontinently did write backe vnto them, That if they would faithfully promiſe him, honourably, & without any outrage to receiue his Embaſſadors, he would ſend vnto them ſuch euident matter, and ſo cleere information touching thoſe his accuſations, as that they ſhould not onely cleerely perceiue that there was neuer any ſuch kind of thought in him, but alſo that he had always deſired & labored the contrary: and would moreouer open vnto them ſuch matter, as in reſpect of other men, and not of himſelfe, might cauſe their comming to prooue profitable and commodious to all the Kingdome of Perſia. Which his requeſt they both ſolemnly promiſed faithfully to performe, being very deſirous to vnderſtand, what thoſe ſtrange nouelties ſhould be. Whereupon *Abas Mirize* ſent vnto them two of his chiefe counſellors, men of great account & reuerence both for their yeres & wiſedome,

Mahamet commeth to Heri.

Abas Mirize by his embaſſadors purged of treaſon.

dome, with full inſtructions: who after many ſpeeches, in the end ſwearing (according to their cuſtome) by the Creator that ſpread out the aire, that founded the earth vpon the deeps, that adorned the heauen with ſtars, that poured abroad the water, that made the water; and briefly, of nothing, brought forth all things, ſwearing by the head of *Ali*, and by the religion of their Prophet *Mahomet*, that ſuch peruerſe thoughts neuer entred into the head of *Abas Mirize*: they alleadged many teſtimonies and manifeſt proofes, that moſt loyally in all due time, as well when he was aduanced to the kingdom of Perſia, as alſo in his battels againſt the Turks, his ſon had alwaies cauſed deuout prayers and ſupplications to be made to God for his proſperitie; neither euer deſired to heare any other, but happy and fortunat ſucceſſe of him. They brought with them a thouſand and a thouſand precepts & loyall letters, which the yong man had cauſed to be written, as occaſions required to the gouernors that were his ſubiects, for the gouernment of the State, wherein he neuer named himſelfe King of Perſia, but only, Your King and Gouernor of Heri. They prayed the king alſo, to cauſe a diligent proceſſe to be framed againſt his ſon; and if there ſhould be found in him any ſigne or ſhadow of ſo wicked a ſuſpition, then to take from him his eſtate and libertie; offering themſelues to remain as hoſtages for him. But when all this ſhould be done, and *Abas* found altogether free from theſe vniuſt accuſations, then (falling euen to the earth and kiſſing it) they beſought him, and as it were coniured him, not to leaue the matter thus imperfect, to the preiudice of his bloud; but returning to his counſellor, to take information likewiſe, vpon what mind & conſideration he had aduiſed the king, to take vpon him this vnorderly and dangerous voyage; where no doubt hee ſhould find nothing in him, but malignant, ambitious, and wicked affections; and ſuch as euen deſerued, that with his bloud there ſhould be reuenged all the bloud of thoſe, which till that houre had bin brought to their vnworthy & vndeſerued deaths. And foraſmuch as nothing remained, whereof the Viſier had informed the king againſt his ſon, but the commandment that was giuen by *Abas Mirize* to the Gouernors vnder him, That they ſhould not go to the wars againſt the Turkes: they confeſſed in truth, that ſuch an order was taken, but not to that wicked and traiterous end & purpoſe as was reported to the king by his great counſellor, but only in reſpect of an inuaſion iuſtly feared in thoſe quarters by the Tartarian *Ieſſelbas*; who by diuers inrodes had already done great harme in the countrie about Heri, and put young *Abas* and his counſellors in ſuch a feare, that they durſt not diſfurniſh their cities of their guards and forces: and therefore had commanded the ſaid Gouernors, not to go to war againſt the Turks, but to ſtay and expect further direction. And that all this was by writing ſignified vnto the Viſier himſelfe: which he of a malicious mind had concealed, only to trie, if in theſe common troubles he could bring to paſſe, that *Abas Mirize* and the king might be taken away, and *Emir Hamze* ſucceed in his place; and ſo he himſelfe remain the Superintendent of his ſon in law, & Moderator of that moſt famous kingdome. Of which ſo treacherous a purpoſe, they (for all that) thought *Emir Hamze* the young Prince altogether ignorant (knowing his honourable diſpoſition and loue towards his owne kindred) but imputed it onely to the immoderat and ambitious deſire of the wicked traitor *Mirize Salmas*.

The Embaſſadors of Abas accuſe Mirize Salmas the Viſier.

Of theſe graue ſpeeches of the Embaſſadors, *Mahamet* the father (by nature credulous) began to make great conſtruction; and deepely to conſider of their ſo earneſt and important requeſts; which ſeemed vnto him ſo vpright and equall, as that he could not chuſe but hearken vnto the ſame. And therefore calling vnto him the Gouernors, the Captaines, the Iudges, and Treaſurers of all the cities that were ſubiect to Heri: he demanded of them, how and in what ſort they eſteemed of *Abas Mirize*, and in what degree of honor he deſired to be eſteemed of them: and of them al receiued one anſwer, That they held him for their Lord & Lieutenant to the King of Casbin, and that he himſelfe had alwaies deſired to be ſo taken & thought of: for proofe whereof, euery one of them brought in diuers letters, precepts, and orders; wherein he neuer cauſed himſelfe to be honored with any other title, but only, Your King of Heri. He demanded further, Whether any ſuch warres were attempted by the Tartarian *Ieſſelbas* or not: whereof he receiued a large and ſolemne information, that ſo it was, to the great detriment of all thoſe territories. And thus the king was throughly perſuaded of the innocencie of his ſon; who before was noted vnto him by his Viſier, to be an obſtinat Rebell. Vpon which occaſion only, although he might iuſtly haue put him to death, as author of ſo great troubles & bloudſhed, yet becauſe he would be better enformed of the truth of the accuſations laid againſt him

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A by the Embaſſadors, he reſolued to make a curious and diligent inquiſition therof: & therefore firſt of al, in great ſecrecie he examined *Emir Hamze* his eldeſt ſonne, wherefore he had aduiſed this iourny againſt his brother *Abas*, whom he had found guiltleſſe of all thoſe crimes that were obiected againſt him: Whereunto the Prince anſwered, That he had no other certaintie of the pretended euill behauior of his brother, but only that which proceeded from the great credit that he alwaies gaue to his father in law *Mirize Salmas*, to whom as to a chiefe counſellor, his father in law, and Protector of the kingdom, he had alwaies yeelded aſſured credence: and ſo diſcharged the whole tempeſts of al thoſe miſchiefs vpon the Viſier. Touching whom the king made diligent inquiſition, as well among thoſe of the court, as of the armie; and therby found him guilty of al that the Embaſſadors of Heri had accuſed him: & that being always B acquainted with the true occaſions which reſtrained the Gouernors of Heri (ſubiect to *Abas Mirize*) from going to the war againſt the Turks, he had moſt maliciouſly concealed the ſame, of purpoſe to hatch ſuch a ſtrange and dangerous diſcontentment, as had wrought the vnworthie death of many great men, and almoſt defiled the hands of the father with the innocent bloud of his guiltleſſe ſonne. For which ſo foule a treaſon the falſe Viſier was worthily condemned to die; and his wily head by the commandement of the king, ſtrucke from his carkaſſe. Iuſtly rewarded, with the ſame puniſhment which he vniuſtly ſought to haue conuerted vpon others; and with his owne deſtruction pacified the diſſentions and battels that were riſen betweene the two Princes. And ſo the two brethren being reconciled together, and the ſonne to the father; after that *Abas* had againe promiſed his wiſhed obedience (which he afterwards C moſt dutifully performed) king *Mahamet* returned with the Prince towards Casbin: where by reaſon of new and vnexpected motions of the Turks, he had now been long looked for and deſired.

Mirize Salmas the Viſier found guilty of treaſon and beheaded.

Amurath through the rough ſpeeches of *Sinan*, was more and more ſetled in his purpoſe for the continuing of the Perſian warre; accounting it ſo much the more to his owne glorie, as it ſhould in happie ſucceſſe fall out contrarie to the opinion of many: and thereupon began to bethinke himſelfe, whom he might chuſe for his General, to whom he might commit ſo great a charge. Among the Baſſa's of the court there was one *Ferat*, a man of ripe yeres, but yet fierce of courage, tough in opinion, in counſell as hardie as might beſeeme his age, readie for al ſodden & ſtrange aduentures, but aboue all, a vaſſall moſt deuoted to the king: of this man, at laſt D he was reſolued to make choice to haue the leading of his armie: and therefore calling him apart, declared vnto him what he had in himſelf purpoſed; encouraging him to take the charge vpon him, with a firm reſolution to perform all things anſwerable to ſo worthy an enterpriſe, with the opinion he had conceiued of his valor. Very willing did *Ferat* accept of this new office, & thought himſelf (as indeed he was) highly fauored by the king: & therupon made him a large promiſe, to employ his ſtrength, his wit, and vttermoſt deuoire, to put in execution whatſoeuer ſhould be offered vnto him, either by occaſion, or by his royall commandement.

Ferat Baſſa choſen Generall of the armie in Sinans place.

At firſt *Amurath* had no other purpoſe to imploy him any further, but onely to aſſure the paſſage to Teflis, and ſo into all Georgia; and to haue deſtroyed the countrey of *Muſtaffa* the Georgian, who had ſo audaciouſly iniured the lieutenant of *Amurath*, and put his whole army E in confuſion: but being certainly aduertiſed of the troubles in Perſia betweene the king & his ſonne, he changed his purpoſe, and commanded *Ferat* to employ all his forces to erect a fortreſſe at Reiuan, a place belonging vnto *Tocomac*, and to aſſure the paſſage from Chars to Reiuan; for ſo they ſhould be reuenged of many harmes they had receiued by him, and lay open the way to the citie of Tauris, to the great glorie of *Amurath*. As for *Muſtaffa* the Georgian, although he had well deſerued to be chaſtiſed for his raſh attempt againſt *Mahamet Baſſa*, being then his Generall, yet hee willed *Ferat* to diſſemble his euill opinion of him; and (if it were poſſible) ſo to worke, as to vſe him as an inſtrument to conuey treaſure and ſuccours to Teflis: for by this meanes the paſſage beeing made ſafe, all Georgia would without any moe fortreſſes bee ſubdued, and then the next yeare they might attempt the enterpriſe for F Tauris.

Highly did *Ferat* commend the deuices of *Amurath* his Lord, and ſhewed himſelfe readie for any attempt. And ſo the time being come wherein it behoued them to ſet on foot their important deſignements, in the beginning of the yeare 1583, commandements were ſent out to al the cities of the empire, which were wont to make their appearance at theſe wars, That vpon

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freſh ſummons, they ſhould be ready to returne againſt the Perſians, and to put in execution that ſhould be inioyned them by their new Generall. The fame whereof flew as farre as Soria, Iurie, Paleſtine, Meſopotamia, Babylonia, to Balſara, to Siuas, to Maras, to all Bythinia, Capadocia, Cilicia, Armenia; yea and beyond Conſtantinople to the borders of Hungarie and Græce, and in briefe, to all the Regions that were woont to come to this Warre: all which ſent their Captaines and ſouldiers accordingly. And ſo at laſt Generall *Ferat* departing from Conſtantinople, and paſſing ouer to Scutari by the way of Amaſia and of Siuas, came to Erzirum, where hee tooke a view of all his armie and prouiſion: and from thence in eight dayes arriued at Chars, conducted by the Perſian fugitiue *Maxus Chan*: and from Chars, ſet himſelfe on his way towards Reiuan. Three daies before hee came to Reiuan, of certaine ruines of an old Caſtle which the Turkes call Aggia Chalaſi (or the Caſtle of ſtrangers) he erected a new fortreſſe, and left in it a garriſon of foure hundred ſouldiers, with a Sanzacke, and certaine pieces of ordnance, and then went to Reiuan. This countrie is diſtant from Tauris eight or nine dayes iourney; betweene which two places are ſcituate Naſſiuan, Chiulfal, Marant, and Sofian, all enriched with goodly gardens and pleaſant greenes: but in the way are many craggie mountaines to be climed, and ſundrie hard paſſages either for armie or traueller.

Generall Ferat departeth from Conſtantinople.

He commeth to Reiuan.

Heere then did *Ferat* encampe himſelfe with his armie, and taking aduice of his chiefe captains, where he ſhould build the fort, they all with one conſent aduiſed him, to ſeiſe vpon the houſes and gardens of *Tocomac*, and there to fortifie. Which he accordingly did, encloſing the gardens with ſtrong wals and deepe ditches round about, whereinto he conueighed water from a certaine riuer, that comming downe from the mountains, ran into Araxis. Which worke was performed with ſuch expedition, that within the ſpace of fifteene daies the fortreſſe was finiſhed, being in circuit ſeuen hundred & fiftie yards. It grieued *Tocomac* exceedingly, thus to loſe his country and dwelling, and ſo much the more, becauſe it hapned ſo ſuddenly, and as it were vnlooked for. He himſelfe, as ſoone as he vnderſtood that the Turkiſh armie was comming to that coaſt, hauing withdrawne himſelfe and his men of war out of the city he could not keep, ſought by all means to be reuenged, if not altogether, yet in ſome part, of this ſo great an iniurie. And therfore he wrot vnto the king at Gorazan, to *Emir Chan* at Tauris, to *Simon* in Georgia, he gathered ſouldiers out of the villages, and vſed all his poſſible indeuour to enable himſelfe to annoy the enemies army: but from none of theſe places could he receiue any help, the king being ſo far off in wars againſt his ſonne, the Georgian being buſied by hindering any reliefe to be brought to the beſieged in Teflis; as for *Emir Chan* (who by ſolemne promiſe vnto the king before his departure to Heri, had vndertaken the defence of that ſide of the kingdom againſt the Turks) he either would not, or could not ſtir; neither ſent ſo much as one ſouldier, hauing as ſome ſuppoſed, ſecret intelligence with Generall *Ferat*, not to diſturbe him in this his worke. So *Tocomac* deſtitute of all other helpe, and not able of himſelfe to do much againſt ſo mightie an enemie; yet ceaſed not to lay ſuch priuie ambuſhes for the Turkes as he could, killing of them ſometimes 100, ſometime 150, and ſometimes mo, as they fell into his danger. And to eaſe his ſtomacke againſt *Emir Chan* (who ſitting ſtill at Tauris as it were to behold his miſerie, would not ſo much as ſhake a ſword againſt theſe ſpoiling Turks) he ſpared not to diſpatch certaine horſemen in haſt to the king at Corazan, and by eloquent letters to amplifie the cowardiſe of *Emir Chan*; intermedling withall ſome cauſes of ſuſpition, that he had ſome intelligence with the Turkiſh Generall.

Ferat in the ſpace of fifteene daies buildeth a fort at Reiuan 750 yards about

Ferat hauing thus built this new fort at Reiuan, as *Amurath* had commanded, and furniſhed it with artillerie, and all other things needfull for the defence thereof; appointed *Sinan Baſſa* (the ſonne of *Cicala* a renegat of Genoa, and by *Selymus* the late Emperor, in the flower of his youth created Aga or Captaine of the Ianizaries) with a garriſon of eight thouſand ſouldiers to keepe the ſame. And ſo departing thence, by the way of Aggia Chalaſi, in ten daies arriued with his armie at Chars.

Ferat had not long ſtaied at Chars, but ſtrange newes were brought thither, That *Muſtaffa* the Georgian (to whom *Amurath* had ſent thirtie thouſand duckats, by two of his Capigi and two of his Chiaus, to haue by him been conueyed to Teflis for the reliefe of them in the fort) was reuolted from the Turkiſh obedience, and being now become a rebell, had left that fortreſſe in manifeſt danger to yeeld, if by ſome other means it were not relieued. Which ſtrange

A nouelties exceedingly troubled the General; who to know the certainty therof, called before him all ſuch as were the meſſengers of this misfortune: by whom he was certainly informed, That *Muſtaffa*, the two Capigi, and the Chiaus, hauing put themſelues vpon their way towards Teflis with the treaſure, guarded with a conuoy of fiue hundred of his ſouldiers, in the mid way had met with his couſen *Simon* the Georgian; by whom hee was perſuaded to returne againe to his antient faith and religion, which he had to the great perill of his ſoule ſo prophanely abandoned, and to ſhake off the ſeruice of *Amurath*, which would yeeld him no other recompence than an hard and infamous captiuitie, and in the end ſome fraudulent and treacherous death: and that his perſuaſion had ſo preuailed with *Muſtaffa*, that he cauſed the two Capigi and the Chiaus to be apprehended and preſently beheaded; and diuiding the treaſure B with his ſaid couſen, had with him and his other kinſmen vowed a ſolemne and perpetual confederacie: and ſo hauing withdrawne themſelues to their woonted paſſages, lay there in wait for ſuch ſuccors as ſhould by the Turks be brought to Teflis.

When *Ferat* vnderſtood theſe and ſuch other particularities, he all in a furie ſwore that hee would not returne to Erzirum vntill he had put all the countrey of *Muſtaffa* to fire and ſword: yet firſt he thought it needfull to relieue Teflis, which would otherwiſe be in danger to be yeelded to the enemy: and for that purpoſe made choice of *Haſſan Baſſa*, who in the laſt yeare of the Generalſhip of *Muſtapha*, had moſt couragiouſly conueyed the like ſuccours, and taken *Aliculi Chan*. Vnto him therefore did the General aſſigne fortie thouſand duckets, with other prouiſion neceſſarie for that ſeruice, and for the more ſecuritie, appointed him fifteene thou- C ſand of the moſt choice and valiant ſoldiers in all the armie, to conduct the ſame. In ten dayes ſpace *Haſſan Baſſa* went and came from Teflis, hauing in his journey to and fro had many skirmiſhes with the Georgians, wherein he loſt ſome few men, without any other loſſe worth the remembrance.

After this, the General ſent one *Reſuan Baſſa* with ſix thouſand ſouldiers to ſpoile the countrey of *Muſtaffa* the Georgian the late renegate, but now become a rebell to the Turke: which *Reſuan*, without any long ſtay ouerran all his territory, burnt his townes, and committed moſt vncouth outrages, which extended euen vnto the poore inſenſible trees, and carried away with him many captiue ſoules, with much corne and cattell, like a raging tempeſt deſtroying whatſoeuer came in his way. Now was the General alſo retired to Ardachan, whither came *Reſuan* D to meet him with his foreſaid bootie. But becauſe they had now performed what they had before intended, and the approch of Winter perſuaded their returne, they remoued from Ardachan, and by the way of Olti retyred to Erzirum, from whence all the ſoldiers were licenſed to depart to their ſeueral places of abode, and a memorial ſent to *Amurath*, of all the actions had beene performed, and eſpecially of the good ſeruice done by *Haſſan Baſſa*; who for the ſame was now once againe honoured by the King, with cloath of gold, a battleaxe and targuet all gilt.

Ferat commeth to Erzirum, & there breaketh vp his armie.

About this time one *Podolonius* a gentleman of Polonia, ſent by *Stephen* King of Polonia, to Conſtantinople, by the leaue of *Amurath* to buy certaine horſes in Anatolia, returning home- E wards with foure and twentie goodly horſes which he had bought, was notwithſtanding the Great Turks Paſſe, by his commandement ſtayed vpon the way, all his men (in number foure and thirtie) ſlaine, excepting one boy, who getting into a wood, eſcaped, and *Podolonius* his head ſtrucke off. The horſes brought backe to Conſtantinople, were by the appointment of *Amurath*, ſome beſtowed into his owne ſtable, and the reſt giuen among the Baſſa's, oftentimes pointed at with the fingers of the Turks, in deriſion of the Polonian King. This *Amurath* commanded to be done in reuenge of an outrage done by the Polonian Coſſacks againſt the Turks, whereof newes was but euen then brought to the court.

The nine and twentieth day of Nouember of this preſent yeare 1583, died *Hama Chadum* the widow of the late Emperor *Selymus* the ſecond, and mother of this *Amurath*, and lieth buried by her husband *Selymus*, and his fiue ſonnes, ſtrangled by their brother *Amurath*.

The death of Hama Chadum Amurath his mother.

All the reſt of this yeare 1583 *Ferat* ſpent at Erzirum, and afterwards ſent out his ordinarie commandements to all the accuſtomed cities, to ſummon the ſouldiers againſt the next Spring in the yere 1584, gathering together a greater number of pioners and enginiers than euer had been gathered in theſe warres heretofore: and withall gaue it out, That he would go to Naſſiuan, and there do great matters. At which report the Perſians were much mooued, and began

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Ferat raiſeth a new armie.

The Perſian King with a great Armie commeth to Tauris.

gan to caſt many things in their heads about it: but aboue all others the king, who vnderſtanding at Casbin of all that had before happed at Reiuan, and of the new preparations of the Turks, began to feare that they would this yeare paſſe to Tauris, or at leaſt (as was reported) to Naſſiuan, and in thoſe places build new fortreſſes, to the great danger of the Perſian Empire: and therefore retaining ſtill ſuch forces as he brought with him from Heri, and commanding as many moe as he could out of all the cities that were ſubiect vnto him, to follow him to Tauris, he arriued there with his army not long after the arriual of *Ferat Baſſa* at Erzirum. This vnexpected comming of the Perſian king with ſo great an armie to Tauris, filled the world with expectation of great matters to haue bin done by him againſt the Turks: inſomuch that *Ferat* the Generall, before he would proceed any further, thought it good to aduertiſe *Amurath* of the matter: declaring vnto him, That his deſire was to go to Naſſiuan, and there to build a fortreſſe according to his commandement, ſo to lay open a paſſage to Tauris: but hauing receiued certaine intelligence, that the Perſian king was come to Tauris with an huge army, and full reſolution to encounter him; he thought it his dutie not to put in execution his aforeſaid determination, without his expreſſe commandement. Vnto whom *Amurath* preſently wrot backe, that the matter ſo ſtanding, he ſhould not go to Naſſiuan, but onely imploy his forces to aſſure the paſſage to Tomanis and Lori, that ſo the fort of Teflis might the yeare following be relieued by ſome ſmall band, without ſending of any great armie for the conueying of ſuccours thither. This new commandement of his Lord, *Ferat* kept ſecret to himſelfe; cauſing the rumor of his going to Naſſiuan to be more and more increaſed; of purpoſe to feed the opinion that the Perſians had before conceiued of his comming thither; and ſo deluding them, with leſſe danger to build the forts he had intended, for the quieting of thoſe moſt dangerous paſſages of Lori and Tomanis. G H I

Vpon this reſolution *Ferat* hauing gathered together his people, with all things neceſſarie for his purpoſe, remoued with his armie from Erzirum toward Chars, where hee ſtayed ten dayes to take a new ſuruey both of his ſouldiers and prouiſion. And ſo departing thence, ſet forward toward Lori; ſending before him *Haſſan Baſſa* with fiue thouſand light horſemen to ſcoure the country euen to Tomanis, and to learne what he poſſibly could of the enemies purpoſes, and the ſtate of Georgia. Which thing *Haſſan* dutifully performed, ſpeedily ſcouring ouer all the woods, and diſcloſing all the paſſages from thence to Lori, and ſo to Tomanis, without meeting with any vpon whom to aſſay his valour, more than certaine robbers vpon the high-way, whom he cauſed to be ſlaine (as men altogether ignorant of the Georgian and Perſian affaires) and their heads to be ſet on the tops of their launces, and ſo returned againe to Lori: where hauing ſtayed one day, he met with the Generall, to whom he recounted all that had happened in that his excurſion. *Ferat* being come to Lori, there incamped his army. This place did ſometime belong to *Simon* the Georgian, well ſtrengthened with an high caſtle, compaſſed about with very deepe ditches, and a thicke wall almoſt a mile in circuit, but was then ſomewhat weakened with time: it is diſtant from Teflis about two dayes journy of a carriers pace. Vpon this caſtle *Ferat* ſeiſed; and hauing repaired the walls, and ſtrengthened the breaches, he placed therein *Ali Baſſa* of Græce, with ſeuen thouſand ſouldiers for the defence thereof, and planted vpon the walls two hundred ſmall pieces of ordnance. And ſo when he had ſet all things there in good order, departed thence with his armie towards Tomanis, hauing before commanded *Ali Baſſa*, at ſome conuenient time to fortifie Saitan Chalaſi, a caſtle about ten miles diſtant from Lori, and therein to place a conuenient garriſon of ſouldiers and artillerie. K L

Ferat cutteth downe a thicke wood at Tomanis, & buildeth a fort vpon the ſtrait.

Foure dayes were they going from Lori to Tomanis, being ordinarily but one dayes worke from the one place to the other: but now the General would needs ſo make it, to take the ſpoile of thoſe rich fields, abounding with corne, cattel, & fruit, and to leaue vnto the country people a lamentable remembrance of his being there. At laſt being come to Tomanis (in times paſt a caſtle of *Simons*, but by reaſon of theſe warres, by him then abandoned) he began to conſult with the other captaines, how and where the Fort ſhould be erected, for the aſſurance of that country. But after many diſcourſes, it was at laſt concluded not to fortifie in that caſtle, as being too far from the ſtrait, to make that dangerous paſſage ſafe and ſecure; but to go a little further, and to build a fortreſſe vpon the very mouth of the ſtrait. So the Armie marching forward a few miles, at the very enterance of the narrow paſſage found the ruines of another Caſtle, and M

A and neere thereunto ſtayed themſelues. This ſteepe headlong caſtle was ſo compaſſed round about with a thicke wood, which hindered all diſcouery a farre off, that it was not conuenient to found ſuch a caſtle there, from whence their ordnance could neither aſſaile thoſe to whom the defence thereof ſhould be committed, neither indamage thoſe that ſhould come to beſiege it. And therefore the Generall commaunded, that euery man without loſing one day more ſhould lay to his hand for the cutting downe of that thicke wood, and making way through thicke and thin, to lay it for an open champaigne, that was before the receptacle of a thouſand dangerous treacheries. In very ſhort ſpace were the trees laid along the ground, the place made lightſome and open, and a very commodious ſituation prepared for the foundation of a caſtle. The plot of the old ruined caſtle was compaſſed about with a wall of a thouſand & ſeuen hundred yards, and in the midſt thereof was erected a ſtrong Keepe, with lodgings and B chambers builded, and 200 pieces of ordnance diſtributed vpon the new walls. After that, the General ſent *Reſuan Baſſa* and the Baſſa of Ceraemit, with 20000 of his moſt choice ſoldiers, to conuey ſuccors to Teflis: who marching cloſely together in the direct way, in one day arriued at the ſayd fort, wherein they beſtowed their ſupplies, and changing the Gouernour thereof, ſubſtituted in his roome one *Bagli*, being then vpon this occaſion only called a Baſſa. Whileſt *Reſuan* yet lay thus incamped vnder Teflis, *Daut Chan* the brother of *Simon*, who in the beginning of theſe wars, at the comming of *Muſtapha* the Turks General into Georgia, had fled out of Teflis, came now with all his familie, and offered himſelfe as a ſubiect and deuoted vaſſal to the Turkiſh Emperor: whom *Reſuan* entertained with great promiſes, and C large aſſurances of all good ſucceſſe, according to his deſire.

The compaſſe of the caſtle built at Tomanis by Ferat.

In the meane while newes were brought to *Simon*, That General *Ferat* ſtaying at the ſtraits of Tomanis with his armie, had ſent *Reſuan Baſſa* with a far leſſe number than indeed he had, to ſuccor Teflis: Vpon which report he tooke courage to encounter *Reſuan*, and to giue him battell. Vpon which reſolution without further delay, being accompanied but with 2000 Georgians, partly ſubiects of his owne, and partly of *Manucchiars*, he with all ſpeed poſſible went againſt *Reſuan*. But whileſt *Simon* was going thitherwards, General *Ferat* fearing the worſt, had alreadie by chance diſpatched away the two Baſſa's of Caramania and Maras, with 10000 ſouldiers, to the end that joining themſelues with the ſoldiers of *Reſuan*, they ſhould at all aduentures be ſo much the ſtronger. Now *Simon* going reſolutely on, found *Reſuan* incamped D with 6000 ſoldiers only, at the foot of an hill, on the backe ſide whereof lay all the reſt of the armie, and preſently gaue a charge vpon him: when the ſoldiers behind the hill being aware of his comming, were readie all at once with their weapons to receiue him. Who now perceiuing his error, repented himſelfe to haue ſo raſhly aſſaulted his enemies, ſeeing now no other remedie but to be vtterly vndone. But ſeeing that he had now ſo far ingaged himſelfe, as that he could not by flight but increaſe his griefe, and make the iſſue more lamentable, with theſe few ſoldiers which he had, he endured the furie of the great armie of *Reſuan*, ſo that on both ſides there was joined a moſt cruell battell: wherein the ſtrange and vnuſuall valour of thoſe few Chriſtians was much to be wondred at. Yet in the end the huge number of the Turkiſh ſwords E and ſpeares ſo preuailed vpon that ſmall number of the Georgians, as that they were brought to great extremitie: yea *Simon* himſelfe hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him, fell down headlong to the ground, and in his fall was very neere to haue bin taken priſoner, as was his lieutenant and many other his followers, had he not bin relieued by an vnexpected and maruellous chance: for whiles the battell was euen at the greateſt heat betweene them, *Reſuan* diſcouered the two Baſſa's of Caramania and Maras, who (as is before ſaid) were newly ſent by General *Ferat* to ſuccour him; but both by the ſaid *Reſuan*, and alſo by the reſt of his Armie, were indeed thought to be Perſians: whereupon they were incontinently ſurpriſed with a ſudden feare, inſomuch that they now became very doubtful of the victory, whereof they thought themſelues before aſſured. In this ſuſpence and doubtfulneſſe of minde the battell was alſo intermitted, and the victorie by the ſight of thoſe their friends diſturbed: whereby the Georgians, and eſpecially *Simon*, whoſe eſtate was almoſt deſperat, tooke the opportunitie to eſcape and ſaue themſelues, leauing behinde them moſt ſure ſignes of their valour among the Turkes, of whom many remained there ſlaine, many wounded, and many filled with great meruaile and vnexpected feare. Thus eſcaped poore *Simon* with the remainder of his followers into his knowne places of refuge, there to bewaile the death and captiuitie of his ſubiects. But *Reſuan*

Simon in danger to haue bin taken, eſcapeth by a ſtrange chance.

after he had diſcouered the Baſſa's approching towards him, to be his knowne friends and welwillers, fretted in himſelfe exceedingly, that *Simon* had ſo eſcaped his hands: yet holding on his way to Tomanis, he arriued there in great triumph, drawing the ſtandards of *Simon* all along the ground, and cauſing many of the heads of the Georgians to be carried vpon his ſouldiers launces, to the great ioy of Generall *Ferat*, to whom he deliuered all the priſoners taken in the battell, and wicked *Daut Chan*, who hauing in times paſt renounced his firſt faith, was become a Perſian; and now againe deſpiſing the vaine ſuperſtition of the Perſians, had yeelded himſelfe to the vanitie of the Turks, and made himſelfe a voluntarie ſlaue to *Amurath*.

Now was the yeare ſo far ſpent, that euery man began to feare the Winters approch; and therefore the Generall determined to remooue thence, and to withdraw himſelfe into places of more ſafetie. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order in the new fort, he appointed *Haſſan* to be the Baſſa of Tomanis, and left with him eight thouſand ſelect ſoldiers choſen out of all the armie, for the defence of that fort and the countrey thereabout. Deepely had *Ferat* laied vp the outrage committed by *Muſtaffa* the Georgian (being now returned to his old name of *Manucchiar*) in taking away the kings treaſure, and killing the two Capigi and the Chiaus: and therefore he reſolued with himſelfe, not to returne to Chars or Erzirum, vnleſſe he had firſt paſſed into the countrey of the ſaid Georgian, and in moſt cruell manner reuenged thoſe notable iniuries before receiued. In three dayes he arriued at Triala, and there incamped. But lying there, ſuch an vnwonted dearth and ſcarcitie of all things roſe in the armie, but eſpecially of victuals, that euery fiue buſhels and a halfe of wheat was ſould for fiue hundred duckets, to the vniuerſall calamitie of the whole armie.

A wonderfull dearth in the Turkes Army at Triala.

From this place, the Generall was minded to go on forwards towards the countrey of *Manucchiar*; but whiles he was vpon the raiſing of his tents, one *Veis Baſſa* of Aleppo came vnto him and told him, That it was not good now to ſpend the time in wandering about thoſe countries, for that there were three very great enemies confederate together, to make this enterpriſe very difficult, and almoſt impoſſible and deſperat: one was the ſeaſon of the yeare, being now full of ſnowes, froſt, and tempeſt; another was, the want and ſcarcitie of all things neceſſarie, eſpecially of victual; the third was, the people of Georgia, who by a common vniting of themſelues together, and peraduenture aided by the Perſians, might worke ſome notable miſchiefe againſt the armie. This ſpeech of *Veis* ſo much offended the Generall, that he moſt ſharpely rebuked him, and with bitter termes reproued him, telling him flatly, That hee well perceiued that he was brought vp among mountaines and villages, and of a villaine (as he was) vpon ſome ſuperfluitie of grace, or fooliſh importunitie, aduanced to the honour of a Baſſa, and that therefore he ſhould not haue preſumed ſo much as to thinke it lawfull for him, ſo impudently and malapertly to come and giue him ſuch aduertiſements; whereas it had beene his dutie rather to haue held his peace, and to haue hearkened to the commandments of his betters and ſuperiors, yeelding himſelfe obedient and deuoted with all his power to performe the ſame. With this rebuke the Generall paſſed on to Archelech, burning and in a manner deſtroying the countrey before him, though indeed it was in amitie and confederacie with the Turks. But the inhabitants of Archelech vpon the comming of the Turkes had abandoned the Citie, and for feare withdrawne themſelues into the mountaines. In Archelech *Ferat* incamped, and ſtayed the ſpace of 4 daies among the rocky crags, and in a barren ſoile yeelding neceſſarie ſuſtenance neither for man nor beaſt; ſo that euery man there endured vnſpeakable miſeries: yet for the ſpace of foure dayes the ſouldiers with patience endured this ſo great a calamitie. But in the end, the fall of an huge ſnow being added to theſe extremities, did ſo greatly increaſe their griefes, that all the Ianizaries and Spaoglans of Conſtantinople aroſe in a tumult, and comming before *Ferat*, in deſpightfull and contemptuous manner with very haughty and reſolute termes ſaid vnto him:

The inſolent ſpeech of the mutinous ſoldiors againſt Ferat their Generall.

And how long ſhall we endure this thy tedious and inſolent gouernment? Where is the due commiſeration that thou oughteſt to beare toward the Vaſſales of thy Soueraigne, thou ruſticall and vnreaſonable Captaine? Doeſt thou thinke happely, that wee keepe our Harlots as thou doeſt vnder thy ſumptuous pauilions, all fat and in good plight, with delicate viands, whileſt others liue in miſerie? Doeſt thou beleeue that we haue as thou haſt, our daintie ſugars, ſpices, and conſerues, whereby to reſtore vs, in the common calamitie of others? And that wee haue at command meat and pretious wines, which thou mingleſt with thy cleere and pleaſant water, partly prouided for thee by the art of the cunning

A *Doctors, and partly brought to thee from far places? From this day forward it will be no longer endu-*
red, that ſo much people ſhould continue in this famine, afflicted with nakedneſſe and many other incon-
ueniences: and therefore get thy ſelfe vp and returne toward Erzirum; otherwiſe we ſhall be enforced to
do that which will breed more diſpleaſure vnto thee, than to any man liuing.

The Generall in a great agonie preſently called a Councel, wherein it was concluded, That
they ſhould all ſend their ſtrong ſumpter horſes to Ardachan, and the reſt to follow him into
Manucchiars countrey, whither he had appointed to go onely to make an inrode, and with the
ſpoile and bootie of that countrey to refreſh the minds of his ſoldiers, afflicted with the miſe-
ries both paſt and preſent. This commandement of the Generals they all readily obeyed, as
B well becauſe he promiſed them a ſpeedie voyage, as alſo for that euery man deſired the ſacke
of Altunchala and other the territories of *Manucchiar*. So *Ferat* holding on his journey tho-
row certaine low vallies betweene the high and craggie mountaines, continually accompani-
ed with great famine and ſcarcitie, at length brought his armie to Cliſca, a place belonging to
Manucchiar, but as then for feare of the Turkes quite abandoned and forſaken by the inhabi-
tants; who with their wiues and children, and all the beſt ſtuffe they had, were fled into re-
mote and ſafe places vntill the furie of the enemie was ouerpaſſed. In the fields neere vnto this
place (bounding with corne and cattel, and plentie of fruit) the General refreſhed his whole ar-
mie; and hoping that all the ſoldiers would like it well to ſtay a while in that ſuch eaſe, de-
termined with himſelfe to erect a fort in that place. And with this reſolution gaue commande-
C ment to *Reſuan Baſſa* to go vp to the tower, and in the top thereof to ſet vp an enſigne, with a
proclamation and publique report, That he would in the name of *Amurath* there erect a fort,
and fortifie it as he had done the other forts before. *Reſuan* accompanied with *Amurath* the
Baſſa of Caramania, according to the commandement of the General, in the top of the tower
ſet vp an enſigne or two: which as ſoone as the ſouldiers had eſpied, the forenamed Ianizaries
and Spaoglans, thinking themſelues too much abuſed by the General, ariſing againe all in an
vprore, repleniſhed with furie and indignation, ran vp in a rage to take downe the Enſignes that
were ſet vp vpon the tower, and taking them in their hands, rapt the ſaid *Reſuan* once or twice
about the pate, diſcharging withall a thouſand iniurious and deſpightfull words vpon him, and
ſharply rebuked him. And then returning to the General (who was now come thither himſelfe
D to countenance the action of *Reſuan*) with geſtures ful of deſpight, contempt, and diſdaine, reui-
ling him with many ſhamefull and ſcornefull termes, they proteſted vnto him;

That they were not come to the wars, to exerciſe the occupation of maſons and dawbers, and to be em-
ployed in ſuch vile and diſhonourable offices; but only to manage their weapons, and thereby to demerit
their ordinarie wages, and to purchaſe to themſelues glorie and renowne at the Kings hand. And there-
fore if he loued his head, and would not ſee thoſe armes turned againſt himſelfe, which hitherto had been
the reuengers of the enemies iniuries, he ſhould reſolue with himſelfe, to leaue theſe new buildings and
theſe vnſeaſonable deſignements, and giuing place to the contrarie ſeaſon of the yeare, to haue due care of
their common deſires and neceſſitie.
E

The mutinous ſoldiers againe threaten their Generall.

Whiles they were yet thus expoſtulating the matter with him, one more bold than the reſt,
and more forgetfull of his dutie, did not ſticke to aſſault the General, and to threaten him to
wreake his fury vpon him: which in that tumult had haply beene done, had not the Baſſa of
Caramania lent the General his owne horſe, and ſo conducted him to his pauilion. Yet was he
neuertheleſſe ſtill purſued by the tumultuous ſoldiers, and againe ſharply accuſed for the ſtay
that he made there, and for not reſoluing preſently to remoue thence: and at laſt after many re-
prochfull ſpeeches, told expreſly, That if he did not the next morning remooue out of thoſe
quarters, without all faile he ſhould loſe his life for it. For all that, *Ferat* diſdaining to yeeld
F to them that ſhould of dutie haue been readie and obedient at euery becke of his, and ſeeking
by all meanes (notwithſtanding all this ſtirre) to ſtay there ſo long time as ſhould be ſufficient
to build a fort, that would ſo much offend *Manucchiar*; anſwered them againe:

That he made no account of their threatening him with his life, which hee had alwaies offered to lay
downe for any ſeruice of his King. But if they had no care to ſerue their Soueraigne in this new buil-

The ſtout anſwer of Ferat.

ding, they might go their wayes: as for himſelfe hee was reſolutely minded to obey his Lord in whatſoeuer he had commanded him; for the honour of whom euery one of them ought to thinke their liues very G *well beſtowed.*

The ſouldiours ouerthrow the Generals tents, and threaten to kill him.

Vpon this anſwer there followed diuers railings and curſings againſt the King, againſt the General, and againſt them all; and in this confuſed tumult euery man betooke himſelfe to his weapons: in euery corner was heard grumlings and whiſperings full of wrath and indignation; ſo that there was a great feare of ſome dangerous euent, but greater was the ſuſpition of the Generals life. And now euery man had withdrawne himſelfe to the guarding of ſuch things as he eſteemed moſt; when ſuddenly and in a trice you might haue ſeene the pauilions of all the Baſſa's and Captaines fall downe flat to the ground, all the cords thereof being cut in H ſunder by the wrathfull ſoldiers; and as it were in a moment, all the muttons and other cattel the Generall and Baſſa's led with them for their ordinarie vſe, were ſeiſed vpon by the ſame ſouldiers, and guarded with all diligence poſſible. And ſo far was it off that any man durſt challenge or reuenge this their inſolencie, that they themſelues turning afreſh vpon their General, being now in a maze and deadly feare, began now the third time to threaten him, That if he did not forthwith remoue from thoſe Countries, and turne his journy towards Erzirum, thoſe vallies and fields ſhould without all faile become the ſepulchres of the Baſſa's, and thoſe hills retaine the eternall memorie of ſo bloudie a day.

With a little liberalitie might the General haue done with this people whatſoeuer he had liſted, but being loth to gratifie them in any thing, he was inforced to performe their proud and arrogant demands, and to his great ſhame, to obey them, whom with right vſage he might I haue made obedient to himſelfe: and therefore to auoid their deſpightfull threats, to his exceeding great reproch, he was glad euen as they had commanded, to remooue out of thoſe quarters. The firſt day he arriued at Ardachan, with the great trouble of all his ſouldiers: for whereas the journey was wont to be two dayes worke ordinarily, as well in reſpect of the length of the way, as the difficultie of the paſſage; the General would now needs haue it done in one, the rather thereby to grieue his ſouldiers. But of this his wilfulneſſe he receiued euen the ſame day the iuſt reward; for that the Chariots wherein his women rid were conueyed away, together with the Eunuchs that were their keepers: ſome ſay by the Georgians that lay in wait for ſuch a prey; others ſay by the Ianizaries, who the more to diſhonor their General, K wrought him this iniurie.

Ferat at Ardachan breaketh vp his armie.

Great was the reproch that *Ferat* receiued in the armie, but far greater at Conſtantinople, when theſe newes were there knowne; but there was no remedie, he muſt now perforce endure it, and diſcontented as he was, keepe on his way towards Erzirum. In Ardachan he tooke a ſuruey of his army, and there gaue his ſoldiers leaue to depart: himſelfe afterwards ariuing at Erzirum, hated of all his ſoldiers, enuied by his captaines, derided for the loſſe of his women, and fallen into the diſgrace of euery man. No leſſe than the reſt was the Turkiſh Emperor diſcontented with him alſo: firſt for that he had don nothing worth ſpeaking of, in reuenge of the ſhamefull iniurie done by *Manucchiar* the Georgian, and yet ſo mightily diſcontented his ſoldiers: and ſecondly, for that without any care he had ſuffered *Aliculi Chan* the Perſian priſoner to L eſcape away, about whoſe flight it was thought he could not chuſe but haue ſome intelligence. For *Ferat*, after he was by new order from the Court, to diuert his journey from Naſſiuan, to the ſtraits and narrow paſſages of Georgia, being deſirous to be throughly informed of thoſe dangerous ways; in this ſecond yeare when he remoued from Erzirum, tooke *Aliculi Chan* out of priſon, of purpoſe to vſe him as his guid in thoſe dangerous ſtraits, and therefore caried him vnder a gard (whatſoeuer it was afterwards) of his moſt faithfull vaſſals, ſtill entreating him well, and taking ſuch order as that he wanted nothing: at laſt being come to the ſtraits of Towmanis in Georgia, where the Caſtle (as it was before ſaid) was erected, he from thence ſecretly eſcaped into Perſia. The manner of his eſcape is diuerſly reported: ſome ſay, That *Ferat* in diſcharge of his promiſe, for his good direction had gratified him with his libertie. Others M ſay, That *Ferat* corrupted with money, gaue him opportunitie to eſcape: ſome others (with more probabilitie) That his eſcape was made neither for money, nor diſcharge of promiſe; but by the onely vigilancie of *Aliculi* himſelfe, and the ſleepineſſe of his keepers; and that watching the opportunitie of the night (a friend to all eſcapes) he ſtarted away. Howſo-

A euer it was, in fine he was deliuered from his long captiuitie, to the diſcredit of *Ferat*, and returned into Perſia, to performe ſuch enterpriſes againſt the Turkes, as ſhall be hereafter declared.

General *Ferat* (before his departure out of Georgia) had commanded *Aly* the Baſſa of Græcia (whom he left, as is before declared, in the new caſtle of Lori) to fortifie a certaine caſtle called Saitan Chas (in our language, *The caſtle of the Deuill*) which he with great diligence performed, and left therein fiftie pieces of artillerie, and a thouſand ſouldiers vnder the charge of a Sanzacke: and ſo quieted the paſſages from fort to fort, as that all the waies from Reiuan to Chars, and from Chars to Teflis, were made eaſie and ſafe; and all the meanes taken away whereby the enemy might be able to plot any new treacherie vpon thoſe paſſages: which was B no ſmall piece of good ſeruice.

The dangerous paſſage from Reiuan to Teflis ſecured vnto the Turkes.

The Perſian king in the meane time lying at Tauris with his armie, vnderſtanding that the Turks had changed their purpoſe from Naſsiuan to Georgia, ſo that there was no further need to imploy his armie againſt them for the defence of Tauris or Naſsiuan; at laſt reſolued with himſelfe to licence his ſouldiers to depart, and to apply himſelfe to more priuat reuenges. For calling *Emir Chan* vnto him, whom hee had left Gouernour of Tauris, and Generall for that part of his kingdome; he required of him the occaſion, why he had not performed the great promiſes which he had made to him before his departure to Heri, nor done his indeuor to hinder the Turks Fabrick at Reiuan; and why he went not out with other ſouldiers appointed for that purpoſe, and namely with the Turcomans (as he had promiſed) to reuenge ſo great an iniu- C rie, and in beſt manner he could, to haue indamaged the Turkiſh forces? Sundrie excuſes did *Emir Chan* alledge for the colouring of his manifeſt default, but none ſufficient to cleare him of the crimes obiected againſt him by the king and the Sultans: wherefore he was by the king adiudged to haue his eies burnt out with an hot yron, & ſo depriued of his ſight, to be deſpoiled of all his goods and ſhut vp in cloſe priſon. Which heauie doome was without further delay accordingly put in execution: whereof within the ſpace of a few moneths, the wicked *Chan* (but yet a famous ſoldier) miſerably died in priſon. Whoſe death ſo highly offended the Turcoman nation (who had him alwaies in great eſtimation) that they abſolutely denied their defences for the crowne of Perſia: and the more, when they heard that the king had beſtowed the roome of *Emir Chan* vpon *Aliculi*; who although he had in many reſpects deſerued all pre- D ferment, yet for that he was an antient enemie to certaine Turcoman captaines, they would not in any wiſe indure that he ſhould be exalted to ſo great an honour. And therefore they waxed more diſdainfull and ill affected towards the king, wherby the Perſian forces became the more weakened and diuided.

Emir Chan hauing his eies put out, dieth miſerably in priſon.

The Turks notwithſtanding the league yet in force betwixt *Amurath* and *Rodolph* the Chriſtian Emperor that now is, did many times make incurſions into the vpper part of Hungarie, burning the country villages, and carrying away the people into captiuitie: but in their returne, they were oftentimes cut off by the Emperors ſouldiers and ſlaine. Which being reported at Conſtantinople, much moued the Turkiſh tyrant: but when he vnderſtood that his men had E without any cauſe made thoſe inrodes into the territorie of the Chriſtians, and ſo receiued the foreſaid loſſes, he was againe appeaſed, and in the beginning of this yeare 1584, renewed the league betwixt him and the Emperor for eight yeares more.

Ferat from Erzirum aduertiſed *Amurath* of all that had happed in his late expedition, deſiring him to command what he would haue taken in hand the next Spring. But beſides this information from him, there wanted not many others which did the like alſo, although in another manner: declaring vnto the king (and that in an odious ſort) the whole proceedings of *Ferat*, the eſcape of *Aliculi Chan*, the ſhameful loſſe of his women, his quarrels with the Ianizaries, his falling out with *Veis Baſſa*, a man well regarded of *Amurath* himſelfe, the diſorders of his whole camp for his want of diſcretion, and to be ſhort, the particularities of all ſuch actions as had not altogether ſo honorably bin by him performed that yeare: cauſes of themſelues ſufficient to induce the king to remoue the ſaid *Ferat* from his Generalſhip. To which occaſions, were alſo added ſundrie other ſecret reſpects: for euer ſince the laſt departure of *Ferat* from Erzirum, *Amurath* had ſtill in his head, the next yeare following to attempt the enterpriſe of Tauris, and thereby to ſtirre vp through the World a famous report of his conqueſt correſpondent to his greatneſſe. Now among the captaines whom he eſteemed to be worthy men, to whom he might with truſt commit this ſo great an enterpriſe, hee bethought himſelfe of *Oſman Baſſa*, left at Sumachia in Siruan by Generall *Mustapha* in the firſt yere of this war: who G hauing in that prouince remained euer ſince, had without any helpe of the Tartarians, by his owne induſtrie and valor, to the great contentment of *Amurath*, brought that large country into a reaſonable obedience to the Turkiſh Empire: and that which moſt of all pleaſed the Turkiſh emperour, had in a countrie ſo far diſtant, maintained his armie, wherewith he had done all this without any expences at all to his king, hauing now a good while leuied his ſouldiers ſtipends vpon the lands and territories of that region, and ſtill exerciſed a kind of gouernment and ſoueraigntie ouer thoſe places. Of all which his good proceedings, he had cauſed intelligence from time to time to be ſent vnto the court: by which means, and other fauorers which hee had about the king, there was foſtred in the minde of *Amurath* a wonderfull good opinion of him, ſo that now without delay he reſolued to ſend for him to Conſtantinople: & for H that purpoſe, before *Ferat* was arriued at Erzirum, he had diſpatched certain Capigi & Chiaus to call this famous warriour vnto him: yet wanted there not ſome (and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort) that went about to hinder both his comming to the court, & alſo theſe deſignements of ſo great importance. For *Sciaus* the chiefe Viſier (who rather for the comelineſſe of his perſon and alliance with the king, than for any other his vertues, was mounted to that high roome) did greatly feare, leſt *Oſman*, whoſe courſe it was to ſit next vnto him in the order of the greateſt Baſſaes, partly for his experience in matters of war, and partly for the good affection the king did beare vnto him, ſhould at his comming to Conſtantinople perſuade the king to what he liſted, and ſo peraduenture take from him the chiefeſt office, & get into his hands the whole I gouernment of the empire, whereby ſo great wealth was to be gained. Wherefore to rid himſelfe of theſe feares, he caſt about by all means to keepe him from comming to the court: but becauſe that to attempt the ſame openly, might proue a matter both difficult and dangerous, he thought it better to make triall of a more commodious and ſecret means. This *Sciaus* in conſideration of many gifts beſtowed vpon him by *Mahamet* the Cuman-Tartar king, had many times excuſed him to *Amurath* of diuers accuſations which *Oſman* by his letters had laid to his charge; For not aiding him in the ſubduing of Siruan, as he was both by promiſe and dutie bound: and for all his ouerſights alleadged ſuch reaſons in his behalfe, as if they did not altogether perſuade *Amurath* to be kind vnto him, yet at the leaſt not to carrie a mind of reuenge againſt him; and had ſo far proceeded in countenancing this Tartarian king, that there was betwixt them confirmed an interchangeable amitie and mutuall confederacie. Him *Sciaus* imagi- K ned to find willing and ready by al means poſſible, to hinder the comming of *Oſman* his enemy to the Court, if he were but made acquainted with the matter. And therefore *Sciaus*, as ſoone as he vnderſtood the certain reſolution of *Amurath*, to call *Oſman* to the court, ſecretly wrote to the Tartar king, who lay incamped neere to the hauen of Caffa vpon the Fens of Meotis, certifying him, That *Oſman* was to come to the court; and that therefore it were good for him to call to mind, how great an enemie he had been to him, and how much he had endeuoured by letters to *Amurath*, to turne all his hatred and diſpleaſure againſt him: and withall, That if he was able to doe ſo much by letters, as if *Sciaus* had not defended him with verie reaſonable excuſes, the king had executed his wrathfull indignation vpon him to his great danger; hee L ſhould then imagine with himſelfe, what *Oſman* ſhould be able to do, when he ſhould come in perſon to the preſence of *Amurath*, and without any mediator, between themſelues determine of all matters what they ſhould thinke conuenient. Theſe, and peraduenture worſe Letters which *Sciaus* wrote to the Tartar, miniſtred matter enough vnto him to reſolue to do what he might, not to ſuffer ſo pernitious an enemie of his to arriue at Conſtantinople: and eſpecially perceiuing that *Sciaus*, in whoſe breaſt hee repoſed all his hope and all his protection, did ſo greatly feare his comming. Wherefore to rid himſelfe of that feare, he commanded twelue thouſand ſouldiers, that changing their weapons and apparell, they ſhould go and lie in wait for *Oſman* in the borders betweene Cholchis and Iberia, towards the Tartarian Nomades, by which way hee was to come; and ſo making an aſſault vpon him, to bereaue him of his life. Hoping that ſuch an outrage once done, could not, or would not, be imputed to his procurement, but rather to the Tartar Nomades, or to the Mengrellians, or to the Georgians, or to the Muſcouites, or to the robbers by the high way; and to bee ſhort, rather to any body elſe, than to him. This commandement of the Tartar King, was accordingly by the ſouldi-

Amurath ſendeth for Oſman into Siruan.

The Tartar king ſendeth 12000 Tartars to lie in wait for to kill Oſman.

A ers put in practiſe: who without further ſtay ioyned themſelues together, and ſo rode towards the place appointed.

And now were the meſſengers ſent from ***Amurath***, come to ***Oſman***, who preſently put himſelfe on his way towards Conſtantinople, hauing left behind him at Derbent and Sumachia, two Baſſaes, thought to be the moſt ſufficient men in Seruania: hauing alſo appointed very good orders in the ſame, and an aſſured eſtabliſhment of all thoſe countries and places which ***Muſtapha*** firſt had ſubdued, and he himſelfe had afterwards maintained vnder the obedience of ***Amurath***. He had alſo prouided for the ſafetie of his own perſon, in paſſing thoſe troubleſome and dangerous paſſages through which he was to trauell, by chuſing out foure thouſand ſouldiers which he had tried in diuers battels, and brought vp vnder his owne diſcipline; through B whoſe valor, he doubted not ſafely to paſſe through the treacheries of the Albanians, and the populous ſquadrons as well of the Tartarians as of the Mengrellians.

Thus departed he from Derbent, and coaſting along the rocks of Caucaſus (that at all times of the yeare are all white and hoarie with continuall ſnowes) leauing on his left hand Media, Iberia, and Cholchis; and on the right hand, the famous riuers of Tanais and Volga, euen at his firſt entrance vnto the ſhores of the Euxine ſea, hee was by the aboue named twelue thouſand Tartarians, being apparelled like theeues that lie vpon thoſe ways, ſuddenly aſſailed & fought withall. But like as an huge rocke lying open to tempeſt and waues, ſtanding faſt and vnmoueable in it ſelfe, reſiſteth the thunderings and ruſhings of the great and fearefull billowes: ſo ſtood ***Oſman*** faſt and firme, & couragiouſly ſuſtained this treacherous aſſault, turning the bold C countenances of his reſolute ſoldiers, againſt the rebellious multitude of thoſe traiterous ſquadrons: who, as is their manner in the beginning, vſed great force, but finding ſo ſtout reſiſtance in thoſe few, whom they had thought with their only lookes and ſhoutings to haue put to flight, they began at length to quaile. Which ***Oſman*** quickly perceiuing, couragiouſly forced vpon them, and in a very ſhort ſpace, and with a very ſmall loſſe of his own, put thoſe Tartarians to flight, killing a number of them, and alſo taking many of them priſoners: by whom ***Oſman*** was afterwards informed (as the truth was) that their king for feare that he had conceiceiued, leſt when he came to Conſtantinople he would procure his deſtruction from ***Amurath***, had ſent this armie to ſeeke his death. Of which treaſon ***Oſman*** cauſed a perfect proceſſe to be made, together with the diſpoſitions of the Tartarian priſoners, which he ſent the ſhorteſt way D he could deuiſe to ***Amurath*** at Conſtantinople, with letters declaring all that had paſſed, inflaming him to reuenge ſo dangerous an iniurie & ſo wicked a practiſe. ***Amurath*** receiuing theſe aduertiſements from ***Oſman***, according to the neceſſity of the matter, tooke order that ***Plazales*** his Admirall with certaine gallies well appointed, ſhould paſſe ouer to Caffa to fetch ***Oſman***; and withall to carrie with him ***Iſlan***, a brother of the Tartar kings, commanding ***Oſman*** by letters, that he ſhould (to the terror of others) put to death the trecherous king, and place his brother in his roome.

Oſman aſſaulted by twelue thouſand Tartars.

Oſman ouercommeth the Tartars.

This Tartar King was one of thoſe mightie Princes, who baſely yeelding to the ***Othoman*** power, led vnder them a moſt vile and troubleſome life, as their tributaries and vaſſals, alwaies E at command: whoſe yonger brother ***Iſlan*** (preſuming of the ſufficiencie of himſelfe & the fauor of the people) going to Conſtantinople, became a ſuter vnto the Turkiſh Emperor, to haue his eldſt brother thruſt out of his kingdome, as a man for his euill gouernment hated of his ſubiects, and to be placed himſelfe in his roome. Which his ſute was ſo croſſed by the Embaſſadors of the king his brother (who ſpared for no coſt in the behalfe of their maſter) that the ambitious youth was ſent from the Turks court to Iconium, and there clapt faſt vp in priſon: where apparelled like an Eremit, he led his life altogether conformable to his miſerie, with ſuch a kind of externall innocencie, as if he had been void of all hope or ambitious deſire of a kingdom, but rather like a forlorn and vnhappy wretch with vain affliction & impious deuotion to prepare himſelfe to a laudable and honorable death. But whileſt he thus liued, ſequeſtred from all worldly cogitations, vpon the diſcouerie of the king his brothers rebellion he was in more than poſt haſt ſent for to Conſtantinople, and put into the gallies bound for Caffa, with letters to ***Oſman*** of the terrour aforeſaid. Now in the meane time ***Oſman*** had by cunning means got into his hands this Tartar king; being as is reported betraied by his owne counſellours, corrupted by the Turkes gold: whome with his two ſonnes ***Oſman*** vpon the receit of the aforeſaid letters from ***Amurath***, cauſed to be preſently ſtrangled with a bowſtring, and ***Iſlan*** his

Oſman ſtrangleth Mahomet the Tartar king with his two ſons, & placeth Iſlan his brother in his ſtead.

yonger brother to be ſaluted king in his place, yet as vaſſall to *Amurath*. This ſhameful death, G
the vſuall reward of the Turkiſh friendſhip, was thought iuſtly to haue hapned vnto his Tartar
king, for that hee long before, ſupported by *Amurath*, had moſt vnnaturally depoſed his
aged father from that kingdome, iuſt reuenge now proſecuting his ſo great diſloyaltie.

Oſman embarked himſelfe at the forenamed gallies at the Port of Caffa, paſſing ouer the
Euxine ſea, and entering into the Thracian Boſphorus, arriued at Conſtantinople; where hee
was receiued with great pompe and ſingular ſignifications of good loue. But with moſt euident
and expreſſe kinds of ioy was he ſaluted by *Amurath* himſelfe, when by his owne ſpeech
and preſence he declared vnto him euery particularity of the matters that had hapned in his
long and important voiage, and in liuely maner repreſented vnto him the perils & trauels that
he had paſſed, & the conqueſts that he had made in Siruan. After al which diſcourſes, *Amurath* H
who longed after nothing more, than to ſee the Perſian king ſomwhat bridled, and the famous
citie of Tauris brought vnder his owne ſubiection, began to enter into conference with *Oſman*
about that enterpriſe, and in the end would needs know throughly of him, what iſſue he could
promiſe him of this his deſire; and in what ſort by his aduice and counſel the forces ſhould be
imploied, and the armies diſpoſed for the ſubduing of that city, which ouer all the nations of
the world was ſo famous and ſo great an honour to the Perſian kingdome. To all which demands
his anſwer and reſolution was, That forſomuch as the matters of Georgia were now
well ſetled, the trecherous paſſages by the new built forts aſſured, and the prouince of Siruan
vnder his obedience eſtabliſhed, there was now no cauſe why hee ſhould any longer foreſlow
ſo famous an enterpriſe, but by the conqueſt of Tauris, and erecting of a fort in that proud city, I
to bring a terrour vpon all Perſia, and to raiſe a glorious renowne of ſo mighty a conqueſt
among the Nations of Europe: for the accompliſhment whereof, he thought that either the
ſame armie, or at the moſt a very little greater would ſuffice, ſo that it were raiſed of the beſt
and choiſeſt ſouldiers.

Amurath demandeth Oſmans opinon concerning the enterpriſe of Tauris.

Oſmans reſolution.

By reaſon of one of the letters which *Sciaus Baſſa* had written to the late Tartar king, and by
the inſtigation of the yong Sultan *Mahomets* mother (iealous of the neere alliance of the great
Baſſa with her husband, as preiudiciall and dangerous to her ſonne) *Amurath* had in the open
Diuano depriued the ſaid *Sciaus* from the office of the chiefe Viſier, and hardly pardoning
him his life, at the interceſſion of his wife, being his ſiſter, had baniſhed him the court, ſo that
hee liued afterwards about Calcedon, vpon the borders of Aſia, not far from Conſtantinople, K
in a cloſe pallace he had there built for his own pleaſure: in whoſe room he appointed *Oſman*
to be chiefe Viſier; & to honor him the more, nominated him the Generall of his army againſt
the Perſians. Such power hath Vertue, that euen from the very ſcum of the raſcal ſort, and out
of the ruſticall rout of mountaine peaſants (which notwithſtanding cannot be truly iuſtified of
this *Oſman*, his father being Beglerbeg of Damaſco, and his mother, the daughter of the Beglerbeg
of Babylon) it doth oftentimes in the courſe of this variable world draw diuers men
into Princes courts, and aduance them to the higheſt dignities. Truth it is, that from a priuate
ſouldier, though wel born, he by ſundry degrees grew vp to the higheſt honor of that ſo great
an Empire, and was at one inſtant created the chiefe Counſellor and Generall of the *Othoman*
forces. Great was the ioy that *Oſman* conceiued hereat; & great was the deſire he had to make L
himſelfe worthy of ſo honorable fauors; & the greater confidence he perceiued that *Amurath*
had repoſed in him, the more eagerly was he ſpurred on to do any thing poſſible whereby he
might ſhew himſelfe to haue deſerued the ſame. And therefore aduiſing with himſelfe, that
foraſmuch as the greatneſſe of the enterpriſe required a greater armie than was leuied in former
yeares, ſo it was neceſſarie alſo for him the ſooner to ſend out his aduertiſements into all
his ſubiect prouinces, and by his own example to ſtir vp the other captains and ſouldiers euen
in the Winter (though it were as yet ſomewhat troubleſome) to paſſe ouer to Scutari, and
from thence to Angori, to Amaſia, to Siuas; and there in thoſe Territories to driue out the
time, vntill his ſouldiers which were ſummoned, were all gathered together. And becauſe vpon
this his great ſpeed it might peraduenture fall out, that the enemie miſdoubting his purpoſe
for Tauris, might prouide a greater armie than they would otherwiſe, he cauſed it to be
giuen out, That he muſt goe for Naſſiuan, to the end, that the Perſians ſo beguiled, ſhould not
regard the gathering of ſo mightie an Armie as they would haue done if they ſhould haue
heard of the Turks comming to Tauris: and ſo the generall couſening rumor flew, not onely

Oſman Baſſa made chiefe Viſier & Generall of the armie.

through

A through all the cities ſubiect to the Turkes, but into the countries of the Perſians alſo: who notwithſtanding being very iealous of the citie of Tauris, and fearing that the matter would fal out, as indeed afterward it did, ceaſed not to make moſt curious & diligent inquirie about it. And although the diſgrace offred to his Embaſſador at Conſtantinople, diſſuaded him from ſending any other for treatie of peace: yet to ſpie out the ſecrets of the Turkes, and to vnderſtand the certaintie of their purpoſe for Naſſiuan or Tauris, hee ſent diuers meſſengers to *Oſman*, as if he had meant to feele his mind touching a peace; but in verie deed for nothing els but to ſound his deſignements: which for all that, he could not with all the cunning he could vſe poſſibly diſcouer, but ſtill remained doubtfull as at the firſt, the Fame ſtil running for Naſſiuan.

B In the beginning of this yeare, now growing towards an end, *Amurath* ſent one *Muſtapha*, one of the meaneſt of his Chiaus, vnto *Stephen* king of Polonia, to excuſe the death of *Podolonius* (ſo ſhamefully murthered as is before declared) as if the ſame had happened by the inſolency of certain ſouldiers, and not by his commandement: who the better to color the matter, had brought with him two baſe fellowes, as authours of that outrage, for the king to take reuenge vpon; but were indeed no ſuch men as they were pretended to be, but rather (as it was thought) men before condemned for ſome other fact worthie of death, and now ſent thither to ſerue that purpoſe: for whom the Chiaus (in proud and threatning maner in the name of his Maſter) required to haue preſent reſtitution made of all ſuch goods as the Polonian Coſſackes had not long before taken from the Turks, and the captain of the ſaid Coſſacks to be deliuered C alſo vnto him, to be carried to *Amurath*: and ſo hardly vrged the matter, that (notwithſtanding the vnworthie death of *Podolonius* and his followers, and the taking away of his horſes) al the goods taken by the Coſſackes, were forthwith reſtored: which the Chiaus almoſt in triumphant manner preſented vnto *Amurath* at Conſtantinople.

This Summer alſo, *Amurath* diſporting himſelfe with his Mutes, was almoſt dead. These Mutes are luſty ſtrong fellows, depriued of their ſpeech; who neuertheleſſe certaine by ſignes can both aptly expreſſe their own conceits, and vnderſtand the meaning of others: theſe men for their ſecrecie are the cruel miniſters of the Turkiſh tyrants moſt horrible commands; and therefore of them had in great regard. With theſe Mutes mounted vpon faire & fat, but heauy and vnready horſes, was *Amurath*, vpon a light and ready horſe, ſporting himſelfe (as the maner D of the Turkiſh Emperors is) riding ſometime about one, ſometime about another; & ſtriking now the horſe, now the man, at his pleaſure; when ſuddenly he was taken with a fit of the falling ſickneſſe, his old diſeaſe; and ſo falling from his horſe, was taken vp for dead: inſomuch, that the Ianizaries ſuppoſing him to haue bin indeed dead, after their wonted maner fel to the ſpoiling of the Chriſtians and Iews, & were proceeding to further outrages, had not their Aga or captain to reſtraine their inſolency, to the terror of the reſt, hanged vp one of them taken in the manner, and certain others in the habit of Ianizaries. Neuertheleſſe, *Amurath* ſhortly after recouered againe, and to appeaſe that rumor of his death (openly vpon their Sabboth, which is the Friday) rid from his pallace to the Temple of *Sophia*; where I with many others ſaw him E (ſaith *Leunclauius*) his countenance yet all pale and diſcoloured.

Io. Leunc. ſup. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 91.

This yeare alſo happened ſuch a chance as had like to haue raiſed new warres betwixt the Turks and the Venetians: which, foraſmuch as it is worth the reporting, I thought it not good in ſilence to paſſe ouer. The Widow of *Ramadan Baſſa*, late Gouernor of Tripolis in Barbarie, with her ſonne, her familie, and a great number of ſlaues of both ſorts, being about to depart from Tripolis to Conſtantinople, had rigged vp a faire gallie for the tranſporting of her ſelfe and her ſubſtance, reported to be worth eight hundred thouſand duckats: vpon which galley for her more ſafety, ſhe had ioyned two others, as conſorts. Thus embarked, ſhe came to the mouth of the Adriaticke; where ſailing by Corfu, ſhe was by force of tempeſt driuen into the gulfe of the Adriaticke. At which time one *Petrus Emus*, one of the Venetian Senatours, with certaine gallies, had the charge for the keeping of that ſea againſt pyrats, and all other enemies whatſoeuer. He hearing of the Turkes comming into the gulfe, without delay ſet vpon them, and being too ſtrong for them, tooke them all: and hauing them now in his power, exerciſed moſt barbarous cruelty, as well vpon the women as the men: for hauing ſlain the men, in number two hundred and fiftie, and the ſon of *Ramadan* in his mothers lap, he cauſed the women, being before rauiſhed, to haue their breaſts cut off, and afterwards to be caſt ouer boord

A moſt barbarous outrage committed by Petrus Emus a Venetian.

into

into the ſea, being in number about forty. The brother of *Emus* chancing vpon a beautiful virgin, was by her moſt earneſtly intreated to haue ſpared her honor; and the rather, for that (as ſhe ſaid) ſhe was a Chriſtian, taken priſoner about twelue yeares before in Cyprus, ſince which time ſhe had liued in moſt miſerable captiuitie among the Turks, & being now fallen by good hap into the hands of a noble Venetian, was in good hope to be ſet at liberty inuiolated: which ſhe moſt humbly beſought him for the loue of God to do, and not to imbrue his hands with her guiltleſſe bloud, or to diſhonor himſelfe by forcing of her. But all ſhe could ſay preuailed nothing with the cruel & vnbridled youth, who after he had at his pleaſure abuſed her, caſt her with the reſt into the ſea. It is thought that *Emus* ſuffered this ſo great an outrage (and ſo farre vnbeſeeming the honor of the Venetians) to be don, to the intent that none ſhould be left aliue to bewray the greatneſſe of the bootie, or of the villany there committed: which was neuertheleſſe (God ſo appointing it) reuealed by one of the Turks, who ſaued by a Surgion of Crete which knew him, & afterwards comming to Conſtantinople, openly declared the ſame. With the odious report whereof, the Turks were ſo enraged, that in euery corner of the citie a man might haue heard them threatning vnto the Venetians moſt cruel reuenge: yea they had much adoe to hold their hands from the Bilo or Gouernor of the Venetian Merchants in Conſtantinople, & to forbeare to ſpit in his face, as he went in the ſtreets. At that time was one *Iohan. Franciſcus Maurocenus* (or as they commonly call him, *Moreſin*) Bilo at Conſtantinople: who vnderſtanding that *Amurath* in his rage was about to ſend one of the great Gentlemen of his Court, whom the Turks call Zauſij (the great Turks vſuall Embaſſadors) to Venice about that matter, found means to haue him ſtaied at Conſtantinople, and another of leſſe authority ſent to expoſtulate the matter with the Senat, and in the name of *Amurath*, to require to haue the offendour puniſhed, and the gallies with the ſlaues and goods reſtored: ſo ſhould the league betwixt him and them continue firme, whereas otherwiſe he ſhould be conſtrained by force of armes to reuenge the wrongs done to his ſubiects. This meſſage being by the ſaid meſſenger deliuered at Venice, the Senators after diligent examination of the matter, returned this anſwer: That the widdow of *Ramadan* with her familie comming to Zacynthus, an Iſland of theirs, was there honourably entertained, and preſented with certaine courteous Preſents; but departing thence, and comming to Cephalenia, another of their Iſlands, her people running on land, contrary to the conditions of the league, made ſpoile of whatſoeuer they could light vpon, ſparing neither man nor beaſt: of which their inſolencie their Proueditor vnderſtanding, and making after them, found them in armes within the gulfe; and comming neere vnto them, was neither by them ſaluted, as the manner at ſea is, neither was any top ſaile ſtrucke, in token that the command of that ſea belonged vnto the Venetians, al which they ought by the league to haue done: for which their outrages and proud contempt, their Proueditor had taken ſo ſharpe a reuenge: neuertheleſſe, they promiſed in that caſe to do what beſeemed them in reaſon and Iuſtice to doe, for the ſatisfying of his deſire. With which ſo reaſonable an anſwer, *Amurath* ſeemed to be well contented; but being indeed loth to intangle himſelfe with warres againſt that mighty State at ſea, his wars againſt the Perſians beeing not yet finiſhed: yet ſhortly after, *Emus* was for his diſhonorable and cruell dealing with the Lady and her family, worthily condemned and beheaded, and the gallies with all the goods and ſlaues reſtored. This great woman had in thoſe gallies foure hundred Chriſtian ſlaues, all which vpon the taking of the gallies were (as the manner is) ſet at libertie, for whom the Venetians made reſtitution of as many others of the Turks.

The villanie diſcouered.

Amurath ſendeth a meſſenger to Venice, to expoſtulate the iniurie don vnto his ſubiects.

Petrus Emus beheaded.
Io. Leunc. ſup. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 92.

Ramadan Baſſa, the husband of the aforeſaid great Ladie, was Gouernor of Tripolis in Barbarie, and of the countrie thereabouts: who hauing wars with one of the barbarous kings of the Moores, went out againſt him with all his forces, wherein were certaine companies of Ianizaries, ſent by *Amurath* from Conſtantinople. Now in this countrey, as in many other places of Affricke, are great and deſart ſands, ouer which whoſoeuer is to paſſe, muſt prouide himſelfe both of victualls and ſkilfull guides; without which they are not without danger to bee paſſed. *Ramadan* with his armie vnprouided both of the one and the other, hauing entred theſe deſarts, was at length brought to that caſe, that he could neither go forward, neither without loſſe of his men returne. Yet at length hee retired, and got home, but not without the loſſe of ſome of his people, and the manifeſt danger of his whole armie: for which his improuidence the Ianizaries fell into ſuch a rage, that not reſpecting the honour of the man, or regarding the diſplea-

Ramadan Baſſa ſlain by the inſolent Ianizaries.

A diſpleaſure of their ſoueraigne, they fell vpon him and ſlew him. At which their inſolencie if ***Amurath*** did winke, and paſſe it ouer vnpuniſhed, let no man maruell: for why, the antient obedience of thoſe martial men is not now as it was in former times, when they were with a more ſeuere diſcipline gouerned; but now growne proud and inſolent (as the manner of men is liuing in continual pay) with weapons in their hands doubt not to do whatſoeuer ſeemeth vnto themſelues beſt, be it neuer ſo foule or vnreaſonable. Which although it be in many places of this Hiſtorie to be ſeene; yet for the more manifeſtation thereof, I thought it not amiſſe here briefely to ſet downe an example or two of their notorious inſolencie.

Achmetes Baſſa Gouernour of Cyprus, ſlain by the Ianizaries.

Not many yeares before, the Ianizaries in Cyprus with like inſolencie ſlew ***Achmetes Baſſa*** gouernor of that Iſland: pretending for the colour of ſo foule a fact, that he had defrauded them B of their pay, and oppreſſed them of the country with intollerable exactions. ***Amurath*** highly offended with this their diſloyalty in killing their General, whom they had neuer before complained of; thought it much to concerne the majeſtie of himſelf, and the repreſſing of the like inſolency in others, not to ſuffer it to go vnpuniſhed: and for that purpoſe ſent another new gouernor into Cyprus, with ten gallies furniſhed as well with other neceſſarie prouiſion, as with ſuch a conuenient number of ſoldiers as might ſuffice to chaſtiſe the inſolencie of the chief offendors. This new gouernor arriued in Cyprus, diſſembling the ſecret commandement he had for the executing of the tranſgreſſors; by certaine truſtie men gaue it out among the Ianizaries, That ***Amurath*** was ſo far from being angry with the death of ***Achmetes***, as that he thought him worthily ſlaine by the Ianizaries, for defrauding them of their wages, and oppreſſing of C his other ſubiects. Which report the new gouernour had of purpoſe giuen out, to put them in ſecuritie, and without further trouble to bring them into his danger. Hereupon the Ianizaries cheerefully and with all due reuerence receiued their new gouernour: but ſhortly after to be ſure, they by an vnexpected guile when as nothing was leſſe feared, compaſſed in all the new come ſoldiers, and ſlew them euery mothers ſonne; and not ſo contented, ſeiſed alſo vpon the gallies that brought them. Which ſecond outrage, though ***Amurath*** tooke in euill part, as ſeeing his majeſtie therein contemned, yet was he content to paſſe it ouer, being loth to add edomeſtical troubles to the great wars he had in hand with the Perſian.

Another inſolencie of the Ianizaries.

Busbeq Legationis Turcicæ, Epiſt. 3.

But to end this matter with the opinion of one of their owne greateſt Baſſa's, concerning theſe maſterfull men. It fortuned that whileſt ***Busbequius*** (Embaſſador for ***Ferdinand*** the Empe- D ror, vnto ***Solyman***) lay in the Turks campe, at ſuch time as ***Solyman*** in perſon himſelfe was gon ouer the ſtrait in Aſia, to conntenance his eldeſt ſon ***Selymus*** againſt his younger brother ***Baiazet***, That vpon a light quarrel (though heauily taken) betweene the followers of the ſaid Embaſſador, and certain Ianizaries waſhing themſelues at the ſea ſide, the Embaſſador for the quieting thereof was glad to vſe the helpe of ***Ruſtan*** the great Baſſa, ***Solyman*** his ſon in law: who vnderſtanding of the matter by a meſſenger ſent of purpoſe, aduiſeth the Embaſſador to cut off all occaſion of contention with thoſe moſt naughtie fellowes: asking him further, if he knew not that it was now the time of war, in which time they ſo raigned, as that ***Solyman*** himſelf was not able to rule them, but ſtood in feare of them. Which ſpeech fell not raſhly from ***Ruſtan***; a E man right well acquainted with his Lord and maſters griefe: for that moſt notable prince feared nothing more, than leſt ſome ſecret and dangerous treaſon ſhould lie hidden among the Ianizaries, which breaking out vpon the ſudden, might worke his final deſtruction: whereof hee needed not to ſeeke for any farther example, than to his grandfather ***Baiazet***. For, as true it is, That great are the commodities of a perpetual armie of a Princes owne; ſo are the incommodities alſo not ſmall, if they be not carefully met withall: but eſpecially for that the prince is euer in doubt of rebellion; and that it is ſtill in the power of thoſe armed ſouldiers, at their pleaſure to tranſlate the kingdome to whom they liſt. Whereof there haue bin many great examples, although there are many wayes for the remedying of the ſame.

1585

But now that we haue by occaſion of the occurrents of that time a little ſtept out of the way, F let vs returne again vnto the wars of Perſia, the chiefe obiect of ***Amuraths*** hautie deſignes. Now according to the commandements gon out thorow all the cities of the Empire, the ſouldiers of all ſorts began to flocke together: and all thoſe that were either deſirous to be eſtabliſhed in their former charges and gouernments, or ambitiouſly ſought to be now promoted, repaired to ***Oſman***, as vnto a king, and the ſoueraigne moderator of the Turkiſh empire, preſenting him very large and liberal gifts, wherby he gathered together a huge heape of infinit treaſure: and ſo entertaining them with all affable curteſie, and promiſing both rewards and honours to ſuch as would follow him in his purpoſed expedition, he leuied a wonderfull great number both of G men and moneys. And now was the time come that called him away to go towards Erzirum, where he was greatly expected of his huge armie there aſſembled together. And notwithſtanding the great dearth of victual that commonly raigneth in thoſe quarters, yet thither he muſt, where he arriued about the latter end of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeare 1585: and there taking a view of his whole armie, and of all the prouiſion neceſſary for ſo important and famous an enterpriſe, he dayly labored to haſten his departure. In this citie of Erzirum were met together all the ſoldiers of the prouinces that were wont to ſend helpe, but yet in greater number than euer was gathered by any General before: for that euery man forſooke his owne priuate buſineſſe, and vpon aſſured hopes of new rewards and vnwonted honours, were all induced to H follow the fame of this their new Viſier and General: only the people of Ægypt & Damaſco were buſied with other more priuate quarrels at home, whereof becauſe they were both of great importance, and alſo fell out at this very inſtant (leauing *Oſman* with his armie for a while at Erzirum) I will in as few words as I may make a briefe rehearſal.

Haſſan Baſſa the Queenes Eunuch ſent to Caire to gouerne there.

Amurath had heretofore taken *Haſſan Baſſa* the Eunuch out of the Seraglio, from the charge he had there to ſerue in the Queenes Court, and at her inſtance ſent him as Baſſa to Caire the great citie of Ægypt. Which great office, beſide the honour belonging vnto it, is alſo beneficial to them whoſe good hap it is to be aduanced thereunto: the riches, the multitude of people inhabiting therein being ſo great, that it ſeemeth not to be one citie, but rather to containe within the large circuit thereof many cities. This man being exceeding couetous, and therfore I deſirous to handle the matter in ſuch ſort, as that he ſhould little need to ſeeke for any more ſuch grants at the Kings hands; ſought by all manner of meanes to oppreſſe the whole nation, and by all importunities to wring and extort from them rewards and bribes, without regard of honeſtie or reaſon. By which his ſiniſter and corrupt dealing he had now made himſelfe ſo odious and intollerable to the people in generall, that they in great number, and many times, began to go to Conſtantinople, and with humble petitions to requeſt the King to take from them ſuch a cruel and vniuſt Gouernor: ſo that generally in the Court there was no talke but of the villanies and miſchiefes that were reported of the couetous Eunuch. At laſt *Amurath* ſeeing theſe publique exclamations went daily ſo far, as that he could not for ſhame let them go any farther without due puniſhment, he reſolued with himſelfe to call him to the Court: K and hauing ſent vnto him certaine meſſengers, admoniſhed him ſundry times to returne home. But the Eunuch loth to leaue ſo fit an occaſion to enrich himſelfe, did ſtill delay his returne, alledging diuers feigned excuſes for his longer ſtay. Which thing when *Amurath* vnderſtood, thinking himſelfe thereby deluded, he determined to prouide for ſo great a diſorder, and by puniſhing of the miſchieuous Eunuch, to ſatisfie in ſome part the diſcontented mindes of his oppreſſed ſubiects in Caire.

Ebrain Baſſa in ſpeech to marrie Amurath his daughter.

There ſat at that time among the chiefe Baſſa's of the Court, one *Ebrain* (or as moſt call him, *Ibrahim*) by nation a Sclauonian, a young man of the age of 32 yeares, or thereabouts, of verie faire conditions, and of a reaſonable judgement; vpon whom *Amurath* himſelfe had determined to beſtow his owne daughter to wife, and ſo to make him his ſon in law. And therefore L being now minded to remoue the Eunuch from his office, and to ſatisfie the citie; and being alſo willing withall to giue meanes to his ſaid ſonne in law to enrich himſelfe; he reſolued to ſend him as general Syndic & ſoueraigne Iudge into Ægypt, giuing him in particular charge, to remember how wickedly his predeceſſor had dealt before him. And ſo this new Baſſa took his journy towards Ægypt, although there ran before him a great rumor of his comming, and of the great authoritie wherewith he was ſent. At which report, as the Ægyptians reſted content and joyfull, ſo the Eunuch waxed very ſad and ſorrowfull: perſuading himſelfe, that this alteration could not but engender ſome ſtrange iſſue and effect againſt him. Whereupon aduiſing himſelfe to prouide better for his owne affaires and the ſafetie of his life; he reſolued M not to ſtay the comming of the new Gouernour; but departing out of Ægypt, hee with great care and circumſpection for feare of meeting with *Ebrain*, trauelled towards Conſtantinople in hope to appeaſe the Kings wrath, or at leaſt by mediation of bribes, and by the interceſſion of the Queene, to finde him more fauourable than hee ſhould finde *Ebrain*; who without doubt would not haue ſpared any extremitie or crueltie, to haue bereft him both of his

goods

A goods and life together. *Amurath* aduertiſed from *Ebrain*, of the ſudden flight of the Eunuch Baſſa out of Ægypt, and hearing withall, that he kept not the highway from Caire to Conſtantinople, began to feare, leſt when he came into Soria, he ſhould flie into Perſia to the King, and ſo worke him double and treble damage; as one that had already gathered a huge treaſure, and hauing long liued in the Court, knew the moſt ſecret affaires thereof, and had learned all the priuie deuices and faſhions of the Seraglio. Whereupon he with all diligence diſpatched his Imbrahur Baſſi (whom we call Maſter of his horſe) with fortie of his Capigi (all gentlemen Vſhers, and officers of moſt ſecret and neereſt roomes about him) with charge and commandment, that if they met him they ſhould bring him to the Court; vſing all the aid and aſſiſtance of his people that might be requiſit: and for that purpoſe deliuered vnto him very effectuall B and large letters, after the beſt manner of the Court. This meſſenger with his appointed traine departed, and without any extraordinarie inquirie, found the Eunuch in Soria, incamped in the plaines neere vnto the citie now called Aman, but in times paſt Apamea, the principall city of that countrey. As ſoone as the Eunuch vnderſtood of the comming of the Imbrahur himſelfe, he gaue order to his guard of ſlaues, which in great number with ſpeares and arcubuſes did ordinarily keepe his pauilion, that they ſhould not grant entrance into his tent to any, but onely vnto the Imbrahur himſelfe, and if need were, by force to keepe the reſt of the Capigi from comming in. Which order was in very good time giuen; for as ſoone as the kings officer had diſcouered the tents of the fugitiue Baſſa, in all haſt he ran towards the ſame, & ſeeking out the greateſt among them, went preſently thither, to haue entred with all his followers: but the C ſlaues being in armor, oppoſed themſelues againſt them, and permitting only the Imbrahur to enter in, entertained the reſt of his traine without. The Imbrahur being come in, read vnto him the commandement which he had from the King to bring him to the court; and moſt inſtantly mooued him, that without any further reſiſtance, he would quietly go with him. To whom the warie Eunuch anſwered, *Behold, how without any calling of the King, or conducting by you, I come of my ſelfe, well aſſured to finde not onely pardon and pittie, but alſo fauour and grace in the ſight of my Lord; whoſe vpright and milde nature the wicked treacheries of my falſe accuſers cannot abuſe, to the preiudice of me an Innocent.* And ſo without more ado they went all to Conſtantinople: the Eunuch ſtill ſtanding vpon his guard.

The warineſſe of the craftie Eunuch.

The politique and craftie Eunuch had in this meane time diſpatched diuers poſts with letters D to the Sultan ladies, certifying them of his comming, & principally beſeeching the queen to protect him, and to appeaſe the kings wrathfull indignation that haply he might haue conceiued againſt him: and ſo at length they arriued at Scutari. As ſoone as *Amurath* vnderſtood of his comming thither, he cauſed all the treaſure which he had gathered, to be taken from him, with all the reſt of his priuat ſubſtance, and the wretch himſelfe to be clapt vp in priſon in the Iadicula or ſeuen towers. Where after he had languiſhed many dayes, ſtill fearing ſome deadly blow, he at length receiued from the Queene, an vnexpected, but moſt welcome aduertiſement, That he ſhould be of good cheere and quiet himſelfe, for that his wealth had alreadie ſaued his life, and that ſhe hoped in ſhort time to procure him alſo his libertie. Which E indeed ſhe brought to paſſe; for ſhe her ſelfe made earneſt petition to *Amurath* her husband, that forasmuch as he had bereft her Eunuch of all his goods, he would yet at leaſt deliuer him out of priſon, and reſtore him vnto her againe. Which requeſt of the Queenes was granted accordingly, and the Eunuch enlarged: but the treaſure that he had ſo vniuſtly ſcraped together in Ægypt, that remained ſtill among the gold and other Iewels of the Kings.

The Eunuch caſt in priſon at Conſtantinople, and his euill gotten goods confiſcated.

But *Ebrain Baſſa* with his new commiſſion now arriued in Ægypt, had in ſhort ſpace by far more ſiniſter means than had the Eunuch before him, ſcrapt together ſuch an infinit heap of riches, as was able only of it ſelfe to make him worthy of his promiſed wife, and therfore he was called home to the court, to accompliſh the intended mariage. With this commandment to returne to Conſtantinople, hee receiued alſo in charge, to make his journey through the people of Druſia, and ſuch as he ſhould find loyal, to confirme them in their due obedience, & to make them pay their antient duties, but ſuch as he ſhould find ſtubborne and diſobedient, he ſhould quite root them out and deſtroy them. This commandement *Ebrain* preſently put in execution, and hauing packed vp together all the riches hee had gathered in the time of his gouernment, and raiſed good ſtore of ſouldiers in that prouince, he tooke with him thirteen Sanzackes, that were ordinarily accuſtomed to ſit as aſſiſtants vnder the gouernment of the *Baſſa* in the ruling of the populous territories of Caire, and ſo ſet forwards towards Gaza, paſſing ouer thoſe vaſt and huge wilderneſſes of ſand that lie betweene Caire and Gaza. From Gaza, joyning the Sanzacke thereof with him, he went to Ieruſalem; and from thence, cauſing the Sanzacke there alſo to follow his traine, he turned by Saffetto, by Lezium, by Naplos (called in times paſt Samaria) ſtill taking with him the Sanzacks of all thoſe places, and at laſt turned himſelfe towards Damaſco: ſo that before he joyned with the band of Damaſco, hee had gotten together eighteene Sanzackes, with all their ſquadrons of ſoldiers and ſlaues. Beſides theſe, he had alſo his owne priuat Court, which was wonderfull populous, and two hundred Ianizaries of Conſtantinople, whome *Amurath* would needs haue him to take with him at his departure from the Court, ſo that he had in his armie almoſt twelue thouſand horſmen. From Damaſco, *Veis* the Baſſa was come as far as Ieruſalem to meet him, with all the ſoldiers vnder his gouernment, in number about two thouſand perſons. Beſides that, there came vnto him by the way of Sidon, the Aga of the Ianizaries of Cyprus, with all the band of that deſolate and deſtroyed Iſland: which captaine with his ſouldiers was tranſported ouer into the maine, in thoſe gallies that by the Kings appointment were ſent to fetch *Ebrain*: who now ſtrengthned with all theſe ſouldiers, had purpoſed the vtter ruine of the diſobedient Druſians, and the raiſing of his owne glorie, by triumphing ouer them.

The Druſian people what they are.

Theſe Druſians, againſt whom theſe great preparations were now made by this new Captaine, and of whom the Turkiſh Emperor is ſo ſuſpicious and doubtfull, are ſuppoſed to be by diſcent Frenchmen, the reliques of thoſe that with great deuotion did in times paſt fight thoſe memerable and Chriſtian battels in Iurie, and recouered the holy citie: but being afterwards brought low, partly by the plague, and partly by the fury of the Barbarians, mingled their ſeed with the circumciſed nation, and ſo together with their authoritie & command, loſt alſo their firſt faith and religion: yet ſo, that they grew into an hatred of the Turkiſh ſuperſtition, & abhorring the circumciſion of the Iewes, betooke themſelues to a new Prophet of their own called *Iſman*, whoſe doctrin they follow. The right Druſians liue vncircumciſed, neither do they forbeare wine, as do the Turks: they make it lawfull among them (moſt vnlawfully) to marrie with their owne daughters: the Turkiſh gouernment they haue ſought by all means to eſchue, and notwithſtanding all the endeuors and attempts of the Turkiſh tyrants, but eſpecially of *Solymus* the ſecond, yet haue they alwaies bin ſubiect to their owne naturall princes, and would neuer admit any captaine or gouernor of the Turks within the countries which they poſſeſſed. They are a people very warlike, ſtout, reſolute, and religious obſeruers of their own ſuperſtition: in battel they vſe the arcubuſe & ſcimitar, yet ſome of them at this day do ſerue with lances and darts: they are apparelled after the manner of the Eaſterne people, with a turbant on their heads, & breeches they neuer weare, but in ſtead therof they couer thoſe parts with their coat, which reacheth down to their knees, buttoning it vp before: their feeding is groſſe, & of mountaine meats: they inhabit all the country that is inuironed within the confines of Ioppa, aboue Cæſarea and Paleſtina, and within the riuers of Orantes & Iordan, ſtretching it ſelf euen to the plaine of Damaſco, neere to the hils that compaſſe it about vpon the coaſt of mount Libanus. They were all in times paſt good friends & confederats, ſo that they were greatly eſteemed: but now being at variance through greedineſſe and couetouſneſſe, they were diuided among themſelues, one ſeeking the deſtruction of another. At this time they were gouerned by fiue chiefe captains or gouernors: one of them was called *Ebne-Man*, & of the Turks *Man-Ogli*; another *Seraſadin*; the third *Mahamet Ebne-Manſur*; the fourth *Ebne-Free*; and the fift *Ali-Ebne-Carſus*, by the Turks called *Ali-Carſus-Ogli*. Vnder theſe (who indeed carry the title & authoritie of an Emir, that is to ſay, King or Chiefe) there are diuers their lieutenants or deputies whom they call their Macademi or agents. *Ebne-Man* or *Man-Ogli* inhabited the mountaines and fields that are contained vnder the iuriſdictions of Cæſarea, of Ptolemaida, of Tyrus, and of Sidon, and had his reſidence for moſt part vpon the hil, in a towne called Andera, he was verie mightie in men and armour, and ſince the time that by treacherie his father was murthered by *Muſtapha* then Baſſa of Damaſco, alwayes a deadly enemie to the name of the Turkes. *Ebne Free*, *Ebne Curſus*, and *Ebne Manſur* were alwayes great friends; but now eſpecially at the comming of *Ebrain Baſſa* they ſhewed themſelues more ſtraightly confederated together. *Seraſadin* and *Man-Ogli* were euer oppoſite againſt them: ſo that the one ſide procuring the ouerthrow of the other, they loſt their ſtrength, and left no meanes to defend them

The Countrey which the Druſians inhabit.

Fiue chiefe Rulers or Gouernors among the Druſians.

ſelues

A ſelues againſt the Turks, who had long lien in wait for their libertie. Now as ſoone as the news came among them, That *Ebrain* being departed from Caire, was comming into Soria to ſubdue them, the three confederates aboue named reſolued among themſelues to go and meet this great Baſſa, and to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, of purpoſe to turne all the intended miſchiefe vpon *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* their enemies. And ſo hauing packed vp great ſtore of money, cloath of ſilke, cloath of woollen, and cloath of gold, with many loads of ſilkes, and other things of exceeding value, euery of the three being accompanied, one with ſome two thouſand, another with ſome three thouſand men, they put themſelues vpon their iourney towards *Ebrain*, and met him at Ieruſalem, where he was alreadie arriued. This their comming *Ebrain* tooke in wonderfull good part, and courteouſly accepted thoſe their rich and great preſents B which they brought him, and by the offers of their fidelitie, and the grieuous accuſations they made againſt the other two Druſian lords their enemies, began to conceiue great hope of his intended enterpriſe: for why, he ſaw that nothing could more eaſily compaſſe their ouerthrow, than this their diſcord. Being thus accompanied, he came by the way of Damaſco, to the champaigne of Bocce, and there incamped. This was in the month of Iuly this yere 1585. The whole armie that was with *Ebrain*, reckoning alſo the ſoldiers of the three Druſian lords, was about the number of twentie thouſand horſemen ſtrong. In this place there came people out of all quarters thereabouts, with preſents to honour the Baſſa; to whom he likewiſe yeelded ſuch ſmall fauors as his couetous nature could affoord them.

Three of the Druſian lords met Ebrain at Ieruſalem with rich preſents, & a great traine of men.

From this place alſo *Ebrain* preſently ſent letters to *Serafadin* and *Ebneman*, whereby hee in-C uited them to come vnto him, to acknowledge their obedience vnto the Sultan: for that otherwiſe they might aſſure themſelues to be in ſhort time depriued both of their eſtates and liues. For all that, *Man-Ogli* would not by any meanes come in. But *Serafadin* being poore both in wealth and forces, reſolued to come, in hope by rich preſents to purchaſe his attonement with the great Baſſa. And therefore hauing packed vp together diuers loads of ſilke, great ſtore of money, and many cloathes of good value and beautie, and alſo attended vpon with diuers of his ſubiects, he arriued at laſt at the pauilion of *Ebrain*, with theſe his rich preſents, which were there readily receiued, and he himſelfe with great attention heard: whoſe ſpeech in effect tended to no other thing, but only to perſuade the Baſſa, That he had alwaies beene a deuoted vaſſal vnto *Amurath*, and that he had carried a continuall deſire to be imployed in any D his ſeruice; and that now being led by the ſame affection, and aſſured of his fauour, by the friendly and courteous offers made him in his letters, he was come to ſhew himſelfe vnto him to be the ſame man, and ſo profered him whatſoeuer lay in his ſlender power to performe. Whereunto *Ebrain* made no anſwer at all, but onely asked him the cauſe why he liued continually in diſcord and brawles with the three Emirs (who alſo ſat at that time in the ſame pauilion.) Whereunto *Serafadin* anſwered, That it was not long of him, who as one deſirous of peace, had not at any time taken vp armes, but in the juſt defence of himſelfe, againſt the iniuries of thoſe his enemies, who becauſe they were more mightie than he, ſought continually to oppreſſe him. Hereat the three conſpiratours aroſe, and with their grim lookes bewraying their inward hatred, falſely charged him to haue beene euer the authour of thoſe brawles: ad-E ding moreouer, That his inſolencie was at that time growne ſo great, as that no ſtrange veſſell durſt for feare of him arriue at the ports of Sidon, Tyrus, or Berito; nor any merchant or merchandiſe paſſe ouer the plaines, But that thoſe countries, as though they were a prey and ſpoile to the theeues of Arabia, were generally ſhunned of all trauellers both by ſea and land, to the great hinderance of the Sultans cuſtomes. *Serafadin* would hereunto haue gladly replied, but preuented by *Ebrain*, and ſurcharged with many iniurious words, was commited to the cuſtodie of the two hundred Ianizaries of Conſtantinople. And ſo being by them brought into a rotten tent that was appointed for him, was euery night from thence forward put in the ſtocks faſt chained, and continually guarded with a truſtie guard of the ſame Ianizaries. In the mean time came the anſwere of *Man-Ogli*, who wrote backe vnto the great Baſſa *Ebrain* as followeth:

Serafadin commeth with preſents to Ebrain.

To the Lord of Lords, Soueraigne aboue the Great Ones, the mightie, the noble Captaine couſin to the grand Lord, & the worthieſt among the elect of the Prophet Mahomet, *the noble & famous lord* Ebraim *Baſſa, God giue good ſucceſſe to his haughtie enterpriſes, and proſperitie in all his honour. I wiſh (euen*

A letter of Man Oglies, to Ebrain Baſſa.

an

as thou doſt louingly inuite and exhort me) that I might come before thee, and follow thee, and ſerue thee alwaies in any occaſion that it may happen thee to ſtand in need of my helpe. For I know that thou woul- G *deſt reſt aſſured of the reuerence that I beare towards thy Lord, and of the moſt feruent deſire wherein I liue to ſerue him, and to imploy both my life and my ſubſtance in his ſeruice: whereof I haue alſo giuen ſome teſtimonie, though but ſmall, in the managing of his cuſtomes that I haue receiued: wherein I haue alwaies ſo carried my ſelfe, as that I am not his debtor of one aſpre: a thing I wis that* Ebne Manſur *(who is now with thee) hath not done. For although by his comming to meet thee euen as far as Ieruſalem, he would make a ſhew of his fidelitie, yet doth he vſurpe more than two hundred thouſand duckets of the kings, which he doth moſt vniuſtly detaine from him of his cuſtomes. But my hard fortune will not grant me the fauor that I may come vnto thee: for there are at this time preſent with thee three of mine enemies, who (I know wel) being not contented to haue alwaies diſquieted and troubled my eſtate, do now ſeeke to bring me into ſo great hatred with thy heart, that if thou haddeſt me in thy hands, thou wouldeſt* H *without any conſideration bereaue me of my life. And I am aſſured, that this ſending for me importeth no other thing, but only a deſire thou haſt to impriſon me, and ſo to kill me: for I know how much thou art giuen to great enterpriſes. Beſides this, my comming is alſo hindered by mine antient oath that I tooke: when being as yet but a childe, I ſaw mine owne father ſo villanouſly betrayed by the murthering ſword of* Muſtapha, *being at that time the Baſſa of Damaſco, who vnder the colour of vnfeigned friendſhip, got him into his hand, and traiterouſly ſtrucke off his head. For in truth I carry the image of my fathers reuerend head, all pale, and yet as it were breathing, imprinted in my minde, which oftentimes preſenteth it ſelfe vnto me, as well ſleeping in the darkneſſe of the night, as alſo waking in the light of the day; and talking with me, calleth to my remembrance the infidelitie of the murthering Tyrant, and exhorteth me to keepe my ſelfe aloofe from the hands of the mightie. And therefore I neither can nor may obey thy re-* I *queſts, and in that reſpect it grieueth me, that I ſhall ſeeme diſobedient vnto thee, being in any other action and in all my cogitations wholly addicted to do any ſeruice not only to thee, who art moſt worthie to be reuerenced of far greater perſons than I am, but alſo to euery the leaſt vaſſals of* Amurath. *Thou wilt pardon me I hope, and thou ſhalt well perceiue, that if there be any thing neere me that may be acceptable vnto thee, all that I haue whatſoeuer, though in reſpect of thy ſelfe it may ſeeme vile and baſe, yet is it thine, and is now reſerued wholly for thee, and not for me. Farewell; and command me, and hold me excuſed vpon theſe iuſt cauſes which thou heareſt, for my being ſo backward in comming to honour thee, as my dutie requireth.*

K

The poore and the leaſt among the ſlaues of the grand Lord,

The Sonne of Man.

Ebrain burneth 24 Townes of Man-Oglies.

Veis Baſſa and his ſon diſcomfited by the Druſians.

Ebrain perceiuing by this letter the reſolution of *Man-Ogli*, reſolued alſo in himſelfe to go vpon him with all his army, and either by force or ſleight to get him into his hands, or at leaſt to draw from him ſo many arcubuſes, and as great gifts and tributes as poſſibly he might: and therefore riſing with his campe, and turning himſelfe toward the country of *Man-Ogli*, he burned and deſtroyed foure and twentie of his townes, and ſo mounting vp certaine rockes of Libanus, vpon the top of a large hill (that ſtandeth ouer Andara and other places belonging to L *Man-Ogli*) he incamped himſelfe. But whiles the armie was thus marching forward, *Veis Baſſa* of Damaſco with a great part of his people, and his ſonne the Sanzacke of Ieruſalem, with his ſoldiers likewiſe, to the number of fifteen hundred perſons, hauing ſeperated themſelues from the reſt of the army in manner of a rereward; as they were buſie in raiſing their tents, vpon the ſudden were furiouſly aſſaulted by a great band of Druſians of the faction of *Man-Ogli*, and diſcomfited. Which victory the Druſians ſo proſecuted, that they became lords of the pauilions, the wealth and armour of the Turks: and leading away with them their horſes and their carriages, put to the ſword fiue hundred perſons, and ſcarce gaue any leiſure of eſcape either to the Baſſa the father, or the Sanzacke his ſonne, who fled ſtraight to Ieruſalem, and neuer returned again to *Ebrain*; but *Veis* his father ſtill followed the army with thoſe few which he had left, and was thought worthie of all men to be pittied.

Vpon the hil aforeſaid, *Ebrain* continued twenty foure daies together, with aboundance of all things neceſſary for victual: during which time he attended nothing els, but to try all deuiſes how he might draw money and preſents from *Man-Ogli*, or how he might traine him into

Ebrain ſendeth for arcubuſes to Man-Ogli.

The notable diſſimulation of Ebrain Baſſa.

A his hands. For the compaſſing whereof, he diſpatched one *Gomeda* (*Ebne-Manſurs* Agent) to
Man Ogli, being in Andrea, to tell him, That foraſmuch as he would not giue credit to the promiſe
which was made him, nor to aduenture himſelf into the hand of his friend, he ſhould ſend
vnto him all the arcubuſes he had: for that the Sultans pleaſure was, that his people that went
not to the wars in his ſeruice, ſhould not be furniſhed with ſo great ſtore of weapons, to the danger
of their neighbors, and of the ſubiects themſelues. With great griefe of mind did *Man-Ogli*
behold the meſſenger, as the man whom he well knew to be the Agent of his deadly enemy;
yet in regard of him that ſent him, he forbare to doe him iniurie, or to giue him any reproch;
telling him, That all his people and weapons were diſperſed abroad ouer his territory, ſo that
he could not tel what arcubuſes to ſend him: with which cold anſwer *Gomeda* returned. Which
B thing when *Ali Baſſa* of Aleppo vnderſtood, he offered himſelfe to the Generall, that he would
goe vnto him, and that to ſome better purpoſe. Many reaſons did *Aly Baſſa* vſe to perſuade the
warie Druſian to come and yeeld his obedience to *Ebrain*, ſwearing that no harme ſhould be
done vnto him: and withall promiſing him great and honourable fauors. But neuer could hee
remoue the reſolute and prouident mind of *Man.Ogli*, or win him to yeeld himſelfe into the
hands of a man, whom he thought to be ſo murderous: yet at laſt with much adoe, he preuailed
ſo much with the Druſian Lord, that in ſigne of the reuerence he did beare towards the
Generall, and of his obedience towards *Amurath*, he was content to ſend a Preſent to *Ebrain*.
And thereupon gaue him 320 arcubuſes, 20 packs of Andarine ſilkes, and fiftie thouſand duckats
to carrie to the Baſſa for a gift, and to reconcile him vnto him. For the better effecting
C whereof, he ſent his owne mother to the great Baſſa, who in the behalfe of her ſon performed
a very worthie meſſage, excuſing him as well in reſpect of his enemies that ſat there ſo neere
vnto him, as alſo in regard of his oath which he had ſolemnly ſworne, That for the trecherie
of *Muſtapha* hee would neuer commit himſelfe into the hands of a Turke: and therefore beſought
him to accept of the gifts that were ſent him, and withall a mind and heart moſt ready
to ſerue and obey the king in all occaſions; and that hee would hold him excuſed, for that his
excuſes were both iuſt and reaſonable. Whereunto the Turke replied, That although ſhe had
found ſo foule a fault in *Muſtapha*, who vnder the aſſurance of his promiſe and fidelitie had
betraied her husband: yet for all that ſhe ought not to feare any ſuch wicked or infamous act at
his hands, who ſtood vpon his honor and the word of a ſouldier: and ſo by oath proteſting all
D faithfull and conſtant friendſhip towards him; in token of his ſincere meaning, he caſt a white
vaile about her necke, and put another vpon himſelfe, and the third he gaue her in her hands;
willing her to report to her ſon the oaths he had made, and to carrie him that vaile, and bring
him with her: proteſting no otherwiſe to intreat him, but as a friend & a brother: the peaceable
old woman went her way accordingly; but ſhee neither could nor would go about to alter
the purpoſe of her ſon, but returned to *Ebrain* ſuch anſwer as did not greatly pleaſe him. After
which time, he ſought more than euer he did before, to get the wary Druſian into his hands, or
at leaſt, without regard of ſhame to draw from him mo Preſents and weapons. And therefore
once againe he ſent the craftie *Gomeda*, to exhort him vpon faith and promiſe giuen, to come
E vnto him: but for all the craft & lying ſpeeches that the trecherous meſſenger could cunningly
vſe, he could obtaine nothing of the Druſian Lord, but good words onely. Yet at laſt after
much fineneſſe he preuailed ſo much, as that *Man-Ogli* was contented by him to ſend another
Preſent to *Ebrain*, with an expreſſe condition notwithſtanding, that he ſhould cauſe *Ebrain* to
depart out of thoſe quarters, & that hee ſhould not himſelfe returne any more to requeſt any
thing farther of him. Which he very largely promiſed, only deſiring him to ſend a good number
of arcubuſes, therby to content the Baſſa fully: ſo he gaue him fifty thouſand duckats more,
and foure hundred and foureſcore arcubuſes, with a thouſand Goats, an hundred and fiftie Camels,
an hundred and fifty Buffes, a thouſand Oxen, & two hundred Weathers. With this rich
preſent came *Gomeda* to *Ebrain*, declaring vnto him that this hee had got from him, vpon promiſe
that hee ſhould not moleſt the Druſian any more. For which promiſe ſo made, *Ebrain*
ſharpely reprooued *Gomeda*, and threatned to make him know what it was to take vpon him ſo
dangerous a liberty: and for the greater deſpight both to the one & to the other, *Ebrain* would
needs haue *Gomeda* himſelfe to returne again with like meſſage to trouble the Druſian. Whereunto
although hee went in great feare of ſome miſchiefe by the hands of *Man-Ogli*, yet was
there no remedy but needes hee muſt follow the command of him, in whoſe power it was to

take from him both his honor and life; and therefore on he went. But as ſoone as *Man-Ogli* ſaw *Gomeda* (thinking as truth was, that he came againe about his wonted requeſts) he was with the G very ſight of him ſo far moued, as that he was euen at the point to haue throwne a dart at him, and ſo to haue diſpatched him, had not the regard of more dangerous effects ſtaid his fury: yet ſpared he not with ignominious words and deadly threats to diſburden his choler. Notwithſtanding *Gomeda* could do no leſſe but accompliſh the effect of his fraudulent requeſts, and ſo wrought with him, that he drew from him foure burbens more of arcubuſes, ten ſwords and ten gilt daggers, certain ſiluer belts, ten packs of ſilke, and ſome few pence: cauſing him withall to proteſt vnto him, neuer to ſuffer himſelfe to be perſuaded to come againe vnto him, for if he did, he threatned to kill him, happen after what might of it. With exceeding ioy and triumph did *Ebrain* receiue this preſent, and thinking now with himſelfe that he had gotten a ſufficient bootie from him, he determined to riſe with his armie, and to ſacke all the reſt of *Man-Oglies* H countrie. Which he performed accordingly, and being conducted by *Emir Ebne-free*, burnt Andrea the place of *Man-Ogli* his reſidence, and in two daies burned and deſtroied nineteen other of his townes, with vnſpeakeable crueltie committing all things to fire and ſword. After all this ſacking and raſing, *Ebrain* ſent diuers meſſengers to *Man-Ogli*, to trie whether he would yet be perſuaded to come vnto him; but nothing could moue the reſolute Druſian to commit himſelfe into his hands, but rather increaſed his conſtancie to auoid a moſt certain death. Now the great Baſſa ſtil thirſting after bloud and reuenge, vnderſtanding by a ſpie, that the captain of Andrea (being one of the factors of *Man-Ogli*) with three hundred and fifty ſouldiers was got vp to a certain hill, into a place of great ſecurity, he ſent *Emir Ebne-free* to intice I him, and to tell him, That ſeeing his Lord *Man-Ogli* would not come and yeeld himſelfe, hee ſhould come vnto him; which if he would do, he would aſſuredly in deſpight of *Man-Ogli*, make him a Sanzack of ſome of thoſe places which he moſt deſired. The ambitious & vnheedie Macademo ſuffered himſelfe to be eaſily perſuaded, & being accompanied with his three hundred and fiftie followers, went with the ſaid *Ebne-free*, and came at laſt to the pauillion of *Ebrain*, hauing firſt cauſed his aforeſaid men to ſtay behind in a valley two or three miles off. But *Ebrain* would not ſo much as ſee the Macademo, although both in reſpect of the nimbleneſ of his perſon, and alſo the fierceneſſe of his lookes, he was worhtie to be looked vpon: but commanded him to keep in a ſeuerall place from *Serafadin*, and in the mean time deuiſed how he might with leaſt loſſe of his own men, put to death thoſe three hundred and fiftie the Macademoes K followers: which was by training them, by means of the ſaid *Ebne-free*, into a certain vineyard, and ſo hauing brought them into a ſtrait, ſuddenly to ſet vpon them and kill them. Which was accordingly performed: for being by the trecherous Emir brought into the place appointed for their ſlaughter, fearing nothing leſſe, they were ſuddenly incloſed by the Turks Sanzackes or Ianizaries, and ſlain euery mothers ſon. This maſſacre thus finiſhed, *Ebrain* commanded the Macademo to be brought before him, and without delay to bee ſtripped and flaied quicke: who being come, ſtoutly vpbraided *Ebrain* with his promiſe and his oath; and amongſt other ſpeeches which he vttered whiles they ſtripped him, ſaid; *Cut me off my members, and firſt putting them into the priuities of that infamous* Ebrains *wife, put them afterwards into the mouth of himſelfe: for ſo (I trow) he will be contented and ſatisfied with my fleſh.* And to them L that were the executioners of his painfull death, he ſaid; *It is your great good fortune indeed, that with ſuch violence and needleſſe deformitie, yee are now able to ſpill my bloud, and to take my life from me: whereas none of you all had bin able, or once durſt, man to man, to haue drawne one drop of it from me, nor to haue endured my countenance. But go too, proceed in your wicked and vnſatiable deſire of my bloud, and fulfil the cruell command of your Viſier: for in the end there will alſo light vpon you the iuſt reward of this ſo villanous a fact.* With theſe and other ſuch like ſpeeches the miſerable wretch was ſtripped, and three great ſlaſhes made on his backe, where they began to flea him, he in the meane time not ceaſing to blaſpheme their religion, and to curſe their king, and their falſe Prophet alſo. But the barbarous ſouldiers proceeding in their cruell action, made other like gaſhes M vpon his breaſt and ſtomacke, and ſo drawing the skin downward, could not bring it to his nauell before he was with the extremity of the pain, dead. After this, *Ebrain* cauſed the followers of *Serafadin* (in number about a hundred and fifty) to be cruelly ſlaine, and all his countrie to be moſt miſerably waſted; he himſelfe ſtill remaining in cheines.

Whileſt the fire and ſword thus raged in the Druſian countrie, *Ebrain* by ſpeedie poſts ſent to

Emir Ebne-free enticeth Man-Ogli his Macademo or lieutenant to come to Ebrain.

The Macademo by the commandement of Ebra in ſlain quicke.

A to Sidon, where his gallies lay at rode, commanded, That diſbarking foure thouſand ſouldiers, they ſhould ſacke all thoſe countries alongſt the ſea coaſt euen as far as Cæſarea in Paleſtine, ſparing neither age nor ſex, nor any perſon of condition whatſoeuer. Which his cruell command was preſently put in execution; and three thouſand ſoules brought away captiues, great booties made of much rich merchandiſe, many townes burnt, ſundrie caſtles raſed and laid euen with the ground; and to be ſhort, all the whole countrie of *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* laied vtterly waſte and deſolate.

Ebrain was now in readineſſe to depart for Conſtantinople, where he was by *Amurath* expected, as wel for his gold, as the accompliſhment of the mariage. But bethinking himſelfe, that whatſoeuer hitherto he had don, would be accounted either little or nothing, vnleſſe he prouided in ſome ſort for the quieting of thoſe people vnder the Turkiſh obedience, he determined to nominate one of the three Druſian Emirs that came to him to Ieruſalem, to be Baſſa of all thoſe Regions. And becauſe Emir *Aly Ebne-Carfus* was the richeſt and moſt obedient of them all, he thought good to commit that charge vnto him, and honored him with that dignitie, yet not without a bribe, but for the price of an hundred thouſand duckats. Wherefore hee apparelled him in cloath of gold, gaue him a horſemans maſe, and a ſword all gilt, and deliuered vnto him the kings commiſſion, cauſing him withall, to ſweare faith and obedience to *Amurath*. And ſo hauing (at leaſt to ſhew) ſet in order the affaires of thoſe mountains, which an hundred of the Turks great captains had in former time vainly attempted, he returned to Damaſco, where he ſtaied twelue daies, by ſhamefull ſhifts extorting mony from diuers perſons. C At laſt hauing no more to do in thoſe parts, hee turned himſelfe towards Gazir and Baruto, places vnder the gouernment of of *Ebne-Manſur*, where he arriued with all his army, and found the gallies which he had left in the port of Sidon, now in the hauen of Baruto, as he had before commanded. Now vpon a certaine hill aboue Baruto neere vnto the Sea, *Ebrain* had pitched his owne tent only and none other; and hauing ſent all the reſt of his beſt and goodly things which he meant to carrie with him to Conſtantinople aboord the gallies, ſhrowded himſelfe only vnder that narrow and baſe tent. Thither he called *Ebne-Manſur*, and in pleaſant manner told him, That now it was time for him to make paiment of the debt of an hundred and threeſcore thouſand duckats which hee ought the King his Lord for the cuſtome of Tripoli and Baruto: for that he could not longer ſtay in thoſe quarters, but was to returne to D Conſtantinople, which he knew not how to do, vnleſſe he carried with him the diſcharge of that debt. Whereunto *Ebne-Manſur* made anſwer, That it would not be long before his Macadamoes would come with his monies, and that then he would without further delay make paiment. Which thing *Ebrain* well knew to be but an excuſe, and therfore determined with himſelfe to thruſt him into the gallies, & becauſe he could not carrie the mony vnto the king, yet at the leaſt to bring him his debtor. But foraſmuch as he doubted to put this his determination openly in execution, for feare of ſome inſurrection amongſt the people, as well for that he was within the territories of the ſaid *Ebne-Manſur*, as for that he ſaw him greatly beloued and fauored of the other two Druſian Lords, *Ebne-ſrec* and *Ebne-carfus*, he therfore thought it better E policie by concealing this his purpoſe, to ſhew him in his outward actions al good countenance, and by ſecret and ſubtile meanes to take him priſoner. Whereupon he deceitfully told him, That foraſmuch as he was to ſtay there for his buſineſſe that night, and was reſolued the next day to make a road into the country of *Man-Ogli*, he therefore praied him to do him the fauour to be his guide; and for that purpoſe, when he ſhould ſend for him at midnight, that he would come vnto him very ſecretly, becauſe he was minded to depart without any ſtir, onely with fiue hundred men in his company. The Druſian Lord verily beleeued the matter that ſo it was, & and withall was in good hope by that means to find ſome way to eſcape his hands. Whereupon being called vp at midnight, he readily went to the tent of *Ebrain*, who preſently charging him (whom all men thought he had eſpecially affected) with many abhominable and foule termes, cauſed a chain to be caſt about his neck, & his arms; and ſo faſt bound to be caried into the gallies. And yet not ſo contented, tooke the ſpoile of all his country, wherby there was leuied ſuch a prey as was marruellous to behold: for beſides mony (whereof there was a very huge ſum) the ſtore of cloths of ſilke & gold, was ſuch, & ſo great, as might better beſeem ſome great Prince, than ſuch a mountain ruſticall Lord as he was. When the Baſſa had conueied all this into his gallies, hee ſayled to Tripoli, where he found *Serafadin* in the cuſtodie of

The rich Preſents giuen to Amurath by Ebrain.

Io. Leunc. ſup. Annal. Turcorum, pag. 93.

The land of Ia- vie much cron-

Ebrain his ſubtill diſſembling with Ebne-Manſur.

Ebne-Manſur in chaines ſent to the gallies.

Veis Baſſa and *Aly Baſſa*: and hauing ſtaid there ſome few daies, wherein he committed ſundry villanous & abhominable robberies, he cauſed the ſaid *Seraſadin* to be put into the gallies, with all his ſilkes and other wealth, and ſo departed for Conſtantinople: where at ſuch time as hee entered into the channell of the citie, accompanied with foure and twentie gallies, he was encountered and receiued by a wonderfull number of his friends and fauorits, and ſaluted with an honorable peale of artillerie out of the Seraglio. *Iohn Thomas Minadoi* the beſt reporter of this Hiſtorie, as alſo of the late wars betwixt the Turks and the Perſians, being then at Conſtantinople, and hauing (as he reporteth of himſelfe) good means to ſee the bountiful and beautifull Preſents which the ſpoiling and rauenous Baſſa gaue the Turkiſh king, reporteth the ſum thereof to haue been a million of gold, beſides the yearely reuenue of Caire, amounting to ſix hundred thouſand duckats, with threeſcore horſes moſt richly garniſhed, of ſingular beautie, but eſpecially of the Arabian race, a liue Elephant, and a liue Giraffle (which is a beaſt like a Camell and a Panther) two great Crocodiles dead, a Chaire of maſſie gold richly ſet with precious ſtones; a Casket alſo beſet with precious ſtones and gold, many packes of moſt fine clothes, woollen and ſilkes, certaine other clothes with fringe of gold and ſiluer and the Barbarian cutworke, moſt fine linnen of Alexandria, and al the arcubuſes taken from the Druſians: beſides ſundrie rich Preſents giuen by the proud Baſſa to the great Ladies of the court, reported by *Leunclauius* to haue bin worth two hundred thouſand Sultanines.

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The rich Preſents giuen to Amurath by Ebrain.

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Io. Leunc. ſup. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 95.

But now foraſmuch as we haue before made mention of the Sanzacke of *Ieruſalem*, and his flight, it ſhall not be altogether impertinent to our hiſtorie (though ſomewhat *out of time*) in few words to declare what paſſed betweene him and the Arabians of Paleſtine, a little before the comming of *Ebrain* the great Baſſa into thoſe quarters: by which little, the deſirous reader may eaſily perceiue, the wofull and troubleſome ſtate of that ſometime moſt bleſſed and fruitfull, but now moſt miſerable and barren land of Iurie, and of thoſe places in Holy Writ ſo much renowned.

I

The land of Iurie much troubled with the Arabian theeues and robbers.

In the confines of Sodome, and in the places that lie not only betweene the lake Aſphaltites and Damaſco, but alſo in the Plaines and in the Vallies of Iericho, and of Samaria, and in other places about Bethlehem, Emaus, Bethanie, Bethfage, Capharnaum, Nazareth, Leuir, Bethſaida, Naplos, and other townes of name thereabouts, there doe haunt and liue certaine Arabian captaines; who ſpreading themſelues euen as far as Rama and Ioppa, ouerrun at their pleaſure all the countries there round about, and continually commit grieuous outrages as well againſt the ſaid Cities, as alſo vpon the goods and wealth, not onely of the inhabitants there, but alſo of ſtrangers: yea and their inſolency oftentimes groweth ſo great, that they dare to aſſault the fenced cities, beſide the ſpoiling of trauellers, that by reaſon of their buſineſſe haue occaſion to paſſe from one city to another. They are good horſemen, but vſe no armour: their horſes are very ſwift to run, and ſpare of diet, and are themſelues bold and aduenturous theeues. Theſe Arabians hauing had intelligence, that the aforeſaid ambitious youth, appointed Sanzacke of Ieruſalem, was in mind to raiſe all the Sanzacks thereabout; and ioyning himſelfe with them, and his father the Baſſa of Damaſco, to reſtraine their inſolent libertie, and to worke their deſtruction; reſolued with themſelues not to ſtay, vntill hee and his confederates were readie; but rather by ſundrie inuaſions vpon him, euen vnto the gates of Ieruſalem, to prouoke him to come out into the field. And the rather to induce him ſo to do, they compacted with a certain Subbaſſi of Bethlehem, their friend, to encourage and animat the Sanzacke thereunto, by promiſing vnto him good ſucceſſe and proſperous euents. The ambitious young man, ſeduced with the glorious perſuaſions of the falſe Subbaſſi, of whome hee made good reckoning, and prouoked by their inſolencies, reſolued (as they had wiſhed) to iſſue out of the citie into the open field: and thereupon hauing armed an hundred of his vaſſals, and raiſed all the horſemen that were vnder his gouernment, to the number of ſix hundred, he made a rode towards Iericho, ſending before defiance vnto them: againſt whom the Arabians came accordingly, and with their arrows and Indian Canes ouerwhelming his arcubuſes, as if it had bin a raging floud, wrought him great wo: when in the very nicke, the battel yet being at the hoteſt, the traiterous Subbaſſi fled towards Bethlehem, and left the ſouldiers of Ieruſalem in the hands of the Arabians, who put moſt part of them to the edge of the ſword, and ſcarcely gaue liberty to the Sanzack to ſaue himſelfe by flight. The Sanzack certainly informed of this fraud of the diſſembling Subbaſſi, to be reuenged vpon him, began alſo in like manner to diſſemble

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with

A with him, feigning that he would once more trie his Forces againſt the ſame Arabians; and ſo vſed the matter, that the Subbaſſi arming himſelfe, came vnto him, without any ſuſpition of the miſchiefe intended againſt him. But as ſoon as he was come, the Sanzacke tooke him aliue, and preſently cauſed him in moſt cruell manner to be ſlaine quicke.

The Subbaſſi of Bethlehem ſlaine quicke.

Thus hauing paſſed ouer the troubles that ſtaied the people of Ægypt and Damaſco, and the countries thereabouts, from reſorting to *Oſman* the Turks great Generall at Erzirum: let vs againe returne thither where we left him, taking a view of the preparations againſt the Perſian; and proſecute thoſe affaires, which of all others moſt exerciſed the forces of the two mightieſt Mahometan Monarchs; and with the expectation thereof, filled the world, from the Eaſt to the Weſt.

B The ſtraight commandement from *Amurath*, together with the fame and reputation of *Oſman* the Generall, had drawne together ſuch a world of people of all ſorts to Erzirum, as that it ſeemed not the power of one king alone, but rather the vnited forces of many kings. Wherfore *Oſman* perceiuing that hee had gathered together too great a number of people, and too huge an army, and that it might ſo fal out that he might want victuall for ſo great a multitude (neither ſo greatly fearing his enemies forces, as that he needed to lead ſo populous an armie againſt them) determined to diſcharge a great number of ſuch as he thought moſt weake, and leaſt able to endure trauell: ſo that out of this great multitude he drew out about fortie thouſand perſons, who liberally according to euery mans abilitie redeeming the ordinarie perils of the warres, returned home to their owne dwellings. And ſo in *Oſmans* armie remained the C number of an hundred and foureſcore thouſand perſons or thereabouts. With this multitude the Generall departed from Erzirum (about the eleuenth of Auguſt this yeare 1585) towards Tauris, continuing for all that, the ſpeech for Naſſiuan. But he had ſcarce marched two daies, when diuers ſouldiers of Græcia and Conſtantinople preſented themſelues before him, vpbraiding him with great improuidencie, and telling him, that they began alreadie to feele the want of victuall, by wanting the ſame day their ordinarie allowance of corne for their horſes: ſo that if in the beginning, and as it were in the entrance of ſo long a iourney they felt ſuch want, they could not tell with what iudgement or diſcretion he meant to lead ſo great a companie ſo far as Naſſiuan; nor by what cunning conceit he had preſumed to ſuſtaine ſo great an armie in the ſeruice of their Lord. *Oſman* quietly heard their complaints, and preſently D prouided for them, by cauſing ſuch ſtore of barley to be diſtributed among them, as they deſired; and ſeuerely puniſhed the officers that had the charge for the allowance of corne, who moſt couetouſly began to make merchandiſe of the common prouiſion, by conuerting it to their own priuat vſes. And hauing thus quieted their troubled mindes, he proceeded on his iourny, and by the way of Haſſan Chalaſſi and of Chars, arriued vpon the Calderan plaines, famous for the memorable battels there fought betweene *Selymus* and *Hyſmael*. In theſe Plaines hee tooke a generall reuiew of his army, wherein there wanted a number, that by reaſon of ſickneſſe being not able to continue the iourney, were inforced to ſtay behind, ſome in one place ſome in another. Remoouing thence, he tooke the way not to Naſſiuan, as he had ſtill hitherto E giuen it out he would, but now directly to Tauris. Which ſo ſudden an alteration of the iourny as ſoone as the ſoldiers of Græce and Conſtantinople heard, they fel into a great rage, and comming againe before the Generall, reuelled with him in this ſort to his face:

The number of Oſmans armie.

And what are we, thou villaine, thou Turke, thou dolt, whom thou handleſt in this ſort? Wee are neither oxen nor ſheepe of the mountaines, for the leading of whom thou thinkeſt thou art come out: neither can we brooke theſe thy lies and deceits. If thou haſt publickly profeſſed to lead vs to Naſſiuan, and by that ſpeech haſt trained vs from the fartheſt bounds of Græcia, to what end now, after thou haſt wearied vs ſo much, doeſt thou deceiue vs with ſuch vanities, and prolong our iourney, and ſet before vs ſuch ſtrange and important dangers as our minds neuer once thought on? But if this was thy firſt purpoſe and intent, and that now, not fooliſhly or by chance, but vpon premeditation and good aduice thou changeſt thine opinion, why diddeſt thou diſmiſſe ſo many ſouldiers, as might haue made the armie more terrible F *and ſtronger for the enterpriſe of Tauris? Doeſt thou thinke that by ſuffering others to redeeme their liberties, and ſo to increaſe thy riches, thou ſhalt ſet our liues to ſaile, and to make vs ſlaue to the Perſians?*

The moſt inſolent ſpeech of the ſouldiers of Conſtantinople and Græce vnto Oſman their Generall.

At theſe arrogant ſpeeches, the General was exceedingly troubled; ſeeing his good meaning, and the earneſt deſire he had to aduance the maieſtie & glorie of his king, taken in ſo euil part,

Oſman wiſely appeaſeth his mutinous ſouldiers.

and thoſe his beſt ſouldiers ſo highly offended. And although he could indeed haue readily vſed the ſharpeſt and hardeſt prouiſions and remedies for it, that in ſuch occaſions are ordinarily applied: yet vpon good aduice he forbare ſo to do, and in ſtead of rigor and puniſhment, reſolued to worke by more eaſie meanes. Whereupon cauſing many of the Captaines and chiefe men amongſt thoſe ſeditious ſouldiers to come before him, hee firſt perſuaded them, *That the former ſpeech for Naſsinan was not raiſed at all by him, nor that he was minded at that time to goe for Tauris: but all that was done, he had done to fulfill the commandement of the Sultan, who had charged him ſo to doe, to the end to leſſen the Perſian preparations; which they would vndoubtedly haue made farre greater, if the ſpeech had beene giuen out at the firſt for Tauris. Which his princely care of their ſafetie they for their parts ought willingly to further, for that in ſo doing they ſhould ſtill preſerue that great opinion which both the king and the world had conceiued of their valour and fidelitie. Neither needed they to feare, that the ſouldiers which were diſmiſſed might weaken the armie, for that they themſelues were not onely ſufficient to pierce into Tauris, and to open the way vpon the enemies, but to daunt them euen with their lookes; and that thoſe which were diſcharged, had but purged the hoaſt of all cowardiſe, and left nothing in it but vertue and courage.* By this milde anſwere of the Generall, the tumultuous ſouldiers were ſufficiently pacified, but much better apayed and contented they were, as ſoone as he put his hand to the common purſe, and beſtowed among them all a ſmall quantitie of monies: for by this his kinde vſage, all their ſtomackes were ouercome, and they themſelues became ſo willing and ſo couragious, that now they durſt venture not to Tauris onely, but to Caſbin, yea euen to the fartheſt parts of all the Perſian kingdome.

The Turks reioice vpon the diſcouerie of Tauris.

The Perſian prince ouerrunneth the Vauward of the Turks armie.

Theſe important outrages thus appeaſed, the Generall turned himſelfe with all his armie towards Coy, a citie ſcituate beyond Van, in the middeſt betweene Tauris and the Martian Mere, where he refreſhed his armie with all things he could deſire. From Coy he paſſed to Marant, a citie ſubiect to the Perſians; plentifull alſo of all things needfull for man or beaſt. From thence he leaned downe towards Soffian; a fruitfull place, ſubiect alſo to the Perſians; from whence he began to diſcouer Tauris. Great was the ioy of the whole campe, and now the mutinous ſouldiers of Græce and Conſtantinople could highly commend the aduice of the Generall, or rather of *Amurath* himſelfe, in giuing out the rumor of Naſſiuan for Tauris, as the only means whereby they were in quiet come ſo far, the Perſians being wholly occupied (as they ſuppoſed) about Naſſiuan: inſomuch that euery man being waxen couragious, and repleniſhed with ioy, without any feare at all began proudly to plot vnto themſelues nothing but ſackings, pillings, taking of priſoners, rauiſhments, robberies, and all thoſe inſolent & outragious actions that vſe raſhly to proceed from the greedie affections of thoſe barbarous victors; eſpecially they of the Vauward, who being deſirous of bootie, and to diſcouer the enemies countrey, deſcended downe towards certaine pleaſant gardens full of all ſorts of trees, ſprings, & fruits: where hauing ſatisfied their appetites, they withdrew themſelues to a certain little riuer neere to a bridge called *The bridge of ſalt water*, and there ſtaid at pleaſure attending the comming of the army. But euen whiles they were thus inioying the water, the fruits, the ſhade, the greene graſſe, and other delights of the place, the Perſian Prince ***Emir Hamze***, king *Mahamets* eldeſt ſonne, who with ten thouſand good ſouldiers had cloſely couched himſelfe, watching ſtil when ſome of the enemies bands ſhould come down to thoſe reſting places, ſuddenly ſet vpon them with ſuch ſpeed, courage, and fury, that as if it had bin a lightning and in a manner without any reſiſtance he ouerran all thoſe Turks, and diſperſed them, putting to the ſword about ſeuen thouſand of them. And ſo leading away with him many priſoners, horſes, ſlaues, with ſundrie enſignes and Turkiſh drums, he withdrew himſelfe back towards his blind father, who lay then encamped about 12 miles from Tauris with fiftie thouſand ſouldiers or thereabouts; ***Aliculi Chan*** Gouernour of Tauris beeing left in the citie with 4000 ſouldiers onely. A greater army than this, not exceeding the number of threeſcore and foure thouſand men, was not the Perſian king able to leuie; the principall occaſion whereof was the death of ***Emir Chan***, for which the Turcoman nation being waxen rebellious and diſobedient, would not by any means be brought to defend that citie, whereof ***Aliculi Chan*** their capital enemie was now Gouernour: and from Gheilan and Heri there came not ſo much as one ſouldier to relieue the neceſſities of Perſia. So that with theſe ſmall forces in compariſon of the enemies, the Perſian King had no ſtomacke to meet the Turkiſh armie in plaine battell, but

A ſought how he might with as little loſſe to himſelfe as poſſibly he could, make trial of his forces, and by all politique meanes to weaken and annoy his ſtrong enemie.

Oſman ſendeth two Baſſas with 14000 ſoldiers to ouertake the Perſian Prince.

Oſman vnderſtanding of this diſcomfiture of his vauward, forthwith diſpatched *Sinan Baſſa* the ſonne of *Cicala*, and *Mahamet* the Baſſa of Caraemit, with fourteene thouſand ſouldiers to purſue the victorious Prince: who in their purſuit vſed ſuch expedition, that at length they ouertooke him in the way towards his fathers campe. But as ſoone as the Prince ſaw the Turks ſo neere him, that without a dangerous and ſhameful flight he could not auoid the battel, couragiouſly he turned his face, and joined with them a moſt bloudy conflict: which being begun two houres before night, was moſt fiercely maintained vntill that the darkeneſſe of the night bereauing them of the vſe of their weapons, enforced both the one ſide and the other to retire. B Which was done with the notable loſſe of the Turkes, who in this ſecond conflict (as it was commonly reported) loſt ſix thouſand men; and had (as it was thought) ſuffered a generall ſlaughter, had not the night interrupted ſo vncouth an action, well worthie of a thouſand daylights. So that hitherto the Turks ſuſtained the loſſe of more than ten thouſand ſoldiers, and yet had ſcarce diſcouered or ſeene the citie which they ſo greedily longed after.

The next morning the Turks campe remoued and came within two miles of Tauris, where they incamped. But whileſt they were ſetting vp their tents, *Aliculi Chan* iſſuing out of the citie with all his garriſon and ſuch of the citiſens as were fit to beare armes, ſet vpon the face of the vauward, being now renewed, and with many cunning turnings and windings ſo charged them, that with great loſſe he forced them to retire euen vnto the maine battell; where after C he had eſpied the great artillerie, he without hurt withdrew himſelfe againe to the citie. The confuſion of the Turks in this ſkirmiſh was notable, for in a very ſmall time the vauward was diſordered, and almoſt three thouſand ſlaine. But *Aliculi* not ſo contented, in the ſhutting in of the euening ſallied out of the citie the ſecond time, and ſwiftly running along that ſide of the armie that lay towards Tauris, ſlew the Baſſa of Maras, and did great harme in that quarter: which done, without any ſtaying he fled to the Kings campe, and forſooke the defence of that ſorrowfull citie which he could not hold. Neuertheleſſe the Tauriſians, as many of them as remained in the citie, gathered themſelues together to the gates of the citie, well armed, prepared to make a bloudie entrance for the Turkes whenſoeuer they ſhould come. All the night was ſpent in watching without reſt on either ſide, and yet nothing attempted: but vpon D the breake of the day, a great multitude of the ſeruile ſort of the Turkes, and of the common raſcal rout, without any order from their captaines, armed with corſelets, ſpeares, & ſwords, went to the city with reſolution to haue ſacked it, and ſo to haue enriched themſelues with the ſpoile and pillage of that wealthie citie. But when they came to the guarded gates of the Citie, they found there contrarie to their expectation, a terrible reſcue, and were inforced there to joine an hard and mortal battell; ſo that the walls, the entrance, yea all the ground thereabouts was bathed with bloud, and as it were couered with weapons and dead carkaſſes. And yet for all that, though the Perſians ſtood faſt and firme at the arriual of this ſeruile rout, at the laſt they were conſtrained to yeeld the entrance, being ouercome by the multitude of them that out of the campe flowed in vpon them like a floud; and retyring into the citie, now aſto- E nied and amaſed on euery ſide, they fortified themſelues in their houſes vnder the ground, and in the corners and winding turnings of the ſtreets; from whence with their arrowes and ſome few arcubuſes, they did the Turks that entred, great harme. Yet were they not able to kil and deſtroy ſo many of their enemies, but that at the laſt they were too mightie for them, and wrought many grieuous miſchiefes in that wofull city. And ſo a great number of this raſcall people that remained aliue, returned to the Turkiſh campe, carrying away with them too manifeſt tokens of the poore oppreſſed citie: wherein the miſerable women and impotent ſoules ſtood embracing & ſtraining the doores & poſts of their houſes, and kiſſing their natiue ſoile, with prayers, mournings, and complaints, bewailing their preſent miſeries, and yet fearing worſe to come. *Oſman* the General now made acquainted with theſe calamities, cauſed pro- F clamation to be publiſhed, That no man ſhould be ſo hardie as to moleſt the Tauriſians, and in the meane time went himſelfe about the citie, viewing throughly the ſcituation of it, and ſurueying the place wherein he might both incampe himſelfe ſafely, and with better foundation and greater ſecuritie erect a caſtle or fort, for the more aſſurance of that conquered countrey.

A great ſlaughter in the Gates of Tauris.

The deſcription of Tauris.

The Citie of Tauris ſeated at the foot of the hill Orantes, about eight dayes journey from the Caſpian ſea, and is ſubiect to windes, cold, and ſnow; yet of a very wholeſome aire, G abounding with all things neceſſarie for mans life; and wonderfull rich, with perpetual concourſe of merchandiſe brought thither out of the Eaſt, to be conueyed vnto the Weſt, and alſo of others brought out of theſe Weſterne parts, to be diſperſed into the Eaſt. It is verie populous, ſo that it feedeth almoſt two hundred thouſand perſons: but yet open to the fury of euery armie, without walls, and vnfortified. The buildings (after the manner of thoſe of the Eaſt) are of burnt clay, rather low than high. For all things it carrieth the name, and was the place of the Perſian Kings reſidence, vntill ſuch time as that the late King *Tamas* remoued his ſeat from thence further into his kingdome to Casbin: neuertheleſſe both before & ſince, although it had been ſundrie times moleſted by the inrodes and furie of the Turkiſh Emperors, yet was it ſtil in great eſtimation and renowne. H

Of this citie *Oſman Baſſa* hauing taken diligent view, cauſed his tents to be pitched on the South ſide thereof, where was a ſpacious garden all flouriſhing and beautiful, repleniſhed with ſundrie kind of trees and ſweet ſmelling plants, and a thouſand fountaines and brooks deriued from a prettie riuer, which with his pleaſant ſtreame diuided the garden from the city of Tauris, and was of ſo great beautie, that for the delicacie thereof it was by the countrey inhabitants call *Sechis Genet* (that is to ſay) the eight Paradiſes; and was in times paſt the ſtanding houſe of their Kings, while they kept their reſidence in this citie, and after they had withdrawne their ſeat from thence to Casbin, became the habitation and place of aboad for the Gouernors of Tauris. Of theſe gardens and places *Oſman* made choice to build his caſtle in; whereof he gaue the modell himſelfe, and commanded that all the whole circuit of thoſe I pleaſant greenes ſhould be inuironed with walls, and trenches digged round about them to conuey the water from the aforeſaid riuer. Which was accordingly begun with the greateſt care that poſſibly might be, the foundation of the imbattelled walls laied, the ditches digged fourteene foot broad, and a mans height in depth; and in the ſpace of ſix and thirtie dayes the whole worke finiſhed and brought to an end, great ſtore of artillery mounted vpon the wals, and diuers baths, lodgings, and ſuch other houſes neceſſarie for the Turkiſh vſes, built within the caſtle. The firſt day of this building *Oſman* fell ſicke of a feauer with a bloudie flix, which haply was the cauſe both of the ſlowneſſe of the building, and of many other loſſes that afterwards happened, as ſhall be hereafter declared.

The caſtle of Tauris built in 36 dayes.

Eight Ianizaries with certain Spaoglans found ſtrangled in a Bath at Tauris.

Fiue dayes after the building of the caſtle was begun, newes was brought into the Turkiſh K campe, That eight Ianizaries and diuers Spaoglans were ſeene ſtrangled in a bath within the citie of Tauris. Whereupon the Zaini, Spahini, and Ianizaries came preſently vnto the Generall, declaring vnto him, That although he had with too much clemencie giuen order, That no man ſhould hurt or moleſt the Tauriſians, and that according to his pleaſure, euery man had vſed modeſtie towards them, and obedience to him; yet the Tauriſians themſelues had moſt audaciouſly ſtrangled in one of their baths eight Ianizaries and certaine Spaoglans, which iniurie and inſolencie (they ſaid) in their iudgement was not to be ſuffered. This outrage ſo moued the General, that without any further delay he commanded the citie to be ſacked, leauing it wholly to the pleaſure of his ſouldiers: who forthwith ſo vſed the matter, not as if they would haue reuenged an iniurie, but rather at once haue brought an vtter deſtruction vpon the L whole citie. Euery place was filled with ſlaughter, rauiſhment, rapine, and murther; virgines were defloured, men children defiled with horrible and vnſpeakeable ſinnes; yonglings ſnatched out of their parents armes, houſes layed euen with the ground and burnt, riches and money carried away, and in briefe, all things ruinated and waſted. Neither were theſe miſchiefs committed once onely, but the ſecond followed worſe than the firſt, and the third vpon that worſe than the ſecond: ſo that it was a miſerie almoſt inexplicable, to behold that citie ſo populous, ſo rich, ſometimes the court and palace of the Perſian Kings, and honour of that Empire, now ſubiect to the furie of the Turks, plunged in calamitie and vtter deſtruction.

The miſerie of the Tauriſians.

The woful aduertiſement hereof ſore troubled the Perſian King, but the young Prince his ſonne much more: who moued with the paſſions of moſt inward griefe, diſdaine, and diſpaire, M and deſiring nothing more than reuenge, reſolued to attempt any thing whereby to requite ſo great a wrong. In which reſolution hauing confirmed his army, he commanded 5000 of his horſemen to preſent themſelues euen to the very ſight of the enemies tents, and as it were to dare them to battell. Which thing they performed accordingly, and made a gallant ſhew of

A of themſelues. At the diſcouerie whereof, the Turks imagining that the Perſians were come
in great number to aſſaile the armie, order was giuen by the ſicke General, That *Cicala Baſſa*
and *Mahamet* the Baſſa of Caraemit, with the people of Grecia, and all their own forces ſhould
go vp encounter the enemy: who preſently with their enſignes diſplaid, vnder wich there ſtood
about foure and thirtie thouſand ſtrong, beſides a number of ſeruile people, yet men exerciſed
in labors and perils, in all well neere fortie thouſand, ſet forward. Now the fiue hundred Perſians
with a maruellous cunning kinde of skirmiſhing dallied with the Turkiſh ſouldiers, and
drew them forward for the ſpace of eight miles & more: and being brought ſo far on, and now
forewearied with the skirmiſh, were luſtily aſſailed by the Perſian prince, who with part of
his armie (to the number of about twentie thouſand perſons) couragiouſly ſet vpon the two
B Baſſa's, and joined with them the deadlieſt and cruelleſt battel that euer was written of. Wherein
the Perſians hauing giuen a moſt perillous onſet, and done great harme, it was thought that
they would haue contented themſelues with ſo luckie an incounter, and ſo retyred: which the
Turks minding to preuent, and not to returne without a notable victorie, hardly preſſed vpon
them, hoping in the end to put them to flight, and ſo to giue them a bloudie and deadly ouerthrow.
But the Perſians hauing quietly and with great aſſurance for a reaſonable ſpace endured
their *charge*, at laſt as if they had been freſh men, made head vpon them afreſh, and began a
moſt terrible battel anew, wherein the Baſſa of Caraemit (aboue named) was put to flight, and
being wholly diſmaied and diſcomfited, fled backe againe to the campe, carrying with him
the moſt manifeſt tokens of the vnhappie iſſue of the battell. *Cicala* the other Baſſa notwithſtanding
C valiantly and with great cunning ſtill ſuſtained the furie of the Perſians, labouring by
all means to encourage his ſouldiers, and to haue reſtored the battell: but when he had done
what he could, ouercome at laſt by greater valour, he was inforced to betake himſelfe to flight
alſo, and ſo altogether diſcomfited, came to the campe without any enſigne, hauing left behinde
him eight thouſand of his ſouldiers dead vpon the ground.

Eight thouſand Turks ſlaine.

The Perſian prince encouraged with this ſo fortunate a victorie, by ſpeedie heraulds ſent to
the ſicke Viſier (whom he thought notwithſtanding to haue bin in health) and gaue him to vnderſtand,
that if he were willing to fight, he was readie for him, & in what ſort ſoeuer it pleaſed
him to accept of battell, to make him good account of his valour; and to cauſe him to
know, not onely that *Amurath* his Maſter had moſt vniuſtly raiſed this war, but alſo that it had
D been good for himſelfe not to haue taken the ſame in hand. Of this offer *Oſman* accepted: but
being not able himſelfe to go and anſwer the prince in perſon hand to hand, by reaſon of his
ſickeneſſe, which euery houre mortally increaſed, he ſent out all his captaines with his armie
to *dare* him battell.

The prince lay ten miles or thereabouts diſtant from the campe of *Oſman*, towards whome
the Turks ſet forward in this manner: The maine battell was guided by the Baſſa of Caraemit
and *Sinan Cicala*, with all the ſouldiers of Aſſiria and Babylon; the left wing was led by the
Baſſa of Natolia, with the band of Grecia; and the right wing was conducted by *Amurath Baſſa*
of Caramania, with the people of Soria; to the number of threeſcore thouſand: beſide ſuch as
E were left behind at Tauris, with the truſty guard of the Ianizaries, and the artillery, for the ſafegard
of the ſicke Viſier. In this order they confronted the Perſian prince, who was himſelfe in
the midſt of his armie, with all his people in very good order; hauing on the one ſide the ſoldiers
of Perſia and Hircania, and on the other them of Parthia & Antropatia, in all to the number
of fortie thouſand. The Turks feared nothing more, than that the Perſians fetching a great
compaſſe about, ſhould with all celeritie and furie ſet vpon their tents, and the riches they had
laied vp together in their pauilions; and therefore at euery motion of theirs they continually
feared this ſudden outroad; whereof they had ſuch eſpeciall care, that retyring themſelues
as much as they might, and feigning as if they had giuen place to the Perſians, it wanted
not much but that they had brought them euen within the iuſt leuell and marke of their Artillerie.
Which the Perſians perceiuing, without any further dallying hardly began to aſſaile
the maine bodie of the battell. The Prince himſelfe being entred amongſt the ſouldiers of
the Baſſa of Caraemit (who as General ſuſtained the place of *Oſman*) and preſſing into the middeſt
of the battell, diſpatched euery man that came in his way; and hauing ſingled out the
Baſſa from the reſt, ſmote off his head, and gaue it to one of his Followers to carrie vpon
the top of his Launce. Which beeing openly deſcried, brought a great terrour vpon the

The Baſſa of Caraemit ſlaine by the Perſian Prince, and his head cut off.

Turks, and exceedingly encouraged the Perſians; who embrued with the bloud of their enemies, and entermingling themſelues more and more among them, made of them a moſt confuſed and general ſlaughter; wherein beſide the Baſſa before named, there died alſo the Baſſa of Trabſzonda, the Sanzacke of Bruſia, with fiue other Sanzackes, and as it was commonly reported, twentie thouſand Turks moe. It fell alſo to the lot of *Amurath Baſſa* of Caramania to be there taken priſoner, with diuers other common ſouldiers. But night comming now on, and the Perſians being come ſomewhat too nigh the Turkiſh artillerie, they gaue ouer the fight, and withdrew themſelues backe to the place where the King lay incamped with the reſt of his armie.

But now were diuers dayes ſpent, wherein the new fortreſſe at Tauris (as we haue before ſaid) was fully finiſhed, when the ſouldiers of Grecia and Conſtantinople, wearied to ſee their friends and fellowes thus ſlaine before their faces, and hauing alſo ſafely laid vp in their owne cuſtodie ſuch preyes and booties as they had gotten in the ſacke of the citie, reſolued with themſelues to procure their owne departure, and ſo much the rather, for that the Winter was now faſt comming on. And foraſmuch as the General was through the immoderate flux of bloud brought weake and in deſpaire of life, and quite abandoned of all hope by his phyſitions, and therefore not to be ſpoke withall; they were faine by the mouth of ſuch as were their truſtie friends about him, to repreſent vnto him the neceſſitie of their returne, and withall after many reuerend intreaties, cauſed it alſo to be ſignified vnto him, That if he ſtood obſtinate, and would needs ſtay dallying out the time in thoſe dangerous places where no ſuch need was, they ſhould be inforced to withdraw themſelues and to forſake him. *Oſman*, who had now nothing els to doe in thoſe countries, but onely to leaue ſome conuenient gariſon in the new fortreſſe at Tauris, liberally promiſed to ſatisfie their requeſts, by departing thence the next morning. So calling vnto him *Giaffer* the Eunuch Baſſa of Tripolis, a man of a craftie and cruell nature, made him gouernour and keeper of the new built fortreſſe at Tauris. And the more to incourage him to take that charge vpon him, he gaue him freely for the ſpace of three whole yeres, not only the office and authoritie, but alſo the rents and reuenues of the Baſſa of Caraemit, lately ſlaine by the Perſian Prince, and withall honored him with the title of a Baſſa of the Court; ſo that hauing finiſhed his three yeres office of Caraemit, he was then to go and ſit among the ſoueraigne ſeats of the Baſſa's of the Porta. The Baſſa ſeeing ſo faire & ſo high a way for him to mount to thoſe high honours (greater than which there is none in the Turkiſh Empire) readily accepted the offer, and diſpatching his lieutenant to Caraemit, to the gouernment of thoſe countries in his abſence, with an hundred of his owne followers, ſetled himſelf in the ſaid fort with a garriſon of twelue thouſand ſoldiers, furniſhed with all neceſſary prouiſion vntil the next Spring. The General hauing thus ſet all things in order, and carefully prouided for the ſafetie of the fortreſſe, departed according to his promiſe, and the ſame morning (which was the fourescore and ſeuenth day after his departure from Erzirum) came to a place called Sancazan, ſeuen miles diſtant from Tauris.

Giaffer Baſſa of Tripolis an Eunuch made Gouernour of Tauris.

Oſman the General departeth from Tauris, & cõmeth to Sancazan.

The Turks were now vpon the point of their incamping, in a confuſed diſorder and hurly-burly, when thoſe that were hindermoſt in the army heard the neying of horſes, and the noiſe of drums & trumpets, as if it had bin the comming of an armie. Which when the whole camp vnderſtood, they ran all headlong & diſordered as they were, to the reſcue, on that ſide where the noiſe of the horſes and warlike inſtruments was heard. But whileſt the Turks were thus intentiuely buſied on that ſide to expect the comming of the enemie, the Perſian Prince without any ſigne or token of battell, with 28000 horſemen was readie vpon them on the other ſide; who hauing diſcouered the Camels and other carriages whereupon their bootie, their ſpoiles, and their riches were laden, which they had taken in Tauris, beſide much of their prouiſion of victuals for the ſuſtenance of the armie, he turned vpon them, and with a prouident and ſafe conuoy had taken for a prey eighteene thouſand of the Camels and Mules well loden with the ſame booties and victuals; which the Prince ſent preſently away with ſix thouſand of his ſoldiers, and he himſelfe with his two and twentie thouſand Perſians entred into the Turks armie, who now to withſtand his aſſault, had on that ſide alſo made head againſt him. A gallant thing it was, and terrible withall, to ſee what a mortall battell was made, what ſingular proweſſe ſhewed euen preſently in the fore front of the battell; for in a moment you might haue ſeene the Tents and Pauilions turned vpſide downe, and their incamping Lodgings reple-

The battell of Sancazan.

A replenished with dead carkaſſes and bloud, victorious death ranging and raigning in euery corner. The Turks themſelues were aſtoniſhed and maruelled to ſee their enemies (ſo few in number, and intermingled among ſo populous an army of warlike people) more like fatal miniſters of death, than mortal men, to brandiſh their ſwords ouer them, as if it had lightned, & to make ſo general a ſlaughter; and do to this day with great admiration recount the valor & proweſſe of the Perſians. But they all now doubting leſt the enemie in this fury ſhould forcibly haue entred the very lodgings of the ſicke Viſier, it was commanded (not by himſelfe, for he lay now at the laſt gaſpe; but by him who at that time commanded in his name) That without delay the artillerie ſhould be vnbarred and diſcharged: which in that medley and confuſion of both armies, without any exception or diſtinction of perſons, ouerthrew both friends and foes, and B did more harme perhaps among the Turks themſelues, than among the Perſians: for at the firſt thundring noiſe thereof the Prince with all ſpeed retired, after whom preſently followed all the reſt: ſo that the Turks which remained behinde, were more annoyed with the deadly ſhot than were the Perſians, who flying away, could not feele the damage, but that the Turkes muſt firſt be well payed for their labor. The Turkes purſuing the flying Perſians, made ſhew as if they would gladly haue ouertaken them: but night comming on, they feared to proceed any further than they might without danger returne. In this battell of Sancazan were ſlaine twentie thouſand Turks, without any notable loſſe of the Perſians.

Twenty thouſand Turkes ſlaine.

Among the reſt, in the ſame place died the Viſier *Oſman*, General of the late dreadfull, but now deſolat army; not by the hand of the enemy, but conſumed with the vehemency of an C ague, and flux of bloud. Whoſe death notwithſtanding was kept ſecret from the whole army, euery man verily thinking, that it was but only the continuance of his ſicknes, becauſe the chaters wherin he lay, were ſtil kept cloſe: and in his name *Cicala Baſſa* (for ſo he had appointed in his wil) gaue out anſwers & commandments to the whole army. Neuertheleſſe it was diſcloſed to the Perſians by means of three yong men, who in the life of *Oſman* hauing charge of his jewels and treaſure, were with the beſt thereof and the faireſt of his horſes fled to the Perſian king, to whom they reuealed the death of the General. The Perſians, who before had thought it not poſſible for ſo great cowardiſe and diſhonorable kind of fighting & ordering of an army to haue proceeded from the vertue and valor of *Oſman*, of whoſe worth they had too manifeſt a trial and experience in times paſt; now vnderſtanding of his death, were thereby incouraged to attempt the vtter ouerthrow of the Turkiſh remnant, and ſo to giue them an honorable farewel. Wherupon the Perſian prince with 14000 men followed the Turks, who had now raiſed their campe, and were remoued to a certaine riuer of ſalt water, not far from Sancazan, where the Prince cauſed a few tents to be pitched, about foure or fiue miles diſtant from the Turkiſh campe, the aforeſaid brooke running in the midſt betweene the two armies. Now the Prince had purpoſed to haue aſſailed the Turks in the morning, whiles they were loding their carriages, hoping in that confuſion to haue wrought them ſome notable miſchiefe; which his deſignement was reuealed vnto the Turks by one of his ſpies whom they had caught. And therfore they did neither riſe ſo early in the morning as their manner was, nor load their ſtuffe, vntil ſuch time as they were all armed, & on horſeback ready to receiue their enemies. By which their wary and vnuſual maner of riſing, the Perſians perceiued that their purpoſe was by ſome means diſcouered. And yet conſidering that if they ſhould loſe this occaſion, they ſhould find no other good opportunitie to annoy them before the next Spring, they vtterly reſolued to aduenture the aſſault: and hauing obſerued that the enemies artillery was on the right ſide of the armie, they in the ſight of euery man began to enter on the left. But the Turks preſently ſo vncouered and vnbarred their artillerie againſt the aſſailants, as was to their great loſſe & danger. Howbeit they were ſo nimble and ſo quicke to ſhroud themſelues vnder the enemies armie, and to auoid the miſchieuous tempeſt, that being come now very neere the Turks ſquadrons, they muſt needs ioine battel with them. The Perſians had purpoſed before, as ſoone as they ſaw the Turks begin to ſtir, to retire, and ſo to draw them on into a very filthie and deepe mariſh, which being then drie, was not feared or doubted of any, but only by thoſe that were acquainted withall or borne thereabouts. Which their policie the rebel *Maxut Chan*, and with him *Daut Chan* (as being wel acquainted with thoſe places) perceiuing, gaue notice thereof to *Cicala Baſſa*: who preſently cauſed a great compaſſing wing to be made, commanding them to ſet vpon the Perſians, and to charge them home: which was forthwith put in execution, ſo

Oſman the Viſier and General dieth at Sancazan.

that their fore front opened it ſelfe with very large and ſpacious corners vpon the Prince: who G no ſooner ſaw this their vnwonted order of comming on, but by and by he perceiued that his purpoſe was diſcouered: and thereupon without any ſtay he began to retire, calling his people after him; which could not ſo ſuddenly be done, but that three thouſand of them remained behinde, all miſerably ſtifled, ouertrodden in the mire; with very little loſſe to the Turkes. And this only battell of fiue that were fought vnder Tauris, and in thoſe quarters, was leſſe hurtfull to the Turks than to the Perſians.

The Prince returned to the King his fathers campe, recounting vnto him the whole action, together with the departure of the enemie. And ſo the Turks came to Salmas, where the death of the General was publiſhed: from Salmas they went afterwards to Van, where they tooke a ſuruey of their armie, and found wanting therein about foure ſcore and fiue thouſand perſons, H or as ſome ſay more. At Van all the ſouldiers were diſmiſſed; and *Cicala* from thence gaue notice to *Amurath* at Conſtantinople, of all that had hapned. Where firſt was publiſhed the death of *Oſman* the General, (for whom were made many ſignes of great ſorrow) and together with his death, were blazed the bloudie and mortal actions that were in that expedition performed: ſo that the whole citie ſeemed to be greatly diſcomforted; and in many places were heard much ſecret railing vpon the king, many curſes of this war, & inſolent maledictions of theſe manifold miſchiefs. After that, was diſperſed the great fame of the new fortreſſe erected at Tauris, of the ſacking of the citie, and of all the loſſe that had hapned therein; and a general Edict publiſhed in the Kings name, That through all the cities of his Empire they ſhould make ſolemne feaſts, with other expreſſe tokens of joy & reioycing: which was accor- I dingly done both in Conſtantinople and other places. There was alſo word ſent to the Embaſſadors of Hungarie, of France, of Venice, and of other countries, That they ſhould do the like: but they all with one accord anſwered, That it was neuer the cuſtome of Embaſſadours to make any ſuch ſignes of rejoicing, but only when the King himſelfe in perſon returned from any the like victories.

The Turks armie diſcharged at Van.

In the meane time conſultation was held at Van, for the ſending of ſuccours to Teflis in Georgia: vnto which important ſeruice, *Daut Chan* to deſerue ſome reward at *Amuraths* hand, offred himſelfe: vnto whom *Cicala Baſſa* deliuered thirtie thouſand Cecchini to be conueyed to the fort at Teflis. Which piece of ſeruice the Renegate performed, and without trouble relieued the ſoldiers in the fort: which was ſo well accepted of *Amurath*, that he for K the ſame good ſeruice honored him with the dignitie of the Baſſa of Maras. *Maxut Chan* alſo the other Perſian rebell, that guided the Turkiſh armie to Reiuan, and afterwards to Tauris, was in like manner by the ſame *Amurath* honoured with the great rich office of the Baſſa of Aleppo.

The miſeries the Turks army endured at Tauris.

The miſeries the Turkiſh armie endured in this expedition for Tauris, beſide the loſſes before rehearſed, were wonderfull: for as the Sanzacke of Aman (a citie of Soria, called in antient time Apamea) preſent in all this action, reporteth in a letter which he wrot to *Ali Baſſa* of Aleppo, there was ſuch a dearth in the Turks armie, that they were inforced to giue their camels bisket and rice, and when that failed, they gaue them their pack-ſaddles to eat, and after that pieces of wood beaten into pouder, and at laſt the very earth: which dearth endured vntil L they arriued at Van. And at Tauris whileſt the fortreſſe was in building, they were of neceſſitie conſtrained to giue their horſes their dung in very drie pouder. By reaſon whereof there followed a grieuous mortalitie of horſes, camels, mules, and men; and the ſtinke which grew of this mortalitie was ſo great, that euery man was faine to carrie a piece of a ſtrong ſmelling onyon vnder his noſe, to auoid the heauineſſe thereof.

The fort ſo lately built in the royall citie of Tauris exceedingly grieued the Perſians in general, but eſpecially the king and the prince his ſon: to let it alone, they reckoned it too great a ſhame, and how to demoliſh it they well knew not, finding themſelues not onely deſtitute of artillery, but alſo of ſuch ſufficient ſtrength as was requiſite for performance of ſo great an enterpriſe: yet prickt on with deſire of glory, & the neceſſity of the cauſe, they determined euen in the depth of Winter to gather new forces, and with trenches of earth to approch the ditch, and to trie if they could aduance a countermure as high as their walls, and ſo to attaine to the conqueſt thereof. But in the gathering of their men they diſcouered new difficulties; for, to hire any ſouldiours either from Heri or Gheilan, was denied them by *Abas* and *Amat Chan*, and their Turcoman nation, which might haue bin the readieſt and the neereſt at ſuch a need, for the late death of *Emir Chan* and for the ſucceſſion of *Aliculi*, were growne very contumatious: ſo that neither the King, nor the Prince, nor the Preſidents and Gouernours of that kingdome, could tel which way to turne themſelues. At laſt for the common ſafety, they determined to draw the Turcomans to a reconciliation, hoping that by promiſing them any honeſt ſatisfaction for the wrong wherewith they challenged themſelues grieued for the death of their captain, they would become more tractable to do them ſeruice in their common neceſſities. Whereupon the king ſent kind letters to the heads and captains of thoſe nations, & principally to *Mahamet Chan* and to *Caliſe* the Sultan, declaring plainly vnto them the perils of his ſtate, and of the libertie of the whole kingdom, with the confidence he had in their valor; and that therefore forgetting all that was paſt, as done not in ſhame or ſcorne of their nation, but onely for zeale and loue to the kingdome, they would demand ſuch ſatisfaction as they deſired, and that he would be ready to agree to any iuſt requeſt they ſhould make. To which letters they readily anſwered, that they would come vnto him, to put in execution whatſoeuer he ſhould for the common neceſſity or honour of his State command. Now they had craftily amongſt themſelues already concluded not to ſuffer any other to ſit in the room of *Emir Chan* their late Gouernor, but onely young *Tamas* the kings third ſon. Which concluſion they had plotted to themſelues, with a reſolution in the end, to cauſe him to be accepted for king at Casbin, in deſpight of the king himſelfe and of the prince *Hamze*: nothing regarding, that by this action far greater troubles would ariſe in Perſia than euer were yet heard of, but only being wholly bent to reuenge the death of one only *Emir Chan*. With this malicious & fraudulent reſolution, they to the number of ten thouſand (vnder the conduct of two captains, *Mahamet* and *Caliſe*) went to the king, in all reuerence offering themſelues with all readineſſe to be emploied in the enterpriſe whereunto they were called. The old credulous king, not ſuſpecting any miſchiefe plotted by theſe ſecret rebels, was greatly comforted at their comming: and although by ſome of his Sultans that had felt ſome inckling of this conſpiracie, he was aduiſed to deale circumſpectly and warily with them, and not commit any matter of importance to their truſt; yet did he thinke euery houre a thouſand vntill he had offered them ſatisfaction: promiſing them, that what captain ſoeuer they would deſire in the room of *Emir Chan*, if it were poſſible, they ſhould haue him. Wherunto the diſſembling *Mahamet Chan* made anſwer, That their deſire aboue all things, was to do him pleaſure and ſeruice; not doubting but he would appoint them ſuch a chieftaine, as ſhould be valorous, noble, and acceptable vnto them. The king could ſtay no longer, but franckly declared vnto them, That to aſſure them of his good will, and to giue them an hoſtage in pawn therof, he had made choice of yong *Tamas* his ſon, to ſucceed in the roome of *Emir Chan* their late Gouernor. As ſoone as *Mahamet Chan* heard this reſolution of the king, who beſide al expectation, voluntarily of himſelfe yeelded them the means to put in execution what they had maliciouſly before contriued againſt the peace and libertie of the kingdome: he became more iocond than he was wont to be, and outwardly ſhewed himſelfe ready for whatſoeuer the king would command him; and in the names of the reſt, yeelded alſo large promiſes of fidelitie and obedience, ſo that the matter might be performed for which he had now giuen his word.

Ten thouſand Turcomans offer their ſeruice vnto the Perſian king.

The king, who deſired nothing more than to ſee the fort of Tauris raſed (which could hardly be done without the help of thoſe Turcomans) contrary to the aduice of the wiſeſt of the Sultans, and of the prince, ſecretly, and as it were by ſtealth, gaue his yong ſon *Tamas* into the hands of *Mahamet*, as chiefe of all the Turcomans. Who to nouriſh the good opinion and credulitie of the king, and to ſecure the prince and the Sultans, gaue a luſtie beginning by the help of his followers, with trenches and rampiers to approch the fort. Neither was there any great time ſpent therein; for they had now almoſt made their trenches and mounts euen with the enemies wal, and the ditch it ſelfe was almoſt filled vp with earth, ſo that there wanted but little more labor to begin the deſired aſſault: when contrarie to all mens expectation, the falſe and wicked traitor *Mahamet Chan* with all his Turcomans, leading away with them the childe *Tamas*, departed in the night time, and vpon a ſudden, from ſo noble and honorable an enterpriſe: and blinded with deſire to put in execution his ill hatched purpoſe, couertly & without any noiſe remoued from the beſieged wals, and put himſelfe on his way towards Caſbin: ſtill tearming *Tamas* by the name of the King of Perſia, and ſundrie wayes abuſing and mocking

The Turcomans forſake the ſiege and fall into rebellion.

the poore old king and the prince. This ſo ſudden and ſo dangerous a rebellion, whereby not only ſo honorable and ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe was to be abandoned, but the whole ſtate of the kingdome like to be indangered, exceedingly grieued al good men, but moſt of all the old king and the prince his ſon: who no leſſe carefull of his rightfull ſucceſſion, than was the aged king of his preſent eſtate, both now hazarded by this rebellion, wholly incenſed with griefe & anguiſh of mind, began to caſt a thouſand deuices in his troubled head, what courſe to take, and what to reſolue vpon. To abandon the ſiege it grieued him aboue meaſure, and to ſuffer ſo pernicious a rebellion to go forward, ſeemed too dangerous for the ſtate of Perſia, and to prouide for both theſe miſchiefes at once, was altogether impoſſible. In theſe huge waues of contrarie thoughts, he reſolued at laſt to turne himſelfe againſt the Turcomans, and to ſuppreſſe that rebellion, as moſt dangerous to the State. And ſo with twelue thouſand ſouldiers, and a part alſo of the kings ordinarie guard, all couragious and hardy men, he followed after the rebellious Turcomans, and marching directly toward Casbin, he ouertooke them at a place called Caliſteza, a daies iourney on this ſide Casbin, and there ioyned battell with them. Wherein many of them being ſorie for that they had done, would not ſo much as draw their ſwords againſt the Prince: many others fled alſo away for feare, ſo that he eaſily obtained a wiſhed victorie ouer them. The ſeditious *Mahomet Chan* was taken priſoner, and by the Princes commandement preſently beheaded: ſo was alſo *Caliſe* the Sultan, and diuers other captains of this peſtilent conſpiracy. Yong *Tamas* was alſo taken, & by the direction of the Prince ſent to the caſtle of Cahaca. Fiue thouſand Turcomans of the late followers of the rebell *Mahomet*, fled out of the battell towards Babylon by the way of Siras, and yeelded themſelues to *Solyman Baſſa* of that citie, who afterwards repenting themſelues of their folly, ſought to returne againe into the fauor of their king, but all in vaine: ſo that being become rebels to the one, and ſuſpected to the other, they did at one time loſe their countrie, their libertie, their honor, & the fauor of all men as well friends as foes. The Prince after this victorie held on his way to Casbin, and there ſtaying, laboured to gather the diſperſed Turcomans, eſpecially thoſe that (mooued with the honeſtie of the cauſe) would not beare arms in ſo vniuſt an action, intending afterwards to returne to Tauris, to attend the beſieging and conqueſt of the fort. This was the end of this dangerous rebellion, the chiefe cauſe that Tauris was not againe recouered out of the hands of the Turks, to the great weakening of the Perſian kingdome.

The Turcomans diſcomfited, & Mahamet Chan and Caliſe the Sultan beheaded.

Giaffer Baſſa ſendeth to Cicala Baſſa for aid.

Now *Giaffer* the Eunuch Baſſa Gouernour of the Caſtle of Tauris, fearing leſt the Perſian Prince would with a greater army again return to the ſiege: perceiuing himſelfe to wax euery day weaker and weaker, by reaſon that many of his men ſecretly fled from him, beſide them that periſhed with ſickneſſe, and others ſlain in aduenturing too boldly to goe abroad to ſeeke for victuals; ſent aduertiſement thereof to *Cicala Baſſa* at Van: ſignifying further vnto him by writing, That if the prince ſhould again returne to aſſault the fort, he ſhould of neceſſitie be enforced to yeeld it: and that therefore as he tendered the honor of his Sultan, he would be carefull to ſend him ſuccour, whereby he might be able to maintaine the fort: adding moreouer, That now it was moſt eaſily to be done, becauſe there was no forces of the enemies in thoſe quarters, ſauing onely a few which remained about the king, lying 12 miles off from Tauris. *Cicala* moued with the importance of the enterpriſe propounded, and withall deſirous to gain ſome credit of glorie and renowne with his king, entertained the aduices of *Giaffer*, and getting him to horſe with a train of three thouſand harquebuſiers and good ſtore of munition, ſet forward toward Tauris. The Perſian king aduertiſed therof, ſent out ſpies to learn what way they held, meaning to meet them and to ſet vpon them: but theſe ſpies comming neere to Salmas, were apprehended by the forerunners of *Cicala*, and beeing put to torture, reuealed at laſt, how that their king was in armes, & on his way towards Sancazan. At which news *Cicala* was greatly aſtonied, as well for the danger whereinto the forces and munition which he had with him were likely to fall, as alſo for that by any loſſe which his troups ſhould ſuſtain in this expedition, the city of Van (being indeed the greater and moſt noble frontier towne in all thoſe countries) muſt needs be in hazard to be loſt, hauing left in it but his lieutenant with a verie few ſoldiers. Whereupon hee determined to relinquiſh this dangerous enterpriſe, and to withdraw himſelfe backe to the defence and preſeruation of the citie committed to his truſt and gouernment. But although theſe expected and deſired ſuccours were not conueyed to Tauris as was intended, yet had *Giaffer* as good fortune as hee could wiſh: for the preparations of the

A prince were ſo long and troubleſome, and his returne ſo much prolonged, that there was time enough yeelded vnto the Turks great Generall now newly choſen (as by and by ſhal be declared) to go with a ſtrong army into thoſe quarters, and ſo to preſerue all that which the only expedition and celeritie of the enemie might haue put in great hazard, and almoſt haue brought to a deſperat caſe.

In the mean time, *Amurath* the Turkiſh Emperor was greatly troubled at Conſtantinople in making choice of a new Generall: on the one ſide, *Oſman Baſſa* hauing by his laſt will left *Sinan Cicala* to be his ſucceſſor, as a man of approued valor, and the many dangers he had run thorow in the late ſeruice about Tauris, with the great fauours he had in the court, did not a little encline the king to his election: on the other ſide, he heard of a publicke rumor ſpread amongſt B the ſouldiers, that they could by no means endure to be commanded by ſo young a captaine; and that ſome in plaine termes ſhould ſay, That they would not obey him: Which cauſed *Amurath* to doubt, that ſome dangerous diſcord might thereof enſue in the armie, if he ſhould proceed to make choice of him. Then there was alſo *Ferat Baſſa*, the ſame man which had alreadie ſuſtained that charge before *Oſman*, who now very ambitiouſly ſought againe for this honour, hauing of late performed ſome good ſeruice to the good liking of the King. Of any other to make better choice he had none, ſo that he ſtood in great doubt what to do. In the end, becauſe hee was in good time to prouide for his affaires, he made choice of *Ferat Baſſa*, the ſame man whom he had before made proofe of: a man of great fidelitie, of an honorable carriage, and already experienced in the leading and commanding of ſuch an armie: to whome he C granted the ordinarie authoritie, to mannage at his pleaſure ſuch affaires of the empire as concerned his iourney. Vpon this reſolution, generall precepts were ſent out to all cities within the kingdome, to the Baſſaes and other Gouernours, with ſpeciall commandement, That all their ſoldiers, together with their taxes, tenths, munitions, victuals, armor, artificers, and to be ſhort, all their neceſſary furniture & prouiſion ſhould be ready and in order, vpon the firſt warning ſhould be ſent them the next Spring. Great prouiſion of money was made, and in Soria (beſides the ordinarie ſumme that is beſtowed vpon the yearely pay of ſouldiers in Reiuan, Erzirum, Lori, Tomanis, Teflis, and Chars, which ſwallow vp all the reuenue of that countrie, and of the citie of Tripoli, amounting to the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand duckats) there was taken vp in preſt of priuat merchants in the citie of Aleppo onely, the ſumme of threeſcore D thouſand Cecchini, to be repaied vnto them with the firſt monies that ſhould be receiued by the officers of his cuſtome houſes. A matter that moued an extraordinary grudging among the people, for that it ſeemed to euery man a very ſtrange and intollerable exaction, beſide ſo many grieuances laied vpon them, for corne, for carriages, for pioners, and for workmen, to endure this burden alſo of lending their money, without hope of reſtitution thereof: yea and indeed euery man did greatly wonder how they were thus il aduiſed, to make it knowne to the Chriſtian Princes what ſcarcitie and want of money they had. The Generall had alſo with him foure hundred pieces of artillerie, & did beſide ſo worke the matter, as that *Maxut Chan* (who was appointed Baſſa of Aleppo) was granted vnto him to be the guide of his armie, as he had E been of *Oſmans*; and that *Cicala Baſſa* of Van (ſcarce his good friend) was remoued from thence and ſent farther off out of his way as Baſſa to Babylon.

The returne of Soria ſix hundred thouſand duckats.

1586

Ferat departeth from Conſtantinople, and commeth to Siuas.

And thus hauing put all things in readineſſe, he departed from Conſtantinople in the month of Aprill, in the yeare 1586; and paſſing ouer the ſtrait into Aſia, came to Siuas ſomething later than he ſhould haue done, beeing hindered partly by the Plague which then raged exceedingly in Conſtantinople, and partly by other occaſions incident to ſuch actions. At Siuas he ſtaied ſo long for the comming together of his army, and in muſtering men, that it was the latter end of Iuly before he departed thence; ſtaying indeed the longer at Siuas, by reaſon of the exceeding dearth and want of victuals at Erzirum: which dearth was alſo ſo great in Aleppo, that a Venice buſhell of wheat was ſold for twelue Cecchini.

Ferat yet making his aboad at Siuas, but readie to depart, was aduertiſed by certaine Poſts ſent from *Giaffer* the Baſſa of Tauris, how that the Perſian prince was hourely expected with a great armie, and that if he did foreſlow to ſend ſuccours, and to preuent the comming of the prince, and ſo giue him time & leiſure to aſſault the caſtle, he doubted greatly how he ſhould be able to hold the ſame. Vpon which aduertiſement *Ferat* preſently remoued, and ſo haſted his iourney, that about the beginning of Auguſt he was at Erzirum: and ſtill hearing more and more of the princes comming, ſtaied not there, but haſted to Van: where hauing gathered together all his ſouldiers, and taken a new ſuruey of his army, he departed thence; and being preſently G come into the open and large champaines, to make proofe of the readineſſe of his ſouldiers, he marſhalled them in ſuch ſort as if he ſhould forthwith haue ioyned battell with the enemie, and ſo in ſeemely order marched on.

The Turkiſh Generall continually feared, leſt the Perſians ſhould come vpon him with ſome ſudden aſſault: beſides that, the conſtant report of the Princes comming to Tauris with his armie, much increaſed his troubled thoughts. But on the other ſide, he repoſed great confidence in the conſpiracie that was now plotted againſt the life of the Prince, with the priuity of *Aliculi Chan* the protector and champion of *Abas Mirize* of Heri: who vnder colour of accompanying the Prince to aſſiſt his forces, had reſolutely concluded with himſelfe, and abſolutely H promiſed *Abas* (hauing alſo giuen intelligence thereof to the Turkiſh General) to rid the Prince *Hamze* of his life; or at leaſt (which he thought might more eaſily be brought to paſſe) in the ſundry reuolutions & variable chances of the battel, at ſome time or other to make him fall into the hands of *Ferat*, and ſo to ſettle his lord and maſter *Abas* in his eſtate. Vpon theſe trecheries *Ferat* grounding himſelf, began with greater confidence to diſpoſe his deſignemẽts and ſomewat leſſe to feare the fame of the huge preparations of Perſia againſt him. Which preparations in truth, as by moſt wicked deuices and malicious conſpiracies they were turned quite contrarie from that end whereunto the Prince *Hamze* had continually appointed them; ſo if they had bin emploied with ſuch faith & fidelitie as ſo righteous a cauſe required, without all doubt the writers of our time ſhould haue had matter enough in this 86 yeare to ſhew and repreſent vnto the world ſuch accidents as ſhould be nothing inferior to thoſe of the yere I before going. But foraſmuch as rebellion and diſcord, the two infernall miniſters of the diuel, haue for the vtter vndoing & ouerthrow of the glorie of Perſia, continually fauored the Turks armie, no maruell it is that the Perſian nation cannot vant of any reuenge taken for the indignities offered them by their enemies; and that our writers cannot chuſe but write of the true and vndoubted victories of the Turkes, and the bare ſhadowes of the Perſian exploits, which notwithſtanding many Chriſtians vainly beleeue, becauſe they moſt earneſtly deſire them to be true, although they do ſee to the contrary, the manifeſt proſpering & euident conqueſts which the Turks haue in diuers their States and Countries.

The glorie of the Perſian kingdom ouerthrowne by rebellion and diſcord.

The Perſian Prince about the latter end of Iuly arriued at Tauris with the greateſt part of K his armie, where he (contrarie to the opinion of all men) ſtaid not, for what cauſe is vncertaine. But vnderſtanding that *Zeinel Baſſa* of Salmas, by nation a Curdo, lay encamped before the citie, who of a Perſian was become a Turke, and had done great harme againſt the State of Perſia, he determined ſuddenly to ſet vpon him, and to chaſtiſe him for his rebellion. According to which reſolution, being accompanied with twelue thouſand ſouldiers, he rode to Salmas, where finding *Zeinel* with all his people encamped as he had been before enformed, he gaue him the aſſault. *Zeinel* more readie to flie than to fight, & his ſoldiers as readie as he, fled preſently, and fel before the Perſians, ſo that the Baſſa himſelfe with a few others had much adoe to eſcape and ſaue themſelues in the cloſeſt corners thereabouts, leauing the citie committed to his charge, for a prey vnto the angrie enemy: who entering into the ſame, ſacked and ſpoi- L led it, exerciſing thereon all ſuch cruelties, as partly the natural deſires of ſouldiers vſe to practiſe, and partly ſuch as the Turks themſelues ſhewed vnto them in that miſerable and moſt lamentable ſacking of Tauris the laſt yere. The like ſpoils did the Perſian army in al thoſe quarters round about, and ſo would haue peraduenture returned to Tauris, but that certaine ſpies arriued vpon them, with aduertiſement, That the Baſſa of Reiuan being iſſued out of his fortreſſe with fifteen hundred harquebuſiers, had committed the like outrages in the villages and fields thereabouts, as the Prince had done about Salmas. With which newes the prince was greatly moued; and immediatly riſing with his armie, and marching towards Reiuan, not far from the citie encountered the Baſſa: who diſcouering the enemies forces afar off, began in great diſorder to flie and retire into his fort, leauing the greateſt part of his ſoldiers (making M not ſo much ſpeed in flight as himſelfe) to the fury of the prince, who put them al to the ſword, and did what harme he poſſibly could in all the places thereabouts.

At the very ſame time great troubles aroſe in the Druſian country: for *Man-Ogli* the valiant Druſian (of whom we haue before ſpoken) in reuenge of the iniuries don vnto him & his people

A ple by *Ebrain Baſſa*, and by a valiant kinde of reſtitution to recompence himſelfe of all thoſe bribes and Preſents which by ſo many ſhifts and ſubtilties were by the couetous Baſſa wrung from him (as is before declared) had now taken vp armes, and hauing waſted and ſacked all the territory of *Ebne-Manſur* and of his other enemies who had yeelded their obedience vnto the Turks, withoutlet forced all that country with ſudden inuaſions and inrodes, euen very neere vnto the cities of Balbecke and Tripoli, and did there exceeding harme. For redreſſe whereof, *Amurath* was glad to diſpatch away from the court *Ali Baſſa* borne at Aleppo, with the title of the Baſſa of Damaſco, and with authority to muſter freſh ſouldiers, and ſo wholly to attend the vtter ſubuerſion of *Mam-Ogli*. But comming thither, he found all againe quiet, ſo that his preſence in that countrey ſerued rather for a reconciliation and peace making amongſt them, B than for the proſecuting of any further warre, which at that time was moſt neceſſarie for the Turks to be auoided, as well for want of mony in the common treaſurie, as for the exceeding ſcarcitie of victuals.

Now the Perſian prince hauing made an end of the outrodes and ſpoiles before mentioned, retired himſelfe to Tauris, and ſo towards his fathers campe, where the reſt of his army was now arriued, to the number of about fortie thouſand: of whom the Prince diſpatched away the ſoldiers of Heri to the number of eight thouſand, vnder the conduct of the traiterous *Aliculi Chan* their Generall: and part alſo of the Turcomans, vnder the leading of *Emanguli Chan*; with ſpeciall charge, That they ſhould by the way in places of moſt aduantage, meet & receiue the enemies army, and in thoſe narrow & troubleſome paſſages to do them what miſchiefe C they poſſible could. Which the Prince thus appointed, thinking by this meanes to weaken the enemies forces, and ſo at their arriuall at Tauris, to come vpon them with all his power, and ſo vtterly to deſtroy them.

Both theſe captains departed accordingly, making ſhew that they would with all affection accompliſh the commandement of their Prince: yet neuer was there heard any ſeruice of moment put in execution by them: for *Aliculi* ful of treaſon, after their departure began to alledge many forced reaſons and excuſes, Why they ſhould ſurceaſe from meeting with the Turks: & *Emanguli* as yet vtterly ignorant of the wicked purpoſes and miſchieuous trecherie of *Aliculi*, ſuffered himſelf to be miſſe-led by him alſo. By the delaies and negligence of theſe two Perſian captains, the Turkiſh General tooke leiſure without any loſſe or hinderance at all, to arriue D at Tauris, and to put the deſired ſuccors into the fort: at what time the Perſian prince by good hap had got knowledge of the trecherie of *Aliculi*, and of the deſignements which many of the Sultans had lately contriued, for the betraying of him aliue into the hands of the Turkiſh General. Of which ſuſpition he being greatly afraid, durſt not only not truſt himſelfe to perform thoſe battels that he had before determined to haue performed; but quite abandoning this noble and honorable enterpriſe, wholly emploied all his care and ſtudy for the ſafety of his own perſon, and ſo left the triumph of the matter in the power of the Turks. And thus thoſe great hopes and expectations which the Perſians had conceiued of great exploits to haue bin done againſt the enemie, did not onely proue vaine and come to no good iſſue, but contrariwiſe by this diſcouerie were conuerted into moſt ſtrange diſturbances, and all Perſia thereby endured E ſundrie alterations and reuolutions of moſt important conſequencies. For both *Aliculi Chan* and his complices were purſued by the prince, as rebels and traitors: and alſo *Abas Mirize* of Heri was manifeſtly diſcouered for a wicked and trecherous contriuer of his brothers death: whereby the common miſchiefes were encreaſed more than euer they were before, and the publike calamities yeelded greater hopes vnto the Turks than they had euer before conceiued in all the courſe of theſe warres.

Aliculi and EmanguliChan performe nothing againſt the Turks, as was by the prince expected.

Ferat putteth ſuccours into the fort at Tauris.

When *Ferat* had thus relieued them in the caſtle of Tauris, leauing for the cuſtodie thereof *Giaffer* the Baſſa with his former companies, hee returned towards Erzirum: hauing firſt cauſed a fort to be erected at Ourchiue Tauris, a place neere vnto Tauris; another at Coy; and the third at Cum: in euery one of which forts hee left a conuenient number of ſouldiers, F with all things neceſſarie and ſufficient for their maintenance, and defence of the places they were to keep. He ſent alſo ſuccors to the fort at Teflis in Georgia, which they had long expected, and now moſt ioyfully receiued. But the Perſian Prince hauing hunted *Aliculi Chan* out of the quarters of Tauris, thought himſelf now wholly deliuered from the great feare of treaſon and rebellion, wherein he of late liued: and therefore in as great haſt as he could, put himſelfe on his iourney towards Genge: in which place hauing gathered together a good number G of ſouldiers, he determined to remoue thence, to intercept the ſuccors that were by the Turks to be brought to Teflis. Now hee had alwaies found *Emanguli Chan* to be both faithfull and wiſe, and in him he repoſed an aſſured confidence for performing any enterpriſe that he had in hand, and communicated with him euery deuice that he had conceiued in theſe wars. And therefore he made head and ioined with him, and lodging moſt familiarly in his city, he ſtaid there for the ſetting in order and diſpoſing of his aforeſaid deſignement, beeing very deſirous not to let ſuch an opportunitie to ouerſlip, without ſignification vnto the world of ſome notable noueltie, which might be correſpondent to the fame that of matters paſſed and performed the yere before, was now ſpred & publiſhed abroad ouer all the world. But when he was euen at the very faireſt to haue put this his deſire in execution, and leaſt of all feared any treacherie H or treaſon, vpon a ſudden in the night time as he ſlept vpon a pallet he was miſerably ſtrucken through the body, by an Eunuch of his that attended vpon him: and ſo the moſt reſplendent and bright luſtre that euer ſhined in Perſia, was vtterly extinguiſhed. What was the occaſion therof, and who procured his death, diuers and ſundry are the opinions of men. Some thinke, that his brother *Abas Mirize* of Heri, who had before conſpired to haue had him betraied into the hands of the Turkiſh Generall, had now by force of mony and gifts enduced the wicked Eunuch thereunto. Others deemed it not to haue bin done without the priuitie of his father, as more deſirous to prefer *Abas Mirize* his other ſonne vnto the kingdome. Diuers others do diuerſly reaſon of the matter: ſo that to affirme of a certaintie, that thus or thus the death of ſo worthie a Prince was procured, were great raſhneſſe: and therefore we leaue it, with the I further proceſſe of the Perſian State, vnto the further diſcouerie of Time, the antient mother of Truth.

The Perſian prince ſlain by one of his Eunuchs.

Notwithſtanding the league betwixt the Chriſtian Emperour *Rodolph* the ſecond and *Amurath* the great Turke, many ſharp skirmiſhes oftentimes fell out betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks vpon the frontiers of their territories and dominions, eſpecially in Hungarie, Croatia, and Stiria: as now in the latter end of this yere 1586 in the moneth of December, the Turks, after their inſolent manner making an inrode into the borders of Croatia, receiued a notable ouerthrow by the Chriſtians, being in number much fewer: where amongſt others, the Baſſa of Boſna with his brother was ſlaine; whoſe head with certaine priſoners was ſent to Vienna to *Erneſtus* Archduke of Auſtria, the Emperors brother. This Baſſa of Boſna and his brother, K ſlaine in this conflict (as we haue ſaid) are reported to haue been the ſonnes of *Mahomet* the late great Viſier, by one of the daughters of *Selymus* the ſecond, *Amurath* his ſiſter. For diuers yeres following, *Amurath* did no great matter worth the remembrance, contenting himſelfe (as it ſhould ſeeme) with that he had already got from the Perſians: and holding his league in ſome reaſonable ſort with the Chriſtians: yet not ſo, but that many a bloudie broile, tending at laſt euen to the breach of the league, paſſed betwixt the Turkes and the Chriſtians; which for the continuation of the Hiſtorie we will briefely ſet downe, as they are vnto vs by the Writers of our time reported.

1587

The Caſtle of Koppan in Hungarie ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians.

In Februarie the yere following, which was the yere 1587, the Chriſtians prouoked by the often outrages of the Turks, ſetting vpon the caſtle of Koppan, not far from the lake of Balaton, L being then frozen, by good fortune ſurpriſed it. There was at that time in the caſtle 3 of the Turks Sanzacks, and about a thouſand Turks, of whom an hundred and ninetie of the better ſort, with ſeuenty women, beſides diuers of the meaner ſort, fell into the hands of the Chriſtians; the reſt ſauing themſelues by flight, or by creeping into ſecret corners: an hundred horſes for ſeruice were there taken alſo, and ſo much bootie as was eſteemed to be worth fortie thouſand duckats. Of the three Sanzacks that were there preſent, *Alis* Sanzacke of Koppan was taken, and brought firſt to Vienna, and afterward preſented to the Emperor: Another of them ſtanding vpon his defence in a vault vnder ground, was there ſmothered: the third eſcaped by flight, but was afterwards the ſame yeare taken with diuers others, as ſhall be forthwith declared. M

The eight of Auguſt following, foure of the Turks great Commanders in Hungarie, *viz.* the Baſſa of Ziget, the Sanzackes of Mohas, of Quinque Eccleſiæ, and the new Sanzacke of Koppan, with fiue thouſand ſouldiers brake into the borders of the Chriſtians, and in moſt cruell manner deſtroyed ſeuenteene countrey villages about Limbach: carrying away with

them

A them all the miſerable countrey people, with the ſpoile of the countrey. Whereof George
Countie *Serinus* (ſonne to that moſt valiant Countie *Nicholas Serinus* ſlaine at Ziget) comman-
der of the garriſon of Caniſia, vnderſtanding, with as much ſpeed as was poſſible raiſed ſuch
forces as he was able out of his territorie betwixt the riuers of Drauus and Mura, and calling
vnto his aid the Countie *Nadaſti*, the Lord *Bathianius*, and ſome other valiant Captaines that
had the charge of thoſe frontiers; with ſuch diligence tooke the ſtraits and paſſages whereby
the Turks muſt needs returne among the mariſhes, that the Turks comming backe againe that
way with a very rich prey and many priſoners, being in the breake of the day hardly charged
by thoſe moſt expert and reſolute ſouldiers, in thoſe ſtrait and troubleſome paſſages about a
mile from Caniſia, were at length diſcomfited and put to flight with ſuch a miſerable ſlaugh-
B ter, that many of them yeelded vp their ſcimiters, pittifully crying for mercie; other ſome
fled backe into the woods and forreſts; and many running headlong into the mariſhes, there
periſhed, or ſticking faſt in the deepe mud, cried together for mercie and helpe of their ene-
mies. In this conflict *Muhamet* the Sanzacke of Quinque Eccleſiæ (ſonne to *Haly Baſſa* ſlaine in
the battell of Lepanto) was taken priſoner. *Sinan Beg* Sanzacke of Mohaz, thinking to eſcape
through the mariſh, ſtucke faſt with his horſe, and was ſhot through the head with a ſmall
ſhot, and there died. The Baſſa of Ziget, with *Chaſan* the new Sanzacke of Koppan, ſeeing all
deſperate and loſt, fled betimes out of the battell: but he of Koppan wandering vp and downe
in the woods, was the next night after the battell with others taken: the Baſſa of Ziget almoſt
ſpent with hunger and griefe of minde, eſcaped on foot ſeuen dayes after to Breſenza. There
C were taken of the Turks a thouſand three hundred, of whom many died afterwards of their
wounds. In this battell there was ſlaine of the Turks, with them that periſhed in the mariſhes
and woods, about 2000, and of the Turks horſes were taken aboue 1500. All the prey before
taken by the Turks, with the miſerable captiues, was againe recouered. The number of them
that performed this notable ſeruice, was in all but fifteen hundred foot and fiue hundred horſe,
of whom there was but eleuen ſlaine, but moſt of the reſt wounded. Foure hundred heads of
the ſlaine Turks were (after the manner of thoſe bordering ſouldiers) carried for ſhew to Ca-
niſia, with fiue hundred priſoners. The Chriſtian ſouldiers with the helpe of the countrey
people, ceaſed not for certaine dayes to hunt after the Turks that were fled into the woods, as
after wilde beaſts, of whom they found a great number: diuers others alſo ſeeing no meanes
D to eſcape, came forth of their lurking places and yeelded themſelues.

Amurath vnderſtanding of all theſe troubles that had ſo happened, commanded *Aly* the Baſſa of Buda to be ſtrangled, for that he had broken the league, and not reſtrained the inſolencie of his Sanzackes, whom he might haue commanded: and in his ſtead placed *Sinan Baſſa*, whome before in diſgrace, hee had now at the requeſt of his wife againe receiued into fauour, and reſtored to his former dignitie. About this time alſo *Sigiſmund* (the King of Sweden his ſonne) now after the death of King *Stephen* choſen King of Polonia, and *Maximilian* the Emperours brother rejected; euen in the beginning of his raigne ſought to renew the league which *Stephen* his predeceſſor and other the Polonian Kings had before made with *Amurath* and his predeceſſors the Turkiſh Sultans. And to that purpoſe writ vnto him as fol-
E loweth:

Aly Baſſa of Buda ſtrangled by the commandement of Amurath.

Sinan Baſſa againe receiued into fauour.

Sigiſmund the third, King of Polonia, vnto *Amurath* the third, Emperor of the Turkes, ſendeth greeting.

The Almightie long keepe and preſerue your Maieſtie in health and honour. Moſt Mightie Prince, our beſt beloued friend and neighbour, after that we by the grace and goodneſſe of God were choſen to gouerne the kingdome of Polonia, and the Embaſſadors of that kingdome had ſignified ſo much vnto vs; we prouiding vs of neceſſaries, came to Danske the eighteenth of October, from whence we ſend Iohn Zamogil *our Secretarie, to giue your Maieſtie to vnderſtand of this our comming. For beeing told by the Polonian Embaſſadors, That wee were choſen vnto the gouernment of that Kingdome, vpon condition, That according vnto the cuſtome of our predeceſſors the Polonian Kings, we ſhould keepe loue and friendſhip with the moſt Excellent* * Muſſulman *Emperours; wee promiſe vnto your Soueraigne Maieſtie, that we are willing with the like or greater zeale and deuotion, to continue that amitie and friendſhip with your moſt excellent Maieſtie and the* Othoman *Emperors your Succeſſors. For confir-*

Sigiſmund the Polonian King his letter vnto Amurath.

**The Turks deſire to be called Muſſulman, which in their language ſignifieth a true beleeuer.*

mation whereof ſo ſoone as we ſhall come vnto Craconia the regal citie of Polonia, and there be crowned, we will forthwith ſend our great Embaſſador vnto your Maieſtie. In the meane time we moſt earneſtly requeſt your Maieſtie, that our kingdome may on your Maieſties behalfe reſt in ſafetie and peace: which we perſuade our ſelues you will eaſily grant. So wiſhing vnto you all health and happineſſe, we bid you farewell. From Danske the 18 *of October, in the yeare* 1587, *and of our raigne the firſt.*

Vnto which the Kings requeſt and letters, *Amurath* not long after returned this anſwer in writing:

Amurath the third, Emperour of the Turks, vnto *Sigiſmund* King of Polonia, greeting.

Amurath his anſwer vnto the letters of Sigiſmund.

I take it well, and as a token of your loue, that your Embaſſador Iohn Zamogil *came with your letters vnto our moſt high and glorious Court, the refuge of diſtreſſed Princes: wherein you haue giuen vs to underſtand, how that inſtead of the moſt excellent and famous King* Stepen, *of worthie memory, late King of Polonia, you, diſcended of the ſame noble ſtocke and race of the Polonian Kings, are by the free election of the whole State of the famous Kingdome of Polonia and the great Kingdome of Lithuania, choſen King of Polonia: and being ſent for by lawfull Embaſſadors, by the fauour and goodneſſe of God, to be come vnto the citie of Danske, and from thence to be about to go vnto Craconia, the chiefe citie of the kingdome of Polonia. And when you are there arriued, to ſend your Embaſſadour vnto our moſt high and glorious Court, to confirme, preſerue, and eſtabliſh the league and amitie commodious and neceſſarie for both our Kingdomes, honored and kept by your antient predeceſſours, with our grandfathers and great grandfathers; yea and that with greater zeale and deuotion than any your noble Anceſtors. And therefore your Embaſſador in your name requeſteth, That no inuaſion on our behalfe be made into the borders of the kingdome of Polonia, or any harme there done: and that the moſt noble Tartar Prince* Isbam Gerai *(whome God bleſſe) ſhould be warned, that he neither make nor ſuffer any incurſion to be made into the confines of the Kingdome of Polonia. All which things in your letters contained, with the reſt which your Embaſſadour hath by word of mouth deliuered, are with ſpeed orderly by vs conceiued. Know you therefore our moſt ſtately and magnificent Court to be alwaies open vnto ſuch as reſort thereunto, and that from thence neuer man had repulſe, neither ſhall hereafter haue: wherefore it beſeemeth you, as ſoone as theſe our letters ſhall be brought vnto you, to open your eyes, and to beware that nothing be on your part done againſt the Maieſtie of our Court, and the league; and that our peace and amitie be neither in much or little diſturbed, but as beſt beſeemeth, well and ſincerely kept: and ſo perſuade your ſelfe it ſhall on our part alſo be moſt inuiolately obſerued. Our letters are alſo directed vnto the moſt excellent Tartar Prince* Isbam Gerai *(whom God bleſſe) ſtraitly charging and commanding him, not to make or ſuffer any incurſion to be made into the borders of Polonia. In briefe, the league and amity ſhall on our part be religiouſly kept: and whoſoeuer ſhall preſume to do any harme vnto the kingdome or confines of Polonia, ſhall therefore without faile receiue from vs due puniſhment. So on your part alſo it is requiſite that the ſame be done, and that in declaration of your loue, you forget not oftentimes to intimate vnto our moſt high and glorious Court, ſuch certaine occurrents and newes as ſhal happen in thoſe parts, which ſhall be vnto vs a ſigne of your ſincere loue and friendſhip. So know you and giue credit vnto this our ſeale from Conſtantinople.*

Neither was King *Sigiſmund* vnmindefull of this his promiſe before made for the ſending of his Embaſſador; but being poſſeſſed of the Polonian kingdome, ſent *Chriſtopher Dziercius* (his Secretarie) Embaſſador vnto *Amurath* for the confirming of the league: which hee hath euer ſince ſo firmely kept with the Turke, that he could neuer by any entreatie of the Emperor, or of the Princes Electors, or others, or in reſpect of the common danger, be drawne into the fellowſhip of this long and religious war, ſo hardly maintained by the Emperor and ſome few other Chriſtian Princes his confederats; firſt againſt *Amurath* whileſt he liued, and euer ſince againſt *Mahomet* his ſonne, which now raigneth; the iſſue whereof, God grant it proue not as well vnto the Polonians as others farther off, in fine lamentable.

1588

Genge taken by Ferat.

The yeare following, *Ferat* (yet the Turks General in Perſia) tooke the citie of Genge, being before for feare of the Turks quite abandoned & forſaken by the Inhabitants, who yet vpon his faith giuen for their ſafetie, returned again, yeelding to pay vnto the Turke a yerely tribute

A but of fiue thouſand duckets. But when he would haue gon farther into the enemies country,
hauing part of his armie cut off by the way, he was by his mutinous ſouldiers foulely entreated,
wounded, and enforced to retire. *Cicala Baſſa* alſo paſſing ouer the riuer Euphrates, had
in thoſe quarters diuers bloudie skirmiſhes with the Perſians, ſomtime carrying away the better,
and ſometime the worſe, as the fortune of the field ſerued. Vntill at length, *Amurath*
himſelfe no leſſe wearie than his people of that long and chargeable war, and the Perſian king
alſo inclining to peace; he by the perſuaſion of *Sinan Baſſa* (but lately before receiued into
fauour) was now contented to be entreated to hearken vnto the ſame: mooued thereunto as
well by reaſon of new troubles then in other places ariſing, as for the great famine and plague
then raging in Conſtantinople. And conſidering withall what a great Territorie he had woon
B from the Perſians, and how neceſſarie it was for him by peace to confirme himſelfe in thoſe
his new conqueſts, and by the building of certaine ſtrong forts for the ſuccour of one another,
and by the placing of his Timariots therein, to aſſure the ſame vnto him: all which without
peace he could not poſſibly do, as the old Baſſa right wiſely told him. For which reaſons he
yeelded to peace; and ſo Embaſſadors paſſing to and fro, a peace was at length agreed vpon
betwixt theſe two great Mahometan Princes: the Turke couenanting to keepe vnto himſelfe
the places he had alreadie gained; namely Tauris, Genge, Siruan, and Chars, with all the
profits thereof ariſing, for the maintenance of his garriſons and Timariots there. Whereof it
was thought new ſtirres would eftſoones ariſe, the Turks growne inſolent of their late victories,
being not able to content themſelues with the conditions of the league; and the Perſians
C not willing to liue in continual feare of the Turkes, eſpecially ſeeing themſelues to be daily
by them more and more oppreſſed; and withall doubting leſt the Turkes after they had taken
faſt footing in thoſe new conquered Countries, and ſo growne ſtrong, and gotten better
knowledge of the paſſages, ſhould (after their ambitious manner) ſeeke to poſſeſſe themſelues
of the reſt, not keeping the couenants agreed vpon betwixt them, nor at all regarding the capitulations
of the league. Which was neuertheleſſe (as we ſaid) on both ſides for the ſpace
of ten yeares orderly confirmed with all due circumſtances and ceremonis, in like occurrents
by the great Potentats of the world vſed: and for the more aſſurance thereof, one of the Perſian
Kings ſonnes, or as ſome others ſay, one of his nephews, giuen vnto the Turks in hoſtage,
as *Amurath* required.

The Ianizaries in a tumult at Conſtantinople.

D Theſe long wars thus ended, ſhortly after a great ſedition was raiſed at Conſtantinople by
the ſoldiers of the court, which returning out of Perſia, with great inſolencie demanded their
pay. For the ſatisfying of whom, by the conſent of the great Sultan himſelfe, the value of the
coine was inhaunſed, and a new kind of ſubſidie for leuying of money impoſed vpon the subiects
in general, none excepted; who ſtanding vpon their antient liberties and priuiledges, refuſed
to pay it, eſpecially the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court. Wherefore their Aga
or captaine was commanded to appeaſe them, and to perſuade them to pay the demanded tribute:
in attempting whereof he was in danger to haue been ſlaine by the inſolent Ianizaries;
and yet neuertheleſſe for preuailing no more with them, was in diſpleaſure thruſt out of his office,
E and another placed in his roome that ſhould haue married *Amuraths* daughter; of whom
for all that, the Ianizaries would not accept in any caſe, but threw ſtones at him, and threatned
to kill him. The next night a great fire aroſe in the citie; for the quenching whereof, the Ianizaries
were commanded (as their dutie was) to put to their helping hands: which they not only
moſt obſtinatly refuſed to do, but alſo kept backe others that brought water for the quenching
thereof, and together with the other ſoldiers of the court, did what they might to make
it burne the faſter. With the rage of this fire were conſumed ſeuen of their Temples, 25 great
Innes, fifteene thouſand houſes, with many warehouſes and ſhops. To appeaſe this dangerous
ſtirre, and to preuent further miſchiefe, commandement was giuen to the Beglerbeg of
Grecia and *Dauid Paſſy* a Iew (the firſt authors of this new impoſition) that they ſhould either
gather the aforeſaid tribute by them deuiſed, and pay the ſouldiers, or by ſome other meanes
to giue them contentment. But here began the Prieſts publiquely to perſuade the people from
paiment of this new tribute, or any other ſuch like; perſuading them in any caſe to defend
their antient liberties and cuſtomes: whereupon the churches were by the Prieſts ſhut vp, publique
prayers for the health of the Sultan intermitted, the Baſſa's houſes aſſaulted, and all the
citie on a new hurley burley. For the appeaſing whereof *Amurath* was glad to yeeld vnto the

Great harme done by fire in Conſtantinople.

Ianizaries, to pay the ſouldiers out of his owne treaſurie, to reuoke his mandates giuen out for the exaction of the new tribute, and to deliuer the two perſuaders thereof to the pleaſure of the Ianizaries; who drew them vp and downe the ſtreets at horſes tailes, and afterwards cutting off their heads, in ſcorne toſſed them from hand to hand one to another, as if they had bin tenniſe balls. G

Sinan Baſſa of Buda inuadeth the vpper part of Hungarie.

About the latter end of September, *Sinan Baſſa* of Buda, hauing with the aſſiſtance of the Sanzackes about Fille, raiſed an armie of eleuen thouſand ſoldiers, with purpoſe to haue ſpoiled all the vpper part of Hungarie, came the ſixt of October before the caſtle of Putnoc, and gaue thereunto ſummons: but finding them in the Caſtle better prouided and more reſolute than he had before ſuppoſed, he departed thence, and paſſing the riuer Schayo, came to Sixo, a towne of about fiue hundred houſes, which after a ſore batterie he tooke, and burnt it down to the ground. H In the meane while *Claudius Ruſſel* General for the wars in that part of Hungarie, hauing aſſembled his forces, came vpon him, and after a hard fight put him to the worſe, when he had ſlaine of his Turks about two thouſand fiue hundred, beſides three hundred other drowned in the riuer Schayo. Shortly after, the Chriſtians in like manner breaking into the frontiers of the Turks, tooke from them the caſtles of Blauenſtein, Geſtes, with ſome other ſmall forts thereabouts in the vpper part of Hungarie.

Sinan ouerthrowne.

1589

Sinan for that he had contrarie to the league, and without the commandement of *Amurath*, ſo vnfortunatly attempted war in Hungarie, was the next yeare in great diſpleaſure ſent for to Conſtantinople, and *Ferat* Baſſa of Boſna (late General of the Turks army againſt the Perſians, and now but newly come home) placed in his roome at Buda.

I *Amurath* before not ignorant of the great preparation that *Philip* the King of Spaine had made, and of the inuincible Armado (as it was termed) by him ſet forth for the inuaſion of England (the fame whereof had long before filled a great part of the world) as alſo of the euil ſucceſſe thereof the laſt yeare, *viz.* 1588; and of the purpoſe her Majeſtie of England had for the troubling of his rich trade, eſpecially into the Weſt Indies, and for the relieuing of *Don Anthonio*, by him driuen out of Portugal: wrot vnto her about this time concerning thoſe and ſuch like matters as had been moued by her Agent, as followeth:

Nicholaus Reuſnerius Epiſt. Turcic. lib. 12. pag. 42.

Amurath the third, Emperor of the Turks, vnto *Elizabeth* Queene of England, France, and Ireland, greeting K

Amuraths Letters vnto the Queen of England.

Moſt honorable Matrone of the Chriſtian Religion, Mirror of chaſtitie, adorned with the brightneſſe of ſoueraigntie and power amongſt the moſt chaſte women of the people which ſerue Ieſu, Miſtris of great kingdomes, reputed of greateſt majeſtie and praiſe among the Nazarites, Elizabeth *Queene of England, to whom we wiſh a moſt happie and proſperous raigne. You ſhall underſtand by our high and Imperiall letters directed vnto you, how that your Orator reſiant in our ſtately and magnificent Court, hath preſented vnto the throne of our Maieſtie a certaine writing, wherein he hath certified vs, how that about foure yeares ago you haue made war vpon the King of Spaine, for the abating and breaking of his forces, wherewith he threatneth all other Chriſtian Princes, and purpoſeth to make himſelfe the ſole Monarch both of them and all the world beſide. As alſo how that the ſame King of Spaine hath by force taken from* L Don Anthonio *(lawfully created King of Portugal) his kingdome: and that your intention is, that his ſhips which go and come into the Indies, may from henceforth be embarred and ſtayed from that nauigation: wherein are yerely brought into Spaine, precious ſtones, ſpices, gold, and ſiluer, eſteemed worth manie millions, wherewith the aforeſaid King as with a great treaſure enriched, hath meanes to moleſt and trouble all other Chriſtian Princes: which if he ſhall ſtill proceed to do, he will make himſelfe daily ſtronger and ſtronger, and ſuch an one as may not eaſily be weakened. After that, your aforeſaid Orator requeſted our Highneſſe, in the beginning of the next Spring to ſend out our Imperial fleet againſt him, being aſſured that the King of Spaine could not be able eaſily to withſtand it, for that he had now already receiued a great ouerthrow by your fleet: and being ſcarce able to withſtand you alone, if he ſhould be on diuers parts inuaded, muſt needs be ouercome, to the great benefit of all the Chriſtian Princes, as alſo of our* M *Imperial ſtate. Beſides this, that whereas the aforeſaid* Don Anthonio *is by force driuen out and depriued of his kingdome, that we (to the imitation of our noble Progenitours of happy memory, whoſe graues the Almightie lighten) ſhould alſo giue the aid and ſuccor of our magnificent ſtate, as did they vnto all ſuch as had recourſe vnto their high Courts and palaces for reliefe. In briefe, all theſe things, with many* *others which your aforeſaid Orator hath at large declared vnto our Imperiall throne, we haue well vnderſtood, and laid them vp in our deepe remembrance. But foraſmuch as we for many yeares paſt haue made wars in Perſia, with a full reſolution and intent vtterly to conquer and ſubdue the kingdome of that accurſed Perſian heretike, and to ioyne the ſame vnto our antient dominions; and now by the grace of God, and helpe of our great Prophet, are now vpon the point for the ſatisfying of our deſire: that once done, due prouiſion ſhall be aſſigned vnto all ſuch things as you haue of vs requeſted or deſired. Wherefore if you ſhall ſincerely and purely continue the bond of amitie and friendſhip with our high Court, you ſhall finde no more ſecure refuge or ſafer harbor of good wil or loue. So at length all things ſhall go wel and according to your hearts deſire in your wars with Spaine, vnder the ſhadow of our happy throne. And foraſmuch as the King of Spaine hath by fraud and deceit got whatſoeuer he holdeth, without doubt theſe de- B ceitfull deceiuers ſhall by the power of God in ſhort time be diſpatched and taken out of the way. In the meane time we exhort you not to loſe any opportunitie or time, but to be alwaies vigilant, and according to the conuentions betwixt vs, fauourable vnto our friends, and vnto our enemies a foe. And giue notice here to our high Court, of all the new wars which you ſhall vnderſtand of concerning the ſaid King of Spaine, for the behoofe both of your ſelfe and vs. To be briefe, your embaſſador after he had with all care and diligence diſpatched his embaſſage, and here left in his place one* Edward Bardon *his Deputie and Agent, now by our leaue maketh his returne towards your kingdome, being for the good and faithfull ſeruice he here did, worthy to be of you eſteemed, honored, and before others promoted: who when he hath obtained of you all thoſe his deſerued honours and preferments, let him or ſome other principal Embaſſador without delay be appointed to our Imperial Court, to continue this office of legation. This we thought C good to haue you certified of vnder our moſt honorable Seale, wherunto you may giue vndoubted credence. From our Imperial palace at Conſtantinople, the 15 of this bleſſed moneth * Ramazan 1589.*

* *September.*

Yet for all theſe faire ſhewes, it may ſeeme vnto him that looketh more neere into the ſtate of the Turkiſh affaires at thoſe times, and that which hath enſued ſince, that *Amurath* glad of the diſcord of theſe two ſo great Chriſtian Princes, and not well aſſured of his new conqueſts in Perſia, had no great minde to the inuaſion of Spaine, as too far from the ſtrength of his Empire, an enterpriſe not to be ſo eaſily managed by ſea, as were the wars he ſhortly after vndertooke againſt the Chriſtian Emperor *Rodolph* by land: wherewith for all that (God be thanked) he found his hands full all the remainder of his life, as hath his ſonne *Mahomet* that now raig- D neth after him, euen vnto this day.

The Polonian Coſſacks inuade the Tartarians and Turks.

About this time alſo the Polonian borderers (whom they call Coſſackes) a rough and warlike kinde of people, after their wonted manner making an inrode vpon the Turks and Tartarians, vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed Koſlaw a port towne within a dayes journey of Caffa, where they had the ſpoile of many rich warehouſes of the Turks merchants, and the rifling of certain ſhips lying there in harbor, and hauing taken their pleaſure, burnt the reſt, and ſo with a great bootie returned to their lurking places. With which iniurie the Tartars prouoked, and ſet on by the Turks, to the number of fortie thouſand brake into Podolia and the prouinces neere vnto Polonia, and reſting in no place, but burning the countrey before them, ſlew the poore countrey people without mercie, and making hauocke of all that they light vpon, beſides the E ſpoile, carried away with them many thouſands of moſt miſerable captiues: the greateſt part whereof for all that, the Polonians reſcued, with the notable ſlaughter of the enemie, ſurpriſed in their returne. Whereupon ſuch vnkindneſſe riſe betweene the Turkiſh Emperor and *Sigiſmund* the Polonian King, that it was thought it would haue broken out into open warres, had not the Polonian by his Embaſſadors and the mediation of the Queene of England, wiſely appeaſed the angrie Turke, and ſo againe renewed his league.

1590

The reaſons wherewith the Viſier Baſſa's perſuade Amurath to make war.

Amurath now at peace with the world, from which he by nature abhorred not, and ſitting idle and melancholy at home, was perſuaded by the Baſſa's his Counſellors, to take ſome new war in hand: for that great empires (as they ſaid) could not without the continual vſe of armes long ſtand or continue: as appeared by the Roman ſtate, which ſo long as it was at wars with Carthage, or their great Captaines and Commanders occupied in armes againſt their neighbour Princes, ſtill remained triumphant, and commanded ouer a great part of the world; but giuing it ſelfe to eaſe and pleaſure, and the martial men not after their wonted manner imployed, it in ſhort time by ciuile diſcord fell, and of the miſtreſſe of the world, became it ſelfe a prey euen vnto the baſeſt nations. Which old *Cato* in his great wiſdom foreſeeing, cried out in the Senat, That the ſouldiers and men of warre were to be kept ſtill buſied in armes far from home, for that in ſo doing, all ſhould go well with the State, and the glorie thereof increaſe. Whereunto the *Othoman* Emperours, his noble progenitors, hauing reſpect, propounded not peace as the end of their wars (as do other weake Princes hauing their owne forces in diſtruſt) but as inuincible conquerors, ſtill ſowed wars vpon wars, making one victorie the beginning of another: whereby they not only brought that their Empire vnto that greatneſſe it was now of, but by ſuch continual imployment made their ſouldiers more couragious and readie, and alſo kept them from rebellions and tumults; whereunto in time of peace, and liuing at eaſe, theſe martial men are moſt commonly inclined, learning (as all others do) by doing nothing to do that is euill and naught. Euery thing (as they ſaid) was by the ſame meanes to be maintained, whereby it was at the firſt increaſed; and that therefore great Empires, as they were by wars begun and augmented, ſo were they by continual wars alſo to be from time to time eſtabliſhed; whereas otherwiſe the ſouldiers liuing in peace, and forgetting their martial prowesse, would for moſt part grow cowardly, as giuing themſelues ouer to the loue of their owne dwellings, of their wiues, and of their children, and other pleaſures; or els conuerting their ſtudies to merchandiſe, or other profitable trades, would in time forget the vſe of armes, and be thereunto againe hardly drawne: vnto the great weakening of his ſtrength both by ſea and land, and the diminiſhing of the number of his great commanders and expert captaines, not to be had without the continunal vſe of war. With theſe and ſuch like reaſons, the great Baſſa's of the Court perſuaded *Amurath*, That he muſt of neceſſitie take ſome new expedition in hand, and not to ſuffer his valiant ſouldiers, but now lately returned out of Perſia, to grow lazie or inſolent for lacke of imployment. Which they did not ſo much for the loue of their Prince, or zeale vnto the State, as for their owne particular profit; eſpecially the two old Baſſa's *Sinan* and *Ferat*, the enuious competitors the one of the others honour: who although they both, much and almoſt all commanded both in peace and war, yet was their honours greater, and their profit far more, in commanding of the Turkes great armies abroad, than in ſitting in the Diuano at home: vnto which no leſſe honourable than profitable preferment they both with like ambition aſpired, accompanied with the hot deſires of their great and many fauorits both at home and elſewhere. Theſe perſuaſions well pleaſed *Amurath*; who although he were himſelfe no ſouldier, yet was he deſirons of new conqueſts, and to increaſe his name: accounting it no leſſe honour vnto himſelfe, by his ſeruants at his appointment to performe great things, than it was vnto his Anceſtors to do that they did themſelues in perſon. But in this ſo ſerious a matter, and of ſo great conſequence, *Amurath* at the firſt could not tell what beſt to reſolue vpon; not for that he was not deſirous of wars, but becauſe as yet he certainely knew not againſt whom he might with greateſt profit and leaſt difficultie and danger conuert his forces: vpon which point his Counſellors agreed not, but for diuers reaſons were of diuers opinions. Which foraſmuch as they containe matters of greateſt importance of all things then in the world done, but eſpecially concerning the profit of the Chriſtian commonweale, I ſhall not thinke it vnworth my labour, to ſet them downe in ſuch order as I finde them credibly reported; hauing moreouer in them many letters and moſt weightie matters not yet come to all mens knowledge: as alſo opening the deuices of the Turkiſh Tyrant againſt the Chriſtian Princes; a motiue not onely for them to ioyne in counſell together how to withſtand him, but for the common Chriſtian Commonweales ſake to forget and forgiue all their priuat diſpleaſures, and with their vnited forces and power honorably and couragiouſly to make war vpon him, and ſo at length by the mercie of God to ouerthrow him, together with his tyrannicall Empire, the greateſt terror of our time.

The cauſes why Amurath would not ſuddenly reſolue vpon war.

Eight ſeuerall opinions of the Viſier Baſſa's, concerning the war to be taken in hand.

The great Baſſa's concerning the intended war were of eight ſundry opinions: whereof the firſt was, That the wars againſt the Perſian ſhould be renewed: the ſecond, for the inuaſion of the King of Morocco and Fes: the third, for war to be taken in hand againſt the king of Spain: the fourth, for the beſieging againe of Malta: the fift was, to ſet vpon the Venetians: the ſixt, for the inuading of ſome part of Italie: the ſeuenth, for the King of Polonia: the eighth and laſt was, for war to be made vpon the Emperour and the Kingdome of Hungary. With all the which aforeſaid Princes, except the Spaniard, although the Turke were then in league, and could not with all or any of them make warre, without the notable breach of his faith and honour: yet was that neuer made queſtion or ſcruple of, but onely, Which might beſt ſtand

A ſtand with the profit of his State for him to ſet vpon: his barbarous law allowing him that libertie, for the more aſſuring of his State, or inlarging of his empire, to breake all faith and promiſe eſpecially with the Chriſtians; not more in any thing to be pittied, than in repoſing any credit or confidence in the faith of ſuch a miſcreant.

The firſt opinion and reaſons of them that would haue the wars renewed in Perſia.

The reaſons the great Baſſaes alleadged for the renuing of the Perſian war, were; For that the Perſian King was of himſelfe like to breake the league ſo lately with him concluded, ſo ſoone as hee ſhould know the Turks entangled in any other war, moued thereunto, as well for the recouerie of his countrey, to his great diſhonour loſt, as alſo in reuenge of ſo many and ſo great iniuries to him of late done by the Turkiſh Emperours. Beſide that, the Chriſtian Princes would perſuade him and pricke him forward thereunto; eſpecially the Spaniard, who for B the neereneſſe of India might without his great charge procure him ſo to do, & alſo conueniently furniſh him with great ordnance and canoniers, which it was wel knowne he of late did. The countries alſo but lately conquered, were not yet (as they ſaid) in quietneſſe or ſafety, and the fortreſſes therein but of late built, together with the garriſons therein, to be in great danger, being for the length of the way, and difficultie of the paſſage, not to be ſtill ſpeedily relieued: inſomuch, that if the Perſians did them no other harme, but onely to forrage and waſt the countrey about them, they ſhould bring the inhabitants into ſuch diſtreſſe, as that thoſe new conquered countries were again by the defendants to be forſaken, or els they muſt themſelues with hunger periſh. True glory (they ſaid) conſiſted not ſo much in conquering, as in the vſe of the conqueſt, and the proſecution of the happie victorie: and that therefore *Amurath* ſhould C take heed, that hee prouoked not the wrath and indignation of the great Prophet *Mahomet* againſt him; who hauing by his good fauor and guide obtained mo victories than any of his predeceſſors againſt the enemies of his religion, ought as a religious & deuout prince ſeuerely to reuenge the wrong by them done both to God and man. Vnto which religious war *Vsbeg Han* the Tartar king, as alſo the prince of Geilan offred their ready help: as for the euent of the victorie, now as good as in his hand, he was to iudge by the ſucceſſe of his former wars. Neither that he need to feare the Perſian horſemen, although they vſed Arabian horſes, being by his men many times ſhamefully put to flight: or yet to doubt leſt the Georgians in fauour of the Perſians ſhould take vp armes, for that many of them were already vnder his obeiſance, and ſubiect vnto the Baſſa of Teflis and other his commanders; the reſt were his vaſſals, or els ſuch D as following the fortune of their princes *Simon* and *Alexander*, ſought after no greater matter, but contenting themſelues with their owne countrey, although but ſmall, thought themſelues well if they might keepe and defend the ſame, by nature and ſcituation ſo ſtrong, as that there is ſcarce any way vnto it, by reaſon of the high and broken mountaines, the thicke woods, and ſtrait paſſages.

The ſecond opinion, for making of war vpon the king of Fez and Morocco, & the reaſon thereof.

The ſecond opinion which was deliuered, was for the tranſportation of his wars into Affricke againſt the king of Morocco, commonly called the Seriphe: and that for theſe cauſes moſt, It would be a great ſhame and reproch (as they ſaid) vnto the *Othoman* empire, that it was not yet able to ſubdue theſe Moores and people of Affricke, in number but few: neither was it leſſe ſhame or diſhonor vnto the *Othoman* Emperors, to haue ſo ſmall a territorie in Affrica, E being the third part of the world, which by reaſon of the neereneſſe vnto Italie, had long time held wars with the Romans. Beſide that, Algiers and Tunes could neuer be ſafely kept by the Turks; neither that the ſubiects and pirats which inhabited thoſe cities would euer be content or at quiet, vntill they had againe got that kingdome into their hands. The promontorie of Aguero, and port of Larace (two ports without the ſtraits) were (as they ſaid) to be taken, as places very commodious for the Turkes friends, ſeeking in thoſe ſeas after bootie; and for the ſecuring of their trade. And although the Seriphe were himſelfe a Mahometan, and held his kingdom as a tributarie vnto the *Othoman* Empire; yet had he ſecret intelligence with the Spaniard and the Knights of Malta, whereby they not long ſince had vpon the ſudden almoſt ſurpriſed Tripolis, he in the meane time as it were winking thereat. And that although the Spa- F niard poſſeſſed in Affricke, Maraſchebir, Oran, Pegnon, Tanger, Arzilia, Mazaga, Ceute or Septa, places whereby he might helpe and aſſiſt the Moores; yet might his force and attempts by a ſtrong fleete bee eaſily hindered, and Spaine it ſelfe infeſted. Beſide that, the Spaniards had yet in ſuch freſh remembrance the loſſe of Tunes and Guletta (places by them thought inexpugnable, and yet by *Sinan Baſſa* to his immortall praiſe taken) as that they would not for the Moores ſake eaſily ſeeme to attempt any great thing againſt the victorious Turks. G

The third opinion, concerning the conqueſt of Malta.

The third opinion was concerning the war to be made againſt them of Malta, which was by a ſtrong fleet to be performed: for that the gallies of Malta did daily great hurt, as well vnto the Turks merchants, as vnto ſuch as for deuotion ſake trauelled by ſea vnto Mecha. And that therefore the war was thither to be transferred, not only for religions ſake and to aſſecure the paſſage thither from the incurſions of the Malteſes, but in reuenge of the old and late iniuries by them done; and eſpecially to blot out the infamie and diſgrace which the great Sultan *Solyman* had incurred, at ſuch time as he had in vaine beſieged that Iſland; & to requite the loſſe by him there ſuſtained. Beſide that, they alſo alleadged the common complaints of the ſubiects; for that there were many which pittiouſly lamented the miſery & calamity, ſome of their friends, ſome their kinsfolke, whome they knew to liue in moſt wofull ſeruitude with thoſe H knights, and whom they moſt earneſtly deſired to haue now ſet at libertie: complaining his ſubiects to haue bin ſo far from ſuffering of any ſuch things from thoſe knights in the time of his anceſtors, as that contrariwiſe they themſelues were by them driuen out of the Iſland of the Rhodes, the ſtrongeſt bulwarke of the Chriſtian common-weale toward the Eaſt. Being moreouer worthy alſo to be chaſtiſed, for that they had holpen the rebellious Moores with all kind of munition, and had themſelues attempted to haue ſurpriſed Modon.

The fourth opinion, for war to be made againſt the K. of Spain, & the reaſons thereof.

In the fourth place were they which were of opinion, that it were beſt for him to make war vpon the king of Spaine. Theſe men alledged it to be impoſſible for the *Turkiſh* empire to aſpire vnto the Monarchie of the whole world (whereunto al the Turks actions & deuiſes were alwaies as at a certain marke directed) except the Spaniard his great ſtrength and power were I firſt weakened, wherein he ſeemed to ſurpaſſe all other the Chriſtians kings and princes: and that there was no feare leſt he ſhould beſiege Algiers, which he knew to be now much better fortified than it was in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth. And that although the Spaniards without ceaſing beſought their king for the vndertaking of that expedition, by reaſon of the new loſſes & harms which they daily receiued from the pyrats of Africa; yet would he not hearken vnto their requeſt, for feare of the danger imminent both to himſelfe & his ſubiects from the enemies fleet, which he ſhould in ſo doing draw into the Spaniſh ſeas: neither would the Spaniſh gallies eaſily come into the Turks countries in the Eaſt, for being too farre from their own country, which for the moſt part ſtood in need of their help. And that the king K of Spain was with the multitude of his buſineſſe, or other his vrgent affaires ſtil ſo hindred, as that he could not ſuddenly put in execution what his counſell for the wars ſhould decree. As alſo how much it was to be gathered by that which hapned not long ſince at Preueza and Nauarinum, That the Spaniards ſhunned the *Othoman* forces: as alſo how warily the king delt in al his affaires, leſt at length againſt his will hee ſhould be enforced to enter into wars with the Turke, was moſt manifeſt; as was to be ſeene when as of late about the end of the Perſian war, he refuſed to giue aid vnto the Perſian king whome he might haue holpen, and was ſo before wont to do. And in caſe that he would ſtand vpon his guard, and by force ſeek to repell force, yet ſhould he ſcarce haue ſo much ſtrength as (beſide thoſe wars which he now maketh in diuers places) to be able to vndertake alſo a new war, and to find ſo many ſoldiers, with ſo much L coine and other things neceſſarie for ſo great a war. It ſtood him in hand (as they ſaid) to defend the Low-countries, and to recouer againe the Prouinces there loſt, which of themſelues wonderful ſtrong, both by reaſon of the ſea & the multitude of the riuers, were alſo with wonderful courage and pertinacy defended by the inhabitants, for their liberty and religions ſake. Whereunto the Engliſh (at deadly hatred with the Spaniard) might many waies giue great help, if they ſhould inuade Portingall, or with their ſhips lie in wait for his Indian fleet, or make incurſions into other his kingdomes, as they did not long ſince at the Groine and Cadez, places moſt fit to trouble Spaine, and to hinder his traffique into the Indies or other places. Beſide that, hee was at that time ſo intangled with his warres in France, as that he could ſcarce finde how to diſpatch himſelfe therof, without the loſſe of his honor & credit. And admit he ſhould make peace with the aforeſaid Princes, in ſuch ſort as that he ſhould not from thenceforth from them receiue any harme; yet were other means to be ſought & taken in hand for his farther diſturbance, as by troubling his rich trade for ſpices & other merchandiſe, wherof he reapeth great profit; as alſo if need were, by driuiug his ſhips out of the Perſian gulfe, by the help of

A of thoſe gallies which ſtill lie at rode at Poſſidium, which we now call Suez. And that the
fortreſſes and ſtrong holds he there poſſeſſeth, were to be ſet vpon, & if it might be, taken from
him, as was once attempted againſt the Portingals at Diu and Ormuz: the like whereof *Al-
phonſus Albuquercius* (the king of Portingall his Viceroy in India) attempted, when as with his
light horſemen running through that countrie, he thought vpon a ſudden to haue ſpoiled Me-
cha, and to haue robbed the Sepulchre of *Mahomet* (as had hapned vnder the Empire of the
Sultans) and as *Traian* the Emperor had long ſince in like maner attempted to rage and ſpoyle.
Thoſe places which he poſſeſſed in Affricke were (as they ſaid) to be ſet vpon, and the coaſt of
Spaine towards the Mediterranean to be infeſted: ſo at length to gratifie the Moores his ſub-
iects, who ſtill inſtantly requeſted the ſame, that ſo they might more ſafely traffique and tra-
B uel, and that ſo the Moores might at length be deliuered from the imperious command of the
Spaniards: of which exploit Sultan *Selymus* lately before dead, was in his life time well per-
ſuaded; but might now at this time be much more commodiouſly done, for that the Mooriſh
nation was now greatly increaſed, and much oppreſſed by the Spaniards; and hauing got great
wealth by the trade of Merchandiſe, euen by nature or religion had conceiued a mortall ha-
tred againſt the Spaniards: whereunto might not a little auaile the ports in Affricke, wherinto
the Turks fleet might at all times in ſafety retire. And in briefe, that which was of greateſt im-
portance to the better ſucceſſe of this war, the French King and the Queene of England, had
of their own accord promiſed the continuation of their wars, and that the French king ſhould
inuade Nauarre, and by force of armes recouer the right he pretended vnto that kingdome;
C whileſt in the meane time the Queene of England ſhould not onely trouble him in the Weſt
Indies, and other places of the Ocean toward the North and Weſt, but might alſo ſtir vp new
broiles in the kingdome of Portingall, where moſt part of the people with great impatiencie
beare the proud command of the Spaniard: as perſuaded (and that truly) all their proſperitie
and quietneſſe to haue bin loſt, together with their laſt king their true and lawfull ſoueraigne.
For he at peace with the kings of France and England, exceedingly therby enriched his ſub-
iects by traffique: whereas ſince they fell into the hands of the Spaniard, they dayly com-
plaine of their new loſſes and dangers by reaſon of his perpetual warres. Moreouer, that there
was to be found great ſtore of exiled Spaniards diſperſed here and there, which being male-
content and wearie of the Spaniſh gouernment, were fled not only out of Portingall, but euen
D out of Aragon and other parts of his kingdome: which now liuing in France, England, and
Conſtantinople, both ſecretly and openly liberally offered great helps: the like whereof ma-
ny of the Moores alſo promiſed. All which together ſeemed to promiſe a moſt eaſie expedi-
tion and certaine victorie, if any ſhould vpon the ſudden inuade Spaine; for that there was al-
moſt no vſe of armes, the inhabitants at home ſeldome times exerciſing themſelues therein:
neither in places needful hauing any ordinarie garriſons, and but few horſes fit for ſeruice. And
that in fine it was to be conſidered, Spaine to be greatly bared of men which knew how vali-
antly and couragiouſly to mannage armes, for the often choice they make of them, which al-
moſt moſt daily tranſported into the Indies, Italy, and the Low-countries, wherby the ſtrength
of his countrie muſt needs be exceedingly empaired: ſo that if they ſhould be inuaded with
E any ſtrong and mighty army, they might ſeeme hardly able to be holpen or defended by their
own people, but ſhould need of the aid and help of the other neere prouinces ſubiect vnto this
kingdome: which if they ſhould be either letted, or ſtay to come in good time, they ſhould
leaue ſo much the more eaſie victorie vnto their enemies.

The ſift opinion for the inuaſion of the Venetians, and the reaſons why.

In the ſift place were they which went about to perſuade *Amurath* to breake his league with
the Venetians; vſing reaſons rather probable than true, although they might ſeeme vnto the
Turks leſſe doubtful, for that men eaſily and willingly beleeue ſuch things as they themſelues
deſire. Theſe men went about to proue no expedition to be leſſe difficult than this, as iud-
ging of things preſent, by the euent of former wars paſſed; wherein the Turks had alwaies ta-
ken ſomething from the Venetians: who to redeeme their peace, were diuers waies enforced
to ſatisfie the Turks. That the Venetian common-weale was afraid of the Turks, and abhorred
war, was manifeſt (they ſaid) in that, that in all actions it had propounded vnto it ſelfe peace, as
the end thereof, and after the manner of their anceſtors, neuer entered into wars, but enforced
thereunto: and would happily vpon the firſt denouncing of warres, willingly depart with cer-
tain places, for feare of greater harme, or to be vtterly ouercome, as it appeared they did in the

yeelding vp of Cyprus. The power and force whereof was not ſo great, as that it could alone ſtand againſt the great Sultan: and to confederate it ſelfe with others, would require no ſmall delay, for the great and many difficulties which commonly vſed to ariſe in making of leagues; G not being now ſo conioyned with the Spaniard as in times paſt, of whoſe aid it being of late deſtitute, was conſtrained to make an hard peace with *Selymus*. And if ſo be the Spaniard would needs ioyne himſelfe vnto the Venetians againſt the Turkes, yet that he could by no means affoord vnto them ſuch aid & ſupplies as were of neceſſity to be required vnto ſo great a war, he himſelfe being in his wars otherwiſe ſo intangled: as for al other confederation they could make without him, to be but weake and to no purpoſe. That which the Pope could do herein, to be but little: for albeit he ſhould according to his duty exhort other Chriſtian Princes to giue aid, & to ſtir them vp vnto this war, yet that beſide ſome little ſupply of mony hardly drawne out of his own coffers and the Eccleſiaſticall reuenues; he could ſcarcely performe H any thing more; or when he had done his vttermoſt deuoire, could but ioyn fiue gallies of his owne vnto the Venetian fleet: which with the gallies of the Duke of Sauoy, of the knights of Malta, and of the Florentines, could but make a fleet of ſome twentie gallies, which was but a ſmall matter. Beſides that, the Turks were perſuaded, that betwixt the Venetian State and the other Chriſtian Princes was no ſuch friendſhip and good agreement, as the greatneſſe of the imminent danger of that war, and as the neceſſitie of the cauſe would require: and that hitherto their treaſures had bin ſo exhauſted in paying the debt they were run into in the *laſt war*, and in building of fortreſſes, that happily they were not now ſo furniſhed with coine, as was requiſit for the defraying of ſo great a war. And vnto this war againſt the Venetians, conſented I almoſt all the Viſier Baſſaes; differing only in this, Where or againſt what place of the Venetian territorie this war were to be firſt begun: ſome naming one place, and ſome another (for diuers reaſons them thereunto leading) which for breuitie we paſſe ouer.

The ſixt opinion, for the attempting of Italie, and the reaſons thereof.

Otherſome of the Baſſaes in the ſixth place, reiecting all the former opinions concerning the war to be taken in hand, would haue had all the forces of the *Othoman* empire, as well by land as ſea, to haue beene conuerted againſt Italie: for that otherwiſe the Turkes ſhould neuer come vnto the Monarchie of the whole world (whereunto as at a marke they had directed all their actions) except they did firſt ſubdue Italie. For that this Countrie, as the centre of the whole world, was wont to giue both counſell and aid vnto the reſt of the limbes, wherby the deuices of others were croſſed: and that the Romanes had at length commanded ouer all the K world, eſpecially for that they held in poſſeſſion this country. Hereat did the Hunnes, the Alani and Gothes, the Vandales, the Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Saraſins, direct all their thoughts and cogitations. In fine they concluded, That no expedition could be taken in hand more honourable or profitable than this: for that Italie was a Queene amongſt other Prouinces, for commodious ſcituation, the wholeſomneſſe of the aire, the plentie of all things neceſſarie for mans life, for great, faire, and moſt rich cities, for the antient glory and maieſtie of the Romane Empire, and many other cauſes alſo. Neither that this expedition was to be deemed of much difficultie, for that Italie was vnder the rule of diuers Princes, vnto whoſe command moſt of their ſubiects vnwillingly obeyed: as alſo for that the inhabitants of that countrie had now for many yeares liued in continuall peace, and were therfore the more effeminat and fearful, L and ſo vnfit for the wars: and that if that expedition were in one or diuers places taken in hand before the corne were full ripe, the Turks in that ſo fruitfull a countrie could neuer want neceſſaries for them to liue vpon; wheras the inhabitants in great number wanting the ſame, and ſhut vp within the wals and fortifications of their cities and ſtrong towns, ſhould be brought into extreame wants: which was the more euidently to be ſeene, for that at this time wherein they were at peace, they had not corne ſufficient in the countrie for ſuch a multitude of people to liue vpon, but were glad to haue it brought vnto them from other places, eſpecially from Peloponeſus, Conſtantinople, and the cities vpon the coaſt of the great Ocean. Furthermore, that it was to be conſidered, that moſt part of the Italians liued by no other meanes than by their handie labour, or the trade of merchandiſe; of which meanes if they were depriued, M they ſhould in ſhort time be brought to that point, as to be glad to accept of ſuch conditions as the victor ſhould propound vnto them, or as tributaries to ſubmit themſelues vnto the *Othoman* gouernment. Neither that the ſouldiers would vnwillingly be drawne vnto that war, for that they were not to paſſe through barren regions of the enemie, frozen with yce, or deſolat,

either

A either by rough woods or inacceſſible mountaines ; but were all the way thither to trauell through their owne countrie, and as it were in the ſight of their owne houſes: and if the Turks could oftentimes enter ſo far, when as they had their confines more remote, and their paſſages more difficult, that the ſame might now much more eaſily be effected, when as they had a farre greater opportunitie, and their enemies ſo neere at hand.

The ſeuenth opinion for war to be made againſt the Polonian, and the reaſons thereof.

The ſeuenth opinion was theirs, which thought it beſt to haue the war transferred into Polonia, and from thence into Hungarie and Germanie: for which they alleadged theſe reaſons: Firſt, for that they thought it a diſgrace vnto the maieſtie and reputation of the *Othoman* Empire, That the king of Polonia had ſometime refuſed to pay his tribute due (for ſo the Turkes account of al ſuch Preſents as are vnto their Sultan vſually ſent by their neighbor princes ; of B courteſie) & that therefore he was by force of armes to be compelled thereunto. Which they thought would the more eaſily be obtained, for that there was much ſecret hatred and heartburning amongſt the Polonian nobilitie. Neither that it would be any difficult or dangerous war to be taken in hand: foraſmuch as Polonia was confined with Moldauia, the Tartars, and the Sanzacks of Acherman, Bendera, and Voſia: and moreouer, for that the Turks could neuer haue any aſſured or full poſſeſſion of Moldauia or Valachia, except the inſolencie of the Polonians were repreſſed ; the Vayuods of which countries, when they had enriched themſelues with much wealth, vſed ſtill to flie into the kingdome of Polonia. Beſides that, they ſhould thereby reuenge themſelues for the iniuries done them by the Coſſackes, and haue more free and ſafe trafficke into Muſcouie, and bring a terrour vpon the Duke of Muſcouie, by reaſon C of the nighneſſe of the country: which great Duke was an impediment vnto the *Othoman* Emperour, that he conquered not the whole kingdome of Perſia. And when they had by this means by little and little drawne vnto Germany, happily it might ſo come to paſſe, as that the Chriſtian Emperor ſhould thereby receiue ſome notable loſſe, his empire being ſtil more and more expoſed and enuironed with the Turks forces and garriſons. Polonia they ſaid to be a plaine and open country, neither to haue any ſtrong places for to withſtand them, and the inhabitants to haue ſmall skil in martiall affaires, for that they had now long liued in peace. For as for the war that they had with *Maximilian* the Archduke of Auſtria, it continued not long: and king *Stephen* in the late wars he had with the Muſcouite, vſed for moſt part the Hungarian ſouldiers, and ended thoſe wars rather by beſieging than fighting.

The eighth opinion for war to be made againſt the Emperour, and the reaſons thereof.

D They which in the eight & laſt place deliuered their opinions concerning the intented war, perſuaded to haue it conuerted vpon the Chriſtian Emperor, whom the Turks call the king of Vienna. The cauſes they alleadged for the beginning of this war was, For that the Vſcocchi were grown ſo inſolent as to make good priſe of the Turks both by ſea and land, in ſuch ſort, as that not onely for the harmes which they did, but euen for the maieſtie and honour of the *Othoman* empire, their inſolencie was not longer to be ſuffered. By whoſe iniuries it was eſpecially brought to paſſe, that the merchants to their great hinderance in priuat, & the Sultans great loſſe in common, hauing left the towne of Narenta or Narona in the Turks dominion, had remoued their mart to Salona (now called Spalato) a town of the Venetians: & that yet for all that was not ſo ſufficiently prouided for the ſecurity of the ſaid merchants, although there E were peace betwixt the Emperour and the Venetians: for that theſe vnruly men for moſt part liuing vpon the ſpoile, troubled all both by ſea and land with their robberies, driuing away mens cattell, burning the villages, and taking away the young babes out of the mothers armes and laps. Whereby it was eaſily to be ſeene, what mind they were of: and that it was not to be doubted, but that if occaſion ſhould ſerue for them to ſurpriſe any of the Turks ſtrong holds vpon the frontiers, they would with all their power attempt the ſame: which what a diſhonor and infamie (not to ſpeake of the loſſe) it would be vnto the whole *Othoman* empire, euery man might eaſily gheſſe. Neither that it was vnknown, how little the Chriſtian Emperor had eſteemed of the Turke, at ſuch time as he was in warre with the Perſian, paying his tribute too late at his pleaſure ; an euident ſigne rather of violating than of eſtabliſhing the league. And that the good ſucceſſe of this warre was not to be deemed either difficult or doubtfull: for that the attempt might be giuen both by Croatia, Hungarie, & Auſtria, countries abounding with all things neceſſarie for the maintenance of a great armie ; as alſo for that they were almoſt to trauell all the way in the Turks owne territorie. Beſide that, the chiefe fortreſſes of Hungarie, namely Belgrade, Buda, and Alba Regalis, with many other ſtrong places, were alreadie hol-

den by the Turks garriſons, whither their armies might in all caſes of extremitie in ſafetie retire,
or out of the ſame garriſons repaire their loſſes, if any ſhould be. The Roman Empire (as G
they ſaid) was more deſirous of peace than war; and the princes, of nothing more carefull, than
how to heape vp and preſerue their treaſures: and the people of Germanie for that of long
they had had no wars, to be leſſe fit now to beare armes, and worſe to be commanded by their
captaines; alwaies hauing in diſtruſt the Hungarians, the Italians, and Spaniards, for that thoſe
nations are not beloued, but rather hated of the Germans, being not at vnity among themſelues,
but diuided, eſpecially about matters of religion. Neither that it was to be feared, leſt forraine
Princes ſhould giue aid vnto the Emperour in this warre: The Polonian and Tranſyluanian
to liue now in peace with the Turke, and therefore would by no meanes turne the heat of this
war into their owne boſomes: as alſo for that the Polonians were afraid, leſt in ſo doing, they
ſhould be driuen out of their countrie, and enforced to remoue themſelues toward the frozen H
ſea: and the Tranſyluanian hauing receiued his ſoueraigntie from the Turke, no leſſe in feare
(if he ſhould ſo do) to be of him again ſtript and ſpoiled of the ſame: as for the king of Spaine,
although he were of ſuch power, as might affoord vnto the houſe of Auſtria great aid, yet that
he was in other places now too much buſied: and that the Biſhop of Rome could not in all places
be readie to ſerue his turne: the Princes of Italie would not ſpend their ſubiects and treaſures
to pleaſure another man: and that the Venetian State would not raſhly ſtir vp the Turks
armes againſt themſelues, but rather at eaſe expect the euent of the war, than to entangle themſelues
with other mens dangers. Theſe were the chiefe opinions of the great Baſſaes concerning
the war to be taken in hand, not ſo much proceeding from any ripe or ſound aduice (as I
commonly they do) but rather from a certaine barbarous inſolencie and contempt of others;
wherewith they moued, doe oftentimes vainly perſuade them of the eaſie performance of diuers
expeditions: which in proofe they finde to be not onely moſt difficult, but vnto themſelues
alſo moſt pernicious.

Amurath reſolueth to make war vpon the Emperor, with the reaſons mouing him thervnto.

In this ſo great diuerſitie of opinions ſtood *Amurath*, of long in doubt what to reſolue vpon:
deſirous he was in all places to ſhew his power, and (if it were poſſible) to exced the glorie
of his predeceſſors, as he thought himſelfe to haue alreadie done in Perſia; hauing as he boaſted,
by his ſeruants there performed more than they could themſelues in perſon with their
mightie armies. Wherfore contenting himſelfe with that he had alreadie done in the Eaſt, he
reſolued now to turne his forces againſt the Chriſtian emperor towards the Weſt, & that for K
diuers reſpects. Firſt, it grieued him to ſee the honour of the houſe of Auſtria, and that it
durſt to make head againſt him: beſides that, to make war vpon a country confining vpon his
owne, would be a thing of far leſſe difficultie than was the Perſian war, where his armies were
now ſtill to be led through his owne peaceable countries, from whence they were to be at all
times plentifully relieued with victuals and whatſoeuer elſe they needed. In which opinion
he was alſo confirmed by *Sinan Baſſa*; who hauing in vaine perſuaded him to haue made warre
againſt the Venetians, furthered now this war; in hope thereby to recouer his credit and reputation
(before greatly impaired abroad by the little he did in Perſia; as alſo at Conſtantinople
by the diſcord betwixt him and *Ferat Baſſa*, commonly called the Black Serpent) as alſo to encreaſe
his wealth and riches: which ſhortly after ſorted to his deſire, being by the great Sultan L
Amurath appointed Generall for thoſe wars. But aboue all others, *Haſſan Baſſa* of Boſna furthered
this matter, in hope thereby to haue gained great riches (as the Turkes manner is) together
with the greateſt honours of the field, as he was moſt vainly perſuaded by his cold Prophets,
to whom he gaue no ſmall credit. He therefore daily certified *Amurath* of the harmes
which the Vſcocchi and other the Archduke his ſeruants & ſubiects did vpon the frontiers of
his territories: telling him of their burnings, ſpoilings, and robbings, inciting him to begin his
war in Croatia, and ſo to continue the ſame either againſt the Emperour, or the Venetians, or
els vpon the ſudden that way to breake into Italie, as had ſometime the like beene done in the
time of *Mahomet*, *Baiazet*, and *Solyman* his noble progenitors: whereby to bring a great terror M
vpon all the Princes of Italie, and to enrich his ſouldiers with rich ſpoiles. By which his importunitie
he (as a moſt mortall enemy not onely vnto the houſe of Auſtria, but vnto all Chriſtendome)
got leaue to begin thoſe ſtirs in the frontiers of the Empire, which were firſt fatall
vnto himſelfe, and haue euer ſince euen vntill this day notably exerciſed the armes of theſe
two laſt *Othoman* Emperours *Amurath* and *Mahomet*; as alſo the Chriſtian Emperour, with
others

A others his friends and confederates. Yet vnto this leaue granted vnto the Baſſa, was this condition at the firſt annexed, That he ſhould not ſeeme to do it by the commandement of *Amurath*, but of himſelfe, vnder colour to reſtraine the Vſcochi; who as well by land as by ſea (as he pretended) ſpoiled both the Chriſtians and Turks, by the great libertie of the Princes of Auſtria, hauing ſmall care to chaſten them.

Now was it no great matter for *Haſſan Baſſa* to do what *Amurath* his great Lord and maſter had commanded, for the diſturbing of the peace betwixt him and the Chriſtian Emperor: the Turks leagues with their neighbour Princes being ſeldome ſo religiouſly kept, but that as wel their ſouldiers in garriſon vpon their frontiers by land, as their aduenturers by ſea, might to keepe themſelues doing, vpon a militarie inſolencie (as the Turks terme it) now and then at B their pleaſures make incurſions for bootie both by ſea and land: which anſwered with the like from their neighbors ſo moleſted, there neuer wanted new grieuances and iuſt cauſes of complaint, to the ſtirring vp of greater troubles euen amongſt the greateſt Princes. The Venetians thus wronged at ſea, and their merchants robbed, by their Embaſſadors complained at Conſtantinople, of the iniuries done them by the Turkes pyrats, requiring to haue them called home and iuſtice done vpon them. In like manner the Emperor alſo, ſeeing many things both this yeare and the next attempted by *Haſſan Baſſa* in Croatia, and the other Turks in Hungarie, contrarie to the league, to the great diſturbance of his ſubiects in both thoſe countries, by his Embaſſador then lying at Conſtantinople complained of theſe outrages, deſiring to know whether they were done by the conſent and knowledge of *Amurath* or not; and if not, then to C require that order might be taken for the reſtraining thereof: which was accordingly done, and thoſe incurſions for a while ſtayed, and the former peace continued. *Amurath* ſtil making ſhew as if he were willing that the league agreed vpon for eight yeares, ſhould not be in any wiſe on his part infringed. At which time the Perſian Kings ſonne (the league not long before concluded) died in the Turks Court, where he lay in hoſtage: whoſe dead bodie *Amurath* cauſed to be honourably ſent home to his father into Perſia, with an apologie in defence of himſelfe, againſt the ſuſpicion conceiued by ſome, That he ſhould haue been the cauſe of the vntimely death of that young Prince; ſtill vrging withall the confirmation of the league, which by the death of the Prince was like enough to haue beene broken. Whereof *Amurath* was the more deſirous, for that perſuaded by his Baſſa's (as is aforeſaid) to make wars with the D Emperour (although he notably diſſembled the ſame) he was in hope thereby to adde vnto his Empire the reliques of Hungarie, with ſome good part of the Territorie of the houſe of Auſtria alſo, and ſo to open himſelf a way into the heart of Germanie. For which purpoſes he now cauſed very great preparation to be made, and a ſtrong Armie to be raiſed; and at the ſame time put a great Fleet of Galleys into the Archipelago, for the ſafetie of his Iſlands in that ſea.

1591

The Perſian hoſtage dieth in the Turkes Court.

According to theſe deſignements, the Baſſa of Boſna by the commandment of *Amurath*, with an armie of fiftie thouſand entred into Croatia, and without reſiſtance burnt and deſtroyed the country before him, ſparing nothing that came in his way. And not ſo contented, laid E ſiege to the citie of Wihitz, being the metropolitical citie of that countrey, ſtrongly ſcituate as it were in an Iſland, compaſſed about with the riuer Vna. Which citie, after he had ſore battered and twice aſſaulted, was by the diſtreſſed defendants (now deſpairing of reliefe, and vnable longer to hold it out) yeelded vnto the Baſſa, vpon compoſition, That the German ſouldiers there in garriſon, might in ſafetie with bag and baggage depart; and that ſuch of the Chriſtian citiſens as would, might there ſtill remaine without hurt from the Turks, either in bodie or goods. Which conditions the Baſſa faithfully performed to the garriſon ſouldiers, whom in number but foure hundred, he ſent with ſafe conuoy into their owne territorie: but afterwards contrarie to his faith and promiſe, exerciſed all manner of Turkiſh tyrannie vpon the poore citiſens. The Emperour troubled with this vnexpected inuaſion of the Turks, ſent the Lord *Petzen* (whom he had many times employed in embaſſages to the Turke) to pray aid of the German Princes againſt the common Enemie. Who according to the greatneſſe of the danger, in large termes promiſed their helpe. The firſt that made head was *Erneſtus* Archduke of Auſtria the Emperours brother, who with fiue thouſand ſouldiers came from Vienna to Sauaria, commonly called Greis, the Metropolis of Stiria: to whom repaired daliy more ſtrength out of Carinthia.

1592

Wihitz the Metropolitical Citie of Croatia yeelded to the Turks.

In

The Christians ouerthrowne.

In the meane time the Turks armie daily increasing in Croatia, inclosed six thousand footmen and fiue hundred horsemen of the Christians; who had taken the mountaines, woods, G
and strait passages, and so hardly beset them, that of all that number few escaped with life: amongst whom many valiant souldiers and expert captaines were slaine, namely *Iames Prani*, *George Plesbach*, and *Iohn Weluerdurff*. The Bassa after the barbarous manner of the Turks, to make his victorie seeme more famous, laded six waggons with the heads of the slaine Christians. The Turks thus raging in Croatia, brought a general feare vpon all Hungarie, Bosnia, Bohemia, Stiria, Carinthia, Silesia, and the rest of the Prouinces thereabouts. Whereupon the Emperor calling together the States of Silesia and Moldauia, declared vnto them the imminent danger; persuading them to ioine their forces with the rest, for the repulsing of so dangerous an enemie, and so imminent a danger.

After long delay, *Ernestus* the Archduke the tenth of August came to the Emperor his brother, with the Embassadors of Hungarie; and the seuenth day after were called together the Embassadors of the kingdomes and prouinces of the Empire: where it was throughly debated, how the Turks were to be resisted, and their attempts infringed; as also from whence forces, money, and other warrelike prouision was to be raised. For now it was manifestly seene, that longer to delay the matter was dangerous: and the rather, for that the Beglerbeg or great Commander of Grecia, with threescore thousand select souldiers both horse and foot, of long time exercised in the Persian war, was ere long expected; who ioyning with the rest of the Turks armie, might do great matters both in Hungary and the places adioyning. For preuenting of which so great and manifest dangers, they sate dayly in counsell in Prague, yea oftentimes euen from morning vntill night: for the Hungarians, and especially the Lord *Nadasti* a most noble and valiant gentleman amongst them, instantly vrged to haue succours sent into Hungarie; forasmuch as the Turkish Emperour, if he should get into his hands the rest of the townes and castles yet holden by the Christians in Hungarie, it was to be feared lest he should in short time after endanger the whole state of Germanie: the strength whereof the Turke feared not so much, as he did those poore reliques of Hungarie. Others were no lesse careful of the dangers of Croatia and Stiria, as more proper to themselues, the enemy now there raging. In these so great dangers, the Hungarians with the rest of the distressed, cried vpon the Emperour for helpe; and he likewise called vpon the Princes of the Empire. Diuers assemblies were made in Bohemia, Hungarie, Morauia Silesia, and the other prouinces of the Emperors, and Embassadors sent from almost all the German Princes to the Emperour: all was full of consultation, but as for helpe that came in very slowly; yet such as was to be had, was forthwith sent into Croatia, to defend the fortresses there against the further attempts & proceedings of the furious enemie.

Certaine vaine attempts of the Turks.

The eighteenth of September, the Turkes with all warlike prouision vpon the sudden by night assaulted the strong castle of Toccay in the vpper Hungarie, in hope to haue surprised it: but finding it a matter of more difficultie than they had before imagined, they departed thence, and attempted the lesser Comara, which standing in a marish ground, was also easily defended. At which time also the Bassa of Buda with his power entred into the frontiers of the Christians, but hauing well viewed the cities, townes, castles, and forts vpon those borders, L
and finding nothing for his purpose, he without any thing doing returned againe to Buda.

Turopolis spoyled by the Turks

The six and twentieth day of September, *Hassan* the Bassa of Bosna incamped with his Armie betwixt the riuers of Kulp and Sauus, and in the darkenesse of the night passing ouer part of his armie into Turopolis, with fire and sword most miserably spoiled all that pleasant and fertile Island; the lord of Bonny, to whom the keeping thereof was committed, labouring in vaine to defend the same.

About the end of this moneth, the Bassa of Ziget, with the Sanzackes of Mohas, Koppan, and Quinque Ecclesiæ, and other Turkes of great name, came with a strong Armie, and encamped betweene Ziget and Rodesto. And shortly after newes was brought to the Emperours Court, that Kanysia a Citie of Stiria (not farre from the riuer Zala) was hardly besieged by the enemie, and that the Turks in comming thither had taken many Christians Captiues, whom they had sent to be sould at Constantinople; and that there was in the Turkes armie about an hundred and sixtie thousand men. But forasmuch as the Christian army daily increased also, and was now growne to the number of threescore thousand, men began to hope well, A well, that the enemies rage would be ſtayed from any further proceeding. About the ſame time, *Erneſtus* the Archduke appointed Generall of the armie, with the Marquis (ſon to *Ferdinand* the Archduke) his lieutenant, came both vnto the armie.

In theſe preparations, about the beginning of October heauie newes was brought vnto the Emperors court, how that 7000 men, whom he but a little before had ſent into Croatia vnder the conduct of *Thomas Artelius Beane*, *George Gleichſpacher*, and *Dionyſius Denke*, to hinder the courſe of the Turks proceedings, being incamped betwixt Wihitz and Caroliſtat, and hauing the twelfth of September diſcouered from an high hill certaine companies of the Turkes (which wore indeed of purpoſe come thither to view the armie of the Chriſtians) ſent out fiftie horſemen to diſcouer the Turks armie where it lay, and what it attempted. Who finding no B moe of the Turks than thoſe whome they had before ſeene from the mountaine, returned againe vnto the armie with ſuch ſimple intelligence: whereunto the Chriſtians giuing credit, became ſecure in their tents, as men out of feare of the enemie, and ſo kept but negligent watch. But in this ſo great ſecuritie, the enemie on a ſudden came vpon them, and with an hundred thouſand men brake into their trenches: where the Chriſtian footmen for all that, for the ſpace of foure houres maintained a notable fight, wherein many were on both ſides ſlaine. But the poore Chriſtians being beſet round, and oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies, were ſlaine almoſt all: yet the Captaines ſeeing the danger, by ſpeedie flight ſaued their liues: for which their cowardiſe and careleſſe negligence, they were afterwards apprehended and beheaded. Almoſt all the common ſouldiers were there ſlaine: yea ſuch as fell aliue into C the hand of the enemie, were moſt cruelly cut in pieces. The ſpoile alſo of the tents of the Chriſtians fell vnto the enemie; wherein beſide the aboundance of other things, they found ſixtie thouſand dollars, brought but two dayes before from Lintz for the ſoldiers pay. The Turks after their barbarous manner, in oſtentation of their victorie, laded fourteene waggons with the heads of the ſlain Chriſtians, which they ſent vnto diuers of their places thereabouts. This was indeed a great victorie, but gained by the Turks with much bloud: for the Chriſtians fighting as men deſperate, ſlew of their enemies aboue twelue thouſand, and died themſelues as men rather with number oppreſſed, than with true valour vanquiſhed.

The night following, the Turks vpon the ſudden in the dead time of the night ſurpriſed the caſtle of S. *George*, and without reſpect of age or ſex, cruelly put to the ſword all them that D were therein, except an hundred and fiftie perſons, whom they carried away captiues; and ſo ſetting the caſtle on fire, departed. At the ſame time diuers companies of the Turkes were ſeene about Siſeg, who led away with them about ſix hundred Chriſtians into moſt miſerable captiuitie. And that nothing might be wanting vnto the calamities of this ſo miſerable a waſted countrey, three hundred waggons charged with all manner of prouiſion ſent out of the prouinces there by for the reliefe of the garriſon ſoldiers in Croatia, were all intercepted by the Turks, and ſo carried away.

The caſtle of S. George ſurpriſed by the Turks.

The Emperor conſidering theſe proceedings of the Turks, and that their ſtrength daily increaſed, gaue notice by writing, to all the Princes and States of the Empire, what incurſions E the Turks had of late made into Croatia and the frontiers of Hungary, with other places neere vnto them: and that the Beglerbeg of Grecia, with the Baſſa's of Boſna, Buda, and Temeſwar, without regard of the league yet in force, had taken diuers cities, townes, caſtles, and ſtrong places, and ſo extended the bounds of their dominion aboue fortie German miles, hauing ſlain or carried away into captiuity the poore inhabitants of thoſe countries; and now to be grown to that height of pride, that except their farther proceedings were with like forces repreſſed, they would in ſhort time ſet foot into Germany it ſelfe, and poſſeſſing themſelues of Stiria and Carinthia, would from thence daily more and more incroach vpon the Empire: which to hinder, was not in his power only, but required their helpe in general. Wherefore he requeſted them now at length, in ſo publique a danger to open their coffers, and to ſend out their Forces againſt the common enemie. Which requeſt of the Emperor, with the due conſideration of ſo great a danger, moued not only the Princes and States of the Empire, but others alſo farther off, to yeeld liberal contribution vnto ſo neceſſarie and general a cauſe.

The Emperour prayeth aid again of the German Princes.

The Turks now hearing of the great preparation of the Chriſtian Princes, beſide the armie which was alreadie in the field, and that they had made a ſtrong bridge ouer the riuer of Dratus, which they had alſo fortified; thereby in ſafetie at their pleaſure to tranſport their army:

without further delay furniſhed ſuch places as they had gotten, with ſtrong garriſons, and ſo G withdrew themſelues into their owne territory: which they did the rather, for that the plague then raged ſore in Conſtantinople, inſomuch that there died a thouſand a day. Which contagion had alſo taken hold of the Turkiſh armie; ſo that the Chriſtians for feare of infection, forthwith ſlew what Turke ſoeuer fell into their hands. And thus ended the troubles of this yeare, being as it were an introduction for greater to enſue the yeare following.

1593

Diuers incurſions of the Turks into the frontiers of the Chriſtians in Croatia and Hungarie.

The Turks together with the beginning of the new yeare began alſo their wonted incurſions into the frontiers of the Chriſtians. They of the garriſon of Petrinia (a ſtrong fort but lately and contrarie to the league built by the Turks vpon the Riuer of Colapis or Kulp, for the further inuaſion of Croatia) made dayly incurſions out of that new fort, and entring into the Iſland Turopolis, ſpoiled and burnt the Towne and Caſtle of Beck-Vochobinam, and ha- H uing made a great ſlaughter, carried away with them 400 priſoners. And in Hungarie the Turkiſh garriſons to ſupplie their wants made diuers inrodes vpon the Chiſtians, and did exceeding much harme: of which aduenturers ſix hundred in paſſing ouer the frozen lake, were all drowned in the middeſt thereof. In another place three thouſand of them neere vnto Nuhuſe diuided themſelues into two companies, whereof the one ſhewed it ſelfe in the ſight of the Towneſmen, the other ſtill lying cloſe in ambuſh. They of the towne vpon the ſight of theſe Turks, ſallied out, and cauſing them to retire, followed them ſo farre, that they were paſt the place where the reſt of the Turks lay: who preſently ſtarting vp, ran with all ſpeed toward the towne, in hope to haue ſurpriſed it: and wanted not much of that they deſired; for there was ſcarce an hundred of the Germans there in garriſon left in the towne, who had ſcarce ſo I much time as to draw vp the bridges: which done, they with the great ordnance from the wals enforced the Turks to retyre and forſake the towne. About the ſame time alſo the Turks in garriſon at Petrinia ſallying out vpon the ſudden, tooke the towne of Martenize, which they ſpoiled, and hauing ſlaine and taken about ſeuen hundred perſons, ſet fire on the towne, and ſo returned, hauing loſt in this exploit not paſt an hundred and fiftie of their owne men. Not long after, the ſame garriſon ſoldiers of Petrinia tooke another caſtle three miles diſtant from the riuer of Kulp, whereinto the Chriſtians dwelling round about had for feare of the enemy conueyed all their wealth, with great ſtore of victuals: all which the Turks tooke, and hauing ſlaine ſix hundred men in the caſtle, returned with an exceeding rich bootie to Petrinia: which they bought with the liues of fine hundred of their fellowes, ſlaine in taking of the Caſtle. K With like inſolencie did alſo the other Garriſons of the Turkes rage in all the other parts of Hungarie. About Saſſouia in the vpper Hungarie they carried away about three hundred Chriſtian captiues. And in the nether part of Hungarie they tooke the ſtrong caſtle of S. *Hedwig* vpon the lake of Balaton, which they ſpoiled and burnt; and ſo likewiſe the caſtle of Iſna: but attempting the leſſer Comara, they were by the garriſon ſouldiers valiantly repulſed. They alſo fortified the caſtle of Stocke, which they had but a little before taken, that ſo it might ſerue for a ſafe refuge for their aduenturers. Which their manifold outrages, contrarie to the league, euidently declared the deſire they had to begin that bloudie war which preſently after enſued: and was indeed the more ſuſpected, for that at the ſame time the Emperours Embaſſador *Fredericke Corcowitts* was by the commandement of *Amurath* ſhut vp cloſe L in his houſe at Conſtantinople, and not ſuffered to ſpeake with any man, neither to write or to ſend any meſſenger to the Emperor: which cauſed him the more to ſuſpect ſome great matter to be by the Turke intended, and therefore began to raiſe new forces. The Hungarians and Bohemians alſo ſeeing their Townes and Caſtles thus taken, their Prouinces ſpoiled, infinite number of people led away into captiuitie, and the enemie dayly encreaſing in ſtrength, at length agreed vpon their owne charges to maintaine a certaine number both of horſe and foot for the repreſſing of theſe the Turkiſh incurſions.

Now although the Emperor knew right well, all theſe outrages of the Turks, contrary vnto the league, could not be done without the knowledge and good liking alſo of *Amurath* (as before enformed thereof by his Embaſſador from Conſtantinople) yet to ſhew himſelfe wil- M ling to haue the league on his behalfe kept, as alſo to make a further proofe of *Amurath* his reſolution for peace or war, he wrot vnto him as followeth:

Rodolph

Rodolph the ſecond, Emperour of the Romans, vnto *Amurath* the third, King of the Turkes.

The Emperors Letters vnto Amurath.

Whereas nothing is hitherto on our behalfe omitted for the preſeruation and continuance of the league and amitie betwixt your moſt excellent Maieſtie and vs, by the renewed capitulations of peace; and that we haue with all ſinceritie and loue performed, and are hereafter readie to performe whatſoeuer is on our part to be performed and done; and as we haue hitherto, ſo for euer hereafter alſo make offer of the ſame: we moſt aſſuredly promiſe vnto our ſelues on your Maieſties behalfe, that you in like manner will not ſuffer any thing on your part to be wanting; but gladly and willingly to do all things which ſhall be meete and needfull for the preſeruation and keeping of this our mutual loue and friendſhip. Vpon which good hope grounding our ſelues, to declare our plaine meaning and ſinceritie indeed, we will cauſe our honorable Preſent (which is now readie) to be brought vnto your moſt royall Maieſtie, at ſuch time as ſhall be agreed vpon betwixt our Embaſſador and you: vnto whom in all ſuch matters as he by our commandement ſhall haue to deale with your moſt excellent Maieſtie, your Viſiers, or ſeruants, we requeſt you to giue full credence. In the meane time your Excellencie ſhall doe well to prouide, that as we haue now ſeuerely commanded our ſubiects to keepe the peace vpon our frontiers, ſo that your ſouldiers alſo make no incurſions as enemies into our territories, nor do in them any harme, but to endeauour themſelues alſo to peace and quietnes: and eſpecially that all ſuch things as contrarie to the capitulations of the league haue been there of late taken from our people, or otherwiſe vniuſtly poſſeſſed, may be againe reſtored, the loſſes recompenced, the new fort of Petrinia demoliſhed, and the Baſſa of Boſna and others the authours of breaking of the league, puniſhed and diſplaced: whereby we ſhall gather your royal Maieſties moſt noble and kinde affection towards vs and our State; which as it ſhall be a thing moſt iuſt, ſo ſhall it be a ſingular confirmation of our league. But concerning theſe matters, and others to the ſame belonging, our Embaſſador is to declare our minde more at large, that ſo our preſt deſire for the continuance of our league and friendſhip with your Maieſtie, may more plainely be knowne. So wiſh we all health and proſperitie vnto your moſt royal Maieſtie. From Prague the eighth of March 1593.

The Emperor alſo at the ſame time and to the ſame purpoſe writ to *Sinan Baſſa* in this ſort;

Rodolph the ſecond, Emperour of the Romans, to *Sinan Baſſa* the chiefe Viſier, greeting.

The Emperors Letters vnto Sinan Baſſa.

We write at this preſent vnto your moſt Excellent Emperor our moſt honored friend and neighbour, concerning ſuch matters as we thought fit for the preſeruation of the peace and league betwixt vs, leſt haply otherwiſe we might ſeeme to haue forgotten our dutie. Now it ſhall well beſeeme your vprightnes and good will, which we haue at other times proued, for the high place and authoritie which you hold (and which we reioice to be againe reſtored vnto you) to giue vnto theſe things ſuch eaſie paſſage before his Maieſtie, as that we may acknowledge your kindeneſſe and fauor, and haue occaſion therefore to ſhew our ſelues vnto you thankefull. Firſt, we offer our ſelues moſt readie to continue the peace, and to performe whatſoeuer is according to the conuentions of the renued peace on our part to be performed: as alſo to ſend the honorable Preſent (which is not as yet by vs ſent) when as our Embaſſador ſhall haue with you appointed any certaine time wherein it may be ſent. And we alſo aſſuredly hope ſo to preuaile with your Emperor, that on your part the places within our territories, by your people forcibly poſſeſſed, together with all ſuch things as haue been wrongfully taken away, may be againe reſtored, and the fort of Petrinia raſed. The Baſſa of Boſna alſo (who we thinke would haue been kept within the compaſſe of dutie, if you had at that time held the place of the chiefe Viſier) and whoſoeuer els, guilty of the wicked breach of the league, to be worthily according to their deſerts puniſhed and diſplaced, and your ſouldiers ſeuerely charged not to make any further incurſions, nor to do any thing that may tend to the breach of the league: as we likewiſe ſhall with new and ſtrait commands moſt carefully reſtraine our garriſon ſouldiers vpon our frontiers, from all ſuch incurſions and enemies actions. But of theſe things our Embaſſador is more fully and at large to entreat with you: vnto whoſe ſpeech we deſire ſuch credence to be giuen as vnto our owne; and we will ſo prouide, that you ſhall haue good proofe of our great good will towards you. From Prague the eighth of March 1593.

Vnto which the Emperors letters, *Sinan* returned anſwer as followeth;

Sinan Baſſa chiefe Viſier to *Amurath* the third, Emperor of the Turks; vnto *Rodolph* the ſecond, Emperour of the Romans, greeting.

Sinan Baſſa his Letters to the Emperour.

By theſe we giue your Maieſtie to vnderſtand, That two of your Maieſties Letters were brought hither before we were choſen and confirmed chiefe Viſier in this moſt royal Court; wherein your Maieſtie excuſe your ſelfe, and ſhew the cauſes why the ſending of the wonted Preſents hath been ſo long deferred, by laying the fault vpon the inſolencie of our garriſon ſouldiers in Boſna, and the breach of the publique peace. Which your Letters being by vs read before our moſt mightie Emperour, his Highneſſe in great choler burſt out into theſe words, And thy ſonne the Beglerbeg of Buda hath ſtil hitherto writ and giuen vs to vnderſtand, that the vſual preſents would certainly come, and that the King of Vienna would not in any caſe conſent vnto the breach of the league, or of the amitie betwixt vs and him: and yet for all that, the Preſents are not hitherto come; wherefore thy ſonnes writings and relations are not true. *But now the Baſſa of Boſna hath ſent word vnto the Court, That your Maieſtie will not ſend them, and all your doings to be but meere deceit and fraud. For which cauſe our moſt mightie Emperour hath remoued my ſonne from his place in Buda, and rewarded the Baſſa of Boſna with honorable garments, whereas my ſonne is for your Maieſties ſake diſplaced. Now on our behalfe nothing is done againſt the peace, but our ſouldiers as with a bridle kept in: whereas on your Maieſties part excurſions and harmes into the territories of our Emperour neuer ceaſe, eſpecially into Boſna, whereinto your ſouldiers haue of late in warlike manner broken, although they were by our gariſons ouercome, their great ordnance taken, and brought hither vnto the Court. Wherefore ſeeing the caſe ſo ſtandeth, your Maieſtie is to reſolue vs vpon two points; whereof the firſt is, Whether you be minded to keepe friendſhip with vs as beſeemeth, and to ſend hither the two laſt yeares Preſents or not? And the ſecond, Whether you will ſet at libertie our captiue Sanzackes, or no? Now if your Maieſtie ſhall be content to keepe the league, and within theſe two moneths next, to ſend the two yeares preſents, as alſo to diſmiſſe our Sanzackes; the league ſhall on our part be likewiſe vndoubtedly kept, your Territories ſhall be in no caſe moleſted, ſuch Chriſtian captiues as your Maieſtie ſhall require, be enlarged, and a moſt firme and ſure friendſhip by vs continued. Whereas if you ſhall vpon any cauſe or excuſe longer delay the ſending of thoſe honorable Preſents, and vnto theſe our demands ſend vs nothing but certaine vaine and windie anſwers; let God on high be therefore for euer praiſed; for now our moſt mightie and victorious Emperour, who wanteth neither abilitie nor power, hath commanded, That we our ſelfe ſhould in perſon go in this war; and putting our confidence in the Higheſt, with the Armie of the right beleeuing Turkes to come into thoſe parts. And therefore aſſure your Maieſtie, that we will not faile there to encounter you: at which time ſhall appeare vnto the world, what is by God our Creator (whoſe holy name be for euer bleſſed) in his deepe wiſedome preordained and ſet downe for vs. Wherefore ſeeing that all which concerneth the league, together with the ſafetie and quiet of our people on both ſides, is vnto your Maieſtie thus declared; you are to conſider the end, and to follow our good aduice: whereas if otherwiſe you ſhall be the cauſe of the breach of this ſo wholeſome a peace and vnitie (which we hitherto haue ſo ſincerely and firmly kept) the excuſe thereof both in this world and in the world to come, ſhall lie vpon your ſelfe. Now we requeſt of you no more, but forthwith to ſend vs anſwer of theſe our letters. As for the reſt, well may he ſpeed that taketh the right way. From Conſtantinople the laſt of the moneth * Giuma Zuleuel, in the yeare of our holy Prophet* Mahomet 10001.

** Which is the 16 of March, in the yeare of Chriſt 1593.*

Yet for all theſe faire offers of peace thus made by *Sinan Baſſa* in his letters, was his purpoſe nothing leſſe than to haue performed the ſame; ſeeking onely to haue drawne the two yeares preſents from the Emperour, amounting to a great ſumme of money, and ſo neuertheleſſe to haue proſecuted the intended war; the Emperour being the onely man of whom *Amurath* his great Maſter had amongſt all the Chriſtian Princes made choice of to exerciſe his force vpon. Of all which things the Emperour was not ignorant, being thereof (as we ſaid) fully before by his Embaſſador aduertiſed from Conſtantinople.

Theſe troubles of the Spring thus paſt, enſued the Sommer much more troubleſome, for *Haſſan Baſſa* of Boſna, chiefe author and deuiſer of theſe broiles, ceaſed not for the increaſe of his credit, to worke what miſchiefe he could againſt the Chriſtians that bordered vpon him.

This great Baſſa mortally hated the Gouernour, or as ſome call him the Abbot of Siſeg, a ſtrong caſtle ſcituate vpon the borders of that part of Croatia, yet holden by the Chriſtians, where the riuer Kulp falleth into the famous riuer of Sauus or Saw (and was indeed the verie bulwarke of that countrey) the cauſe of which his hatred is reported to haue been this. The yeare before, the Baſſa had ſent a meſſenger to this Abbot, to require him to deliuer the caſtle or monaſterie vnto him: which meſſenger for certaine daies the Abbot entertained with many honourable ſpeeches, learning in the mean time of him ſo much as he poſſibly could of the Baſſaes intention, with what power, in what place, and with what engines he had determined to beſiege the caſtle. In the meane time it was diſcouered, that his Steward had long before plotted with the Turke to haue betraied the caſtle, and had for certaine yeres paſt receiued of him a yerely penſion. Vpon which occaſion, the Abbot cauſed both the meſſenger & his own ſteward to be apprehended, and ſo faſt bound hand and foot, to be caſt out at a window of the caſtle into the riuer of Saw. The Baſſa ſeeing his meſſenger not to returne, ſent another to the Abbot, grieuouſly threatning him, if he did not ſend him back again his meſſenger: wherunto the Abbot anſwered, That he had diſmiſſed him certaine daies before, and therfore maruelled if he were not as yet returned: neuertheleſſe concerning his demand, that he was reſolued to yeeld the monaſterie vnto the Baſſa, againſt whoſe forces he ſaw himſelfe vnable to hold it: requeſting only, that it would pleaſe him to ſend ſome men of account to receiue it at his hand for that it would be no ſmall diſhonot vnto him to deliuer it vp vnto common ſouldiers. The Baſſa glad of this meſſage, ſent forthwith certaine principall men of great account, hoping now without any loſſe to haue that ſtrong place yeelded vnto him, which had ſo long time ſtood in his way. Three daies after, certaine troups of horſemen ſent from the Baſſa, came to the monaſterie as was appointed, and finding the gates open, entred, firſt the noblemen, and after them fiue hundred others or thereabouts: who were no ſooner within the gates, but that the portculleis was let fall, and certain murthering pieces (ſecretly placed in the court for that purpoſe) diſcharged; with the violence whereof, the Turks that were alreadie entred, were moſt miſerably rent in pieces, their heads, arms, and legs, flying in the aire; when preſently the garriſon ſouldiers ſtarting out of their lurking places, made a quick diſpatch of all them that had eſcaped the fury of the great artillerie. The reſt of the Turks ſhut out, hearing the noiſe and crie of them within, turning their horſes, betooke themſelues to ſpeedie flight. The great Baſſa hearing of this ſlaughter of his men, and how he had beene deceiued, ſwore in great rage by his *Mahomet*, to raſe this monaſterie downe to the ground, and to pluck the Abbots skin ouer his eares: and ſo by threatning letters gaue him to vnderſtand, as followeth.

Haſſan Baſſa of Boſna, vnto the Abbot of Siſeg.

The threatning letter of Haſſan Baſſa of Boſna vnto the Abbot of Siſeg.

It is not to thee vnknowne, how often wee haue ſent vnto thee our meſſengers with letters, declaring vnto thee our loue and good will; requeſting thee in friendly ſort, and without further reſiſtance to yeeld vp vnto vs thy fortreſſe of Siſeg, not longer to be by thee holden. Vnto which our requeſt thou haſt hitherto moſt wilfully at thy pleaſure oppoſed thy ſelfe, not without the ſlaughter of our men; and in ſo doing, haſt giuen cauſe vnto the great Sultan to ouerthrow and raſe that thy fortreſſe, whereof thou for the Emperour wilt needs be the chiefe. Thinkeſt thou it will be for thy good, or yet well taken, that thou haſt ſo ſhamefully and perfidiouſly circumuented and ſlaine our Embaſſadors and ſeruants ſent vnto thee? Nay aſſure thy ſelfe, that if Mahomet *grant vs life, we will neuer giue ouer the ſiege of that thy fort wherein thou ſo much truſteſt, vntill I haue before thy face ouerthrowne it, and (if thy God ſhall giue thee aliue into my hands) haue pluckt thy skin ouer thine eares, to the great reproch and ſhame of the Chriſtians: for I am fully reſolued, not to depart from this place, but to continue the ſiege thereof vntill I haue it. Let a little time yet paſſe, and thou ſhalt ſee thy ſelfe on euery ſide beſieged, thy fort with moe and greater pieces of artillerie than euer, battered, and our power ſtrong enough to conſtraine thee. Thou haſt hitherto put thy greateſt hope and comfort in the* Banne* Erodius, *for whom by the help of* Mahomet *we are too much ſtrong. In briefe, we are of nothing more carefull than how to get thee into our power: which if we do looke not for any mercie at our hands.*

** The Hungarian Bannes are noblemen, in power much like vnto the Turks Baſſaes.*

Neither was the Baſſa vnmindfull of his promiſe, or of the loſſe he had receiued, but now in the beginning of Iune with an army of thirtie thouſand horſe and foot, came and beſieged the

Haſſan Baſſa inuadeth Croatia.

Siſeg beſieged by Haſſan Baſſa

fortreſſe of Trenſchijn, which with continuall batterie and often aſſaults hee at length tooke, ſacked the towne, ſlew moſt part of the inhabitants, except 800 or thereabouts of the yonger ſort, which he carried away with him into captiuitie. And being proud of this victorie, remoued thence by a bridge which he had made, paſſed ouer the riuer, and ſo the twelfth of Iune came and incamped before the monaſterie of Siſeg: and after vain ſummons giuen to the ſame, the next day cauſed his great ordnance to be planted, and with great fury thundering againſt the wals, in ſhort time ouerthrew the new tower, in the fall whereof two of the Chriſtian canoniers periſhed. This furious batterie he maintained by the ſpace of ten daies without intermiſſion, giuing no time of reſt vnto the beſieged, ſo that it ſeemed not poſſible for the monaſterie to be any long time defended, if it were not with ſpeed relieued. The Biſhop of Zagrabia, and *Rupertus Eggenberg* Generall of the Emperours forces that then were at Zagrabia, gaue knowledge thereof to *Andrew* lord *Auersberg* Gouernor of Carolſtat, crauing his aid & counſell: who calling together his owne forces, raiſed a good number of good horſe and foot, and called alſo vnto him the bordering horſemen of Karnia and Carainia; who the ſeuenteenth day of Iune met altogether not far from Inſtawitz, and there tarried that night. The next day paſſing ouer the riuer Sauus neere vnto Zagrabia, they ioyned themſelues with the Emperors forces, and marched the nineteenth day in good order to Sceline, where they expected the comming of Countie *Serinus*. Thr twentieth day *Peter Herdelius* with his Huſſars, and the lord *Stephen Graſwein* came into the campe, with many of thoſe light horſemen whome the Hungarians called Vſcocchi. The one and twentieth day they lodged at Gradium, ſtill expecting the comming of the countie *Serinus*, who otherwiſe buſied, could not come. The next day after, a ſouldier ſent out from the beſieged, came into the camp, who gaue the captains to vnderſtand, that except they made haſte that day to relieue the diſtreſſed monaſterie, it would vndoubtedly be loſt, for that the enemie had made it ſaultable, and would that night giue the aſſault, and the defendants doubting how they ſhould be able to maintaine the place, began before his departure thence to think of compoſition with the enemie. Vpon which news the captains forthwith began to conſult among themſelues, what courſe to take in ſo doubtful & dangerous a caſe: where *Auersberg* was of opinion, that it were beſt to march on, and to giue the enemie battel; with whom alſo agreed the lord *Rederen*: the reſt of the captains being of a contrary mind, for that the ſtrength of the Chriſtians compared to the Turks, was too weak; and therefore they thought it better in time to retire whiles they yet might, than to hazard vnto moſt manifeſt perill the liues of ſo many valiant men, at ſo great ods. At which counſell *Auerſberg* was at the firſt much moued, but afterwards (as he was a man of great eloquence) plainely ſet before them the neceſſity of the cauſe, & with liuely reaſons cheered vp the fearful Croatians; notably perſuading them all in generall, to put their whole truſt & confidence in God, to whom it was as eaſie to giue victory by few, as by many: and to fight like valiant men, for their religion, their country, their liues, their wiues, their children and friends, and whatſoeuer elſe they held deare; againſt that cowardly enemy, whoſe valor neuer brought him into the field, but onely the vaine truſt he had in his multitude; & would therfore no doubt eaſily be put to flight, if he ſhould contrary to his expectation find himſelfe but a little hardly laid vnto. With theſe and other like reaſons he preuailed ſo much, that they all yeelded to his opinion, & with one conſent reſolued to go againſt the enemie, and to do what they might to relieue their beſieged friends. So vpon a ſigne giuen, the whole army (in number not aboue 4000) forthwith remooued, and with great ſpeed haſted towards the enemie, and being come within a mile of the camp, put themſelues in order of battell. The Turks by their eſpials vnderſtanding of the approch of the Chriſtians, brought all their horſemen ouer the riuer of Kulp, by a bridge which they had made, and hauing put themſelues in order, came on to ioyne battell with the Chriſtians: who had in their vauntgard placed the Croatians & Huſſars; in the left wing them of Carolſtat, and the hasquebuſiers of Karnia; in the right wing the borderers of Carainia, all horſemen; in the maine battell the reſt of the ſoldiers, with the horſemen of Sileſia, vnder the conduct of *Sigiſmund Paradiſe*; the rereward was encloſed with three companies of the Emperors ſouldiers. The Croatians and Huſſars in the vantgard gaue the firſt charge vpon the enemie: but hauing for a good ſpace made a great fight, they were about to haue retired, and diſcouraged with the multitude of the enemies, were euen vpon the point to haue fled: when *Auersberg* (Generall of the Chriſtian armie) came on with his ſquadron, and not onely reſtored

the

A great battell betwixt the Turkes and the Chriſtians.

A the battel, but ſo reſolutely charged the maine battell of the Turks, that the Baſſa was conſtrained at the firſt to retire, and afterwards to flie, after whom all the reſt of the armie followed. The Chriſtians ſtill keeping their array, purſued them with great ſpeed, and comming to the new made bridge before them, tooke from them that paſſage, to the great diſcomfiture of the Turkes; who ſeeing the miſerable ſlaughter of themſelues, and no way to eſcape, ran headlong ſome into the riuer Odera, ſome into Kulp, and were there for moſt part drowned; the reſt were all ſlaine by the Chriſtians, before determined not to take any priſoners. In the meane time, the Turks that remained at the ſiege, vnderſtanding of the ouerthrow of their fellows, ſet fire on their pouder and other prouiſion, and ſo in great feare betooke themſelues to flight. Whoſe tents the Chriſtians immediatly after tooke, and in them nine great pieces of artille-B rie, and good ſtore of great ſhot of 44 and 45 pound weight a piece, with the ſumptuous pauillion of the Baſſa, and much other rich ſpoile, which was all carried into the monaſterie of Siſeg. The number of the Turkes ſlaine in this battell, and drowned in the riuers, is of diuers diuerſly reported, but moſt agree vpon eighteene thouſand. And amongſt them was ***Haſſan Baſſa*** himſelfe, found in the riuer neere vnto the bridge, known by his moſt rich and ſumptuous apparell; and neere vnto him ***Mahomet-Beg***, and ***Achmet-Beg***. In other places were alſo found the dead bodies of ***Saffer-Beg***, the Baſſaes brother, of ***Meuibeg***, ***Haramatan-Beg***, ***Curti-Beg***, ***Operd Beg***, and ***Goſchu***, the Baſſaes chiefe counſellor, and maſter of his houſhold. But of all others, the vntimely death of ***Sinan-Beg Amurath*** his nephew, his ſiſters onely ſonne, ſent thither to haue learned the feats of armes vnder ***Haſſan*** the great Baſſa, was of the Turks moſt lamented. Of C twenty thouſand Turkes that came ouer the riuer Kulp, ſcarcely two thouſand eſcaped. This ſo great a victorie obtained, all the armie of the Chriſtians went thrice about the monaſterie, and euery time falling all downe vpon their knees, gaue vnto God moſt heartie thanks for the ſame, as by him miraculouſly giuen, and not by themſelues woon; and afterwards made all the ſhew of ioy and gladneſſe they could poſſibly deuiſe.

Siſeg relieued.

Eighteen thouſand Turkes ſlaine.

Siſeg thus deliuered, and the Turks army ouerthrown, the Chriſtians with all ſpeed laied ſiege to Petrinia the ſtrong new fort of the Turks, which they for the ſpace of fiue daies moſt furiouſly battered: but hearing that the great Gouernor of Græcia (whom the Turks call the Beglerbeg of Romania) was with a great power comming to the reliefe of the fort, they raiſed their ſiege, brake vp their armie, and returned euery man to his woonted charge.

D Whileſt theſe things were in doing at Petrinia, a Poſt came from Conſtantinople to Buda, who brought thither the firſt newes of the ouerthrow of Siſeg; for the report thereof was not as yet come to Buda; wherfore the Baſſa called vnto him the meſſenger, author of ſo bad news, and diligently examined him of the truth thereof: who told him, That at his departure from Conſtantinople, nothing was there knowne of that loſſe, but that vpon the way as he came, he met with diuers horſmen but lately eſcaped from the ſlaughter, who told him of a certainty, that the Baſſa was ſlain, and his army deſtroied. Wherunto the Baſſa of Buda replied, That he was happy in his death, for that if he had by chance eſcaped, he ſhould for his indiſcretion vndoubtedly haue ſuffered ſome other more ſhamefull death at the court.

Newes of the ouerthrow of the Turks at Siſeg, brought to Buda.

When newes of the aforeſaid victorie was brought to the Emperor at Prage, he comman-E ded publicke prayers, with thankſgiuing to almighty God to be made in all churches: and ſent a meſſenger with letters to ***Amurath***, to know of him how he vnderſtood theſe inſolent proceedings of his ſouldiers, & eſpecially this late expedition of the Baſſa of Boſna and his complices, contrary to the league yet in force betwixt them. After which meſſenger he ſent alſo the lord ***Popelius***, with the yerely Preſent (or rather tribute) he vſed to ſend vnto the Turkiſh Emperor at Conſtantinople; yet with this charge, that when he was come as far as Comara in the borders of Hungarie, he ſhould there ſtay vntill the returne of the aforeſaid meſſenger: who if he brought tidings of peace from ***Amurath***, then to proceed on his iourney to the Turkes Court; otherwiſe, to returne againe with his Preſent: as he afterwards did. For ***Amurath*** enraged with the notable loſſe receiued at Siſeg, and prickt forward with the teares and F praiers of his ſiſter (deſirous of nothing more than to be reuenged for the death of her ſonne) the ſeuenth of Auguſt cauſed open war to be proclaimed againſt the Chriſtian Emperor, both at Conſtantinople and Buda. The mannaging whereof he committed to ***Sinan Baſſa*** the old enemie of the Chriſtians, his Lieutenant Generall, and perſuader of this war: who departing from Conſtantinople with an armie of fortie thouſand, wherein were 5600 Ianizaries, was by

Amurath himſelfe and the great men of the court brought a mile on his way: hauing in charge from the great Sultan, by the aſſiſtance of the Beglerbeg of Græce, the Baſſaes of Buda and G Temeſware, and other his Sanzacks and commanders in that part of his empire, to reuenge the death of his nephew, and the diſhonor receiued at Siſeg.

This war *Amurath* with great pride denounced vnto the Chriſtian Emperour and the reſt of the Princes his confederats in this ſort.

Amurath the third, by the grace of the great God in Heauen, the onely Monarch of the World, a great and mightie God on earth, an inuincible *Cæſar*, King of all Kings,
from the Eaſt vnto the Weſt, Sultan of Babylon, Soueraigne of the moſt noble Fami-
lies of Perſia and Armenia, triumphant Victor of Hieruſalem, Lord poſſeſ- H
ſor of the Sepulchre of the crucified God, ſubuerter and ſworne
enemie of the Chriſtians, and of all them that call
vpon the name of Chriſt.

The proud and blaſphemous denuntiation of war giuen out by Amurath againſt Rodolph the Chriſtian Emperour

Wee denounce vnto thee Rodolph ***the Emperour, and to all the Germane Nation taking part with thee, vnto the great Biſhop alſo, all the Cardinals and Biſhops, to all your ſonnes and ſubiects: wee earneſtly (I ſay) by our crowne and Empire denounce vnto you open warre. And giue you to vnderſtand, that our purpoſe is, with the power of thirteene Kingdomes, and certaine hundred thouſands of men, horſe and foot, with our Turkes and Turkiſh armes, yea with all our ſtrength and power (ſuch as neither thou nor any of thine hath euer yet ſeene or heard of, much leſſe had any proofe of) to beſiege you in your chiefe and metropoliticall cities, and with fire and ſword to perſecute you and all yours, and whoſoeuer ſhall giue you helpe, to burne, deſtroy, and kill, and with moſt exquiſite torments we can deuiſe, to torture vnto death and ſlay ſuch Chriſtian captiues as ſhall fall into our hands, or elſe to keepe them as dogs, captiues in perpetuall miſerie; to empaile vpon ſtakes your faireſt ſonnes and daughters: and to the farther ſhame and reproch of you and yours, to kill like dogs your women great with childe, and the children in their bellies: for now wee are fully reſolued to bring into our ſubiection, you which rule but in a ſmall countrie, and by ſtrong hand and force af armes to keepe from you your Kingdome, as alſo to oppreſſe, root vp, and deſtroy, the keyes and See of Rome, together with the golden ſcepter thereof: and we will proue whither your crucified Ieſus will helpe you and do for you as yours perſuade you. Beleeue him ſtill and truſt in him, and ſee how he hath holpen his meſſengers which haue put their confidence in him: for we neither beleeue, neither can we endure to heare ſuch incomprehenſible things, that hee can helpe, which is dead ſo many worlds of yeares agoe, which could not helpe himſelfe, nor deliuer his owne countrie and inheritance from our power, ouer which we haue ſo long time raigned. Theſe things O yee poore and miſerable of the world, wee thought good to ſignifie vnto you, that you with your princes and confederats may know what you haue to doe and to looke for. Giuen in our moſt mightie and Imperiall citie of Conſtantinople, which our anceſtors by force of armes tooke from yours, end hauing ſlaine or taken priſoners all their citiſens, reſerued ſuch of their wiues and children as they pleaſed, vnto their luſt, to your perpetuall infamie and ſhame.*** I K

Siſeg taken by the Turkes,

Sinan with his armie thus ſetting forward, kept ſtill on his way towards Buda; but the Beglerbeg of Græcia with a farre greater power marched towards Croatia, as well to relieue the L forts diſtreſſed by the Chriſtians, as againe to beſiege the ſtrong caſtle or monaſterie of Siſeg: which he with his huge armie at his firſt arriuall compaſſed about without reſiſtance, & with continuall batterie ouerthrew the walls thereof, giuing no time of reſt vnto the defendants. Which breaches they for all that valiantly defended, & with reſtleſſe labour notably repaired the very fearful women bringing tables, ſtooles, and whatſoeuer els came to hand, that might any wiſe help to keep the enemie out, of whom a great number was in the breaches ſlain: but what was that handfull againſt ſuch a multitude? At length the 3 day of September the Turks by maine force entered the Monaſterie, & put to ſword all the ſoldiers therein: among whom were 200 Germans, of whom the Turks cut ſome in pieces, and the reſt they threw into the M riuer Kulp. One religious man there found among the reſt, they did flea quicke in deteſtation of his profeſſion, and afterward cutting him in ſmall pieces, burnt them to aſhes. So taking the ſpoyle of all that was there to be had; and leauing a ſtrong garriſon for the keeping of the place, they paſſed ouer Sauus, burning the countrie before him, and carried away with them

A about a thouſand poore Chriſtians into perpetual captiuitie. Theſe inuaſions of the Turks cauſed the Emperor to craue aid both of the States of the Empire, and other forreine Princes farther off, which was by ſome eaſily granted, but not ſo ſpeedily performed.

About this time *Peter* ſyrnamed *le Huſſar* (for that hee commanded ouer thoſe horſemen whom the Hungarians call Huſſars) captaine of Pappa, by the appointment of *Ferdinand* countie *Hardeck* Gouernour of Rab, lay in wait for the Turkes Treaſurer in Hungarie, who had the command of 5000 Turkes: him this Hungarian tooke at aduantage, as he was muſtering and paying certain companies of his ſoldiers, miſtruſting no ſuch danger, and deſperatly charging him, ſlew him with diuers of his men, and put the reſt to flight, and ſo with the ſpoile and ſome few priſoners he returned againe to his caſtle, carrying with him the Treaſurer.

Sinan Baſſa beſiegeth Veſprinium.

B Now *Sinan* the Generall being come with his armie to Buda, reſolued with himſelfe to begin his wars in that part of Hungarie, with the ſiege of Veſprinium. This Epiſcopall citie was by *Solyman* the great Turke taken from the Chriſtians in the yeare 1552, and againe by them recouered about foureteene yeares after, about the yeare 1566; ſince which time vntill now it had remained in the hands of the Chriſtians. *Sinan* without delay marching with his armie to Veſprinium, compaſſed the city round, and encamping as he ſaw good, planted his batterie, wherewith he continually thundered againſt the city. The Chriſtians there in garriſon eaſily perceiuing that the city was not long to bee holden againſt ſo great a power, placed diuers barrels of gunpouder in certain mines they had made vnder the wals & bulwarks of the town, with traines that ſhould at a certaine time take fire. Which done, they departed ſecretly out C of the city in the dead time of the night, hoping ſo in the darke to haue eſcaped the hand of the enemy: which they did not ſo ſecretly, but that they were by the Turks deſcried, and moſt of them ſlaine. *Ferdinand Samaria* Gouernor of the citie, after he had for a ſpace valiantly defended himſelfe, fell at laſt into the enemies hand, and ſo was taken aliue, together with one *Hofkirke* a German captain. The Turks entered the citie the ſixth of October, ſtriuing who ſhould get firſt in, for greedineſſe of the prey, when ſuddenly the pouder in the mines tooke fire, and blowing vp the very foundations of the wals and bulwarkes, ſlew a number of the Turks that were within the danger thereof, and wonderfully defaced the citie.

Palotta yeelded vnto the Turke.

From Veſprinium the Baſſa remoued with his armie to Palotia, and gaue ſummons to the caſtle: but receiuing ſuch anſwer as pleaſed him not, he laied ſiege vnto it with all his power. D Which at the firſt *Peter Ornand* captaine of the caſtle cheerfully receiued: but being afterward without any great cauſe diſcouraged (the caſtle as yet being but little ſhaken, & but one man ſlaine, and the reſt of the ſoldiers ready to ſpend their liues in defence therof) he ſent vnto the Baſſa, offering to yeeld the caſtle vnto him, ſo that he with his ſouldiers might with bag and baggage in ſafetie depart. Of which his offer the Baſſa accepted, and granted his requeſt. But hee was no ſooner come out of the caſtle with his ſouldiers, and ready to depart, but the faithleſſe Turke contrarie to his oath and promiſe cauſed them all to be cruelly ſlaine, except only the captaine and two other. After that, the Baſſa without any great labor tooke in al the countrey thereabouts neere vnto the lake of Balaton.

Now at laſt, though long firſt, about the middle of October the Chriſtians began to muſter E their armie, in number about 18000, all good and expert ſouldiers: with which power they ſhortly after paſſing ouer Danubius, at the firſt encounter with the Turkes, put them to the worſe, ſlew a great number of them, and reſcued a number of poore Chriſtian captiues.

Alba Regalis beſieged by the Chriſtians.

In the latter end of this month, countie *Hardeck* Gouernor of Rab, and General of the Chriſtian armie in that part of Hungarie, departing from Comara with all his power, came and laid ſiege to the ſtrong citie of Alba Regalis, which by the force of his artillerie he in ſhort time made ſaultable; but in aſſaulting the breaches, was by the Turks there in garriſon notably repulſed. So hauing made ſufficient proofe both of the ſtrength and courage of the defendants, & perceiuing no good could be done without a long ſiege, for which he was not as then prouided; after conſultation had with the reſt of the captaines, he reſolued to raiſe his ſiege: which he did the ſecond of Nouember; remouing that day but halfe a mile from the citie, becauſe he would be ſure of all his armie. But as he was about the next day to remoue, news was brought him by his eſpials, that the enemies power was at hand, and euen now almoſt in ſight: which proued to be ſo indeed. For the Baſſa of Buda by the commandement of *Sinan Baſſa* the Generall, was come forth with thirteene Sanzacks, and twentie thouſand ſouldiers, thirtie field pieces, and fiue hundred waggons laded with victuall and other warlike prouiſion, to raiſe the ſiege, and to relieue the citie; and was now euen at hand, comming directly vpon the Chriſtians: whereupon the county, aſſiſted by the countie *Serinus*, the lord *Palſi*, the lord *Nadaſti*, *Peter le Huſſar*, and other valiant captains of great experience, with wonderful celeritie put his army in order of battell, and ſo couragiouſly ſet forward to encounter the enemie. The Baſſa ſeeing the Chriſtians marching towards him, tooke the aduantage of the higher ground, and from thence diſcharged his field pieces vpon them; which mounted too hie, by good hap did them little or no hurt at all. The Chriſtians for all that deſirous of battel, and nothing regarding the diſaduantage of the ground, but calling vpon the name of the Almighty, mounted the hill, and ioyning battell with the Turks, by plaine force conſtrained them to flie. In this armie of the Turkes, being for moſt part horſemen, were about fiue thouſand foot, and many of them Ianizaries, who in flying, oftentimes made ſtands, and wounded many, and yet neuertheleſſe were almoſt all there ſlaine, with many others: amongſt whom were three great men, the Sanzacks of Strigonium, Setchine, and Nouigrade; ſeuen Chiaus, and many other men of mark, the moſt valiant captains of the Turks borderers. The lord *Nadaſti* with ſome others taking view of the Turks that were ſlaine and loſt in this battel, deemed them to haue been at the leaſt in number eight thouſand: few priſoners were ſaued, all beeing put to the ſword, which cauſed *Sinan* to ſweare by his *Mahomet*, neuer more to ſpare any Chriſtian. All the Turks artillerie, wagons, and prouiſion became a prey vnto the Chriſtians: many enſignes were there found, and weapons of great value. It is hard to be beleeued, how much this victorie encouraged the Chriſtians, & danted the Turks. Whereupon the countie with great ioy brought backe his armie to Alba Regalis, and encamped neere the bulwarke called Stopaſch, where the Turkes moſt feared to be aſſaulted, *Palſi*, *Nadaſti*, and ſome others, earneſtly perſuaded with the county, not to depart from the city before he had woon it: but he conſidering the hard time of the yere, the ſtrength of the citie (which was now full of ſouldiers, by reaſon of them that were fled in thither from the late ouerthrow) with the want of things neceſſary in his army to maintaine a longer ſiege; and fearing alſo after long lying to be enforced with diſhonor to forſake it, would not hearken to their perſuaſions, but calling a counſell, reſolued to raiſe his ſiege, and to content himſelfe with the victory he had already gotten; which was afterward imputed vnto him for more than an ouerſight. So ſetting fire vpon the ſuburbs of the citie, he riſe with his army, and departed thence the fifth of Nouember, and returned to Rab.

Sabatzka taken by the lord Teuffenbach.

Not long after, *Chriſtopher* lord *Teuffenbach*, the Emperours Lieutenant in the vpper part of Hungarie, who lay encamped at Caſſouia, with his armie of foureteene thouſand ſouldiers remoued thence, & marching along the country two daies, came & laid ſiege to Sabatzka, one of the Turks ſtrongeſt caſtles in thoſe quarters, out of which they vſually did much harm among the Chriſtians. This Caſtle *Teuffenbach* battered in three places; and hauing at length made it ſaultable, tooke it by force the nineteenth of Nouember, and put to the ſword all the Turkes there in garriſon, in number about two hundred and fiftie, and in ſtead of them left a ſtrong garriſon of his owne: whereby all the countrie thereabouts was reſtored to great quietneſſe.

Filek beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Sabatzka thus taken, the Chriſtian Generall remoued with all ſpeed to Filek a ſtrong citie of the higher Hungarie, which *Solyman* the Turkiſh Emperor tooke from the Chriſtians in the yere 1560, and placed therein a Sanzacke, vnder the command of the Baſſa of Buda. The Generall encamping before this citie, the next day after planted his batterie, and in moſt terrible manner without intermiſſion thundered againſt the wals and gates of the citie. The Sanzacke Gouernour thereof, conſidering the power of the Chriſtians, got out ſecretly by night with a few ſouldiers, to acquaint the other Turkiſh Sanzackes his neighbours with the comming of the Chriſtians, and the number of their armie; and further to conſult with them, how the city might be relieued. The Baſſa of Temeſware, with the Sanzacks of Giula, Hadwan, Scantzag, and Scirme, vndertooke the matter: and thereupon the Baſſa ſent for eight hundred Ianizaries, of late left by *Sinan Baſſa* in garriſon at Buda and Alba Regalis; who all flatly refuſed to goe to this ſeruice; ſaying, That they would not bee led as beaſts to the ſlaughter, as were their fellowes but a little before at Alba Regalis: Neuertheleſſe they enforced the Armenians, whome *Sinan* and his ſonne had brought thither, to goe; but of Buda, Alba Regalis, and Scamboth, were ſent onely fifteene hundred common ſouldiers. For all that, the

Baſſa with the Sanzackes his followers, firme in their former reſolution for the reliefe of the diſtreſſed citie, hauing made great preparation, and raiſed an armie of 18000 ſtrong, with manie field pieces, by night drew neere vnto Filek, and ſtayed within two miles of the citie. But the General of the Chriſtians, with *Stephen Bathor* and the other captaines, vnderſtanding of their comming, with 7000 good ſouldiers choſen out of the whole armie, went out preſently againſt them, and the one and twentieth of Nouember ſuddenly aſſailing them in their tents, ouerthrew them and put them all to flight, whom the Chriſtians fiercely purſued with a moſt terrible execution. In this fight and flight there was ſlaine 6000 Turks, and but few or none taken. The Baſſa himſelfe, with the Sanzacke of Filek, and many others of great name, were found amongſt the bodies of the ſlaine Turks. This victory gained with little or no loſſe, yeelded vnto the Chriſtians a rich prey, many gorgeous tents and faire enſignes, much cattell, and 29 field pieces, with 200 waggons laded with victual and other prouiſion; all which they carried into the campe at Filek, and ſo more ſtraitly beſieged the citie than before. The ſame day the Lo. *Palfi* and *Martin Laſla* came to the camp with ſix thouſand ſoldiers, and forthwith three Trumpeters were ſent to them of the citie, That if without further reſiſtance they would forthwith yeeld the citie, they ſhould haue leaue in ſafetie to depart with life and goods, although the Turks had of late in like caſe broken their faith with the Chriſtians at Palotta: but if they refuſed his grace, and would needs hold it out to the vttermoſt, then to denounce vnto them all extremities. For all this, the Turks nothing diſmaied, refuſed to yeeld: whereupon the batterie began afreſh, and in more terrible manner than before; ſo that though the Citie was moſt ſtrongly fortified both with walls and rampiers, yet had the Chriſtians in three daies ſpace with continual batterie made a faire breach into it, whereby they in deſpight of the enemie entred without any notable loſſe the foure and twentieth of Nouember, ranſacked the citie, and burnt a great part thereof. The ſame day they alſo tooke the vttermoſt caſtle, wherein the Sanzacks palace ſtood. This caſtle ſtandeth vpon a very high hill, ſtrengthened both by art and nature, and had in it a ſtrong garriſon of valiant ſouldiers, who ſpared not luſtily to beſtow their ſhot amongſt their enemies, of whom they ſlew a great number. Neuertheleſſe the Chriſtians after they had for the ſpace of two dayes and two nights with a moſt furious batterie ſhaken the walls, by plaine force entred the caſtle the ſix and twentieth of Nouember, and put to ſword all the gariſon ſouldiers, except ſuch as had in good time forſaken this caſtle, and retired themſelues into another more inward. Who being in number eight hundred, with their wiues and children, without hope of reliefe, and ſeeing the cannon now bent vpon them, ſet out a white enſigne in token of parley: which granted, it was agreed that they ſhould depart with life, and ſo much of their goods as euery one of them could carrie. Vpon which agreement the caſtle was yeelded the eight and twentieth day of Nouember, and the Turkes with a ſafe conuoy brought vnto the place they deſired. In this caſtle was found a great bootie, many pieces of artillerie, and much other warlike prouiſion, but of victuals ſmall ſtore. The Generall with the reſt of the captaines entring the caſtle, fell downe vpon their knees, and with their hearts and hands caſt vp to heauen, thanked God for their victorie, and for the recouerie of that ſtrong citie; but eſpecially for the deliuery of ſo many Chriſtians out of the Turkiſh thraldome: for it is reported, that there were aboue eight hundred countrey villages ſubiect to the juriſdiction of Filek, the poore inhabitants whereof were now all freed from the Turkiſh ſeruitude, by the taking of this onely citie. The Chriſtians forthwith repaired the walls, bulwarkes, and trenches, and ſtrongly fortified euerie place againſt the enemie: and ſo leauing a ſufficient garriſon in the citie and caſtles, departed with their armie, now in number about twentie thouſand, towards Sodoch, ſix miles from Filek. But as they were vpon the way, newes was brought vnto the General, how that the Turks had for feare abandoned the caſtles of Dijwin and Somoſke: whereupon he ſent out certaine companies of ſoldiers to take in both thoſe places: who comming thither, found them indeed forſaken by the enemy, but yet many pieces of artillerie and other warlike prouiſion there ſtill left.

Filek taken by the Chriſtians.

In the latter end of Nouember the General marched with his armie towards Setſchine, a ſtrong towne in the dioceſſe of Agria; but the Turkes in that place had two or three daies before prepared themſelues to flie, and ſent their wiues, their children, and the beſt of their ſubſtance, ſome to Hatwan, ſome to Buda; and now hearing of the approch of the Chriſtian Armie, ſet fire on the towne and fled. The Chriſtians immediately entring, did what they could

Setſchine, Blauenſteine, and Salleh abandoned by the Turks.

to quench the fire, and ſaued a great part of the Towne: ſo leauing there a conuenient garriſon, he haſted with ſpeed to Blauenſtein, which the Turkes did alſo ſet on fire, and betooke themſelues to flight. The Chriſtians comming thither the next day after, namely the fourth of December, found a great part of the towne yet vnburnt, wherein they left a ſtrong garriſon: and from thence marched to Sallek, which towne they alſo tooke, being forſaken by the enemy, and put thereinto a good garriſon. The General was of nothing more deſirous, than to haue proſecuted this ſo happie a courſe of victorie: but ſuch was the foulneſſe of the winter weather, that he could not trauell with his great artillerie, without which no great matter was to be done againſt the enemie, ſtill keeping himſelfe in his ſtrong hold. And his Armie in that waſted and forſaken countrie began now to feele the want of victuals; ſo that manie had withdrawne themſelues out of the armie, vnto their dwelling places.

At the ſame time alſo the Lord *Palſi* going to Dregel and Palanka, and finding them forſaken by the enemie, furniſhed both places with garriſons of his owne men. Certaine other ſtrong places were alſo this moneth recouered from the Turks, as Ainacke, Sollocke, Weſtke, and others, and ſo much territorie gained by the Chriſtians, as was in circuit thought equall with the lower Auſtria. The joyfull newes of the aforeſaid victories, with the recouerie of ſo much of the countrey, and ſo many ſtrong townes and caſtles, made great reioycing both at Vienna and Prague: for which cauſe publique prayers with thankeſgiuing to Almightie God were made in both places, with many other tokens of joy and triumph both there and in diuers other places of the Empire. Yet were not the dead bodies of the Turkes ſlaine at Alba-Regalis buried; whereof roſe ſuch a loathſome and noiſome ſmell thereabout, that no man could abide to come nigh the place, to the great trouble of the inhabitants thereabout. At length certaine Turks out of Buda and Alba-Regalis, to the number of three hundred and fiftie, met together, to haue buried thoſe loathſome carkaſſes. Vpon whom it chanced a captaine of the Huſſars to light with his horſemen, who fiercely aſſailing them, left moſt of them there dead for others to burie, and carried away the reſt priſoners.

The Turks in burying their dead, ſlain by the Chriſtians

The Baſſa of Buda had cauſed *Murat* Sanzacke of Palotta to be ſtrangled, for that hee ſuſpected him to haue had intelligence with the Chriſtians: in whoſe roome he placed another, who comming with 600 Turks to take poſſeſſion of the preferment, was by the way ſet vpon by *Peter le Huſſar* with the garriſon ſoldiers of Pappa and Thurne, and ſlaine with moſt part of his followers: 35 of them were taken aliue, with all the Sanzackes rich furniture. To end this yere withall, the Turks in garriſon at Petrinia, Siſeg, Caſtrowitz, and other places therabouts, met together in number about 3000: who the 19 of December paſſing ouer the riuer Sauus, began to ſpoile the frontiers of thoſe countries. But before they were gon far, they were ſo incountred by the Lord *Graſwin* and the borderers thereabout, that fiue hundred of them were left dead vpon the ground, diuers of good account taken priſoners, & almoſt all the reſt drowned in the riuer: ſo that of all them that came ouer, few eſcaped with life. In the latter end of this moneth great numbers of ſouldiers were taken vp in Saxonie and other places of Germanie; whereof ſome were ſent to Prague, and ſome to Vienna in Auſtria: and in Hungarie the Chriſtians encreaſed their ſtrength with new ſupplies. In Auſtria alſo a new armie was raiſed, and two and twentie great pieces of artillerie ſent downe the riuer of Danubius to Comara, and new preparation made in euery place for the next yeares wars.

1594

A great tempeſt at Conſtantinople.

Amurath the Turkiſh Emperor going out of the city of Conſtantinople the 11 of Ianuarie, to muſter the army he had prepared againſt the Chriſtians for this yere, was ſuddenly ouertaken with ſuch a tempeſt of wind and raine, that it ouerthrew his tents, his chariots, yea his horſes and men had much ado to withſtand it. Wherewith he being (as with an ominous prodigie) exceedingly troubled, returned with his armie into the citie, and oppreſſed with melancholie, caſt himſelfe downe vpon his bed as a man halfe ſicke. Where falling aſleepe, he dreamed he ſaw a man of an exceeding ſtature, ſtanding with one of his feet vpon the tower of Conſtantinople, and the other ouer the ſtrait in Aſia; who ſtretching out his armes, held the Sun in one of his armes, and the Moone in the other: whom whiles he wondered at, the Monſter with his foot ſtrucke the tower, which forthwith fell downe, and in falling ouerthrew the great Temple, with the Imperial Palace. *Amurath* awaked (as he thought) with the noiſe, and much troubled with the dreame (for the Turks are in ſuch vanities very ſuperſtitious) ſent for all his Wiſards and Interpreters of dreames, to know the meaning of this his ſo ſtrange or rather ſo

Amurath dreameth.

A melancholy a dreame, Who hypocritically anſwered him, That foraſmuch as he had with
all his force as a tempeſt impugned the Chriſtians, their great Prophet *Mahomet* threatned by
that dreame, to ouerthrow the tower, the temple, and the Imperial palace, that is to ſay, the
religion and Empire of the Turks. Which vaine and feigned interpretation ſo much moued
the ſuperſtitious Tyrant, that he ſwore from thenceforth to turne all his forces vpon the Chri-
ſtians, and not to giue ouer war vntill he had done what he might to ſubdue them. This the
Turks dreame, with the interpretation thereof, and the ſolemne vow he had made for the de-
ſtruction of the Chriſtians, was publiquely read in the Churches of Tranſyluania, and many
godly exhortations made vnto the people, to moue them, by prayer and all other good meanes
to auert that ſo threatened thraldome.

A faire preſent of the ſpoile of the Turkes ſent vnto the Emperour.

B Of the rich ſpoile taken from the Turkes in the late victorie neere vnto Alba-Regalis, the
Chriſtian Captaines made a preſent for the Emperor and the Archduke *Mathias* his brother,
which they ſent by the Lords *Gall* and *Brun*, and was by them preſented vnto the Emperour
and his brother the eleuenth of Ianuarie at Vienna, in order as followeth: Firſt went the Ma-
ſter of the ordnance of Rab, on both ſides attended vpon with the other officers of the artille-
rie: after them were drawne thirtie great pieces of ordnance taken in the battell. After theſe
Pieces followed three Turkiſh horſes with rich ſaddles and furniture ſtudded with gold, the
ſtirrups and bridles being of ſiluer, gilt and moſt curiouſly wrought: after them were carried
22 of the Turks enſignes, three of them were verie rich, and the other right faire. Then follo-
wed the two Embaſſadors aforeſaid, with each of them a gilt maſe in his hand, ſuch as the
C Turks Baſſa's vſe to carrie: after them were brought many inſtruments of war, gilt ſcimiters,
gleaues, bowes and arrowes, targuets, and ten of the Ianizaries drums. Two of the aforeſaid
horſes were preſented to the Emperor, and the third to the Archduke. The field piecs brought
to the caſtle gate, and orderly placed vpon the plaine, were all, at ſuch time as the reſt of the
Preſent entred the caſtle, forthwith by the canoniers diſcharged; and there for certain daies
left vpon the plaine for the people to feed their eyes vpon. The Embaſſadours diſcharged of
their Preſent, and rewarded by the Emperour with chaines of gold and other gifts, returned
to the campe. Notwithſtanding that it was now deepe Winter, yet many ſharp skirmiſhes dai-
ly paſſed vpon the borders, betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians. The fifteenth of this preſent
month, 2000 of the Turks aſſembled together, were making an inrode into the country about
D Filek: whereof the Lord *Teuffenbach* hauing intelligence, lay in wait for them, and ſetting vp-
on them fearing no ſuch danger, ſlew and tooke of them fifteene hundred.

Mathias Archduke of Auſtria, now gouernor of Stiria, Carinthia, and the countries there-
about, by the departure of *Erneſtus* his brother (but a little before by *Philip* King of Spaine
made Gouernor of the Low-countries) was now alſo by the Emperor appointed Generall of
the Chriſtian armie againſt the Turks: who to be neerer vnto the enemie, and to further the
new war, departed the ſix and twentieth day of Februarie from Vienna to Rab; after whome
dayly followed the forces newly raiſed in Sileſia, Morauia, and Hungarie, with others alſo
ſent from Prague and Vienna. He conſidering to what ſmall purpoſe it would be to haue the
laſt yeare taken ſo many ſtrong townes and caſtles, except the ſame alſo were well manned and
E furniſhed with all needfull prouiſion; by the perſuaſion of the Lord *Teuffenbach*, ſent Countie
Schlike with a thouſand horſe to Filek, for the more ſafetie of that place and the country there-
about ſo lately gained from the Turks.

It fortuned that about this time, a ſoldier of the Turks taken not far from Dregel, & brought
into the campe; among other things whereof he was examined, confeſſed that in Nouigrade
(a ſtrong towne and of great importance, but one mile diſtant from Vacia, and three from Bu-
da) was left but a weake garriſon of about eight hundred ſouldiers, who there liued in great
feare to be beſieged; and that the Turks doubting ſuch a matter, had brought thither much
prouiſion for the better fortifying of the towne. Vpon which intelligence the Chriſtians be-
gan to remoue with their armie, and being come betwixt Dregel and Nouigrade, vnderſtood
M by the country people, that it was true that the Turke had reported: wherefore they reſolued
that night to lay ſiege vnto the towne. So forthwith ſome were ſent to Dregel, to fetch thence
certaine pieces of artillerie, whom certaine troupes of German horſemen went to meet: who
vſed ſuch diligence, that the eight of March a little before the riſing of the Sun, the whole ar-
mie with the great ordnance was come before Nouigrade. That day the Chriſtians ſpent in
pitching

Nouigrade beſieged by the Chriſtians.

pitching their Tents, and incamping themſelues: yet before night they had planted certaine great pieces vpon an high hill, from whence them might ſee into the caſtle: whereof the maſter of the ordnance cauſed three of the greateſt about the going downe of the Sun to be diſcharged againſt the caſtle, to giue the Turkes to vnderſtand that they wanted nothing for the ſiege. The ſame night alſo the Chriſtians caſt vp a great mount in the vally, from whence they preſently ſent ſix great ſhot into the caſtle: but early in the morning, the Sun being yet ſcarce vp, and all things now in readineſſe, they began to batter the caſtle, and that day out of ten great pieces diſcharged 300 great ſhot againſt the Caſtle: but to ſmall purpoſe; for the Caſtle was built vpon a moſt ſtrong rocke, fortified with high and thicke walls, and a deepe ditch hewen out of the maine rocke, which compaſſed the caſtle round; and for the more ſtrength thereof was ſo fortified with palliſado's made of ſtrong timber, as that there was no acceſſe vnto the walls: yet by the commandement of the General, certaine companies of the Chriſtians prepared themſelues to aſſault the breach, ſuch as it was: who beſides their weapons, carying with them drie faggots, and ſetting them on fire, burnt the palliſado in diuers places, and ſo opened the way vnto the walls: and encouraged with the ſucceſſe, approched neerer, and ſlew diuers of the Turks vpon their rampiers. Who diſcouraged with their owne weakeneſſe, and the forwardneſ of the enemy, faintly defended themſelues, and yet ſlew diuers of them, beating them downe from the walls with ſtones, timber, fire-works, and ſuch like. This aſſault giuen in the night, was continued vntill foure a clocke in the morning, and ſo giuen ouer. Shortly after came the Archduke with 1000 horſe into the campe, and cauſed the batterie to be againe renued; whereby it chanced that the chiefe canonier in the caſtle (being a renegat German) was taken with a great ſhot and ſlaine, whoſe death ſo diſmaied the reſt of the defendants, that they preſently ſet forth three white flags in ſigne of parley: which for all that, the Chriſtians ſeemed not to regard, but ſtill continued their batterie. The Turks then pittifully crying out, named two captaines, whom they deſired to haue ſent vnto them, with whom they might fall to ſome reaſonable compoſition. So for a while the batterie ceaſed, and thoſe Captaines being ſent vnto the Towne, brought nine of the beſt of the Turkes in the Citie with them vnto the Archduke: who by their Interpreter declared, That they well conſidered the force of the Chriſtians, and ſeeing no reliefe to come from the Baſſa of Buda, as he had promiſed, thought themſelues to haue alreadie diſcharged the parts of good ſoldiers, and ſeeing no other remedie, were contented to yeeld the caſtle, yet ſo, as that with bag and baggage they might in ſafetie depart. Whereunto the Lord *Palſi* (taking vpon him the perſon of the Archduke, for that he himſelfe would not be knowne) anſwered, That foraſmuch as they had not yeelded at the firſt ſummons, but holden it out to the loſſe of many of his mens liues, and his great charge, they were vnworthie any fauor; yet of his owne clemencie he would receiue them, if they would abſolutely without any further condition yeeld themſelues to his mercie. This anſwer being reported to the Sanzacke Gouernour of the Towne, pleaſed him not, and therefore ſaid hee would ſtill ſtand vpon his defence. Whereupon the Chriſtians were about to haue begun a freſh aſſault. But after a new parley, it was at laſt agreed, That the Turkes yeelding the towne vnto the Archduke, ſhould in ſafetie depart with their apparel and ſcimiters only. With which agreement two of the Turks were ſent backe into the caſtle, & the reſt detained. Foure houres the Turks in the caſtle delaied the time, as men doubtful what to do: but being earneſtly called vpon for a reſolute anſwer, and ſeeing the Chriſtians readie againe to aſſault them, they for feare yeelded: and ſo 450 of them came forth, amongſt whom was the Sanzacke gouernour of the towne, with his wife and daughter, the Sanzacke of Selendre (ſent thither to haue aided him) and one Chiaus lately come from the Court. Theſe great men brauely mounted, were commanded to alight from their gallant horſes, and had in their ſteads other bad jades giuen them to ride vpon: and as they paſſed by, as well the women as the men were ſearched, that they carried with them nothing more than their cloathes: if any thing els were found, it fell vnto the ſoldiers ſhare for good bootie. This ſtrong towne of Nouigrade had continued in the poſſeſſion of the Turks about 60 yeares, and ſerued as it were for a bulwarke to Peſth and Buda; which now recouered out of their hands, opened a way vnto their further harmes. The keeping of this towne was by the Archduke committed to the Lord *Rebei* a nobleman of Hungarie and kinſman to *Palſi*, with a ſtrong garriſon and certaine troupes of Huſſars.

Nouigrade yeelded vnto the archduke.

The Sanzacke of Nouigrade, after he had loſt the towne, comming to Buda, was preſently appreben-

A apprehended by the Baſſa, and laid in priſon: who although he excuſed himſelfe, by alledging that the towne was not poſſibly to be holden with ſo ſmall a gariſon againſt ſo great a power; and that if any fault were, it was to be imputed to them of Buda, for not ſending reliefe in time; and therefore appealed vnto the further hearing of *Amurath* himſelfe: yet all ſerued him not, but was by the Baſſa's commandment in the night hanged vpon a tree neere vnto the gate of the citie, and afterwards cut in pieces.

The Sanzacke of Nouigrade hanged at Buda.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, the Emperors ſent his Embaſſadors to the great Duke of Muſcouia, the King of Polonia, and the Prince of Tranſyluania, to proue how they ſtood affected towards thoſe his wars againſt the Turke, and what aid he might procure from them. Into Muſcouie was ſent one *Warkotſch* a gentleman of Sileſia, who comming to Muſco, found B in that Court the Embaſſadors of the Tartar, the Turke, the Perſian, the Polonian, and the Dane. Of all theſe, the Embaſſadors of the Tartar and the Turke could haue no audience, but were with contumelious words reiected as miſcreants. The Emperours Embaſſador was honorably entertained, and after the manner of that countrey, a large proportion of wine, meede, aquavitæ, fleſh, fiſh, and fowle of ſundrie ſorts allowed him dayly all the time of his abode. At length hauing audience, he declared vnto the great Duke the cauſe of his comming, and in the name of his Maſter requeſted his aid againſt the Turke. Whereunto the Duke anſwered, That he would giue the Emperor towards the maintenance of his wars againſt the common enemy, 500000 duckets, and allow him yerely 400000 during the time of that war; requeſting him not to make any peace with the Turke, and promiſing to ſend him aid alſo of men in this war, C if he ſhould ſo need. The Perſian Embaſſador alſo honorably feaſted the Emperors Embaſſador, and had with him great conference concerning the wars of the Chriſtians with the Turks, and in his maſters name promiſed the continuation of his warres againſt the Turke, ſo that the Emperor would likewiſe a promiſe not to haue any league with him, ſo to giue him leiſure to turne all his forces againe into Perſia. This Embaſſador after he had almoſt foure months tarried in Muſcouia, returned to the Emperor. At which time Doctor *Wacker* the Emperors Embaſſadour into Polonia, returned alſo with ioyfull newes, how that the Polonians with an armie of eight and twentie thouſand had ſtopped the paſſage of an hundred thouſand Tartars whom the Turke had ſent for againſt the Emperor; and that if he needed, he ſhould be aided with the Polonian Coſſackes: but vnto the reſt of his requeſts he could haue no anſwere of the States of that Kingdome, for that the King was then abſent in Sweden; and was therefore referred to be further anſwered at his returne.

At the ſame time, Countie *Serinus* with three hundred harquebuſiers and certaine troups of horſemen, and the footmen of Stiria and the countries thereabouts, aſſembled to the number of ten thouſand, departed from Caniſia, to beſiege Breſena a caſtle of the Turks. But they vnderſtanding before of his comming, conueyed away the beſt of their ſubſtance, and ſetting the caſtle on fire, departed the three and twentieth of March. The Earle comming thither, tooke the forſaken caſtle, and put thereinto a garriſon of his owne ſouldiers. In like manner he tooke alſo Sigeſta, forſaken of the Turks, where he alſo placed a garriſon of the Chriſtians. And ſo going on to Baboſtcha, beſieged it; which caſtle although it was ſtrongly ſcituated in a mariſh, and could not eaſily haue beene woon, was for all that, for feare abandoned by the Turks, and ſo taken by the Countie: by recouerie of which places, there was a ſafe and eaſie way layd open euen to Ziget, the Baſſa whereof ſtood in no ſmall doubt to haue been euen then beſieged.

Certain caſtles of the Turkes vpon the borders of Stiria taken by the County Serinus.

Amurath intending by all meanes he could to vex the Emperor, had determined to ſend his fleet into the Adriatique, to beſiege Zegna a citie of the Emperors ſcituate vpon the ſea coaſt, in the bay Quernero, called in antient time Flanaticus Sinus. Which the better to effect, hee ſent one of his Chiaus Embaſſador to the Venetians, to requeſt them, That his fleet might by their leaue paſſe alongſt the Adriaticke, and haue the vſe of their ports and harbours, as need ſhould require. Which his requeſt the Venetians hearing, refuſed in any caſe to yeeld thereunto: fearing (and not without caſe) the vnfaithfulneſſe and treacherie of the Turkes, whoſe oathes and promiſes are no longer ſtrong, or by them regarded, than ſtandeth with their owne good and profit: neuertheleſſe they moſt honourably vſed the Embaſſadour, and ſo ſent him away without obtaining of that he was eſpecially ſent for.

In the vpper part of Hungarie *Chriſtopher* Lord *Teuffenbach* the Archdukes Lieutenant ha-

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The Sanzacke of Nouigrade hanged at Buda.

A apprehended by the Baſſa, and laid in priſon: who although he excuſed himſelfe, by alledging that the towne was not poſſibly to be holden with ſo ſmall a gariſon againſt ſo great a power; and that if any fault were, it was to be imputed to them of Buda, for not ſending reliefe in time; and therefore appealed vnto the further hearing of *Amurath* himſelfe: yet all ſerued him not, but was by the Baſſa's commandment in the night hanged vpon a tree neere vnto the gate of the citie, and afterwards cut in pieces.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, the Emperors ſent his Embaſſadors to the great Duke of Muſcouia, the King of Polonia, and the Prince of Tranſyluania, to proue how they ſtood affected towards thoſe his wars againſt the Turke, and what aid he might procure from them. Into Muſcouie was ſent one *Warkatſch* a gentleman of Sileſia, who comming to Muſco, found B in that Court the Embaſſadors of the Tartar, the Turke, the Perſian, the Polonian, and the Dane. Of all theſe, the Embaſſadors of the Tartar and the Turke could haue no audience, but were with contumelious words reiected as miſcreants. The Emperours Embaſſador was honorably entertained, and after the manner of that countrey, a large proportion of wine, meede, aquavitæ, fleſh, fiſh, and fowle of ſundrie ſorts allowed him dayly all the time of his abode. At length hauing audience, he declared vnto the great Duke the cauſe of his comming, and in the name of his Maſter requeſted his aid againſt the Turke. Whereunto the Duke anſwered, That he would giue the Emperor towards the maintenance of his wars againſt the common enemy, 500000 duckets, and allow him yerely 400000 during the time of that war; requeſting him not to make any peace with the Turke, and promiſing to ſend him aid alſo of men in this war, C if he ſhould ſo need. The Perſian Embaſſador alſo honorably feaſted the Emperors Embaſſador, and had with him great conference concerning the wars of the Chriſtians with the Turks, and in his maſters name promiſed the continuation of his warres againſt the Turke, ſo that the Emperor would likewiſe a promiſe not to haue any league with him, ſo to giue him leiſure to turne all his forces againe into Perſia. This Embaſſador after he had almoſt foure months tarried in Muſcouia, returned to the Emperor. At which time Doctor *Wacker* the Emperors Embaſſadour into Polonia, returned alſo with joyfull newes, how that the Polonians with an armie of eight and twentie thouſand had ſtopped the paſſage of an hundred thouſand Tartars whom the Turke had ſent for againſt the Emperor; and that if he needed, he ſhould be aided with the Polonian Coſſackes: but vnto the reſt of his requeſts he could haue no anſwere of the States of that Kingdome, for that the King was then abſent in Sweden; and was therefore referred to be further anſwered at his returne.

Certain Caſtles of the Turkes vpon the borders of Stiria taken by the County Serinus.

At the ſame time, Countie *Serinus* with three hundred harquebuſiers and certaine troups of horſemen, and the footmen of Stiria and the countries thereabouts, aſſembled to the number of ten thouſand, departed from Caniſia, to beſiege Breſenza a caſtle of the Turks. But they vnderſtanding before of his comming, conueyed away the beſt of their ſubſtance, and ſetting the caſtle on fire, departed the three and twentieth of March. The Earle comming thither, tooke the forſaken caſtle, and put thereinto a garriſon of his owne ſouldiers. In like manner he tooke alſo Sigeſta, forſaken of the Turks, where he alſo placed a garriſon of the Chriſtians. And ſo going on to Baboſtcha, beſieged it; which caſtle although it was ſtrongly ſcituated in a mariſh, and could not eaſily haue beene woon, was for all that, for feare abandoned by the Turks, and ſo taken by the Countie: by recouerie of which places, there was a ſafe and eaſie way layd open euen to Ziget, the Baſſa whereof ſtood in no ſmall doubt to haue been euen then beſieged.

Amurath intending by all meanes he could to vex the Emperor, had determined to ſend his fleet into the Adriatique, to beſiege Zegna a citie of the Emperors ſcituate vpon the ſea coaſt, in the bay Quernero, called in antient time Flanaticus Sinus. Which the better to effect, hee ſent one of his Chiaus Embaſſador to the Venetians, to requeſt them, That his fleet might by their leaue paſſe alongſt the Adriaticke, and haue the vſe of their ports and harbours, as need ſhould require. Which his requeſt the Venetians hearing, refuſed in any caſe to yeeld thereunto: fearing (and not without caſe) the vnfaithfulneſſe and treacherie of the Turkes, whoſe oathes and promiſes are no longer ſtrong, or by them regarded, than ſtandeth with their owne good and profit: neuertheleſſe they moſt honourably vſed the Embaſſadour, and ſo ſent him away without obtaining of that he was eſpecially ſent for.

In the vpper part of Hungarie *Chriſtopher* Lord *Teuffenbach* the Archdukes Lieutenant hauing

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians.

uing gathered an armie of twentie thouſand ſoldiers, the ſixteenth of Aprill laied ſiege to Hatwan a ſtrong towne ſix miles from Buda, fortified with a triple ditch and bulwarkes of exceeding ſtrength. Againſt which although the Chriſtians could not do much either by mines or mounts, (by reaſon it was ſo enuironed with water) yet they ſo ſhut vp all the paſſages thereunto, that nothing could be brought or carried in or out of the towne. They of the town ſeeing themſelues thus blockt vp, by ſecret meſſengers certified the Baſſa of Buda in what caſe they ſtood, praying of him aid: who with ten thouſand choſen ſouldiers, which he had then in readineſſe, and the Sanzacks of Sirnah, Giula, Lippa, Lerwoge, and Tſchangrad, with fiue thouſand moe, forthwith ſet forward toward Hatwan to raiſe the ſiege: and the laſt of Aprill being come within ſight of the Chriſtian armie, about one of the clocke in the afternoone encamped on the ſide of the riuer Sagijwa: but when he could not or els durſt not, for the deepeneſſe of the way, the aboundance of the water, and neereneſſe of the enemie, aduenture to paſſe the riuer, he retyred backe againe to paſſe ouer at Iaſperin (otherwiſe called Iasbrin) where the riuer was joined with a bridge, and not far off a good foord alſo to paſſe ouer at; thinking ſo to haue come vpon the backes of the Chriſtians, and with more ſafetie to haue relieued the beſieged towne. But *Teuffenbach* perceiuing his purpoſe, forthwith after his departure paſſed the riuer with much difficultie, and ouertaking him with his armie the next day, being the firſt of May, about one of the clocke in the afternoone, betweene Zarcha and Fuſcaſalua, with his great ordnance diſordered the rereward of the enemies battell; and comming on couragiouſly with his whole armie, began a moſt cruell fight: which the Turkes a great while endured with wonderfull reſolution; but now deſtitute of their woonted multitude (their greateſt confidence) and hardly layed vnto by the Chriſtians, they in the end turned their backes and fled; whom ſix thouſand Hungarians and Germanes fiercely purſued, and had the killing of them almoſt to Buda. In this battell the Chriſtians tooke all the enemies great Ordnance, with ſeuenteene enſignes, and alſo the Caſtle of Iaſperin, which the Turks had for feare abandoned; wherein was found good ſtore of victuals, certaine great pieces, with much other warlike prouiſion. Of this ſo notable a victorie *Teuffenbach* by Letters preſently aduertiſed the Archduke, after he was againe returned to the ſiege of of Hatwan. Which letters becauſe they containe many particularities and circumſtances of this battell, I haue thought it not amiſſe here to inſert.

The copie of the letters of the L. Teuffenbach, to Matthias th Archduke, General of the emperours armie againſt the Turks.

Although (ſaid he) *I haue by a ſpeedie meſſenger vpon the very Kalends of May certified your Excellencie of the notable victorie which God of his great goodneſſe gaue vnto vs the ſame day ouer our hereditarie enemie: yet afterward vpon diligent inquiſition we vnderſtood many particularities, as well of the Captiues themſelues, as of the Inhabitants about Zolnocke, Peſth, and Buda; whereof I thought good to aduertiſe you. The Captiues themſelues confeſſe, That the Baſſa of Buda, with the Sanzackes of Zolnocke, Zarwacke, Giula, and Tſchangrad, Cippaio, Genne, and others, had with great celeritie raiſed an armie of thirteene thouſand ſouldiers, amongſt whom were many Tartars, with purpoſe to haue relieued the beſieged Towne of Hatwan, and open the ſudden to haue oppreſſed vs in our tents. Filled with which hope, they in great haſte came with all their power the laſt of Aprill towards Hatwan: but forſomuch as they could not paſſe ouer the riuer Zagijwa by reaſon of the height of the water, they were the next day, being the firſt of May, conducted by the Captaine of Iaſparin to a more commodious paſſage, ſo to come the neerer vnto vs, and the next day in the morning to haue ſurpriſed vs in our Tents. But our moſt mercifull God hath auerted this ſo great a miſchiefe from vs, and turned it vpon their own heads. For as it moſt conſtantly reported from Zolnocke, Peſth, and Buda, and confirmed by the Inhabitants of the ſame places, there are two thouſand fiue hundred of the Turks ſlaine, and as many wounded, of whom many periſhed, and are found dead vpon the high-wayes leading to Peſth and Zolnocke: of theſe we haue ſent a thouſand heads to Caſſouia, and cauſed many of the Turkes to be buried for feare of infection in this ſo great heate. Verily it was a bloudie battell; ſo that the old Souldiours ſay, they haue not remembred or ſeene the Turkes (no moe in number) to haue ſtood ſo long in battell, and to haue ſo fought it out without flying. Many men of great name and place there periſhed and fell, amongſt whom are redeemed the Sanzackes of Peſth, Nouigrade, and Temeske; Genne Aleuu, Bogſte, Aluſtafa, Marielaus, and certaine Chiaus lately ſent from the Court, with the Baſſa his guard, wherein were eight hundred right valiant ſoldiers, of whom few eſcaped with life. Many fell that would haue yeelded great ranſome; but it was agreed vpon betweene the Germanes and the Hungarians, no*

A *to ſpare any of the enemies, but to put them all to ſword; and that whoſoeuer did otherwiſe, it ſhould be imputed vnto him for diſhonour. So that more than ſixteene common ſouldiers, none were taken priſoners, of whome wee might learne how things went amongſt the Turkes, with other circumſtances of the battell. Wee tooke thirteene field pieces, whereof foure were greater than the reſt; which they called organes, and foure and twentie of the enemies enſignes. The Baſſa of Buda (beſide other three wounds by him receiued) was grieuouſly wounded in the ſide. Of our men were loſt about an hundred, and many of them moſt expert ſouldiers: and about ſix hundred others grieuouſly wounded, of whom there is ſmall hope, many of them beeing alreadie dead. Neither is the loſſe ſmall wee haue receiued in our horſes and armour, for there be few amongſt the Germane horſemen, which haue not loſt one, two, or three, of their horſes or ſeruants, whereby our horſemen are wonderfully weakened: yet was* B *the victorie great, to God be the praiſe, to him be the glorie and thankes therefore. Let vs in the mean time proſecute the ſiege begun. The laſt night I commanded the water to bee drawne another way, ſo that now our trenches may be aduanced many paces, and bulwarkes raiſed within two hundred paces of the wall. Wee haue alreadie planted fiue great pieces of artillerie in one bulwarke, and hope the next night to place fiue moe vpon a mount faſt by, and will doe what ſhall be needfull for a ſtraight ſiege: and when time ſhall ſerue, vndertake the towne with all our power, God grant vs therein good ſucceſſe and victorie.*

The Turks in garriſon at Zabola, a fort there by, diſcouraged with the ouerthrow of their friends, forſooke the fort; which for ſtrength and greatneſſe was comparable with Tocay or Erla. Which ſtrong place the Christians without any loſſe now recouered.

Strigonium beſieged by the Chriſtians.

C Whileſt this valiant captaine the lord *Teuffenbach* thus lay at the ſiege of Hatwan, ***Matthias*** the Archduke General of the Chriſtian army in Hungarie, incouraged with the good ſucceſſe he had at Nouigrad, came with his armie (being 44000 ſtrong) before Strigonium (ſometime the Metropoliticall citie of Hungarie, but now of long a ſure receptacle of the Turks) and the ſixth of May encamped his armie about a quarter of a mile from the caſtle in a moſt pleaſant medow, from whence both the citie and the caſtle were plainely to be ſeene. Vpon whom the Turks out of the caſtle, and three gallies that lay vpon the riuer, diſcharged certain great pieces without any great harme doing: but after the Chriſtian fleet was a little before night come downe the riuer, and with their great ordnance began to anſwer them againe, the enemy D ceaſed ſhooting, and lay ſtill that night. In the meane time it fortuned, that a Turkiſh youth taken in a garden there by, and brought into the camp and examined, confeſſed that there was no garriſon in the citie, more than foure hundred Ianizaries, and that a new ſupply was dayly expected from Buda. The Chriſtians laboring that night, were by the breaking of the day, come with their trenches to a hil ouer againſt the caſtle, where they placed their batterie, and forthwith began to batter the citie. The ſame day (being the ſeuenth of May) two and twenty Turks heads were preſented to the Archduke, and foure men taken aliue, newly ſent out of the citie to haue viewed the Chriſtian campe. About night certaine bals of wilde fire were ſhot into the citie, whereof one fell vpon the tower called S. *Adelbert*, and ſet it on fire; wherewith firſt the Church, and afterward a great part of the towne fell on fire. The Sanzacks houſe, with all his horſes and armor, and a great quantitie of pouder was then burnt, and ineſtimable hurt don in the citie. The next day the Chriſtians had with continuall batterie made a breach in the caſtle wall: but adioyning vnto the wall was an high and broad ſandie rampier, which could hardly be battered: for all that the Germans gaue a fierce aſſault to the breach, hoping to haue entred by the ruins of the wall, but not being able to get ouer the ſandie rampier, were inforced with loſſe to retire. The day following they bagan again the batterie with eighteen great pieces; when about eight a clocke in the morning, the Raſcians that were in the old citie gaue the Generall to vnderſtand, That if he would at a place by them appointed, aſſault the greater citie, to draw the Turks thither, they would in the mean time deliuer vnto the Chriſtians certaine little poſternes, and receiue them into the old citie; vpon condition, that no violence ſhould be done vnto them or theirs. Which being ſo agreed vpon, the Chriſtians accordingly gaue the aſſault the eleuenth of May in the euening, and by the help of the Raſcians tooke the citie; who according to promiſe, were all taken to mercie, and the Turks ſlaine, except ſuch as by their good hap recouered the new towne. The keeping of this citie was committed to the charge of two companies of Germane footmen, and ſix hundred Hungarians, with three hundred

The old citie deliuered by the Raſcians vnto the Chriſtians.

The caſtle aſſaulted.

hundred Raſcians and other towneſmen. Thus was the old citie of Strigonium gained by the Chriſtians, the ſuburbs whereof they preſently burnt, neuertheleſſe the new towne with the caſtle was ſtill holden by the Turks. Wherefore the Chriſtians hauing caſt vp certaine trenches and mounts, and placed their artillerie as they thought moſt conuenient, began again to batter the caſtle, and after they had by the fury of the cannon made it ſaultable, with great courage aſſailed the breach, which the Turks valiantly defended: ſo that the Chriſtians were glad to retire, leauing behind them about an hundred & thirty of their fellowes ſlain in the breach. The Turks a little before the comming of the Chriſtians, had fortified an hill, whereunto the caſtle was ſomething ſubiect, called of the Chriſtians S. *Nicholas* his hill, this hill ſo fortified, the Chriſtians with continuall batterie and aſſault gained the 17 of May, and put all the Turks left aliue therein to the ſword; and turning the ordnance, from thence alſo battered the caſtle. The two and twentieth of May a little before the going downe of the Sun, certaine enſignes of footmen were drawne out of the campe, to haue the next day aſſaulted the lower towne; who taking the benefit of the night, attempting to haue entred the town in the dead time of the night, were notably encountered by the Turkes, ſallying out of the towne vpon them. The Chriſtians for all that hauing enforced them to retire, proſecuted their former reſolution, and with much adoe got ouer the vttermoſt wall: but finding there contrarie to their expectation, ſuch a deepe and broad countermure as was not poſſible to be paſſed, they ſtood as men diſmaid: neither could they in the darkeneſſe of the night, well ſee how to get backe againe ouer the towne ditch, but diſorderly retiring, ſtucke faſt many of them in the deepe mud, and there periſhed. In this aſſault there were about a thouſand of the Chriſtians wounded and ſlaine: and albeit that they twice or thrice renewed the aſſault, yet preuailed they nothing, but were ſtill repulſed with loſſe. Many alſo of the the Turkiſh garriſon were likewiſe ſlaine; yea the Sanzacke himſelfe hurt with a great ſhot, with many other wounded men ſent downe the riuer to Buda, brought thither true newes of the aforeſaid aſſaults, and of the ſtate of the beſieged.

The Raſcians riſe vp againſt the Turks.

In the mean time news was brought to the campe, That *Sinan Baſſa* the old enemie of the Chriſtians, and the Turkes great Lieutenant, comming towards Hungarie with a great armie, and hauing by boates coueied ouer part thereof, was ſet vpon by the Raſcians (theſe are poore oppreſſed Chriſtians dwelling on both ſides of Danubius, who weary of the Turkiſh thraldom and deſirous of their antient libertie, haue oftentimes taken vp armes againſt the Turks as they now did, encouraged by the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians on the other ſide of Hungarie) and that after diuers skirmiſhes, they had taken thirteene of the Turkes veſſels, wherein beſides victuals and certaine great pieces of artillerie, they found about 2400 weight of pouder, 447 hundred of lead, 46454 bundels of match, 1200 great ſhot, whereof 1005 were of 66 pound weight, and of ſmall ſhot for harquebuſiers 48500, with much other warlike prouiſion: a great part whereof was brought into the campe at Strigonium, and the reſt reſerued to future vſes. This loſſe ſo troubled the great Baſſa, that hee altered his purpoſe before entended for Caſſouia.

The fourth of Iune, about fiue hundred Turks ſent vp the riuer from Buda, conducted by two Sanzacks vnder two red and white enſignes, landed neere to Gokara on the further ſide of Danubius, ouer againſt Strigonium: where after they had a while refreſhed themſelues, and left ſome few for the more aſſurance of the place, all the reſt were conueied ouer the riuer into Strigonium: where they had been long looked for, the old garriſon being now ſore weakened by the former aſſaults. Foure daies after, the Turks encouraged with this ſupplie, ſallied out vpon a ſudden, and had entred one of the forts of the Chriſtians; but were forthwith again repulſed, hauing loſt ſix and twentie of their men, and two of their enſignes: not far off lay a troupe of horſemen, who if they had in time come in, not one of the Turks had eſcaped. Long it were to tell, how often and in what manner the Chriſtians aſſaulted this citie, but were by the Turks ſo receiued, that in fiue aſſaults they loſt fiue thouſand of their men, amongſt whom were diuers captaines, lieutenants, antients, and others of good account: three and twentie cannoniers were alſo ſlaine, and ten great pieces of artillerie ſo ſpoiled, as that they were no more ſeruiceable. The garriſon of this citie conſiſted for moſt part of the Ianizaries (the Turks beſt ſouldiers) whoſe notable valor in holding out of this ſiege, was both of their owne people and their enemies much commended: whatſoeuer was beaten downe by day, that they againe repaired by night, and ſtill relieued with victuall and things neceſſarie from Buda, did what was

Fiue thouſand Chriſtians loſt at the ſiege of Strigonium.

poſſible

A poſſible to be done for defence of the city. About the ſame time certain Turks chancing vpon a troupe of Germane horſemen, in fight ſlew about fiftie of them, and put the reſt to flight: whereupon an alarme being raiſed in the campe, many ran out to the reſcue of their fellowes, taking with them certaine ſmall field pieces. Which the Turks perceiuing, began to flie: whom the Chriſtians eagerly purſuing, were ſuddenly aſſailed by other Turks, ſallying out of a fort faſt by, and enforced ſhamefully to retire, and to leaue their field pieces behind them. Which the Turks ſeazing vpon, cloyed them, brake their carriages, and made them altogether vnſeruiceable.

The Archduke ſendeth aid to the ſiege of Hatwan.

All this while the Lord *Teuffenbach* lying at the ſiege of Hatwan, about this time requeſted aid of the Archduke, for that his power was with often conflicts, hunger, and other difficulties B alwaies attending long ſieges, ſo much weakened, as that hee had ſcarcely ſix thouſand ſound men in his camp: to whom the Archduke forthwith ſent twelue hundred footmen, being loth to ſpare any moe, for too much weakening of his owne armie.

Amurath diſdaining to ſee the frontiers of his Empire in ſo many places impugned by the Chriſtians, and daily to receiue from them ſo great harmes, ſought by all means to be reuenged: wherefore beſide the great power of his owne, which he was now about to ſend with *Sinan Baſſa* into Hungarie, he had alſo procured from the great Tartar a wonderfull number of thoſe rough and ſauage people, to be ſent into Hungarie, there to ioine with his armie. Theſe wild people, to the number of ſeuentie thouſand, according to direction giuen, breaking into Podolia, Walachia, and Moldauia, gathered together an incredible number of oxen and kine; C to this end and purpoſe, that driuing them before them, they might both be aſſured of victuals, and the ſafer trauell through a part of Polonia. But when they were come vnto the borders of that countrie, and there found the power of *Samoſchie* the great Chancellor and the Polonian Coſſacks in armes, they eaſily perceiued that they could not that way paſſe without great loſſe. Wherefore they placed the aforeſaid heards of cattell, ſome before, ſome behind, and ſome on each ſide of the army, and ſo incloſed round about with thoſe cattell as with a trench, marched on. But when they were come neere vnto the Polonians, this rude deuice ſerued them to no other purpoſe than the ouerthrow of themſelues; for the Polonians diſcharging their great ordnance, ſo terrified the cattell, that they turned vpon the Tartars, and ouerthrowing D whomſoeuer came in their way, did exceeding much harm: whom the Polonians immediatly following, and hardly charging the confuſed armie, armed only with bow and arrowes, after ſome ſmall fight put them at laſt to flight, and obtained of them a notable victorie, with an exceeding rich prey. Of the Polonians were loſt about eighteene hundred, but of the Tartars were ſlaine thirtie thouſand. The reſt retiring into Podolia, and paſſing the riuer Neſter by the way of Tranſyluania, where they did exceeding much harme, came to Temeſware, and ſo afterwards further into Hungarie: vnto whom the Turks ſent ſeuen hundred horſemen, to conduct them to the armie.

Strigonium aſſaulted.

But to returne againe to the ſiege of Strigonium. The fouretenth day of Iune the Chriſtians betweene eight and nine of the clocke in the morning, with great fury aſſaulted the towne in three places: which aſſault they moſt notably maintained, vntill it was almoſt three a clock in the afternoone. Neuertheleſſe, the Turks ſo valiantly defended themſelues, that at laſt the Chriſtians were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and with loſſe to retire. The Archduke from an high place beholding the aſſault, had one of his footmen ſlaine faſt by him with a ſmall ſhot. Many of the Turks were alſo ſlain in this aſſault, and amongſt them one of the three Sanzacks that defended the city. The night following there aroſe a moſt horrible tempeſt, with ſuch raging wind, and abundance of raine, that many thought they ſhould neuer haue ſeene day: with the violence whereof the Archdukes tent was ouerthrowne, and diuers others blown downe or rent in ſunder, were in the aire carried from place to place. About the ſame time the Lord *Palſi* within the ſight of the caſtle caſt vp a notable fort, with high mounts and ſtrong trenches euen in the ſelfeſame place where *Solyman* lay about fiftie yeares before, when he beſieged & woon Strigonium (by which fort ſo built, the enemie was embarred to conuey any thing vp the riuer for reliefe of the citie, to the great diſcomfiture of the beſieged: for to haue hindred the which worke, the enemy oftentimes ſallied out, but to no purpoſe. This fort being brought to perfection, the Chriſtians tooke alſo another fort in an Iſland on the further ſide of the riuer, which the Turks had but few daies before taken from the Chriſtians, & cloyed the great pieces therein: which fort the Chriſtians now againe repaired, furniſhed it with a ſufficient garriſon and other great ordnance.

Strigonium ſore battered.

Theſe things thus done, the caſtle and the lower town were in fiue diuers places out of the new built fort, the old towne, and the Iſland, ſo battered with continual ſhot, that a man ſhould haue ſaid, that one ſtone would not haue been left vpon another, but that all ſhould haue been beaten downe and laied euen with the ground. The ſeuenteenth of Iune one of the Chriſtian canoniers ſo diſmounted one of the great pieces in the caſtle, that the piece together with the Turkiſh canonier that had charge thereof fell downe out of the caſtle into the ditch. And the ſame day a maſon that fled out of the caſtle into the camp, among other things reported, That many of the Turks were ſlaine with this continuall batterie and often aſſaults, and that not paſt an houre before, forty of them were ſlaine in one chamber, and now acknowledged themſelues to be indeed beſieged: and to haue reſolued, that when they were brought to the laſt caſt, then deſperatly to ſallie out vpon the Chriſtians, and ſo either to returne with victorie, or to make ſhift euery man for himſelfe as he might. Which his report ſeemed not altogether feigned: for about midnight a thouſand of the Turks ſallying out of the caſtle vpon the fort newly built vpon the riuer, in hope to haue ſurpriſed it, were by the Chriſtians therein notably repulſed and inforced to retire; in which conflict fiftie of the Turks were ſlaine, and many mo wounded and taken priſoners. And the ſame day toward euening eight Turks of good ſort being taken and brought into the camp, confeſſed, That but ſix daies before, they had ſeene ſeuen boats full of wounded and dead men ſent downe the riuer from Strigonium to Buda. *Whereby it was* eaſily to be gathered, how bloudie a ſiege this was vnto the Turks, foraſmuch as all thoſe bodies were the bodies of men of good account and place; for the bodies of ſuch common ſouldiers as were ſlaine, they ſtill threw into the riuer running by.

The new built fort hardly aſſaulted by the Turks.

The fort newly built vpon the banke of Danubius, much troubled the beſieged Turkes in Strigonium, becauſe nothing could without danger of it be ſent vp the riuer for their reliefe, Wherfore they by fit meſſengers ſent word out of the caſtle to the Admirall of the Turks gallies lying below in the riuer, That he ſhould at an appointed time come vp the riuer with his gallies as high as the fort, and on that ſide at leaſtwiſe to make ſhew as if he would aſſault it: at which time they of the towne would be likewiſe ready to ſally out, and to aſſaile *it indeed* on the other ſide by land. The Admirall accordingly came vp the riuer with his gallies, and by diſcharging of certaine great pieces, made ſhew as if he would on that ſide haue battered the fort: but was ſo welcommed thereout of, that he was glad with his rent gallies quickly to fall downe the riuer againe further off out of danger. But whiles the thundering ſhot was thus flying too and fro towards the riuer, they of the towne ſallying out, aſſaulted the fort on the other ſide toward the land, and that with ſuch deſperat reſolution, that ſome of them were got vp to the top of the rampiers, & there for the ſpace of two houres maintained a moſt cruell fight: wherein many of them were ſlaine, and wounded, and the reſt enforced with ſhame to retire.

The Chriſtians thus ſtill lying at the ſiege, & intentiue to all occaſions; partly by their eſpials, and partly by ſuch as they had taken priſoners, vnderſtood, that a new ſupply both of men and victuals was ſhortly to be put into Strigonium: and therefore ſent out certaine companies of ſouldiers, who lying in two conuenient places, the one vpon the riuer, the other by land, might intercept the ſaid ſupply. Both which places were before by the prouident enemy poſſeſſed: who ſuddenly aſſailing the Chriſtians comming thither, & fearing no ſuch matter, ſlew ſome of them, & put the reſt to flight: who neuertheles in their retreat, brake the bridge which the Turks had made of boats vnder the caſtle of Strigonium ouer Danubius. Of which boats ſome were carried away with the violence of the ſtreame, and of the reſt 30 fel into the hands of the Chriſtians, without loſſe of any man more than fiue, who making too much haſte, out of a little boat, fell into the riuer, and ſo periſhed. In this time, Fame the forerunner of all great attempts had brought newes into the Chriſtian camp, That *Sinan Baſſa* the Turks great Generall was comming to the reliefe of Strigonium: of whoſe power diuers diuerſly reported. But the greater part doubting the worſt, and wearie of the long ſiege and of the calamities incident thereunto, added ſtill ſomething to the laſt report, to make the danger of longer ſtay to ſeeme the greater: certaine it is, that the newes of the comming of ſo great and puiſſant an enemie, raiſed many a troubled thought in the mindes of ſo great a multitude. Now were the beſieged Turkes in great wants in Strigonium, as appeared by Letters intercepted from the Sanzacke

zacke

backe to the Baſſa of Buda, declaring vnto him the hard eſtate of the beſieged, and humbly crauing his promiſed help, without which the citie could not for want of victuals poſſibly be defended by the fainting ſoldiers aboue three daies. Which letters being read in the camp, cauſed great preparation to be made for the continuing of the ſiege and the withſtanding of the enemie, whoſe comming was euery houre expected. All this while the great ordnance neuer ceaſed on either ſide: whereby many were ſlaine, as well of the Chriſtians as of the Turks; and amongſt others many of the cannoniers.

But foraſmuch as the rife fame of *Sinan Baſſa's* comming encreaſed daily, and the Chriſtian camp poſſeſſed with a general feare, gaue vnto the wiſe, iuſt ſuſpition of ſome great miſchiefe likely to enſue: *Matthias* the Generall entered into counſell with countie *Ferdinand Hardeck*, the Lord *Palfi*, the lord *Vngenade* Preſident of the counſell for the warres, and *Eraſmus Eraun* Gouernour of Comora, What were beſt to be done in ſo dangerous a time. Who with generall conſent agreed betimes, before the comming of *Sinan*, to raiſe the ſiege, and to remooue with the armie into ſome place of more ſafetie. Which their determinat reſolution, the day following, beeing the ſix and twentieth of Iune, they made knowne to the other Princes and great commanders in the army: who wonderfully diſcontented therwith, eſpecially the Germans, both openly by word, and ſolemnly by writing, proteſted againſt the ſame, as moſt diſhonorable, and altogether made without their knowledge or good liking. To whom the Preſident of the counſell for their further ſatisfaction, declared, That the enemie was comming with a very great army, and euen now at hand, whoſe ſtrength encreaſed daily, and with what power he had purpoſed to aſſaile them in their tents, was vncertain: beſides that, it was maniſeſtly knowne vnto the world, how that in the former aſſaults they had loſt many of their beſt ſouldiers, beſide others that died in the camp: and that the place wherein they lay encamped, was ſubiect to many dangers: for which ſo vrgent cauſes the Generall had reſolued to raiſe his ſiege, and before the comming of ſo ſtrong an enemy, to remoue his army into a place of more ſafety. Which reaſons for al that did not ſo well ſatisfie the German princes and commanders, but that they ſtill vrged their former proteſtation, requeſting his excellencie to haue them excuſed before God and the World, if they yeelding to his command, as to their Generall, did that which they thought not altogether beſt, and which they would not otherwiſe haue done. For the more euidence whereof, the ſaid German princes and great commanders cauſed their ſaid proteſtation to be ſolemnly conceiued in writing, which they firmed with their ſeales, and ſubſcribed with their owne hands in order as followeth: *Francis* Duke of Saxonie, *Auguſtus* Duke of Brunſwick, *Sebaſtian Schlick*, county *Wigand Maltzan*, *Erneſtus* of Alſtan, *Henry Phlugk*, *Iohn Nicholas Ruſwormb*, *Henry Curwigger Heerrath*, *Iohn* Oberhauſen, *Henry Rottcirch*, *Melchior* of Nothwith.

The Archduke raiſeth his ſiege & with his armie paſſeth the riuer.

But the Archduke with the reſt conſtant in their former reſolution, firſt ſent away the great ordnance, and raiſing the ſiege the 28 of Iune, followed after with the whole army, paſſing ouer Danubius not far from Kokara, doubtfully expecting what courſe *Sinan* the great Baſſa (who was then reported to be euen at hand) would take. Yet before their departure they ſet the old towne on fire, and raſed the fort S. *Nicholas*, before taken from the enemie, which they had once purpoſed to haue kept. This vnexpected departure of the Chriſtians much gladded the beſieged Turks: who for want of victuals had not been able long to haue holden out. Yet lay the lord *Teuffenbach* ſtill at the ſiege of Hatwan, labouring by all means to take from the beſieged Turks their water, and with earth and faggots to fil vp their ditches; which worke he had now happily brought to ſome good perfection. Whereof they in the towne by letters aduertiſed the Baſſa of Buda, and that except they were within the ſpace of three daies relieued, they ſhould bee enforced to yeeld the towne. Which their diſtreſſe the Baſſa conſidering, with ſpeed aſſembled all his forces, and ſo ſet forward to relieue them, hoping to haue come vpon the Chriſtians before they were aware of his comming. But *Teuffenbach* vnderſtanding therof, with fiue thouſand choſen horſmen went out of the camp to meet him, & ſuddenly comming vpon him, fearing no ſuch thing, ſlew fiue thouſand of the Turkes, put the Baſſa to flight, and together with the victory obtained an exceeding rich prey.

Fiue thouſand Turks ſlaine.

Hatwan in vain aſſaulted by the Chriſtians.

Now was there no leſſe expectation and hope of the winning or yeelding vp of Hatwan, than was before of Strigonium: but according to the chance of war it fell out otherwiſe. For *Teuffenbach* hauing with continuall batterie laied the breaches faire open, and made choice of

Teuffenbach giueth ouer the ſiege of Hatwan.

of ſuch ſouldiers as he thought meeteſt for the aſſault, was in the performing thereof ſo notably repulſed by the Turkes, that he was glad to retire with the loſſe of his beſt and moſt reſolute G ſoldiers: which put him out of all hope of taking the towne by force. For beſide the loſſe of theſe good men, he had ſcarce ſo many ſound men left, as might ſuffiſe to furniſh his gariſons for defence of thoſe frontiers: by reaſon that the Hungarians were almoſt al ſhrunk home, and of the Germans were left ſcarce two thouſand. Beſides that, he had oftentimes craued new ſupplies of the Archduke, but all in vain: for which cauſes he was glad to abandon two ſtrong forts hee had built before Hatwan, and to leaue the towne, now brought to great extremitie. Thus two notable cities, which were now as it were in the hands of the Chriſtians, & by the recouerie whereof, the broken ſtate of the afflicted Chriſtians in Hungarie had beene much ſtrenthened, were as it were againe reſtored vnto the barbarous and cruell enemie. H

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Strigonium and Hatwan, the Raſcians (of whom we haue before ſpoken) ſtriuing ſtill more and more to rid themſelues from the Turkiſh thraldome, gathered themſelues together to the number of fifteene thouſand, betweene Buda and Belgrade, vnder a Generall of their owne chuſing. For feare of whom, the Baſſa of Temeſwar with an armie of fourteene thouſand went to fortifie and victuall Lippa, doubting leſt it ſhould by them be ſurpriſed: but hauing done that he went for, in his returne hee was met with by the ſame Raſcians, and twice fought withall in one day, and both times put to the worſe, with the loſſe of the greateſt part of his armie. After which victorie the Raſcians tooke Beczkerek a ſtrong towne ſtanding in a mariſh foure miles from Belgrade, & ſlew al the Turks they found therein. After that, they tooke a caſtle called Ottadt, and dealt with the Turkes in I like manner. From thence they went and beſieged Beche, a Caſtle ſtanding vpon the riuer Tibiſcus or Teiſe, where the towne adioyning vnto it yeelded preſently; but they in the caſtle ſtanding a while vpon their guard, offered at laſt to yeeld alſo vpon certaine conditions. But the Raſcians knowing that the Turkes thereabouts had conueied into the caſtle the beſt part of their wealth, and withall that it was but weakely manned, would accept of no conditions, but needs haue it abſolutely deliuered vp to their pleaſure. In the mean time the old Baſſa of Temeſwar and his ſonne, knowing it to tend to their diſhonour to ſuffer this baſe people ſo to rage at their pleaſure about them, gathered together 11000 Turkes, and ſo in great haſte came to relieue the beſieged caſtle. Vpon whom the Raſcians turned themſelues, and in plaine battell ouerthrew the Baſſa, and ſo purſued the victorie, that of thoſe 11000 Turkes ſcarcely K eſcaped 1000: the Baſſa himſelfe being there ſlaine, and with him three Sanzacks, his ſonne eſcaped by flight. In this battell the Raſcians tooke 18 great pieces of artillerie: and not long after tooke alſo Werſetza and Lutz, two ſtrong places. After which ſo happie ſucceſſe, they ſent vnto the Archduke *Matthias* for aid, but eſpecially for canoniers, profeſſing themſelues now vtter enemies vnto the Turkes. The Raſcians alſo about Temeſwar ſent word vnto the other in the campe, that they would come and ioyne with them. And they which inhabit the countrey betweene the riuer Danubius and Tibiſcus, by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe vnto the Lord *Teuffenbach* (the Archdukes Lieutenant in the vpper part of Hungarie) offered in ſhort time to ſend him ten or twelue thouſand men, ſo that hee would receiue them and their countrie into the Emperors protection; which he eaſily granted them, and thereof aſſured them by L writing. And to the Archduke himſelfe they ſent alſo their truſtie meſſengers, requeſting him to ſend them a Generall to lead them, promiſing vnto him all obedience: which meſſengers departing from them the fourteenth of Iune, ſhortly after returned with ſuch anſwer as was thought moſt conuenient for their preſent ſtate. Thus againſt the comming of *Sinan*, was Hungarie almoſt all on a broile.

A diet of the empire holden at Ratisbone for the withſtanding of the Turkes.

The Emperor long before diſtruſting the Turks purpoſe for war, and wel conſidering what a difficultie it would be for him with his owne forces onely to withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemy as was *Amurath*, had by his Embaſſadors praied aid of diuers Chriſtian Princes, but eſpecially of them of the Empire, as thoſe whom this war concerned moſt. Wherefore he after the anti- M ent and woonted manner of his State in ſo common and imminent a danger, appointed a generall aſſembly of the Princes and States of the Empire, to be holden at Ratisbone, in the latter end of Februarie: which for ſundrie vrgent cauſes was put off vntill March, and againe vntill Aprill, and ſo afterward vntill May. At which time the Emperour in perſon himſelfe, with the Princes Electors, and other the great States of the Empire, being met together with great

pompe

The Emperour grieuouſly complaineth vnto the Princes Electors & ſtates of the Empire, of the infidelity of the Turke, & craueth their aid.

A pompe at Ratisbone,and ſolemnely aſſembled in the Biſhops palace,began there to ſit in coun-
ſell the ſecond of Iune. Vnto which Princes and States ſo aſſembled, after that the Emperour
had firſt by the mouth of *Philip* Countie Palatine of the Rhine, giuen great thanks for their ſo
readie apparance, & briefly declared the cauſe of their aſſembly; he himſelfe after ſome com-
plaint made of the Turkiſh infidelitie,in expreſſe words declared vnto them, how that he by
his embaſſador then lying at Conſtantinople, had in the yeare 1591 made a league for eight
yeares,with the preſent Turkiſh Sultan *Amurath*: which league *Amurath* himſelfe had appro-
ued and confirmed,and thereof ſent him publike and ſolemne inſtruments: wherein it was pro-
uided,That no hoſtility ſhould be on either ſide during that time attempted. And yet notwith-
ſtanding that,he,contrary to his faith giuen,as an hereditarie enemie of the Chriſtians,had vio-
B lated this league,and by ſundrie incurſions barbarouſly ſpoiled and waſted,not Hungary only,
but other of his Imperial prouinces alſo:but eſpecially by *Haſſan Baſſa* of Boſna,who firſt with
a ſtrong armie beſieged,battered,and tooke Repitz an antient frontier caſtle, & after that, Wi-
hitz,Drenik, Craſſowitz,with other places of name; and had in his dominion and territorie
built Pettinia,a moſt ſtrong fort,hurtfull to all that country, out of which he had done incre-
dible miſchiefe in Croatia, Windiſmarch,and the moſt fruitfull Iſland Turopolis; and had out
of thoſe places carried away aboue 35000 Chriſtians into moſt miſerable captiuity. Of which
ſhameful iniuries and breach of faith he had many times by his Embaſſadors complained vnto
the Turkiſh Sultan at Conſtantinople; and requeſted,that all hoſtility ſet apart,due reſtitution
might haue bin made: but to haue therein preuailed nothing: and that the ſame Baſſa in ſtead of
C condigne puniſhment,had bin for the doing thereof honored by the great Sultan his lord with
honorable gifts,the ſure tokens of his fauor. Whereby he was ſo confirmed in his barbarous
proceedings,that he began to make open war,and hauing raiſed a full armie, and ſtrengthened
alſo with certaine companies of Ianizaries ſent from the Court, had paſſed ouer the riuer of
Kulp,and beſieged the caſtle of Siſeg: but by the iuſt iudgement of God the reuenger of
wrongs, had there receiued the reward of his faithleſſe and cruell dealing, being there ſlaine,
and almoſt all his armie vtterly deſtroyed by his ſmall forces, raiſed in haſte for his owne law-
full defence. Neuertheleſſe the faithleſſe Turke (as if he had bin highly wronged himſelfe) to
haue made this his breach both of league and faith forthwith knowne to all the world, by
D commanding open war to be ſolemnly proclaimed againſt the kingdome of Hungarie, both in
Conſtantinople and Buda: and by the Beglerbeg of Græce to haue againe beſieged and taken
the ſtrong Fortreſſe of Siſeg. Whereas on the other ſide, becauſe nothing ſhould on his part
be wanting, which might make his deſire of peace more knowne, he had againe, and often-
times by his Embaſſador put the Turke in remembrance of his league made,and confirmed by
his Faith. Who for all that had changed nothing of his purpoſe, but ſent his great Viſier *Si-
nan Baſſa*, with the Beglerbeg of Grecia and many inferiour Baſſa's and Sanzackes into Hun-
garie, who with fire and ſword enforced the Inhabitants and countrey people (ſuch as they
left aliue) to ſweare to the Turke obedience, and to become his ſubiects: and at the ſame time
tooke Veſprinium and Palotta two famous fortreſſes of that Kingdome. And that the ſame
Baſſa by commaundement from his Lord and Maſter, had contrarie to the Law of Nations,
imprisoned *Fredericke Kreckowitz* his Embaſſadour, firſt at Conſtantinople, and cauſed the
E greater part of his Followers to be thruſt into the gallies; and afterwards to haue ſent him
with a few of his ſeruants to Belgrade, and there to haue kept him ſo long in priſon, that
he there miſerably died. In reuenge of which ſo great and open wrong, and for the defence
and comfort of his afflicted ſubiects ſo neere the Enemie, he had raiſed a good ſtrength both
of horſe and foot; by whoſe helpe and the aſſiſtance of Almightie God, the Baſſa of Boſna
had reaped the fruit of his perfideous dealing: as had alſo the Baſſa of Buda, with many thou-
ſands of their great ſouldiers,ouerthrowne neere vnto Alba-Regalis, beſides many of their
Caſtles and Townes taken or raſed. Yet for all that, was it eaſie to be ſeene, theſe ſo great vi-
ctories by the goodneſſe of God had and obtained againſt ſo mightie and cruell an enemie,
not to ſuffice; but that there was ſtill need of a perſeuerant and continuall ſupplie for the
maintenance of a perpetuall warre; and that it was dayly to be expected, or rather euen now
preſently to be deſcried, That the Turke in his quarrell (which hee deemeth alwaies iuſt
againſt the Chriſtians) and in reuenge of theſe ouerthrowes,would draw forth all his forces,
and aduenture his whole ſtrength. For which cauſes hee had by the knowledge and con-

ſent of the Princes Electors of the ſacred Empire, appointed that preſent Diet of the Empire; G
and not for the aforeſaid cauſes only, but for diuers others both neceſſarie and weightie, alſo:
as the general peace of the empire, the pacification of the Low-countries, the reformation of
juſtice, and amendment of the coine: but eſpecially & aboue all other things, to make it known
vnto the world, how much it concerned to haue the Turks pride betime abated, and ſome effectual
defence for Hungarie (now in danger) at length prouided; being the moſt ſure defence
and ſtrongeſt bulwarke of that part of Chriſtendome. And that whereas his owne hereditarie
prouinces were not of themſelues alone ſufficient to maintaine ſo chargeable a war, he therfore
requeſted the Electors, Princes, and States both preſent and abſent, not to grudge to be
preſent with their helpe, their counſell, and whatſoeuer els ſhould be needfull againſt ſo puiſſant
and dangerous an enemie. So ending his ſpeech, he cauſed all his demands before conceiued
into writing, to be read, and ſo deliuered vnto them. For anſwer whereunto the Princes Electors H
and others there preſent required time. Which granted, after many ſittings and long
conſultations they at laſt with one conſent anſwered, That it was a hard matter, by reaſon of
the late dearth and other like occaſions, for them to grant ſuch helpe and aid as the Emperour
had in writing required: yet hauing before their eyes the great and imminent danger wherin
the Chriſtian commonweale then ſtood, they not regarding their owne proper and neere difficulties,
had in regard of his ſacred and Imperial Majeſtie, for the comfort and defence of the
endangered Chriſtians, and for the repreſſing of the Turkiſh furie, of their owne free will and
meere compaſſion, granted beſide their accuſtomed contribution, ſuch further reliefe for the
ſpace of ſix yeares, as they thought ſufficient for the maintenance of a defenſiue war, both for
the preſent and for the time to come. What was by them further decreed concerning the Emperors I
other demands, as not pertinent to our purpoſe, we willingly paſſe ouer.

Sinan Baſſa with an army of 150000 betweene Buda & Alba-Regalis.

Of all theſe things, as alſo whatſoeuer els had hapned at Strigonium, Hatwan, or other places
of Hungarie, was not *Sinan Baſſa* ignorant: who now euen vpon the departure of the Chriſtians
from Strigonium, was come with an huge armie betweene Buda and Alba-Regalis: vnto
whom fortie thouſand Tartars, that by force had made themſelues way thorow Podolia and
the vpper part of Hungarie, had joined themſelues: ſo that in his armie were reckoned aboue
150000 fighting men; to the great terror not only of Hungarie, Auſtria, Stiria, Croatia, Bohemia,
and the prouinces thereabout, but alſo of the whole State of Germanie. With this
great armie the old Baſſa had purpoſed to haue ouerwhelmed the Chriſtians in their campe at K
Strigonium: but now that they were before his comming departed ouer the riuer towards
Comara, he reſolued to keepe on his way, and to beſiege the ſtrong citie Iaurinum, now called
Rab. And to make all ſure before him, he thought it beſt to take in his way Dotis, a ſtrong
towne of the Chriſtians in the mid way betweene Strigonium and Rab, about fiue Hungarian
miles ſhort of Rab. The Chriſtian armie but newly paſſed ouer Danubius, in marching toward
Comara, might ſee the mountaines and fields on the other ſide of the riuer all couered with
the multitude of the Turks armie: who though they were indeed many, yet marching diſperſedly,
made ſhew of more than in truth they were. So both armies marching in ſight the one
of the other, and ſeperated only with the riuer, held on their way, the Chriſtians to Comara,
where they encamped vnder the very walls of the citie, yet in ſuch ſort as that they might afar L
off well deſcrie one another: and the Turks towards Dotis, where the Baſſa with all his armie
encamped the 21 day of Iuly. The night following, hauing planted his batterie, he began in
furious manner to batter the caſtle, the chiefe ſtrength of the towne, the Chriſtian armie looking
on, but not daring at ſo great odds to releeue their diſtreſſed friends. So whileſt the Baſſa
granteth no breathing while vnto the beſieged, but tyring them out with continuall batterie
and alarmes, they of the towne diſpairing of their owne ſtrength, and to be able for any long
time to hold out againſt ſo mightie an enemie, within three dayes after yeelded vp the towne,
being in that ſhort time ſore battered, and in diuers places vndermined: yet with this condition,
That it ſhould be lawfull for the garriſon ſouldiers and towneſmen with their wiues and
children, in ſafetie to depart. Which was vnto them by the Baſſa franckly granted, but not ſo
faithfully performed: for at their departure many of their wiues and children were ſtayed by
the Turks, and the Lord *Baxi* gouernor of the towne foulely entreated. Immediatly after,
the Baſſa without much ado tooke the caſtle of S. *Martins* alſo, not far from Dotis, being by
the Captaine yeelded vnto him.

Dotis and S. Martins yeelded vnto the Turkes.

A In the meane time the country villages round about forſaken of the poore Chriſtians, were by the Turks moſt miſerably burnt, and all the countrey layd waſte. Yea ſome of the forerunners of the Turks armie paſſing ouer the riuer Rabnitz, ran into the country as far as Altenburg within fiue miles of Vienna, burning the country villages as they went, and killing the poore people, or that worſe was, carrying them away into perpetual captiuitie: yet not without ſome loſſe, foure hundred of theſe roaming foreiners being cut off by the Lord *Naduſti.* *Palſi* alſo, and *Brun* gouernor of Comara, following in the taile of the Turkes armie, ſet vpon them that had the charge of the victuals, of whom they ſlew a great number, tooke 120 of them priſoners, and 150 camels, and thirtie mules laded with meale and rice; which they carried away with them to Comara.

B Dotis and S. *Martins* thus taken, *Sinan Baſſa* conſtant in his former determination, ſet forward againe towards Rab, and being come within a mile of the citie, there encamped; the Chriſtian armie then lying not far off on the other ſide of the riuer. The citie of Rab is a ſtrong & populous citie, honored with a Biſhops See, and was worthily accounted the ſtrongeſt bulwarke of Vienna, from whence it is diſtant about twelue Germane miles; ſtanding vpon the South ſide of Danubius, whence the riuer diuiding it ſelfe, maketh a moſt fertile Iſland called Schut; in the Eaſt point whereof ſtandeth the ſtrong citie of Comara. The defence of this citie of Rab was committed to Countie *Hardeck*, a man of greater courage than fidelitie, with a garriſon of twelue hundred choice ſoldiers; vnto whom a little before the comming of the Baſſa were certaine companies of Italians joined, who together with the citiſens, made vp the number of fiue thouſand able men: a ſtrength in all mens judgement ſufficient for the long defence C of that place. The laſt of Iuly, *Matthias* the Archduke about the going downe of the Sun departing out of the citie of Rab, ouer the riuer into the Iſland ouer againſt it, came *Sinan Baſſa* with his huge armie and beſet it round, caſting vp trenches and mounts, whereon he skilfully placed his gabions and great artillerie, and whatſoeuer els was neceſſarie for ſo great a ſiege: and that with ſuch celeritie as was to the beholders thought moſt ſtrange. The ſecond of Auguſt he with great furie battered the citie, and brought his trenches within musket ſhot of the walls. At which time foure thouſand Tartarian horſemen ſwam ouer the Danubius betweene Rab and Comara, after whom followed ſix thouſand Turkes, who being with much adoe got ouer to the farther ſide, ſuddenly ſurpriſed a fort of the Chriſtians next vnto the riuer, and D forthwith turning fiue great pieces of ordnance which they found therein, diſcharged them vpon the campe of the Chriſtians: who terrified with the ſudden accident, riſe vp all in arms, and hardly charging thoſe deſperat aduenturers, ſlew many of them, eſpecially ſuch as ſeeking after bootie, had diſperſed themſelues from their fellowes, and forced the reſt againe to take the water, wherein moſt of them periſhed. About fiue dayes after, the Tartarians (liuing for moſt part vpon prey) ſwam againe ouer the riuer, and vpon the ſudden burnt a village in the Iſland, and ſlew certaine Chriſtians in their tents; but being quickely encountered by the Chriſtian horſemen, they were eaſily ouerthrowne and many of them ſlaine: the reſt caſting away their weapons, and forſaking their horſes, ran headlong into the riuer, truſting more to E their ſwimming than to their fighting: whom the Chriſtians hardly purſuing, in the verie Riuer ſlew about 2000 of them; and by this victorie obtained many of the Tartarians ſwift horſes, with their ſcimiters, their bowes and arrowes, and ſuch enſignes as they had. All this while *Sinan Baſſa* without intermiſſion lay thundering with 60 great pieces of batterie againſt the citie; but to little or ſmall purpoſe, for as yet he had made no breach whereby to enter, but the harme that was done, was vpon the towers, or high built houſes, or in the campe, by ſuch randome ſhot as flying ouer the towne, fell by chance among the tents of the Chriſtians. And the Ianizaries intentiue to all opportunities, in a great raine furiouſly and with a moſt horrible cry (as their manner is) aſſaulted an vtter bulwarke of the Chriſtians, which they for feare forſook and retired themſelues into the citie. Vpon which bulwarke ſo taken the Ianizaries had ſet vp three of their enſignes; when the Chriſtians aſhamed of that they had done, and better aduiſed, taking courage vnto them, forthwith ſallied out againe, and couragiouſly charging the Ianizaries, but now entred, ſlew many of them, and recouered againe the bulwarke.

Rab.

The Turks and Tartars paſſing ouer the Riuer ouerthrowne.

The Tartarians the ſecond time ouerthrowne.

Rab battered.

Sinan Baſſa leauing nothing vnattempted that might further his deſire for the winning of the citie, was now caſting vp a great mount againſt the citie: which whileſt he daily ſurueyed, he chanced to fall ſick, and therefore appointed one of the Baſſa's in his own ſtead to oucrſee the

A Baſſa ſlaine.

worke; who whileſt he was walking too and fro haſtening the worke, and commanding this and that thing to be done, he was taken with a ſhot out of the towne and ſlaine. G

The fifteenth of Auguſt certaine Turks before the riſing of the Sun getting ouer Danubius in boats, aſſailed a fort of the Chriſtians: which the ſoldiers that had the keeping of it, preſently forſooke and left it to the enemie. Which *Iohn de Medices*, lately come into the campe with two thouſand Italians, perceiuing, forthwith came to the reſcue of the fort, draue out the Turks, and hauing ſlaine diuers of them, forced the reſt into the riuer, where they were all drowned. At which time fiue thouſand Tartars in another place paſſing ouer the riuer into the Iſland, were encountered by the Lord *Palſi* and the Huſſars his followers, and without any great reſiſtance put to flight, wherein many of them were ſlaine: the reſt taking the riuer, were in good hope to haue got ouer, and ſo to haue ſaued themſelues: but other Turkes meeting them in the riuer, would with their weapons haue beaten them backe and ſtayed their flight: H against whom the Tartars oppoſing themſelues, made with them in the very riuer a moſt cruel fight, but with ſuch loſſe vnto the Tartars, that of the fiue thouſand which adventured ouer, few returned to carrie newes vnto their fellowes, how they had ſped. Now began great ſcarcitie of victuals in the Turks campe, ſo that the ſouldiers were faine to feed vpon vnripe fruit, and ſuch other vnwholeſome things; whereof enſued the bloudie flix and many other dangerous diſeaſes; which raging amongſt them, did wonderfully conſume the Baſſa's army. Beſide that, they of the citie with continual ſhot had ſlaine many, and amongſt them a ſon in law of the great Baſſa's, whoſe death he is reported to haue taken ſo vnpatiently, that he fell ſicke for griefe, but in ſhort time after paſſed it ouer and recouered againe.

A fight in the River betwixt the Turks and the Tartars.

The Tartars not yet warned by their often loſſes, but paſſing againe ouer the riuer into the I Iſland the 19 of this moneth, were there 3000 of them ſlaine. In the meane time certain companies alſo of the Turks hauing ſecretly paſſed the riuer, in another quarter aſſailed the Chriſtians in their camp: in which hurly-burly other of the Tartars got ouer the riuer not far from Comara, hoping now at length to performe ſome great matter, which they had before to their coſt vainly attempted. But finding the Turks ouerthrowne before their comming, & the Chriſtians (contrarie to their expectation) in armes readie to receiue them, they were eaſily diſcomfited, and two thouſand of them ſlaine. In this conflict the Sanzacke of Strigonium, with two others, and many moe of great account among the Turks, periſhed. Shortly after, the Chriſtians ſallying out of the citie, ſlew a great number of the Turkes, and ſo retyred with ſmall K loſſe. Thus was the Turks armie dayly diminiſhed, beſides that the want of victuals with the bloudie flix ſo increaſed, that many perſuaded the Baſſa to haue raiſed his ſiege, and to haue remoued with his armie to ſome other more wholeſome place and of greater plentie: but he reſolutely ſet down not to depart before he had either woon the towne, or enforced them therein to yeeld, would not hearken to any perſuaſions to the contrarie.

Whileſt *Sinan* thus lay at the ſiege of Rab, *Maximilian* the Emperors brother tooke Craſtowitz a fortreſſe of the Turks vpon the borders of Croatia, and put to ſword all the Turkes there in garriſon. After that, he laid ſiege to Petrinia, a ſtrong fortreſſe of the Turks, which they but a few yeares before had contrarie to the league built in the Emperors territorie, for the annoying of Croatia, and for the exceeding ſtrength thereof was thought almoſt impregnable. L Yet ſuch was the induſtrie of *Maximilian* and his ſouldiers, that what with continual batterie and mines, they ſo terrified the Turks there in garriſon, that they for feare ſet fire on the fort, and flying away by night, made ſhift euery man for himſelfe as he might. Which they in the caſtle of Siſeg hearing, ſet fire alſo vpon it, and ſo left it to the Chriſtians. Whoſe example they alſo of Gara followed: by which ſo proſperous and happie ſucceſſe of *Maximilian*, not the frontiers only, but euen the whole country of Croatia was for that time deliuered of a wonderfull trouble and no leſſe danger.

A great skirmiſh betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

The eight and twentieth day of Auguſt twentie thouſand of the Chriſtians paſſing ouer the riuer by a bridge out of the Iſland, and ioyning with them of the Towne, ſallied out vpon the Turks camp. The Hungarian Heidons in the foreward at the firſt onſet tooke two of the Turks M bulwarks; and hauing beaten out the enemies, cloyed certaine of their great pieces: but the Turks returning with greater power, enforced the Chriſtians to retire, & recouered againe their loſt bulwarkes. In this conflict many were ſlaine, as well Chriſtians as Turkes. In the meane while *Thonhanſe* a great captain of the Chriſtians, and *Geitzhofler*, Countie *Hardeck* his lieutenant, A nant, with 1500 Hungarians and German foot came in great boats to haue holpen their fellowes, but landing ſomewhat too late, they were by the enemie beaten backe, and enforced with ſuch ſpeed to retire, that many of them being not able to recouer the boats, were drowned in the riuer, amongſt whom *Geitzhoſler* himſelfe periſhed, and *Thonhauſe* was deadly wounded in his breſt. Yet the Chriſtians not diſcouraged with this loſſe, but gathering themſelues together vnder the very walls of the citie, gaue a ſecond aſſault vnto the enemie. In the foreward were the footmen, who were by the enemies horſmen eaſily repulſed; but by the comming in of the Lord *Rhinsberg* (who was at the firſt onſet ſlaine) the Turks were enforced into their trenches, except ſome few, which diuided from the reſt, hid themſelues in the Vineyards, but being found out by the Chriſtians, were there all ſlaine. In this skirmiſh the Lord B *Palſi* was grieuouſly wounded in his thigh. Of the Chriſtians were ſlaine 400, and of the Turks about 2000. Theſe conflicts endured from ſeuen a clocke in the morning, vntil twelue, at which time the Chriſtians returning into the citie, and ſo into the campe, amongſt other ſpoiles, carried away with them ſeuenteene of the enemies enſignes.

Two thouſand Turks ſlain, & 17 of their Enſignes taken.

No day now paſſing without ſome skirmiſh, at length the ninth of September 10000 Turks, ſome in boats, ſome by other meanes, hauing got ouer the riuer of Danubius into the Iſland of Schut, ſuddenly ſet vp the Chriſtians, all ſleeping in ſecuritie, and little fearing any ſuch danger: of whome they ſlew about two thouſand, and after ſome ſmall fight put the reſt to moſt ſhamefull flight, in ſuch ſort, that *Matthias* the Archduke himſelfe with the other noblemen and captaines had much ado by flight to eſcape. Thus whileſt euery man ſurpriſed with feare, C made what ſhift he could for himſelfe; the enemie in the mean time entred the trenches, took their tents, their great ordnance, the ſhot and pouder, and all the mony which but a little before was brought for the ſoldiers pay; beſides about a thouſand waggons and two hundred boats well loaded with prouiſion for the campe, and ten gallies, wherein were an hundred and twentie pieces of great ordnance. The loſſe receiued this day was valued at 500000 duckets. And albeit that this victorie coſt the Turks two thouſand and fiue hundred of their liues, yet thereby they gained the maſterie both vpon the riuer and the land, ſo that now roming far & neere without reſiſtance, they ſpoiled the countrey all about, and burnt certaine countrey villages not far from Vienna: ſo that for many miles ſpace the countrey townes were for feare of the D enemie forſaken by the inhabitants; of whom ſome were taken and ſlaine, ſome carried into captiuitie, and ſome others (reſerued to a better fortune) with ſuch things as they had, got themſelues farther off into places of more ſecuritie. And the more to encreaſe theſe calamities, the Tartars ſhortly after paſſing ouer Danubius neere vnto Altenburg, firſt ſacked Weiſenburg, and after burnt it, with certaine towns thereabout: but aduenturing to haue gone farther into the countrey, they were with loſſe enforced to returne.

A great ſpoile taken by the Turks.

Whileſt the Turkes thus preuaile in Hungary, *Cicala Baſſa* the Turkes Admirall then at ſea with a fleet of gallies, landing his men in diuers places of Italie, did exceeding much harm, but eſpecially in Calabria, where he vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed Rhegium, rifled the towne, and afterwards burnt it. From thence taking his courſe towards Sicilia, hee in the ſight of Meſſana landed certaine of his men; who aduenturing too far aſhore, were by the country people ouerthrowne and put to flight. So the Turks returning againe to Rhegium, vtterly raſed what they E had before left of that towne. In the mean time not far from Meſſana, euen in the ſight of the garriſon of the towne, they tooke a certaine ſhip comming out of the Eaſt countries, and three other comming from Apulia. Afterward chancing vpon certaine gallies of the Eaſt, they changed ſome few ſhot with them, but to no great purpoſe: and ſo turning their courſe, and ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Calabria, they oftentimes landed certaine companies, which skirmiſhing with the Calabrians, had ſometime the better, and ſometime the worſe, and ſo with ſuch fortune as befell them, were againe receiued into their gallies. They of Meſſana, vnto whoſe eyes thoſe dangers were daily preſented, both by letters and ſpeedie meſſengers gaue the Viceroy knowledge thereof (who then for his pleaſure lay at Palermo) requeſting his preſent aid: but he dallying off the time, they for the more ſafegard of the citie and of the ſea coaſt, of themſelues raiſed fiue hundred horſemen, whom they committed to the leading of *Philip Cicala*, the renegate Turkiſh Admiralls brother; and beſide ſtored the Citie with all ſuch things as they thought neceſſarie for the enduring of a ſiege, if it ſhould chance the Turke to haue any ſuch purpoſe: of all which they certified the King of Spaine, as alſo of the negligence of the

Rhegium raſed by the Turks.

Viceroy, requeſting his ſpeedie aid againſt theſe terrors of the Turks. In the meane while the Neapolitans for ſafegard of their coaſt put to ſea 30 gallies: vnto whom the Pope, the Duke of Florence, the Genowaies, and the Knights of Malta joined alſo theirs, in all to the number of about 80 gallies, vnder the conduct of *Auria*. The prouident Venetians alſo, although they were as then in league with the Turke; yet for the ſafetie of their State put to ſea a fleet of about an hundred ſaile, ſome ſhips, ſome gallies, vnder the leading of *Foſcarin* their Admiral. Which two fleets ſailing vp and downe thoſe ſeas, deliuered Italie, Sicilie, Dalmatia, with many prouinces and Iſlands of the Chriſtians, of a great feare.

Rab aſſaulted by the Turkes.

Twelue thouſand Turkes ſlaine.

Sinan Baſſa hauing before encouraged his ſoldiers with great hope and large promiſes, commanded an aſſault to be giuen to the citie of Rab: which was accordingly by them begun the 23 of September, the Sun being as yet ſcarce vp, and furiouſly maintained all that day from morning vntil night. But they of the towne ſo valiantly defended themſelues, that at laſt the Turks were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and with loſſe to retire. Neuertheleſſe the next day the aſſault was again renewed, & moſt deſperatly continued by the ſpace of two daies: wherein 12000 of the Turks there loſt their liues, the other with ſhame retiring themſelues into their trenches. In few days after, the Turks by a mine blew vp one of the bulwarks of the town, with the fall whereof the towne ditch was in that place ſomwhat filled: whereby the Turks with all their power attempted thrice the next day to haue entered, but were by the valour of the defendants ſtill notably with loſſe repulſed. Yet notwithſtanding all this cheerefulneſſe and couragiouſneſſe of them in the towne, the puiſſant enemy ceaſed not with continual batterie and furious aſſaults to attempt the citie, vntill that at length he had gained two of the bulwarks, from whence he might to his great aduantage, by the rubbiſh and earth fallen out of the battered bulwarks and rampiers, haue acceſſe vnto the towne, to the great terror of the defendants. Whereupon Countie *Hardeck* the gouernor (who corrupted by the Turke, had of purpoſe many times before ſaid that the towne could not poſſibly be long defended) now tooke occaſion to enter into counſel with the other captains of the towne (diuers of whom he had alreadie framed to his purpoſe) what courſe were beſt to take for the yeelding of it vp. And ſo after a little conſultation, holden more for faſhion ſake, than for that he doubted what to doe; reſolued to ſend a meſſenger vnto the Baſſa, for a truce to be granted for a while, to ſee if haply in the meane time ſome reaſonable compoſition might be agreed vpon. Yet the gouernor conſidering into what ſcorne and danger he ſhould expoſe himſelfe, by yeelding vp of ſo ſtrong a towne; to colour the matter, and to excuſe his doings vnto the reſt of the nobilitie and garriſons of Hungary, cauſed a publike inſtrument to be made in his and all the reſt of the Captains names conceiued in writing: wherin they ſolemnly proteſted vnto the world, That foraſmuch as it was impoſſible (by reaſon of the weakneſſe of the garriſon) for them longer to defend the town againſt ſo mighty an enemy, without new ſupplies in ſtead of them that were ſlain (which they had oftentimes in vaine requeſted) they were therefore of neceſſity enforced to come to compoſition with the enemie. Which proteſtation ſo made, the gouernor with the chiefe captains confirmed with their hands and ſeals. So after a truce granted, and pledges giuen on both ſides, at length it was agreed vpon, That all the garriſon ſoldiers, together with the County and other captains, ſhould in armes with enſignes diſplaied with bag and baggage depart in ſafety, and with a ſafe conuoy be brought to Altenburg. Which agreement, though by oath confirmed, was not on the Turks part altogether performed: for when the County had the 29 day of September at 10 a clocke in the forenoone deliuered vp the city to the Baſſa, and the Chriſtian garriſon was all come out, the Countie himſelfe with a few of his friends was with a conuoy of Turks brought in ſafety to the appointed place: but the Italians and other gariſon ſoldiers that came behind, and ought to haue bin by the gouernor protected, were contrarie to the Turks promiſe, ſpoiled of all that they had, and hardly eſcaping with life, came that night to Hochſtrate, and the next day to Altenburg. Thus was Rab, one of the ſtrongeſt bulwarkes of Chriſtendome, traiterouſly deliuered vnto the moſt mortal enemy of the Chriſtian religion; being euen then when it was giuen vp, victualled for a yeare, and ſufficiently furniſhed with all things neceſſarie for defence: all which prouiſion, together with the citie, fell into the hands of the faithleſſe enemy. A loſſe neuer to haue bin ſufficiently lamented, had it not bin about foure yeares after, euen as it were miraculouſly againe recouered, to the great rejoycing of all that ſide of Chriſtendome, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall appeare.

County Hardec corrupted by the Turkes, yeeldeth the ſtrong Towne of Rab vnto Sinan Baſſa.

Sinan glad of this victorie, as the greateſt trophey of his maſters glorie ouer the Chriſtians, gaue him ſpeedie knowledge thereof, both by letters and meſſengers. Of whom he was for that good ſeruice highly commended, and afterward bountifully rewarded: for now had *Amurath* alreadie in hope deuoured all Auſtria, with the Prouinces thereabout. The great Baſſa, becauſe hee would not with too long ſtay hinder the courſe of his victorie, without delay repaired the rent citie, new fortified the battered bulwarkes, enlarged the ditches, and filled the Cathedral church with earth, in maner of a ſtrong bulwarke, wherupon he planted great ſtore of great ordnance: and with exceeding ſpeed diſpatched all things neceſſary for the holding of the place. In the meane time he ſent certaine Tartars to ſummon the towne and caſtle of Pappa; which caſtle and little towne ſubiect thereunto, the Chriſtians the night following, ſet on fire, becauſe it ſhould not ſtand the enemy in any ſtead for the farther troubling of the countrey, and ſo fled.

Rab repaired by the Turks.

The Baſſa hauing at his pleaſure diſpoſed of al things in Rab, and leauing there foure thouſand Ianizaries, and two thouſand horſemen in garriſon, departed thence with his army & laid ſiege to Komara, a ſtrong towne of that moſt fertile Iſland which the Hungarians call Schut, which ſcituated in the very point therof about foure miles from Rab, is on the Eaſt, South, and North, incloſed with the two armes of Danubius. All theſe waies *Sinan* with his fleet (which he had there notably well appointed) laied hard ſiege vnto the towne, and gaue thereunto diuers aſſaults: and by land, the Beglerbeg of Græce ceaſed not both by continuall batterie and mines, to ſhake the wals and bulwarks thereof. Thus was the citie on all ſides both by water & by land hardly laied vnto. But the Chriſtians within, with no leſſe courage defended themſelues and the city, than did the Turks aſſaile them, ſhewing indeed, that the liberty of their religion and country, was vnto them dearer than their liues. *Matthias* the Archduke in the mean time, not ignorant how much it concerned the emperor his brother to haue this city defended, hauing after his late ouerthrow gathered together a good army of Germans, Bohemians, and Hungarians, reſolued to go and raiſe the ſiege: and ſo marching forward with his army, came and encamped the 28 day of October at Nitria, about fiue miles from Komara. Now were the Tartars a little before departed from the camp, with purpoſe to returne home: yea the Turks themſelues wearie of the ſiege, and wanting victuall both for themſelues and their horſes, began alſo as men diſcouraged to ſhrinke away. Which the Baſſa wel conſidering, thought it not beſt with his heartleſſe ſouldiers and army now ſore weakened, to abide the comming of the Chriſtians: and therfore vpon their approch he forthwith forſooke the city, which he had by the ſpace of three weeks hardly beſieged, and by a bridge made of boats tranſported his army and artillerie ouer Danubius to Dotis, where he the next day after brake vp his army. Immediatly after the Turkes were thus departed, the Archduke arriued at Komara, where he with great diligence cauſed the breaches to be repaired, the mines to be filled vp, & new bulwarks and rampiers to be made in diuers places for the more ſtrength of the citie, leauing the charge thereof ſtill vnto the lord *Braun* the old Gouernor, who in the defence therof had receiued a grieuous wound in his right knee: of whom alſo this notable fact is reported. The Baſſa in time of the late ſiege of Komara, vnder the color of a parley, had ſent fiue Turks into the city, to the Gouernor, but indeed to proue if he were by any means to be woon to yeeld vp the citie, and not to hold it out to the laſt. The faithfull Gouernor, hauing giuen them the hearing vntil they had diſcharged their whole trecherie, preſently cauſed foure of their heads to be ſtrucken off, and to be ſet vpon long pikes vpon one of the bulwarkes for the Baſſa to looke vpon; but the fift (the beholder of this tragedie) he ſent backe vnto the Baſſa, to tell him, That although hee had found one in Rab to ſerue his turne, he was much deceiued, if in him hee thought to finde Countie *Hardeck*; and that he wiſhed rather to die the Emperors faithfull ſeruant in the bloud of the Turks, than to betray the city committed to his charge.

Komara beſieged by Sinan Baſſa.

Sinan Baſſa raiſeth his ſiege

Countie *Hardeck* late Gouernour of Rab, generally before ſuſpected to haue treacherouſly betraid that ſtrong towne vnto the Baſſa, was therefore ſent for to Vienna, & there by the Emperors commandement committed to priſon. Where among many things laid to his charge, as that hee ſhould in the beginning of the ſiege negligently haue ſuffered many things to bee done by the enemy, which afterwards turned to the great danger of the towne: and that in the time of the ſiege, he had cauſed ſome of the canoniers to diſcharge certain great pieces againſt the enemy, with pouder only without ſhot: and that ſeeing one piece among the reſt to do the enemie much harme, he had cauſed the ſame to be remoued, and ſo placed, as that it ſerued to little or no vſe: beſide that, he (as it ſhould ſeem) making ſmall reckoning of the towne, should G oftentimes ſay, That if the Turkes ſhould win it, he ſhould be but one towne the richer: with diuers other ſuch things, giuing iuſt cauſe of ſuſpition. The thing that lay moſt heauy vpon him, was the teſtimony of one of *Sinan Baſſa* his chamber, who being taken yong by the Turks, and ſeruing in the Baſſaes chamber, was now fled from the Turks, and comming to the Archduke in the time of his ſiege, declared vnto him, that there was treaſon in his campe: and that he but three daies before by the commandement of his maſter, had deliuered two bags full of duckats vnto two Chriſtians, of whom the one had a notable ſcarre in his face, and was afterwards knowne to haue bin one of the Counties ſeruants. Vpon this and ſuch like proofes, the Countie was after many daies hearing, in open court, by the iudgement of ſeuen and forty noblemen and captains of name, condemned of treaſon, and adiudged to be hanged, his dead body H to remaine vpon the gallowes by the ſpace of three daies, and all his lands and goods to be confiſcat: the rigor of which ſentence was afterward by the Emperor mitigated, and the traitor by him adiudged to haue his right hand (by him before giuen vnto the Emperor, in pawne of his faith) and his head ſtrucke off vpon a ſcaffold at Vienna, and ſo buried. Which ſeuere ſentence was afterwards accordingly put in execution: for the tenth of Iune following, the traitor being brought to the ſcaffold built of purpoſe in the hie ſtreet of Vienna, after the ſentence of his condemnation there ſolemnly read, commending himſelfe vpon his knees to the mercy of God, with his eies couered, and his right hand laied vpon a blocke couered with blacke, had both his hand & head ſo ſuddenly ſtrucke off by the executioners, as that the beholders could hardly iudge which of them was firſt off. His dead body with his head and hand, was preſently I by his ſeruant wrapped in a blacke cloth, and layed in his coach, which ſtood there by of purpoſe couered with blacke, and was afterwards buried amongſt his anceſtors.

County Hardeck condemned & executed for betraying of Rab.

The Tartars but lately before departed from *Sinans* campe, paſſing ouer Danubius at Strigonium, had purpoſed through the vpper part of Hungarie, and by the borders of Tranſyluania and Moldauia, to haue againe returned into their country: of whom two companies falling into the hands of the lord *Palfi*, were by him cut off and vtterly defeated: the reſt comming vnto the borders of Tranſyluania, and finding the paſſages ſo beſet by the Prince and the Vaynod of Valachia, as that they could not without moſt manifeſt danger paſſe that way, returned againe the ſame way they came: and hauing rifled and burnt certaine townes and villages K in the vpper Hungarie about Tockaie, paſſed the riuer againe at Strigonium, and wintering at Veſprinium, Palotta, and other places in the Countrey which is about Rab, liued vpon the ſpoyle of the poore diſtreſſed Chriſtians, vpon the frontiers of Auſtria, euen as farre as Meinerſdorf.

Theſe Tartars (of whom we haue ſo often ſpoken) at their firſt comming to the aid of *Sinan*, by direction from the Turkiſh Sultan, ſtaied vpon the frontiers of Tranſyluania, of purpoſe to haue ſurpriſed that country, and either to haue thruſt *Sigiſmund Bator* the yong prince out of the gouernment thereof, or elſe to haue ſent him in bonds to Conſtantinople: for it was commonly reported, That he wearie of the heauie tribute which he yerely payed vnto the Turke, and had now after their greedie manner been diuers times enhaunſed; had purpoſed to L reuolt from the Turkiſh Sultan, and to enter into confederation with the Chriſtian Emperor. Which innouation and change, certaine of the Nobilitie and chiefe States of Tranſyluania, ſought by all means to hinder: and acquainting *Amurath* with the matter, and entring into conſpiracie with the Tartars, vndertooke to deliuer the whole country into their hands, & to ſend the Prince priſoner to Huſt, where the Tartars then lay vpon the borders encamped. Wherefore diſſembling their purpoſe, they cunningly perſuaded the Prince, that *Samoſche* the great Chancellor of Polonia, in the confines of his countrey lay with a great power expecting his comming, to conſult with him of matters of great importance. And the better to colour this their trecherie, they had counterfeited letters to that effect from the Chancellor to the Prince, and had wrought ſo effectually, that the Prince not ſuſpecting any ſuch treaſon, gaue credit to M their perſuaſions, & ſo put himſelf vpon his way towards the Chancellor (as he ſuppoſed:) but by the way, he was aduiſed by ſome of his friends which had got ſome ſuſpition of the matter, not to goe any farther, for that his comming was not entended by the Polonians his friends, (as he was perſuaded) but by the Tartars his enemies, who lay in wait for him at Huſt, to be-

reaue

A reaue him of his life and gouernment. The Prince aſtonied with the nouelty of the matter, liſtned vnto their perſuaſion, and retired with his traine to the ſtrong fort of Kehwere; where he ſtayed foureteene daies, as if it had been onely for feare of the Tartars. In the meane time, hee gaue notice to the Nobility and Gouernours of the countrey, his friends, of the imminent and common danger; who forthwith repaired vnto him in armes. But the traitours proceeding in their purpoſe, ceaſed not to perſuade *Bornemiſſa*, who had the leading of the Princes army, that to fight with the Tartars was a matter of no ſmall danger: and that therefore if he wiſhed wel to his country, he ſhould not haue to do with them, but onely ſhew himſelfe neere vnto them, and that he was not vnprouided for them: which was accordingly done, and the Tranſyluanian armie brought ſo nigh vnto the Tartars, as that they might heare the noiſe of their drums B and trumpets. Whereby the Tartars as by the watchword, perceiuing themſelues diſcouered, and nothing to fall out according to their expectation, as had bin vnto them promiſed for the betraying of the Prince; they remooued thence, and by another way breaking through the midſt of Tranſyluania, and ſo into Hungarie, rifled and burnt fiue hundred villages, ſlew al the males that were aboue twelue yeares of age, and carried away the reſt vnto the Turkiſh army then lying at the ſiege of Rab. In the mean time the traitors (when as this firſt plot ſerued them not) conſpired to ſet vp one *Balthazar Bator*, the yong Princes nigh kinſman, and with the good fauour of *Amurath* to preferre him to the ſoueraigne gouernment of their countrey. Which their purpoſe the Prince perceiuing, and doubting altogether to truſt vnto the fidelitie of his owne ſubiects, writ to his neighbors the Raſcians, and other his confederats, praying their aid C in this his ſo dangerous and doubtfull eſtate. Which after he had receiued, he appointed a generall aſſembly of all his ſtates to be holden at Clauſenburg, and that vpon a great paine to be inflicted vpon all ſuch as ſhould not there perſonally appeare: ſo at the prefixed day all came, except the Cardinall *Bator* and *Stephen* his brother, who guilty of ſo foule a treaſon againſt their owne bloud, were now before fled into Polonia. Being all thus met together, the Prince commanded the gates of the citie to be ſhut, and diligent watch and ward to be kept, forbidding by open proclamation, That any man vpon pain of death ſhould ſo much as ſpeake of any imagined treaſon. And at the ſame time politickly cauſed to be publiſhed in writing, how that the Germans had in the farther ſide of Hungarie got a notable victory ouer the Turks, for ioy whereof he commanded bonefires to be made, and the great ordnance to be in triumph ſhot D off, with many other ſignes of ioy and gladneſſe: and withall cauſed a notable banquet to bee prepared, whereunto together with others, were inuited alſo all the chief of the conſpirators: of whom, euen as they were at dinner & leaſt feared any ſuch matter, he commanded fourteen to be apprehended and committed to priſon, and the next morning cauſed fiue of them to be executed in the open market place. The principal of whom, who had vndertaken to haue himſelfe ſlain the Prince, after three or foure light cuts in the necke, he cauſed to be drawne in pieces with foure horſes: the other foure, namely *Alexander*, and *Gabriel Gengi*, *Gregorie Diaco*, & *Ladiſlaus Sallentz* were beheaded, and their dead bodies al that day left in the market place for the people to behold: the reſt were alſo afterwards worthily executed; and *Balthazar Bator*, E whom the conſpirators had intended to haue exalted, ſtrangled. Hauing thus reuenged himſelfe vpon his enemies, he by a publicke edict divulged through all his dominion, gaue leaue to all his ſubiects in general, of their owne charge to take vp armes againſt the Turks, & whatſoeuer they could take from them, to haue it to themſelues, as good priſe gotten from their lawfull enemies. By which vnwonted libertie, the Tranſyluanians encouraged as with a great bounty, armed themſelues on all hands, to the number of forty thouſand, who being muſtered and ſworne to hold together againſt the Turks, made their firſt expedition towards Danubius: where at their firſt arriual, by good hap they light vpon certain of the Turks ſhips laded with prouiſion for the campe, and merchandiſe of all ſorts, and much treaſure: of which rich ſhips, they at the firſt onſet tooke ſeuen, but the eighth (beeing indeed the Admirall) eſcaped their hands. In theſe ſhips they tooke an exceeding rich bootie, ſlew many of the Turks, and in token of the victorie, carried backe vnto the Prince ſeuen of the Turkiſh enſignes. This victorie cauſed great ioy in Tranſyluania, euery man of ſo proſperous a beginning, conceiuing good hope of moſt happie ſucceſſe. It is reported, that *Sinan Baſſa* hearing of this loſſe, ſhould ſay, That if this prouiſion had come to him in ſafety, he could with that treaſure more eaſily haue bought Vienna in Auſtria, than he had Rab in Hungary. After this victory the prince laid ſiege

Great harme done in Tranſyluania by the Tartars.

The conſpirators againſt the Prince, apprehended and executed.

to Temeſwar, but hearing of the returne of the Tartars from the Turks campe, and that they were comming toward Tranſyluania (as is before ſaid) he left Temeſwar, to looke to the defence of his owne countrey. G

The Ianizaries in a tumult at Conſtantinople

Not long after, about the two and twentieth of December a tumult riſe among the Ianizaries of the court at Conſtantinople, which grew to ſuch an height, that in the heat thereof one of the Baſſaes was by them ſlain, with ſome others of good account, and one of *Amuraths* ſons ſore wounded, and with much adoe ſaued. Vpon conceit whereof, *Amurath* for anger & griefe fell into a fit of the falling ſickneſſe (whereunto hee was much ſubiect) and was therewith for the ſpace of three daies and three nights ſo grieuouſly vexed, as if he ſhould haue preſently giuen vp the ghoſt: ſo that the citie was filled with heauineſſe and feare, and the great men of the Court were euen ready to thinke vpon a new Lord. This tumult of the inſolent Ianizaries many ſuppoſed to haue been the cauſe of *Amurath* his death, which ſhortly after enſued: his griefe and maladie encreaſing daily by the euill news ſtill brought vnto him both by meſſengers & letters, eſpecially out of Tranſyluania, where the Prince waiting vpon euery occaſion, was ſtill at hand with the Turks, cutting them ſhort in euery place; and in ſundrie rodes which he made vpon them this moneth, tooke many of their caſtles and forts from them. He had at that time in the field in diuers places three armies: one vnder the conduct of *Geſty Ferens*, in the country of Lugaz, neere vnto Temeſwar: another vnder the leading of *Michael Horwat*, on the ſide of Danubius, to intercept the Turks comming to Buda: and the third commanded by *Caſpar Corneyſe* in the countrie neere to Giula, vnto whom came ſhortly after fifteene hundred horſemen out of the vpper Hungarie. H

Amurath ſicke.

1595

The Tranſyluanian Prince *Sigiſmund Bator* thus lately reuolted from the Turke, for the ſtrengthning of his ſtate thought it beſt betime to enter into confederation with his neighbors of Valachia and Moldauia (who moued by his example, ſhortly after in like maner alſo caſt off the ſeruile yoke of the Turke) but eſpecially with the Chriſtian Emperor *Rodolph*. For which purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors honourably accompanied: who comming to Caſſouia in Hungarie the fourteenth of December, arriued at Prague the twelfth of Ianuary, with twenty waggons, and an hundred and fiftie horſe, where they were by the Emperors appointment moſt honourably receiued and royally entertained; and after a few daies hauing deliuered vnto the Emperor the ſumme of their embaſſage, which was for a confederation to be made betweene the Emperour and the Prince: after much graue conſultation and ſerious diſcourſe it was fully concluded and agreed vpon: the chiefe points whereof I thought it not amiſſe here in briefe to ſet downe, for the ſatisfying of ſuch as deſire to know in what termes that worthy Prince next neighbour vnto the Turke then ſtood with the Chriſtian Emperour. I K

The capitulations of the league betwixt the emperor & the Tranſyluanian prince.

Firſt it was agreed vpon, That the Emperour for himſelfe and for the States of Hungarie ſhould promiſe to proceed in his wars begun againſt the common enemie, and not to conclude any peace with him, without the knowledge and good liking of the Prince. And that in all concluſions of peace to be made betwixt him and the Turke, the countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, ſhould be alwayes compriſed: in regard whereof, the Prince likewiſe promiſed for himſelfe and the States of Tranſyluania, to proſecute the commenced warre, and not to enter into any league with the Turke, without the knowledge and conſent of the Emperor and the Nobilitie of Hungarie, and this to be confirmed by ſolemne oath on both ſides.

Secondly, that the Prouince of Tranſyluania with all the parts and confines thereof hitherto poſſeſſed by the Prince of Hungarie, ſhould remaine vnto the ſaid Prince *Sigiſmund* and to his heires male, with all the profits ariſing thereof, in ſuch ſort as they had done in the time of *Iohn*, *Stephen*, and *Chriſtopher*, his predeceſſours, to haue therein a moſt free and abſolute authority; yet ſo, as that they ſhould acknowledge his Imperiall Maieſtie and his lawfull ſucceſſors for their lawfull ſoueraignes; vnto whome they ſhould alwayes ſweare their fealtie, but without any homage doing: and that to bee performed by his ſucceſſours at the time of the change, but by the Prince himſelfe, preſently after the confirming of this league. But that for lacke of heires male, the countrey of Tranſyluania with all the territories thereunto annexed, ſhould diſcend vnto his ſacred Maieſty and his ſucceſſors the Kings of Hungarie, as a true and inſeparable member thereof: whereunto the Prince and all the States of Tranſyluania ſhould bind themſelues by ſolemne oath. But yet that at ſuch time as the heirs male ſhould faile in the line of the preſent Prince, and that the country of Tranſyluania ſhould according to theſe preſent conditions be deuolued to the crown of Hungarie; as well his preſent Imperiall and Royall Maieſty as his ſucceſſors, ſhould keep inuiolate the antient lawes, priuiledges, and cuſtomes of that countrey, and alwaies appoint one of the nobilitie of Tranſyluania to be Gouernour or Vayuod of the ſame, and no other ſtranger.

Thirdly, that his Maieſtie ſhould acknowledge the Prince of Tranſyluania for an abſolute Prince, and by ſpeciall charter confirme vnto him the title of *Moſt excellent*.

Fourthly, that his Imperial Maieſty ſhould procure one of the daughters of the late Archduke *Charles* his vncle, for a wife for the Prince, that as they were now to be ioyned in league, ſo they might be ioyned in affinitie alſo.

Fiftly, that the Emperor ſhould procure him to be made one of the order of the Golden Fleece.

Sixtly, that the Prince might with more cheerefulneſſe and ſecuritie make war againſt the common enemy, his imperiall and royall Maieſty ſhould not at any time, howſoeuer things fel out, forſake the ſaid Prince or any of the countries ſubiect vnto him: and euen now preſently to aid him according as the preſent occaſion required, and afterward (if greater need ſhould be) with greater help, whether it was by his Generall of Caſſouia, or others: and this giuing of aid to be on both ſides mutuall and reciprocall, according as the neceſſity of the one or other part ſhould require: and that where moſt need was, thither ſhould moſt helpe be conuerted.

Seuenthly, that the ſacred Roman Empire ſhould take vpon it the protection and defence of the Prince and his territories. And that his Imperiall Maieſtie ſhould create the ſaid Prince and the Princes his ſucceſſors, Princes of the Empire: yet ſo, as that they ſhould haue neither voice nor place among the ſaid Princes.

Eightly, that whatſoeuer caſtles, townes, cities, or other places of ſtrength, ſhould by their common forces be taken or recouered from the common enemie, at ſuch time as his imperiall Maieſtie ſhould ſend into the field a ful armie, ſhould be all his Maieſties: but ſuch places as the Prince ſhould by his own forces or policie gaine from the enemie, ſhould remain vnto the Prince himſelfe. Yet that what places ſoeuer the Prince ſhould recouer, which at any time before belonged to the kingdome of Hungarie before it was taken by the Turke, thoſe he ſhould forthwith deliuer to his Maieſtie, as ſoone as reaſonable recompence were by him therefore made vnto the Prince.

Ninthly, his ſacred Maieſtie ſhould promiſe of his own bountie to giue vnto his Excellency ſufficient aid for the fortifying and defence of ſuch places as ſhould be thought neceſſarie for the behoofe of the Chriſtians: as again the ſaid Prince ſhould likewiſe promiſe not to ſpare his own cofers or forces, that the ſame places ſhould be throughly fortified and defended for the behoofe of his Maieſtie and the common good of the Chriſtian commonweale.

Laſtly, that foraſmuch as the euents of war are vncertain, and many things ſuddenly happen contrary to mens expectation, if ſuch neceſſity ſhould chance vnto his Excellencie or his ſucceſſors (which miſhap God forbid) that hauing ſpent themſelues, they ſhould not be able longer to defend their ſtate & country, but that the mighty enemy preuailing, they ſhould at laſt be enforced to forſake the ſame: in this their extremitie, his imperiall & royall Maieſty ſhould promiſe both for himſelfe and his ſucceſſors, within the ſpace of one moneth to aſſigne ſome certain place in ſome other of his dominions, where the ſaid prince & his ſucceſſors might honorably liue: and the like regard to be had alſo of other ſuch principal men, as ſhould together with the Prince aduenture their liues and liuings in defence of the Chriſtian commonweale.

Which articles of confederation agreed vpon, & ſolemnly confirmed, the ſame Embaſſadors were with all kindnes, bounty, & magnificence diſmiſſed and ſent back again vnto the Prince: who was not himſelfe in the mean time idle, but labouring by all the means he could to draw vnto him *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia (a man of no leſſe worth than himſelfe) and *Aaron* the Palatine of Moldauia, both of them then the Turks tributaries; & by them to alienat from the Turke both thoſe countries, that ſo with their combined forces they might the better defend their liberty, and withſtand their common enemy: wherein he did ſo much, and preuailed ſo farre with them both, that caſting off the Turks obeiſance, they ſhortly after to the great benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale, and no leſſe hinderance of the Turkes proceedings in Hungarie, ioyned hands both together with him for the recouery of their loſt liberty. Which reuolt of theſe bordering Princes, for that it ſo much concerned the common good, as that the ſafegard of Auſtria, and of the remnants of Hungary, with ſome good part of Germanie alſo, is euen by them that in thoſe matters ſaw much, not without cauſe ſuppoſed to haue reſted therein; & that this noble Vayuod (of whom much is to be ſaid hereafter) was the ſecond actor herein, it ſhall not be from our purpoſe to ſee the manner of his reuolt alſo from the Turke, as we haue alreadie the Tranſyluanians. For the more euidence whereof, as for the honor of the man (whileſt he liued, a moſt worthy member of the Chriſtian commonweale) we will a little ſtep backe to ſee how hee obtained of the great Turke this ſo honourable a preferment, as was the Vayuodſhip of Valachia, not without his reuolt long now to be holden.

Valachia oppreſſed by the Turkes.

Alexander the late Vayuod of Valachia, a Moldauian borne, and by *Amurath* himſelfe promoted to that dignitie; proud aboue meaſure of this his ſo great a preferment, as alſo of his owne nobilitie, and the deceitful fauor of Fortune ſtill fawning vpon him; not only oppreſſed his people himſelfe with intollerable impoſitions, but to be in farther fauor with the Turkes, brought into that country (too much before exhauſted) ſuch a company of them, as that they ſeemed now almoſt wholly to haue poſſeſſed the ſame, oppreſſing the poore Chriſtians (the naturall inhabitants) with new exactions, and more than tyrannicall iniuries, euen ſuch as were not elſwhere by the Turks themſelues vſed; not only breaking at their pleaſure into their houſes, and diſpoiling them of their goods, but taking tythe alſo of their children, as if it had bin of their cattell, a thing neuer before there ſeene: and for the ſatisfying of their beaſtly luſt, rauiſhing their wiues and daughters, euen in the ſight of their husbands and parents, with diuers other ſuch outragious villanies, not with modeſtie to be rehearſed. So that by this meanes he had violently taken from his Chriſtian ſubiects all hope of recouerie of their antient libertie, had it not as ſometime it falleth out in theſe worldly things both vnto men & commonweals, which brought vnto the laſt caſt, & euen as it were to the bottome of diſpaire, by the goodnes of God, contrary to all hope, find ſometime ſuch vnexpected help and reliefe, as that thereby they, beyond their hope, euen to the aſtoniſhment of the world, mount vp again vnto a greater luſtre of their ſtate than was that from which they before fell: it had euen ſo by the ſingular mercy of God now hapned vnto the Valachians, not knowing which way to turn themſelues. There was at Crailowa (a city in the confines of Valachia towards the confines of the Hungarians and Turks, where the Gouernor of thoſe borders is for the defence therof with a ſtrong garriſon alwaies reſiant) a noble gentleman called * *Ion Michael*, ſon to *Peter* the Palatine of that countrie, the aforeſaid *Alexander* his predeceſſor: who as he was vnto the people for the honor of his father, the prerogatiue of his birth, the comelineſſe of his perſon, and talneſſe of his ſtature, well knowne; ſo was he for his zeale towards the Chriſtian religion, his loue towards his country, his kindneſſe towards his equals, his courteſie towards his inferiours, his vpright dealing, his conſtancie and bounty vnto them, no leſſe gracious; & for other the noble vertues of his heroical minde and naturall diſpoſition for the performance of great matters, his deepe wiſedome and quicke foreſight, his ſweet and pleaſing ſpeech, void of all affectation, vnto all good men moſt deare: whoſe fame, both for the honor of his houſe, & of his own vertues, ſtill more & more encreaſing, and riſe in the eares of *Alexander* the Vayuod, was the cauſe that he commanded him as the ready or rather naturall competitor of his ſtate and honor, to be ſecretly apprehended, and ſo taken out of the way; wherof he by good fortune hauing intelligence, and carefull of his owne health, for ſafegard of himſelfe fled firſt into Hungarie, and there not ſtaying long (God ſo directing him) went to Conſtantinople in the yeare 1591, to ſue for the Vayuod his place, all the nobilitie of his country and the Prouinces thereunto adioyning, ſecretly reioycing thereat. About which time the chiefe and moſt graue of the Valachian nobilitie and counſellors proſtraiting themſelues at the feet of *Amurath*, moſt grieuouſly complained vnto him of the manifold and intollerable iniuries they had already ſuſtained, and were ſtill like to endure, without hope of redreſſe, from *Alexander* their Vayuod, and the followers of his court, the Turks garriſons and merchants with plentifull tears orderly declaring many his moſt foule and deteſtable facts, and afterward highly commending *Ion Michael* for his rare vertues, as the true heire of their prouince, moſt humbly requeſted *Amurath* either to haue him appointed the lawful Gouernor of their country, or els ſome other place by him aſſigned for them to dwell in, wiſhing any where to liue, rather than vnder the heauie command of ſo mercileſſe a man as was *Alexander*. For the furthering of which their ſute, *Michael* his vncle by

** Ion ſignifieth with the Valachians as much as Chriſtian, which ſome miſtaking, cal this Michael alſo by the name of John.*

the

A the mothers ſide, a Greeke borne, and a man for his exceeding wealth in great fauour in the Turks Court, ſpared for no coſt. So *Michael* by the goodneſſe of God was by *Amurath* with great ſolemnitie created Vayuod of Valachia, and the oppreſſed and almoſt forlorne ſtate of that ſometime moſt flouriſhing countrey by little and little well relieued (although not altogether without moſt ſharpe and violent remedies, ſuch as extremities oft require) began now againe to lift vp the head, and to aſpire vnto the antient libertie and honour thereof. At the beginning of whoſe happie ſoueraigntie, *Alexander* his predeceſſour in his owne conſcience guiltie of his euill and ſhamefull gouernment of that ſo notable and great a prouince, and now in feare to be called to account, ſecretly fled. But certaine yeares after remouing to Conſtantinople with his wife, and there attempting diuers euill meanes for the obtaining of the B Palatinat of Moldauia, and for thoſe his vnlawfull practiſes accuſed by the Palatine his Agent; he was by the commandement of *Amurath* taken in his owne houſe, and there in his princely apparell moſt miſerably ſtrangled vpon Palme Sunday, in the yeare 1597, about ſix yeres after his departure out of Valachia.

Michael by Amurath created Vayuod of Valachia.

Alexander ſtrangled at Conſtantinople.

Michael thus made Vayuod of Valachia, long it was not but that it fortuned the reuerend Father *Cornelius de Nona*, ſent from Pope *Clement* the eighth vnto the great Duke of Muſcouie, in his returne conferring with *Sigiſmund* the Tranſyluanian Prince, and *Aaron* Palatine of Moldauia, enformed them of the great conſent of diuers zealous Chriſtian Princes, for the maintenance of the war againſt the dangerous and common Enemie; with many graue and effectuall reaſons perſuading them (but eſpecially for that they were themſelues Chriſtians) in C that Chriſtian quarrel to joine vnto them their forces alſo, raiſed in thoſe their countries neere vnto the great riuers of Danubius and Neſter; but vnto *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, hee could not for diuers his other important buſineſſes then come: whom for all that, the aforeſaid Tranſyluanian Prince *Sigiſmund* his neighbour deſirouſly ſought to draw into the fellowſhip of this war, euen for the ſame reaſons almoſt wherewith he had been himſelfe mooued. Firſt, by diuers great reaſons remouing ſuch doubts as might juſtly ſeeme to hinder him from giuing thereunto his conſent; and then by declaring the Turkiſh inſolencie daily increaſing, with the infinite grieuances by them deuiſed againſt the miſerable Valachians; when as the incurſions of the Turks or Tartars, or their paſſages that way (no leſſe troubleſome, than their inrodes) was almoſt euery moneth to be feared, their armies as friends to be in Winter and D Sommer receiued, their ſouldiers to their great charges relieued, and their commanders and captaines rewarded. Valachia thus impoueriſhed, was not able (as he ſaid) to pay the great ſums it did alreadie owe, neither was to expect any releaſement of the euils it was wrapped in, much leſſe was it able to ſuffice vnto the grieuous exactions to be thereunto by them afterwards impoſed. None of his predeceſſors (as he ſaid, and as truth was) had for many yeares now paſt, for any long time, or with any ſecuritie held their ſtate or gouernment: but that either by the calumniation of the Enuious, or bribes of their ambitious competitors, brought into ſuſpition with the Sultan, they were violently thruſt out, or moſt cruelly put to death. In briefe, he ſaid it was a wiſe mans part, not without moſt manifeſt and weightie reaſons, to promiſe vnto himſelfe better fortune, or more aſſurance of his ſtate, than had his vnfortunate predeceſſors before him; but warned by their harmes, betimes to prouide for his owne ſafetie. By which perſuaſion he ſo preuailed, that the Vayuod (whoſe name, whoſe fame, whoſe wealth and life together with his ſubiects was all thereby indangered) although he would not (for the weightineſſe of the matter) at the firſt yeeld thereunto; yet aſſuredly promiſed, with his friends and the reſt of the Nobilitie of his countrey to conſider thereupon. Hauing it by the Prince plainly laid downe before him, how a ſufficient number of ſouldiers might at all times be raiſed, their pay prouided, and aid ſtill ſent him as need ſhould be, from the German Emperor, or himſelfe out of Tranſyluania: as alſo that *Aaron* the Palatine of Moldauia would at all times be readie to combine himſelfe vnto them; that ſo with their vnited forces they might vpon the banks of Danubius and Neſter eaſily repulſe the incurſions both of the Turkes and Tartars their enemies: the Chriſtian Emperor in the meane time with leſſe trouble proceeding in his wars againſt the Turke in the other ſide of Hungarie.

Now whileſt this plot was thus in laying, and matters too and fro debating, not altogether without the Turks ſuſpition; *Sinan Baſſa* comming with a great armie into Hungarie, had taken the ſtrong Towne of Rab, as is before declared: with which miſchance ſo much concer-

ning

Michael the Vayuod of Valachia reuolteth from the Turks.

ning the poore remainders of Hungarie, the Vayuod not a little moued, began more deeply to G
conſider of his owne eſtate. And as he was a man of a great ſpirit, and no leſſe zeale toward his
countrey, grieuing to ſee his ſubiects committed to his charge, to be ſo daily by the inſolent
Turks ſtill more and more oppreſſed: he (as he had before promiſed to the Tranſyluanian) called
an aſſemblie of all the States of Valachia, to conſult with them what were beſt to be done
for the remedie of ſo great euils, as alſo for the preuenting of greater, not without cauſe then
to be feared. Where by the general conſent of them all it was agreed, rather to ioine with the
Emperor and the other Chriſtian Princes in confederation, as they had bin oftentimes by them
requeſted, than longer to endure that heauie yoke of the Turkiſh thraldome and ſlauerie.
Whereupon the Vayuod taking vnto him two thouſand of the Hungarian garriſon ſouldiers,
now before for that purpoſe ſecretly layd vpon the frontiers of his country; and calling vpon H
the name of *Chriſt Ieſus*, in one day to begin withall, ſlew about two thouſand of the Ianizaries
(who without his leaue had in that country proudly ſeated themſelues) with all the reſt of the
Turks (in the midſt of their inſolencie) together with the traiterous Iewes, not leauing one of
them that he could come by aliue in all the open countrey. And purpoſing to driue them out
of their ſtrong holds alſo, and ſo to make a cleane riddance of them, he within fourteen dayes
after ſet vpon Dziurdzowa, a great towne of the Turks vpon the banke of Danubius, which he
burnt all ſauing the caſtle, and hauing there made a great ſlaughter, and loded with the ſpoyle
of the Turks, returned to Buchareſta the chiefe ſeat of his Palatinat.

**The Turks cal all them that are diſcended of the ſtocke of their Prophet Mahomet, by the name of Emirs, or Lords.*

But long it was not after this his ſo great preſumption, but that he perceiued the Turks in reuenge
thereof to ſeek after his life: although he yet ſeemed to yeeld his obedience vnto *Amurath*, I
and to haue done that he did as enforced thereunto by the inſolencie of the Turks, & for
the neceſſarie reliefe both of himſelfe and his ſubiects. For the ſame moneth (Rab being, as is aforeſaid,
taken by *Sinan*) one of the Turks * Emirs, diſcended of the great familie and ſtock of
Mahomet their falſe prophet, and then Cadileſcher (a man of great account and place amongſt
the Turks) accompanied with 2000 choſen ſouldiers, fiftie of the great Sultans chamber, and
many of the Zauſij and Spahi, vpon the ſudden came to Buchareſta vnder the colour of refreſhing
themſelues after their long trauell, but indeed with purpoſe to haue taken the Vayuod:
where they without controlment committed all kind of outragious villanie; and taking vp all
the chief houſes in the citie, imperiouſly demanded of the Vayuod (who then lay at his palace
neere vnto the new monaſterie without the city, built without any caſtle or defence, vpon the K
riuer Dembowiza) 10000 florens for a Preſent, with victuals and other neceſſarie prouiſion
for his followers. And preſently after being certainly informed that he lay there but ſlenderly
accompanied, and almoſt himſelfe alone, the Emir himſelfe on foot with a thouſand of his ſoldiers,
went out of the city, as if it had bin but for his pleaſure, and in curteſie to haue ſeene him.
Of which ſo ſuſpitious a gueſts comming the Vayuod vnderſtanding, got him betimes away
into the campe of his Hungarian mercinaries, which then lay but faſt by: when the Turke thus
deceiued of the hope he had before conceiued for the taking of him, craftily ſent certaine of
his followers, to know of him to what end he in time of peace did entertaine ſuch a number of
Hungarian ſoldiers? Whereunto the Vayuod cunningly anſwered, That they were at the firſt
entertained for the taking of *Peter* the ſonne of *Alexander*, ſometime Palatine of Moldauia: L
who although he were now before apprehended, and openly hanged vpon an hooke at Conſtantinople,
yet that thoſe ſoldiers were for their readie ſeruice, of neceſſitie ſtill to be bilited
in the countrey vntill ſuch time as their pay might be prouided. Which the Turke hearing,
commanded the Vayuod forthwith to diſcharge them as men vnneceſſarie, and to his ſubiects
troubleſome, promiſing the next day to lend him a tunne of gold to pay them their wages.
Which feigned promiſe the Vayuod ſeemed thankfully to take; yet neuertheleſſe commanded
the Hungarians forthwith in armes to ſtand in readineſſe in the campe, for the intercepting
of the Turks, if haply by him diſtreſſed, they ſhould betake themſelues to flight: whileſt he
in the meane time with his courtiers and other ſouldiers ſecretly aſſembled into a vally there
by, came ſuddenly vpon the Turks (not as then dreaming of any ſuch thing) compaſſed about M
the Innes wherein they lay, and ſetting fire vpon them in fiue places, notably forced them
both with fire and the ſword, the two greateſt extremities of war; ſeeking now for nothing
more than the iuſt reuenge of his ſpoiled Citie, his forced Virgins, and wronged ſubiects.
Howbeit the Turkes for a ſpace right valiantly defended themſelues, and by plaine force

(although

A (although in vaine) ſought to haue broken thorow the midſt of their enemies, and ſo to haue fled. Yea many of them by force of the fire driuen out of their lodgings, and tearing off their burning cloathes, fought ſtarke naked: but moſt of them which could, fled vnto the palace where the great Emir lay, there with him readie to die or liue. All which their laſt endeuors of deſperation the Vayuod eaſily fruſtrated, with two great pieces of Artillerie opening a way for his ſoldiers vnto them. So that the proud Emir now in deſpaire (like the hunted Caſtor) threw downe out of a window a great cheſt full of gold and pretious ſtones, and other jewels of great value, if happily he might haue ſo appeaſed the Vayuods wrath; humbly now requeſting no more, but to haue his life ſpared; fearefully promiſing a large ranſome for himſelfe and thoſe few which were yet left aliue with him. Howbeit the Vayuod mindefull of B the manifold iniuries by them done vnto him and his ſubiects, and nothing mitigated or moued with the rich ſpoiles thruſt vpon him, or the large promiſes the Turks had made him; commanded all thoſe his enemies now in his power, to be ſlaine euery mothers ſon: of whom his ſouldiers had a wonderfull rich ſpoile, although much more was loſt in the fire: and ſo giuing thanks vnto God for the victorie, reſted with his people a while at quiet. Yet within leſſe than a month after, he ſent *Albertus Kiral* his Lieutenant with an armie to Phloch (a great open vnwalled towne on the farther ſide of Danubius, equally diſtant from Vroſczok and Nicopolis) from whence the Turks oftentimes paſſing ouer that frozen riuer into Valachia, had there done great harme: which towne not inferior vnto a good citie, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed, and ſacked it, put to the ſword all the inhabitants thereof, except ſuch as were before his comming fled. C And ſhortly after (the more to annoy the Turks) marching againe ouer the frozen riuer to haue ſurpriſed Herſowa a walled citie but one dayes journey from Brailoua, he was by the way vpon the yce encountred by the Turks, whom he there in a great conflict ouerthrew, and hauing ſlaine many of them, and put the reſt to flight, holding on his intended journey, tooke that rich citie, which he rifled and burnt downe to the ground all except the caſtle, which was yet by the Turks valiantly defended: and ſo with the ſpoile of the citie returned againe ouer the riuer, there to refreſh his ſouldiers, wearied with labour and the extremity of the Winter weather. And yet not ſo contented, within ſix dayes after paſſing againe ouer the riuer, and hauing vpon the ſide thereof in a great battell ouerthrowne the Turks garriſons, tooke Siliſtra a great citie of Macedonia built by *Conſtantine* the Great (being the ſeat of one D of the Turks Sanzackes, and well inhabited with rich merchants) which faire citie he ranſacked, and hauing ſlaine moſt part of the inhabitants, burnt it downe to the ground as he had the other, no leſſe terror than griefe vnto the Turks.

The Cadileſher with all the Turkes his Followers ſlaine.

Phloch ſpoiled by the Vayuod

Herſowa taken

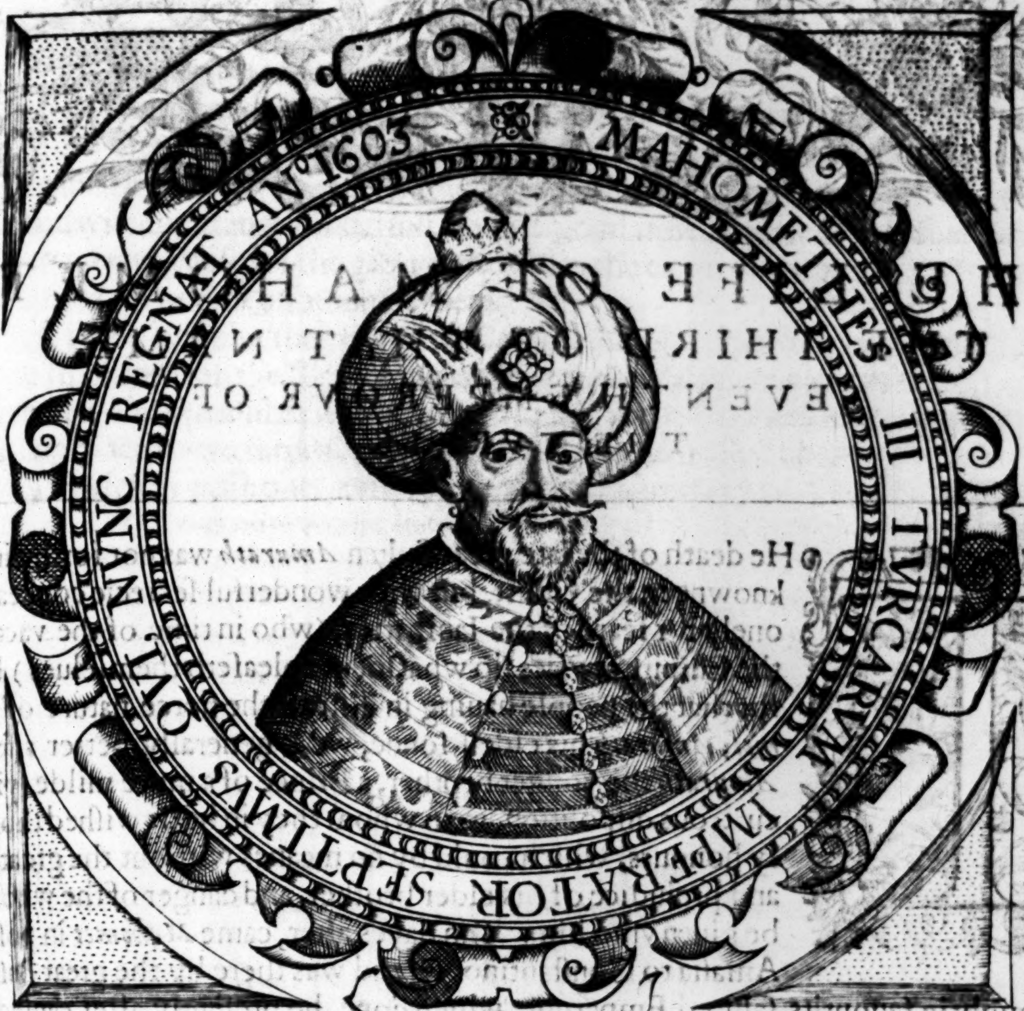
Siliſtra burnt.

But whileſt the aforeſaid confederation betwixt the Emperor and the Tranſyluanian prince was yet in hand, and the troubles in Valachia thus ariſing, *Amurath* the great Sultan grieuouſly troubled with the Stone, and attainted with the falling ſickneſſe his wonted diſeaſe, and inwardly alſo tormented with the late inſolencie of the Ianizaries, and reuolt of the countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, (no ſmall hinderance to the proceeding of his wars in Hungarie) as a man both in ſoule and bodie tormented, with great impatiencie and agonie of mind departed this life the eighteenth day of Ianuary, in the yeare of our Lord 1595; when he had liued one and fiftie, or as ſome ſay two and fiftie yeares, and thereof raigned nineteen. At the time of his death ariſe ſuch a ſudden and terrible tempeſt at Conſtantinople, that manie thought the world ſhould euen preſently haue been diſſolued. His dead bodie was not long after with great pompe tnd ſolemnitie buried by *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſonne, in a Moſchie which he himſelfe had before built at Conſtantinople.

Amurath dieth

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Amurath the third.	***Emperours of Germany***		***Maximilian the ſecond.***	1565. 12.
			Rodolph the ſecond.	1577.
	Kings,	***Of England,***	***Queene Elizabeth.***	1558. 45.
		Of France,	***Charles the ninth.***	1560. 14
			Henrie the third.	1574. 14
			Henrie the fourth.	1589.
		Of Scotland,	***Iames the ſixth, that now raigneth.***	1565.
	Biſhops of Rome,		***Gregory the X I I I.***	1572. 12.
			Pius the V.	1585. 5.
			Vrban the V I I.	1590. 12 dayes.
			Gregorie the X I V.	1590. 10 months 10 dayes.
			Innocent the I X.	1591. 2 months & one day.
			Clement the V I I I.	1592.


MAHOMETHES III TVRCARVM IMPERATOR SEPTIMVS QVI, NVNC REGNAT AN° 1603
1603

Si quid in humanis, magnum te reddere poſſit:
Quid prohibet magnis nomen ineſſe tuum?
Qui ſubiecta vides, tot diſſona regna, tot vrbes:
Et nulli cedens, ſceptra ſuperba geris.
Cum tamen ignores, quid ſit ſapientia Chriſti,
Omnia quæ iactas ſunt, Mahomete, *nihil.*

Rich. Knolles.

In Engliſh thus:

If ought there be might make thee great that on the earth is found,
What then ſhould let thy name among the greateſt for to ſound?
That ſees thy kingdomes and thy townes, ſo many and ſo great:
And giuing place thy ſelfe to none, do'ſt ſit on royal ſeat.
Yet ſith thou knoweſt not aright for grace by Chriſt to call,
All that thou boaſt's, ô *Mahomet*, is nothing worth at all.

R. K.

THE

THE LIFE OF MAHOMET, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, SEVENTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

1595

THe death of the late great Sultan *Amurath* was not forthwith made knowne in the Court, but with wonderful ſecrecie concealed, not onely for feare of the Ianizaries, (who in time of the vacancie of the Empire alwaies do whatſoeuer pleaſeth themſelues) but alſo for that the people hauing in diſtruſt the fierce nature of *Mahomet, Amurath* his eldeſt ſonne, were generally better affected to *Amurath* the yonger brother, a Prince of a more milde ſpirit and curteous diſpoſition, vnto whom they in heart wiſhed thoſe ſtately honours, which could by no meanes without the great wrong and preiudice of his elder brother, and danger of the whole ſtate, be giuen vnto him. Ten dayes after, came *Mahomet* in poſt from Amaſia to Conſtantinople, and was there by the great Baſſa's and other his mightie fauourits ſaluted Emperour: which done, he preſently after cauſed all his brethren to be inuited to a ſolemne feaſt in the court: whereunto they (yet ignorant of the death of their father, came cheerefully, as men fearing no harme; but being come, were there all by his commandement moſt miſerably ſtrangled: and at once to rid himſelfe of the feare of all competitors (the greateſt torment of the Mightie) he the ſame day (as is reported) cauſed ten of his fathers wiues and concubines, ſuch as by whom any iſſue was to be feared, to be all drowned in the ſea.

Mahomet ſaluted Emperor of the Turkes.

He murthereth his brethren.

The Ianizaries in a tumult.

The Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court not before acquainted with the death of *Amurath*, neither with the choice that the great Baſſa's had without their priuity made of *Mahomet*, and not a little offended to ſee themſelues ſo diſappointed of ſuch ſpoiles as they reckon due vnto them in the time of their vacancie; as men diſcontented, riſe vp in a rage, and made ſuch hauock and ſpoile in the Imperial city, as greater they could not wel haue made, had there bin as yet no Emperor choſen at all; and not ſo contented, were now euen vpon the point to haue rifled their new Emperors court, and to haue laid violent hands vpon the perſon of himſelfe, in reuenge of the tyrannie by him executed vpon his brethren and fathers wiues (which inhumane cruelty the Turkiſh Emperors eaſily excuſe by the name of the policie of their ſtate.) For the appeaſing of which ſo dangerous a tumult, *Mahomet* called vnto him certaine of the chiefe men among theſe ſeditious, ſuch as were thought to be able to do moſt with them, whom he ſought by faire perſuaſions and large promiſes to win vnto him, and by them to pacifie the reſt. Which ſerued him to little or no purpoſe, vntill ſuch time as the great Baſſa's themſelues came out with their followers: who with many faire perſuaſions, mixt with moſt grieuous threats, and firme promiſe of a generall pardon, with much ado appeaſed the tumult: yet for the more ſafetie, kept all the chiefe ſtreets of the citie with ſtrong watch and ward. This broile thus ouerblowne, a new tent was by the commandement of the new Emperor ſet vp before the Temple of *Sophia*: wherein on the right hand was placed the dead bodie of the late Sultan *Amurath* his father, and on the left hand the bodies of his nineteene ſtrangled brethren, layed

The tumult appeaſed.

A forth of purpoſe, as an heauie ſpectacle for the people to behold: who all not long after were together with their father with great ſolemnitie after the Turkiſh maner buried, and *Mahomet* himſelfe (being about nine and twenty yeares old) now openly proclaimed great Emperor of the Turks, and lord of all, from the riſing of the Sun, to the going downe of the ſame. After that, returning to his pallace, he made vnto his Baſſaes and other great men a ſumptuous and royall feaſt, as the manner was: but whileſt they were in the midſt of their mirth, vpon the ſudden all the city was again in an vprore, & the people in arms, in ſuch ſort, as that it was thought ſcarce one man would haue eſcaped aliue from that banket, had not the chiefe Baſſa with his grauitie and wiſedome and wonderfull labor in good time appeaſed their fury, and withall to their greater terror, cauſed al the great ordnance in the city to be brought forth into the ſtreets B ready charged, to be ſhot off amongſt them.

The Ianizaries againe in an vprore.

Whileſt theſe troubles thus paſſed at Conſtantinople, vpon the late confederation made betweene the Emperor, the Tranſyluanian Prince, the Valachians and Moldauians, diuers fortunate inrodes and skirmiſhes were by them made in the frontiers of the Turkes dominions, many ſtrong places were ſurpriſed, many rich booties taken, and notable exploits done, which we will but briefely paſſe ouer, as the precedents of a greater war. The city of Weitze, before taken by the Turks, was now againe in the beginning of this yere recouered: and the Chriſtians about Scuthia, in number about foure thouſand, breaking into the Turkes frontiers, carried away an exceeding rich prey, with diuers notable captiues. The like did alſo the Chriſtians of Viuaria: at which time alſo the garriſon ſouldiers of Altenburg making a rode into the coun- C trie about Rab, encountered with foure thouſand Turkes, of whom they ſlew two hundred, tooke certaine priſoners, whom they ſent ſome to Presburg, ſome to Altenburg: and *Sinan Baſſa* the late Generall returning towards Conſtantinople with much treaſure, which he had greedily ſcraped together in the late wars in Hungarie, was by the Valachians ſet vpon by the way not far from Belgrade, and ſtript of all that he had, hauing much adoe to eſcape himſelfe with ſome few of his followers. The ſame Valachians, together with the Tranſyluanians, vnder the conduct of their valiant captaine *Geſtius Ferens*, entring further vpon the Turks, tooke from them diuers of their townes and caſtles, as Pondeſie, Nicopliſe, Killa, and Rebnichi, and meeting with twelue thouſand Tartars, ſlew a great number of them, and put the reſt to flight. D With this inſolencie of the Valachians his late tributaries, but now his enemies, the Turkiſh Emperour was highly offended: and therefore ſent one *Bogdanus* a Valachian borne, deſcended of the Palatines houſe, with a great power to expulſe the old Vayuod, and to poſſeſſe himſelfe of that honour, as his tributarie; promiſing vnto him all fauour and kindneſſe. *Bogdanus* thus ſupported and furniſhed, came with his power into Valachia; yet thought it beſt before hee attempted any great matter, to expect the comming of the Tartars left the laſt yeare in Hungarie by *Sinan*: of whoſe comming the Valachians and Tranſyluanians hauing vnderſtanding, met them by the way, and ioyning battell with them, ſlew eight thouſand of them, put the reſt to flight, and ſo returned: vnto whom preſently after this victorie the Tranſyluanian Prince ſent fourteene thouſand ſouldiers moe to aid them againſt the Turks. But *Bogdanus* vnderſtanding both of the ouerthrow of the Tartars and the comming of this new ſupplie, durſt not proceed any farther in his enterpriſe, but kept himſelfe ſtil in his trenches. Not long after, by the commandement of the Turkiſh Emperour, *Han* the Crim Tartar with a great power of his Tartarian horſemen entered into Moldauia, with purpoſe to haue by fire and ſword reduced that countrey againe vnto the Turkes obeiſance: of whoſe comming *Aaron* Vayuod of Moldauia hauing knowledge, and aided by his neighbour *Michael* Vayuod of Valachia, ſo belayed the Tartars, that hee in three diuers battels ouerthrew them, and hauing ſlaine twelue thouſand of them, enforced the reſt to retire againe out of his countrey: and following the courſe of this victorie, preſently after tooke Bendar, Schinitz, Tigna, Mechuis, with ſome other Caſtles and fortreſſes of the Turkes neere vnto the riuer of Danubius, all which hee furniſhed with his owne garriſons, and withall tooke in the rich Countrey of Bobriga, the inhabitants thereof willingly ſubmitting themſelues vnto him, as men wearie of the Turkiſh thraldome. With like good fortune, aided by the Polonian Coſſackes, hee ouerthrew *Ianicula* the ſonne of *Bogdanus*, ſometime Vayuod of Moldauia, now ſent by *Mahomet* with a great power, as a moſt fit inſtrument to trouble the Vayuod, and to recouer againe that countrey: with whom *Aaron* couragiouſly encountering at Scarpetra, a mile from Danubius, ouer-

Diuers fortunat rodes made by the Chriſtians vpon the Turks.

ouerthrew him in plaine battell, and hauing ſlaine eight thouſand of his Turkes, put him to G flight, and tooke the ſpoile of his whole campe. Neither yet ſo contented, marched preſently to Neſter Alba, where he put the Turkes in a great feare, and afterwards burnt the ſuburbs of the citie, and ſo retired.

The Emperors embaſſador dieth in priſon at Belgrade.

How *Amurath* the late Sultan in the beginning of theſe troubles, had at Conſtantinople ſhut vp in priſon *Frederick Krecowitz* the Emperors Embaſſador, is before declared. This Embaſſadour *Sinan Baſſa* brought with him the laſt yeare when he came into Hungarie, who after many indignities by him ſuffered both vpon the way and at Belgrade, there died: fiue of whoſe ſeruants the falſe Baſſa cauſed to be kept in ſtraight priſon, as guiltie of their maſters death, ſo to auert the infamie thereof from himſelfe. But now lying himſelfe at Belgrade for the better mannaging of this yeares warres, vpon the comming of a new Treaſurer from the Court, H he cauſed the fiue poore priſoners to be brought before him, and moſt impudently charged them with the death of their maſter: ſaying, that they ſhould anſwere for the ſame vnto God and their Emperour; and that his purpoſe in bringing of him from Conſtantinople, was to no other end, but to haue vſed his helpe in concluding a peace betweene the Great Sultan and the Emperour, and ſo to haue ſet him with all his at libertie; But now that hee was dead, he would ſend them his treacherous ſeruants to the Emperour to bee by him examined: and withall to tell him, That hee was ſent from the Great Sultan, (whoſe power was not by any but God onely to be withſtood) to beſiege Vienna, which he could (as he ſaid) the laſt yeare haue taken with leſſe labor than he had done Rab: and that therefore it were beſt for him betime to ſeeke for peace, before ſo great a power had taken the field: and that for farther inſtructions, I he would referre them to his ſonne the Baſſa of Buda, to whom he ſent them from Belgrade, together with the new come Treaſurer. Being come to Buda, they were forthwith brought before the Baſſa, and amongſt them the late Embaſſadors Secretarie, vnto whom after he had ſaid ſomwhat of the hard dealing with the Embaſſador and his followers, he declared, that he had alwaies diſliked of that manner of proceeding, and oftentimes entreated his father for their liberty; and now at laſt to haue obtained, that the Embaſſador being dead, his ſeruants might be ſet free: and ſo put them in good hope, that they ſhould in ſhort time be reſtored to their wonted libertie. In the meane time, that one of them ſhould go vnto the Emperors Court, and there ſpeake with one of his Secretaries, whom he had before aduiſed to bethinke himſelf of peace: vnto whom alſo he afterwards writ, vpon what conditions he thought peace K might be at the Sultans hand obtained. Which were, If all the caſtles and ſtrong holds taken by the Emperours forces in theſe wars, as Filek, Setchine, and Nouigrade, with their territories, ſhould be reſtored, Siſeg in Croatia ſurrendered; if the Emperor ſhould from thenceforth refuſe to aid or protect the Tranſyluanians, Moldauians, and Valachians, and leaue them to the Great Sultan to bee chaſtiſed as rebels; if finally the Emperour would at once ſend vnto the Turks Court his woonted tribute for the yeres paſt, and ſo yerely afterwards: ſo he could be content by the mediation of his father, to attempt to appeaſe the fierce and inueterat diſpleaſure of the Sultan, and to further the treatie of peace. This he commanded the Secretarie to write, and to ſend it by the yong lord *Perling*, and to require thereof anſwer: yet that he ſhould go with this condition, That if the ſaid *Perling* within the ſpace of fiue and twentie daies returned L not with anſwer, all the reſt ſhould for his default loſe their heads. A ſubtill deuice and full of deceit, wherein the craftie Baſſaes, both the father and the ſon, ſought for nothing elſe but to ſee what confidence the Chriſtians had in themſelues, and to breake the confederation made between the Emperor, the Tranſyluanians, Moldauians, and Valachians: and that other Princes, whom God had ſtirred vp in defence of ſo iuſt a cauſe, hearing of a rumour of peace, might grow cold, and deferre to ſend their promiſed aid. For now the Turks had found by experience, how hurtfull and dangerous the reuolt of the three countries of Tranſyluania, Moldauia, and Valachia was vnto them, as they which brought ten hundred thouſand duckats yearely into the great Sultans Treaſurie: beſides that, thoſe people now become their enemies, were of all other fitteſt to intercept all manner of prouiſion to be brought by land either to or from Conſtantinople, were it victuall or other warlike prouiſion. Notwithſtanding this motion of peace made by the two Baſſaes, *Sinan* the old Baſſa in the mean time, with great diligence at Belgrade prepared al things neceſſary for war, and cauſed three bridges to be made, whereby hee might in diuers places as hee thought beſt, transport his armie ouer Danubius:

and

A and at the ſame time ſent for the garriſons round about, and other ſouldiers before billited in the countrey, and put in readineſſe all things neceſſarie for a moſt mortall warre.

The Baſſaes ſubtill demands anſwered with like.

Within the appointed time came *Perling* from the Emperors court with anſwer to the letters written by the Embaſſadours Secretarie, at the commandement of the Baſſa; the effect whereof was, that he had receiued his letters by *Perling*, and did thereby vnderſtand what had paſſed betweene the captiue ſeruants of the late Embaſſador, and *Sinan Baſſa* at Belgrade, and alſo betweene them and *Sinan Baſſa* his ſon at Buda; and that the Emperors minde was neuer other, but that a firme peace might haue been made between him and the Sultan; and that the Emperour had done nothing elſe by his Embaſſador at Conſtantinople, or by others in other places, but that ſuch reaſonable conditions might haue beene found out, as might haue ended B thoſe wars, and haue on both ſides deliuered their innocent ſubiects from their great and daily calamities, which might eaſily haue been done, if *Sinan* the author and fautor of this warre, had with like deſire furthered the peace. But that it was manifeſt vnto the whole world, that all complaints of infinit grieuances, being by the Embaſſador, yea and by the Emperour himſelfe, by his letters laid open vnto the Sultan and his chiefe Baſſaes, had not only nothing preuailed, but alſo to haue beene with great contempt reiected, and the treatie of peace once begun, to haue by the inſolencie of the Baſſa of Boſna bin interrupted: That the Emperour, becauſe the matter ſhould not breake out into open war, had ſent his double tribute into the confines of Hungarie, which was a great while laid vp at Comara vntill the Sultans minde were known. But when all his deſignes tended to war, and the Christian Prouinces were by his robC bers on euery ſide ſpoiled, the inhabitants led away into moſt miſerable captiuitie, the townes and villages burnt, yea whole countries lay deſolate, and all manner of outrages were vpon a meere pride and contempt as it were of the whole world exerciſed: then the Emperour to haue taken his refuge vnto the defence of his iuſt cauſe, and to haue vſed ſuch remedies as are both before God and the world to be allowed, and ſo by lawfull war to haue repulſed warre. And that although all had not the laſt yeare proſpered in his hand, but that he had receiued ſome loſſe: yet that *Sinan Baſſa* him ſelfe, & the Baſſa of Buda his ſonne with other of the wiſer ſort of the Turks muſt needs confeſſe that to haue chanced, not by their wiſedome, policie or power, but by the ſufferance of God, by a rare misfortune, through the inexcuſable negligence and treaſon of ſuch as he had put in truſt with the confines of his empire, worthie moſt ſeuere D chaſtiſement. And that no man could denie, but that great powers of the Turks, had not once, but oftentimes bin ouerthrowne and diſcomfited, by ſmall handfuls of the Chriſtians: therefore their power not to be ſo inuincible, as they vainly vanted of. But whereas it is written, that the great Viſier *Sinan* and the Baſſa his ſonne are of opinion, that the Emperor is brought to ſo low an ebbe, that he muſt be glad to accept of moſt hard and diſhonorable conditions of peace propounded by them: therein they erre much, and deceiue themſelues far; for by the power of God they ſhould ſhortly by experience know, that his imperiall Maieſtie wanteth neither power nor wealth, to repaire the loſſe receiued through the treaſon of them he truſted, yea and to recouer whatſoeuer he had loſt elſe: and that it ſhould in ſhort time be witneſſed vnto the whole world, by the help of God and the defence of a moſt iuſt cauſe, that the Emperour E was not ſo poore and weake as they ſuppoſed him to be. Yet as he of his owne naturall goodneſſe and clemencie, with his owne incomparable loſſe and harme, had alwayes ſought for the quiet and profit of his ſubiects, and to the vttermoſt of his power ſtaid the effuſion of innocent bloud, ſo now alſo forgetting all iniuries, he could happily be content to thinke of an honorable peace: whereunto he was more enclined than to protract the warre with the vnſpeakeable harmes of the ſubiects on both ſides. Yet aboue all things it behooued *Sinan* to know, that he was to reſtore all ſuch caſtles and townes as haue in this warre beene taken by the Turkes, beginning at Wihitz in Croatia euen to the laſt innocent ſubiect by them carried away into captiuitie. And that the Tranſyluanians, Moldauians, and Valachians (people many ages ioyned and vnited as inſeperable members to the kingdome of Hungarie, as vnto the true bodie, and now of late by the practiſe and treacherie of certaine rebellious perſons ſeperated from the ſame) were from henceforth to be left vnder the protection and gouernement of his imperiall Maieſtie, and neuer more to be impugned by the Turkes. If theſe things were done, and order taken that the iniurie and diſgrace done vnto the Emperors late Embaſſador (a fact that all the Princes of the world cried ſhame of) might not remaine vnpuniſhed: and that his ſeruants in durance at Buda and Conſtantinople, might be reſtored vnto their woonted libertie, then ſome good forme of peace, and bounding of their territories might happily be agreed vpon: without which conditions, all talke of peace was but vaine; for that God the iuſt and mightie protector of ſuch as put their truſt in him, would not faile to helpe his imperiall Maieſtie, with the reſt of the confederat princes, in their ſo iuſt a quarrell, and abate the pride of ſuch as truſt in their owne ſtrength and power.

This anſwer the captiues at Buda were commanded to giue vnto the Baſſa, either by writing or by word of mouth: and withall earneſtly to requeſt him both for their owne libertie and their fellows, wrongfully detained at Conſtantinople. Which if it could not be obtained, yet to comfort themſelues with that, that they ſhould in bounteous manner receiue from the Emperour ſuch allowance, as ſhould ſuffice to prouide them things neceſſarie: as he had granted to *Perling*, whom he might haue iuſtly detained and not ſent him backe againe, but for his oaths ſake being no lawfull priſoner. Thus were the vnreaſonable conditions of peace craftily by the Baſſa propounded, by others anſwered: but by whom he knew not, no mans name being ſet thereunto.

The Turks embaſſadors ſent vnto the Polonian king ſlain in Valachia.

The Emperor not ignorant with what an enemie he had to doe, and of nothing more carefull than of the kingdome (or more truly to ſay, of the reliques of the kingdome) of *Hungarie*, lying now as it were in the Lyons mouth, ceaſed not to pray aide, not of the Princes Electors onely, but of others alſo farther off; yea euen as far as Italie and Spaine, but eſpecially of the King of Polonia, as his neere alliance & neighbor. Vnto whom both he and the States of Hungarie ſent their Embaſſadors, at ſuch time as he, moued with the daily incurſions of the Turks and Tartars into the countries adioining vpon his, had for the ſafetie of his owne Kingdome, called a parliament of all his States in Februarie laſt, at Cracouia. Wherof *Mahomet* the Great Turke hearing, ſent alſo two of his chiefe Chiaus, his vſuall Embaſſadors vnto the king and his States ſo aſſembled, to craue his aid in his wars in Hungarie: which if the king ſhould not refuſe, then to promiſe him to want no coine to pay his ſouldiers; and that *Mahomet* mindfull of ſo great a courteſie, would at all times be ready to requite him with like, when his occaſions ſhould require. Theſe Embaſſadors, hauing obtained ſafe conduct from *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia for their paſſage through his countrie; comming thither, were by the Vayuod himſelfe honourably entertained and welcomed, and ſo brought into a faire lodging, where they diſcourſed with him of many matters. But the Vayuods followers, grieued to ſee ſo great honor done to theſe their ſworne & mortall enemies, with weapons in their hands brake into the roome where the Embaſſadors were, and without more adoe ſlew them both: and in the ſame fury ſetting vpon the reſt of the Turks their followers, cut them all in pieces, ſo that of them none came into Polonia to do their great Maſters meſſage, either yet returned to Conſtantinople to carrie newes of the reſt, but there altogether periſhed. Of which outrage *Mahomet* yet vnderſtanding, was therewith wonderfully enraged, threatening all euills both to the Moldauians and Valachians, and forthwith ſent out other Embaſſadours to the ſame purpoſe; who with better fortune afterwards in ſafetie arriued in Polonia.

The Tartars in many places (as is before declared) ouerthrown, and many ſtrong caſtles and forts taken from the Turkes by the Tranſyluanians, Valachians, and Moldauians, the Turkiſh affaires going to wracke in thoſe quarters, and ſore ſhaken on that ſide of Hungarie; *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour called home to the Court *Sinan Baſſa* his Generall in Hungarie, to conferre with him (as it was thought) of ſome great matters. In whoſe place he ſent *Ferat Baſſa*, hee who ſometime had the leading of *Amuraths* great armies againſt the Perſians: who now departing from Conſtantinople, came to Belgrade in Aprill, and there tooke the charge vpon him. Where at his firſt comming, in the night time all the ropes and cordes of the tents were ſuddenly cut in ſunder, and ſo the tent let fall about his eares: which ſome ſuppoſed to haue beene done to his diſgrace, by the procurement of *Cicala Baſſa* before by him wronged; or as others thought, by the inſolent Ianizaries, who diſliking of him, did it deſpight, wiſhing rather to haue beene led by *Mahomet* himſelfe. Now at his comming, the Famine which the laſt yere began amongſt the Turks, was growne exceeding great, not at Buda and Belgrade onely, but euen generally in moſt places of Hungarie poſſeſſed by the Turks: inſomuch, that the Tartar women that followed the campe, were faine to roaſt their owne children & eat them. This Famine was alſo accompanied with a moſt terrible Plague, whereof great numbers of the

The Plague & Famine among the Turkes.

A the Turks and Tartars died daily: ſo that of foureſcore fiue thouſand Tartars which came the laſt yeare into Hungarie,now remained ſcarce eight thouſand,the reſt being all deuoured with the Sword,Famine,and the Peſtilence.

Great were the harmes the Turkes ſtill dayly receiued from the late reuolted countries of Tranſyluania,Valachia,and Moldauia,the Chriſtians of thoſe places ſeeking by all meanes to annoy them. *Michael* Vayuod of Valachia, not contented with that he had already done,but entring into the Turks frontiers,ſurpriſed Scihmele, together with the caſtle; wherin he found fourteene field pieces,amongſt which were two which had vpon them the armes of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and other two hauing vpon them the armes of *Huniades*; which pieces he afterward ſent as a Preſent to the Tranſyluanian Prince. After that,he tooke Oroſige, a famous B port towne, the dwelling place of the Turks great purueyor for butter, cheeſe, and hony, and ſuch other prouiſion for the court, wherein he found ſuch ſtore of the aforeſaid prouiſion, as might well haue ſufficed eight thouſand men for a whole yeare: and ſtill proſecuting his good fortune,took from the Turks Kilec and Galempe,with the ſtrong caſtle of S.*George*,commonly called Grigio, and at length beſieged Laganoc.

Michael Vaynod of Valachia doth the Turks great harme.

With the beginning of the Spring came *Matthias* the Archduke and Generall of the Chriſtian armie, from the aſſemblie of the nobilitie of Hungarie at Presburg, to Vienna, and ſo from thence to the Emperor his brother at Prague; who appointed him General of the lower Hungarie; and *Maximilian* his brother Generall of the vpper Countrey: giuing them for their Lieutenants,vnto *Maximilian* the Lord *Teuffenbach*,and to *Matthias* the Countie *Charles Manſfelt*, by him ſent for out of Flanders, and after created one of the Princes of the Empire. C *Iohn de Medices*, who was yet in Hungarie,he made Maſter of the great ordnance,with charge to fortifie Komara; which he ſo well performed,as that it was thought nothing in ſtrength inferior to Rab. All this while the Emperor ceaſed not by his Embaſſadors and letters to ſolicite the Chriſtian Princes,for the repreſſing of the common enemie to put too their helping hands: and ſo much preuailed with them,that out of his owne hereditarie prouinces,& from other Princes his friends,he had this Spring raiſed a right puiſſant and ſtrong army for the defence of Hungarie: which how it was raiſed,& from whom,it ſhall not be much from our purpoſe briefly to remember,as the chiefe ſtrength vnder God,whereby the Chriſtian commonweale was this yere moſt noatbly defended. Out of the higher Saxonie came a thouſand two hundred horſmen,and out of the lower Saxonie ſix hundred: from Franconia a thouſand horſmen: from Sueuia foure thouſand footmen: out of the Countie of Tirol as many: from Bauaria three thouſand: out of Bohemia two thouſand men at armes,ſix hundred light horſemen, and ſix thouſand footmen : from Sileſia a thouſand fiue hundred horſemen: from Luſatia fiue hundred horſe and a thouſand foot: from Morauia a thouſand horſe,and two thouſand foot: out of Auſtria two thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot: from Hungarie fiue hundred horſemen and a thouſand foot: from the nobilitie of Sueuia and Franconia foure thouſand foot: from the King of Spaine out of the Low-countries vnder the conduct of *Charles* Countie *Manſfelt*, two thouſand horſemen and ſix thouſand foot: vnto theſe the Biſhop of Rome added two thouſand horſemen, and eight thouſand foot: the great Duke of Florence ſent fiue hundred horſe & three thouſand foot: the of Duke Ferrara a thouſand fiue hundred footmen: the Duke of Mantua a thouſand foot: & the Duke *Venturee* fiue hundred horſe. Al which being put together, fill vp the number of fifteene thouſand nine hundred horſemen, and fiftie thouſand fiue hundred foot. Which notable armie,raiſed from the power of diuers Chriſtian Princes, and conducted by worthy Chiefetaines, had by the goodneſſe of God much better ſucceſſe this Summer againſt the antient enemies of Chriſtendome, than had the like armie the yeare before,as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall appeare.

The notable army of the Chriſtians, & from whence it was raiſed.

Among the worthie Commanders that were in this puiſſant army, *Charles* Countie *Manſfelt* the ſonne of *Peter Erneſtus* the old Countie, from his youth brought vp in armes, was by the King of Spaine at the requeſt of the Emperour ſent with the aforeſaid forces of two thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot out of the Low-countries,as a man for his approued valor & direction, fit to mannage theſe dangerous warres againſt the Turke vnder *Matthias* the Archduke,as his Lieutenant Generall: who hauing raiſed the appointed forces,for moſt part Wallons, departed from Bruxelles about the midſt of Februarie, and by the way taking his leaue of his aged father at Luxenburg, and trauelling through Germanie, came in March to Prague, where he was by the Emperour and the Archduke his brother moſt honourably entertained, and ſhortly after with great ſolemnitie created one of the Princes of the Empire. G His forces following after him, were by the way ſtaied, partly by the inundation of waters (the riuers they were to paſſe ouer at that time riſing to an vnwonted height) partly by the iealouſie of ſome of the German Princes, who denied them paſſage through their territories, vntill ſuch time as that the Emperour by his letters had opened vnto him the way: which Princes for all that ſtood vpon their guard, and ſo gaue him paſſage.

Now ran great rumors of the wonderfull preparations of the Turks, as alſo of the Chriſtians; Fame after her woonted manner, encreaſing the report of all things aboue meaſure: which cauſed the Turkes with exceeding care to looke to the fortification of their frontier townes, eſpecially of Rab and Strigonium, as did the Chriſtians to the fortification of Komara and Altenburg. H In the meane time many hot skirmiſhes paſſed betweene the Chriſtians and the Turkes, eſpecially in the late reuolted countries of Tranſyluania and Valachia, wherein the Turkes were ſtill put to the worſe, to the great diſcontentment of their Emperour. Neere vnto Temeſwar the Baſſa of Buda was ouerthrowne, by the valiant captaine *Geſtius Ferentz*, and the Tranſyluanians. And in Valachia the Turks Generall entering with a great armie, was there alſo by the Lord *Nadaſti* and the Valachians, aided with the Tranſyluanians, in a great battell diſcomfited and ouerthrowne. Eight thouſand of the Turks heads in token of this victorie the Lord *Nadaſti* ſent to Alba-Iulia to the Tranſyluanian Prince, and certaine enſignes, amongſt which one was moſt richly garniſhed with precious ſtones and pearle, thought to be worth thirtie thouſand dollars; which the Prince afterward reſtored againe to *Nadaſti*, offering him great poſſeſſions in Tranſyluania, if he could haue beene content there to haue ſeated himſelfe. I

Ferat Baſſa ouerthrowne in Valachia.

All this Spring the Turks countenanced their warres with greater boaſts and threats, than true force; giuing it out, That they would in ſhort time worke wonders both by ſea and land. For the more credit wherof, *Murat Rays*, a notable pyrat, was ſent out with twelue gallies, who landing here and there vpon the coaſts of Italie, did much harme, cauſing it to be reported in euery place where he landed, That this was but the beginning of a greater war, and that a wonderfull fleet was to follow him: which raiſed a great feare, as well in other places, as in Italie. Howbeit, no ſuch fleet afterwards appeared: for why, the Turkiſh Emperor, much troubled with the reuolt of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, and the great mortalitie then raging K both among his ſouldiers and their horſes, was not at leiſure to looke into the ſea, hauing his hands full enough with the troubles of Hungarie, where his men of war enioyed little reſt in the frontiers of his territories.

Sigiſmund the Tranſyluanian Prince, had vpon ſome iuſt cauſes, of late ſuſpected *Aaron* the Vayuod of Moldauia, to haue intelligence not only with the Polonians, but alſo with the Cardinall *Bator* and other his mortall enemies, and ſecretly to haue been about to make his peace with *Mahomet*, and ſo againe to fall off from him vnto the Turke: which vehement ſuſpition growing daily more and more, was about this time manifeſtly confirmed by certain letters intercepted concerning that matter. For the preuenting whereof, the Prince cauſed *Aaron* to be apprehended, and with his wife and ſonne to be ſent as priſoners to Prague: in whoſe roome L he by the conſent of the nobilitie of the countrie, placed one *Stephen Rozwan*, a wiſe and diſcreet man amongſt them, and ſuch an one as had been vnto him alwaies faithfull. So as much as in him was, prouiding, that that countrie ſhould not be rent from him and the vnion of the other. But againſt the ſecret practiſes of the Polonians, he proteſted openly by letters vnto the Emperour, by the power of God, and aid of his faithfull ſubiects, to redreſſe thoſe ſo great iniuries himſelfe by the ſword.

Mahomet ſendeth Embaſſadours to the prince of Tranſyluania.

In the middeſt of theſe troubles came three Chiaus, Embaſſadors from the Turkiſh Sultan vnto the Prince, to perſuade him againe to put himſelfe into his protection, and to giue him paſſage through his countrey, as in former time, into Hungarie; promiſing him, that all the iniuries by him or his people done, ſhould be for euer forgotten and forgiuen: and that he ſhould haue thoſe three countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, as his owne free inheritance, without paying any tribute, and ſo to be accounted as the Turks moſt louing friend and vaſſall. What the Prince anſwered thereunto, was not knowne, but by his doings afterwards it was eaſily to be gathered, that hee hearkened not vnto the deceitfull charmes of the faithleſſe

A faithleſſe tyrant, truſting more vnto the league he had with the Chriſtian Emperour. Theſe Embaſſadors were ſcarce gon, but that a ſecret meſſenger came with letters from the chiefe of the Chriſtians in Bulgaria to the Prince, declaring vnto him, That if he did with any good ſucceſſe proſecute his wars, they would be readie to follow his fortune, and to joine hands with him againſt the cruel tyrant, and to ſhut vp all the paſſages that way into Valachia, Moldauia, and Hungarie.

Whileſt theſe troubleſome times thus paſſed in Tranſyluania and Hungarie, one of the old Ianizaries called *Waſuode Giezi*, an old ſouldier, but a confident bold ſpoken fellow, moued as ſhould ſeeme with the diſcontentments of the time, came vnto *Mahomet* the great Sultan at Conſtantinople, and there openly ſet vpon him with this rough and abrupt ſpeech:

B *How long at laſt, moſt mightie Emperour, wilt thou endure thy ſelfe to be ſeduced and blinded by the great Baſſa's of thy Court, and Commanders of thine Armies? How long wilt thou ſuffer thy ſelfe to be deceiued, to the great danger of thy ſelfe, and hurt of thy Subiects? Seeſt thou not how ouerthwartly, fraudulently, and cunningly, they, mooued onely with their owne couetous and ambitious humour, haue hitherto dealt with thee and thy father? eſpecially in that, that perſuaded by them, thou haſt diſhonourably broken thy league, and taken vp armes againſt the Chriſtian Emperour. At length open thine eyes and ſee their deceit, and how much they abuſe thy power.* Sinan Baſſa, *who muſt haue himſelfe honoured and exalted aboue all others, hath not by ſtrong hand honourably woon Rab, as hath been the manner of thine Anceſtors, but hath craftily bought it with thy money, and thereby caſt thee into a moſt dangerous war and infinite troubles.* C *O Rab, Rab, now the cauſe of great triumph and reioycing, as if thereby all Chriſtendome ſhould in ſhort time be ſubdued to thy Scepter. But thou art therein much deceiued; thy barnes, thy ſtore-houſes, as are Tranſyluania, Valachia, Moldauia, Bulgaria, and other Prouinces adioyning, from whence this thy Imperial citie of Conſtantinople, with the countrey about it, thy Court, yea thy ſelfe art to be relieued, are by this war ſhut vp; ſo that downe the riuer of Danubius out of the Weſt, or by the Euxine out of the Eaſt, thou art not able to looke for any prouiſion. From whence then ô moſt mightie Emperour, wilt thou maintaine thy ſelfe, thy Court, this populous Citie, and the Countrey hereabout? Not to ſpeake in the mean time of thy mightie Army now in Hungarie, fleſh, fiſh, corne, all manner of victual are now at ſuch a price, that the common ſouldier cannot buy them. In this extreame dearth of all things, not men onely, but euen the very beaſts and cattell ſtarue for hunger. Thy* D *horſes go fat perhaps into Hungarie, but neither thou nor thy ſelect ſoldiers can liue by graſſe and weeds, all that is left in that countrey. This miſerie and calamitie of thy people thou ſeeſt daily, and yet thou wilt not with ſound iudgement lift vp thine eyes, to ſee from whence theſe harmes come, and how that they by thee put in greateſt truſt, ſtudie not for thy profit or the profit of the commonweale, but onely how by all meanes to enrich themſelues.*

The preſumptuous ſpeech of one Waſuode an old Ianizary, to Mahomet the great Sultan.

Mahomet much mooued with the confident ſpeech of the old Ianizarie, commanded him to be forthwith committed to ward, and by faire means to be examined, by whoſe ſetting on, and for what cauſe he had ſo boldly vttered this rude ſpeech vnto his Soueraigne, and what further thing he had intended: but the reſt of the Ianizaries hearing thereof, riſe preſently in a E tumult, and by ſtrong hand tooke him out of priſon, and by ſolemne oath combined themſelues to defend him, euen to the ſpending of their owne bloud; whereat *Mahomet* was glad to winke.

The greateſt part of the aid promiſed by the Chriſtian Princes for the maintenance of this yeres wars againſt the Turke being now come to Vienna in Auſtria, Countie *Mansfelt* Lieutenant General vnder the Archduke, forthwith called a Councell of the Colonels, captains, and other great commanders of the armie, to conſult with them what courſe to take for the beginning of this great war: as whether they ſhould preſently lay ſiege ro ſome towne of the Enemies, or elſe to expect him in the plaine field, and to giue him battell. All things well conſidered, and that reſolued vpon which was thought moſt expedient, he remoued from Vienna to Altenburg, where he muſtered his whole armie; and departing thence, with ſome few of his followers came to Walkenburg, a village vpon the ſide of Danubius, where he made choice of a place to incampe his army in: which after he had marked out, hee returned againe with ſpeed to Altenburg, and by open proclamation thorow the Campe gaue ſtraight commandement, That againſt a certaine houre euery man ſhould be in readineſſe to remooue and ſet forward

The armie of the Chriſtians muſtered at Altenburg.

The vigilant carefulnes of Countie Manſfield.

Dotis beſieged by the Chriſtians.

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An obſtinate Turke.

It happened about this time, that three Turkes being taken priſoners, were brought into the camp: whom the Countie ſtraitly examined of many matters. But the firſt of the three could neither by faire or foule means be induced to anſwer to any thing that he was asked; and was therefore by the commaundement of the Countie in the ſight of the other two cut into ſmall pieces. Who terrified with his diſmembring, confeſſed many things wherof they were asked:

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A and among others, That the Turkiſh Sultan had determined to turne his greateſt forces into Tranſyluania, Moldauia, and the vpper part of Hungarie; and therefore would this Sommer ſend ſmall forces or els none at all into thoſe quarters.

Now was Dotis ſo belayd by the Countie, as that no man doubted but that he had thereon purpoſed to haue gaged his whole forces, when ſuddenly the laſt of Iune, commandment was giuen through the campe, That euery man vpon ſigne giuen, ſhould be in readineſſe to follow his leaders, for that the Countie had determined forthwith to remoue: yet whither the army was to be remoued, few or none knew, more than certaine of the chiefe commanders. As for to go to Strigonium, few there were that ſo much as dreamed thereof, all was kept ſo ſecret: yet was it the Counties purpoſe euen from the beginning to attempt the winning of that city, B which the Archduke had in vaine the laſt yere beſieged. The next night being both darke and foule, the Countie riſe with all his army, and the next day being the firſt of Iuly, came to Strigonium, they of the citie not hearing of his comming before they ſaw him vnder their walls. Wherefore the Turks in the ſuburbs called the Raſcian city, and they in the fort vnder S. *Thomas* hill, deſpairing of the keeping of thoſe places, ſetting fire on the houſes, and defacing the fort ſo much as in that ſudden feare they poſſibly could, fled into the lower towne. The next day the Countie without reſiſtance tooke the foreſaid places forſaken by the Turks, which he manned with certaine companies of Wallons, and made a bridge of boats ouer Danubius, caſt vp certaine mounts, and did many other things for the furtherance of the ſiege. In three dayes he had againe repaired the fort vnder S. *Thomas* hill abandoned by the Turks, and therein placed foure great pieces of artillerie, wherewith he began to batter the lower towne, & in other places to ſtrait the beſieged more than they had bin the yere before. The Baſſa of Buda not ignorant of the want both of men and munition in the beſieged city, (and the rather, for that they had but a little before ſent part of their garriſon with ſhot & pouder to Rab and Dotis) attempted thrice (as he did many times after during the time of the ſiege) to haue by the riuer put new ſupplies both of men and munition into the citie: but was ſtill by the diligence of the Chriſtians excluded, and enforced with loſſe to returne. In ſhort time the lower towne, which they call Waſſerſtat, or the Water-towne, was with continual battery ſore beaten, ſo that ſcarcely any houſe or building was left whole; and a counterſcarſe made the laſt yeare, beaten downe. Whereunto certaine Wallons were ſent, onely to haue viewed the bredth and manner of the ditches: after whom certaine companies of the Hungarian Heidons preſently followed, without any command of their captaines; who with great courage got to the top of another high counterſcarſe, & there ſet vp ſome of their enſignes. Which the Turks beholding, & comming on cloſe together, by plain force enforced them with loſſe to retire. Among theſe Hungarians were diuers alſo of the Wallons ſlaine, with ſome others of good name and place, to the great griefe of the County, being not a little offended with that diſordered ſeruice: yet day & night the battery ceaſed not, and the Chriſtians out of their trenches with their musket ſhot flew manie of the Turks vpon the walls, receiuing little hurt againe, the Turks ſtil ſhooting ſparingly, for feare of wanting ſhot and pouder at their greater need; yet that they ſpent they beſtowed ſo well, that amongſt others they had ſlaine foure of the Chriſtian canoniers, and one Wallon captaine. About the midſt of Iuly the Countie with continual batterie had made the Water-towne (as he thought) ſaultable: and therefore ſent certain companies to begin the aſſault: who hauing paſſed the counterſcarſe, found the ditch full of deepe mud, and but newly cut broader certain paces by the Turks, ſo that it was thought ſcarce poſſible to be paſſed without a bridge; behind which ditch was an high wal with ſtrong bulwarks; and within all this was another new caſt ditch, and vpon the very brinke thereof a thicke and high parapet: all which for all that, certaine companies of Wallons with great labor and danger aduentured to paſſe: but ſuch was the valour of the defendants, and the ſmall number of them that came on to the aſſault, with the diſaduantage of the place wherein they ſtood, that at length they were glad to retire with the loſſe of many of their fellowes. The Chriſtians in the beginning of this ſiege had taken a little Iſland in the riuer before the city, which was kept with ſome few companies of the Lord *Palfi* his Heidons; whereof the Turks hauing intelligence at Buda, with three gallies and certaine other veſſels, landed in the Iſland 3000 ſoldiers, which ſlew the Heidons, vnto whom no ſuccor could be ſuddenly ſent, and ſo recouered againe the Iſland: wherein they left a ſufficient garriſon for the keeping thereof, furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, and ſo departed.

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About three dayes after the former aſſault, the Chriſtians in hope of better ſucceſſe, the ſecond time aſſaulted the Water-towne, in which aſſault the chief leaders were the lord *Greis* G
and *Anthonie Zinne* a famous captaine, had he not ſtained his honour with Countie *Hardeck* at Rab; but being pardoned by the Emperour, did now together with the reſt appointed to that ſeruice, moſt couragiouſly aſſault the breach, but were againe by the Turks notably repulſed, and enforced at laſt to giue ouer the aſſault, and ſo to retyre with the loſſe of 150 men: among whom *Zinne* himſelfe was ſlaine, with one Captaine *Ruger*, and ſome of the Counties owne Guard: the Lord *Greis* was wounded in the head, and the younger Lord *Schuendi* with diuers other Captaines grieuouſly hurt. The next day after, 600 of the mountaine people came into the campe vnto the Countie, with ſupplications to requeſt him, Not to giue ouer the siege vntill he had woon the Citie; promiſing him in the name of thoſe Townes and Villages from whence they were ſent, Of their own charges to repaire for him what harme ſoeuer he ſhould H
do in the Citie for the taking thereof, yea though he ſhould lay it euen with the ground: for why, the harmes they dayly receiued from the garriſon of that Citie were wonderfull.

Mahomet carefull of Strigonium.

At the ſametime alſo he was aduertiſed by his eſpials (of whom he maintained many for the diſcouerie of the enemies doings) that *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Sultan had writ vnto the Baſſa of Buda, carefully to prouide that his beloued citie of Strigonium tooke no harme, and not to ſpare either for men or money in time to relieue it: and therein to do nothing without the aduice and good liking of his old and faithfull ſeruant *Alis Beg*, who of long time had gouerned and alſo defended that citie: and to the intent that nothing ſhould be wanting for the performance hereof, that he had ſent *Alexander* Aga of the Ianizaries from the Court (whoſe ſeruice he might well haue ſpared) whoſe approued counſel and helpe he might alſo vſe in all things: I
for that he had rather loſe ſome other whole kingdome, than that one citie: And that therefore he ſhould beware that it were not by the enemie woon, or by any compoſition yeelded: wherein if he failed, he threatened vnto him his heauie diſpleaſure, not to be appeaſed without the price of his head. Which ſo ſeuere a commandement of the great Sultans the Baſſa ſent to them of Strigonium; with moſt grieuous threats from himſelfe, if they, terrified with any batterie, vndermining, or aſſault, ſhould yeeld the citie, & not hold it out as became valiant ſouldiers vnto the laſt man, ſwearing to impale them all vpon ſtakes that ſhould conſent to the yeelding vp thereof. The old gouernor *Alis Beg* hauing receiued this ſo ſtrait a command from him that was both able and like ynough to performe what he had threatened; vtterly to deter the K
ſouldiers from once thinking of yeelding, cauſed diligent enquirie to be made throughout the gariſon, if any of them had at any time made any motion of yeelding vp the citie, or otherwiſe murmured againſt their captaines or commanders appointing them to any ſeruice: and ſuch as he found to haue ſo done, he to the terror of others cauſed to be preſently executed: and after that went downe himſelfe into the lower towne, to ſee that nothing were there wanting or amiſſe, where moſt danger was. But when he would haue again returned into the vpper town, he was ſtayed by the Ianizaries, who told him, That ſeeing he was of ſo valiant and couragious a mind, and their gouernor, he ſhould there ſtay with them, and take ſuch part as they did, were it better or worſe: and ſo would he, or would he not, there needs ſtay he muſt.

Now the Baſſa's of Buda and Temeſware, with diuers Sanzackes as well of thoſe parts of Hungary which the Turks poſſeſſed, as other places, were aſſembling their forces for the relief of the beſieged in Strigonium: whereof the Tranſyluanian prince hearing, made ſhew as if he would forthwith haue beſieged Temeſwar, ſo that the Baſſa thereof leauing the intended expedition for Strigonium, was glad to returne for the defence of his owne charge. They alſo of Stiria, Carinthia, and Croatia, with the troupes of Countie *Serinus* had ſo ſtopped all the paſſages, that twelue thouſand Turks which were comming from Zigeth and the places thereabout, could by no meanes come to joine themſelues with their fellowes for the reliefe of the diſtreſſed citie.

The higher city of Strigonium battered by the Christians.

The Countie leauing nothing vnattempted or vndone that might help for the gaining of Strigonium, had made a notable fort vpon S. *Thomas* hill, and therein placed fiue great culuerins: wherewith he furiouſly battered the higher city, and did therein great harme: and thereby alſo brought to paſſe that no man could go vp or downe the hill betwixt the vpper towne and the lower, but he was in danger to be fet off with thoſe pieces, or the musketiers, who defended by thoſe great pieces, lay vpon the ſide of the hill in caues and buſhes, awaiting for ſuch as

ſhould

A ſhould go vp or downe betwixt the two townes. Thus the Chriſtians at one time battered the vpper towne, the lower towne, and the ſtrong towne and fort of Gokara, ſtanding on the farther ſide of Danubius ouer againſt Strigonium, beſieged by the lord *Palſi.* But of all theſe places, Gokara was with the furie of the great ordnance moſt ſhaken: which the County perceiuing, cauſed the batterie to be encreaſed, and ſo continued, vntill he had beaten downe the counterſcarſe, and made certaine faire breaches in the wall. Whereunto the Morauians (vnto whoſe lot it fell) the one and twentieth of Iuly gaue an aſſault in fiue diuers places, whom the Lord *Palſi* ſeconded with his Hungarians, of whom certaine were of purpoſe appointed, beſide their armes, to bring things with them for the firing of the towne; which they in the time of the aſſault found means ſo well to beſtow, that in a while the towne was all on a light fire. B The Turks at firſt made notable reſiſtance, but finding themſelues ouerpreſſed, and ſeeing the towne now on a fire about their eares, which with the wind ſo encreaſed, that it caught hold of the lower towne on the other ſide of the riuer; they retired to the riuer ſide, where ſome of them by boats got ouer to Strigonium, other ſome periſhed in the riuer, the reſt falling into the hands of the Chriſtians, were by them all put to the ſword. Gokara thus taken, and the fire quenched, the Chriſtians repairing the breaches, and ſtoring it with all warlike prouiſion, left in it a ſtrong gariſon. Within a night or two after, were two hundred of the Turks horſemen deſcried in a field faſt by, which cauſed an alarme to be raiſed in the campe, as if the whole armie of the Turks had been at hand: howbeit thoſe horſemen retiring, and no other appearing, it was afterwards knowne, that they were only ſcouts ſent out by the Turks to take C view of the armie of the Chriſtians, in what ſort they lay incamped.

Gokara taken by the Chriſtians.

The latter end of this moneth it fortuned, that a young country fellow ſecretly ſent out of the citie by the gouernor, and falling into the hands of *Palſi*, was by him ſent to the Countie; by whom he was in friendly manner demanded, from whence he came, whither he was going, and whereabouts: Whereunto the youth frankly anſwered, That he was ſent from the gouernor with letters to the Baſſa of Buda; which he preſently drew out of his boſome, and deliuered them vnto the Countie: who after he had read them, cauſed them to be cloſed vp againe, and ſo deliuered to the yong man, with ſome few crownes, commanding him to carrie them to the Baſſa, as he was about, and in his returne to bring him the Baſſa's anſwer, promiſing for his D ſo doing to reward him bountifully: which the yong man vndertooke to do, and ſo departed. Now the purport of the gouernours letters was, That if the Baſſa did not within ſix or ſeuen days ſend him aid and relieue him, he ſhould for want of victuals & other things neceſſary for the holding out of the ſiege, be inforced either to abandon the city, or to yeeld it vp into the enemies hands. Wherunto the Baſſa returned anſwer by the aforeſaid meſſenger, that he would within the appointed time be with him, willing him in the meane time to be mindefull of his wonted valor, and not to be with any thing diſcouraged: appointing him the day, the houre, the way, the meane, with all the other circumſtances how he would relieue him. Which letters the yong man according to his promiſe deliuered vnto the Countie: who thereupon prouided accordingly for the welcomming of the Baſſa. Within a day after alſo, one of the Turks canoniers conſidering the danger the city lay in, and fearing that it would be loſt, fled out of it into the campe: who beſides that he aptly declared the ſtate of the city, and the wants the beſieged E were in, did alſo afterwards good ſeruice during the time of the ſiege. The Turks had in this while many times ſallied out to their great loſſe: yet now vpon hope of better ſucceſſe, they aduentured the nine and twentieth of this moneth to ſally out againe; but with like fortune as before, leauing fourſcore of their men behinde them, hauing ſlaine but fiue of the Chriſtians.

Now had the Turks in great wants by the ſpace of a moneth right worthily defended Strigonium, expecting ſtill for reliefe. At length newes was brought into the campe, That the Baſſa of Buda with 20000 men was comming to raiſe the ſiege: who the ſecond of Auguſt came accordingly, and with his armie encamped within foure miles of the Chriſtians: lying ſo nigh, that certaine of the Turks horſemen ſeeking after bootie, came very neere vnto the campe of the Chriſtians, and out of the paſtures, euen vnder their noſes, carried away ſome few horſes: againſt theſe deſperat aduenturers, certaine troups of the Hungarian and German horſemen iſ- F ſuing out, had with them an hot ſkirmiſh: but the Turkes of purpoſe retiring as men ouercharged, and the Chriſtians ſtill following on, had at length drawne them vnto the place where diuers other troupes of the Turks lay in ambuſh for them, who now ſtarting forth, on euery

A ſkirmiſh betwixt the Turks & the Chriſtians.

euery ſide hardly charged them. The Hungarian light horſemen well acquainted with ſuch
skirmiſhes, ſeeing the danger, preſently fled and left the Germanes to themſelues: who for a G
while valiantly encountered their enemies, but oppreſſed with multitude, were glad at laſt to
flie alſo. In this skirmiſh of the Chriſtians were loſt and grieuouſly wounded about 100. The
Turks encouraged with this ſo proſperous a beginning, came on the next day with all their armie,
being before reſolued, by plaine force to open themſelues a way into the citie, and ſo to
relieue the beſieged. Of all theſe things was not the Countie ignorant, as thereof forewarned
by the Baſſa's letters before deliuered vnto him; and had therefore with his armie ſtrongly
belaied all the wayes vnto the citie. Neuertheleſſe the enemie came ſtill on between the hils
S. *Thomas* and S. *George*, and neere vnto the ſuburbs called the Raſcian citie, put themſelues in
order of battell, as did alſo the Chriſtians, giuing the enemie leaue to come euen to their trenches. H
In the mean time the Lord *Palſi* with his Hungarian horſemen fetching a compaſſe about
the hill on the one ſide, and the lord *Swartzenburg* with his horſemen on the other, had ſo inclosed
the Turks behind, as that they could not without great danger retire. Both armies orderly
ranged, and the ſignal of battell giuen, the Turks hauing before without any great harme
done diſcharged 17 field pieces, came on after their wonted manner with a moſt hideous cry,
and at the firſt onſet, with their Turkiſh arrowes, as with a thick ſhoure darkned the skie: when
on the other ſide the German and Wallon horſmen with their petronels ſent their deadly ſhot
as thicke as haile amongſt them againe; and the men at armes after them taught the Turks to
their coſt, how vnfit their light and halfe naked horſemen were in a ſet battell to meet with
them ſo wel appointed: in a trice, but not without great ſlaughter, the battel was brought to
the ſword, and to be tried by true valour: There was to be heard a cry heauens high, the thundering I
of artillerie both great and ſmal, the clattering armor, the gliſtering weapons, the neighing
of the horſes, the crying of the wounded, the heauie groanings of the dying, with the noiſe
of the trumpets, drums, and other warlike inſtruments, made deaf the eares of the hearers, preſenting
vnto them nothing but horror and euen preſent death. It was a moſt miſerable ſight to
ſee ſo many men in ſo ſhort time ſlaine: for the battel had ſcarce endured halfe an houre, when
many thouſands of the Turks lay dead vpon the ground, and the reſt ſeeing the victory incline
to the Chriſtians, betooke themſelues to flight, leauing behind them their great ordnance and
whatſoeuer els they brought for the reliefe of the beſieged: whom ſo flying, the lords *Palſi* &
SwartZenburg (who had before taken the ſtraits whereby they were to paſſe between the mountains) K
ſo receiued with their freſh horſmen, that of them that came that way few eſcaped. The
Baſſa himſelfe, who ſtood vpon the hil, ſeeing the diſcomfiture of his men, fled alſo himſelfe:
the Baſſa of Natoſia with about 100 of the Turks moe by good fortune got into Strigonium.
The number of the Turks ſlain in this battel was great, and is of diuers diuerſly reported, ſome
ſaying that there were ſlain 14000, and ſome fewer. Beſides them that were ſlaine, many were
alſo taken, and ſome of them men of great name and place. There was alſo taken 27 enſignes,
with a multitude of camels, aſſes, and mules, laded with mony, ſhot, pouder, and other neceſſarie
prouiſion: all which, brought thither for the reliefe of the beſieged, became a prey vnto the
Chriſtians. In the heat of this battel they of the city ſallying out, had entred a fort of the Chriſtians
vpon the riuer ſide, but were againe preſently driuen out, and with loſſe enforced to retire. L
After this victorie the Countie ſent certaine companies of the Hungarian and Germane
horſemen with 500 waggons to the enemies campe not far off in the mountaines: who comming
thither found it vtterly forſaken by the enemie, but wel ſtored with all manner of neceſſarie
prouiſion, which they carried all away, together with 600 tents, many whereof were lined
with damaske, ſatin, and other ſilke, richly embroidered or layed with gold lace or gold
twiſt. The Baſſa's rich Tent taken by the Colonell of the horſemen, was afterwards by him
giuen vnto the Countie, as was alſo the plate and money there found, all which he diuided
among the ſouldiers according to their deſerts. In the Turks campe were alſo found certaine
heads of the Chriſtians, with the dead bodie of the Lord *Brandenſteine*, ſlaine in the conflict
but the day before, which the Chriſtians carried away with them into the camp, and there honorably M
buried them. Thoſe that remained of the Turks army hid themſelues in the mountains
and woods, and ſo holpen by the darkneſſe of the night, made beſt ſhift for themſelues that
they could. The Baſſa himſelfe accompanied but with twentie horſe came to Buda about
midnight, and by his comming filled the Citie with great heauineſſe, euerie man lamenting
his

A cruell battell betwixt the Chriſtians & the Turkes before Strigonium.

The Turkes ouerthrown.

A his loſt friends. The Hungarian Heidons beſt acquainted with the countrie, pricking vp and down the mountains and by-waies, for certain dayes after the battell, brought in daily into the camp ſuch priſoners as they tooke, or els the heads of ſuch Turks as they ſlew. Of this ſo notable a victory, the Countie by a ſpeedy meſſenger certified the Archduke at Vienna, who rewarded him for his good news with a chaine worth fiue hundred duckats: and preſently cauſed the ſong of thankeſgiuing to be ſung in the church of the Auguſtine Friers, and afterward in all the churches of the citie. The Countie alſo to gratifie the Emperor, ſent him by the lord *Chalon* his nephew, vnto Prague, two of the chiefe priſoners taken in the late battel, with foure horſemens Guidons cunningly made of horſe haires, ſuch as are commonly carried before the greateſt commanders of the Turks armies, and foureteene other enſignes of the Turkes, with B foureteene moſt goodly horſes of the Turks, for a Preſent.

The next day after this battell, the Countie ſent the Lord *Palſi* with an interpretor vnto the citie, to demand it to be yeelded: who hauing audience, declared vnto the Turks in what danger they were, that the helpe they looked for was now quite ouerthrowne, new reliefe could not but in long time be ſent vnto them; and that therefore it ſhould be good for them, whileſt yet they might, to be well aduiſed, and betime to bethinke themſelues of yeelding vp the citie, leſt haply when they would, it then would not be accepted: promiſing to intreat with the Generall, that they might in ſafetie depart, and with ſure conuoy be brought vnto ſuch place of ſafetie as were conuenient. Whereunto the beſieged Turks anſwered, That the Chriſtians had now fiue weekes lien at the ſiege, and muſt yet lie three weeks longer: and that whereas of C late ſome few of their friends came to haue relieued them, & had failed therein; there was yet an hundred thouſand moe to come after them, who if they ſhould not be able to perform that they came for, yet that they would not for that deliuer or forſake the citie, before they were readie to be drawne out of it by the heeles, and that yet they would then take three daies to reſolue thereupon.

Now had the Chriſtians with long and continuall batterie ſore beaten both the vpper and the lower towne, which batterie they now maintained with greater fury than at any time from the beginning of the ſiege, and within the city their wants encreaſed daily, hauing nothing left to liue vpon but a little wheat and barly, with ſome horſe fleſh: vnto whom thus diſtreſſed, the D lord *Palſi* by the commandement of the Countie (to trie what confidence they yet had in themſelues) the ninth of Auguſt, ſent two Gentlemen to the citie, to do a meſſage from him to the Gouernour. Who aduertiſed thereof, being a very aged and courteous man, accompanied with the Aga of the Ianizaries, came to the wals to heare what they had to ſay; where one of the ſaid gentlemen in few words deliuered him this ſhort meſſage.

The meſſage ſent by the lord Palſi to the Gouernor of Strigonium.

My moſt gracious Lord the Lord Palſi, *moſt worthie Gouernour greeteth thee well, and knowing thee to bee a Captaine both valiant and wiſe, and one that hath alwayes courteouſly vſed ſuch as haue fallen into thine hands, hath compaſſion of thy deſperate obſtinacie: and therefore, whereas thou art to looke or hope for nothing elſe but preſent death and deſtruction, bee as thy neighbour and a louer of thy vertues, aduiſeth and exhorteth thee, if thou wilt ſaue thy ſelfe and thine from moſt vndoubted and imminent death and vtter confuſion, without delay to deliuer vp this citie, which thou canſt not longer hold.*

E Vnto whom the old Gouernour thus without ſtay courteouſly anſwered:

The reſolute anſwer of the old Gouernour, to the meſſage ſent him by Palſi.

Thy ſpeech my friend, and thy maſters aduice are vnto me both vain. Tell the Lord Palſi *in my name, that I cannot pleaſure him with the leaſt ſtone in this citie. One foot I haue alreadie in the graue, and wil with honour carrie theſe my gray haires into the ſame: and am yet comforted with a moſt certaine and vndoubted hope, that my moſt dread and mightie Soueraigne, and my Lord* Sinan Baſſa *will not forſake mee: yea and that if they ſhould write vnto mee, that they could finde no meanes or way to relieue me (which I am ſure they can) yet would I well, and at leiſure conſider, whither it were fit for me to deliuer vp this Citie or not; ſeeing that of the defence thereof, dependeth all mine honour and credit: Beſides that what reward they haue on both ſides, that ſo eaſily deliuer ouer the cities they haue in charge, all the world doth ſee.*

With this anſwer he ſent them away. All this while the Aga of the Ianizaries ſtanding by, ſpoke not one word, but ſighing in ſilence and grinding his teeth, declared by his countenance his indignation and inward griefe.

In the mid way betweene Buda and Strigonium, in the middeſt of the riuer of Danubius

The lower town taken by the Chriſtians.

lieth a little Iſland called Vizze, wherein many rich clothiers dwelt: this Iſland the Hungarian Heidons ſpoiled, and in returning thence, met with 24 wagons laded with corne, going to Buda, which they tooke, with eight and twentie priſoners which they brought into the camp. The lower towne being with long and continuall batterie made ſaultable, was by the Chriſtians the thirteenth of Auguſt, in three diuers places at once aſſaulted. The Bauarians were by lot to giue the firſt charge, who in the performing thereof, beginning to faint (for that they were notably repulſed by the Turkes) but ſeconded by them of Reitnaw and Sueuia, pluckt downe a great paliſado, filled the ditches, remoued whatſoeuer ſtood in their way, and ſo long fought with the Turks in the breaches, that by the comming in of the Marqueſſe of Burgawe with ſix enſignes of freſh men, they preuailed vpon the enemie, and ſo altogether brake in the towne. In the midſt of this dangerous fight was the Marqueſſe himſelfe, who both with his preſence and cheerefull ſpeech ſo encouraged his ſouldiers, that they as men fearing no perill, ran headlong into all danger vntill they had entred the towne: there might a man haue heard a moſt miſerable crie, eſpecially of women and children throughout the citie; when as the Chriſtians breaking in on euery ſide, ſlew whoſoeuer came in their way, without reſpect of age or ſex, ſparing neither woman great with child, neither the little children hanging at their mothers breaſts. Yet did not all that were entred, ſo much attend the preſent execution, as ſome of them did the ſpoile and prey; and eſpecially the Hungarians, vnto whom all was good bootie, euen the very hinges of the doores and windowes: whereby many eſcaped into the caſtle and vpper towne with the Baſſa and *Aliu-Beg* the old Gouernour. The Chriſtians had not many houres poſſeſſed the towne, but that diuers fires began to breake out in diuers places, but by what meanes was not at the firſt knowne. At laſt it was found out, that the Turks doubting the loſſe of the Towne, had before where they thought beſt left gunpouder, which taking fire by matches left burning for that purpoſe, ſhould at a certaine time ſet all on fire: by which means many moſt horrible fires were raiſed in the town, which conſumed many goodly buildings, and other things which might haue ſtood the Chriſtians in great ſtead, and could hardly be in a day or two quenched.

Countie Manſfeld died at Komara.

This ſo ioyfull a victorie ſaw not he, by whoſe good direction next vnder God it was gained, the worthie Countie: for hee a few daies before being fallen ſicke of a feauer, taken by drinking too much could drinke in his heat, with immoderat pains taking in the late battell, & ſo afterwards falling into a great flix with a feauer, was by the counſel of his phyſitians (for the better recouering of his health) remoued to Komara, as a place of more quietneſſe: hauing before his departure ſent for the Archduke to come into the camp, and for *Blankemier* into Bauaria to ſupplie his owne roome. But his diſeaſe ſtill increaſing, became at laſt deſperat, ſo that the phyſitians themſelues now diſpaired of his health. Yet lying thus drawing towards his end, he almoſt euery houre inquired how the armie did, and whither the citie were yet taken, or what hope there was of the taking therof. But when it was told him a little before his death that the lower towne was woon, he thereat greatly reioiced, and the next day being the fourteenth of Auguſt, towards night quietly departed this world, to the great loſſe of the Chriſtian commonweale, and the exceeding griefe of the whole armie. A man euen from his childehood brought vp in armes, of ſtature great, but of courage greater, and painful aboue meaſure, not the leaſt cauſe of his vntimely death. All the time of this ſiege he took little reſt either by day or night, ſcarce ſo much as to lie downe vpon his bed in two or three nights together. The little meat he did eat, he moſt part eat it ſtanding or walking, yea & ſomtimes on horſbacke: he was a moſt ſeuere obſeruer of martiall diſcipline, which cauſed him to be of his ſoldiers both beloued and feared. His bowels were with due ſolemnitie buried at Komara where he died, but his bodie was brought backe againe to Luxenburg, there to be honourably enterred with his anceſtors.

About which time *Theodore* the great Duke of Muſcouia, hearing of the wars betwixt the Emperor & the Turke, ſent two Embaſſadors with letters and Preſents to the Emperor: which Embaſſadors comming to Prague the ſixteenth of Auguſt, accompanied with two hundred and fiftie horſe, were by the Emperours appointment, honourably receiued and entertained. And afterward hauing audience, firſt deliuered the letters of credence from the great Duke, reported to haue beene of this purport.

Your

The copy of the great dukes letters vnto the Emperour.

A *Your Maieſtie hath ſent vnto vs your Embaſſadour* Nicholas Warkotſie, *requeſting our brotherly aid againſt the hereditarie enemie of all Chriſtianitie, the Turkiſh Sultan. Wherefore we alſo deſiring to liue with you our deere and welbeloued brother in all perpetuall amitie and friendſhip, ſend vnto you by our faithfull counſellor and ſeruant* Michael Iwanowitze, *and* Iohn Sohnie, *aid out of our treaſurie againſt the ſaid enemie: vnto whome we haue alſo giuen other things in charge to be propounded to your Maieſtie, requeſting you to giue vnto them in all things full credit. Giuen in the great Court of our power at Muſco, in the yeare of the world 7103, and from the natiuitie of Chriſt* 1595, *in the moneth of Aprill.*

What things in particular theſe Embaſſadors were ſent for, was not commonly knowne, but among others it is ſaid, That the Muſcouite requeſted the Emperor to ſend an embaſſador vnto the B Perſian king, to draw him alſo into the league with them againſt the Turke: which Embaſſadour ſhould firſt come into Muſcouia, and that way to paſſe into Perſia. The Preſents which the great Duke ſent vnto the Emperor, were, an hundred and fiftie thouſand Florens of gold, great ſtore of moſt rich furs, and precious perfumes deemed to be of exceeding value, two white Faulcons, and three Leopards aliue. And *Iwanowitze* the Embaſſador himſelfe, preſented vnto the Emperour of himſelfe, certaine rich Turkie, Perſian, and Babylonian hangings and carpets, certain timbers of Sables, with other rich furs no leſſe precious than Sables, ſo many as eight porters could hardly carrie. Theſe Embaſſadors tarried at Prague vntill the ſeuen and twentieth day of December, and then taking their leaue, returned with the Emperours anſwer to the Duke.

Alis-Beg the old Gouernour of Strigonium ſlaine with a great ſhot.

C But to returne againe vnto Strigonium. The Chriſtians now poſſeſſed of the lower towne, bent their whole batterie vpon the higher towne, where it fortuned the fourteenth of Auguſt that the old Gouernour *Alis-Beg*, whileſt he was carefully walking from place to place to ſee where moſt danger was, had his arm ſtruck off with a great ſhot, of which hurt he preſently died. He was a man of great grauitie, about the age of fourescore yeres, & had of long time notably both gouerned and defended that famous citie, the loſſe whereof was like enough to haue been vnto him greater griefe than was the loſſe of his life there. Much about the ſame time alſo died the Aga of the Ianizaries, being before mortally wounded. Both the chiefe commanders thus ſlaine, the Ianizaries with the other ſouldiers and citiſens made choice of the Baſſa D of Natolia (who as is aforeſaid eſcaped out of the late battell into the citie) for their Gouernor) who with heauie cheere tooke vpon him that forlorne charge. The Chriſtians not ignorant of the death of theſe two worthy men, in whoſe great and approued valor they ſuppoſed the chiefe defence of the citie to haue reſted, were in good hope that now the reſt would the more readily hearken to ſome good compoſition; and therefore ſent a meſſenger to demand if they would yet whileſt there were ſome mercie left, yeeld the citie. Who though they had loſt their chiefe Commanders with the greateſt part of the garriſon, and were in great wants both of victuals and all things elſe neceſſarie for their defence; yet their anſwere was in few words, That they would hold it out euen to the laſt man. The greateſt cauſe of which their obſtinat reſolution, was the ſtrait charge the Baſſa of Buda had giuen them for the defence thereof: beſides that, they accounted their city holy, as won by their magnificent Emperor *Solyman*, whom the Turks generally yet haue in a deuout remembrance; and therfore thought it a great impietie to deliuer it vp vnto the Chriſtians. The next day after came *Matthias* the Archduke into the campe; who after he had well viewed the whole armie and the manner of the ſiege, he called together into his tent the chiefe commanders, namely the Marqueſſe of Burgaw his couſin, *Iohn de Medices* the Florentine, and the Lord *Palſi* the Hungarian; to conſult with them, what were further to be done for the winning of the citie. Shortly after, he commanded the citie to be at once in two places aſſaulted, which was by the Wallons and Germanes couragiouſly performed: but ſuch was the valour of the defendants, that when the Chriſtians had done what they could, they were glad at laſt to giue ouer the aſſault, and with loſſe to retire. About this time came the Duke of Mantua, with the three Counties his brethren to the ſiege, and now the Turks began againe to draw together neere vnto Buda, there to make head for the reliefe of Strigonium, and to be reuenged of the loſſe they had there before receiued. Whereof the Archduke hauing intelligence, ſent out againſt them eight thouſand choſen ſouldiers out of the campe, who ſuddenly ſetting vpon the Turks in their campe, before the riſing of the Sunne made a great ſlaughter amongſt them, and tooke certaine priſoners, of whome the

Sanzacke of Copan was one: and ſo with victuals returned to the ſiege.

The beſieged Turks in Strigonium vnderſtanding of this ouerthrow of their friends, from whom they expected moſt ſpeedie reliefe, and beſide the terror of the continuall batterie and ſtill-feared aſſaults; pinched alſo with extreme wants of all things, began now to faint. Wherefore the Baſſa with the other captains, ouercome with the aforeſaid difficulties, and the generall outcrie of the fearful people, reſolued with one conſent to come now to parley, and vpon reaſonable conditions to yeeld vp the citie: whereupon a flag of truce was ſet vp, and parley craued. Which granted, the Archduke after the going downe of the Sun came into the lower town, where nine of the Turks attended his comming: who entring into parley, required that they might vnder ſafe conuoy with bag and baggage depart, & ſo leaue him the citie: which the Archduke would not by any means agree vnto. At length with much intreatie, they obtained that they might vpon the ſame conditions depart, that the Chriſtians did at Rab; with their ſcimitars by their ſides, & ſo much of their goods as they could carrie vpon their backs, vnto ſuch ſhips as were to be appointed for the cariage of them to Buda. For the performance whereof, hoſtages were on both ſides giuen: and ſo the next day (being the 2 of September) they began to come out of the citie, moe in number than either the priſoners taken in the time of the ſiege had confeſſed, or the Chriſtians had thought. Thirty ſhips were appointed for the conueying of them down the riuer to Buda, which not ſufficing, many of them tarried in the city vntill the next day, at which time the Baſſa with the ſicke and wounded ſailed to Buda, the priſoners and pledges on both ſides being before faithfully deliuered. Thus by the goodneſſe of God and the good conduct of a few valiant Chriſtians, was Strigonium the Metropolitical citie of Hungarie, after it had 52 yeares groaned vnder the miſerable yoke of the Turkiſh ſeruitude, againe reſtored vnto the Chriſtian commonweale: which the Chriſtians forthwith repaired and new fortified, as was thought beſt for the defence thereof againſt the enemie. All which being done, about the midſt of this month the Archduke ſent eighteen thouſand to beſiege Vicegrade, otherwiſe called Plindenburg, a ſtrong caſtle of the Turks vpon the riuer between Strigonium and Buda; which caſtle they tooke. Which when they of Buda vnderſtood, they were ſtrucken with ſuch a feare, that many of the better ſort were readie to forſake the citie; inſomuch, that the Baſſa to ſtay their flight, was glad to command the gates of the citie to be ſhut vpon them, and no man ſuffered to paſſe out. This good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians in theſe warres, cauſed great reioicing to be made in moſt parts of Chriſtendome.

Strigonium yeelded vnto the Chriſtians.

The caſtle of Vicegrade taken by the Chriſtians.

All this while the Chriſtians were thus buſied at the ſiege of Strigonium, the Tranſyluanian Prince was not idle, but in diuers places did the Turks exceeding much harm; ſo that now his name began to be dreadful vnto them. It fortuned that the ſame day that the county *Manſfelt* departed at Komara, that the Prince at Alba-Iulia with great ſolemnitie married *Maria Chriſtina*, the daughter of the late Archduke *Charles* the ſonne of the Emperor *Ferdinand*; her other ſiſter *Anna* being before married vnto *Sigiſmund*, now King of Polonia: for ſo it was agreed for the more aſſurance of the league between the Emperor and him, that he ſhould take his wife out of the houſe of Auſtria, which he now did. Of this ſolemnitie the Turks (his euill neighbours) hauing intelligence, aſſembling to the number of 30000 or more, thought as vnwelcome gueſts to haue come vnbidden or vnlooked for thereunto: but the vigilant Prince vnderſtanding of their comming, prouided for their entertainment accordingly, and ſetting his pleaſures for a while apart, and comming vpon them when they leaſt looked for him, in a great battell ouerthrew them, and ſlew moſt part of them, carrying away with him as a triumphant victor, the whole ſpoile of his enemies.

About the ſame time the Tranſyluanians alſo beſieged Fagiat a town holden by the Turks not far from Temeſwar, where after they had lien twelue daies, they of the towne diſpairing to be able long to hold out, came to parley, and couenanting to depart with bag and baggage, began to goe out of the towne. But in their departure, vnderſtanding that the Baſſa of Temeſwar with the Sanzacks of Lippa and Ienne were comming to their reliefe, they that were yet in the towne began to finde delaies, and they that were alreadie gone out began to returne. Wherewith the Tranſyluanians much moued, by plaine force entered the towne, & put them all to the ſword: and afterward turning vpon the Baſſa, who with ten thouſand Turks and certaine field pieces was comming to haue relieued the towne, had with them a cruell battell; wherin moſt part of the Turks fell with ſmal loſſe of the Tranſyluanians: who ſo eagerly pur-

ſued

A ſued the victorie, that the Baſſa himſelfe had much adoe with fiue hundred others to eſcape. The two Sanzackes, with diuers others of good place, were taken and ſent priſoners to the Prince. Not long after, about the latter end of Auguſt, the Tranſyluanians alſo beſieged Lippa, a famous citie of Hungarie, ſtanding vpon the riuer Maracz, not far from Temeſwar, which the Turkes being not able longer to hold, fled into the caſtle: where finding themſelues in no great ſafetie, after three daies ſiege they came to parle, and ſo yeelded, vpon condition that they might in ſafety depart with ſo much of their goods as they could themſelues carrie. About which time alſo the Baſſa of Boſna with ten thouſand Turkes and Tartars went forth to haue againe recouered Babotſca, a frontier towne, before taken by the Chriſtians: which the Stirians and the reſt of the Chriſtians dwelling thereabouts, betweene the two riuers of B Sauus and Drauus, vnderſtanding, conducted by the Lords *Herbenſtein*, *Leucowitz*, and *Eckenberg*, that had the charge of thoſe frontiers, ouertooke the ſaid Turks and Tartars neere vnto Babotſca, fought with them, and in the plaine field ouerthrew them.

Lippa taken by the Tranſyluanians.

Mahomet not a little grieued with the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians in euery part of Hungarie, and aboue meaſure offended with *Ferat Baſſa* his General, through whoſe negligence all or at leaſtwiſe moſt part of this had hapned (as he was by the enuie of *Sinan Baſſa* perſuaded) ſent for *Ferat* home, and in his place ſent out *Sinan*. Of which the great Sultans diſpleaſure *Ferat* was not ignorant, as forewarned thereof by her that beſt knew, euen the Sultans mother, and aduiſed not to come in ſight vntill his peace were made. Who neuertheleſſe truſting to his owne innocencie (the comfortable, but moſt dangerous and weake ſtay of the great) and C doubting not to anſwere whatſoeuer *Sinan* ſhould bee able to charge him with, came to the court: where he was by the commandement of *Mahomet* ſhortly after ſtrangled, and his goods to the value of fiue hundred thouſand duckats confiſcated.

Ferat Baſſa ſent for to Conſtantinople, & there ſtrangled.

Sinan Baſſa ſent in Ferats ſtead.

Among all the dangerous enemies of the Chriſtian common-weale, was none at this time more cruell than was *Sinan*, an Epyrot borne, a fiſhers ſonne, of a rough and vnciuile diſpoſition, now about fourescore and three yeares old, euen from his youth brought vp in the wars: and yet (as his Motto was) breathing nothing but *Bloud and Warre*. He had many times fortunatly led the huge armies of the Turkiſh Emperours, *Solyman*, *Selymus*, and *Amurath*, and is now ſent by the great Sultan *Mahomet*, as the fitteſt man to reduce the late reuolted countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, to their former thraldome: which hee before promiſed vnto *Mahomet*, vpon perill of his head to doe. D Hee hauing raiſed a right puiſſant army, by a bridge made of boats (after a moneths labour ſpent therein) paſſed ouer the great riuer of Danubius into Valachia: of whoſe comming the Tranſyluanians, with the Valachians and Moldauians hauing knowledge, had before ſo ſhut vp the paſſages of the countrie, as that he could not without much danger haue farre entered; and were alſo readie with their vnited forces euen at his firſt entrance to giue him battell. Which hee not refuſing, there began a moſt mortall and cruell fight, with much bloudſhed on both ſides. Thrice were the Tranſyluanians enforced to retire, but ſtill relieued with new ſupplies, and knowing that they then carried in their armes the welfare of their whole Countrey, came on freſh againe, and as hardly charged the Turkes, as they had beene by them charged. Thus with doubtfull E fortune and great ſlaughter was the battell maintained from the morning vntill night, victorie with doubtfull wings houering now ouer the one ſide, now ouer the other: vntill that at length, the Turkes ouercome by true valour, their battells beeing quite diſordered and broken, were now glad to ſeeke to ſaue themſelues by flight. In this battell, being fought the eleuenth of September, beſides many thouſands of the common ſouldiers, were ſlaine alſo diuers of great account amongſt the Turks: and amongſt the reſt *Haider Baſſa*, a man of them much regarded, was found dead euen in the ſame place where the battell was fought. *Sinan* himſelfe, in making too much haſte to get ouer the bridge, fell into the deep mud, and in that generall confuſion of his armie, was like enough there to haue periſhed: but as the common Prouerbe goeth, *Seldome lyeth the Deuill dead in a dike*, the old Veiliarde was with much adoe drawne out by them of his guard, and ſo ſaued to further miſchiefe. Neuertheleſſe, the danger was ſo great, that for certaine dayes it was commonly reported, that hee was there drowned, moſt of his owne people not as yet certainly knowing what was become of him. All the ſpoile of the Turks became a prey vnto the Chriſtians, as did alſo their great ordnance, & many of their enſignes; amongſt which was one greene one, which they accounted religious, as

A mortall battel betwixt Sinan and the Tranſyluanian Prince.

The Turkes ouerthrowne.

Sinan in flying like to be drowned.

ſacred to their Prophet *Mahomet*, whereunto they in time of their greateſt diſtreſſe flie, as vnto
their laſt refuge : there was taken alſo all their tents, with great aboundance of Victuals and G
other warlike prouiſion.

The old Baſſa thus ouerthrowne, full of griefe, and euen mad for deſpight, poſted himſelfe
in all haſt to the Court, thinking it better himſelfe to make the beſt of that which was indeed
nought, than to haue it made worſe than nought by the enuious report of others: and withall
to fill the mind of the great Sultan with deſire of reuenge, which no man ſo much longed after,
as himſelfe ; wherein he ſo diſcreetly vſed the matter, as that the late loſſe was eaſily paſſed
ouer, as receiued by the common chance of war, or any other occaſion els whatſoeuer rather
than by any default of his; and new commiſſion giuen him for the raiſing of another armie
for the ſubduing of the late reuolted countries. In the meane time, to ſhew his hatred vnto H
the Chriſtians, and to pleaſe the eyes of them of the court with the noueltie of the fight, he
cauſed an hundred and twelue Chriſtian captiues whom he had in priſon at Belgrade, to bee
brought in chains like beaſts to Conſtantinople; and ſo being led through the principal ſtreets
of the city, to the vain contentment of the citiſens, to be brought to the court gate for the Sultan
to looke vpon, and the courtiers to deride : from whence they were after many vnſpeakeable
indignities conueyed to moſt miſerable and loathſome priſons, there to be fed with the
bread of tribulation.

The Turkes ouerthrowne in Croatia.

About this time the Turks vnder the command of the Baſſa of Boſna, to the number of almoſt
twentie thouſand, made a rode into Croatia, where they were by the Chriſtians vnder
the leading of the Lord *Eckenberg* and *Lencowitz* ouerthrowne and almoſt all ſlaine: the Chriſtians
following the chaſe euen into the Turks frontiers, burnt fifteen of their villages, & took I
the caſtle of Varuiuar : immediatly after, their forces encreaſing by the comming in of the
Lord *Herbenſtein*, Gouernor of Valeria and Windiſmarche, and certaine other troups of horſemen
out of Carinthia and the countries thereabouts, they returned the thirteenth of September
to beſiege Petrinia, otherwiſe called Petrowina; which becauſe they were in hope to take
by aſſault, they euen at their firſt comming couragiouſly aſſailed. But after two houres hard
fight, finding both greater reſiſtance, and more difficultie than they had before ſuppoſed to
haue found, and that without great ordnance (which could not in ſhort time be got ouer the
mountains) there was no good to be done, they were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, & with ſuch
loſſe as they had receiued, to returne to Siſeg, there to conſult further of the matter. But the K
ſame night a fugitiue horſeman fled from the enemie, came to the camp and told the Chriſtians,
That *Ruſtan Beg*, Gouernor of Petrinia was in the late aſſault wounded in the breaſt with a
ſmall ſhot, and dead : and that the Turks in the towne diſcouraged with his death and the late
ouerthrow of their friends in Croatia, would vpon the firſt ſight of them abandon the town,
if they would but againe returne to beſiege it. Vpon which good hope the Chriſtians preſently
riſe, and ſet forward again towards Petrinia: which the Turks (hearing of their comming)
had before, as the ſouldier reported, for feare abandoned. So the Chriſtians without reſiſtance
entering the towne, found therein ſome pillage, but better ſtore of ſhot and pouder : and preſently
ſending for certain troups of horſemen to purſue the flying Turks, took diuers of them,
and among the reſt the late Gouernors Lieutenant, whom they brought backe againe into the L
towne. Thus was Petrinia againe recouered from the Turks, to the great quiet and ſafetie of
all that ſide of the countrie.

Petrinia taken by the Chriſtians.

Sigiſmund the Tranſyluanian Prince not ignorant with what an enemie he had to do, either
of the malice of old *Sinan*, who he knew would not be long before he returned, or yet of the
ſecret practiſe of the Polonians, for the withdrawing of the countrie of Moldauia from him,
ſought now by all means (as it ſtood him vpon) to make himſelfe ſo ſtrong as he could againſt
ſo many ſtormes ariſing. It fortuned that euen at the ſame time the Zaculians (better known by
the name of Siculi) in former time a free people, but as then tributary vnto the Turks, bordring
vpon the Northeaſt part of Tranſyluania; now weary of the Turkiſh thraldome, and ſeeing the
good ſucceſſe of the Prince, and the late reuolted countries their neighbors, offered vnto the
Prince their ſeruice; promiſing of their owne charge to maintaine forty thouſand men in the
field during his wars with the Turke, and yearely to pay him of euerie houſe a dollar, with a
certaine meaſure of wheat, oats, and barly, after the manner of their owne countrey : and further,
That if God ſhould bleſſe him with a ſon to ſucceed him in his gouernment, euerie hou-

ſholder ſhould giue vnto him a good fat oxe. For all which ſeruice they craued no more, but that they might as his ſubiects liue vnder his protection: yet ſo, as to be gouerned by their owne antient lawes and cuſtomes. Of which their offer the Prince accepting, it was forthwith by them proclaimed in their campe, and all the people ſworne to the performance of the aforeſaid agreement. And hauing at that preſent but fiue and twentie thouſand in the field, they without delay ſent out their officers to preſſe out fifteene thouſand moe, for the filling vp of the promiſed number of fortie thouſand; wherewith they came vnto the Prince, who taking a view of his armie, found himſelfe to be now foureſcore thouſand men ſtrong to welcome the Baſſa withall when he ſhould come againe into his countrey.

The prince taketh a view of his armie.

Now had *Sinan* with great ſpeed raiſed an armie of 70000 choice ſoldiers, amongſt whom were many whole bands of the Ianizaries, the ſtrength of the Turkiſh empire. With which power joined vnto the reliques of his other broken forces, he thought himſelfe ſtrong enough for the ſubduing of the Prince: vnto whom came alſo afterward *Haſſan Baſſa* the ſon of the great Baſſa *Muhamet*, one of the Turks moſt renowned men of warre, and *Bogdanus* the late expulſed Vayuod of Valachia, with many others of great name. With this armie the old Baſſa by a bridge which he with exceeding charge had made of boats, paſſed ouer the great riuer of Danubius at a towne called Zorza or Giorgo (with vs S. *George*) in Valachia, a great way beneath that place where ſometime the Emperor *Trajan* built his famous bridge of ſtone, worthily accounted amongſt the rare and wonderfull buildings of the world. From Zorza hee marched with his armie to Tergouiſta, (ſometime the Vayuod his chiefe citie, but then in the power of the Turks) where is a notable monaſtery, which he conuerted into a caſtle, fortifying it with deepe trenches and ſtrong bulwarks, and good ſtore of great ordnance, purpoſing to make that the ſeat of his war, vntil he had againe reſtored thoſe late reuolted Countries vnto the Turkiſh Empire, which he vpon paine of his head had vndertaken to performe. The Prince both by meſſengers and letters vnderſtanding of the Baſſa's arriual there, and hauing his armie in good readineſſe, ſet forward to meet him and to giue him battell. But being come into Valachia, and there incamped, it is reported, That a great Eagle deſcending from an high rocke there by, called, The Kings rocke, and houering ouer the Chriſtian armie, flew about the Princes Tent, and there lighting, was taken and preſented to the Prince, who commanded her to be kept as the preſage of his good fortune, holding on ſtill his way; and the fifteenth of October beeing come within halfe a dayes march of Tergouiſta, he vnderſtood by two Chriſtians lately eſcaped from the Turks, That two dayes before, the Turks hearing of his comming were ſtrucken with ſuch a generall and ſudden feare, that *Sinan* had much ado either by faire meanes or by foule to ſtay the Ianizaries from flight; and that when he had done what he could, yet that certain companies of them were quite fled and gon. But the truth was, That *Sinan* ſeeing the general feare of his armie, and he himſelf no leſſe fearefull than the reſt; vpon the Princes approch fled with all his armie, leauing behind him for haſt his tents, his great ordnance, with much victuals & other warlike prouiſion, carrying with him only ſuch things as were of moſt value. As for the city of Tergouiſta, with the caſtle which he had made of the monaſterie, he committed to the keeping of *Haſſan Baſſa* and *Bogdanus* the late Vayuod, now become a renegate Turke, with a garriſon of 4000 choſen ſoldiers, promiſing within a few dayes if need ſhould be, to relieue them, but fled himſelfe in all haſte with his armie to Buchareſta, a dayes journey from Tergouiſta. From whence he preſently writ backe againe to *Haſſan Baſſa*, willing him if he could to defend the caſtle; but if he ſhould thinke it not poſſible to be kept againſt the power of the Prince, then betime to forſake it and to ſhift for himſelfe. But theſe letters being intercepted by the Chriſtians, neuer came to the Baſſa's hands. Not long after the departing of *Sinan*, the Prince comming to Tergouiſta, entred the forſaken campe, where he found many tents with ſome ordnance, and great ſtore of victuals, and without further delay ſummoned both the citie and the caſtle, which for all that were both denied him. But the next day after, *Haſſan* conſidering the flight of *Sinan*, the power of the Prince, and withall doubting if need ſhould be, to be relieued by *Sinan*, whom he not without cauſe ſuſpected not to loue him, was about vpon ſome reaſonable compoſition to haue yeelded vp both the city & the caſtle: wherunto the garriſon ſoldiers (being moſt part of them Ianizaries) would not in any caſe giue their conſent, but ſtood vpon the defence of the place. Wherupon the prince began furiouſly to batter both the city and the caſtle, and after ſome few houres battery, by aſſault tooke both, & put

Sinan Baſſa by a bridge made of boats paſſeth ouer Danubius into Valachia.

to

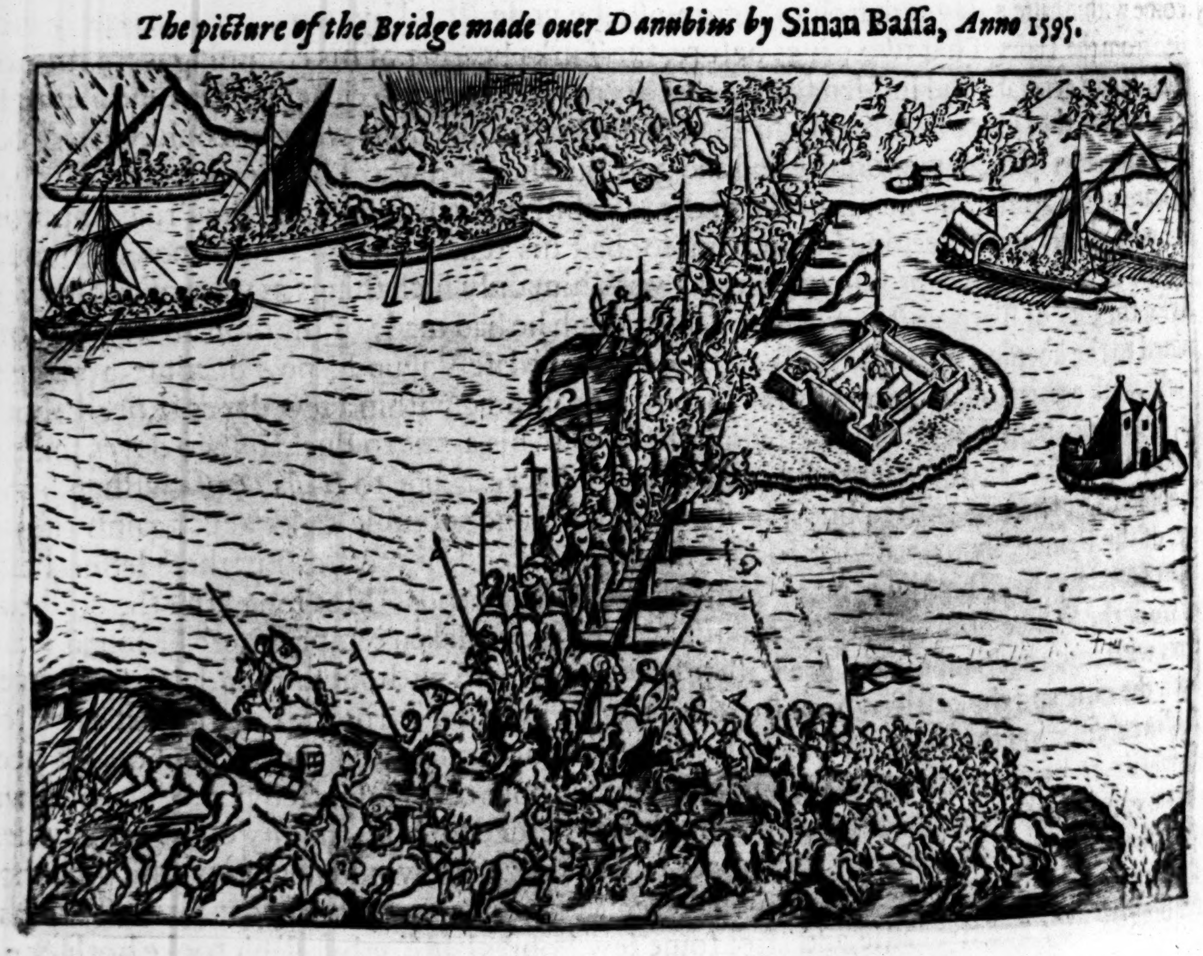
Haſſan Baſſa taken.

The fritfulnes of Valachia & Moldauia.

to ſword the whole gariſon; only *Haſſan Baſſa*, as taken with his owne hand, he ſpared, and two other Sanzacks. *Bogdanus* the renegate was there ſlaine among the reſt. The Chriſtians had there a rich prey, beſides 42 great pieces of ordnance, and good ſtore of all manner of warlike prouiſion. *Haſſan* thus taken, grieuouſly complained, That *Sinan* had of a malicious purpoſe expoſed him to ſo manifeſt peril, for the grudge he bare vnto his dead father the Viſier *Mahomet*, vpon whom becauſe he could neuer be reuenged, he now by ſiniſter means had cunningly performed it vpon his ſon: yet he craued of the Prince to be wel vſed, offering for his ranſome 100000 Hungarian duckets. Whilſt the prince yet thus lay at Tergouiſta, came thither 4000 Turks, whom *Sinan* had before his departure thence, ſent forth to ſpoile the countrey, and to ſeeke after prey, thinking to haue there found him ſtill: who now falling into the hands of the Chriſtians, were there all ſlain, and 60000 head of cattel recouered, which theſe Turks had taken out of Valachia and Moldauia, & ſhould by *Sinans* appointment haue bin ſent to Conſtantinople. For Valachia and Moldauia do ſo abound with corne and cattell, that they plentifully ſerue the Imperial city of Conſtantinople not only with corne and fleſh, but alſo yerely ſend at the leaſt 150 ſhips thither by the blacke ſea, laded with other kinde of victuals. Of which ſo great commodities the Turks were now depriued, by the reuolt of the aforeſaid countries.

Bucareſta takē by the Prince.

The Prince leauing a ſtrong garriſon in Tergouiſta, ſet forward with his armie towards Bucareſta, hoping there to haue found *Sinan*. But he hearing of the loſſe of Tergouiſta, and thinking himſelfe in no good ſafetie at Bucareſta, fled thence alſo to Zorza. The Prince comming to Bucareſta, found it abandoned by the Turks, and ſo took it without reſiſtance, yet had therein certaine field pieces, with good ſtore of ſhot and pouder left there by *Sinan*. Hauing there ſtayed a while for the manning of the place, hee ſet forwards againe towards Zorza; and that with ſuch ſpeed, that he ouertooke great numbers of the Turks, whom he put all to the ſword: ſo that the fields betwixt Bucareſta and Zorza were in many places couered with the dead bodies of the Turks. Neuertheleſſe he could not make ſo great haſte, marching ſtill in good order, but that the fearefull Baſſa diſorderly haſting, was about ſome ſix houres or more before come to the bridge he had with great charge made ouer the riuer of Danubius; the forme whereof you may here ſee:



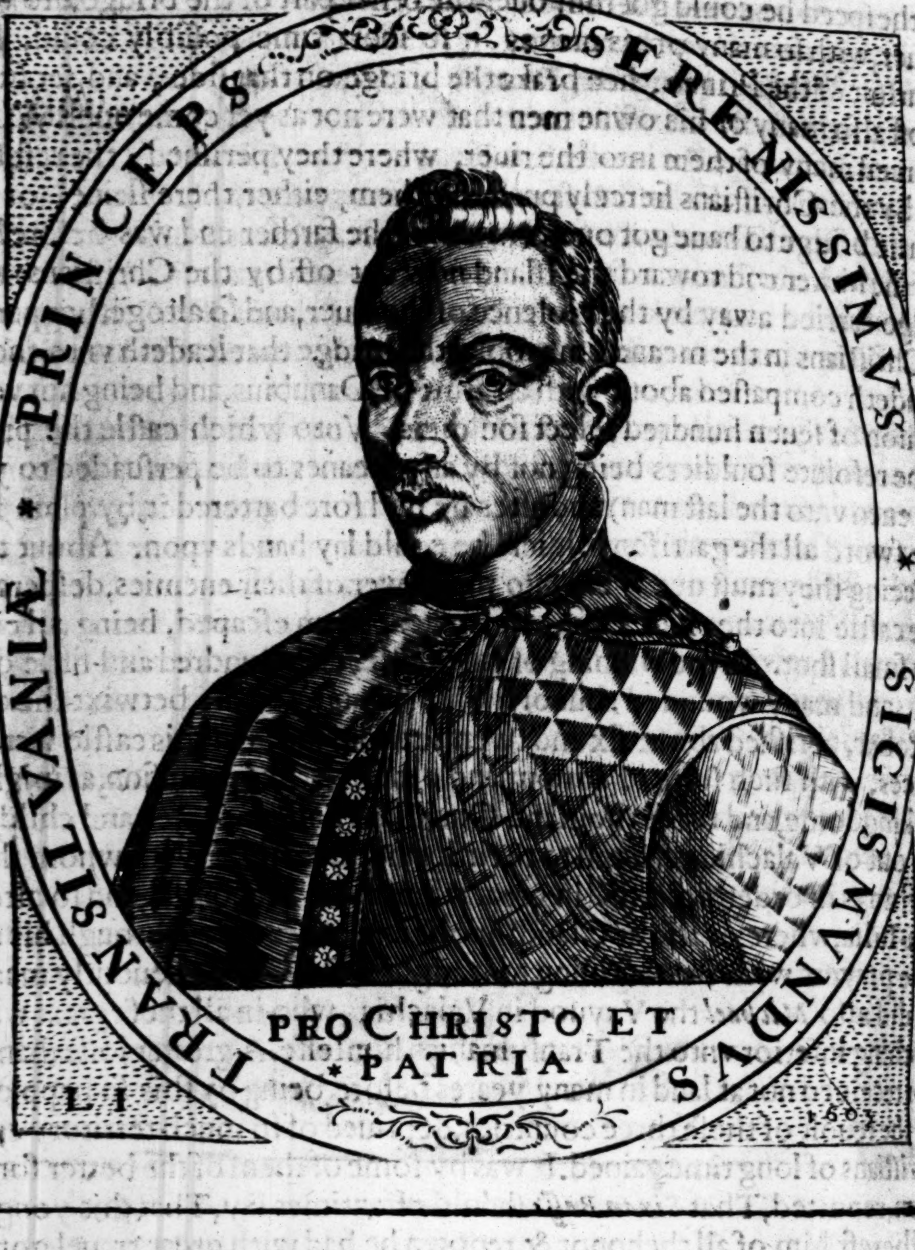
The picture of the Bridge made ouer Danubius by Sinan Baſſa, *Anno* 1595.

Ouer the hithermoſt part of which bridge (being in length about a mile) was *Sinan* with the greateſt part of his armie (before the comming of the Prince) got ouer into an Iſland in the midſt of the riuer, wherin he had at his comming ouer incamped: but doubting now there to ſtay, with all the ſpeed he could got him ouer the other part of the bridge alſo vnto the farther ſide of the riuer, with ſo many of his men as in ſo ſhort time poſſibly could. Where to ſtay the farther purſuit of the Prince, hee brake the bridge on that ſide, and ſet fire vpon it: and thereby cut off alſo many of his owne men that were not as yet come ouer. Whom the prince incloſing, forced many of them into the riuer, where they periſhed; the reſt flying into the Iſland, were by the Chriſtians fiercely purſuing them, either there ſlaine, or ſeeking by the other part of the bridge to haue got ouer, (whereof the farther end was before broken downe by *Sinan*, and the hither end toward the Iſland now cut off by the Chriſtians) were together with the bridge carried away by the violence of the riuer, and ſo altogether periſhed. Other ſome of the Chriſtians in the meane time tooke the bridge that leadeth vnto the caſtle of Zorza, which ſtandeth compaſſed about with an arme of Danubius, and being not very great, was kept by a garriſon of ſeuen hundred ſelect ſouldiers. Vnto which caſtle the prince preſently laied ſiege, (the reſolute ſouldiers being not by any meanes to be perſuaded to yeeld it vp, but to hold it out euen vnto the laſt man) and after he had ſore battered it, by plain force tooke it, and put to the ſword all the garriſon ſoldiers he could lay hands vpon. About an hundred of theſe Turks ſeeing they muſt needs fall into the power of their enemies, deſperatly leapt from the top of the caſtle into the riuer, where not one of them eſcaped, being all either drowned or ſlaine with ſmall ſhot. In the winning of this caſtle, two hundred and fiftie of the Chriſtians were loſt, and many wounded: but of the Turks and Tartars, betwixt the eighteenth and the laſt of October, periſhed aboue ſix and twentie thouſand. In this caſtle were taken thirtie nine great pieces, with ſuch ſtore of armour and other warlike prouiſion, as might haue ſerued for an whole kingdome, and foure thouſand Chriſtians beſide women and children, whom *Sinan* had taken out of Valachia, reſtored to their former libertie. With whom the Prince after he had ſet all things in order, returned in great triumph to Tergouiſta, and ſo afterwards to his palace at Alba-Iulia, where, as alſo at Claudiopolis and other cities through his dominions, he cauſed publike prayers with thankſgiuing to almightie God, to be deuoutly made for ſo great a victorie: as did alſo *Michael* the Vayuod in Valachia; who in all theſe great wars againſt the Turks was nothing inferior vnto the Tranſyluanian himſelfe. A greater loſſe than this, the Turkiſh Emperor receiued not at land in many yeares before, being by this ſo happie & victorious a Prince, and the reuolt of theſe three countries, depriued of ſo much territory as they had not from the Chriſtians of long time gained. It was by ſome of them of the better ſort of the Turks that were taken, reported, That *Sinan Baſſa* ſhould oftentimes ſay, That this yong Tranſyluanian Prince had bereft him of all the honor & renown he had with great trauel got in the courſe of his long life; and that although he had eſcaped his hands, yet that he feared he would be the cauſe for him in theſe his great yeares, euen in the winding vp of all, to loſe his life together with his goods and honor. Now was the Tranſyluanian Princes name (after the ouerthrow of this great Baſſa) become dreadful vnto the Turks, and alſo famous through all Chriſtendome. Which as it hath filled the eares of many with admiration, ſo haply may the liuely repreſentation of his feature by cunning hand ſet forth, feed the longing eyes of ſome with delight, and ſerue in better ſtead than the rude deſcription of his perſon.

Sinan flyeth ouer Danubius.

The Prince returneth with victorie to Alba-Iulia.

The opinion Sinan Baſſa had of the Tranſyluanian.



Miles eras Chriſti, nulli pietate ſecundus
Et ſolus patriæ gloria magna tua
Inclita. Si virtus, quæ te ſuper æthera vexit,
Tam ſtabili curſu continuata foret. R. Knolles.

Of Chriſt thou waſt a ſouldier true inferiour vnto none;
Thy countries joy and glorie great, vnto the world wel knowne.
If worthie vertue that thee rais'd aboue the ſtarrie skie,
With ſtedfaſt pace had run the race ſo well begun by thee.

Ienna yeelded to the Tranſyl-uanians.

Whileſt this worthie Prince was thus buſied in this expedition againſt *Sinan*, he cauſed the caſtle of Ienna (ſtanding vpon the highway betweene Temeſwar and Giula) to be beſieged by certaine of his captaines appointed to that ſeruice; in which caſtle lay one of the Turks Sanzackes with a garriſon of 700 Turks, who much troubled ſuch as paſſed that way. They now brought to ſome extremitie, and terrified with the ſucceſſe of the Prince, offered to giue vp the caſtle, ſo that as ſouldiers with their ſcimiters by their ſides they might in ſafetie be brought to Panoda. Which their offer being accepted of, and they now vpon their way, the Hungarian light horſemen that ſhould haue conducted them, enformed that theſe Turkes now vnder their charge had ſecret intelligence with the Turks in garriſon at Giula and Temeſware, That they ſhould lie in ambuſh for them neere Panoda, and ſo cut them off by the way; ſet

A ſet vpon theſe Turks whom they ſhould haue conducted, and cut the throats of foure hundred of them: and yet ſtill holding on their way, met with theſe Turks that lay in ambuſh for them, whom they after a ſharpe skirmiſh ouerthrew, and hauing ſlaine a great many of them, put the reſt to flight. By the taking of Ienna the wayes thereabout were quieted, eſpecially for them of Waraden. The Sanzacke of Ienna reported, That *Mahomet* had a little before ſent word vnto his Baſſa's and Sanzackes in Hungarie, That ſuch caſtles and townes as they thought were not to be defended againſt the Chriſtians, they ſhould betimes as occaſion ſerued, yeeld them vp, or forſake them, ſo to ſpare the needleſſe loſſe of his good ſoldiers: of whom he had with ſo many townes and ſtrong holds loſt no ſmal number this yere in Hungarie. Ienna thus taken, diuers of the richer ſort in Temeſware fearing to be euen preſently beſieged, ſent their wiues B and children with their treaſure and ſuch other things as they made moſt reckoning of, out of the citie in waggons to be conueyed vnto places of more ſafetie: of which waggons, ſeuentie were by the Chriſtians (lying thereabout in garriſon) intercepted, and in them an exceeding rich bootie.

Mahomet hauing this yere fully purpoſed the vtter ruine of the Tranſyluanian prince, & the reducing of the countries of Tranſyluania, Moldauia, and Valachia, vnto his obeiſance by the great Baſſa *Sinan*: had for the better effecting thereof, before prouided that the Crim Tartar (readie ſtill at his call) ſhould with his owne people (whereof he hath great ſtore) and certaine bands of the Turks, at the ſame time inuade Moldauia; and poſſeſſing himſelfe of this country, to place one *Sidriake* Vayuod, in ſtead of *Stephen* placed by the Prince, and to people the countrey C with his Tartars, in reward of his good ſeruice, as he ſaid; but indeed to haue them always neere at hand to do his commandements in Hungary, Polonia, Tranſiluania, or the other countries of the Chriſtians thereunto adioyning. The Tartar according to his appointment, came with 70000 Tartars, accompanied with their wiues and children, to haue planted themſelues in the countrey, at the very ſame time that *Sinan* came to Tergouiſta. But being come vpon the frontiers of Moldauia, to haue put in execution what he was by *Mahomet* commanded, he found there *Zamoſchie* the great Chancellour of Polonia readie with a ſtrong armie to oppoſe himſelfe againſt him, and to ſtay his farther paſſage. Whereupon ſome light skirmiſhes paſſed betweene the Tartars and the Polonians: where the Tartars were ſtill put to the worſe with the loſſe of three thouſand of their men. The Tartar *Cham* with *Sidriake* the Vayuod apD pointed by the Turke, finding themſelues, though in number moe, yet in ſtrength inferior vnto the Polonian, and that without his good leaue he could not paſſe; ſent vnto the Chancellor to excuſe that was alreadie paſt, as done without their conſent by the inſolencie of their ſoldiers; and to tell him, That their comming was not to fight with him, as hauing expreſſe commandement from the great Sultan *Mahomet*, in no caſe to diſturbe the league betwixt him and the Polonians, but quietly to paſſe by their frontiers into Moldauia, and there to place *Sidriake* Vayuod his tributary, in ſtead of *Stephen* that now vſurped the place by the appointment of the Tranſyluanian; which that they might do, they craued his leaue as friends to paſſe. Whereunto the Chancellor anſwered, That he was come thither by the commandement of the King, to defend thoſe countries from the inuaſion of ſuch as had in them no right: and that there had of long time bin an antient league betwixt the Polonian Kings and Turkiſh Emperours, vpon certaine conditions, which he would for his part keepe inuiolate, with the fauor of the Turkiſh Emperor, yet ſo, as that the kingdom of Polonia tooke no harme thereby, and that they might quietly liue by him as their good neighbor; which league he proteſted not to haue beene by him, but by them infringed: as for to giue them paſſage, he ſaid he could not. Meſſengers paſſing thus to and fro, and ſome parley had, at laſt certaine articles were agreed vpon, to the reaſonable contentment both of the Tartar and of the Chancellor (though not of *Sidriake*, diſappointed thereby of his Vayuodſhip) as alſo of the Turkiſh Sultan, whoſe pleaſure they both ſeemed to haue in ſpeciall regard. Hereupon the Tartar with his multitude preſenly returned, leauing the Chancellor to his owne deſignes. Now was it commonly thought, that the Chancellor had done the Tranſyluanian prince great ſeruice by keeping out of the Tartars, & much honor was by many that ſaw leaſt ſpoken of him therefore. But far was it from his thought to do the Tranſyluanian therin any ſuch good, at whoſe glory he enuied, and had with the cardinal and his brother, the Princes vnkles (but moſt deadly enemies) ſecretly conſpired, ſo much as in them was, his vtter ruine and ouerthrow: wiſhing thoſe Countries rather in the ſubie-

Mahomet calleth in the Tartars to inuade Moldauia.

ction of the Turke, than to ſee them ſo honorably at libertie, gouerned by the Prince: ſuch is G the force of malicious enuie, the inſeperable companion of worthie vertue. Which the Chancellor (otherwiſe a man of great fame and honor) began now openly to poure forth: for preſently after the departure of the Tartars, hee with all his power paſſing ouer the riuer Nijeſter or Tyros, into Moldauia, euen at ſuch time as the prince was going againſt *Sinan* at Tergouiſta, firſt ſeiſed vpon the caſtle of Chotijm, which he furniſhed with his owne ſouldiers: and from thence marching to Zorona, the metropolitical citie of that prouince, and ſeat of the Vayuod, had it yeelded vnto him; and ſo proceeding on, had in ſhort time almoſt the whole countrey deliuered vnto him; *Stephen* the Vayuod placed by the Prince, flying from place to place before him, from whom he leſt feared any ſuch thing, hauing made account of no other enemies but of the Turks and Tartars. *Stephen* the Vayuod thus driuen out, and the Chancellour poſſeſſed of the country, he preſently placed one *Hieremias* Vayuod in ſtead of *Stephen*, to hold that H honor of the Polonian king as his ſoueraigne. Yet neuertheleſſe to ſatisfie the Turke, hee ſent a meſſenger to *Sinan Baſſa*, then but newly come to Tergouiſta, requeſting him not to take it in euill part, that he had entered into Moldauia, and there placed a new Vayuod, but in the name of the great Sultan *Mahomet* to confirme this his doing, and the Vayuod by him placed; promiſing the country of Moldauia to remaine tributarie ſtill vnto the Sultan, and that this new Vayuod ſhould forthwith pay vnto him what tribute was behinde, and from thenceforth a far greater tribute yerely than had the country of Moldauia before. Whereunto the hautie Baſſa (then fearing nothing leſſe than that which immediatly after hapned, to be driuen out of thoſe countries by the Prince) proudly anſwered, That it was not the great Sultans minde, that the I Polonians ſhould at all inuade Moldauia, for that beſide he could without their helpe reduce thoſe countries to his obedience, he had giuen that countrey vnto the Tartar, in reward of his good ſeruice already done in Hungarie and other places; whoſe ſubiects the Tartars would ere long be readie with their wiues & children to take poſſeſſion of. Neuertheleſſe the Chancellor proceeded to defend the new Vayuod by him placed: which was no great matter for him to do, *Sinan* the Turks champion (as is before declared) being preſently after ouerthrown, and driuen quite out of thoſe countries by the Prince. Who if he had not then gained the victory, the Chancelor had not now holden Moldauia, but the Turke, whoſe quarrel he ſeemed rather to fauor than the princes. The Chancellor to colour this his inuaſion, pretended that the country of Moldauia did of antient right belong vnto the kingdome of Polonia: which the K Tranſyluanians tooke to be no other but meere and open wrong. This ſuppoſed title, ſuch as it was, the Chancellor had ſo faſhioned out vnto the king and the States of that kingdom, that they referred it to his diſcretion to inuade the country, and remouing the Vayuod placed by the Prince, to place another in his ſtead: & the rather to perſuade them, labored by many forced reaſons to ſhew the power of the Tranſiluanian prince to be ſo far inferior vnto the Turks, that it was to be feared he ſhould at length be thruſt out of all his dominions, and ſo they together with Moldauia become ſubiect to the Turks: which if it ſhould ſo come to paſſe, then ſhould the Polonians haue an vntruſty and troubleſome neighbour. And that therefore it were better that Moldauia were poſſeſſed by them that were better able to defend it than was hee, that ſo the Turke might be kept farther off from Polonia. Which occaſion he ſaid was not L longer to be delaid, but now betime to be laied hold vpon; perſuading himſelfe to find ſuch grace and fauor with the Turkiſh Emperour, as that he ſhould be therewith right well contented: which was like enough for a time to be, for that the Tranſiluanian ſhould thereby be much weakened. By theſe and ſuch like reaſons, framed to ſerue his owne turne, the Chancellour ſo preuailed with the King and the States of the kingdome, that he receiued (as I ſaid) full authoritie to proceed in the matter as he did, and as is before declared, to the great trouble of the Prince, and benefit of the Turk: the late choſen Vayuod not long after opening a way in three places for the Tartars into Tranſyluania, one by the country of Siculi, another by the way that leadeth to Alba-Iulia, and the third by Valachia.

The reaſons pretended by the Chancellor for the inuaſion of Moldauia.

The late choſen Vayuod opens three ways vnto the Turks & Tartars into Tranſyluania.

The Tranſyluanian Prince ſeeing the country of Moldauia by the practiſe of the Chancellor thus taken from him and diſſeuered from the other vnited prouinces, to the great weakning of his eſtate, after the flight of *Sinan*, ſent certain companies both of horſe and foot, to *Stephen* the late Vayuod, but now driuen out by the Polonians, to prooue if happily he could by that meanes driue out the Polonians againe, and recouer his former dignitie. With this ayd ſent

A from the Prince and others that fauored his quarrell, he ioyned a bloudie battel with the Po-
lonians: but being therein by them ouercome and taken, and for a ſpace kept (as the Prince fea-
red, to haue been deliuered vnto the Turke) he was by them (as is reported) cruelly afterwards
put to death.

This foule dealing of the Polonian in Moldauia much grieued many good Chriſtians, as
tending to the generall hurt of the Chriſtian commonweale. For which cauſe the Emperor by
his Embaſſadors ſent for that purpoſe vnto the Polonian king, ſought to perſuade him to de-
ſiſt from ſuch inuaſion of the Tranſyluanian Prince by his Chancellour, as nothing ſtanding
with his honour; and that ſome good reconciliation might be made betweene the Prince and
the Cardinall *Bator* & his brother, the Princes vncles, authors of all theſe troubles. To which
B purpoſe alſo the Pope ſent a meſſenger with like inſtructions and letters vnto the king, perſua-
ding him, not ſo to proſecute his wars againſt the Prince, but to turn his thoughts vnto a more
peaceable and Chriſtianlike courſe, eſpecially with him with whom he was ſo neere linked in
marriage. To the like effect he writ alſo vnto the Cardinall *Bator*, and after many graue admo-
nitions peremptorily cited him to Rome. But foraſmuch as the proceedings of the Polonian
againſt the Prince are more plainly to be gathered by the Popes letters vnto the King, it ſhall
not I hope be miſtaken, if I here ſet them downe thus as I finde them by others reported.

The Popes letters vnto the king of Polonia to diſſuade him from inuading the Prince.

Pope Clement *the eighth, to our beſt beloued ſonne in Chriſt,* Sigiſmund, *by the grace of God King
of Polonia, with the benediction Apoſtolicall ſendeth greeting. By how much greater affection of
C fatherly loue wee embrace your Maieſtie in the Lord, ſo much the more feruently wee wiſh all your
actions to bee adorned with the greateſt commendation of true godlineſſe and wiſedome, both before
God and men: Whereof it proceedeth, that wee are ſo much the more vehemently and grieuouſly mo-
ued, if we heare any ſuch thing of you, as may ſeeme not agreeable to your vertue and approoued zeale
toward the Catholicke Religion, or tending to the obſcuring of the glorie of your name, as is now
brought vnto vs concerning the affaires of Moldauia, whereof not without great griefe wee write
vnto you. And to rehearſe things a little before paſt: With what earneſtneſſe and feruencie dealt I
with you, that for Gods cauſe, and the defence of the health and libertie of the Chriſtian commonweale
againſt the tyrannie of the Turks, you would combine your ſelfe with our moſt dearely beloued ſonne*
Rodolph *the Emperour, and diuers other Chriſtian Princes? and that you ſhould not let ſlip ſo no-
D table an occaſion, ſo worthily to deſerue of God, of the Catholicke faith, and of the Chriſtian common-
weale in generall? And albeit wee then thought as well for many your owne priuat reſpects, as alſo
of your Kingdomes, That you were to be borne withall and excuſed if you did not now openly deſcend
into this confederation of the Chriſtian Princes againſt the moſt mortall and common enemie, neither
apertly ioyne your forces or giue aid for the repreſſing of his inſolencie; yet wee alwayes aſſured our
ſelues, that no let ſhould in any caſe proceed from you, whereby either the Emperour or the other Chriſtian
Princes ſhould be the rather hindered, iuſtly to proſecute their iniuries, or to caſt off from their necks the
heauie yoke of the moſt cruell tyrant: whoſe deſire of ſoueraigntie is not compriſed within the compaſſe
of any bounds. But that you ſhould in fauour of the Turkes impugne the Catholicke Princes and
defendours of the Chriſtian faith, and ſo ioyne hands with the enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt, as that
by your helpe their force and furie ſhould be encreaſed, and ours not onely weakened, but in the very
courſe of victorie hindered, and caſt into moſt grieuous perils; this we haue not only not thought of you,
but not ſo much as once ſuſpected: yea and can now ſcarce be perſuaded to beleeue thoſe things to bee
done by you, which are reported vnto vs as moſt true and vndoubted. For the report goeth, That you
hauing intelligence with the Turkes and Tartars, haue with them conſpired, and namely againſt our
welbeloued ſonne* Sigiſmund, *Prince of Tranſyluania, who with inuincible courage fighteth the
battels of the Lord: and leſt hee ſhould bee able to abate the force and attempts of the moſt proud E-
nemie (which by the ſingular mercie of God he hath hitherto aboue his owne power performed) but ra-
ther bee enforced much to feare his owne eſtate, a new Vayuod and Prince as it were by a triumuirate
authoritie and compact to bee placed in Moldauia, and him by the Turkes, you, and the Tartars
together, to be made Gouernour of that Countrey. Which vnto vs ſeemed ſo new and ſo ſtrange, and
contrary to the good opinion wee had alwayes conceiued of you, yea and ſo vnbeſeeming your zeale and
wiſedome, that for griefe and admiration I had almoſt cryed out with the Prophet,* You heauens be
amazed at this, and you gates thereof be you exceedingly heauie. *For what could be ſuſpected or
imagined farther from the expectation of vs and all good men, or more incredible, than that* Sigiſmund

the moſt religious King of Polonia and Sweden, who had alwayes profeſſed himſelfe a moſt earneſt defendor
of the Catholicke religion, who was readie euen with his owne bloud to redeeme the victorie of G
the Chriſtians, and glorie of the Croſſe, againſt the moſt wicked enemies of the ſame, to be vpon
the ſudden become ſo vnlike vnto himſelfe? And (ſo much as in him was) to cut off the hope,
and happie ſucceſſe of that religious warre; and to doe harme to a Chriſtian and Catholicke Prince, not to
refuſe to ioyne in league and friendſhip, euen with the moſt barbarous nations and the Tartars, the
perpetuall enemies of himſelfe, and of the Kingdome of Polonia. For which cauſes our minde is tormented
with ſuch bitterneſſe of griefe, that we could not but by ſpeedie meſſengers write vnto you concerning
this matter, that hereby you might the ſooner ſee the greatneſſe of our griefe: and wee alſo
without delay might ſignifie vnto you, what our fatherly loue towards you requeſteth in ſo important a
matter. For happily wee will ſend one euen of purpoſe to you concerning this cauſe, the care whereof
grieueth vs more than can well be expreſſed. Wherefore moſt dearely beloued ſonne, wee exhort you, H
and in the moſt effectuall manner wee can, aduiſe you and beſeech you in the Lord, more attentiuely to
conſider what great diſpleaſure both of God and man this your action and reſolution may incurre, what
a ſtaine it may bring vnto your crowne and dignitie. For beleeue vs, that are to you in ſtead of a father
in Chriſt, who loue you not feinedly, but faithfully, and indeed; who wiſh for your glorie in this world,
and your eternall felicitie in the world to come: beleeue vs (I ſay) this doth much blemiſh your fame
with all Chriſtian Kings and Princes, all men take it in euill part, and deteſt it as a thing monſtrous,
that it ſhould by your meanes bee wrought, that the Chriſtian affaires ſhould not proſper, that an heroicall
Prince, who had vowed himſelfe for Chriſt and his countrey, ſhould not haue proſperous ſucceſſe
in this ſo religious and neceſſarie a warre againſt the Infidels, Turkes, and Tartars, no leſſe yours, or I
peraduenture alſo more yours, and other Chriſtian Princes enemies, than his. But what doe we ſay? you
to hinder the procedings of the Tranſyluanian Prince? this were happily but a ſmall matter: nay verily,
by this meanes not onely a Chriſtian and Catholicke Prince, and valiant champion of the Chriſtian
faith (a vertue both admirable and amiable in the verie enemie) but your owne brother in law, bound
vnto you with ſo many bonds of affinitie, whoſe children ſhall be as it were your childrens brethren, is by
this meanes brought into great danger, and expoſed vnto the furie of the moſt mercileſſe Turkes. What
doe you then my moſt dearely beloued ſonne? Beware that all men, both now liuing, and hereafter to come,
condemne you not of the greateſt inhumanitie: But beware yet more, that you ſeeme not ingratefull not
onely to your owne nigh kinſman, but to God himſelfe, who hath bountifully bleſſed you with two great
Kingdomes, and ſo many good things: and that you prouoke not him to wrath againſt your ſelfe, K
that reiecteth and confoundeth all euill and wicked deuices: and that this miſchiefe that you haue
brought vpon your brother, by the iuſt iudgement of God redound not to the greateſt deſtruction of you
and your Kingdome, which he in mercie forbid. Doe you thinke, that the Tranſyluanian being ouercome,
you ſhall in ſafetie liue from the treacherie of the Turke? Doe you not know him to be a faithleſſe
man, which meaſureth all things by his owne profit, which keepeth faith with none, but as ſtandeth with
his owne commoditie, who with an vnſatiable deſire gapeth after euery Kingdome, nay thirſteth after the
deſtruction of all Chriſtendome? Thinke alſo my ſonne, what wrong you ſhall doe vnto the Emperour
your couſin, out of whoſe Imperiall bloud you haue begotten ſonnes and heires, and by the grace of God
ſhall moe; but alſo our dignitie, and the dignitie of this Apoſtolicall ſeat (which you haue alwayes ſo
deuoutly honoured) is thereby hurt, and your moſt deare mother (which wee know you of all other
leaſt would) the Romane Church is offended, which for the maintenance of this ſacred Warre is
at great and wonderfull charges: and our forces, which by you ought to haue beene relieued and encreaſed,
beeing in ſo vnfit a time by theſe ſtirres in Moldauia diſſeuered and diminiſhed, and the
enemies on the contrarie part encreaſed and ſtrengthened, into what danger and diſtreſſe may both our
armie of the Church and the Emperours fall? And withall, how greatly all the manner and managing
of this whole warre is thereby confounded, there is no man that ſeeth not. Yea and this moreouer,
which no little concerneth the dignitie of vs and this holy See, wee haue vndertaken and certainely
promiſed to our moſt dearely beloued ſonnes Rodolph and Sigiſmund, that your royall Maieſtie ſhould
not in any thing hinder or hurt their affaires: neither did wee hereof aſſure them vpon a light occaſion,
but mooued with great reaſon, not onely for that we deſeruedly ought ſo to promiſe of you in ſo iuſt
a cauſe, but alſo for that it was ſo vnto vs plainely and expreſly written by the reuerend Father, the
Biſhop of S. Seuerus, our Apoſtolicall Nuntio with you, whom wee know to bee both vnto vs faithfull,
and to you dutifull: neither can we by any meanes doubt thereof, becauſe he hath writ vnto vs concerning
ſo weightie a matter, that he receiued it euen from your owne mouth. Which things ſo ſtanding

ſeeing

A *ſeeing you of your ſelfe ſee the manifold abſurdities of this fact on euery ſide, not to ſpeake of the heynouſneſſe thereof: we requeſt you againe, yea and oftentimes, forthwith to applie the neceſſarie remedies to theſe hurts. The Tranſyluanian Prince your brother in law, deuoted to your ſelfe, and deſirous of your fauor, either protect with your defence, or at leaſtwiſe hurt him not: yea hurt not the whole State of the Chriſtian common-weale, and relieue not by any meanes the quarrell of the enemies of Chriſt. If you haue any controuerſie with the Prince* Sigiſmund, *or deſire of him any thing, referre it vnto vs, that is to ſay, vnto your moſt louing father: you know your affaires to be of vs fauoured, and wee hope by the power of God that it may eaſily come to paſſe that ſome conuenient meanes may be found whereby peace and quietneſſe may be confirmed betwixt you, and good vnity grow betwixt you two brethren our ſonnes, and ſo all the root of bitterneſſe and diſpleaſure to be vtterly pluckt out of your minds. This haue* B *I writ vnto you my ſonne, frankly and from a ſincere heart, though truly much grieued, becauſe we loue you, and are much carefull of your honor and good. Shew you againe in deed that you take it ſo, as written from your father, and that you altogether preferre our fatherly and wholeſome exhortations before the ſiniſter perſwaſions of others. Farther concerning theſe matters, you ſhall vnderſtand by the ſame Biſhop our Nuntio now with you, to whom you may (as you haue done) giue credit in all things, as to our ſelfe.*

Theſe letters dated from Rome the eighth day of Nouember, were deliuered to the king in December, with others to the Cardinall and Chancellor, whom the Pope ſharply reproued as the authors and contriuers of all theſe miſchiefes.

C The Tartar Cham before ſtirred vp by the Turkiſh Emperour *Mahomet,* for the inuaſion of Moldauia (as is already before declared) about this time ſent his Embaſſador alſo vnto the Polonian king, for the confirmation of ſuch articles as he had before agreed vpon with the Chancellor: which becauſe they manifeſtly declare the ground and purpoſe of his entended expedition into Moldauia, with the foule colluſion of the Chancellor with the Turks and Tartars againſt the Tranſyluanian Prince, I thought it not amiſſe, or from our purpoſe (for the more manifeſtation of that which is already ſaid) here to ſet them downe, as they are tranſlated out of the Tartar language.

The copy of the Letters of the Tartar vnto the king of Polonia.

Cham Kazikiery *vnto the King of Polonia and Sweden our brother, one of the great Lords among* D *the Chriſtians, humbly boweth his head. Firſt wee ſignifie vnto you, that* Aaron *Palantine of Moldauia was a forſworne traitour; who hauing gathered a power of the Valachians, and ioyning vnto him the Polonian Coſſackes ſpoiled the territories of the great Sultan. But afterward diſſention ariſing among them, the Hungarian Coſſackes liuing in Valachia, ſent* Aaron *in bonds vnto the King of Vienna: after him followed another traitour called* Rozwan, *who alſo hauing raiſed certaine companies of ſouldiers, began in like manner to forrage the countries of the Turkiſh Emperour thereabout: which as ſoone as he had knowledge of, he writ vnto mee his brother, That I ſhould with all poſſible ſpeed goe into Valachia to chaſtiſe theſe rebells, to burne their houſes and townes; and hauing with the edge of the ſword ſlaine their men, to carrie away with me their wiues and children into captiuitie. Hauing this in charge, I the great Cham of the great territorie of the great Lord* Karykterey, *with my brother* E Lenkerry Galga, *and other my brethren and Counſellors, warlike and valiant Captaines and Murzaes, mounting my horſe, came with mine armie into Valachia vnto the riuer Prut where it meeteth in another riuer called Cozoza: here we chanced vpon a faithfull ſeruitor of yours, our brother the Chancellor, who was alſo come a little before vs into Valachia; with whom after ſome light contention when we began to be more tractable, he declared vnto vs, that he was of purpoſe come into Valachia to place there a new Vaynod, which (as he ſaid) of ancient right belonged vnto the Polonians; without any wrong or preiudice therein to be done to the couenants and league they had with the Emperor of the Turks; and farther that his deſire was, that one* Ieremias *whom he had appointed Vaynod, might haue the command of that Prouince; and that the antient amitie, ſuch as was in the time of Sultan* Solyman *and Cham* Dawlethgerd, *might be faithfully kept. Which when I had for my part faithfully ſworne to doe, and he likewiſe had cauſed the ſame to be done by ſuch of his as he had therefore ſent vnto me, we decreed together, that the Coſſackes on the farther ſide of Nyeſter (diſorderad and rebellious men) ſhould be vtterly rooted out, that they ſhould not hereafter doe any harme in the territories of the great Sultan and that the Preſents vſually ſent vnto vs of long, euen ſince the time of Sultan* Solyman, *ſhould no more be detained, nor any harmes be hereafter done in any part of our dominions. And therefore when the Chancellour* *coller had promiſed vnto vs, that he would take order that theſe Coſſackes ſhould be vtterly deſtroyed, I alſo conſented, that according to the pleaſure of the royall maieſtie of you my brother,* Hieremias *ſhould hold the Vayuodſhip of Valachia: which I forthwith by letters ſignified vnto the Turkiſh Emperour. Now if it be ſo, that your Maieſtie ſhall giue your conſent vnto thoſe things which we haue here agreed vpon with your Chancellour, you ſhall then for euer finde brotherly friendſhip with me, my brother and all other our captains and Murzis: but if you ſhall not deſtroy theſe Coſſackes, you ſhall not then performe the oath and couenants made. Theſe things we haue commanded to be declared vnto you by our Embaſſador our brother* Gianach Metagra, *whom we requeſt your Maieſtie courteouſly to entertaine, and by him to ſend the Preſents vnto vs: for wee will not now this yeare ſend any other. Giuen at the riuer Prut in the yeare of* Mahomet 1004.

The Preſents offered by the Tartar embaſſador to the king of Polonia

After the Tartar Embaſſador had deliuered thoſe letters vnto the king, with a ſpeech in effect to the ſame purpoſe, he in the name of the Cham gaue vnto him an horſe and an arrow for a Preſent: & afterward being brought to a lodging appointed for him, was commanded there to expect his anſwer. At length his diſpatch was giuen him in letters ſealed vp, which he tooke much againſt his will, requeſting the king to ſend an Embaſſador vnto the Cham: and farther by word of mouth, to tell him what to anſwer vnto his Lord. But other anſwer could hee get none, than was alreadie deliuered him in writing: and ſo rewarded with a gowne furred with Sables, was diſmiſſed without the Preſent requeſted by the Cham, or any Embaſſador to accompanie him.

Thus the Tranſyluanian Prince, on the one ſide mightily impugned by the Turke, and on the other by the ſetting on of the Turke readie to haue been no leſſe endangered by the inuaſion of the Tartar, receiued greater harme from the Polonians beeing Chriſtians, than from both thoſe great Mahometane Princes: the Polonian in ſome ſort performing for the Turke, what hee had plotted to haue beene done by the Tartar: and ſo by the taking away of Moldauia from the Prince, not onely weakened his ſtrength, but alſo opened a way for the barbarous enemies into his Countrie. Howbeit much it is that the Polonians alledge for the excuſe of themſelues, and the defence of that which was by the great Chancellor then done in Moldauia: which for that it cannot be better told than by the great Chancellour himſelfe, let vs heare how he by his letters anſwereth the matter, euen vnto *Clement* the Pope himſelfe.

Iohn Zamoſchie vnto *Clement* the eighth the great Biſhop.

Zamoſchie the great Chancellor his Letters vnto Clement the Pope.

Moſt holy and bleſſed father in Chriſt, and moſt gracious Lord, after the kiſſing of your moſt bleſſed feet, and my moſt humble commendations; I haue by your Holineſſe Letters directed both vnto the Kings Maieſtie and my ſelfe, vnderſtood as well his royall Maieſtie and my moſt gracious Lord and Maſter, as alſo my ſelfe as his ſeruant to be both accuſed vnto your Holineſſe: as if by thoſe things by vs done in Moldauia, the endeauours of the Chriſtians had beene hindered, and the power of the enemie confirmed. Whereof I am not with many words to purge my ſelfe vnto your Holineſſe, foraſmuch as I aſſure my ſelfe your holineſſe to haue alreadie fully vnderſtood both what the things were that were done in Moldauia, and how they were done: partly by the Kings Maieſties Letters, and partly by his principall Secretarie, for that cauſe eſpecially ſent vnto your Holineſſe. Yet doubt I not to requeſt this one thing of your Holineſſe, that if it hath knowne me for a man, I will not ſay of any capacitie or wit, but euen of the leaſt experience in the world, or of any religion at all; ſo to perſuade it ſelfe of mee, nothing to haue beene done, eſpecially in this matter, either raſhly, or to the hinderance of the Chriſtian common-weale. I will not now repeate what mine opinion was concerning the league and confederation to bee made with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, for the combining of their forces againſt the common enemie, eſpecially his ſacred Maieſties: as alſo what mine owne labour and endeauour was in the laſt aſſembly of the States in the high Court of Parliament. Which thing after it was euen by them whome it moſt concerned, either delayed or neglected, or vtterly caſt aſide, and yet his Maieſtie had ſtill a great deſire to doe the Chriſtian common-weale ſome great good, I alſo to the vttermoſt of my power laboured to that end; that by the common decree of the Kingdome, an expedition might be made into Tartaria, not ſo much in reuenge of the iniuries done by that enemie in theſe late yeares paſt, as ſo in the meane time to turne him from the neckes of the Chriſtians, as that he ſhould not ioyne his forces with the Turkes: or if it ſo pleaſed God to bleſſe thoſe our endeauours, vtterly at length to root out that ſo great a miſchiefe. But how it came to paſſe that this expedition, ſo much by the King deſired (yet ſcarcely begun or taken in hand) tooke not effect; it is not needfull for me to declare, for that I ſuppoſe your Holineſſe hath by others, eſpecially your Nuntio, vnderſtood the ſame. In the meane time, by others and often meſſengers newes was brought, That Sinan Baſſa with a great armie was alreadie come ouer Danubius; and I by letters from the Vayuod of the farther Valachia was aduertiſed, how that he, not able to encounter him, had forſaken that Prouince: which at the firſt impreſſion taken and almoſt vtterly waſted by Sinan, he was now come faſt vpon Tranſyluania, and in Moldauia the Tartar was ſtill expected, inſomuch that Roſwan (who hauing taken priſoner Aaron the Palatine whom hee ſerued, in his houſe, and ſo himſelfe inuaded the Palatine) began now alſo to quake for feare, and to craue helpe of mee, or rather to ſeeke how hee might flie away (as not long after he did) neither hauing any great ſtrength about him, or expecting any greater from the people of that countrey: for why, that Prouince was brought ſo low by the miſeries of the former yeares, but eſpecially by ſuch as had euill gouerned the ſame, that at ſuch time as I entered into Moldauia, I aſſure your Holineſſe there were not in it of houſhoulders aboue 15000, and thoſe alſo for the moſt part poore countrey people of the baſeſt ſort, in whom there could neither be any great helpe, neither if they had been able to haue done any thing, durſt Roſwan haue truſted himſelfe with them, vpon whom he had with all kind of crueltie tyranized. Chotym a caſtle in the very confines of this kingdome, was kept with no greater garriſon than 200 Hungarians, who perceiuing themſelues neither of ſufficient ſtrength to hold the place, nor to withſtand the enemie, they alſo by and by followed after Roſwan. All the reſt of the Prouince was not onely vnarmed, but altogether poore and naked, without any certaine gouernment, without counſell, without ſtrength, and without any defence at all, two caſtles onely excepted: which ſtanding vpon the confines of Polonia, might haue ſerued better for the enemie, out of them to haue infeſted vs, than for the defence of Moldauia againſt them: ſo that had the enemie once ſet foot into that Prouince, neither could it without a great power haue beene recouered, neither being recouered, could eaſily haue beene defended againſt ſo puiſſant an enemie: and that which worſe was, was not it ſelfe alone to haue bin conſumed with that fire, but like enough to haue carried away with it Podolia alſo, bordering vpon it, with a great part of Ruſcia. Wherefore in this ſtate of things, when as both that Prouince was in greateſt danger to haue beene loſt, and ſo many enemies houered not more ouer the heads of al Chriſtendome, than ouer this Kingdome, what was of vs to be done? I know to whom I ſpeake theſe things, euen vnto him, not onely whoſe diuine wiſedome, but ſingular loue alſo towards my natiue countrey is to mee moſt knowne. Verily I entered into Moldauia with no great armie, yet ſuch an one as haply (as in like caſe it often chanceth) Fame had made amongſt the enemies a very great one: ſo that Sinan fearing if he ſhould thruſt himſelfe with his army into the ſtraits whereby hee was to breake into Tranſyluania, to bee ſhut in by our armie, ſtayed his iourney: and the Tartar the more earneſtly he was called vpon by Sinan (by reaſon of the fame of this our armie) reſolued to make himſelfe ſo much the ſtronger. So that whileſt hee aſſembleth the Nogaian Tartars and others farther off, and ſo from all parts raiſeth the greateſt power he could, the matter was delaied almoſt vnto the end of Nouember: at which time he with a moſt huge armie, accompanied with Sendziak Iehiuenſe, and a great power of the Turkes raiſed out of their Prouinces there by, came directly vpon mee in the fields of Coroce. Sendziak the Tartar Cham his ſiſters ſonne, now called himſelfe the Baſſa of Moldauia, as did the Tartars eldeſt ſonne name himſelfe Prince of another part of that Prouince alſo: for ſo that countrey was to haue bin diuided betwixt them, that that part which was next vnto the Tartars dominions, ſhould bee allotted vnto the Tartar, and the other part confining vpon this Kingdome, to be gouerned by Sendziak, as Baſſa thereof, and ſo to make it the ſeat of a perpetuall warre, from whence Podolia, Ruſcia, and the leſſer Polonia might bee with continuall incurſions waſted euen before our faces: concerning which matter they now diſperſed their Letters, wherein they publiſhed the power and authoritie giuen them from the grand Seignior, exhorting the people of that countrey to receiue the ſame. A whole day wee fought with this multitude, our men alwaies by the goodneſſe of God hauing not onely the vpper hand, but without any notable loſſe alſo, yet not without great ſlaughter of theirs: and would to God I had had ſuch ſtrength, as that not onely the conditions of peace, but euen the enemies themſelues might haue beene in my power. But when wee were oftentimes come to parle (they ſtill requiring the ſame) and ſo at length vnto conditions of peace; if ſuch were giuen them, as whereby this onely Kingdome had without the wrong of any other beene deliuered from ſo great and ſudden a danger, what reaſonable man could finde fault

*therewith, if wee ſhould haue preferred the health and welfare of our countrey (whereunto all good men
owe all they haue) before other mens profits? But now theſe things were ſo done, as that it was no leſſe G
prouided for the good of the neighbour Chriſtians, yea and happily not the leaſt for theirs, who for the
ſame ſlander this Kingdome vnto your Holineſſe: the furie of* Sinan Baſſa *was by this meanes re-preſſed,
who whileſt he feared to be ſhut vp in the ſtraits by our armie now come into Moldauia, and
expected the Tartars comming, ſpent almoſt all the reſt of the Summer idely and without any thing doing.
The Tartar himſelfe was not onely turned from the bowels of Chriſtendome, whereinto hee had
purpoſed (as the yeare before) to haue entered, wee hauing with our owne breaſts receiued his force and
furie: but beeing brought vnto conditions, was expreſſely enioyned in a moſt ſhort prefined time, and
without any more harme doing to returne againe into his countrey by the ſelfeſame way hee came,
and by no other: whereby it is come to paſſe, that vntill this day Chriſtendome hath not this yeare H
yet felt the Tartars weapons. But vnto Tranſyluania and Hungarie, what a ſpace and power was giuen
for them to gather their ſtrength and forces together, and out of the ſame places to oppoſe them
againſt the enemie, when as our armie kept them ſafe at their backes, and eaſed not onely Moldauia,
but Valachia and Tranſyluania alſo of that care? Whereas if this cauſe of delay had not beene
obiected vnto the Turkes firſt, and after vnto the Tartars; not to ſay any thing of the Turkes; the
Tartars at the verie ſelfeſame time that the Tranſyluanian armie was gone into Valachia againſt*
Sinan, *might haue broken into Tranſyluania before it could haue returned home, or elſe marching
directly towards that armie, might haue met with it out of Tranſyluania. As for Moldauia, which
together with the memorie of the Chriſtian name, yet left in it, had vtterly periſhed, it was moſt manifeſtly
preſerued by the comming of our armie. Which what end it would haue had, if the enemie I
might at his pleaſure haue raged as hee did in the farther Valachia, thoſe moſt bitter remembrances
in it yet at this day ſmoking, doe well declare: out of which it is well knowne moe thouſands
of Chriſtian captiues to haue beene carried away into moſt woefull captiuitie, than almoſt out of any
other Prouince in all the time of theſe miſerable warres. Which although it bee thus, yet boaſt wee not
thereof, neither ſend wee any triumphant Letters vnto your Holineſſe, nor brag wee of our good ſeruice
done for the Chriſtian commonweale; contenting our ſelues with the conſcience of the thing it ſelfe.
In the meane time wee are accuſed vnto your Holineſſe: but for what cauſe? If any man complaine
for the taking of Moldauia, I will not ſay it was by them before willingly forſaken, whileſt I was
yet in the frontiers thereof; but that this Kingdome hath a moſt antient right vnto it, and ſuch a right
as that when our Kings beeing buſied in their warres againſt the Muſcouite, the* Cruciat Teutonic K
*brethren, or others; ſome others alſo troubling the ſtate thereof, it for a time became a prey vnto the
Turkiſh Tyrants, yet in all the Leagues made or renewed betwixt this Kingdome and them, was ſtill
excepted, That all ſuch things as the Palatine of Moldauia was of dutie to performe vnto the King,
ſhould by him ſtill bee performed. Which Kings of Polonia, and namely* Auguſtus *himſelfe, the
laſt of the* Iagellonian *race, appointed diuers of thoſe Palatines themſelues. Which although they be
things moſt manifeſt, yet hauing more regard vnto the welfare of that Prouince, as a Chriſtian
countrey, than of our right, wee reſtored the ſame into the ſame ſtate wherein it hath beene for many
yeares before theſe * warres. Wherefore if any man thinke any thing done, whereby the enemies of the
croſſe of Chriſt might bee eaſed or ſtrengthened, or the defendours of the Faith hindered, it is ſo farre
from any ſuch thing to bee done, that rather (as is before declared) the enemies force is repreſſed and L
auerted, and greater meanes giuen vnto the Chriſtians afront to impugne them, the enemie being at
their backes by vs ſhut from them. But I feare that they haue not fully enformed your Holineſſe, how
theſe things were done, who haue reported vnto your ſaid Holineſſe not onely the name of the Turkes
to haue beene proclaimed together with the Polonians in Moldauia, but alſo the name of the Tartars
the proper enemies of the Polonians, and by the power and Decrees of them three, as it were confederat
together, things to haue beene ordered in Moldauia. Which their complaint if it tend to that
end, as if a confederation were made with them, I frankely confeſſe certaine conditions to haue beene
giuen them, but ſuch as whereby is prouided not onely for the quiet and ſecuritie of this kingdome, but
no leſſe alſo for the whole Chriſtian commonweale, as is before declared. All which things for al that,
although they were done for the good of this Kingdome, and all Chriſtendome in generall, yet were they
ſo done, that they were all by mee referred vnto the Kings Maieſtie and the States of the Kingdome:
ſo that at this preſent the kingdome is at free liberty either to ioyne in confederation with the reſt of the
Chriſtian Princes; or if that cannot vpon certaine and indifferent conditions be agreed vpon, yet with
no mans iniurie or hurt to ratifie this, ioyned with the health and good of a great part of the Chriſtian
commonweale:*

*Viz. to become tributary vnto the Turks

A *commonweale: only God grant that the Chriſtian Princes may ſeriouſly think both of this ſo Chriſtian a confederation againſt the common enemie, and ſtriue alſo all together againſt the enemie with their weapons, and not with miſreports and ſlanders one againſt another. They are not to aſſaile the enemies feet, but his throat: neither is the ſeat of the war to be placed in the borders of Polonia, where it concerneth themſelues much to haue all things rather peaceable behinde them: but let the war be vndertaken with no leſſe charge and preparation, than if the enemies royal ſeat were to be aſſailed; which ſtanding in an open and plaine Countrey, ſhall alwaies without much ado be his that being ſtrongeſt can take it. This haue I written at large, as my purpoſe was, all which I moſt humbly beſeech your Holineſſe with your diuine wiſedome to conſider of, and with your woonted clemencie to accept the ſame. And ſo proſtrate at your Holineſſe feet, I moſt humbly commend me to your clemencie. From* Zamoſchie *the tenth of Iannarie, 1596.*

B Thus much the great Chancellor in defence of himſelfe and of that he had done in Moldauia: which howſoeuer it contented the Pope, well I wot it nothing pleaſed the Emperor, and much leſſe the Tranſyluanian Prince, now not a little weakened by the taking away of the countrey of Moldauia from him.

To end this troubleſome yeare withall, many ſharpe and bloudie skirmiſhes yet daily paſſed in diuers places of thoſe frontier countries, the Turks almoſt in euery place ſtill going to the worſe. In the beginning of Nouember, ***Leucowitz*** gouernour of Carolſtat the ſecond time ſurpriſed Wihitz in the frontiers of Croatia, where theſe wars firſt begun: but being not able to take the caſtle, contented himſelfe as before with the ſpoile of the city, and afterward ſetting

C it on fire, departed. *Maximilian* alſo attempted Zolnoc: and the Chriſtians in gariſon at Strigonium and Plindenburg, now become neere neighbors vnto the Turks at Buda, did with continual inrodes not a little moleſt them both all the latter end of this yeare, and the beginning of the next. And the Turkes in Braila in Valachia vpon the ſide of Danubius, fearing after the flight of *Sinan* to be beſieged by the Vayuod, forſooke the citie, and in ſuch haſt paſſed the riuer, that in that tumultuous paſſage three hundred of them periſhed. *Sinan Baſſa* by the Tranſyluanian Prince of late driuen out of Valachia, was not long after ſent for to Conſtantinople: but the craftie old fox not ignorant of the fierce nature of the great Sultan, and warned by the late miſery of *Ferat*, found occaſions to delay the time ſo long, vntil that he was ſent for again, and after that, the third time alſo. In the mean while he had ſo wrought by his mighty friends

Sinan Baſſa ſent for to Conſtantinople.

D in court, & by rich rewards, mightier than they, that at his comming to the court he was there honorably receiued, as the chiefeſt of the Baſſa's, and being afterwards offered to be diſcharged of the wars, as a man of aboue fourescore yeares old; he refuſed ſo to be; ſaying, That hee was borne and brought vp amongſt ſoldiers and martial men, and ſo wiſhed among them to dy: as not long after he did; dying as was thought of conceit of the euil ſucceſſe he had in his wars againſt the Tranſyluanian.

His death.

Mahomet the Turkiſh Emperor exceedingly grieued with the loſſe of ſo many his cities and ſtrong places this yere loſt, as namely Strigonium, Vicegrade, Siſeg, Petrinia, Lippa, Ienna, Tergouiſta, Bucharesta, Zorza, and many others of leſſe name: and both by letters and meſſengers

E vnderſtanding daily of the ſlaughter of his people, and waſting of his frontiers, commanded great preparation to be made againſt the next Spring; giuing it out, that he would then in perſon himſelfe come downe into Hungarie with ſuch a power as neuer had any his predeceſſors the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors, and there take moſt ſharp reuenge of all his former wrongs. Neuertheleſſe theſe his ſo haſtie deſignes were by the plague and famine (which then both raged extremely in moſt part of his Empire) and by other great occurrents of the ſame time, ſo croſſed, that by that time the Spring came, he ſcarcely wel knew which way to turne himſelfe firſt. For beſide theſe troubles of the Weſt, of themſelues ynough to haue filled his hands, the Georgians in the Eaſt, a warlike people, moued with the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians in Valachia and Hungary, had taken vp armes againſt him; and the old Perſian King but a little before dead, had left that great kingdome to his ſonne, a man of greater ſpirit than was like to endure the manifold iniuries before done vnto his father by the Turks, to the great diſhonour of that kingdome, and preiudice of himſelfe. Of which things the Baſſa of Tauris gaue him ample intelligence, wiſhing him betimes to prouide for ſuch ſtormes: which ioyned to the reſt, filled his head with many troubled thoughts, whereunto we leaue him vntil the next Spring.

Mahomet perplexed.

The Tranſyluanian Prince carefull of his eſtate, and not a little troubled with the diſſeuering of Moldauia, thought it not vnfit for his affaires, now after the flight of *Sinan* and diſcomfiture of the Turks, to go in perſon himſelfe vnto the Emperor, to declare vnto him the wrong done him by the Polonian; and further to confer with him concerning the mannaging of the wars againſt the common Enemie. So hauing put all things in readineſſe for his journey, hee
1596 ſet forward in Ianuarie 1596, and by the way of Caſſouia the fourth of Februarie arriued at Prague in Bohemia, where he was by the Emperors appointment moſt honourably entertained. But immediatly after his comming thither he fell ſicke of an Ague, which grieuouſly vexed him by the ſpace of three weekes. In the latter end of Februarie hauing ſomewhat recouered his health, he went to the Church: where after his deuotions done, he was by the Deane of the Cathedral Church welcommed with a moſt eloquent Oration, ſetting forth his worthie praiſes, and further animating him vnto the like exploits againſt the common Enemy of all Chriſtianitie. Whereunto he forthwith anſwered in Latine ſo eloquently and ſo readily, that all men maruelled that heard him: proteſting in his ſpeech, That as he and his ſubjects had not hitherto ſpared their liues or goods in defence of the common cauſe, ſo would they not afterwards ſpare the ſame, but aduenture all for the benefit of the Chriſtian Commonweale: well hoping, that the Emperor and the other Chriſtian Princes would not as occaſion ſhould require be wanting vnto him with their forces, or the Clergie with their prayers: which done, he doubted not (as he ſaid) by the power of God, but to obtaine more notable victories than he had yet againſt the Turks the enemies of God.

The Siculi rebel againſt the Prince.

Whileſt he yet thus lay at the Emperors Court, it fortuned that the people called Siculi, offended to haue their liberties in ſome part infringed in the late aſſembly of the States holden in Tranſyluania in December laſt, riſe vp now in armes in diuers places, refuſing to yeeld their former obedience to the Prince. A matter like enough to haue wrought him much trouble, and ſuppoſed not to haue bin done without the priuitie of the Cardinal his vncle: but by the wiſedome and courage of ſuch as he had in his abſence put in truſt with the gouernment of his Country, diuers of the ringleaders of this rebellion were apprehended, and in diuers ſorts executed: and three hundred of their complices to the terror of their fellows had their noſes and eares cut off. By which wholſome ſeueritie all thoſe troubles were appeaſed, and the country againe quieted.

At the ſame time alſo the Tranſyluanians obtained of the Turks a notable victorie, with an exceeding rich booty. *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Sultan had about this time ſent a new Baſſa for the gouernment of Temeſwar: againſt whoſe comming the old Baſſa before Gouernor had in ſeuentie fiue waggons truſſed vp a wonderfull deale of wealth, which he had there gotten in the time of his former gouernment, to haue beene together with himſelfe with a ſtrong conuoy conducted to Belgrade. Of this his purpoſe the Hungarian Heidons lying at Lippa and Ienna hauing intelligence, lay in wait for him vpon the way, and in his paſſing by ſet vpon him: where in a ſharpe conflict they ouerthrew the conuoy, and ſlew the Baſſa, whoſe head they ſent for a preſent to the Princeſſe at Alba Iulia, and tooke the ſpoile of the Baſſa's carriages, wherein was taken a wonderfull wealth, for in one of thoſe waggons is reported to haue been found twentie thouſand of Hungarian duckets.

The Baſſa of Temeſwar ſlain and a great bootie taken.

In this abſence alſo of the Prince, 10000 of the Raſcians reuolting from the Turk, came and offered their ſeruice vnto the Princeſſe: whereof ſhe by letters with great ſpeed certified the Prince her husband; who thereupon haſted to diſpatch with the Emperor, and hauing procured both from him and the Pope the promiſe of ſome aid to be afterwards ſent him, tooke of him his leaue, and being honorably accompanied, departed from Prague to Vienna, where he arriued the 11 of March, ſitting in a princely chariot drawne with ſix moſt beautifull horſes, the gift of the Emperor. At his comming thither he was met by the nobilitie of the country, and by *Aldobrandinus* the Popes nephew, who preſented him with three goodly horſes for ſeruice, richly furniſhed. Him the prince tooke into his charet, and ſo accompanied entred the city, where he was with all due honor receiued and joyfully entertained, and ſo brought vnto the Emperors palace, where by the learned ſtudents of that Vniuerſitie, was for his pleaſure acted before him the notable hiſtorie of *Ioſua*. Hauing ſtaied there three dayes, and purpoſing to haue in his returne viſited his mother in law at Greics in Croatia; newes was brought him, That the Turkes and Tartars by the ſetting on of *Stephen Bathor* his Vncle, were about

to

A to breake into Tranſyluania. Wherefore changing his purpoſe, he departed thence to Preſburg, and ſo with all ſpeed kept on his way towards Tranſyluania; where he to the great joy and comfort of his ſubiects in general, arriued in ſafetie in the beginning of April.

In this while many hot skirmiſhes paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks in the frontiers of their territories; and now the plague and famine which had of long raged in Conſtantinople and other places of the Turks dominions, began to aſſuage. Of which ſo great calamities as had deuoured many thouſands of his people, the Turkiſh Emperour finding himſelfe ſomewhat eaſed, forthwith cauſed the continuation of his wars againſt the Emperour and the Tranſyluanian Prince, to be three dayes together proclaimed in Conſtantinople, and a great armie to be raiſed to be ſent into Tranſyluania and Hungarie: giuing it out, that he would with B that ſo puiſſant an armie in perſon himſelfe come into Hungarie. At which time it was alſo reported, That he had alreadie ſent his tents and other his neceſſary prouiſion before to Hadrianople: for now was nothing more odious in the Turks Court, than the name of the Tranſyluanian Prince.

Warres proclaimed in Conſtantinople againſt the emperor & the Tranſyluanian Prince.

Of all theſe things was not the Emperor ignorant, as fully thereof certified both by letters and eſpials, as alſo by the vniforme confeſſion of ſuch Turks as were daily taken priſoners. For which cauſe he alſo with as much ſpeed and care as he could prouided for the raiſing of his armie, as he had the yere before; as alſo for the leuying of mony, and prouiſion of all things neceſſary, that the enemy at his comming might not find him vnprouided. Neither ſpared he to pray aid of the other Chriſtian Princes his neighbors, eſpecially of the Polonian, whome hee C had diuers times ſought after to haue drawn him into the confederation with the other Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turke. To which purpoſe he now alſo ſent vnto him the Biſhop of Preſlaw and the Lord *Poppelius* his Embaſſadors: as did the Pope alſo ſend vnto him the Cardinal *Cajetane* his Legat; and the Princes Electors alſo their Embaſſadors: vnto whome the Polonian gaue good hearing and good words, but would not by any meanes be perſuaded to breake his league with the Turke, or to afford any aid vnto the Chriſtians; although the cardinall with many pregnant reaſons ſhewed him what ſmall aſſurance there was in the Turkes leagues, and how dangerous it might be to his ſtate, if the Turke making peace with the Emperor, ſhould turne his force vpon him, which it was like enough he would, as knowing no man longer for friend, than ſtood with his profit, beſide the immortal blemiſh of his honor, by D diſſeuering himſelfe from the vnion of the Chriſtian Princes, to hold friendſhip with the Turks and Infidels. But all this and much more to no purpoſe, ſo reſolutely was the Polonian ſet downe for the keeping of the Turks fauour. So that of all the Chriſtian Princes ſo neere vnto the deuouring Enemy, none ſtood the Chriſtian commonweale in leſſe ſtead than he. Which for all that, moſt men imputed not ſo much vnto the King, as to others about him, eſpecially to *Zamoſchie* the great Chancellor, by whome that ſtate was moſt ſwayed, who was not onely ſuppoſed but openly reported to haue ſecret intelligence both with the Turke and the Tartar.

All this while the lord *Palſi* gouernor of Strigonium ceaſed not with continual inroades to vex the Turks euen to the gates of Buda, as did alſo the other Chriſtian captaines in other places of the Turks frontiers in Hungarie. Neere vnto Buda were two great country villages for E moſt part inhabited by Chriſtians, who hauing giuen their oath of obedience vnto the Turke, liued a miſerable life for the paiment of an exceſſiue tribute yearely. Theſe poore Chriſtians wearie of the Turkiſh thraldome, and the continual ſpoile of their labours by them of Strigonium; by ſecret meſſengers requeſted the lord *Palſi*, of mercie to carrie them with their goods and cattel away into ſome other place of the Chriſtian territorie, that ſo they might yet liue amongſt Chriſtians, as he had but a little before done for them of old Buda. Vnto which their ſo reaſonable a requeſt the Chriſtian gouernour charitably hearkened; willing them againſt a certaine appointed time to put themſelues with all their things in readineſſe. There was of theſe Chriſtians about 755 families, who with their wiues and children, and ſuch traſh as they had packt vp into 80 waggons, drawne with fourteene or ſixteene oxen a piece, at the appointed time about midnight committed themſelues with all that they had vnto the conduct of them of Strigonium, ſent out of purpoſe for them; by whom they were in ſafetie brought to Strigonium. Amongſt them were many rich men, who brought with them good ſtore of coyne, with an exceeding great number of cattell. Vnto theſe new come gueſts *Palſi* aſſigned certaine fields betwixt Strigonium and Viuaria, on the North ſide of Danubius; where they ſo commodiouſly liued, as was poſſible in ſo troubled an eſtate of a countrey.

Six hundred of the gariſon ſouldiours of Lippa ſlaine by the Turks.

Lippa beſieged by the Turks and Tartars.

Shortly after, 600 gariſon ſoldiers of Lippa ſeeking after bootie, and aduenturing too far into the enemies territorie, were diſcouered by the Turks ſcouts, and ſo beſet by the Turks and Tartars billited in the country about Temeſwar, that there was no way left for them to eſcape. Which they wel perceiuing, reſolued among themſelues (as became valiant men) to fight it out euen vnto the laſt man: and with no leſſe reſolution performed what they had before determined; for being on euery ſide beſet and hardly charged by their enemies, they as men before reſolued to die, although ſcarce one to twentie, fought moſt deſperatly, ſeeking for nothing els but to ſell their liues as deere as they could vnto their enemies, and ſo fighting were all ſlaine, except ſome few which by great fortune eſcaped, leauing vnto the enemie a right bloudie victorie. Yet by this loſſe of ſo great a partie was the garriſon of Lippa greatly weakned, which the enemy knew right well, and thereupon began forthwith to prepare to beſiege the Towne. Which *Barbelius* the gouernor (a moſt valiant man) wiſely foreſeeing, ſent in poſt vnto the Tranſyluanian Prince, to requeſt him with all ſpeed to ſend him foure or fiue thouſand good ſouldiers, with which power he doubted not by the helpe of God, to be able to defend the towne, againſt all the forces the enemy was at that time able to bring againſt it. Vnto whom the prince without delay ſent 8000, who all in ſafetie in good time arriued at Lippa: for ſhortly after their arriual, 40000 of the Turks and Tartars came and ſat downe before the towne, encloſing it on euery ſide, and ſo lay for certaine dayes without any thing doing worth the ſpeaking of; they of the towne in the meane time doing them all the harme they could with their great ſhot, which they ſent amongſt them not ſparingly. But they had not ſo long lien, but that news was brought into the camp, That the Tranſyluanian Prince was with a great power comming thither to relieue the towne: whereupon they preſently riſe, and retyred to the place where they had before encamped, about two miles from Lippa; where certainly vnderſtanding that the Prince neither was, neither could in ſhort time be in ſuch readineſſe as was before reported, they forthwith returned, and more ſtraitly beſieged the town than before. They had now brought with them ſeuenteene pieces of batterie, eight waggons laded with ſhot and pouder, and fortie ſix others laded with ſcaling ladders and other warlike prouiſion: thus appointed they began to batter the towne, and afterwards gaue thereunto diuers deſperat aſſaults, which the Chriſtians valiantly receiued, and ſtil with great ſlaughter repulſed their enemies. For that ſtrong town was with towers and bulwarks flanking one another, ſo fortified, that out of them the Chriſtians with their murthering pieces made great ſpoile of their enemies, and ſtil enforced them with loſſe to retyre, no bullet almoſt flying in vaine. In the heat of one of theſe aſſaults the gouernor cauſed one of the gates of the towne to be ſet open, hauing before within the towne placed ſixteene great pieces at the very entrance of the ſame gate, charged with all kind of murthering ſhot. Vnto which gate as of meere deſperation ſet open by the defendants, the Turks and Tartars deſirous of reuenge, came thronging as thicke as might be, thinking to haue thereby entered: when ſuddenly, and as it were in the turning of an hand, they were with the aforeſaid murthering pieces cut downe as with a ſithe, and ſo againe, and the third and fourth time, before they could cleere themſelues of the danger thereof, their heads, armes, and legs, and other rent limbs, flying in the aire moſt miſerably to behold. Neuertheleſſe the ſiege was by them continued, & the often aſſaults ſo reſolutely maintained, as if they had therupon purpoſed to haue gaged all their liues. But this ſo obſtinat a reſolution was by an vnexpected accident when they leaſt thought, conuerted into ſuch a deſperate feare and aſtoniſhment, that they vpon the ſudden (no man forcing them) forſook their trenches wherin they lay incamped, and leauing behinde them their tents, their great ordnance, and whatſoeuer els they had, they betooke themſelues to a moſt diſordered flight. The Tranſiluanians, who by chance were euen then comming thither, purſuing them, ſlew diuers of them, and tooke ſome others of them priſoners. At this ſiege the Baſſa of Temeſwar himſelfe was mortally wounded, and *Hamat* Sanzacke of Giula with diuers others of good place ſlaine, and 4000 of the common ſoldiers. The cauſe of the Turks ſo great and ſudden feare was this, Whileſt the Baſſa of Temeſwar lay at the ſiege of Lippa, as is afore ſaid, they that were left in the citie fearing no harme, liued in great ſecuritie; in the meane time the gouernour of Lugaz ſent out ſix thouſand ſouldiers towards Temeſwar, now in the abſence of the Baſſa to ſeeke after bootie: who comming to Temeſwar with great ſpeed, rifled the ſuburbs of the citie, ſlew all the Turks they could light

vpon

A vpon,and ſet at libertie a thouſand captiues: and ſo hauing truſſed vp their bootie,ſet on fire all the ſuburbs,and departed. Which fire grew ſo great and ſo terrible, that it was plainely ſeene into the campe at Lippa, making a ſhew as if the whole citie had beene on a light fire. Which ſo daunted the hearts of the Turkes at the ſiege, that they preſently fled (as is before ſaid) leauing all that they had behinde them.

Plenia a towne of the Turkes ſacked by the Chriſtians.

The Tranſyluanian all this while buſied in raiſing of his army, and prouiding of things neceſſarie for the maintenance of his warres, was come into the confines of Hungarie, towards Temeſwar, euen as the Turkes fled from Lippa. At which time certaine Hungarian Heidons that ſerued him, getting ouer Danubius not far from Nicopolis, tooke Plenia a little towne of the Turks, which they ranſacked and burnt,and hauing ſlaine in the country thereabout aboue B three thouſand of the Turks, returned with a rich prey vnto the Prince.

Cliſſa lately ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians,loſt againe to the Turks.

Not long before,the Chriſtians had ſurpriſed Cliſſa a ſtrong frontier towne of the Turks in Dalmatia not far from Spalato: which towne the Baſſa of Boſna ſought now again to recouer, and thereto laied hard ſiege. For the reliefe whereof, ***Leucowitz*** gouernor of Stiria and the other prouinces thereabouts belonging to the houſe of Auſtria, and the gouernour of Zeng with a fleet of two and fortie ſhips, wherein they had embarked 4000 ſouldiers well appointed with all things neceſſarie, ſet forward toward Cliſſa: and by the way lighting vpon a galley of the Venetians bound with certaine warlike prouiſion towards the Turkes campe, tooke her as good prize,and rifled her. This fleet with a faire wind arriued at Siret,neere vnto Trau, where the gouernor landing his men, marched that night part of his way toward Cliſſa, and C all the next day lay cloſe. The night following they ſet forward againe, and hauing marched fifteene miles, came vnto the enemies campe before day: where ſetting vpon the Turkes in their trenches,fearing no ſuch peril, they brought ſuch a general feare vpon the whole campe, that the Turks as men amaſed,fled ſome one way, ſome another,euery man (as in ſuch ſudden feare it commonly happeneth) making ſhift for himſelfe, leauing whatſoeuer they had in their trenches behind them. The Chriſtians contented ſo to haue put their enemies to flight, fell preſently to the ſpoile, as more deſirous thereof, than by the haſtie purſuit of their enemies to put themſelues in poſſeſſion of an aſſured victorie. Which the Turks quickly perceiuing, and from the hils with the dawning of the day diſcouering the ſmal number of the Chriſtians,and D how they were diſordered,they gathered themſelues againe together, and comming downe, incloſed on euery ſide the diſordered Chriſtians (greedily hunting after the ſpoile) and ſlew them downeright. ***Leucowitz*** himſelfe with the gouernor of Zeng and ſome others got into Cliſſa,where hauing ſtayed two days,and doubting to be able to keep the town,they ſecretly by night iſſued out with 600 men,in hope to haue recouered their fleet: but the Turks ſupecting ſuch a matter,had ſo beſet the paſſages,that of all that companie, ***Leucowitz*** had much ado himſelfe with three others to eſcape. The enemie now againe poſſeſſed of his trenches, layd ſtraiter ſiege to the towne than before: which they of the garriſon perceiuing,and now out of hope of reliefe,agreed with the Baſſa,that they might with bag & baggage depart,and ſo yeelded vp the towne. Thus Cliſſa one of the ſtrongeſt townes of Dalmatia, through the greedy couetouſneſſe of the diſordered ſoldiers, fel againe into the hands of the Turks.

Sombock taken by the lord Palſi.

About the ſame time, *Palſi* gouernor of Strigonium vnderſtanding of the meeting together E of certaine notable aduenturers of the Turkes at Sombock a Caſtle almoſt in the mid way betwixt Alba-Regalis and Buda, raiſed the greateſt ſtrength he could, and ſo with certaine pieces of artillerie,and other things neceſſarie for an aſſault,ſet forward from Strigonium the two and twentieth of May, before the riſing of the Sun, and about three a clocke in the afternoone came to the aforeſaid caſtle; whereunto he preſently gaue a moſt terrible aſſault,which he neuer gaue ouer vntill he had taken it: for after that he had by the ſpace of three houres together with great danger maintained a moſt deſperat aſſault, at length he with much difficultie preuailed, and put to the ſword all the Turks he found therein, man, woman,and child; and with the reſt,fiftie Ianizaries but that day come thither. This caſtle was of great beautie, and moſt pleaſantly ſcituated, whereunto the Baſſa of Buda oftentimes for his pleaſure repaired: for which cauſe *Palſi* was very deſirous to haue taken it without ſpoiling: but the fire he had therein alreadie raiſed ſo preuailed, that it burnt downe all the goodly buildings thereof, with great ſtore of victuals and other prouiſion,nothing remaining but what the Chriſtians had ſaued for themſelues.

The

Temeſware beſieged by the Tranſyluanian prince.

The Tranſyluanian Prince hauing raiſed a great armie for the reliefe of Lippa, being by great chance a little before his comming relieued, came & laid ſiege to the city of Temeſwar: where he had not long lien, but that the Turks and Tartars fearing to loſe that ſo famous a citie, aſſembled together from all places thereabouts to the number of 40000, and ſo came to raiſe the ſiege. Of whoſe comming the Prince hearing, riſe with his armie, and went to meet them, and had with them a great and terrible battell, the victorie for a great while ſtanding verie doubtful, yet ſeeming to incline rather to the Turks and Tartars, than to the Chriſtians: but at length the Turks diſordered with the great artillerie, and the Tranſyluanians charging them afreſh, began to giue ground, and ſo at laſt to betake themſelues to plaine flight. In this battell were ſlaine of the Turkes and Tartars 5000, and of the Chriſtians 1500. It was for a time reported, That the Prince himſelfe was in this battell ſlaine: which was not ſo, being reſerued to the further plague of the Turks, and comfort of his afflicted Countrey. After this victorie he returned againe to the ſiege, which he more ſtraitly continued than before, leauing nothing vnattempted that he could poſſibly deuiſe for the winning of the citie. Where whileſt he yet thus lay battering the citie both night and day, newes was brought him, That *Giaffer Baſſa* and the Tartars were comming with a great armie to the reliefe of the beſieged. Whereupon he conſidering his owne ſtrength and the power of his enemies, and that the aid promiſed him both from the Emperour and out of Hungarie was not yet readie, with great griefe of minde raiſed his ſiege, and retired with his armie to Lippa, there expecting new ſupplies as well of his owne as from his friends. Whileſt he yet there lay, he was certainly aduertiſed, That the Baſſa of Natolia (the forerunner of the great Sultan *Mahomet*) was come to Belgrade with fourteene thouſand horſe and foure thouſand Ianizaries to joine with the Baſſa of Buda for the relieuing of Temeſwar; whoſe forces joined together were in number about threeſcore thouſand: and that *Mahomet* himſelfe (of whoſe comming had been rife report all this yeare) was now comming after with a far greater power. Whereupon he departed from Lippa, leauing therein a ſtrong garriſon, and ſo returning to Alba-Iulia, called there an aſſemblie of all his States, for the repreſſing of ſo puiſſant an enemie.

The Prince raiſeth his ſiege.

Mahomet for the better ſucceſſe of his wars in Hungarie had drawne forth the Tartar with a mightie power: who although he was at the firſt ſo vnwilling to that ſeruice (conſidering the great loſſes he had therein before receiued) that he would not, as he ſaid, ſend ſo much as one Aſſe thereunto: yet ouercome with great gifts, and the reſpect he had of the Turkiſh Sultan, was now ready with a ſtrong army vpon the frontiers of Moldauia, to meet him in Hungarie: vnto whom the late choſen Vaiuod ſent certain preſents, with ſuch ſtore of victuals as he could poſſibly prouide for him. Yet foraſmuch as he was not that way to paſſe without the leaue of the Polonian, *Mahomet* had both by letters and diuers his Embaſſadors entreated with the Polonian king for his paſſage: as alſo for the confirmation of the antient league he and the Polonian kings his predeceſſours had to their good of long time had with the *Othoman* Emperours; from which he well knew the Chriſtian Emperor, with diuers other the Chriſtian Princes to ſeeke by all meanes to withdraw him. *Mahomet* alſo not ignorant, how hurtfull and dangerous the confederation betwixt *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia & the Tranſyluanian was vnto him and his deſignes, ſent vnto him an Embaſſador, by the ſhew of great dangers to deter him from the Tranſyluanian, and by many glorious promiſes to allure him to ſubmit himſelfe again vnto his protection, and in token of his fielitie to deliuer vnto the Sultan two of his frontier townes, ſuch as he ſhould require; in regard whereof he ſhould together with the Sultans fauour receiue golden mountaines. Whereunto the Vayuod anſwered, That as yet he was not wearie of the friendſhip he held with the Prince: and for the townes he required, that they were not in his power to giue, as belonging to the Prince; vnto whom he ſaid he would write, and ſtay the Embaſſador in the meane time vntill he had from him anſwer.

The Emperor on the other ſide had with all carefulneſſe ſo far as in him was, prouided that his army might be ready to take the field with the beginning of the Spring: but as it commonly chanceth, the ſpeedie proceedings of great actions (wherein the hands of many mighty is required) to be much hindered by delaies, ſometimes of one, and ſometimes of another; ſo fel it out with him now: for albeit that his owne forces were in ſome good time readie, yet was the Spring, yea and a good part of Sommer alſo far paſt, before the aid promiſed from other Princes met together. At length after long expectance, when ſome conuenient number for an

A armie was from diuers places come together at Vienna: they were by the lord *Swartzenburg* and their other commanders brought forth into the field, and not far from Altenburg encamped, within the ſelfeſame trenches that were the laſt yeare caſt vp by countie *Mansfield* for the ſafetie of his armie; there to expect the comming downe of the great ordnance and other prouiſion by the riuer from Vienna, as alſo the reſt of the Chriſtian forces dayly looked for. From Altenburg the Chriſtian armie remooued to Komara, and not ſtaying there long, the foure and twentieth of Iuly marched towards Vacia, otherwiſe called Woczen: but before it came thither, the Turks hearing of the approch of the Chriſtians, forſooke the town, and with their cattell and beſt part of their ſubſtance fled to Peſth, carrying alſo away with them the great ordnance; the greateſt whereof they buried by the way, which was neuertheleſſe afterwards B found out by the Chriſtians. And although the Turks at their departure had ſet fire both vpon the towne and the caſtle, yet the Chriſtians left therein did what they might to quench the ſame: by whoſe diligence and the helpe of two thouſand footmen, and certaine troupes of horſemen ſent thither by *SwartZenburg*, a great part both of the towne and the caſtle was preſerued: the whole Armie of the Chriſtians following after, encamped in the open field, and with their horſemen braued the Turks euen to the gates of Peſth. This ſo ſudden a comming of the Chriſtians, brought a great feare both vpon them of Peſth & Buda, inſomuch, that they ſent their wiues and children, with the chiefeſt of their ſubſtance downe the riuer vnto places of more ſafetie, and farther off from danger: which was done ſo diſorderedly (as it happeneth in ſuch common feares) that many of them for haſt thruſt one another into the riuer, and ſo periſhed.

Vacia abandoned of the Turks, is taken by the Chriſtians.

C Hitherto in the former wars againſt the Turke, had *Matthias* been Generall of the Chriſtian armies: but now of late, *Ferdinand* the Emperors vncle Countie of Tirol being dead, *Matthias* was by the Emperor his brother preferred to the gouernment of that rich countrie and the prouinces thereabouts, not inferior to ſome kingdomes; and *Maximilian* his younger brother appointed General in his ſtead: who departing from Vienna in the latter end of Iuly, came into the camp the fourth of Auguſt, where he was by the Lord *Swartzenburg* his Lieutenant, and the Lord *Palſi*, honourably and with great triumph receiued.

Now were the Chriſtians threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, and hauing fortified Vacia, and therin placed a conuenient garriſon, reſolued by common conſent to beſiege Hatwan, a ſtrong D towne of the Turks in the vpper Hungarie. And thereupon riſing with their armie from Vachia the thirteenth of Auguſt, came the fifteenth of the ſame month about noone & ſat down before the towne; and that with ſuch ſpeed, that they were before ſeene of the Turks in the town, than that they heard any thing of their cōming: inſomuch, that at the firſt ſhew of them, they of the towne tooke them to haue been ſome come out to ſeeke after bootie; and therfore ſallying out vpon them, skirmiſhed with them a while, vntill they perceiued the whole battell comming. The Chriſtians approching the towne, encamped themſelues, as they thought moſt conuenient, and began in three places to batter the counterſcarfe. This frontier towne of the Turks, beſides that it was kept with a ſtrong garriſon, was alſo ſtrengthned with a broad ditch, and fortified with a broad counterſcarfe and ſtrong paliſadoes. Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege, the Turks ſallying out of the towne, brake into their trenches, and there did great harme; and like enough they were to haue done more, had not the horſemen in good time come in vpon them and enforced them to retire. In this ſally, amongſt others was one *Greis* a notable captaine ſlaine, being ſhamefully forſaken of his owne men; who for that their cowardiſe, were all in the ſight of the whole armie diſarmed, and ſo turned out of the camp as men vnworthie any longer to beare armes. One morning alſo as the Chriſtians were at their deuotions in their trenches, a Turkiſh prieſt from out of an high tower not far off, railed moſt bitterly vpon them, curſing and deriding them: wherewith one of the Chriſtian canoniers much moued, made a ſhot at the tower, which he ſo well beſtowed, that therewith he ſtruck downe the tower, together with the Idolatrous prieſt, as he was yet railing & blaſpheming. At length the Chriſtians had with exceeding labor & continual batterie made the town ſaultable: wherwith the Turks diſcouraged, offered (but al too late) to yeeld vp the towne vpon the ſame conditions that they of Strigonium had: whereunto they receiued no anſwer; yea commandement was giuen throughout the campe, That no man vpon paine of death, ſhould haue any parley with them. Shortly after, all things being now in readineſſe for the aſſault, the Chriſti-

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Cowardiſe puniſhed.

Hatwan woon by the Chriſtians.

Extreme crueltie.

ans one day about fiue a clocke in the afternoone, aſſaulted the towne in foure places; and after three houres hard fight, by ſtrong hand tooke it, with the ſchriching and lamenting of the women and children, and other fearefull people, who now gaue themſelues all loſt and forlorne. Foure houres execution was done vpon all that came to hand, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition: women were ſlain great with childe, and yong children hanging at their mothers breaſts; it booted not to crie for mercy, the bloudy ſword deuouring all. The fury of the Wallons here exceeded, who ript the children out of their mothers wombs, and made thongs and points of the skins of men and women, whom they had ſlain quicke. Which their cruelty they afterwards excuſed when they were therefore reproued, by pretending that thereby they did teach the Turkes hereafter not ſo wickedly to blaſpheme againſt Chriſt, or with ſuch their wonted and barbarous cruelty to torment the Chriſtians that fell into their hands, for feare of like themſelues. In this aſſault and furie periſhed of the Turks about foure thouſand, & of the Chriſtians not paſt three hundred. In this towne beſide that which the fire deuoured, was found a very rich prey. The firſt that entred the towne was one *Terſkie* a notable captain, with his companie: after whom followed *Ruſwurme*, who each of them were thought in their entrance at the breach, to haue ſlaine with their owne hand eight or ten Turks.

Mahomet the great Sultan commeth to Buda with an army of two hundred thouſand.

Now in the meane time *Mahomet* the great Sultan being come to Belgrade, remoued thence to come downe into the heart of Hungarie, ſending *Cicala Baſſa* before him: and at length after long looking for, the ſecond of September arriued at Buda, hauing in his armie about two hundred thouſand men, and three hundred field pieces. From thence he preſently ſent fortie thouſand to Temeſwar; but ſtaied there himſelfe with the reſt of his armie.

The Chriſtians yet lying at Hatwan, and doubting leſt the Sultan ſuddenly paſſing the riuer ſhould come vpon them not yet readie for battell, departing thence, and retiring backe againe, came and encamped not far from Vachia. And albeit that the Archduke before his departure from Hatwan, had left a conuenient garriſon for the keping of the towne; yet ſuch was the terrour of the Turkes approch, that the next day after, they that were there left in garriſon forſooke the towne, and ſetting it on fire, followed themſelues after the campe. This comming of the Turkiſh Sultan to Buda, brought alſo a great feare vpon them at Vienna, as much doubting leſt he ſhould that way haue turned his forces, which cauſed them both day and night to labor for the better fortification of the citie, and for the prouiſion of all things, as if it had bin for a preſent ſiege.

But *Mahomet* not prouided for the vndertaking of ſo ſtrong a place, and not ignorant of the diſgrace his great grandfather the victorious *Solyman* had ſometime receiued vnder the wals thereof, had no purpoſe thereto, as hauing bent his thoughts quite another way. In the vpper part of Hungarie is an antient famous city, well fortified and honoured with a Biſhops See called Agria, not far from Hatwan: vpon this city, as the chiefe fortreſſe of the Chriſtians in thoſe quarters, had *Mahomet* at his comming into Hungarie caſt his eies, and began now that way to make head, with purpoſe by taking of that citie, and placing there of a ſtrong garriſon, to hinder the vniting of the Emperors forces with the Tranſyluanians, for the mutuall ſtrengthning of the one the other by the way of the vpper Hungarie. Which the Archduke perceiuing, ſent thither forthwith the valiant Colonell *Terſkie* with a notable companie of Italians and Germanes, and a thouſand other harquebuſiers, who all arriued there in ſafetie. At which time alſo the lord *Teuffenbach* ſent into the citie three thouſand footmen, vnder the conduct of countie *Turne*, with good ſtore of warlike prouiſion needfull for the defence thereof. The one and twentieth of September, *Mahomet* attended vpon by the great Baſſaes, *Ibrahim*, *Giaffer*, *Haſſan*, and *Cicala*, for old *Sinan* was now dead, with his armie of an hundred and fiftie thouſand men, came and encamped betweene the two riuers of Danubius and Tibiſcus, couering a great part of the countrie with his tents. Approching the citie, he with wonderfull celeritie caſt vp fiue great mounts, and from them with ſuch furie battered the wals, that the Chriſtians were glad night and day to ſtand in armes for the defence thereof. And although that the wals were ſo great, & in many places ſo weakly fortified as that they were not but by a greater garriſon to be defended againſt ſo puiſſant an enemie; and that therefore the defendants with their honou lawfully might euen the firſt day haue ſet the citie on fire, & retired themſelues into the caſtle, which was both faire and ſtrong, and the only place to be truſted vnto; yet for the ſpace of fi daies they worthily defended the whole citie againſt the fury of the enemies; and out of it di

Agria beſieged by Mahomet.

them

A them great harme. But ſeeing the danger greatly encreaſing, and that the citie was not longer
to be holden, they ſet it on fire; hauing before conueied all the beſt of their ſubſtance with
themſelues into the caſtle: which the Turks quickly perceiuing, brake ſo ſuddenly into the city,
as if they would together with the Chriſtians haue entred the caſtle alſo; but in the attempt
therof they were notably repulſed & many of them ſlain. Adioyning to the caſtle was a great
and ſtrong bulwarke, againſt which the Turks for certain daies furiouſly thundred with their
great ordnance, & that without intermiſſion: and hauing in diuers places ſore ſhaken it, in the
ſpace of two daies aſſaulted it 12 times, but not without the wonderfull loſſe of their men: &
yet gaue it not ſo ouer; but as men with their loſſe more enraged, came on againe with greater
fury than before, & ſo at laſt by plaine force tooke it: and there put to the ſword all them they
B found therin, except ſuch as by good hap got betimes into the caſtle. This bulwarke thus loſt,
the Chriſtians the next day ſallying out, again recouered; wherein they ſlew a great number of
the Turks, with the loſſe of ſome thirtie men, and as many moe wounded. The beſieged now
diuers times both by letters and meſſengers craued aid of *Maximilian* the General, giuing him
to vnderſtand, that they could not long hold out for want of ſhot and pouder, if they were not
betimes relieued (whereof the enemie alſo was not ignorant) yet were they reſolued to hold
it out euen to the laſt man; although the great Sultan had oftentimes by meſſengers ſent of
purpoſe, willed them to yeeld it vp, with promiſe that they ſhould in ſafety with life & goods
depart, otherwiſe threatning vnto them greater extremities than was of late ſhewed vnto the
Turks at Hatwan, if they ſhould as obſtinat men hold it out vnto the laſt. Whereunto they neuer
C anſwered him any thing: for *Terskie* had forbid them all parly with the enemie; and in the
midſt of the market place had cauſed a paire of gallowes to be ſet vp, threatning to hang him
thereon, whoſoeuer he were, that ſhould once make motion of yeelding vp the citie.

A bulwarke twelue times aſſaulted in two daies.

Whileſt the beſieged thus liue in hope of reliefe, the Archduke vpon the comming ouer of
the Sultan towards Agria, hauing retired with his army to Strigonium, and there ſtaid ſomewhat
too long expecting the comming of more aid, began now at length to ſet forward, and
to make ſome ſhew as if he had indeed purpoſed to haue relieued his diſtreſſed friends ſo hardly
beſet at Agria. But ſuch was the fouleneſſe of the weather, hindering the paſſage of his great
ordnance (not to ſpeake of any thing elſe) that in fourteene daies he marched ſcarcely twelue
miles forward. Whereby the enemie tooke occaſion to preuaile as he did in his ſiege: who
D now hearing of the comming of the Chriſtians, and ſeeing to how little purpoſe he had ſo
long battered the caſtle, conuerted all his indeauors to the filling vp of the ditch of the old caſtle,
with fagots, earth, and ſuch like matter: for the haſtening of which worke, *Mahomet* himſelfe
ſpared not to ride vp and downe in all places of his armie, with his preſence and cheerful
ſpeech encouraging his men in that deſperat worke. But whileſt the Turkes are thus buſie in
fulfilling his command, the Chriſtians ſallying out vpon them made great ſlaughter of them,
and put to flight *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa with ſuch as were about him: after whom they ſo eagerly
followed, that he in the flight loſt his tulipant for haſt, & was there very like to haue bin
taken. Neuertheleſſe the worke went ſtill forward, and was now at length with the reſtleſſe labour
of ſo great a multitude brought to ſuch perfection, that the Turkes thought it now no
E great matter by aſſault to enter the caſtle: and thereupon the tenth of October gaue vnto it
foure deſperat aſſaults one vpon another, being ſtill with greater ſlaughter of his men repulſed.
But comming on again the fifth time with freſh ſupplies, and greater fury than at the firſt,
they preuailed; and ſo entring, put to the ſword all they found in the caſtle, in number about
eight hundred: foure hundred of whoſe heads, one of the Turks captains cauſed to be carried
vnto *Mahomet* in the camp, in the beholding whereof, he is ſaid to haue taken great pleaſure, as
in the vndoubted ſignes of his victorie.

The old caſtle taken.

The old caſtle thus taken, nothing remained but the new caſtle, againſt which the Turks conuerted
their whole forces, wherein they repoſed not ſo much hope (although their batterie
were verie terrible, & their power great) as in the ſecret mines wherewith they had in 14 places
vndermined the caſtle, and were now almoſt readie to be blowne vp. Which the beſieged
perceiuing, and withall conſidering the ſtate wherein they ſtood, and not hearing any thing of
reliefe, reſolued amongſt themſelues (without the conſent of their chiefe commanders) no
longer to hold out, but to yeeld. And thereupon altogether as if it had beene but one man, riſe
vp in a mutinie againſt their two Gouernours, *Paul Niari*, and *Terskie*, who at the firſt by all

the reaſons they could deuiſe, diſſuaded them from ſuch cowardiſe, putting them in mind of G
the oath they had taken: which not preuailing, they afterwards vpon their knees requeſted
them as men to hold it out yet a while, in hope of ſpeedie reliefe: yea *Terskie* with his hands
caſt vp entreated them, that if they would no longer hold it out, but needs yeeld, then they
ſhould firſt kill him with their owne hands, that he might not liue to ſee ſo great a diſhonour.
But what auaileth perſuaſion with men poſſeſſed with ſo great feare? And in the meane time
two hundred and fiftie of the common ſoldiers, among whom were many Italians, ſecretly eſcaping
out of the caſtle fled into the camp, of whom diuers became renegats & turned Turk;
which added to the former feare, ſo much diſcouraged the minds of the reſt, that they forthwith
required to come to parly with the enemy, and ſo agreed, That they might with bag and
baggage and their ſwords by their ſides in ſafetie depart: the great Sultan giuing his faith for H
the performance thereof, with hoſtages deliuered on either ſide. So the 13 of October about
noone, the garriſon ſouldiers came out of the caſtle in number about two thouſand: but they
were not gone far, but that they were in a great plaine ſet vpon by the Turks and Tartars, and
there cut in pieces; ſome of them were ſlain quicke, and ſome other of them otherwiſe ſhamefully
diſmembred; the Turks in the meane time vpbraiding them, and ſaying, That faith was
not to be kept with them that had ſo cruelly before dealt with them of Hatwan. This perfidious
dealing much offended diuers of the better ſort of the Turks, inſomuch, that ſome of
them complained thereof vnto the Sultan; who (as is reported) cauſed ſome of the chiefe authors
thereof to be put to death: and afterward by open proclamation commanded, that if any
of the Turks or Tartars had taken any of them priſoners, they ſhould forthwith ſet them at liberetie.
Thus is the famous citie of Agria, of long time a Chriſtian Biſhops ſeat, now become a I
ſure receptacle for the Turks and Infidels.

Agria yeelded vnto the Turks

Petrinia beſieged by the Turkes.

Whileſt *Mahomet* thus lay at the ſiege of Agria, the Baſſa of Boſna with certain other of the
Sanzackes thereabouts, hauing raiſed a great armie, came & beſieged Petrinia in the borders of
Croatia: which he at his firſt comming ſo furiouſly battered by the ſpace of ſeuen daies, that
it was of many thought not poſſible for it to hold out two daies longer. In the mean time the
Lord *Herbenſtein* and *Leukowitze*, with all the power they could make out of Croatia and Windiſmarch,
came towards Petrinia: but hauing no meanes in ſo great haſte to make a bridge
ouer the riuer of Kulp, they retired towards Siſeg, there to paſſe ouer. The Turkes hearing
of their retire, and ſuppoſing them to haue fled for feare, put ſixe thouſand horſemen ouer K
the Riuer to purſue them: Vpon whome the Chriſtians turning, and charging them home,
ouerthrew them; and hauing ſlaine many of them, draue the reſt headlong into the Riuer,
where moſt of them periſhed. The Chriſtians neuertheleſſe keeping on their way to Siſeg,
there the next day by a bridge paſſed ouer the Riuer, and ſo marching towards Petrinia, and
beeing come neere vnto the towne, were encountered by eight thouſand Turkes, whom they
alſo put to flight; and by certaine priſoners there taken, vnderſtood that the Baſſa the day
before was riſen from before the towne and gone: which they at the firſt beleeued not, but
comming thither found it ſo, to their owne good contentment, and the great ioy of the late beſieged.

Petrinia releeued.

Maximilian the Generall marching on faire and ſoftly from Strigonium, at length the ſeuenteenth L
of October came to Caſſouia, foure daies after that Agria was loſt; and there met with
the Tranſyluanian Prince, who was come thither with eighteen thouſand men, aud forty field
pieces to aid him: of whom eight thouſand were mercinarie horſemen, fifteene hundred were
of the nobilitie of his country, and the reſt footmen. The next day after, they ſetting forward
from Caſſouia, ioyned themſelues with the reſt of the armie led by the Lord *Teuffenbach* and
Palfi, and ſo of all their vnited forces made one armie, conſiſting now of two and thirtie thouſand
horſemen and eight and twentie thouſand foot: who drew with them an hundred and
twenty field pieces, and twenty thouſand wagons, wherewith they euery night encloſed their
armie as with a moſt ſure trench. So orderly marching, they kept on their way towards Agria,
with a full reſolution to giue the Turks battell, whereof the whole armie ſeemed to be very
deſirous. By the way at length they came to a faire heath two miles long and foure broad,
where they were to paſſe ouer a certain riuer, the paſſage whereof *Giaffer Baſſa* had before taken
with twentie thouſand Turks and Tartars, the reſt of the Turks armie lying ſtill not farre
from Agria. Now the purpoſe of the Baſſa was, to haue enlarged the paſſage of the riuer, and

A ſo to haue made way for the whole armie, to haue afterwards paſſed to the other ſide, as moſt commodious for many purpoſes, eſpecially for water, whereof they ſo might themſelues haue had plentie, & yet kept the Chriſtians from it. But of this his purpoſe, by the comming of the Chriſtians he was quite diſappointed: for the next day being the 23 of October, they skirmiſhed with him in diuers places, eſpecially at the paſſage of the riuer; where at the firſt incounter he loſt 300 of his men, and in the end ſeeing himſelfe too weake to withſtand the whole power comming on, fled to the Sultan, hauing loſt two of his enſignes & 20 field pieces, but of his men not many, both for that he fled betime, and the approch of the night hindered the purſuit of the Chriſtians, who were now become maſters both of the paſſage of the riuer, and of B the place where the Baſſa lay: which they finding not ſo commodious for them as they had at the firſt ſuppoſed (eſpecially for lacke of wood, the weather being then extreme cold, as alſo hearing of the approch of the Sultan with his whole army) they forthwith forſook the ſame, and retired again ouer the riuer to the place where they lay before, incloſing themſelues with their waggons, as if it had beene a city ſtrongly encloſed with woodden wals. The next day which was the 24 of October, towards night, *Mahomet* with all his armie ſhewed himſelfe vnto the view of the Chriſtians, and ſent 3000 Tartars to paſſe the riuer: of whom the Chriſtians ſlew a great number with their great ſhot, and put the reſt to flight. Both the armies were populous and ſtrong, and couered a great deale of ground, a moſt goodly ſight to behold: both drunke of the ſame riuer, as well the men as their horſes, and therefore kept continuall watch C all that night on both ſides of the riuer, eſpecially at the paſſage. In the morning betwixt ſix & ſeuen a clocke, *Mahomet* with his armie ranged in order of battell, came within ſight of the Chriſtians, his ſquadrons as it were couering all the country on that ſide of the riuer as far as the Chriſtians could well ſee; and now againe ſent part of his army ouer the riuer: with whom the Chriſtians skirmiſhed from morning till night, both the armies parted but by the riuer, all this while ſtanding faſt, and as it were facing the one the other. But being at length on both ſides well wearied, and many ſlaine, the Turks retired again ouer the riuer to the camp: in the meane time (as if it had bin by conſent) they reſolued on both ſides the next day to trie the fortune of a battell; and ſo commandement was giuen through both the armies, for euery man againſt a certaine appointed time to make himſelfe ready. So the next day, being the 26 of D October, *Mahomet* brought forth his armie again out of his camp, which was not far from the Chriſtians; and began now to draw downe towards the riuer. Neere vnto this place were the ruines of an old Church, where *Mahomet* placed certain companies of Ianizaries, and 24 field pieces, and commanded ten thouſand of his ſelect ſouldiers to paſſe the riuer, which they readily did. The Chriſtians alſo ready for battell, and now thinking it time vpon the comming ouer of the enemie to begin; with part of their armie thereunto appointed, ſo fiercely charged the Turks that were already come ouer, that they quickly ouerthrew them, and not them only, but certaine companies of Tartars alſo that were in another place come ouer the riuer: and not ſo contented, but following them they had in chaſe, put to flight them alſo that ſtood on the farther ſide of the riuer, of whom they ſlew a great number, & by the comming on of the E reſt of the armie, tooke from them an 190 great pieces of artillerie: whereof ſo great a feare riſe in the enemies camp, that *Mahomet* with *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa ſeeing the diſcomfiture of the armie, fled in all haſte towards Agria, ſhedding ſome teares by the way as he went and wiping his eyes with a piece of *Mahomets* garment, which hee for reuerence carried about him as a relique. It drew now towards night, and the Archduke was about to haue cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and that day to haue done no more. But the Tranſyluanian Prince, the Lord *Palſi*, and the reſt, perſuaded him in that ſo great feare of the enemie to proſecute the victorie; and the rather, for that the Turks began againe to make head, and to repaire their diſordered battels. Wherefore the Chriſtians ſtill keeping their array, charged afreſh the front of their enemies reſtored battell, conſiſting of fortie thouſand men, and that with ſuch violence, as that they in ſhort time had ſlaine the moſt part of them, and put the reſt to flight: and with the like good fortune charging the bodie of the maine battell, forced the diſcouraged Turkes with great ſlaughter into their owne campe. Now commandement was before giuen throughout the Chriſtian army, that no man vpon paine of death ſhould in ſeeking after ſpoile breake his array, or forſake his place, before the victorie were aſſuredly gotten. But they in this hot purſute breaking together with the Turkes into their tents, and there killing a great

A great and long skirmiſh betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

Ten thouſand Turks paſſe the riuer, and are together with the Tartars put to flight.

The Chriſtians in ſeeking too greedily after the ſpoile, ouerthrowne and diſcomfited.

number of them, and ſeeing in euery place great ſtore of rich ſpoile, contrarie to the aforeſaid commandement, left the purſuit of the enemy, & diſorderly fell to the ſpoile of the tents, vntil they came to the very tent of the great Sultan. But here began all the miſchiefe, with a moſt ſudden change of fortune. For here theſe greedie diſordred men, not now worthy the name of ſoldiers, light vpon a ſtrong ſquadron of reſolute men, with good ſtore of great ordnance ready charged, which they diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of their enemies, and rent in ſunder a number of them, and after that, came on reſolutely themſelues: when in the meane time Cicala Baſſa with his horſemen yet vntouched, brake in vpon them alſo, and with the terror of his comming brought ſuch a feare vpon them, that they began amaine to flie, eſpecially the Hungarians & Germans, moſt buſied in the ſpoile. Neither could they in that feare, by any threats or intreatie of their commanders be perſuaded to make a ſtand, or ſo much as once to looke backe, or to ſhew any token of true valour: which their haſty flight was the ouerthrow not of themſelues only, but of others alſo that would haue fought, for whilſt they fled headlong vpon the ſpur, and could not be ſtaid, they ouerran their owne footmen, & ſo furthered the enemies victorie. Thus for want of good order, through the greedy couetouſnes of a ſort of diſordered men the moſt notable victory that euer the Chriſtians were like to haue had ouer the Turks, was let ſlip out of their hands. Many noble gentlemen & commanders, in ſeeking to ſtay the flight of their own men, were here ſlain: & although the enemy followed the chaſe ſcarce halfe a mile, yet were the Chriſtians poſſeſſed with ſuch a feare, that they fled amaine all ouer the country with greater ſhame than loſſe, no man purſuing them. The Archduke himſelfe ſeeing all deſperat, fled to Caſſouia. The Tranſyluanian of all others moſt orderly retired himſelfe towards Tocaij, hauing not loſt in this battell aboue 200 men, and of them neuer a man of name. All this loſſe he imputed to the couetouſneſſe of the Hungarians, and cowardiſe of the German horſemen. The Lord *Bernſtein* hauing charge of the great artillerie, fled alſo, and made ſhift for himſelfe, as did *Palfi*, and in fine all the reſt. Neither was the feare leſſe amongſt the Turks (a wonderful thing to be ſpoken) than it was among the Chriſtians: for the night following they for feare of the return of the Chriſtians, truſſing vp the beſt of their things, fled alſo towards Agria. And it was afterwards known, that the Turks great ordnance, tents, & baggage ſtood three daies in their trenches, either altogether vngarded, or ſo ſlenderly guarded, as that they might haue bin eaſily taken by the Chriſtians, if they would but haue made head againe. Yea *Mahomet* himſelfe is reported oftentimes to haue confeſſed the danger and feare he was then in to haue been taken, & all his army deſtroied, if the Chriſtians had (as they ſhould) purſued the victory, and not ſo baſely run after the ſpoile: by which danger he then warned; afterwards euer ſhunned to aduenture his perſon to the like perill in the field. In this battel of Kareſta (for ſo it is of a place therby called) & at the ſiege of Agria, were loſt of the Chriſtians about 20000, and of the Turks 60000. *Mahomet* after this victory fortified Agria, and for the keeping thereof left in it 10000 ſouldiers, and ſo returned to Belgrade.

Twentie thouſand Chriſtians ſlain, & threeſcore thouſand Turks.

Vacia beſieged by the Baſſa of Buda.

The Baſſa of Buda perſuading himſelfe that the Chriſtians after ſo great an ouerthrow could not this yeare to any purpoſe recouer their ſtrength, came with all the power he was able to make, and the fourth of Nouember beſieged Vacia, in hope to haue eaſily carried it: but finding there greater reſiſtance than hee had before imagined, and hearing that the diſperſed Chriſtians in the vpper part of Hungarie were making head for to come to the reliefe of the towne, he more afraid than hurt, brake vp his ſiege, and ſo returned to Buda: for indeed the diſperſed reliques of the late army of the Chriſtians were drawing together, but vnarmed & vnſeruiceable, as hauing in the late flight ſhamefully caſt away their armes, and therefore could haue done the Baſſa ſmall harme if he had continued the ſiege.

Mahomet thinking it honor enough for him to haue thus woon Agria, and driuen the Chriſtians out of the field, diuided his armie into two parts at Belgrade: whereof the one he billetted in the countrey thereabout, to be ready for all euents, and with the other hee returned to Conſtantinople: but by the way he was ſet vpon by *Barbelius Ianuſchie* the Tranſyluanian princes Lieutenant, and the Vayuod of Valachia, who with a great power both of horſe and foot being got ouer the riuer Danubius, and ſecretly fauored by the country people, lay in ambuſh for him in places of aduantage, and ſtill following in the taile of his army, cut off 7000 of his men before he could be rid of them: and ſo with much trouble arriued at length at Conſtantinople, where we will for this yeare leaue him, vntill we heare of him more.

Maximilian with a ſmall retinue arriued at Vienna in the latter end of Nouember, where he found the Viſcont of Burgaw, *Swartzenburg*, and ſome other of the commanders of his late armie; moſt of the reſt, eſpecially the Italians, being ſlaine. The ſmall remainder of this vnfortunate yere was ſpent with often skirmiſhes and inrodes one into anothers frontiers, as the manner of war is, without any other great thing done worth the remembrance.

Rodolph the Chriſtian Emperor, notwithſtanding the late diſcomfiture of his armie not farre from Agria, made choice againe of his brother *Maximilian* the Archduke for the managing of his forces for his next yeares wars againſt the Turke. Whereunto the Pope by his legat *Fran. Aldobrandino* promiſed of his owne charge to ſend him 10000 Italians, vnder the conduct of the duke of Mantua; as did alſo the German Princes their woonted aid, with ſome others. All which ſlowly at length meeting together neere vnto Poſſonium and Altenburg, in the months of Iuly and Auguſt; departing thence, marched to Pappa, which after eight dayes hard ſiege they took, and ſo againe retired to Altenburg, where they tooke a general muſter of the army, and afterwards in the beginning of September ſhewed themſelues before the ſtrong towne of Rab: where the lord *Bernſtein* approching too neere the walls, was with a ſhot ſlaine. Neuertheleſſe the reſt there ſtayed, vntill that hearing of the comming of *Mahomet Baſſa* the Turkes General with a great armie, they left the ſiege, and the 24 day of September paſſing ouer the riuer Danubius, into the Iſland Schut towards Comara, there on the North ſide of the riuer encamped. Where they had not lien paſt eight dayes, but that the caſtle of Dotis ſtanding vpon the South ſide of Danubius, was by the Baſſa before their faces, and as it were euen vnder their noſes beſieged and taken; the whole armie of the Chriſtians in the meane time as idle beholders looking on, but not daring to relieue their diſtreſſed friends: but afterwards ariſing, marched to Vacia; where hearing of the Turks comming againſt them from Peſth, they ſet fire on the caſtle, and ſo retyred alongſt the North ſide of the riuer, vntil they came ouer againſt Vicegrade a caſtle of their owne on the farther ſide of Danubius; where by the good direction of the lord *George Baſta* a moſt expert captaine, and lieutenant General of the armie, they encamped ſo ſtrongly, as that the Turks after many braue attempts giuen to haue forced them in their trenches, were glad with ſome loſſe to depart.

Pappa taken by the Chriſtians.

Dotis taken by the Turks.

Neither went things this yere better forward with the Chriſtians in other places than in this ſide of Hungary: for *Sigiſmund* the Tranſiluanian prince by his Chancelor beſieging the ſtrong city of Temeſwar in October, was by the valour of the defendants, and the vnſeaſonablenes of the weather enforced to raiſe his ſiege, and with diſhonor to depart. *Michael* alſo the Vayuod of Valachia, who moued with the example and perſuaſions of the Tranſyluanian Prince, had *reuolted from* the Turks, and done them great harme (as is in part before declared) now wearied with their often inuaſions and the ſpoile of his country, almoſt brought to vtter deſolation, many thouſands of his ſubjects being by the Turks and Tartars carried away captiues, and his townes and caſtles for moſt part raſed; to giue his people a time of breathing, ſubmitted himſelfe againe vnto the Turkiſh obeiſance, ſolemnely receiuing at the hands of one of the Turkes Chiaus (for that purpoſe ſent from Conſtantinople) an enſigne in token of his ſubmiſſion vnto the Turkiſh Emperor, as alſo of his fauor towards him. Which the more to aſſure him of, he by another honorable meſſenger ſhortly after receiued from *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour more kind letters than at any time before, with the confirmation of the Vayuodſhip of Valachia by the grand Seignior his ſolemne oath, vnto *Michael* the Vayuod and his ſon *Peter*, then about thirteene yeares old, for the terme of both their liues, without diſturbance, paying but the halfe of the old yearely tribute by the Turks before demanded. So glad they were vpon any condition to haue reduced that martial man with his country vnto their obeiſance: and in token of further grace, together with theſe letters he receiued alſo a goodly horſe, moſt richly furniſhed, with a faire ſcimiter and an horſemans mace, in ſigne of the martial power and gouernment committed vnto him by the great Sultan *Mahomet*. All which goodly gifts and honors the Vayuod ſeemed thankfully to accept: neuertheleſſe not daring too far to truſt vnto the Turkiſh faith, of the ſmal aſſurance whereof he had before had ſufficient experience, he ſtil kept ſtrong garriſons vpon the frontiers of his countrey, with ſuch other forces alſo as he was woont, excuſing the ſame to be done for feare of the Tartars; by whom he alſo excuſed himſelfe, for not going with the Turkes Generall this yeare into Hungarie, as he was by ſpeciall meſſengers from the grand Seignior himſelfe requeſted; telling him that he might not in any

Michael the Vayuod yeeldeth his obeyſance vnto the Turke, and yet refuſeth to aid him againſt the Chriſtians.

caſe ſo do,for feare of the Tartars moſt horrible incurſions , and the ſpoiles of his countrey : yet knew he right well , how that they were by the great Sultan his expreſſe commandement charged not to do any harme either in Moldauia or Valachia, as they went into Hungarie. But this warie Vayuod not greatly truſting either the Sultan or them, as alſo loth himſelfe a Chriſtian,to go againſt the Chriſtians his friends and late confederats,excuſed himſelfe by the neceſſarie care he had of his ſubiects and country,and ſo requeſted that his reaſonable excuſe to be in good part of the great Sultan accepted : but of him more is to be ſaid hereafter. Thus paſſed this yeare without any great thing done more than is before declared; both theſe great Princes,the Emperor and the Turkiſh Sultan, being warned by the laſt yeres work what it was to put al to the fortune of a battel:& therfore now contenting themſelues to haue ſhewed their forces,as not afraid one of the other, countenanced this yeres wars more in ſhewes than deeds.

1598

What great things might by the Chriſtian princes at vnitie amongſt themſelues be done againſt the Turke,is by the conſiderat right eaſily to be gathered: but eſpecially by the notable victorie of the famous Tranſyluanian prince *Sigiſmund*, who confederated but with his poore oppreſſed neighbours the Valachians and Moldauians , and ſtrengthened with ſome ſmall aid from the Emperor and the Hungarians, not only deliuered thoſe three countries from the heauie burthen of the Turkiſh thraldom,but vanquiſhed alſo their moſt renowned captains, ouerthrew their mightie armies, burnt and ſpoiled their Countries, raſed their townes and cities ; which as it hath beene before in part declared, ſo if it ſhould be all particularly ſet downe, beſides that it would be tedious , ſo alſo might it haply ſeeme almoſt incredible. Beſide which calamities of war(commonly more felt of the ſubiects than of the prince)the great Sultan himſelfe found no ſmall wants,as well in his coffers,as other his neceſſarie ſupplies for the maintenance of his wars,eſpecially in Hungarie ; the onely countrey of Moldauia before theſe troubles yeelding vnto him yerely a tun of gold, 2000 horſes for ſeruice, 10000 great meaſures of wheat,with as much barly,and a wonderfull proportion of butter,hony,and other victuals; the other two prouinces paying the like or more,as a yerely tribute: whereof he had of late,to his great diſcontentment, by the general reuolt of theſe three countries been quite diſappointed. But this ſo wholeſome a confederation(to the great hurt of the Chriſtian commonweale, & benefit of the Turks) now broken,& Moldauia by the Polonians diſſeuered from the reſt,& again made tributary to the Turk,as is before declared,& now Valachia alſo in a ſort acknowledging the Turks obeiſance; the noble Tranſyluanian prince,who hitherto with great cheerfulneſſe and courage had fought the moſt Chriſtian battels againſt the Turk,now left as it were all alone, and doubting how with his owne ſmall forces to be able long to defend his country againſt the Turke and the Polonian, whom he feared not much leſſe than him : leſt the ſame ſhould together with himſelfe, fall into the hands of the Turks or ſome other his enemies, by a wonderfull change voluntarily reſigned this his countrey of Tranſyluania vnto *Rodolph* the Chriſtian Emperor and his heires for euer : and ſo leauing his wife in Tranſyluania,went himſelfe into Sileſia,there to take poſſeſſion of the dukedomes of Oppel and Ratibor,which together with the yerely penſion of 50000 Ioachims,or the reuenues of the Biſhoprick of Vratiſlauia,he had in lieu thereof receiued of the Emperor: whereupon the poſſeſſion of Tranſyluania,by the general conſent of all the States of that countrey, was in the beginning of this yeare 1598,deliuered vnto the Archbiſhop of Vacia,the County *Nadaſti*,and Doctor *Petzi* the emperors commiſſioners; and a ſolemne oath of obedience and loyaltie taken of them all in general : albeit the aforeſaid Commiſſioners,as alſo the Emperor himſelfe would haue perſuaded the Prince,either not at all, or at leſtwiſe not ſo ſuddenly to haue forſaken his country, but to haue ſtill kept the gouernment thereof himſelfe yet for a yeare or two ; well foreſeeing, that the ſame could not ſo conueniently be gouerned by any other,as by himſelfe,a natural Prince therein borne,and exceedingly beloued of his ſubiects. The ſame commiſſioners alſo in Iune following going into Valachia,there tooke the like oath of obedience of *Michael* the Vayuod and his people: who loathing the Turkiſh ſoueraigntie, all willingly yeelded themſelues vnto the Emperors protection. Theſe commiſſioners alſo at the ſame time came to agreement with the Tartars Embaſſadors,offering vnto the Emperour peace and aid for the yearely penſion of 40000 duckets,and as many ſheep-skin gownes their vſual manner of apparel.

A great tribute.

The Prince of Tranſyluania reſigneth his countrey vnto the Emperour.

Michael the Vayued ſubmitteth himſelſe with his people vnto the Emperors protection.

All this while continued the Diet of the empire, begun in December laſt paſt at Ratiſbon, *Mathias* the Emperors brother being there his deputie,and in his Majeſties name demanding a greater

greater

A greater aid for the maintenance of his wars againſt the Turk the common enemy, than was by
the Princes and States of the Empire offered: where after great and long deliberation, a large
proportion was by them all agreed vpon for the defraying of the charges of thoſe wars & defence
of the Chriſtian commonweale, to be paied in three yeares next, and ſo thereupon was
the aſſemblie diſſolued. But as they were returning home, behold contrarie to all hope, Rab
one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of Chriſtendome, three yeares before betrayed vnto the Turks
by Countie *Hardeck*, was now by the wiſedome and valour of *Adolphus* Baron of Swartzenburg,
the Emperors lieutenant in the lower Hungarie, againe recouered, to the great griefe of
the Turks, and wonderfull rejoycing of the Chriſtians, in ſuch ſort as followeth:

Two Italian priſoners flying out of Rab, diſcouer the ſtate of the towne to the Lord Swartzenburg.

This noble gentleman the lord *Swartzenburg*, of no leſſe courage than experience, then lying
B at Comara, and ſtill in doubt leſt the Turks ſo neere vnto him at Rab, ſhould attempt ſomthing
againſt him and his charge, prouided for his owne defence all that Winter time with a ſtrong
garriſon, keeping continuall watch and ward, although it were as then no time for the enemie
with any armie to keepe the field. So Winter paſſing, and the Spring approching, it fortuned
that the 22 day of March, about 7 a clocke in the night, the gates being ſhut, were heard neere
vnder the walls of the towne, two men, who by their ſpeech ſeemed to be Italians: with great
inſtance requeſting, for the ſafegard of their liues, to be let in, for feare of the enemies purſuit.
Which by one of the ſentinels was forthwith reported vnto the gouernor: who doubting it to
be ſome ſubtill practiſe of the enemie, commanded them there to take their fortune vntill the
morning: at which time they were receiued into the citie, and being brought before the Gouernor,
C proſtrating themſelues forthwith at his feet, pittifully requeſted him to haue compaſſion
of their miſerie, and to comfort them with his charitable relief, that ſo they might at length
returne againe into their countrey. Who at the firſt asked them, what countrymen they were,
and from whence they came at that time of the night? Whereunto they anſwered, That they
were Italians, and that they had but euen then eſcaped out of the cruel hands of the Turkes at
Rab. But deſiring to know of them ſome news, they after their manner humbled themſelues,
ſhewing by their geſture not to know any. Yet would he needs vnderſtand of them the particularities,
when and how they were taken by the Turks, and the means they had vſed to eſcape
out of that cruel ſeruitude, in all order as had befalne them. Where the yonger of them beginning,
told him, that now almoſt two yeres ago, at ſuch time as the Chriſtians were ouerthrown
D by the Turkes vnder Agria, and euery man in that confuſion then ſeeking the beſt and neereſt
way to ſaue themſelues; they hauing by flight now eſcaped the greateſt danger of the enemy,
and ſo trauelling ouer the country towards Vienna, were to their great misfortune (by an hundred
Turks come out of Rab to ſcoure the country, and to ſeeke after prey) taken priſoners, and
as ſlaues committed to the chaine, where they had almoſt two yeres, vntil now, with great patience
ſerued. Theſe two fugitiues by their outward appearance ſeemed to be men of good ſpirit
and valor, which cauſed the gouernor the more deſirous to know of them the meanes they
had vſed for their eſcape. So the yonger proceeding in his tale, gaue him to vnderſtand of the
whole matter, telling him, That they had bin three months before ſtill carefully deuiſing how
to recouer their loſt libertie, which now ſeemed to make ſome offer of it ſelfe vnto them: for
E that ſince the time that the Emperors army riſe the laſt yere from before the towne, they were
not kept ſo ſtraight or looked vnto as before, but lay as men by the Turks not much regarded:
which cauſed them the more cheerfully to take the offer of the time, and to reſolue either the
ſooner to dy, or to ſet themſelues at liberty. And that ſo one day as they were carrying certain
munition from the palace of *Giaffer Baſſa* for the ſoldiers, they ſecretly conueyed three pieces
of cord of ſome reaſonable bigneſſe, therewith by night to let themſelues down from the wal,
and ſo as they might to eſcape: which ſtolne cord that it ſhould not be ſeene, and ſo their purpoſe
ſuſpected, they buried in the ground. But the night being come for them to effect in what
they had ſo long deſired, and they roming vp and downe in the darke, and ſtil finding one let
or other, they were enforced for that time to ſtay, and to defer it vntill the night following:
which being come, and choice made of a moſt conuenient place, they made faſt the cord
aboue, and ſo thereby ſlid downe, firſt the elder, and then the younger; who not knowing
how to ſwimme, was yet by the good direction and helpe of his fellow conducted ouer
vnto the farther ſide of the broad and deepe ditch: and that ſo, in the night (ſo darke as that one
of them could hardly ſee the other) they were come by chance to Comara, thinking to haue

taken

The notable ſpeech of the Lord Palſi vnto his ſoldiers.

taken the way to Vienna. The gouernour thus fully inſtructed of their eſcape, demanded of them further, how the ſtrong town of Rab was by the Turks gouerned and garded: who told G him, very euill, and with ſmall care, eſpecially ſince the departure of the Emperors campe: and alſo that foure gates of the towne were filled vp with earth, which if they were broken open, would all fal into the town ditch, and ſo further them that would attempt to enter, with diuers other particularities. Wherof the Gouernor hauing well conſidered, thought with himſelfe, that if by ſome ingenious deuice he might by night with ſome good ſtrength vpon the ſudden enter the towne, it might happily be ſo againe recouered. Vpon which ſo great a deſignement he thought good to conſult further with the lord *Palſi*, whom he requeſted, in all haſt & with as much ſecrecie as was poſſible, with 1600 foot and as many horſe as he could make, to come vnto him to Comara. Who vpon this aduertiſement ſtaid not, but preſently giuing order vnto his men, ſet forward by night, and the 26 of March before day, with 1400 foot and 120 horſe H arriued at Comara; where they were all joyfully receiued, and the gates after they were entered, again faſt ſhut, and ſo kept for feare of the enemies ſecret ſpies, of whom no man can be too warie, be he neuer ſo wiſe. Now whilcſt theſe ſoldiers were refreſhing themſelues, in the mean time the gouernour with the Lord *Palſi* diſcourſed to the full concerning the intended enterpriſe: which reſolued vpon, they found themſelues vpon the view of their men to haue 2600 foot of the garriſon ſoldiers, and 300 horſe, all good and couragious men, and well appointed for the intended ſeruice: who there ſtaying two dayes after their comming, and many of them in the meane time (after the manner of their religion) confeſſing themſelues, and receiuing the Sacrament, were become ſo couragious, as that they doubted not in the quarrel of the Chriſtian religion to encounter a far greater number of the Turks than themſelues. And the more to I ſtir them vp, the Lord *Palſi* at the ſame time deliuered vnto them a notable ſpeech; not for all that telling them whither they were to go: but, That they were his Chriſtian ſoldiers & brethren, vnder his leading both of long and late time: who neuer by him deceiued of their wonted pay at ſuch time as it was due, would not now as he hoped forſake him. And albeit that he well knew them to haue deſerued at his hands a greater contentment; neuertheles being himſelfe depriued of his reuenue by theſe late warres, and his poſſeſſions ſubiect euery houre vnto the incurſions of the Turks, could not therefore according to his deſire, and their deſerts, ſhew vnto them the great good will he bare them: Yet now and euen preſently was come the time wherein they might not onely abundantly enrich themſelues, but alſo adorne their heads with K an immortal crowne of glorie, and make themſelues for euer famous, by performing the moſt happie and glorious exploit that euer was by valiant ſouldiers attempted or atchieued in that part of the world. And to the intent that they might know how dearely he accounted of the life and honor of euery one of them, he would therefore himſelfe with the lord *Swartzenburg* (of whom proceeded all that faire deuice and new ſtratagem) be preſent with them in the action: and that therefore they were not to thinke that they were led forth to any priuat danger, farther than their commanders themſelues; whoſe folly were to be accounted great, if raſhly and vpon no good ground they ſhould aduenture their liues and honours together: whereof they ought not now to doubt, hauing by a thouſand proofes known, how much they had been of them always regarded. And that therefore it behoued them ſo much the more to ſhew their valor in this piece of ſeruice vndertaken for the great benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale, and the honour of Chriſt Ieſu, vnto whom they were with one accord to make their prayers, with his mightie hand to ſtrengthen their hearts, and with glorious victorie to bring to happie end the intended exploit againſt his enemies, to the honour of his name, and the aduancement of the Chriſtian religion and faith. At the end of which ſpeech all the ſouldiers cried aloud, That they were moſt readie to do any their commands, and to follow them whitherſoeuer. So order was taken, that within three houres they ſhould euery man be preſt and readie with their armes according to their places: and ſo hauing wel refreſhed themſelues, about eleuen of clocke the ſeuen and twentieth day of March they in good order began to ſet forwards toward Rab. But for that the multitude of ſouldiers oftentimes giueth the enemie warning of that is intended againſt him; *Palſi* gaue order to one *Iohn Stroine* his Sergeant Major, to follow faire and ſoftly after him, with 1700 horſe and foot, which hee well performed. And ſo vpon the breake of the day they began to draw towards Rab, and there lay cloſe in ambuſh all that day vntill night, about ſeuen miles ſhort of the towne: refreſhing themſelues in the meane time

A time with plentie of victuals, which they had brought with them from Comara. Night (the fauorer of deceit) being come, in two houres march they began to draw neere to Rab, & there ſtaied about fiue houres: from whence they ſent before them a French engineer, a man of great judgement, with thirteen others (before rewarded with 1500 duckets) hauing with them 4 petards, engines of force to blow vp into the aire any thing whereunto they be faſtened, be it neuer ſo great and weightie; where by good chance they found the draw-bridge downe, and the portculleis vp: for that the Turks then caſting no peril, expected euery houre for certain waggons with prouiſion from Alba-Regalis. By which good hap the Chriſtians vnperceiued comming to the gate, & thereunto faſtning their petards, in good order gaue fire to the ſame, which preſently tooke not hold: yet were they not far gon, but that they were by a ſentinel deſcried, B who demanding what they were, was preſently anſwered by the violent engines, which in a trice tore in ſunder the gate, with ſome part of the wall and of the fortifications neere vnto it. When now the watch (but all too late) began to giue the alarme, and the Chriſtians in the foreward thruſting preſently in, took the gate, none of the Turks yet cõming to the defence thereof, or to hinder them from entring. The firſt that appeared were 200 Turks, which with their woonted cry *Alla, Alla*, in ſuch hideous manner as if they would therewith haue rent the heauens, would haue ſtaied the Chriſtians from farther entring, but were themſelues ouercharged by 300 which were alreadie entred. At which time alſo the Baſſa came on with more than a thouſand following him, and that with ſuch courage and furie as was neuer greater to be ſeene in any Turke: where after a moſt terrible fight maintained by the ſpace of two houres, C the Baſſa himſelfe being ſlaine, the Turks began a little to retire, whereby a thouſand Chriſtians mo had leiſure to enter: when ſtraitway after came *Giaffer* the great Baſſa with aboue 1000 tall ſoldiers following him, all the inhabitants alſo of Rab running after him, & that with ſuch force, that they conſtrained the Chriſtians to retire vnto the gate whereby they entred. Who reſolued rather honorably to die within the towne, than with diſhonor to be forced out, there with incredible courage ſuſtained the greateſt impreſſion of the furious enemie: where was to be ſeene the true Chriſtian valour for the performance of ſo great an exploit well worthie of eternall memorie. But this Baſſa alſo (the other being dead of a wound in his necke) encountered by the lord *Swartzenburg*, after he had in that ſharpe conflict ſhewed great tokens of his D valour, was there at length ſlaine alſo: both whoſe heads ſtrucke off, were for a preſent afterwards ſent to the Emperor at Prague, with all the particularities of the whole action. But now the Turks perceiuing that all their chiefe commanders were ſlain, retired moſt part of them into the citie: ſome 300 of them crept vnderneath one of the bulwarks, where ſtood certain barrels of gunpouder, which they deſperatly ſet on fire, and ſo together with themſelues blew vp 300 Chriſtians that were aboue vpon the bulwarke; the greateſt loſſe the Chriſtians had in all that victorie, who were otherwiſe ſuppoſed not to loſe therein aboue 200 of their men. Thus the Turks diſcomfited, and altogether full of feare, loſing both their force and courage, fled in euery place before the Chriſtians, they in euery corner making of them a moſt horrible ſlaughter. The Turkiſh women all this while out of their windowes and other high places, ceaſed not to caſt downe ſtones, timber, and ſuch like things vpon the heads of the Chriſtians, whom they thought by all meanes to annoy, and to helpe the Turks. The bloudie execution continued E all that day vntill night, the Chriſtians ſtill finding one or other hidden in the moſt ſecret places of the city, vpon whom to exerciſe their wrath: who ranſacking alſo euery corner thereof, were by the wealth therein found greatly enriched. But comming to the palace of *Giaffer* the great Baſſa, they found ſuch great ſtore of rich furniture, as better beſeemed ſome great Prince than a Turkiſh ſlaue. There they found alſo letters written in characters of gold from the Baſſa of Buda to this Baſſa, greeting him, and promiſing him in his behalfe to deale with the Grand Seignior againſt the next Spring, with the firſt that his armie ſhould take the field, that he might therein haue ſome honorable place of command, to the end he might in the field ſhew his greater valour, and no longer lie idle in that ſtrong towne. So found they there alſo many things written from the Great Sultan himſelfe vnto this Baſſa, with great ſtore of coine, which all fell to the ſouldiers ſhare; inſomuch that by this ſo notable an exploit ſo well performed, the publique State, together with the ſouldiers priuat was not a little bettered. There amongſt other things were recouered threeſcore and ſix pieces of Artillerie, which were knowne to haue been ſometime the Emperors, and foure and twentie others, which the Baſſa had

Rab ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians.

Two of the Turks Baſſa's ſlaine.

A great bootie.

had cauſed to be brought from Buda, with great ſtore of ſhot and pouder and other ſmall pieces, and meale ſufficient to haue ſerued foure thouſand men for a yeare and a halfe, but of wine G (little vſed of the Turks) onely foure veſſels. In the Baſſa's palace was alſo found of armour and weapons of all ſorts great ſtore, with aboundance of cloath and apparell, which was all giuen in ſpoile to the ſouldiers. Thus Rab one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of Chriſtendome, not full foure yeares before beſieged by *Sinan Baſſa* with a hundred and fiftie thouſand men, by the ſpace almoſt of three moneths, and then at length by the treaſon of the gouernour to him betraied; was now in one night by the valour and policie of a few reſolute men, to their immortal glorie againe reſtored to the Chriſtian commonwealth the nineteenth day of March in the yeare 1598. Of which ſo notable a victorie the Chriſtians reioyced not a little both in Hungarie and elſewhere: the great Sultan with the Turkes no leſſe grieuing and ſtorming, as well for the loſſe of the towne, before got with no ſmall charge, as for the death of his people H there ſlaine, to the number of about ſix thouſand and moe, with the loſſe of ſcarce ſix hundred Chriſtians.

A great tumult betweene the Ianizaries and the Spahi.

Yet for all this, *Mahomet* the great Sultan ceaſed not to make great prouiſion for his wars in Hungary, and that greater than before; and ſo with greater furie alſo to proſecute his wrathfull indignation to be reuenged vpon the Chriſtians. Whereunto order was giuen vnto *Ibraim Baſſa* his brother in law, and General of his armie, with all conuenient ſpeed to take the field: which for all that fell out far otherwiſe; for that now thinking to haue had all things in good forwardneſſe, a great diſſention riſe betwixt the Ianizaries and the Spahi; the Ianizaries being the beſt footmen, and the Spahi the beſt horſemen of the Turkiſh Empire; both the faithfull keepers of the perſon of their Prince, and the greateſt ſtrength of his ſtate: whereby it commeth I to paſſe, that in ſetting forward towards the wars, theſe two ſorts of valiant ſoldiers, the one ſtanding vpon their ſtrength, and the other vpon their honor, and both jealous of their reputation and credit, haue no good liking of one the other, but oftentimes, and eſpecially of late in this corruption of their martial diſcipline vnder their degenerate Emperours, fall at odds among themſelues, as now they did, to the great hinderance of their affairs, and trouble of their General. Inſomuch that to appeaſe this tumult he was glad to put to death certaine of the inſolent Ianizaries refuſing to ſet forward as they were by their Aga commanded. But proceeding further, and thinking to haue executed ſome others of them alſo, to the further terrour of the reſt, he was by them and their adherents put in ſuch feare of his life, that to auoid the preſent K danger, he was glad to excuſe himſelfe by his lieutenant, laying all the blame vpon him as the cauſe thereof: who was therefore as a ſacrifice deliuered vnto the fury of the Ianizaries, by whom he was there preſently ſlain, with ſome others of the Baſſa's followers. So theſe broils with much ado ouerpaſt, *Ibrahim* hauing taken a general reuiew of his armie at Sophia, there ſtayed, expecting order from the great Sultan where to begin his wars, in Hungarie or in Tranſyluania, for as yet that was in queſtion: which could not wel be before the beginning of Iuly, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of victuals euen then ariſing in the campe; for the ſupplying whereof *Mahomet* himſelfe had no ſmall care. But this long delay was the cauſe that a great number of the Ianizaries comming from Hadrianople, and hearing by the way, that the General would not as yet ſet forward, not knowing the cauſe of his ſtay, and doubting to be deceiued of their L promiſed entertainment, were about to haue returned backe againe: which known at the court, commandment was preſently ſent thence vnto the General, without longer ſtay to ſet forward toward Hungarie, which the more haſtened his departure with his armie.

In this the Turks ſo long delay, the Chriſtians had good leiſure to prepare their new forces, being now the latter end of Sommer: for well they might thinke that the enemie ſlept not, knowing what prouiſion he had made as well in Conſtantinople as in other places. Wherefore reaſonably doubting, that Sommer well ſpent, and Auguſt now at hand, he would not ſo late turne his forces into the lower Hungarie, they thought it beſt to prouide for the ſafetie of the vpper countrey: And to the end that the enemie approching thoſe frontiers, might there finde forces readie to encounter him, the lord *George Baſta* a man of great eperience and valor M was appointed Lieutenant Generall for that countrey; to the great contentment of the ſouldiers in generall, all ſhewing themſelues moſt readie at his command. The Lord *Swartzenburg* in the meane time remaining in the lower Hungarie at Rab, with eight thouſand good ſoldiers: and the Archduke *Mathias* at Vienna for the diſpatch of *George Baſta*, and the haſting of him forward: for that the vpper Hungarie to the great hurt thereof began now to feele the incurſions of the Turkes and Tartars: beſides that, hee was afterwards to returne himſelfe to ſpeake with the Emperour his brother, ſtill expecting a Chiaus of the Turks by the appointment of the grand Seignior, ſent by the way of Polonia for Prague, to intreat with the Emperour concerning a peace.

Buda beſieged by the Chriſtians.

They of Buda in the mean while ſeeing the delay of the Turks, of whom not one band yet appeared in thoſe quarters; and on the other ſide perceiuing the great preparation of the Imperials, and the great garriſon at Rab ſo neere at hand, began now to doubt ſome new reſolution of the Chriſtians: wherein they were no whit deceiued; for no armie of the Turks being then in field in the lower Hungarie, and the country plaine and open, the lord *Palfi* with a conuenient power, and certaine pieces of batterie, ſet forward to attempt the enterpriſe, and the 16 of October with 16 pieces of artillerie began to batter the citie of Buda, to the great feare and diſcomfiture of them within: hauing firſt taken the fort S. *Gerarde*, with hope to haue gained the reſt alſo. For which cauſe, the men, the women, and all that dwelt in the citie, moſt inſtantly beſought the Baſſa, not to indure the deſtruction of the ſame, with the inhabitants & wealth thereof altogether; but being not able long to hold out againſt ſo furious a batterie, in time to hearken vnto ſome reaſonable compoſition, that ſo they might yet euery man at leaſt with life depart. Whereunto the Baſſa for all that would not hearken, but put them ſtill in hope that they ſhould be preſently relieued. Howbeit the batterie ſtil continuing, and they not able longer to indure the force of the Imperials, nor any reliefe yet comming, they were glad at length to abandon the citie with the loſſe of two thouſand of the Ianizaries, and but 300 of the Chriſtians ſlaine, and 800 hurt: the reſt of the Turks at the ſame time retiring themſelues into the caſtle, where they might for a ſpace deeme themſelues ſafe. So the Lord *Palfi* poſſeſſed of the citie, with all his forces laid ſiege vnto the caſtle, which although it were in ſome places ſhaken with the continual furie of the cannon, yet were the defendāts ſtil ready to make good the ſame: inſomuch that *Palfi* vpon good hope of ſucceſſe giuing thereunto a general aſſault, was by their valor enforced to retire; they within in the meane time with great labor & induſtry repairing the breaches and gaules made by the artillerie. So that *Palfi* conſidering the difficultie of the aſſault, thought it better by vndermining to ſhake the rocke whereon the caſtle ſtood, than by a new aſſault to expoſe ſo many worthie men vnto ſo manifeſt a danger: which his purpoſe by the enemie diſcouered, was by them alſo by countermining diſappointed: yet for all that were the Chriſtians ſtill in good hope by another mine not yet by the enemie perceiued, to ſort to the full of their deſire: and the more, for that they ſaw not ſo much *brauerie or ſhew* of courage in the defendants as before. Who now kept themſelues ſilent and quiet, as if they had bin conſulting about the yeelding vp of the caſtle, as men bereft of al hope of reliefe and ſuccor; the Chriſtians being now poſſeſſed of a ſtrong abby and fortreſſe faſt by, and hauing broken downe all the bridges ouer the riuer Danubius, in ſuch ſort, as that the beſieged could not receiue any reliefe either by land or water. But foraſmuch as the time of the yere began now to grow tedious, & the Winter weather ſharpe, the Chriſtians thought it not beſt there long to protract the time; and therefore reſolued to preſent vnto the caſtle another general aſſault, and at the ſame inſtant to blow vp the mine: but in giuing this aſſault, they were againe repulſed with the loſſe of 200 men. At which time alſo a number of the Turks ſallying out of the caſtle, couragiouſly encountered the Chriſtians, but not with ſucceſſe anſwerable to their valor, being there almoſt all cut in pieces: neither did the mine take the deſired effect, but being blowne vp did little or no harme at all. So that the Chriſtians wearie of their long ſuffering of the extremitie of the weather, and withal conſidering the great courage of the defendants, were euen vpon the point to haue riſen: yet willing to giue a freſh attempt by the mine, they began againe to worke in the ſame, and in hope to preuaile, began to parly with the defendants about the giuing vp of the caſtle: but all to little or no purpoſe; for that the mine hauing taken no effect, the ſouldiers could hardly be drawne on through the deep and muddie ditches to giue a new aſſault. In fine, ſeeing no hope to preuaile, and hearing alſo of the comming of a great armie of the Turks for the reliefe of the beſieged, they raiſed their ſiege, & at their departure burnt their ſuburbs, carrying away with them a great booty: and ſo retiring towards Strigonium, expected further direction where to Winter. Where ſhortly after order was taken, that the forces diſbanded ſhould be diſperſed, ſome into the garriſons, and ſome into

The Chriſtians depart from the ſiege of Buda.

the countrie thereabout;to the intent they might ſo be in the more readineſſe with the firſt of the next Spring to take the field,or as occaſion ſhould ſerue to be otherwiſe imploied.

But *Sigiſmund* the Tranſyluanian Prince in the meane time repenting himſelfe of the vnequal exchange he had made with the Emperor,in diſguiſed apparel haſting in poſt out of Sileſia came to Clauſenburg in Tranſyluania:and there was ioyfully receiued of his ſubiects,& taking of them a new oath of obedience,by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe certified *Maximilian* the Archduke(appointed by the Emperor for the gouernment of Tranſyluania,and now vpon his way as far as Caſſouia) of the cauſes of his returne, perſuading him rather to conuert his forces againſt the Turks for the recouerie of Agria,than to trouble himſelfe to come any farther for Tranſyluania, now againe by him to the great contentment of his ſubiects repoſſeſſed: as did alſo the Princeſſe his wife (*Maximilian* his Couſin German) wiſhing him to conſider what hurt and diſhonour he ſhould doe vnto the Emperour his Maieſtie, himſelfe, the Roman Empire, and the whole Chriſtian common-weale in generall, if in ſo dangerous a time he ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Prince her husband, and vnto him by her ſo neerely allied.

Veradinum beſieged by the Turkes.

Now the Turks great armie being come into the vpper Hungarie, lay encamped vnder the wals of the ſtrong citie of Veradinum,where that worthie captain *George Baſta* was Lieutenant Generall for the Emperor;but not hauing ſuch ſtrength,as without further helpe to go againſt ſo mightie an enemie, or to relieue the beſieged citie,not as then furniſhed with a ſufficient gariſon,he gaue knowledge thereof vnto *Maximilian* the Archduke,who(as is aforeſaid)with a conuenient power was but a little before come to Caſſouia; to haue gone into Tranſyluania, had he not there by the way been ſtayed by Embaſſadors from the Prince *Sigiſmund*,but lately before returned out of Sileſia;and hauing againe taken vpon him the gouernment,by theſe his Embaſſadours requeſted him no further to trouble himſelfe with that iourney,offering to giue him aid againſt the Turks whenſoeuer he ſhould require it. The beſieged neuertheleſſe in the meane time notably defended themſelues, and with certaine braue ſallies did the enemy great harme;ſtil expecting that *Baſta* the Lieutenant,or the Tranſyluanian Prince, or *Maximilian* the Archduke, or they all with their vnited forces ſhould ſend them reliefe: vnto whom they gaue knowledge the nineteenth of October,how that the Turks with all the force and furie they had vſed,had as yet little preuailed,being by their valor ſtil repulſed,and with many ſharp ſallies to their great loſſe encountered,and ſome of their great ordnance cloyed,in ſuch ſort,as that they were in good hope to protract the time vntil they might by them their friends be relieued : yet not doubting,but that the Turks according to their woonted manner,would doe what they might to ſubdue them. According to whoſe expectation, the Tranſyluanian Prince with a great power taking the field to haue relieued them, was letted ſo to do by the Tartars,to that purpoſe ſtirred vp by the Turks:ſo that he could by no means ioine his forces with *Maximilian*,for looking to the ſafetie of his owne people and countrey. Yet in token of forwardneſſe,he ſent certain companies of braue ſouldiers vnto the Lieutenant *Baſta*;who vnderſtanding that of 2000 good ſouldiers in garriſon in the citie at the beginning of the ſiege, there were ſcarce 700 left aliue, all the reſt beeing with continuall aſſaults ſlaine or mortally wounded, vſed a notable ſtratagem to delude the enemie withall : for hauing put his men in good order,and comming brauely on,as if he would euen preſently haue ioyned battel(a thing which the Turkes moſt deſired)whileſt they likewiſe with great ſtir were putting themſelues in order of battell,and wholly buſied therein,he by another way(of the Turks leaſt ſuſpected) cunningly thruſt into the citie eight hundred good ſoldiers, and that done, preſently retired againe into his trenches,wherein he ſtrongly encamped,feared not all the Turks forces: who thinking euen then to haue come to a day battel,and ſtill in vaine expecting the ſame,returned deceiued by this fineneſſe. And ſo ſhortly after (enforced by continuall foule weather) raiſed their ſiege,not without great difficulty & danger(reliefe lying ſo neere at hand,and the defendants ſtrengthened with new ſupplies)to haue been longer maintained. So paſſed the troubles of this yeare, with no gaine but great loſſe of the Turks : who at their departure enforced by the vnſeaſonableneſſe of the weather and feare together, left behind them in their trenches many tents with ſome great pieces of artillerie,being not able to conuey the ſame by water to Buda:and withall fearing greatly to be encountered by the forces of *Baſta*, ſtrengthened with new ſupplies euen then ſent vnto him from the Emperour.

A new ſupplie put into Veradinum by Baſta

A The Archduke *Mathias*, *Swartzenburg*, and the other commanders of the armie in the lower Hungarie, beeing twelue thouſand ſtrong, with the garriſon ſouldiers of Rab, Strigonium, and Komara, in the meane time becauſe they would not ſtand idle, together with the Hungarian horſemen, ouerran all the country thereabout euen vnto the gates of Buda: in good hope alſo to haue met with eight thouſand Turks (as they were by their eſpials aduertiſed) comming towards Peſth with victuals for the reliefe of the caſtle of Buda.

Whileſt things thus paſſed in Hungarie, *Mahomet* to ſhew his greatneſſe, as alſo the more to keepe the Chriſtian Princes in ſuſpence, ſent *Cicala* (or as the Turkes call him *Cigala*) *Baſſa* his Admirall with a great fleet to ſea: wherewith being come vpon the coaſt of Sicilia, he requeſted the Viceroy of that Kingdome, to ſend him aboord his fleet the Ladie *Lucretia* his mo-
B ther, which dwelt in Meſſina, for that he greatly deſired to ſee her, and to do her honour; promiſing ſo quietly to depart without any harme doing. And the Viceroy againe conſidering how that the angry renegat for the like courteſie to him at another time before denied, had in his rage done great harme all alongſt the ſea coaſt; couenanting with him to ſend her in ſafetie backe againe, ſent her honorably accompanied aboord the Admirall gallie: whom *Cicala* her ſon receiued with great ioy and triumph, and hauing kept her with him one day with all the honour that might be, according to his promiſe ſent her backe againe to Meſſina; and ſo without any harme done for her ſake to any part of Chriſtendome, peaceably returned backe again with his fleet.

Now in the mean time *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia with good forces of his own, be-
C cauſe he would be doing ſomething alſo, reſolued to giue an attempt vpon Nicopolis, a city of the Turks in Bulgaria: and ſo giuing order to his people, cauſed a bridge to be made ouer Danubius to paſſe that great riuer by. Whereof the Baſſaes of Siliſtria and Badoua vnderſtanding, thought it good with all their power to diſturbe him in that worke: and ſo comming, as the ſaid bridge was by the Vayuod his ſouldiers laid ouer the riuer vpon boats, without farther ſtay attempted to haue broken the ſame, to the intent that the Vayuod ſhould not that way paſſe. Who haſting thither with his armie, reſcued his worke, and enforced his Baſſaes to forſake the exploit by them begun: where betwixt them for a ſpace was fought a moſt hard conflict, vntill at length the Turks were with a great ſlaughter ouerthrowne, and ſo glad ſome
D here, ſome there, by flight as they might to ſaue their liues. After which victorie, he without let paſſing ouer the riuer with his whole forces, came and encamped vnder the wals of Nicopolis: where they of the citie vnderſtanding of the late ſlaughter of the Turkes, and finding themſelues not able to hold it out againſt the force and valor of the Valachies, and now out of hope of any help or reliefe in time to come from the Turks, without farther reſiſtance yeelded themſelues into the power of the Vayuod: who hauing ſacked the city and ſet it on fire, carried thence a great ſpoile and bootie, with a number of the Bulgarians: chuſing out the beſt and moſt able bodies amongſt them to ſerue him in his wars, and appointing the reſt to inhabit and manure the waſted places of Valachia. The report of this ouerthrow giuen vnto the Turks by the Valachian, with the ſacking of Nicopolis, running abroad, brought a general feare vpon the Turks euen in the imperial city of Conſtantinople. For the ſtaying wherof *Mahomet* commanded the chiefe of his Baſſaes, with a great power of tumultuarie ſoldiers taken vp in haſt to go
E forthwith againſt the Vayuod to ſtay the courſe of his farther proceedings, to the diſmaying of his people; himſelfe thundring out moſt horrible threats againſt him: who encouraged with his late victory, and well acquainted with the Turks maners, little regarded the ſame, as knowing that he was not with words but with armes to be vanquiſhed.

Nicopolis ſacked and burnt by the Vayuod

1599

Now *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour oppreſſed with melancholie to ſee himſelfe at once aſſailed with the Plague then raging in Conſtantinople, the bloudie wars in Hungarie, and the horrible mortalitie and loſſe of his people in both places; and withall not ignorant of the euil ſucceſſe of his armie at Veradinum, and of the great harme done at Nicopilis by the Valachian; yet for all that, ceaſed not in what he might to prouide for ſo many euils, but gaue order to *Taut Baſſa* with all ſpeed to ſet forward (as we haue ſaid) from Conſtantinople toward Valachia; as from whence hee feared the greateſt danger: who without delay to make the Vayuod to vnderſtand how highly the great Sultan was diſpleaſed with him, put himſelfe vpon the way with ſix hundred Ianizaries towards Hadrianople, with purpoſe there to Winter vntill the Spring, and ſo to expect the comming of the reſt of the armie, that ſo with the ſame, vnited vnto the forces of ***Mehemet Satergi*** (who the laſt yeare beſieged Veradinum) hee might in the field appeare more terrible vnto his enemies. The Chriſtian Emperor alſo at the ſame time reſted much diſcontented, that his people in ſo faire a way for the winning of the caſtle of Buda, had yet failed thereof: the Wallons laying the fault vpon the Lords ***Swartzenburg***, ***Palſi***, and the reſt of the commanders, that it was not woon; for that when they as valiant men offered to haue done therin the vttermoſt of their deuoire, their leaders had made choiſe by the ſpade and mattocke rather than by the ſword to performe the ſame.

The Turks again ſpoiled by the Vayuod.

But ***Michael*** the Vayuod ſeeing the Turks not a little diſmayed with the ſacking of Nicopolis, began afreſh to their greater terrour and hurt to make new inrodes vpon them, in ſuch ſort, as that he was entred an hundred miles into their territorie: againſt whom ***Mehemet Satergi*** (as yet the Turks General in Hungarie) comming with his forces, he againe retired, carrying away with him the ſpoile of the countrie by him waſted.

Buda diſtreſſed

They of Buda in the meane time fearing ſome ſudden aſſault to be giuen vpon them, and ſuffering within great want of victuals, expected long to be relieued both with victuals and other neceſſaries: vnderſtanding yet withall, that the grand Seignior had cauſed it to bee giuen out in Conſtantinople, That he was raiſing a great power of his beſt and moſt expert ſouldiers, and had therefore ſent for vnto the court all his old men of war, ſuch as had ſerued in the wars of Perſia, to be now againe emploied in Hungarie. Where the Turks in the meane time prouiding to relieue the diſtreſſed citie of Buda both with men and many other neceſſaries; certain reſolute Hungarians vnderſtanding by their eſpials, that one of the Turks Baſſaes with 3000 ſoldiers was comming thither to encreaſe the garriſon, laid themſelues cloſe in ambuſh in a place whereby the Turks were to paſſe: where they had not long ſtaid, but that the Turks as men without feare diſorderedly paſſing by, were by them with ſuch force and fury aſſailed, that in a moment, when they leaſt thought, they were ouerthrowne and put to flight, with the loſſe of many of their horſes, much money and iewels, and many captaines there taken priſoners, the Baſſa himſelfe with much adoe hardly eſcaping into the citie. But ſhortly after, 400 Chriſtians ſcouring the countrie about Buda, and hauing taken a good bootie of cattell and other pillage, returning loded with the prey, were by the way aſſaulted by the Turkes, and enforced to forſake the ſame, and to fight for their liues: whom for all that, they notably repulſed, with the ſlaughter of diuers of them, & ſo again recouering their bootie, returned with victorie. And about this time or not long after in the vpper Hungarie, a great power of the Turks and Tartars hauing forraged a great part of that country, and done the Chriſtians great harm, came before Coſſouia, making ſhew as if they would euen preſently haue beſieged that citie: which put the inhabitants in ſuch a feare, that many of them without further deliberation fled forthwith as faſt as they could into the mountains, thinking thēſelues more ſafe there than in the citie. Neuertheleſſe, by the perſuaſion of ***George Baſta***, the Emperors Lieutenant in thoſe parts, 2000 valiant and expert ſouldiers ſtaid there with him, expecting what the Turks would do: who approching the wals, demanded of them in the citie a great ſum of mony by way of contribution; threatning otherwiſe the vtter ruin and deſtruction thereof. Which their proud demand was by ***Baſta*** ſtoutly reiected, and they with the loſſe of a great many of their liues inforced to get them farther off. Wherfore ſeeing themſelues not able to preuaile againſt a city ſo well prouided, they for feare by night riſe, and departed quite another way than that whereby they came, doing great harm ſtill as they went. The free Haiducks of Valachia alſo, a warlike kind of people, liuing for moſt part vpon prey, & willing to ſhew ſome token of their hatred toward the Turks, by certain bridges paſſing ouer the Danubius, encountered with the Baſſa of Natolia with a great power, whom they ouerthrew with much ſlaughter of his people, and the loſſe of his brother there ſlaine alſo: and ſo afterwards ouerrunning the country, did there exceeding harme, and tooke the ſame Baſſa his ſonne priſoner. Thus paſſed the Winter with many light skirmiſhes and incurſions in diuers parts of Hungarie and other the frontier countries; which had done great harme, had it not beene before hand well prouided for by the Imperials; who in moſt places ſtrengthened with new ſupplies, ſtayed the furie of their barbarous enemies. ***Maximilian*** the Archduke in the meane time comming from Prague to Vienna, found himſelfe there to haue in his camp but foure & twentie thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, readie againſt the next Spring (diuers of the Germane Princes this yeare not ſending thither any aid at all, by reaſon of their troubles neerer home, with the Spaniards

A the Spaniards in the lower ſide of Germanie) which made him the more to dread the enemies
comming, who he knew after his accuſtomed manner would that Summer appeare in the field
with a farre greater number. But to haue holpen this want, the great Duke of Muſcouie about
this time, by his Embaſſadors amongſt other things requeſted leaue of the Polonian, for forty
thouſand horſemen to paſſe through his country, which horſemen he had determined (as hee
ſaid) to ſend in aid of the Emperor againſt the Turke. Which his requeſt the Polonian would
by no meanes grant, as dangerous to his eſtate. Wherefore the Muſcouite offended with the
Polonian, ſent other his Embaſſadors vnto the Emperor by ſea: who embarked in an Engliſh
ſhip in the port of S. *Nicolas*, and ſayling about the kingdomes of Sweden, Norway and Den-
marke, after long trouble at ſea, at length arriued at Stoad, and ſo from thence by land trauel-
B ling to Hamborow, Lubecke, and Maidenborow, and in euery place honourably entertained,
came at laſt vnto the Emperour into Bohemia, then lying at Pliſena, for that the plague was
then hot at Prague: where they hauing with great ſtate deliuered their Preſents and Letters
of credence vnto the Emperour; had audience, and were by him moſt honourably vſed. Yet
the Polonian hauing thus denied the Muſcouite paſſage, ſuffered the Turks Embaſſadour, who
called himſelfe *Gabriel*, a Iew, to paſſe through his Countrey vnto the Emperour, to entreat
with him of a peace to bee made betwixt him and the Turke. Which *Gabriel* comming to
Prague as Embaſſadour from the great Turke, and hauing no letters of credence to ſhew for
his negotiation (for that they were, as he ſaid, vpon the way taken from him by the Polonian
Coſſackes, and certaine of his retinue ſlaine) was there taken for a ſpie, and ſo ſent to Vienna:
C where at his firſt arriuall hee was well vſed in a common Inne: but the night following being
taken in his chamber by the Martiall, was ſo clapt faſt in priſon, with as many yrons vpon him
as he could beare, and all his followers with gyues vpon their legs compelled as ſlaues daily
to worke in the towne ditch.

The Turks embaſſador taken for a ſpie, and impriſoned at Vienna.

About this time alſo *Sigiſmund* the Tranſyluanian Prince (whom hitherto all men admired
as a man euen ſent from heauen, for the benefit of his countrey and of the Chriſtian common-
weale) by a wonderfull change gaue a moſt manifeſt token of a diuers and vnconſtant nature,
to the great wonder of the world: for hauing broken the agreement made with the Emperor
the laſt yeare, and being ſecretly in poſt returned out of Sileſia into Tranſyluania, and againe
D taken vpon him the gouernment (as is before declared) and hauing withall requeſted himſelfe
and the Tranſyluanians his countreymen to be diſcharged of the oath of obedience and loy-
altie by them before giuen vnto the Emperour; and the citie of Veradinum, with the country
thereabout, to be againe reſtored vnto him; and the Emperour pauſing thereupon; did now,
(doubting of his owne abilitie for the keeping of that countrey) in the beginning of this yeare
1599, by his Embaſſadors the Biſhop of Alba-Iulia, and *Stephen Paſchai* his Chauncellor, ſent
of purpoſe vnto the Emperour, requeſt him to haue the firſt agreements againe renewed, and
the principalitie of Trebnits in Morauia, to be added vnto the two Dukedomes of Oppel and
Ratibor in Sileſia, with fiftie thouſand duckats to be yearely paied vnto him out of the cham-
ber of the Empire: and a generall pardon to be giuen vnto all the Tranſyluanians that follow-
ing him had of late reuolted from the Emperour, and their antient liberties to be againe vnto
euery one of them confirmed. With all which conditions obtained at the Emperours hands
(as of him that ſaw how needfull it was for him by any meanes to keepe that ſtrong country
in his power) the ſame Embaſſadours with their diſpatch returned from Prague the nineteenth
of Aprill.

But *Sigiſmund* in the meane time at home, was entred into new conceits with certain of the
Polonian nobilitie, far differing from the former agreement with the Emperour: and hauing
ſent for one of the Turkes Chiaus from Conſtantinople; and for his Couſin *Andrew Ba-
thor* the proud Cardinall out of Boruſia, and ſo meeting with them in an obſcure village in
the confines of Tranſyluania, towards Polonia, accompanied with certaine of the chiefeſt of
the States of his countrey: there in the preſence of the Polonians and of the Turkiſh Embaſ-
ſadour, reſigned all the right and title he had in the countrey of Tranſyluania, vnto the Car-
dinall his couſin; commanding all the States there preſent to ſweare vnto him their obedience
and fidelitie who ſhortly after together with the Polonian Embaſſadour, ſent one of his eſpe-
ciall fauourits to Conſtantinople, to deſire ſafe conduct for his Embaſſadours to be ſent thi-
ther to conclude of all matters with the Turke. Which meſſengers ſo ſent, together with the

Sigiſmund yeeldeth his country of Tranſyluania vnto the Cardinal Bathor his couſin.

Polonian Embaſſador, were both courteouſly receiued in the Turks court, and as with an eſpecial fauor rewarded with right ſumptuous garments, and charge giuen them, That the Cardinall within three months next ſhould ſend thither a ſolemne Embaſſador, with the old accuſtomed tribute by the Turke demanded. Thus through the inconſtancie of the Prince, the ambition of the proud Cardinall, and the foule colluſion of the Polonian, the countrie of Tranſyluania (one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of that ſide of Chriſtendome) falling from the obedience of the Emperor, and ſo in ſort bereft from the Chriſtian common-weale, became againe tributarie vnto the Turke; moſt good men deteſting the lightnes of the one, the ambition of the other, and the ſlineſſe of the third.

The Baſſa of Buda taken priſoner.

The Turks ouerthrown, & the Baſſa of Boſna ſlaine.

Now the Turks of Buda not able longer to endure the great famine therein, had moſt earneſtly requeſted reliefe from the other Turks their friends in Hungarie; who on all hands ran to haue relieued them: but comming neere thereunto, could not put therin ſuch prouiſion as they had brought for the relief of the ſame, being letted ſo to do by the Imperials; who about a league off diligently attended euery motion of the enemy: from whence the Lord *Swartzenburg* in the night ſecretly approching one of the gates with his followers, thought with a Petard to haue broken it open, and ſo to haue entered. Which his deuiſe taking not effect, as did that at Rab, the gate being within ſtrongly fortified by the enemy, he was inforced to depart, being alſo diſcouered by the Turks from the wall. Now ſhortly after, the Baſſa of Buda with ſix hundred horſe iſſuing out of the city to haue met with victuals that were comming thither, fell into an ambuſh of the Haiduckes, who after their manner fiercely encountered him, and putting him to flight, tooke him priſoner, his horſe in his chaſe falling vnder him: whom his ſouldiers ſeeking to reſcue, there began a new skirmiſh, encreaſing their former ouerthrow with the loſſe of the greateſt part of them that were left: amongſt whom the Baſſa his ſonne, with the Aga of the Ianizaries there, loſt their liues alſo. Which conflict thus ended, the Baſſa was with ſafe conduct brought to the camp, & there with great threats enforced to reueale the ſtate of his city, with other the ſecret deſignes of the Turks. Whereupon the Haiducks returned again towards Buda, ſeeking by all means to ſtop the comming of victuals thither, ſo in hope at length to haue gained the diſtreſſed city. But whileſt they thus lay vpon the paſſages, behold newes was brought vnto them, how that the Baſſa of Boſna, with the Sanzacks of Sigeth, Quinque Eccleſiæ, & Coppan, with 10000 Turks were comming to oppreſſe them, and to open the paſſages by them holden. But they knowing their owne ſtrength, and nothing fearing ſo ſmall a force, ſtaid not for their comming, but went to meet them; & in a place of good aduantage waiting for them, vpon their firſt appearance, with great aſſurance & courage charged them, brake their array, and ſlew the greateſt part of them, together with the Baſſa himſelfe: yet with ſo much adoe, as that had not the Lord *Palſi* in good time ſent in vnto their aid certaine companies of freſh men, it was not without cauſe doubted but that the Haiducks had bin put to the worſe, about three hundred of them hauing there already loſt their liues. The Tartars yet neuertheleſſe in good number held on their way towards Buda, with purpoſe to haue ouerrun the country, and ſo haue withdrawne the Imperials from the city: but foraſmuch as that baſe nation was knowne to be good for nothing but to rob and ſpoile, the Lord *Swartzenburg* his regiment only going againſt them, & encountering them, ouerthrew them in ſuch ſort, that part of them beeing there ſlaine in fight, and part for feare driuen into Danubie, the greater number of them there moſt miſerably periſhed.

Baſta the Emperours Lieutenant in the vpper Hungarie, at the ſame time lay at Caſſouia, with eighteene thouſand men, doubting leſt the enemies army, which he heard to be at hand, ſhould come to beſiege that city. In the meane time, *Ibrahim Baſſa* Generall of the Turks forces came to Solnoch with an armie of fiftie thouſand ſtrong, among whom were ten thouſand Ianizaries: but for all that, vnderſtanding that *Baſta* nothing diſmaied awaited his comming at Caſſouia, not thinking it good to goe any farther (his ſouldiers being alreadie wearie with long trauell) neither yet ſafe there to ſtay ſo neere vnto his ſtrong enemie, retired backe again vnto Belgrade, a place of more ſtrength and ſecuritie, expecting a great fleet of ſhips, which charged vpon the Danubius, were to bring victuals for the armie, as alſo for the reliefe of Buda, Alba Regalis, and other ſuch diſtreſſed places, with diuers great pieces for battery, & other leſſe artillerie vpon carriages, with a number of ladders and other inſtruments of warre, declaring their purpoſe for the performance of ſome notable exploit, all guarded with fiue thouſand

ſand Turkes, which conducted it vp the riuer. Of all which the Imperials vnderſtanding, the Lord *Palſi* diſpatched his Lieutenant with a conuenient power, and the Captain of the Huſſars with his followers, all good and valiant ſouldiers, to cut off this conuoy: who to make the matter ſhort, ſuddenly aſſailing them, and ſo comming to handie blows, cut in pieces the conuoy, and rifled the ſhips, of whom the greater part were there ſunke in the deep riuer; and ſo tooke an exceeding great bootie, deemed to be worth a million of gold: where among other things of great value, there was found aboord 100000 Dollars, which were all diuided amongſt the ſouldiers as a reward of their trauell. This great ouerthrow once knowne at Buda, Alba-Regalis, and the cities thereabouts, brought vpon them a great feare: yea the armie of *Ibrahim* grew thereby much diſcontented, as being at once diſappointed both of their victuals and their pay. Beſides that, the Imperials ouerran all the countrie thereabout, ranſacking, ſacking, and deſtroying the country villages and caſtles without mercy, although the poore inhabitants offred them large contribution to haue ſtaid their fury, which would not be accepted. Vpon this notable ouerthrow alſo the Lord *Swartzenburg* was determined with al his forces to come again to the ſiege of Buda, in hope in ſo great a diſcōfiture & want of victuals to haue had it deliuered vnto him; and for that purpoſe ſent for certain great pieces of artillerie to Vienna. But whileſt things went thus well in the lower Hungarie, Colonell *Rodoler* of S. *Andrews* in the vpper country, tooke occaſion alſo vpon this ouerthrow of the Turks, with 500 horſe and 600 foot, to ſhew himſelfe with this ſmall companie before Agria, hauing yet left the greateſt part of his forces a little off in ſecret ambuſh: which ſmall companie the Baſſa of Agria beholding, preſently put himſelfe in armes, and ſo ſallying out, began an hot and braue skirmiſh: when ſuddenly the other ſouldiers left in ambuſh, ſtarting out, & couragiouſly aſſailing their enemies, brake their order, & put them to flight, purſuing them at the heeles euen to the gates of the city: and had there been a greater force of footmen, it was verily thought, that the Turks (diſmaid with the flight, and altogether confounded) had abandoned the defence of the place, and the Chriſtians euen then become maſters of the city, which had bin the cauſe of their notable ouerthrow in the yere 1596. Neuertheleſſe they with great brauerie and ſmall loſſe retired, hauing ſlaine a great number of the Turks, and carrying away with them an hundred priſoners, with a bootie of fiue hundred horſe, and much other cattell.

The Turkes receiue a notable ouerthrow vpon the riuer of Danubius.

The free Haiducks alſo ſtrengthened with new ſupplies, had done great harm in the country about Buda, ſcouring freely all ouer it, finding none to oppoſe themſelues againſt them: for which cauſe the poore Chriſtians, which yet dwelt in that countrey, riſe vp againſt the Turks, promiſing their obedience vnto the Emperor: and moreouer, to the intent they might be no more moleſted by the Imperials, offered to take vp armes themſelues againſt the enemy, & to the vttermoſt of their power to hinder his paſſage both by land and water. Theſe ſame Haiducks alſo had broken down all the bridges which the Turks had made betwixt Buda & Alba Regalis, to the end they ſhould not that way commodiouſly bring either victuals or munition from the one place to the other: and the lord *Palſi* and *Nadaſti* vnderſtanding by their eſpials, That the Tartars diuided into three companies, had ouerrun a great part of the countrey, and with a great bootie were retiring towards Buda, preſently went out againſt them, and inforced them to fight: which barbarous people, better enured to filch than to fight, there loſt all their liues, together with that they had before ſtolne. After which victorie, theſe valiant men turning their forces againſt certain other places of the Turks there by, tooke two of their caſtles with much rich ſpoile: which caſtles they ſacked and burnt, together with the great towne of Zolna, breaking downe alſo the bridge vpon the riuer Traua.

Now at this time the Turks at Buda held themſelues malecontent within the citie, hauing no Gouernour, their Baſſa being before taken by the Haiduckes, and they themſelues pinched alſo with great want of victuals. Wherefore doubting ſome ſudden attempt of the Chriſtians as men diſmaied, they for their more ſafety retired themſelues into the caſtle, a place of great ſtrength, leauing the citie vnto the Imperials then ready to haue beſieged it: but doubting of the Turks great army, which as they heard was marching thitherwards, the auantgard thereof being come to Moatcſh, where *Sartes Baſſa* was alſo looked for; the report being giuen out, that the Turkes hauing relieued Buda, would goe to beſiege Caniſia or elſe Strigonium, they ſtayed to goe any farther, as men in doubt what to reſolue vpon. So were ſent certaine Colonels and other Captaines with their ſouldiers, to fortifie certaine paſſages whereby the

The Turks for feare forſake the city at Buda, and flie into the caſtle.

The Chriſtians vpon the approch of the Turkes great armie retyre.

Turks armie was to paſſe. The reſt in the mean time retiring, for that the puiſſant enemy began now to approch; as alſo for that they knew the great deſire that *Ibrahim Baſſa* had to recouer againe Strigonium, and had therefore ſent a great number of Tartars to forrage and waſte the countrey, and ſo ſuddenly hauing relieued Buda and Agria, there to reſolue whither to turne his forces. The Imperials in the meane time incamping neere vnto Hatwan and Zolnoc, to hinder the Turks from victualling of Buda, as they deſired, cut off fiue hundred of them at their firſt arriual, who to that purpoſe were going towards Buda; and tooke alſo one of the Turkes Chiaus priſoner; who ſent from *Ibrahim* the General, was going to Agria to put them in hope of their ſpeedie reliefe. They alſo at the ſame time attempted to haue ſurpriſed Zolnoc: where a good number of them with certaine petards approching the gates, in hope ſo to haue broken them open, being diſcouered by the Watch, were enforced to retire, leauing fortie behinde them ſlaine, and carrying away with them many moe of their fellowes wounded: in reuenge whereof the reſt ſhewed their furie vpon the countrey thereabout, deſtroying the villages, and intercepting a great deale of munition, which together with other victuals they met by the way as it was going to Buda and Agria.

Sommer now almoſt ſpent, *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa in the beginning of September came to Buda with an armie of an hundred and thirtie thouſand ſtrong, and from thence in the name of his great lord and maſter gaue the Emperor to vnderſtand at Prague, That for the ſauing of further effuſion of innocent bloud, and not for any feare or diſtruſt of his owne ſtrength and power, he could be content to hearken vnto ſome reaſonable conditions or treaty of peace. Wherunto both theſe great Princes (hauing well wearied themſelues with theſe long wars, and exhauſted their treaſures) ſeemed not now vnwilling, expecting (as was thought) nothing more than for the honor to be the firſt entreated: and the rather, for that the old Sultaneſſe, *Mahomet* his mother (who by the weakeneſſe of her ſons gouernment, ſuch as neuer was in any the *Othoman* kings or emperors before, did beare the greateſt ſway in his affaires) did what ſhe might to further the ſame. Wherefore in the latter end of September a place was agreed vpon for a parley for peace, which was in an Iſland in the riuer of Danubie beneath Strigonium: whither the lord *Swartzenburg*, *Nadaſti*, *Palfi*, and the Biſhop of Vacia, being come for the Emperour: and *Amurath* the Baſſa of Buda, with the lieutenant General of the Tartars, and ſome others for the Grand Seignior: The Turks at the firſt, after their vnreaſonable manner, demanded to haue Rab, Strigonium, Filek, Setchin, and all the reſt of the townes and caſtles in fiue yeres before taken from them by the Chriſtians, to be now againe ſurrendred vnto them, with a certaine yerely tribute by the Emperor to be payed vnto the great Sultan at Conſtantinople; as alſo there to haue his Embaſſadour lieger continually attending vpon the Turkes *Court*: for which they offered to deliuer againe vnto the Emperour the citie of Agria onely. All which their proud and vnreaſonable demands being by the aforeſaid Commiſſioners on the Emperours behalfe rejected, they were contented to come to ſome more reaſonable talke, offering to leaue vnto the Emperour Rab and Agria (whereof Rab was his owne alreadie) onely for Strigonium, exchanging as it were Strigonium for Agria. Which when it could neither be obtained, the parley was ſo broken off, and nothing concluded, and ſo the warres againe continued, without any memorable thing more this yeare betwixt them done, either on the one ſide or on the other; the Chriſtians contenting themſelues to haue diſtreſſed the chiefe Cities the Turkes held in Hungarie; and the Turkes no leſſe apayed to haue relieued the ſame.

A parley for peace.

Michael the Vayuod with a great armie entreth into Tranſyluania.

But whileſt things thus paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks in Hungarie, *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, yet the Emperours friend and confederat, and vnder his protection, certainly enformed his life to be ſought after in the Turkes Court by the ambitious Cardinal *Bathor* his enuious neighbour, but lately become the Prince of Tranſyluania (as is before declared:) by commandement from the Emperor, and to be reuenged of ſo great a wrong, as alſo betimes to prouide for his owne ſafetie, with an armie of threeſcore thouſand ſtrong ſuddenly entred into Tranſyluania, in moſt horrible manner burning the countrey, and killing the people before him as he went. Where whileſt the Cardinal (who was thought to haue purpoſed to haue ſerued him in like ſort, had hee not beene by him preuented) was making head againſt him, he in the meane time had the citie of Corona (commonly called Braſſo) with the ſtrong caſtle of Fogaras yeelded vnto him: from whence he marching toward Alba-Iulia, the 26 of October, with all his armie, before diuided into three parts, but now againe vnited, came into the plains neere Temiſon, about three leagues from Hermenſtat; where vnderſtanding that his lieutenant corrupted by *Ibrahim Baſſa* had promiſed to kill him; and now wel aſſured thereof, to rid himſelfe of that danger, with his owne hands preſently cut his throat, and ſo diſpatched him. When by and by after came vnto him the Popes Nuntio, ſent by a fineneſſe from the Cardinal, accompanied with another Embaſſadour, the better to countenance out the matter; telling him, That the ſame Embaſſador had commiſſion from the Emperour, to will him forthwith to deſiſt from armes, and without further delay to depart out of Tranſyluania. Which thing ſeeming vnto the Vayuod verie ſtrange, and almoſt impoſſible, he deſired to ſee the ſaid commiſſion. Whereunto the Nuncio before inſtructed, anſwered, That hee had left it with the Cardinal. But I (ſaid the Vayuod) haue one here preſent from the Emperor of another purport, which I purpoſe fully to put in execution: yet was he for that day entreated by the Nuncio to ſtay his army. And ſo in the mean time lying both ſtil and in great ſuſpence, the Vayuod deſired to know of the Nuncio, the cauſe why the Cardinal forgetting himſelfe, ſo troubled that country, by intruding himſelfe thereinto, to the great preiudice of them vnto whom it of better right belonged, not attending vnto the gouernment of the Church, better beſeeming his calling than the mannaging of armes, to the diſturbance of the Chriſtian peace. Whereunto he receiued no anſwer. So the 28 of October, a day dedicated to the commemoration of the Apoſtles *Simon* and *Iude*, theſe meſſengers were ſent backe againe vnto the Cardinal, who preſently returned them backe vnto the Vayuod with new inſtructions (being then buſie with his yong ſon, in ſetting his men in order of battell preſently to go againſt the Cardinal) of whom they could get no other anſwer, but that he was reſolued foorthwith to come vnto the trial of a battel with him. So the two armies lying incamped not paſt a quarter of a league the one from the other, and the ſame day meeting together, joined a moſt terrible & cruel battel, which for the ſpace of fiue houres was with ſuch deſperate obſtinacie fought, as if they had euery man vowed to haue carried away the victorie ouer his enemie, or there to haue left themſelues dead vpon the ground; vntill the Cardinals people at length ouercome in a long and bloudie fight, were there vtterly ouerthrowne: amongſt whom were 3000 Turkes and Tartars, ſent vnto him from *Ibrahim Baſſa* the Turks General. The Cardinal himſelfe ſeeing the diſcomfiture of his armie, was by ſome reported to haue ſaued himſelfe by flight; but by ſome others was ſaid to haue bin drowned in paſſing a riuer, as he fled from the Valachians that had him in chace. But the truth was, That the Vayuod now maſter of the field, ſent out certaine troups of horſemen diuers wayes ſtil to purſue him: and himſelfe with the reſt of his armie proſecuting the victorie, came to the Cardinals campe, now by the Tranſyluanians and Turks quite forſaken, wherein he found 45 pieces of artillerie, with great ſtore of coine and wealth, beſide a number of tents and horſes, all which became vnto him a prey. From thence he marched vnto Alba Iulia, where he was with great joy receiued of his friends and confederats there: for though the greater part of the Tranſyluanians, eſpecially the nobilitie, had together with the Cardinal ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Turks protection, and followed his enſignes; yet were there diuers others alſo who ſtill fauoured the Emperor, and therefore rejoiced not a little of this victorie. The Vayuod after that, ſent his lieutenant to Claudiopolis, to ſee if they would yeeld alſo: which they willingly did, with many other cities and caſtles in diuers parts of that countrey, which hauing none to reſt vpon, now yeelded alſo: in ſuch ſort, that ſhortly after all Tranſyluania ſubmitted it ſelfe againe vnto the Emperors obeiſance, and ſwore vnto him obedience; moſt of the nobilitie of that country being either ſlain in the battel, or afterwards put to death by the Vayuod: amongſt whom were fiue, which corrupted by the Cardinal, had before vndertaken to kill him. Now the fourteenth of Nouember, after diuers reports of the Cardinals eſcape, his vngracious head was for all that preſented to the Vayuod: which to the terrour of others, being for a while ſet vp in Alba-Iulia (where hee but a little before had commanded as a Prince) was afterwards taken downe, and ſent for a Preſent from the Vayuod vnto the Emperour and the Archdukes his brethren; his headleſſe bodie being afterward by the commaundement of the Vayuod honourably buried in a Monaſterie at Alba-Iulia, in the ſame Tombe he had before made for his brother beheaded by his Couſine *Sigiſmund Bathor*. The Cardinals Treaſure alſo fell into his hands, which was ſaid to haue beene three millions of gold. Thus the Countrey of Tranſyluania lately before

A terrible battell betwixt the Vayuod & the Cardinall.

The Cardinals head ſent for a Preſent vnto the Emperor.

before by the Cardinal yeelded vnto the obeiſance of the Turke, was againe by this worthie G Vayuod recouered and reſtored vnto the Chriſtian empire; the proud Cardinal caſt out and brought to confuſion, hauing not yet poſſeſſed theſe his new honors full eight moneths. His couſin *Sigiſmund* the late Tranſyluanian Prince, who almoſt all this while had ſtayed at Boruſia, and in diſguiſed apparell ſeene Danske, and diuers other the free cities thereabouts, now hearing newes of the Cardinals ouerthrow, ſecretly got him away from thence into Polonia, to ſeeke againe his new fortunes. The lord *Swartzenburg* at the ſame time vniting his forces in the lower Hungarie with them of Stiria, and now twentie thouſand ſtrong, ſought by all means to reduce ſo many places vpon thoſe frontiers as he could, vnto the Emperours obeiſance, and ſo tooke in aboue 200 villages: but afterward thinking to haue ſurpriſed the ſtrong caſtle of H Capiſuar, and by night ſecretly approching one of the gates with a petard, which took not the expected effect, he was diſcouered by the watch, and ſo by the garriſon ſoldiers (now raiſed with the alarum) repulſed, and enforced to retyre with the loſſe of about a hundred men, and diuers others wounded, all men of good account: in reuenge wherof *Swartzenburg* afterwards ſent out diuers troupes of horſemen, which ſcouring all ouer the country as far as Sigeth, burned it alſo, and ſo returning carried away with them a great bootie.

Ibrahim Baſſa hearing of this ouerthrow of the Cardinal, with al the forces he had ſent him, much troubled therewith, ſent newes thereof in poſt to Conſtantinople; the brute whereof brought a general feare vpon the whole citie alſo, inſomuch that Commiſſion was forthwith ſent vnto him from the great Sultan, giuing him power (if it might be) to come to ſome honorable peace with the Emperor, and to bring it with him to Conſtantinople: whither hee was I ſhortly to returne; being now no longer time to keep the field with his armie, which beſide the cold ſeaſon of the yeare, ſuffered great want of bread, the plague alſo then raging therein, with the death of many his beſt ſouldiers both horſe and foot, beſide the wonderfull mortalitie of their cattell alſo: in ſuch ſort that the ſouldiers not able longer to endure the famine and wants increaſing, fel to robbing of one another, and ſo at length into mutinie; wherein diuers of them being ſlain and cut in pieces by their fellows, the reſt for the moſt part brake in ſunder of themſelues, and ſo by diuers wayes returned home, not well truſting one another. So that nothing more was now done with the preparation of the Turkes, their armie being diſcomfited with wants and the euill ſucceſſe of their affaires as well in Hungarie as in Tranſyluania. Neither did *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa for the reliefe of thoſe euils, at his returne bring any concluſion K of peace vnto his great lord and maſter, as was commonly expected.

The Turks great army of it ſelfe diſſolued.

Cuſahin Baſſa of Caramania riſeth vp in rebellion againſt the great Sultan.

Now beſide theſe troubles of Tranſyluania and the other reuolted countries, *Cuſahin* (or as ſome call him *Caſſan*) the ſon of one of the Sultaneſſes, brought vp in the Seraglio according to the manner thereof, and hauing long ſerued in the wars of Perſia & Hungary, and ſo at length made Baſſa of Caramania, a man of great ſpirit, and not able to indure the imperfections he daily ſaw in the *Othoman* Empire, and the cowardiſe of the grand Seignior; vpon the report of the euill ſucceſſe of the affaires of Hungary on the one ſide, and the deſire he ſaw in the Perſians to recouer their loſt fortreſſes, on the other, & grieued alſo with more particular wrongs concerning himſelfe; as a man altogether diſcontented, reſolued to take vp armes: and calling vnto him his ſoldiers, and (as he was a well ſpoken man) laying before them the deformities of the L preſent ſtate, gallantly perſuaded them, with the promiſe of honour, ſoueraigntie, and rich rewards, what an eaſie thing it were to chaſe the grand ſeignior out of Aſia, and to ſet themſelues with all that part of the Empire at libertie. And ſo euen at the firſt hauing woon vnto him 3000 harquebuſiers and 5000 horſemen, tooke the field, to the great hurt of the Turks, and trouble of the State. A ſtrange matter in that tyrannical Empire. The newes whereof comming in poſt to the Court, Commiſſion was forthwith directed vnto foure of the Sanzackes of Aſia neereſt vnto him, for the ſpeedie ſuppreſſing of that rebellion but euen then ariſing. Wherof *Cuſahin* vnderſtanding, and that they with ten thouſand horſe & foot were comming to oppreſſe him, without further ſtay, went couragiouſly to meet them, and ſo encountering of them, ouerthrew them with a great ſlaughter, and tooke from them their baggage with ſix pieces of ordnance. And after with his people ſeiſed vpon all the caſtles thereabouts, giuing whatſoeuer he found therein for a prey vnto his Souldiours: who alſo much enriched themſelues with the ſpoile of the Iewes, as the people whome they moſt hated, and neuer reſted vntill hee had made almoſt all the Countrey of Caramania his owne. After that, hee

laid

laied ſiege to Cogna a city in the confines of Natolia,which was forthwith yeelded vnto him. And yet not ſo contented,gaue it out by open proclamation, that for the reformation of the diſordered ſtate, he would ere long go to beſiege the Imperial citie of Conſtantinople: and that therefore all ſuch as would follow him ſhould of him be entreated as his friends and companions,threatening vnto the reſt moſt cruel death and deſtruction. Of which his proceedings *Mahomet* (as then diſporting himſelfe in his gardens of pleaſure in the countrey all alongſt the ſide of Propontis) vnderſtanding,and fearing to be there ſurpriſed, or that ſome ſudden innouation might be raiſed in the citie,haſted with all ſpeed to Conſtantinople,and from thence in all haſte diſpatched *Mehemet* one of the Viſier Baſſa's the ſonne of *Sinan*,with all the forces he could make to go againſt him. Who paſſing ouer into Aſia with a great power,and yet fearing to come to the trial of a battel with him, whom he knew to be a man of himſelfe deſperately ſet,and not a little fauored alſo euen of his owne ſouldiers; ſo ſecretly wrought by large promiſes, that *Cuſahin* his footmen were euen vpon the point to haue forſaken him. Which hee quickly perceiuing, fled forthwith through Siria into the countrey of Arabia with his horſemen and the horſemen of *Simon* the Georgian: purpoſing the next Spring by the helpe of the Arabians & Perſians,to appeare in the field with greater forces than before. After whom *Mehemet* the great Baſſa following, came with his armie to Aleppo, there to Winter, and to expect the returne of the rebell together with the Spring, This ſo dangerous a rebellion,with the troubles of Tranſyluania and Valachia,were the cauſe that the grand Seignior,ſeeing himſelfe in ſo many places forſaken of his ſubiects,was the readier to incline vnto peace with the Emperor: whereunto for all that,the Emperor was not haſtie to hearken,but vpon honourable conditions; as knowing that the Turke required the ſame not for any deſire hee had to liue at quiet,but for that his troubled affaires both at home and elſewhere abroad ſo required,his Ianizaries and other men of war in this his ſo weak gouernment being grown ſo inſolent,as that they were hardly to be by him commanded,openly threatening in their diſcontented humors, not only the depoſing of the principal officers about him,but of himſelfe alſo, and of the baniſhment of the Sultaneſſe his mother; ſaying, That ſhee had bewitched him, to the end ſhee might her ſelfe rule, which ſhe indeed did in all his greateſt affaires. But the rebell *Cuſahin* the next yeare growne againe very ſtrong,was now come into the field,and euen ready to haue giuen the Baſſa battell: who as he was a man of great wiſedome and experience, well conſidering with what a deſperat enemie he had to do,thought it beſt againe to proue if his rebellious followers might by faire meanes be drawne from him: and ſo comming neere vnto him, by open proclamation promiſed a free and general pardon to all ſuch as had followed the Rebell in thoſe wars,if forſaking him, they ſhould forthwith returne home to their dwellings, and ſo to the obedience of their iuſt and lawfull prince and ſoueraigne. Which general pardon ſo proclaimed was the ruin of *Cuſahin*,for that the greateſt part of his followers now enriched with the great booties they had gotten, and now alſo hauing free pardon offered them, returned home into their owne countries, there at eaſe to liue of their euill gotten goods, leauing their captain with ſome few others which ſtayd with him,with little hope to be ſaued. So that within a few days after,*Cuſahin* thus forſaken of his followers was himſelfe taken and brought to Conſtantinople,where ſhortly after he was with moſt exquiſit torments tortured to death.

Mehemet one of the Viſier Baſſa's ſent againſt the Rebell.

Cuſahin the rebell taken and tortured to death at Conſtantinople.

The troubles of this yeare thus paſt, *Rodolph* the Chriſtian Emperor with the beginning of the next (whilſt the ground yet couered with ſnow, and the vnſeaſonableneſſe of the weather would not ſuffer the ſoldiers to keepe the field) cauſed a Diet of the Princes of the Empire to be called,to conſider with him of ſuch helps as were by thē to be giuen againſt the next ſpring for the maintenance of the wars which yet he had againſt the Turk: who all promiſed to ſend their ſoldiers,with their pay and ſuch further contribution as might ſerue for the maintenance of that defenſiue war againſt the common enemy: wherunto alſo *Clement* now Biſhop of Rome (this yere of Iubilie)put to his helping hand,as he had diuers times before, by ſending thither ſuch aid both of men and mony as he had before promiſed: ſo that by this means great preparation was made by the Chriſtians for the taking of the field with the firſt of the Spring. At which time the Turks alſo began to ſtir: who although *Ibrabim Baſſa* their General,by the appointment of his great lord was then in ſome ſpeech with the Emperor about a peace, yet ceaſed not they in the mean time that this treaty was from day to day prolonged,with their companies ſcattering here and there to do what harme they could vpon the frontiers of the Empe-

1600

The Emperour maketh prouiſion againſt the Turks.

rors territories,the cauſe why he with more ſpeed called vpon his friends for their promiſed aid. And for the better managing of this yeres wars againſt the Turke,he appointed duke *Mercurie* (who had drawne a great number of Frenchmen both horſe and foot out of France) Generall of all his forces,ſending *Ferant Gonzaga,* ſyrnamed the Lame (whom for his approoued valour and experience in martial affaires,he had ſent for to Mantua) gouernour into the vpper Hungarie. So the ſoldiers now day by day by companies reſorting from diuers parts into Auſtria,were from thence ſent vnto ſuch places as were by the Turks moſt moleſted,ſo to repreſſe their often incurſions, as in many places they did. For eight thouſand of the Turks going out vpon the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed Pappa, were by the garriſon ſoldiers of that place encountered and ouerthrowne. And on the other ſide,whilſt *Ferdinand* the Archduke was aſſembling his people in Croatia,for the defence of that country againſt the incurſions of the enemie,ſixe thouſand Turks without reſiſtance entring the ſame as far as Buccari, and burning the country villages as they went, had taken many priſoners with a great bootie of cattell; and ſo (merrie and out of feare)being about to haue returned,were ſuddenly ſet vpon by the Countie *Serinus* in certaine ſtrait and troubleſome paſſages where they leaſt feared any ſuch matter, and ouercharged alſo with their prey,were (I ſay) eaſily by him for the moſt part ouerthrowne,and the reſt put to flight,and ſo the priſoners with all the reſt of the bootie again recouered, At which time alſo one of the Imperial Colonels with fifteene hundred horſe making an inrode into the countrey about Alba-Regalis, and meeting with the Turkes and Tartars thereabouts, ſlew ſix hundred of them,and tooke diuers of their captaines priſoners. Six thouſand other Tartars alſo at this time returning out of Hungary home towards their owne country,were by the Coſſackes neere vnto the Blacke ſea ſet vpon with ſuch force, that many of them being ſlaine,the reſt for feare ran into the ſea, leauing all the prey they had got in Hungary,vnto their enemies. In the heat of theſe broiles,the noble lord *Palſi* gouernor of Strigonium, a man that all his life long had done great ſeruice for his prince and countrey,and whom we haue ſo often in this hiſtorie remembred, died the three and twentieth of March in his Caſtle at Biberſpurg, to the great griefe of many, eſpecially the Hungarians his countreymen. And for that Strigonium (ſo neere vnto the Enemie) required in his ſtead to haue a right valiant and couragious gouernor, the Emperor appointed the Lord *Swartzenburg* to that charge; the fame ſtill running, that *Ibrahim Baſſa* would come thither with the great armie he was in prouiding,if the peace went not forward; which was now ſtill leſſe and leſſe hoped for,by reaſon of his proud and inſolent demands.

The death of the lord Palſi.

The Frenchmen and Wallons mutinie in Pappa.

But whileſt theſe troubles with ſuch others too long to rehearſe,thus paſſed in diuers parts of this miſerable countrey of Hungary, 1200 Frenchmen and Wallons in garriſon at Pappa (a ſtrong frontier town of the Emperors in the lower Hungarie) for want of pay began to mutine. For which cauſe it was thought good to the chiefe commanders,to haue them thence remoued,and others placed in their room. Which they perceiuing,and withall knowing themſelues too ſtrong for the reſt of the garriſon,all Hungarians and Almaines,not partakers of their conſpiracie,they firſt reſolued to thruſt their owne captains out of the towne,as lets vnto their deſires: and then laying hands vpon *Michael Marotti* the pay-maſter,and other the Hungarian and Dutch commanders,with their ſoldiers,tooke from them their weapons,and caſt the ſaid *Marotti*, with the other captaines,and ſome of the better ſort of their ſoldiers into yrons, exacting of the reſt as well Hungarians as Dutch,in number about a thouſand perſons, 1000 duckets; threatening otherwiſe to deliuer them into the hands of the Turks: and albeit that *Marotti* offered for his libertie eighteene hundred duckets; yet would they not be ſo contented, but ſpoiling both him and the reſt of all they had,with their apparell and weapons furniſhed ſuch Turkes as were there priſoners, and ſo ſent them away to Alba-Regalis: and afterwards rifling euery mans houſe as if they had beene enemies, tooke from them whatſoeuer pleaſed themſelues: and that which worſe was,to encreaſe theſe outrages, compacted with the Turks of Alba-Regalis and Buda, for the pay which they ſaid the Emperor owght them, to deliuer them the towne: certifying them withall, how that the Lord *Swartzenburg* within two dayes was comming with money to giue them contentment; promiſing if he came into the towne, to deliuer him with the ſame into their hands: or to be the more ſure of him, they might if they ſo pleaſed intercept him at the paſſage Zeſnegkh, whereby he muſt needs come. For the more credit of which their wicked purpoſe, they ſent an enſigne of the Emperours, as a

Pappa offered vnto the Turks by the Mutiners.

token

A token vnto the Turkes at Alba-Regalis; who for all that altogether beleeued them not, yet willing further to trie them, ſent them for hoſtages two Chiaus; from whom the rebels ſent alſo two others of the better ſort of them to Alba-Regalis, with concluſion, that the fiue and twentieth of Iune at the furtheſt the mony ſhould be paid, and the town deliuered. For the receiuing whereof, and for feare of ſome hidden treaſon, the Turks and Tartars began to make themſelues ſtrong: the Imperials alſo doing what they might for the appeaſing of ſo dangerous a tumult. So the tenth of Iune the Lord *Swartzenburg* with two thouſand horſe and foot came within two miles of the towne, and from thence ſent 24 horſemen to diſſuade the rebels from yeelding the town vnto the Turks, & to tell them that they ſhould ſhortly receiue their B pay: who ſhamefully deriding them, ſent them backe againe as wiſe as they came: ſo that *Swartzenburg* perceiuing himſelfe with ſo ſmall forces to be able to do nothing againſt them, neither yet by faire means to perſuade them, retired again to Rab, vntill ſome greater ſtrength were come vnto him. Immediatly after, doctor *Petzen* Counſellor for the wars, a man of great authoritie, grauitie, and wiſedome, was by *Matthias* the Archduke with foure hundred horſe conducted to Pappa, to ſee if he by his diſcretion could haue diſſuaded them from their ſo vngodly a purpoſe, for the yeelding of the towne vnto the enemie: whom they not only refuſed to heare, although he ſpake vnto them moſt kindly, but alſo bent their muskets and harquebuſies vpon him, threatning to kill him if he did not forthwith depart. When ſhortly after, twentie of the Hungarians impriſoned in a cellar in the town, brake out, and comming to Rab, C brought newes thither, That the Frenchmen and Wallons in Pappa were at variance amongſt themſelues about the yeelding vp of the towne vnto the Turks (ſome better minded than the reſt, not willing to conſent therunto) inſomuch, that they in the caſtle ſhot at them in the town, and they again at them in the caſtle: and that they had already receiued from the Turks twenty thouſand duckats, with ſome prouiſion of victuals, & were ſhortly after to receiue from them the reſt of the mony promiſed them, and ſo to deliuer the towne. For preuenting whereof, the Lord *Swartzenburg* the 22 of Iune ſent the Lord *Sharpfenſtein* with a French Colonell, 3000 ſouldiers, certaine Petards, and a number of ſcaling ladders towards Pappa: whom the falſe rebels ſuffered peaceably to enter the towne the foure and twentieth of Iune, ſtil encouraging them to come on, calling them their countriemen and brethren, and in token of friendſhip D ſhaking them by the hands, telling them, that hauing aſſurance of their pay, they deſired no more: But hauing now receiued in ſo many of them as they thought good, and as they knew they were well able to deale with, ſhutting the reſt out, they cut them all in pieces, and afterwards in deriſion called vpon the high Dutches to come on in like manner. Three hundred of theſe rebels at the ſame time had laied themſelues in ambuſh by a mill faſt without the towne, who by the Wallons & Haiducks without diſcouered, were alſo by them charged: vpon whom for all that, by reaſon of the ſhot out of the towne, they could do no good; but hauing loſt three hundred men, and amongſt them *Hanniball Kralzs* the Lord *Sharpfenſtein* his Lieutenant Generall, and one *Del la Margoſe* the chiefe enginer, they retired: which loſſe the deſperat rebels (if it had been in their choice) had wiſhed rather to haue happened vnto the Dutches than to the E Wallons or Hungarians. About three daies after, three of theſe rebels being by chance taken priſoners by the Imperials, and brought to Rab, were not only apparelled but alſo trimmed after the Turkiſh faſhion, as men not deſiring longer to be accounted Chriſtians, the reſt of their fellows in the towne alſo imitating the Turks faſhions, as wel in their apparell as in their manner of ſeruice: yet for all that, would not theſe metamorphoſed monſters yeeld the towne vnto the Turkes, before they had the full ſum by them agreed vpon, the Baſſa of Boſna beeing commanded from the grand Seignior in all haſte to prouide it for them, and ſo to receiue of them the town. Neuertheleſſe, for their more ſtrength and their more credit with the Turks, they receiued into the town one enſigne of the Turks, with certain wagons of victuals, brought thither with ſo ſtrong a conuoy as that the Imperials durſt not meddle therwith: in which wagons (being diſcharged) they ſent in bonds 600 Hungarians and Dutch, men, women, and children, priſoners to Alba-Regalis; being all of them glad to be ſo ſent away, in hope to find more fauor & courteſie at the hands of their enemies, than they had found with theſe renegat Chriſtians. So ſhortly after, theſe rebels ſent out certaine meſſengers vnto the Gouernor of Alba-Regalis, to know his full reſolution: which meſſengers (conducted by certaine Turkes of great account) were vpon the way by the free Haiduckes all intercepted, and the meſſengers taken,

A moſt wicked fact.

with

The Lord Swartzenburg ſlaine.

with 100 Turkes moe.In the mean while *Michael Marotti*,before impriſoned by the rebels in G
Pappa, by letters ſecretly aduertiſed the Lord *Swartzenburg* of a certaine place, whereby hee
might (as hee ſaid)eaſily enter the towne,and the rather, for that the rebels were at variance
amongſt themſelues. Who thereupon the 12 of Iuly came to Pappa with nine thouſand horſe
and foot;but diſappointed of his purpoſe for entering the towne,hardly neuertheleſſe belaied
the ſame: vpon whom the mutiniers many times deſperatly ſallied out, & right valiantly encountered
them, albeit that they were ſtill, without any notable loſſe, by their enemies (too
ſtrong for them)beaten backe again into the towne.In one of which ſallies it fortuned one of
their captains to be taken,who to the terror of the reſt was preſently ſlaine quicke, & his head
and skin vpon a pike ſet vp before the towne, for his fellowes to behold.But the Lord *Swartzenburg* H
ſtill more and more preuailing vpon them, they ſent ſecretly for aid to the Turkes:
whereof he for all that getting intelligence,ſent alſo for three regiments of ſouldiers moe to
come vnto him to the ſiege:by whoſe comming he wel ſtrengthened, and bringing his approches
neerer the towne,tooke from the rebels the mill,a ſtrength which they very vnwillingly
loſt,as in hope thereby to haue the more eaſily receiued aid from the Turks;who hauing made
preparation to haue relieued them, were letted ſo to do by the riſing of the water,which had
ſpoiled all the prouiſion for their reliefe at the bridge of Eſſeg,as alſo hindered them *for marching*
forward. At length the Imperials were come with their trenches euen to the town ditches,
out of which they had let out all the water: where ſome of the townſmen *eſcaping* out of
the towne,declared,how that the mutinous ſoldiers within labored both day and night to fortifie
the towne,but to be in their worke much letted by the continuall aſſaults of the Imperials: I
as alſo that they now had neither bread nor wine,nor other victuals left,more than a little
ſalt,and threeſcore horſe,of which they had already begun to eat:and that although they were
not altogether ſo valiant, yet that they had reſolued to die by the hands of the ſouldiers, as
men expecting no other mercy. Yet ſhortly after,*viz.* the nine and twentieth of Iuly,they deſperatly
fell out vpon the trenches of *Marſpurgiſch*, a Dutch captaine;of whoſe ſouldiers they
ſlew many,being drunke,& driuing the reſt out of their trenches,raiſed a great alarme.Which
the Lord *Swartzenburg* hearing, haſted thither to the reſcue; where with an vnluckie musket
ſhot he was ſtruck in the head and ſlain. Whereof the rebels got knowledge the ſame euening,
and *Del la Mota* their Generall in reward of that ſeruice gaue vnto them that had made that
ſallie a thouſand dollars to be diuided among them. The dead body of that ſo worthy a man, K
as had done great ſeruice for the Chriſtian common-weale,was afterwards with great ſolemnitie
brought to Rab,and there honorably enterred. The like deſperat ſally they made againe
the next day, and ſlew of the Imperials an hundred and thirtie, and tooke certaine priſoners:
and in retiring backe againe into the towne, cryed aloud,That when they lacked meat, rather
than they would yeeld the towne, they would eate Chriſtians,whereof *Marotti* ſhould bee
the firſt.

Pappa abandoned by the mutiniers.

The Lord *Swartzenburg* thus ſlain, the gouernment of the army was by *Matthias* the Archduke
committed to the Lord *Redern*, a noble man both valiant and learned; who although he
were very ſickly,came vnto the camp before Pappa the 8 of Auguſt; where vnderſtanding that
that the rebels now brought vnto extremitie,had a purpoſe by night to flie away & ſo be gon,
he cauſed a more vigilant & ſtrong watch to be kept;when lo according to his expectation the
next night after,about two houres before day they began to iſſue out: whereof the watch giuing
knowledge to the Generall,they were indeed ſuffered to go out as vnperceiued,but preſently
after at their heels were ſent out the Lord *Nadaſti* & the Earle of *Thurn*,with 200 Huſſars,
and after them the chiefe Colonel & Countie *Solms*,with part of their horſmen alſo,who
in 3 diuers places ouertaking them neere vnto a great wood called Packem, ſlew moſt part of
them: *Del la Mota* their chiefe captain or ringleader being ſlaine by the chiefe Colonell, becauſe
he would not yeeld,& his head afterwards by him preſented vnto the Generall in the
campe: 200 Wallons the Huſſars vnder the leading of the Lord *Nadaſti*, Countie *Solmes*, and
County *Thurn*, found out in the wood;who albeit that they for a ſpace made great reſiſtance,
yet in the end were inforced to yeeld, and ſo with their two enſignes were brought into the
campe. The Huſſars alſo vpon another paſſage light vpon other 200 moe of theſe rebellious
Wallons, who becauſe they ſtood ſtrongly vpon their guard,and were more deſperately ſet
than the reſt, the Generall ſent out other 200 of the Colonels horſemen vpon them, by

whom

A whom and the Huſſars they were almoſt all ſlaine: diuers others of them alſo were ſlaine in
comming out of the towne, and in the mariſhes thereabouts. Their Generals Lieutenant with
ſuch other of their principall commanders as were taken, were by the Lord *Rederns* commandement
deliuered vnto the Prouoſt Martiall; the reſt of the rebellious traitors he at the requeſt
of the ſouldiers diuided into diuers parts of the armie, there to the terror of others to be executed,
from whom the ſouldiers could hardly be perſuaded euen for the preſent to hold their
hands. But afterwards hauing brought them to Rab, & leaue giuen them to do with them their
pleaſure, they as farre exceeded in the cruell manner of their execution, as had they before in
their outragious dealings, eſpecially the Hungarians and Wallons, notwithſtanding moſt of
B them were of the Wallon countries. Some of them they impailed, ſome they brake vpon the
wheele; ſome of their skins they cut off their bodies as it were into thongs, and ſo poured into
the wounds vinegar, ſalt and pepper; from ſome others they cut of their priuities, ſome they
roſted, and ſome they put into the Tenalia; vpon ſome they dropped molten pitch, and then
caſting gunpouder vpon them, ſo burnt them to death; otherſome they hanged vpon yron
hookes; and ſome they put in the ground vp to the chin, and for their diſport with yron bullets
bowled at their heads. In all which torments no ſigne of compaſſion was to be ſeene, the
tormẽtors, to make their pain the greater doing nothing but deride them: the miſerable wretches
in the meane time confeſſing the hainouſneſſe of their offence, and crauing for death as a
fauor. A moſt horrible thing it was to ſee, how whileſt ſome were thus tortured, others were
C brought to ſee the ſame miſerie they themſelues were by and by to endure. Amongſt the reſt
of theſe exquiſite torments, one *Peter Orſy* cauſed one of the mutiners to be ſowed vp in the
belly of a mare, with his head hanging out, and ſo to be roſted, in which miſerable torment he
liued three houres, and then died: after which, he cauſed the lothſome body ſo roſted, to be
giuen to them that lay ſtaruing vpon the wheele to eat. Thus was the dangerous mutinie at
Pappa with much adoe ended, and that ſtrong towne like to haue bin loſt, preſerued: the rebels
themſelues being become a dreadfull example to all poſteritie, for all them to looke vpon
that ſhall attempt the like villanie.

Now at this ſame time alſo, though neither the Chriſtians nor the Turks had as then any
great army in the field, yet many an hot and bloudy skirmiſh paſſed daily betwixt them in one
D place or other of Hungarie: all which to recount as it would be much tedious, ſo in ſilence to
paſſe them all ouer, were greatly to wrong thoſe worthy perſonages by whom they were not
without their great aduenture done. Among the reſt one *Nicholas Horbath* County *Serinus* his
Lieutenant, with 150 ſouldiers, and *Andrew Thuſſi* another great Commander, going forth to
ſeeke for bootie; *Thuſſi* hearing that the Turks were abroad for the ſurpriſing of certaine Haiducks
then gone out, ſtaied faſt in a ſecret place vntill he might heare further newes, *Horbath*
another way ſtill going on. Now it happened that the Baſſa of Sigeth hauing bin abroad, in returning
home by chance met with *Horbath*, and encountering with him ouerthrew him, and
ſlew moſt of his men, *Horbath* himſelfe by flight hardly eſcaping. But *Thuſſi* hearing this skirmiſh,
as lying cloſe not far off, and now haſting thither to haue bin partaker thereof, found the
E Baſſa yet in the field on foot, viewing the bodies of the ſlaine: vpon whom he came ſo ſuddenly
and with ſuch force, as that the Baſſa with his diſordered men had much adoe to take
horſe, and ſo without any great reſiſtance to betake himſelfe to flight: after whom the Hungarians
fiercely following, ſlew many of the Turks, & amongſt the reſt the Baſſa himſelfe, whoſe
head preſently cut off, *Horbath* ſent to the Countie *Serinus*, who ſhortly after by *Thuſſi* himſelfe
ſent it to *Matthias* the Archduke. This Baſſa was a man of great ſtrength and courage, a
moſt expert and aduenturous captaine, about 36 yeares old, and for his valour of a common
ſouldier created a Baſſa by the great Sultan. His head beeing brought to Vienna, and there
ſhewed to the Baſſa of Buda then their priſoner, and he demanded, whether he knew it or not,
ſighing anſwered, that he knew it well, and that it was the head of the Baſſa of Sigeth, a brauer
man than whom the Sultan had none in all his Empire; earneſtly withall deſiring to know how
he was ſlaine. And not long after, the aduenturers out of Comara, Strigonium, and other places
thereabout hauing made a great partie, and taken a great bootie from the Turkes at a faire
at Gombar, and by Tra and Eſſeg, thinking to haue paſſed Danubius in hope of a greater bootie,
ſeuen hundred of them being paſſed the riuer, were by the new Baſſa of Sigeth and others
with fiue thouſand Turkes in an hot skirmiſh ouerthrowne; yet not without their great loſſe

Two Baſſaes of Sigeth ſlain one after another.

Iula ſurpriſed and burnt by the free Haiduckes.

alſo: the Baſſa himſelfe with two other Sanzackes and fiue hundred Turks being there ſlain, and but fiftie of the Chriſtian aduenturers left dead in the place, the reſt diſorderedly retiring to their boats, being for moſt part drowned in the Danubie. The free Haiduckes alſo ſurpriſed Iula and ſet it on fire, in which confuſion the Turks flying into the caſtle, for haſte thruſt one another from the bridge into the caſtle ditch; wherein ſo many of them were drowned, that a man might haue gone drie foot ouer vpon the bodies of the dead. They tooke there alſo ſix hundred priſoners with much other bootie, & deliuered two hundred Chriſtians which were there captiues. And albeit that theſe Haiducks after this exploit done were hardly purſued by the Turks from other places, yet they in ſafety retired with ſuch bootie as they had alreadie gotten.

The gouernement of Tranſyluania by the Emperour confirmed vnto Michael the Vayuod.

But now to leaue theſe the troubles of Hungarie for a while, as the forerunners of greater ere long to enſue; let vs againe looke backe into Tranſyluania and Valachia, to ſee how *Michael* the Vayuod now in the meane time behaued himſelfe there. The Cardinall *Bathor* oueruerthrowne and ſlaine, and the countrey of Tranſyluania againe brought vnder the Emperors obedience; the Vayuod by his Embaſſadors gaue him forthwith to vnderſtand of all his proceedings, with the whole ſucceſſe thereof, as alſo of a purpoſe he had to inuade Moldauia: for that it was commonly reported, and alſo beleeued, That *Sigiſmund* the late Prince (not a little moued with the death of the Cardinall his couſin, and the reuolt of his countrie) aided by the Turks, the Tartars, the Polonians, and Moldauians, would now attempt ſome great matter for the recouerie of Tranſyluania: All which was ſhortly after the rather thought to be true, for that diuers of his ſpies beeing taken, ſome at Clauſenburg, ſome at Neſſen, beſide the Letters that were found about them from him vnto the Nobilitie and States of Tranſyluania (perſuaſuading them to reuolt from the Vayuod vnto him, and that his meaning was ſhortly to come with a great armie out of Polonia for the repulſing of him) they alſo of themſelues confeſſed, How that *Sigiſmund* in diſguiſed apparell had himſelfe been in Tranſyluania, to conferre with diuers his ſecret friends concerning that matter. Which his Embaſſadours the Emperour honourably entertained, and by them confirmed vnto the Vayuod the gouernment of Tranſyluania, ſending alſo vnto him diuers honourable Preſents, forbidding him neuertheleſſe to inuade Moldauia, for feare of raiſing a new and dangerous war againſt the Polonians alſo, vnder whoſe protection and the Turks the Palatine thereof then reſted. According vnto which command the Vayuod ſtayed his intended expedition; yet ſending ſome good part of his forces vnto the Frontiers of Moldauia, for feare of *Sigiſmund* whome hee heard to bee hatching ſome miſchiefe in Polonia, and euen then to lie vpon the frontiers of that country. Some few moneths thus paſſing, *Huſraim Aga* (a graue reuerend old man, and much employed by the Turkiſh Sultan) with fiue other Turks of good account, Embaſſadours from the great Sultan, and a great retinue following him, came to Cronſtat in Tranſyluania where the Vayuod then lay. Of whoſe comming the Vayuod hearing, with foure thouſand horſemen moſt brauely mounted, went halfe a mile out of the citie to meet them: the footmen in the meane time on both ſides of the ſtreet ſtanding in good order, from the gate of the citie whereby they were to enter, euen vnto the Vayuods lodging, where ſtood alſo his guard al in red and white ſilke. So meeting in the field, they both alighted from their horſes, with great reuerence ſaluting the one the other: when preſently the Embaſſador embracing the Vayuod, vngirt his ſcimitar, and in the name of the great Sultan put another about him, ſo richly garniſhed with gold and precious ſtones, as that no part of the ſcaberd was therefore to bee ſeene: beſides this, he preſented him with a faire plume of blacke Hearnes feathers mixed with ſome white (a right goodly ornament, in forme of a great buſh) which the Vayuod would not in the field put vpon his head, although he were thereunto by the Embaſſadour moſt earneſtly requeſted, but cauſed it to be carried before him: he alſo preſented him with two very faire red enſignes, in token of the Turkes fauour and protection; the one for himſelfe, and the other for his ſonne *Petraſco*: moreouer, he gaue vnto him two exceeding faire horſes richly furniſhed, with foure others, and a moſt faire Faulcon. The Vayuod himſelfe was moſt brauely mounted, and (after the manner of his countrie) had ten very faire ſpare horſes led before him. At whoſe enterance into the town, all the great ordnance was diſcharged, with great vollies of ſmall ſhot: and ſo the Embaſſador ſtil riding on the left hand of the Vayuod, being brought to his lodging, had ſix of his chiefe followers euery one of them preſented with a rich robe of cloth of gold: in

requitall

A requitall whereof the Embaſſadour rewarded an hundred of the Vayuod his followers euerie one of them with a good ſuit of apparell: with this Embaſſador of the Turks was alſo the Polonian Embaſſador, whom the Vayuod in like manner honourably entertained. Theſe Embaſſadors (as was thought) did what they might to haue drawne this worthy and renowned man, together with the countries of Tranſyluania and Valachia, from the Emperour vnto the Turks obeiſance: howbeit he ſeldome or neuer ſpake with them, but that either before or after hee had conference with the Lords *Vngnad* and *Zeckel* (the Emperors Commiſſioners) concerning their requeſts; alwaies proteſting vnto them, not to yeeld to any thing without the Emperors conſent and good liking. Whereof *Mahomet* aduertiſed, and that he was not by any thing yet ſaid or done, to be remoued from the Emperor, gaue him by the ſame Embaſſadors to vnder- B ſtand, How that he was in ſome ſpeech with the Emperor concerning peace (as indeed he then was by meſſengers from the Baſſaes at Presburg) which if it ſorted to effect, that then it ſhould be well; but if not, that then it ſhould be good for him whileſt yet he had time, wiſely to conſider of his owne eſtate, and to ſubmit himſelfe vnto his protection who was able to defend him, rather than for the vain praiſe of a certain fooliſh conſtancie, to aduenture himſelf with all that he had vnto moſt certaine danger and deſtruction: promiſing him in recompence of that his loyaltie, to giue vnto him for euer, the countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, and at his need to furniſh him both with men and money; offering moreouer to make him a great Commander in his armie in Hungarie, and the Baſſa of Temeſwar as his friend to be at all times readie with fiftie thouſand horſe and foot (as need ſhould be) to aſſiſt him againſt the C Emperour, reſeruing vnto himſelfe whatſoeuer hee ſhould more win for him: for all which bountie and kindneſſe, requiring only to haue him vnto him loyall. All which his large offers the Vayuod little regarding, declared the ſame vnto the Emperors Commiſſioners: yet ſtill proteſting neuer to ſtart, but to ſtand faſt for the Chriſtian Emperour. Notwithſtanding as a man deſirous to better his eſtate, he tooke hereupon occaſion to requeſt of the Emperour the countrie of Tranſyluania, by him ſo lately taken in, vnto him and his ſonne in inheritiance for euer, with ſuch frontier townes as in former time belonged vnto Tranſyluania: and that whatſoeuer he ſhould win from the Turkes, might be his and his ſonnes: He alſo requeſted, that all the preferments and dignities in former time granted by his Imperiall Maieſty vnto *Sigiſmund* D the late Prince, might now be beſtowed vpon himſelfe; & for his ſeruice done, to be furniſhed with money for the payment of his ſouldiers: And that the Emperor with the other Princes of the Empire ſhould aſſure him, That if he were taken by the Turk, they ſhould ranſome him: but in caſe he were by the great power of the Turke driuen out of thoſe countries, then by the *Emperours* appointment to haue ſome conuenient place allotted vnto him in the vpper Hungarie to liue in, with the yerely penſion of an hundred thouſand dollars. All which his requeſts if it would pleaſe him to grant, he promiſed this yere to do ſo much againſt the Turke, as had not in an hundred yeres bin don before: with vant, that if he had had the imploiment of the money which was ſpent in the time of this war, he would not haue doubted but to haue brought all the countries from the Euxine (or Blacke ſea) to Buda, Alba Regalis, and Solnock, vnder the Emperors obeiſance. A large promiſe indeed, but hardly to haue bin performed by a far greater Prince than he.

Thus whileſt things ſtood in diſcourſe after the Cardinals death, *Sigiſmund* the late Prince in the meane time ſupported by the Polonians, with the aid of the Turks, the Tartars, and the Moldauians, was ready to haue inuaded Tranſyluania: yea the Tartars (as the forerunners of his greater power) were already entred the Countrie, and had out of the frontiers therof carried away ſome bootie. Wherefore the Vayuod vnderſtanding, in great haſt aſſembled his forces out of all places, which in ſhort time was growne to ſome good head, the countrie people together with the free Haiducks (an aduenturous and reſolute kind of ſouldiers) in great number daily reſorting vnto him. So being now eight thouſand ſtrong, & moſt of them braue and luſtie men, he with them and 20 pieces of artillerie remoued to Cronſtat the foure and twentieth day of Aprill, ſending part of his armie (which euery day more and more encreaſed) before him to Neſſen; where all his forces being aſſembled to the number of almoſt fifty thouſand horſe and foot, he with great celeritie paſſed the rough and high mountaines into Moldauia without reſiſtance, but yet not without ſome trouble, his ſouldiers by the way beeing glad ſometimes to eat the leaues of trees, the enemie hauing of purpoſe before carried away

Michael the Vayuod goeth againſt Sigiſmund Bathor & the Vayuod of Moldauia.

Sigiſmund and the Moldauian ouerthrown by Michael the Vayuod.

Moldauia ſubdued by Michael.

whatſoeuer hee could that might haue yeelded him reliefe. Of whoſe ſpeedie comming and G
great ſtrength, *Sigiſmund* and *Ieremias* the Vayuod of Moldauia hearing, and vpon the reaſonable
eſtimat of their own forces finding themſelues too weake to incounter him, retired themſelues
out of Moldauia into the frontiers of Polonia, there to gather greater ſtrength, & ſo to
meet him: for as yet *Ieremias* the Vayuod had not receiued from the Turke ſuch forces as
were vnto him promiſed, and as he ſtill expected. *Michael* the Vayuod in the meane time (his
enemies thus fled) with fire and ſword entering into Moldauia, tooke in the greateſt part thereof,
the feareful country people ſtill yeelding vnto him as he went: and the rather, for that *Ieremias*
their Vayuod (placed by the Polonian, but tributarie vnto the Turke) had laid vpon them
a moſt grieuous impoſition, as vpon euery man a duckat a month, for which they exceedingly H
hated him. But here in Moldauia, *Michael* the Vayuod (hauing ſtill in his companie on of the
Emperours commiſſioners in Tranſyluania, moſt rruſtie ſeruants, who might faithfully report
vnto them the whole manner of his proceedings) after the departure of *Sigiſmund* and *Ieremias*
his enemies, ſtaied not long; but hearing that they were retired towards the confines of Polonia,
without longer delay made towards them, and the eighteenth of May found them by the
caſtle Othune neere vnto the riuer Neſter, being thirtie thouſand ſtrong; Polonians, Moldauians,
Turks, and Tartars: with whom he ioyned a moſt fierce and cruell battell, which begun
about ten a clocke before noone, was with great courage but greater obſtinacie on both ſides
maintained vntill the euening. At which time the fortune of the Valachian preuailing, his
enemies at laſt betooke themſelues to flight, of whom were there ſlaine eight thouſand, beſide
many others of them drowned in the riuer Neſter: where of the Valachians were loſt two I
thouſand onely. Concerning *Sigiſmund* and *Ieremias*, diuers reports were after this ouerthrow
giuen out; ſome ſaying that they were ſlain, and ſome, that they were in flying, drowned: howbeit
the truth was, that they both by flight eſcaped, to the greater trouble of themſelues, as of
their afflicted countries alſo. *Michael* after this ſo notable a victorie, taking in the reſt of Moldauia,
cauſed the people to ſweare their obedience vnto the Emperor, himſelfe, and his ſon, to
the great offence of the Polonians, not a little (as they tooke it) wronged therein; *but eſpecially*
of the great Chancellor, an old enemy vnto the houſe of Auſtria. Wherof enſued greater troubles
in thoſe frontier countries than before, to the further effuſion of more Chriſtian bloud,
much better to haue been imploied againſt the fatall enemy, in defence of the Chriſtian commonweale.
Yet thus the three warlike and frontier countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, & Moldauia, K
the ſureſt bulwarkes of that ſide of Chriſtendome, and moſt expoſed vnto the furie of
the common enemy, were now once again vnited vnder the obeiſance of the Emperor, to the
great benefit (no doubr) of the Chriſtian common-weale, and hurt of the Turks, if they might
haue ſo continued, as God wot they did not long.

Now the Vayuod notwithſtanding this ſo great a victory, well conſidering that he of himſelfe
could hardly keep this new gained prouince of Moldauia againſt the power of the Turke,
(pretending that to him it belonged as his own to giue to whom he pleaſed:) as alſo againſt the
Polonians (not more deſirous to reſtore *Ieremias* againe into Moldauia, than the Prince *Sigiſmund*
into Tranſyluania) without the helpe of ſome other more mightie Prince whome hee
might reſt vpon; by his Embaſſadors (ſent for that purpoſe) offered the ſoueraigntie of al thoſe L
three countries vnto the Emperor, with condition, that he ſhould appoint him perpetuall Gouernor
of the ſame vnder him. The Emperour alſo vnderſtood, how that *Mahomet* the great
Turke had not long before againe ſent vnto him another of his Chiaus, commanding him
without delay to reſtore the countrie of Tranſyluania vnto the Prince *Sigiſmund* (vnto whom
he was by the mediation of the king of Polonia now before reconciled) threatning otherwiſe
with fire and ſword to deſtroy Valachia, and by force of armes to depriue him both of Tranſyluania
and his life together. Wherefore the Emperour doubting leſt the Vayuod either
for feare, or for the better aſſuring of his owne eſtate, ſhould to his preiudice fall to ſome
agreement with the Turke, yeelded to all that his Embaſſadors had of him requeſted, with
condition, that he ſhould be bound as need ſhould require to ſerue with his people againſt the
Turke; and that in Tranſyluania neere vnto his owne perſon ſhould be alwaies reſident one of
the Emperors counſellors, as Superintendent ouer the whole countrey. Wherewith the Vayuod
beeing contented, the Emperour ſent thither Doctor *Petzen* with ſix thouſand ſouldiers,
and a great ſumme of money to pay the Vayuods ſouldiers, as he had before requeſted; and

ſo to take of them an oath, That they ſhould from thenceforth become his Majeſties faithfull ſeruants. Which Superintendent ſo by the Emperor ſent, the Vayuod receiued with great honor, as vnto him of all others moſt welcome. Neuertheleſſe being againe returned into Tranſyluania, it was not long but that (without regard of him) he began with new exactions to oppreſſe the people of the country, and in ſome ſort to tyranniſe ouer them; vſing great ſeueritie againſt diuers of the nobility alſo, eſpecially ſuch as he knew to haue taken part before with the Cardinal, or now of late with *Sigiſmund* his couſin, or any way to haue fauored his quarel. All which he did without the conſent or good liking of *Petzen*, contrary to his promiſe made, No more to imbrue his hands in the bloud of the nobilitie of Tranſiluania, without the knowledge or conſent of his Imperial Majeſtie or the Superintendent by him appointed: which for all that, if he had not done, he could not poſſibly haue kept them (diſdaining to be gouerned by him) vnder his obeiſance. Neuertheles the Tranſyluanians taking it in euill part to be ſo oppreſſed, and the nobility almoſt extinguiſhed, yea and indeed to be at all ruled by him; by general conſent as if it had bin but one man, riſe all vp in armes againſt him: inſomuch that he finding himſelfe with his Valachians and other his fauourits too weake for them, retired with all ſuch as would follow him, into the mountains; and from thence ſent preſently for aid vnto the lord *George Baſta* (a worthy captaine, and then the Emperors Lieutenant in the vpper Hungary) for the ſubduing of theſe rebellious people, and the reducing of them to their former obedience. Who by letters from *Matthias* the Archduke, at the inſtance of the Vayuod commanded ſo to do, with about 6000 horſe and foot and 8 field pieces remoued from Caſſouia in the vpper Hungarie the 4 of September. Where by the way came vnto him Embaſſadors alſo from the people of Tranſyluania now vp in armes, and confederat alſo againſt the Vayuod: who in like manner alſo requeſted his aid, pretending themſelues to be the Emperors moſt loyal ſubjects, but not vnder the gouernment of ſuch a tyrant as was the Vayuod: alledging and exaggerating many his moſt cruel actions, and cleerely proteſting, That for the preſent want of a good gouernour, they were enforced for the ſafegard of their liues to band themſelues together: which if haply it might be in any thing preiudicial vnto the Emperours claime and intereſt, which he with ſo great toile and coſt had procured in that prouince, it was againſt their wills, as enforced by neceſſitie to do that they did in defence of themſelues. Which Embaſſadors ſo ſent from the people, *Baſta* with all ſpeed diſpatched away backe againe, comforting them without farther ſtir to expect his arriual in Tranſyluania; yet couenanting withall, That they ſhould before conceiue into writing the oath of their fidelity and allegeance vnto his Imperial Majeſtie. Now might many and important conſiderations trouble the mind of *Baſta* in *ſo doubtfull* a caſe. To giue aid vnto the Vayuod againſt the people, was the expreſſe order from *Matthias* the Archduke the Emperors lieutenant General: but to aid the people confederat againſt him, as they had requeſted, ſeemed now both more profitable and honeſt, eſpecially hauing moſt certaine tokens of the ſmall and doubtfull faith of the Vayuod; who only by diſputation intereſſed in that prouince, was not ſo carefull of another mans; neither ſeeming to haue regard of *Petzen*, or of his owne word giuen for not further imbruing his hands in the bloud of the Nobility of Tranſyluania, without the Emperours knowledge and leaue: vpon which promiſe was likewiſe grounded the Archdukes order for giuing of him aid: ſo that ſuch breach of his faith, & contempt of *Petzen*, had haſtned the conſpiracy of the people againſt him, deſpairing of all other health than that which by force of arms they could procure vnto themſelues. To ſtand doubtfull himſelfe, or to hold others in ſuſpence, vntil that by currors in this new caſe he might receiue new inſtructions from the Emperor or the Archduke, had in it too much danger, as giuing leiſure to each party to make ſides, & to increaſe the ſlander of the laſt yeare, That he might ſo eaſily (and eſpecially from the Valachian) haue aſſured that prouince to his Majeſtie, had he not bin an heartleſſe man of no reſolution, euen ſuch an one as durſt not looke vpon a cat (as ſome had ſaid) all which might not a little pricke an honorable mind. To take part with the people confederat againſt the Vayuod, if it ſhould not happily fall out at the firſt encounter, might betwixt the two contendants giue an entrance vnto the third, either the Turke or the Polonian in the fauour of *Bathor*: but if it ſhould ſort to the quite contrarie, and ſo himſelfe to loſe the day, then he ſaw himſelfe void of all defence againſt the malicious, eſpecially in that the world commonly meaſureth the wiſedome vſed in any action, according to the ſucceſſe thereof, than which nothing can be more vnreaſonable, but aboue all others,

Michael tiranniſeth in Tranſyluania.

The Tranſyluanians rebell.

in matters of war. In this ſo troubled a tempeſt of contrarie winds, of power to haue driuen G a right good mariner out of his courſe, *Baſta* laid hand vpon the helme of good meaning, and ſpread the ſailes of ſuch diſcretion, as taught him in matters of war to be lawful for a General to depart euen from the inſtructions of his Prince, not concerning the end, but the meanes leading to that end; eſpecially when the preſent occaſion ſo requireth, which the Prince could not with reaſon before comprehend, as depending of the moſt mightie fortune of war, which ſuffereth not ſo much delay as to expect counſell from far. So in this ambiguitie *Baſta* reſolued to joyn himſelfe vnto the confederats, moſt in his judgment concerning his Imperial Majeſty, as being the vttermoſt ſcope of his ſo great coſt & charge, to keep the country of Traſyluania at his deuotion, which conſiſted in the people, and not in the woods or mountaines: the matter H being not great by what meanes ſoeuer it were done, ſo that it were honorable and honeſt.

Baſta taketh part with the Tranſyluanians againſt the Vayuod in whoſe aid he was ſent.

Vpon this deſire *Baſta* ſet forward, and the 14 day arriued at Torda, and there joined himſelfe vnto the confederats, to the great wonder of the Vayuod, in whoſe helpe he was ſent: where repoſing himſelfe one day, conſulting and conſidering of their forces, about 12000 ſtrong, with foure field pieces, beſides eight of his owne, with the ſix thouſand ſouldiers hee brought with him, in all about eighteene thouſand, he determined not to giue leiſure vnto the Vayuod to call vnto him farther helpe, hauing now with him about twentie thouſand foot and twelue thouſand horſe, with ſeuen and twenty field pieces: amongſt whom were diuers of the Siculi, in hope of their antient libertie, men of good account and ſort, with a mixture of the Coſſackes, Valachians, Raſcians, and Seruians, people of prey ſeruing only to ſpoile: whome *Baſta* knew to be far inferiour in courage to his twelue thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe; I not onely for the valour of his owne men accuſtomed vnto the frontier ſeruice, but alſo for the confederates, who engaged with their goods, liues, and honour, and deſirous to be reuenged of the Vayuod, were like enough to ſtand well by it. Wherefore he ſet forward the ſixteenth day, and in two dayes march came within ſight of the Vayuod: who hauing ſent out certaine great troups of horſemen to take view of the enemie, and ſeeing them repulſed, ſet fire on Miriſlo a village faſt by, out of which they had before drawne certaine ſmall *field pieces* into the campe.

Miriſlo is a village two leagues on this ſide of Alba-Iulia, directly vpon the high-way ſtretching from the ſide of Maracz a nauigable riuer, vnto the foot of an hil; alongſt which the riuer running, ſomtimes neerer, and ſomtimes farther off, together with the riſing of the hill, maketh K an vnequal liſt of ground, in ſome places half a mile broad and more, and in ſome other ſhut vp as it were into a narrow throat, as in the ſelfe ſame place where the aforeſaid village ſtandeth, & where the Vayuod lay incamped in a place of great aduantage, behind a great trench drawn from the riuer, croſſe that little ſpace of ground betwixt the mountaine and the riuer. On this ſide, which from Miriſlo the farther a man goeth the farther the plaine enlargeth, *Baſta* encamping cloſe vnto the village, oppoſed againſt the comming of the enemy 3 great *corps du gard*, two of them Hungarians, towards the hill fauored with a Church, and the third toward the riuer, of the Almaine footmen, vnder the charge of Countie *Tomaſo Caurioli* of Breſcia, Sergeant Major of the field, with all the artillery: who as in a place neere and very open vnto the enemy, there intrenched himſelf, ſtil approching neerer and neerer both on the one ſide and the other. L Towards the euening of the ſelfeſame 17 day came to *Baſta* one *Peter Armenio* with Letters from the Vayuod, containing, That hauing vnderſtood of his arriual in the campe of the Conſpirators, he now further deſired to know whether it were by the conſent and commandment of the Emperor or not: and how it came to paſſe that he would ſo doe, conſidering the diuers chances of war, the ſword hanging as it were euen ouer his head if he ſhould chance to loſe the battell? Whereunto *Baſta* anſwered, That the morrow following he would ſhew him the authoritie he had from the Emperour (alluding to the Imperial Standard he carried with him:) and that as concerning the fortune and danger to enſue, he referred that wholly vnto the will and pleaſure of the Almightie, the juſt Iudge of all controuerſies. But in the meane time he exhorted him to leaue that Prouince he had ſo euill gouerned, vnto his Imperial Majeſtie, as he M was in duty bound; promiſing him free paſſage into Valachia, and giuing him time to conſider thereupon vntill 8 a clocke the next morning, after which time it ſhould be free for euery man to doe for himſelfe what he could. Which anſwer the Vayuod hauing read, inflamed with diſdaine, with many proud words full of threats and diſgrace, although it was then night, preſently cauſed by the ſound of the drum and trumpet the battell to be proclaimed againſt the next day.

On the other ſide, *Baſta* after he had aſſured his camp, hauing not onely ſent, but gone himſelfe to haue the counſel of his own eies, for his better vnderſtanding how the enemy lay; and finding no reaſonable means for him there to attempt any exploit by, as well for the ſtrength of the trench before the front, & in part along the ſide of the enemies camp, as alſo for the danger of a riſing ground on the left hand, whereunto all the plain betwixt the enemies camp and the village was ſubiect; thought it beſt to remoue, & to make a ſhort retreat about the ſpace of an Italian mile, according to the commodiouſnes of the place; thinking it no hard matter, of ſo proud an enemy, and not altogether ſo well acquainted with martiall ſtratagems, to gain a notable victory. This his purpoſe propounded in counſel, was greatly diſliked of the captains of the confederates: vnto whome it ſeemed more ſafety to aſſault the Vayuod, yet lying in his ſtrength, than to retire before the face of an enemy ſo ſtrong & aduenturous: for that ſuch a retreat according to the manner of that country, would be deemed no other than a plain flight: and to breake his order & ariſe, was (as they ſaid) but to diſcourage his own people, and to encourage his enemies. But *Baſta* the better to perſuade them, promiſed therein to ſhew to them a more cunning kind of fight than was yet vnto them knowne; & declared the aſſurance that he in his owne perſon, with the Almains in the rereward would giue them in that retreat, in ſuch ſort, as that they ſhould not loſe ſo much as a man, much leſſe they needed to feare to fal into any diſorder in ſo ſhort a ſpace, his purpoſe being only to giue the plain vnto the enemy, wherinto ſhew himſelfe into the open field. So the retreat being agreed vpon, the morning following being the 28 of September, the three *Corps du guard* (before ſpoken of) were betimes called backe, and the baggage ſent away: after which followed the Tranſyluanians and Hungarians, the Almaines in the rereward encloſing the great ordnance.

The battell of Miriſlo betwixt Michael the Vayuod & Baſta the emperors lieutenant.

The Vayuod aware of their departure, ſent forthwith a great troup of horſemen, eſpecially of the Coſſackes, to take view of them, and to skirmiſh with them; which were ſo far kept off by a company of musketiers in the rereward, as that they could not come ſo nigh as to do any harme, although that all the way they went they were by them ſtil charged, to the great contentment of *Baſta*, to ſee ſo good a beginning of his deſignes as might bring them all to their wiſhed effect. But when hee ſaw the great artillerie vpon the carriages to come out of the village, a certain ſigne that the enemy ſet forward with al his forces, he marched faire & ſoftly to giue him hope to ouertake him: and ſo retired as far as he thought good from the village, hauing before thought of a conuenient place wherin his people might with room enough vpon aduantage ſtay: when as about halfe a mile from him, and as far from the village, he might ſee the enemy march with his people in order of battell; then began he to march towards him alſo: & perceiuing the enemy to come on in one only thick front, by reaſon of the ſtraitnes of the place, hauing on the right hand towards the riuer placed as it were all his horſmen, & towards the mountaine his footmen alone, and 500 foot placed aloft without any artillerie, as it ſeemed he would haue done, hauing planted ſome below at the foot of the hill in the way, and in the midſt, euen before the front of the battell, where the horſemen came after the footmen; he alſo placed his ſquadron in one front onely, to the intent not to be incloſed by the enemie on the flanke of his army. The body of his main battell conſiſted of one great ſquadron of about 3000 Almaine footmen, flanked on each ſide with 150 Rutters of Sileſia: before the ſquadron toward the right hand he had ſet a looſe wing of three hundred musketiers: in the right wing towards the hill he placed a companie of launces, with two ſquadrons of the country footmen: and in the left wing toward the riuer one ſquadron of Tranſyluanian footmen, & two of launces, for that the enemie was at that time very ſtrong in horſemen: the Coſſacks, archers, and harquebuſiers he placed in the rereward: of his great artillerie he would make no vſe, for that hauing not much, he would not ſtand vpon the defence thereof, but deſired rather with all ſpeed to come to the ſword with the enemy, vnacquainted with ſuch cloſe fight, foot to foot; and well the leſſe fit, by reaſon of their light armor. And therfore he thought it beſt firſt to ſet forward his ſquadron of Almaines to giue the charge, bending towards the right hand, amongſt the thickeſt of the footmen towards the artillerie at the foot of the hill, as there whereas was the ſtrength of the enemies infanterie. And doubting in the performing hereof, to be charged on the left ſide with a great ſquadron of about 3000 launces, which ſeemed to ſtand vpon that wing to giue the firſt charge, he gaue order vnto ***Rodoniz*** his Lieutenant, and Colonell of the Rutters, which had the leading of the left wing, that he ſhould at a certaine G ſigne giuen, ſet forward towards the left hand, for the charging of that great ſquadron. So his people beeing ſet in order, and the manner of proceeding ſet downe, he putting on his helmet, with cheerful countenance ſaid, That at that time he truſted he ſhould ſhew vnto the Vayuod, that his Trunchion could doe more than his ſcimitar: And himſelſe ſetting forward betwixt the ſquadron of the Almaine footmen and the wing of the musketiers, about two houres after noone, marched faire and ſoftly towards the enemy: who without moouing expected the diſcharging of their artillerie; whereunto the neerer that the enemie came vnto it, the leſſe harme it did him, by ſhooting either ouer or ſhort in the field, which eaſily aſcended. The wing of musketiers went directly to giue a charge vnto the artillerie; and the ſquadron toward H the foot of the hill, where *Baſta* deſired forcibly to charge, that thereby they might be enforced to ſpend their firſt vollies, and with ſome diſcouragement or diſorder to retire, preſently came in, all afront, iuſt vpon the ſigne giuen; and ſo with his Almaine footmen and the Rutters on the right hand, encloſed and compaſſed in behinde the greateſt part of the enemies footmen. At which very inſtant, the Rutters on the left hand alſo ſo couragiouſly charged vpon the three thouſand launces, that better could not haue beene deſired of any band of moſt old and expert ſouldiers. The lances retiring without any hurt, and the firſt volley diſcharged, forced the infanterie, and ſo diſordered the reſt. Whereupon the wings charging, there enſued preſently a great ſlaughter and ouerthrow, onely fortie of *Baſta* his men being ſlaine, and as many hurt; where of the enemies were loſt in the battell ten thouſand: and greater had the I ſlaughter been, if the village and approch of the night had not couered many of them that fled, and ſtaied the purſuit of the victors that followed them. Which putteth me in remembrance of the great victorie that *Scipio Aſiaticus* had againſt *Antiochus*, wherein were ſlaine of the Romans but three hundred (although that in the fight one of the wings ſtood for a time doubtfull) there being loſt of the enemies aboue fiftie thouſand. Howbeit there were afterwards found in all (as was by the peaſants of the countrey reported) twentie thouſand ſlaine in this battell. By this victorie *Baſta* recouered many enſignes and much armour, before ſent by the Emperour vnto the Vayuod, together with all his tents and baggage. And preſently after the ouerthrow, there were many troupes of horſemen ſent out euerie way with proclamation, to ſpare the liues of ſuch of the Siculi as ſhould lay downe their armes: of whom K many were ſent priſoners vnto diuers places, eſpecially to Fogaras, a ſtrong Towne towards Valachia. As for the Vayuod himſelfe, hee with certaine Coſſackes eſcaped by flight.

Michael the Vayuod ouerthrowne.

The morrow following, *Baſta* diſpatched away the Countie *Caurioli*, to enforme the emperour of all the particularities of the ſucceſſe of that expedition: who ſeemed to bee therewith pleaſed, yet neither gaue reward vnto the Countie, neither commended *Baſta* in that hee had done (foreſeeing perhaps what was to enſue therof) although he had in writing before approued his reſolution and motion made in fauour of the Confederats. Staying that day in that quarter, *Baſta* gaue order vnto the Chiaki, to ſend out a thouſand horſemen to purſue the flying Vayuod: who in ſtead of ſo doing, ioyning themſelues with other their conſorts, ſetled L themſelues to ranſacke Alba-Iulia, vnder the colour, that there was the Vayuods wealth and ſubſtance; yet (as the manner of ſuch men is) ſparing neither merchant nor citiſen: which worthily ſeemed vnto *Baſta* a great wrong, for to ſee the innocent puniſhed, and the guiltie to eſcape free. And albeit that he made what haſte he might thitherwards with all his camp, and ſo ſtayed one day not farre from thence, to haue giuen ſome redreſſe vnto the ſpoyle that had happened; yet was all that his labour loſt, for that ſo many of the greater ſort and chiefeſt amongſt them had their handes therein, with whome hee thought it more wiſedome as then to diſſemble, than to fall into any tearmes of ſeueritie, without hope of doing any good. So he reſolued in all haſte to march towards Fogaras (whither he heard ſay the Vayuod was come with new forces out of Valachia and Moldauia) and in ſixe dayes march M came to Cibinium, where he receiued certaine newes, That the great Chancellour of Polonia, and *Sigiſmund* (ſometime the Tranſyluanian Prince) were with a ſtrong armie vpon the Frontiers of Moldauia; hauing ſent before them *Moyſes* the Siculian, with about eight thouſand of the Siculi (his ſouldiers) to what purpoſe was eaſie to bee ſeene. Which

This Chiaki was the chiefe man and as it were the ring-leader of the Tranſyluaniãs into rebellion.

aduertiſement interrupted the courſe of *Baſta* his victorie; for that it ſeemed not reaſonable to purſue the enemie, and to leaue behinde him a doubt of ſo great importance: and eſpecially, for that he thought he could not aſſure himſelfe of the aid of the countrey people, in caſe that *Sigiſmund* their old Prince were once ſeene in Tranſyluania. Wherefore he thought good to ſtay where he was, to prouide for all euents as need ſhould be; and ſo reſolued to ſend the Chiaki, and one *Ladiſlaus Pitbi*, to parley with *Moſes*, who made a ſhew of no great moment of his good will towards the confederats. In the meane time came two meſſengers from the Vayuod, offering in his name, that he ſhould do whatſoeuer were in the behalfe of the Emperor to be impoſed vpon him. Vnto whom theſe conditions were by *Baſta* and the reſt of the Councell propounded; Firſt, That he ſhould for euer reſigne all the claime he had or might haue into the country of Tranſyluania: then, That he altogether with his armie, ſhould giue his oath of fidelitie vnto his Imperial Majeſtie: alſo, That hee ſhould forthwith through Valachia go with his army vnto the frontiers of Moldauia, to ſtay the Polonians from farther entrance: and moreouer, to giue his wife and little ſon in hoſtage for the performance of theſe things. With which meſſengers was ſent one *Sebaſtian Techelli*, to receiue the oath and promiſed hoſtages: vnto whom was appointed for the place of their ſafe keeping, the Biſhops caſtle in Alba-Iulia, the Vayuod hauing before requeſted, That they might be ſo kept in Tranſyluania: although *Baſta* thought it much better to haue had them kept in the vpper Hungarie. This agreement being made, *Baſta* kept on his way towards Fogaras, which he found alreadie poſſeſſed by the Chiaki, and ſo from thence to Corona. After which, the Vayuod diſtruſting of the articles agreed vpon, went directly into Valachia, but not at all into Moldauia; not ſo much diſcomfited with the forces of the Polonians whom he went againſt (not doubting to giue them a great ouerthrow) as for the diſtruſt he had of *Moſes* the Siculian, who in the battel might ſhew himſelfe his enemie behinde him. Now whether it were for the diſtruſt he had in his owne followers, or only for feare of treaſon by the Polonians plotted, being not likely that they with ſo ſmall forces were come to fight, without ſome greater ſecret deceit; he not knowing whom to truſt or to feare, of his owne accord tooke his flight into the ſtrength of the mountaines, without any great loſſe of his people, hauing left his baggage behinde him, which was aſſailed and taken by the Haiducks and ſuch other ſharkers enured to prey, and alwaies readie in like occaſion, helpe to ſpoile and chaſe them that are alreadie running: although that afterwards in diuers ſkirmiſhes with the Turks (who to cauſe him the rather to turne his backe vnto the Polonians, had preſumptuouſly ſcoured vp and downe the country) he loſt many. In fine, giuing Moldauia loſt, he was now out of hope how to be able to hold only Valachia his old gouernment. Euen he which but a little before commanded aboue an hundred thouſand ſouldiers in field; he, which in deſpight of who ſaid nay, was able to command Valachia and Moldauia, and happily the other countries alſo neere vnto him, as hauing receiued the command of Tranſyluania as gouernor for the Emperour; he that made Conſtantinople to tremble, and found no Empire equall to his deſignes. But it fareth oftentimes with the Great, as with birds of prey, who greedily ſeeking to prey vpon others, become themſelues a prey vnto other greater than themſelues: for they neuer contented, and attributing onely vnto their owne valour and wiſedome, their owne proſperous proceedings, are the true ſhewers of the vnſtable wheele of fortune: or what ſay I of Fortune? being rather the verie children of Follie. So commonly falleth it out with Princes (eſpecially the new) which in the garboiles of war betwixt their mightie neighbours, not gouerned by their owne wiſedome, reſt themſelues onely vpon the aduice of their Counſellours, are by them led they wote not whither, for the greateſt intereſt they haue in them. For had the Vayuod had but the leaſt in-ſight into politicall gouernment, hee might well haue vnderſtood, that amongſt ſo many mightie Princes he could not much grow or yet well root himſelfe, without the aſſured ſtay of ſome one or other of them. He ſhould alſo haue knowne within what compaſſe a new prince ought to haue vſed ſeueritie and rigour; and that he ought to obſtaine from all offence in good or otherwiſe, which might any way procure vnto him the diſpleaſure or hatred of his ſubjects. Whereas his Counſellours not ſo much reſpecting his profit as their owne, had not the power or not the will to perſuade him ſo by good meanes to plant himſelfe ſure in Tranſyluania; but ſo both caſt him headlong from his high eſtate, and at the ſame time furthered the loſſe of Caniſia, a matter of important conſequence.

A reconciliation made betwixt Michael the Vayuod & Baſta.

Michael for feare of being betrayed vnto the Polonians, takes his flight into the mountaines.

Now lay *Baſſa* encamped in the field in Tranſyluania, when a meſſenger came vnto him from the great Chancellour of Polonia, to declare vnto him, That it was not his purpoſe to G trouble Tranſyluania, hauing no ſuch order from the King: albeit that hee would aduiſe the Tranſyluanians, if they wiſhed to liue in quiet, to make choice of a Prince of their owne nation, and ſuch an one as the Turke ſhould well like of, whereas otherwiſe they ſhould but ſeeke their owne deſtruction, together with their neighbors. Which his counſell was well marked of them all, albeit it was thought by many of the wiſer ſort, not ſo much to proceed of any good meaning he had towards the Tranſyluanians, as of an old grudge and inueterate hatred he had alwayes borne againſt the houſe of Auſtria; as alſo, that he euen then countenanced the Prince *Sigiſmund* with his armie to no other end, but by him to raiſe vp new ſtirs in that Prouince, and ſo to draw it from the Emperors obeiſance, although thereby it became againe tributarie vnto the Turke, who in all theſe matters had a great hand. Yea ſome ſticked not to ſay, H That he couertly aimed at that Principalitie for his ſonne, howſoeuer he masked the ſame vnder the ſhew of *Sigiſmund* the late Prince. But vnto him anſwer was giuen by the Tranſyluanians, (with thanks for his good will) That in all their conſultations they would haue a principal regard of their owne welfare, together with the common. Which anſwer he hauing receiued, forthwith placed one *Simon* (the brother of *Hieremias* the Moldauian) Vayuod of Valachia in ſtead of *Michael* by him driuen out, and ſo leauing a conuenient number of ſouldiers with him, returned himſelfe towards Polonia. Vnto which election ſo made by the Polonians the Turks craftily gaue place, knowing well to play the foxes where they could not play the lyons; wiſely for a time comporting the iniurie: and the old Chancellor as crafty as they, I hauing a ſecret purpoſe by occaſion of theſe preſent troubles, to prefer his ſonne at length vnto the principalitie of Tranſyluania, and thereunto alſo to ioine the countries of Moldauia and Valachia, had therein of purpoſe placed the aforeſaid *Simon*, a man of no valor, and of a ſmall apprehenſion, whom he might againe at his pleaſure diſplace, and ioine thoſe prouinces vnto his new purchaſe: which he could not ſo well do if he ſhould haue there placed a man of greater reach and courage. So worke the heads of the Great, and ſo trauell the braines of the ambitious aſpiring.

The Chancellor placeth a new Vayuod in Valachia in ſtead of Michael, by him driuen out

Falſe rumours raiſed to haue terrified Baſta.

Baſta vnderſtanding of the retyring of the Polonians, entered into conſultation with the Chiaki and other the principal men of that Prouince (which lodged with the armie in the countrey villages thereabout) for calling together the States and people, to make choice of K ſome ſuch men as they thought meeteſt to be ſent vnto the Emperor, to know his pleaſure for the gouernment of that Prouince. But now in the meane time, whileſt there was no ſuſpition of the forreine enemie, began to worke certaine malecontents, which thinking with greater libertie to liue vnder a weake Prince, than vnder one of greater power; with one voice cryed out, That *Sigiſmund* with a great power was entred into the confines of Tranſyluania, one whiles towards Valachia, another while by the way of Moldauia; and that the ſtrength of the countrey and others there by ſtill reſorted vnto him: with other ſuch like inuentions, of purpoſe deuiſed to haue made *Baſta* ſuddenly departed, or at leaſtwiſe to haue troubled the Dyet or aſſemblie called, & the conſultation alſo. But he wel aduiſed of their purpoſe, moued not out of his quarter, but there lay verie priuatly, to declare thereby the great confidence he L had in the thankfulneſſe of the nobilitie of that country, as by him deliuered from the oppreſſion of the Vayuod: as alſo to make them to vnderſtand, That the gouernment to be appointed was not to be ſetled in the ſole power of a tyrant, but in the fidelitie of the ſubjects, protected vnder a moſt gentle, royal, and moſt fatherlike gouernment, not ambitiouſly ſought after, but voluntarily of themſelues offered, & for the common good, by the Emperor accepted. Beſide that, he knew right wel, how that *Caſtaldo* (in like caſe before in the yere 1551, ſent into Tranſyluania with 8000 Almaines) left behinde him his armie, and without any precedent courteſie went priuatly to Alba-Iulia, where Queene *Iſabel* had for her defence aſſembled a Dyet of all the States, and there by wel handling of the matter, got to *Ferdinand* the Emperor that kingdome, which he could not by the feare of his forces haue gained: for which doing, Writers M attribute vnto him the name of great wiſedome, notwithſtanding that the yeare following he was forced to abandon his conqueſt, but yet not through any default in himſelfe.

But it is truly ſaid, That men pleaſured, according to the occaſion change their manners, as doth the camelion his color according to the place: nothing being by nature ſo ſhort, nothing

of

A of leſſe life than the remembrance of a benefit with the vnthankfull, which the greater it is, the more it is repaied with vngratitude; either by making it to haue been of little worth, or to haue proceeded not of courteſie, but from ſome other more priuat & proper conſiderations of the giuer. The diet aforeſaid being aſſembled, diuers broils were there raiſed by the malecontents, as vſually it commeth to paſſe where the people haue to do with the gouernment; apt to be moued with euery rumour, alwaies ready to change their opinion as ſtraight glutted therewith, headſtrong, faithleſſe, all in words to no end: ſome of them in that aſſemblie cryed out, that the Almains might be paid, diſcharged, and thanked for the pains they had taken for them as their neighbors, with offring to do them the like pleaſure as their occaſions ſhould require: B otherwiſe cried to haue them put all to the ſword, ſo much they were deuoid of reaſon: others cried out as faſt, that they were not by any means to endure the gouernment of *Maximilian* the Archduke, but by ſome nominated vnto them would needs haue a Prince of their own countrey, and ſuch an one as the great Turke ſhould well like of, as the Chancellour had perſuaded them. *Baſta* for all that not diſmaid with ſo vnexpected an encounter (albeit that he began to ſuſpect that he had loſt all his labor, if he were not in ſhort time with greater forces relieued) at ſuch time as the Chiaki with other the chiefe men amongſt the people, came as their maner was euery other day to viſit him: with couragious ſpeech and vnappalled countenance told them plainely, That he well perceiued their drift and purpoſe; and yet doubted not either of their oath of obedience giuen vnto his Imperiall Maieſtie, either of the freſh remembrance of C the great benefit they had from him ſo lately receiued; & in caſe it might happen them little to eſteeme of thoſe things (greater than which could not happen amongſt men) that yet they ſhould well know, that he was not a man to be feared with words, but fully reſolued not to ſtir one foot thence with his forces, but rather to loſe his life, which hee would for all that ſell as deare as he could. Whereunto anſwer was giuen with much courteous ſpeech, That he ſhould not giue eare vnto any the ſpeeches of the light vulgar people; but to content himſelfe that the nobility, in whoſe hands the chiefe power of that prouince was, had not don any thing not beſeeming themſelues. So after much diſpute, were appointed 3 perſons according to the three eſtates (the Nobility, the Commons, & the State in general) to go vnto the Emperor, to requeſt of him *Maximilian* the Archduke for their Gouernor: with ſpeciall requeſt alſo, that it would D pleaſe him not to ouercharge with forrein ſouldiers that Prouince already ſore impoueriſhed; eſpecially hauing in it ſelfe people ſufficient for the defence thereof, and more nimble to encounter with the Turks, than the heauy & ſlow Almains, and they alſo of double charge. Theſe difficulties with much ado thus appeaſed by ſuch as ſtood faſt for the Emperor, *Baſta* thought *it not good* again to cal any ſuch aſſembly, hoping that time and the Emperors great wiſdome, *would for* all theſe matters find conuenient remedy. Yet ſaw he plainly, the mind of the people was to reſolue to remaine for euer free, if they ſhould haue come to a ſecond conſultation; and in them a princely deſire to command rather than to be commanded: yea in that ſelfeſame Diet the Chiaki was declared Gouernour on the behalfe of the people, with authoritie in many things of himſelfe to determine without calling together of any aſſembly of the reſt of the E States: which they ſaid they did only vntill they were by his Imperiall Maieſty prouided of a Gouernour. Neuertheleſſe *Baſta* wel perceiued more than a Tribunitial power to be now ioyned by the people vnto the Emperours Commiſſioners, knowing that this Chiaki was in great hope to haue bin proclaimed Prince of the confederats, in caſe they had not bin preſently relieued againſt the Vayuod: & hauing in him yet noted ſtil his great ambitiō, for that marching from Torda toward the Vayuod, he cauſed to be carried before him a ſpeare with an Hungarian cap, and a plume of feathers vpon a lance, in token of his chiefe command, albeit that afterwards at the complaint of *Baſta*, pretending therin a wrong to be done vnto his regiment marching vnder the Imperiall ſtandard, he tooke it down: neither was he then a little ſuſpected to haue ſuffered his ſouldiers to haue ſacked Alba-Iulia, as alſo to haue ſurpriſed Fogaras, and to haue vſed diuers other means all tending vnto popularitie and ambitious aſpiring: wherein he deemed it yet better to diſſemble than to proceed farther, and then to do it indeed when hee had power ſufficient.

The ſtout ſpeech of Baſta, vnto the Chiaki and the reſt of the nobilitie of Tranſyluania.

The next day following came all the Counſel of that prouince, with the Deputies (appointed to haue gone vnto the Emperor) & the people vnto the houſe of *Baſta*, requeſting him (although ſuch their manner of comming might ſeeme to exceed the bounds of requeſt) that he

The errour of Baſta.

would ſend his Germanes out of the countrey, and ſo after ſo many troubles to giue it leaue a little to breath : as for himſelfe, that he might ſtay at Alba-Iulia, vntil the men deputed to that G purpoſe might go vnto his Maieſty with their requeſts. *Baſta* not a little troubled with ſuch an Imperious requeſt, and now (but not before) perceiuing the occaſion of this great diſcontentment, ſaw himſelfe much deceiued in a moſt materiall point, and the ground of all this action, by truſting too much vnto his owne too ſmall forces, too weake for the defence of his owne perſon, much leſſe to keepe vnder ſo populous a Prouince, ſuch as before in the yeare 1552 vnder the leading of *Caſtaldo*, had of it ſelfe ſent out 70000 fighting men for the beſieging of Lippa, and now vpon the ſudden 12000 with a few noblemen in the face of a mighty and armed enemy; where they now held an armed conſultation with him, the nobilitie meeting together with their great retinues; and ſo much the greater, by how much the ſuſpition was the H more by them feared, for them to be enforced to reſolue vpon any thing contrary to their good liking : whereas he contenting himſelfe only with their oath without any other hoſtages, and ſo giuing aid vnto the confederats, had put himſelfe vpon their faith, together with all his people, into the midſt of Tranſyluania; a matter of far greater importance than any pledge they were able to haue giuen him. Beſides that, of the 6000 men which he had brought with him into that countrie, three thouſand fiue hundred of Sileſia now brought to 2000, could not be perſuaded longer to ſtay without their pay before hand, the pay of their countrie beeing alreadie ſpent; and the reſt drawne out of the garriſons of the vpper Hungarie, or els there preſſed, were at a certaine time to returne. Yet neuertheleſſe hee attempted in ſome ſort to ſatisfie their requeſt, for not grieuing of the country, by requeſting of them to deliuer vnto him I ſome ſtrong place, whereinto he putting his men into garriſon, they might ſo lie without any further charge or trouble to the country, liuing vpon their own wages. Which when he could not obtaine, and withall conſidering, that if thoſe few of his people which yet remained could be contented to ſtay with him, the retaining of them might giue occaſion vnto the deſirous of new ſtirs vpon euery the leaſt diſorder of the ſouldiers, to alter the matter at their pleaſure (as had hapned vnto the eight thouſand Almaines of *Caſtaldo*, driuen ſometimes out of that countrey vnder the colour of ſome inſolencie by them committed, although others had been the chiefe doers thereof, namely about ſome twentie Polonians) he reſolued of all theſe things to giue notice to the Court, and ſo faire and ſoftly to march with his ſouldiers vnto the confines of that countrie, & to ſaue his eight pieces of artillerie with his other munition in Samos Viuar K caſtle, a ſtrong fortreſſe a good way within the confines, which together with the ſtrong caſtle of Kuiuar, *Aga Leche* an Albanoiſe and Generall of the Vayuods horſemen deliuered to *Zakel* Captaine of Zaccomar, one of his Maieſties Commiſſioners; who there prouided for the Gouernor *Baſta* his familiar fauorit : although that the Tranſyluanians had with great promiſes ſought to haue croſſed ſuch deliuerie of the aforeſaid Caſtles, and to haue had them in their owne power.

The diſtretion of the doer is not alwaies to bee deemed by the euent of the thing done.

Wherfore *Baſta* not deceiued, but by neceſſitie enforced, yeelded that he could not hold, and gaue that he could not ſell, making a vertue of neceſſitie; deceiued in the euent of the matter which he had propounded vnto himſelfe from the beginning, for the aſſurance of that country L to the Emperor, by an excuſable error, if it be true that ſome wiſe men ſay, nothing to be more vnreaſonable than by the euent of matters to iudge of their wiſdome by whom they were managed; which conſiſteth not in diuining before of the certainty of the euent, but in the reaſonable coniecture thereof, by the means leading therunto, than which nothing is more deceitful, as not depending from our own actions only, but from other mens alſo more groſſe and vnreaſonable : none knowing better how much the wiſedome of man deceiueth it ſelfe, than thoſe which are vnto themſelues true witneſſes of the euent of their owne conſultations. Neuertheleſſe the matter was afterward ſo well handled by *Baſta*, *Petzen*, & others the Emperors great fauorites in Tranſyluania, that in a Diet holden by the Tranſyluanians, he was with a conuenient guard againe by them receiued as the Emperors Lieutenant, vntill further order were by M him taken for the gouernement and aſſurance of that countrey : the Chiaki and his complices faintly conſenting thereunto, as not greatly pleaſed therewith. Neither had *Baſta* much cauſe to be proud of ſuch his gouernment, hauing therof no longer aſſurance than pleaſed that fickle people to affoord him; yet ſith no better could be had, he muſt take it as he might, deeming it better in ſome ſort for the preſent to hold it for the Emperor, than not at all: with which his

weake

A weake ſtate amongſt moe enemies than friends, we wil for a while leaue him.

But whileſt things thus paſſed (as we haue ſaid) in Tranſyluania and Hungarie (the treatie
for peace betwixt the Emperor and the Turke being vaniſhed into ſmoke;) *Ibrahim Baſſa* the
Turks Generall in Hungarie, hauing all the laſt Winter made great preparation for the inuaſion
of the Emperors territories, and the doing of ſome notable enterpriſe for the recouerie of
his reputation ſomewhat impaired by the euill ſucceſſe of the laſt yeres wars; & euen in theſe
his greateſt preparations of this yere, not a little troubled by the mutinie of the Ianizaries and
Spahi for want of their pay at Conſtantinople, as alſo with the rebellion in Caramania: now at
length in the latter end of Auguſt (by order from the Grand Seignior his great Lord and maſter)
began to ſet forward with his armie from Belgrade, ſuppoſed to be aboue two hundred
B thouſand men ſtrong. And comming to Babotſca, a ſtrong fortreſſe of the Chriſtians in the
nether Hungarie, ſat downe before it, and hauing planted his artillerie, furiouſly battered it,
with purpoſe to haue the next day aſſaulted it: but the captaine of the caſtle conſidering the
weakneſſe of his garriſon to withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemie, and that the wals to be alreadie
ſore ſhaken with the fury of the great ordnance, came to a reaſonable compoſition with the
Baſſa, and ſo deliuered vnto him the place. Which exploit done, and the caſtle to him ſurrendred,
he marched from thence to Caniſia, a ſtrong town in the frontiers of Stiria, of moſt men
before ſuppoſed a place impregnable; for that it was ſcituat in a very deep mariſh, and furniſhed
with a ſtrong garriſon of valiant ſouldiers, part Hungarians and part Almaines: after this
ſtrong towne *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa eſpecially longed, ſo to free thoſe frontiers of the Turks
C from the often incurſions that the garriſon ſouldiers of that place made therein; as alſo by the
taking of that ſo ſtrong a fortreſſe from the Chriſtians, to open a more free and ſafe paſſage for
the Turks into Auſtria, to the indangering of other places of the empire alſo farther off. Wherfore
encamping his great armie on the ſide of the mariſh which compaſſed the Iſle round
whereon the towne ſtood, he began with fagots and earth to fill vp the mariſh, ſo to paſſe ouer
his armie; they in the town in the mean time not ceaſing with their thundring ſhot to diſturbe
them, and to do them what harme they might: who for all that, proceeding in their worke, had
brought it now almoſt cloſe vnto the Iſland, where whileſt they were about to haue landed,
they were by the ſouldiers of the garriſon ſo encountered, that hauing loſt a number of their
D men as well Ianizaries as others, with two of their beſt captains alſo, they were by plain valor
enforced to retire. But preparing themſelues againſt the next day with a greater force to haue
again returned vnto the aſſault of the Iſle, they ſaw the Imperiall armie now at their backs, and
come ſo neere them, that with their artillerie they did them great harm; which put them in no
ſmall feare, ſeeing themſelues incloſed betwixt the towne and the camp, and both out of the
one and the other to receiue no ſmall hurt, as well with the ſmall ſhot as the great: beſides that
out of the camp diuers whole bands ſometimes ſallied, diſcharging great vollies of ſhot euen
into their trenches. In the Imperiall army were about two and forty thouſand horſe and foot,
men of diuers nations, vnder the leading of duke *Mercurie*, now Generall of the Emperors forces
in Hungarie; with whom were alſo the Lords *Nadaſti*, *Eſdrin*, *Bacchian*, and the Gouernour
of Croatia, with diuers other famous captaines, come thither for the reliefe of Caniſia, a place
of ſo great importance for the defence of that ſide of the country, and to helpe that it fell not
E into the power of the barbarous enemie. But *Ibrahim Baſſa* vnderſtanding by his eſpials the
ſmall number of the Chriſtians; and well knowing how much he was too ſtrong for them by
reaſon of his great multitude, went out againſt them, & finding them as ready as himſelfe, ioyned
battell with them, with great ſlaughter of men both on the one ſide and the other: which
bloudy fight (the victory yet ſtanding doubtfull, but in all mens iudgement more inclining vnto
the Chriſtians than to the Turks) was at length by the comming on of the night broken off.
At which time the Chriſtians retiring themſelues into their trenches, the Turkes ſtood all the
night in the field with their weapons in their hands, as fearing to haue been again in the night
by their enemies aſſailed. Meane while the Chriſtian captaines in the camp at variance among
themſelues, and ſo not now to be commanded by Duke *Mercurie* their Generall; at ſuch time
as the Turkes preſuming on their multitude dared them to battell the next day, could by no
means be perſuaded to go out againſt them, or once to ſtirre out of their trenches. Inſomuch
that the Generall of the Tartars thereupon taking courage, made an inrode into the Countrie
thereby, and meeting with two hundred wagons laded with victuals going vnto the Chri-

Caniſia beſieged by the Turkes.

The battell betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turkes before Caniſia.

ſtian campe, ſlew the conuoy that guarded them, and ſo carried them quite away. Whereby ſuch want aroſe in the Chriſtian camp,that hauing not what to eat,and out of hope of any new ſupplie of reliefe in time to come,they were glad by night to diſlodge & retire;which could not ſo ſecretly be done, but that it was by the Turks perceiued, who preſently following after them in the taile of the armie,cut off about three thouſand of them,with certaine pieces of great ordnance, and moſt part of the baggage; the reſt of the armie in the meane time retiring farther off into places of more ſafety. From this victory the Turks returned again to the ſiege of Caniſia,where after a few daies,the garriſon ſouldiers now out of hope to be in good time relieued,ſuddenly fel into mutiny,refuſing any longer to defend the town now hardly laid vnto by the Turks;and the rather, for that diuers of the Hungarians were already fled out of the towne vnto the Baſſa,hauing(as it was thought)reuealed vnto him the whole eſtate of the beſieged: ſo that now there was no remedy but that the town muſt be deliuered vnto the enemy, although *Paradiſer* with ſome other of the captaines did what they might (as they ſaid afterwards) to haue perſuaded the contrary. Whereupon they came to parley with the Baſſa,and couenanting with him,that they might with bag & baggage depart,and with a ſafe conuoy be brought ouer the riuer Mur,promiſed to yeeld vnto him the towne : all which the Baſſa granted,fearing how to haue been able to haue kept the field,if they ſhould for any long time haue holden out, Winter now ſo faſt approching. So the two and twentieth of October the towne was vnto the Baſſa right cowardly deliuered,and the garriſon ſouldiers with their baggage in 100 wagons lent them by the Turks,ſafely conducted ouer the Mur as was vnto them promiſed. After the agreement made for the yeelding vp of the towne,the Baſſa in courteſie ſent vnto *Paradiſer* the Gouernour,a very rich gowne of cloth of gold;which albeit that he refuſed, yet was it afterwards laid to his charge as a preſumption of ſome trecherous colluſion betwixt him and the Baſſa for the betraying of the town,which it was thought he might much longer haue kept. *Ibrahim* now thus poſſeſſed of the town he ſo much deſired,fortified it more ſtrongly than euer it was before; and for the more aſſurance thereof, put into it a ſtrong garriſon of foure thouſand foot & fiue hundred horſe,all old expert ſoldiers. And immediatly after,without reſiſtance forraged the country round about Caniſia, burning all before him as he went; the poore Chriſtian inhabitants ſtill flying as faſt as they could for ſafegard of their liues. But hauing thus with the ſpoile of the countrey well pleaſed his ſouldiers,he deſirous to haue the ſame againe in time repeopled,as thereby to yeeld vnto the Turks the more profit, ſtaid their farther outrage, vpon great paine forbidding the ſame; by open proclamations in euery place ſet vp,inuiting the Chriſtians without feare of farther harm to returne again into the country, where ſubmitting them vnto the great Sultans obeiſance, they ſhould vnder his protection ſafely dwell,without any tribute to be of them exacted for the ſpace of three yeares next following. Which proclamations were in his name thus publiſhed.

Caniſia yeelded vnto the Turks

Stiria forraged by the Turkes.

Ibrahim Baſſa to the inhabitants of the countrey about Caniſia, greeting.

Ibrahim Baſſa his proclamation.

We Ibrahim Baſſa *by the grace of God, Viſier, and Couſin vnto the moſt puiſſant and inuincible Sultan* Mahomet, *Emperour of the Turkes, vnto all the inhabitants of the marches about Caniſia, and the reſt of the country of Steirmarck, from the greateſt vnto the leaſt, greeting. Whereas we haue willingly heard, that ſome of you willing to ſubmit your ſelues to the great Sultan, and to ſweare vnto him fealtie, are againe returned vnto your old dwellings: Wee promiſe and aſſure you vpon the faith of the ſaid Emperor, that whoſoeuer ſhall be found neere vnto the fortreſſe of Caniſia now belonging vnto the great Sultan, with al reuerence ſubbmitting himſelfe as his ſubiect vnder his gouernment, acknowledging him for his ſoueraigne, ſhall enioy moe priuiledges than euer he did before, and alſo be protected in the ſame. And for that we know that your houſes are for the moſt part deſtroied, as alſo your poſteritie, you ſhal therfore for theſe three yeres next following be exempted and free from all tributes and charges whatſoeuer, to the intent you may the better recouer your ſelues. Of which grace if you ſhall willingly accept, we promiſe you, that neither you, your wiues, or children, ſhall be in any thing wronged, or your goods in any part impaired, but ſo much as in vs poßibly is to be defended: ſo that ſo many of you as pleaſe, may in ſafetie returne into your owne old dwellings, giuing before knowledge thereof vnto the Gouernor of this our fortreſſe. Giuen in our campe after the conqueſt of Caniſia.*

A Many of theſe poore countrey people before fled for feare of the Turks, and not knowing where to beſtow themſelues, now vpon this proclamation returned againe to their antient dwelling places, there to begin the world againe vnder the Turkiſh obeyſance. But for that Countie *Serinus* was the man whom of all others in that country the great Baſſa ſought after, as him whom he moſt feared after his departure to trouble this his new conqueſt, and to ſeeke to be reuenged; hauing in this ſo generall a calamitie of Stiria his countrie, loſt twentie villages of his owne, quite burnt by the Turks, and the people moſt ſlain or els taken priſoners: the Baſſa hauing many times before ſought to haue perſuaded him to haue yeelded his obedience vnto the Turkiſh Sultan, and now in hope after ſo great loſſe to bring him in, before he were B come into the vtter ruine of all his fortunes (now by the loſſe of Caniſia, and the entrance of the Turks into Stiria, not a little endangered) writ vnto him as followeth:

We Ibrahim Baſſa, *chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes and couſin vnto the moſt puiſſant Sultan* Mahomet, *to the County* Serinus *ſendeth greeting. We haue oftentimes heretofore written vnto thee concerning the matter thou knoweſt of: but what the cauſe is that we receiued no anſwer, we cannot tell. Yet could I not but write to thee againe, That if yet thou canſt be content to begin the matter aright, and to ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto our protection, we will be readie to receiue thee. Thou ſeeſt, that what we foretold thee, is now more than fulfilled both vpon thee and thine, which thou wouldeſt neuer beleeue. Neuertheleſſe, for the ſtaying of the further effuſion of the bloud as well of thy ſubiects as ours, and to come to ſome good at-* C *tonement, it is high time for thee to lay thine hand vpon thine heart, and to conſider how much more it concerneth thee than vs, and that the benefit thereof redoundeth more vnto thine than ours: What our affection is towards thee,* Hierome *the Vayuod can tell thee. Fare thou wel, from our campe after the conqueſt of Caniſia, the ſeuenth of Nouember,* 1600.

Ibrahim Baſſa his letters vnto the countie Serinus.

But theſe letters being alſo as the reſt anſwered with ſilence, the great Baſſa hauing diſpoſed of all as he thought beſt at Caniſia and in the countrie thereabout, returned with his armie to Belgrade, there to Winter: hauing before fully certified the great Sultan of all his proceedings, and the ſucceſſe of this war, vaunting after his vain manner, the next Spring to beſiege Vienna alſo, if it ſhould pleaſe him ſo to command. Of all which things *Mahomet* vnderſtan- D ding, and not a little therwith pleaſed, cauſed great triumphs to be made by the ſpace of foure dayes at Conſtantinople, and in token of his loue and fauour, ſent a rich robe of cloath of gold, with a leading ſtaffe, all ſet with pearle and precious ſtones, vnto the Baſſa, yet lying at Belgrade.

Ibrahim Baſſa returneth vnto his army to Belgrade.

This loſſe of Caniſia much troubled all that ſide of Chriſtendome, eſpecially them of the *the* territories belonging vnto the houſe of Auſtria, in a ſort diſmaid to ſee the Turks ſo eaſily poſſeſſed of a towne, before thought almoſt impregnable, and the ſtrongeſt defence of al that country againſt the furious impreſſions of the Turks, to whom it was now become a moſt ſafe and ſure receptacle, all men with one voice blaming the diſcord of the captains in the Imperiall army, for ſo retiring without any good doing: but aboue all deteſting the cowardiſe of *Pa-* E *radiſer*, who knowne to haue in the towne a ſtrong garriſon, with good ſtore of munition and victuals (as was ſuppoſed) had ſo baſely deliuered the ſame vnto the enemy, not doing the vttermoſt of his deuoir as had beſeemed him for the defence therof: whereas if he had ſo done, happily in the meane time the cold and vnſeaſonableneſſe of the weather (though no other reliefe had been) Winter being now come, might haue inforced the Turkes to haue raiſed their ſiege. Whereupon he was for this ſo foule a fact, by the Emperors commandement apprehended and caſt in priſon at Vienna, where after he had long lien, and his cauſe oftentimes examined, he was the next yere following condemned of felony and cowardiſe, and ſo the 15 day of October executed, hauing firſt his hand at foure ſtrokes of the executioner ſtrucke off, and after that his head: with him was alſo in like maner executed his Enſigne-bearer: and after them his Lieutenant with the Maior of the towne, who both bound faſt to a ſtake, had firſt their F tongues cut out, and afterwards their heads chopt off.

Paradiser executed for the yeelding vp of Caniſia to the Turks.

Now the rebellion before raiſed in Caramania by *Cuſſahin Baſſa* (as is aforeſaid) was not with his death altogether appeaſed. Alſo Orfa, a great citie of that country (which hauing taſted the ſweetneſſe of liberty in the time of *Cuſſahin*) yet ſtill holding out againſt *Mehemet* the great Baſſa the Sultans lieutenant Generall there. At which time alſo a companion of *Cuſſahin* the late rebell, called the *Scriuano*, and one of his greateſt fauorits, ſeeing how hardly not onely *Cuſſabin* himſelfe, but the reſt of his followers had bin handled by the Turks, began to make head, and to call vnto him all ſuch as loued their liberty: vnto the ſweet name wherof, ſo many were in ſhort time come about him, as that out of them he formed ſuch an armie, as made him now dreadfull vnto the Turks his enemies. Againſt whom, *Mehemet Baſſa* going with all his power to haue oppreſſed him, found him with thoſe his rebellious followers ſo couragious (for the deſire they all had to breake out of the *Othoman* ſlauerie, and to liue in ſuch liberty as was promiſed them by their captaine and Generall) that ioyning battell with them, hee receiued of them a notable ouerthrow, inſomuch that fearing to haue loſt his whole army, he was glad to retire, and to ſend out commiſſions for the raiſing of greater forces. Sultan *Mahomet* in the mean time, whither it was for feare of this new rebellion, or for that he vnderſtood of the Embaſſadors ſent from the Perſian vnto the Chriſtian Princes, began to ſuſpect leſt that king ſhould breake the league he had with him, & ſo to his further trouble take vp arms alſo againſt him. Wherefore vpon a Turkiſh pride he ſent an Embaſſador into Perſia, to giue the King to vnderſtand, That for the more aſſurance of the league betwixt them, he demanded to haue one of his ſons ſent vnto him in hoſtage, as a pledge of his fathers faith. Which ſo proud a demand the Perſian king tooke in ſuch diſdaine, that he commanded in his rage the Embaſſador to be forthwith ſlain: but that his fury being by his graue counſellors ſomwhat appeaſed, he remitted the ſeuerity of that his rigorous command, and ſparing his life, was contented, that in deſpight and contempt of him that had ſent him, he ſhould be put to the Baſtonado only: and ſo grieuouſly threatned, ſent back again vnto his maſter. Who hauing receiued this ſhamefull anſwer, and in doubt of ſome further matter from that angry king, commanded new and ſtrong garriſons to be put in all his ſtrong holds confining vpon the Perſian kingdome.

The Turks embaſſadour euill entreated by the king of Perſia.

1601

The aid ſent out of Italy vnto the emperor.

This troubleſome yeare of Iubile thus paſt, the Emperor much troubled with the loſſe of Caniſia, and in doubt of worſe to come (albeit that *Ibrahim Baſſa*, whom for all that he truſted not, did afreſh intreat with him concerning peace) and ſeeing alſo the great need he had of greater aid to withſtand the mightie power of the Turke, with great inſtancie requeſted aid of the Pope and of the other Princes of Italie: who conſidering alſo how much it concerned the reſt of the Chriſtian commonweale, to haue the frontiers of Hungary defended, condiſcended vnto the Emperours requeſt: and ſo the Pope with the beginning of the Spring ſent him eight thouſand ſouldiers in pay, vnder the leading of *Io. Franciſco Aldobrandino* his nephew their Generall, who with the like charge had now ſerued euer ſince the yeare 1599: King Philip alſo at the inſtance of the Emperor gaue order vnto the Countie *Fuentes* to ſend into Croatia certaine bands of Dutches; who by direction from him, were forthwith conducted to Millaine: The great Duke of Florence, alſo ſent vnto him two thouſand ſouldiers, vnder the leading of *Franciſco de Monte*; with whom alſo by his appointment went the Lord *Io. de Medices*, whom *Ferdinand* the archduke forthwith requeſted for to be maſter of his camp: thither came alſo the Duke of Mantua with an honorable companie both of horſe & foot, being forthwith by the Archduke made his Lieutenant Generall. And ſo whileſt theſe people aſſembled together into Croatia, the Emperour ſent alſo another good armie into Hungarie, drawne for moſt part out of Germanie, which vnder the leading of the Archduke *Matthias* his brother, & the Duke *Mercurie* his Lieutenant General, went into thoſe parts to withſtand the Turke. A third armie hee alſo made of the Imperials: which ſtrengthened with the forces of *Don Ferrant Gonzaga*, Gouernour of the vpper Hungarie, ioyned themſelues with *Baſta*, for the recouerie of Tranſyluania, out of which hee had beene of late driuen, as ſhall heereafter be declared.

And ſo whileſt theſe armies were in preparing, many hot skirmiſhes paſſed in Hungarie betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, the loſſe falling ſometime to the one ſide and ſometime to the other. But the time now come that ſouldiers might wel take the field, *Ibrahim Baſſa* being now before dead at Belgrade, whileſt he was yet entreating of a diſſembled peace, and *Haſſan* one of the Viſier Baſſies by *Mahomet* appointed Generall in Hungarie in his place: yet delaying his comming, the parley for peace laied aſide (as neuer indeed by the Turks intended, but only by them entertained to dallie off the time to their owne more aduantage) Duke *Mercurie* Generall of the Emperors forces taking the offer of ſo fit an opportunitie, came with his army from Comara (where he had lien expecting the euent of the parley) and layed ſiege to Alba Rega-

Ibrahim Baſſa dieth at Belgrade.

Alba Regalis beſieged by duke Mercurie.

A Regalis,one of the chiefeſt and ſtrongeſt cities of Hungarie: which ſeated in the midſt of a mariſh,
was thought almoſt impregnable,being hardly to be approched but by the ſuburbs,which
ſtrongly fortified and defended by the mariſh, ſerued the citie in ſtead of three moſt ſure bulwarks,
within which ſtood alſo the citie it ſelfe, well defended with a good wall and a ditch:
This city the Duke for certaine daies continually battered, as if he had purpoſed at length to
haue taken it by aſſault: but in the mean time certainly informed by a fugitiue (but lately fled
out of the city) that the broad lake on the other ſide of the city ouer againſt the place where
he lay,was not ſo deep,but that it was to be paſſed(contrary to the opinion both of the Turks
captiues,and of the naturall inhabitants,whom he had vpon that point examined) and that the
B Turks preſuming vpon the ſtrength therof,& thinking themſelues on that ſide ſafe,had turned
almoſt al their care & forces vnto that ſide of the city which was now by him battered,without
regard of any great perill to be from the other ſide feared: he appointed the Lord *Ruſſworm*
with his ſoldiers to make proofe if the Sigeth ſuburbs(for ſo they were called) on the
aforeſaid ſide of the city ſo litle regarded by the Turks,were not to be ſurpriſed:for that theſe
ſuburbs being taken,the city could not long hold out:for the vndertaking of which enterpriſe,
Ruſſworm was both by the captiue Turks & country people therby dwelling,much diſcouraged,
they al with one conſent affirming, That albeit he ſhould finde no other difficulties in the
attempting therof,yet the lake it ſelfe was not poſſible to be paſſed: who neuertheles not altogether
truſting them,ſent certain of his men ſecretly to trie the matter: who hauing ſo done,
C brought him word,That the lake was vndoubtedly(though with much difficulty)to be paſſed.
Whereupon he with 1000 ſelect ſoldiers with euery one of them a good faggot on his backe
beſide his armes,to fil vp the deepeſt of the mariſh, by night entred the ſame;wherein he had
not gon far, but that he almoſt with the danger of his life found it much deeper & more troubleſome
than the ſpies had vnto him before reported: but carried with an inuincible courage
himſelfe,& his ſoldiers moued by his example,he ſtill went on,they alſo following of him. It
is almoſt a thing incredible,to tell what theſe aduenturous men indured,plunged in the deepe
mud among the flags and bulruſhes,going ſtill vp in water and mud vnto the waſt euen where
the mariſh was the ſhalloweſt; where alſo if one miſſed but a ſtep, hee was by and by ouer
head & ears,and in danger to be drowned,if he were not by his fellows preſently holden: yet
D at length by Gods help hauing with the loſſe but of 6 or 7 men a little before day got ouer,the
duke by an appointed ſigne aduertiſed therof,with greater ſtir and tumult than at any time before
aſſailed that ſide of the city where he lay, as if euen then & there he had onely meant to
haue ingaged his whole forces for the winning therof. When in the mean time the Lord *Ruſſworm*
on the other ſide with his reſolute ſoldiers,with ladders prouided for the purpoſe ſcaled
the wals of the ſuburbs, and almoſt vnperceiued,recouered the top therof(the Turks being at
the ſame time wholly bent for the defence of the other ſide of the city,where moſt ſtir & apparent
danger was)and ſo being got into the ſuburbs,with a great and terrible crie aſſailed the
Turks,who ſurpriſed with an exceeding feare,and not wel knowing which way to turn themſelues,
without any great reſiſtance fled into the city, the Chriſtians following them at the
E heels,& making of them a great ſlaughter. In which ſo great a confuſion,euen where was leaſt
feared,the Duke by other his ſoldiers tooke the reſt of the ſuburbs as he had before determined,
the Turks there alſo for feare forſaking them,& retiring with all the haſt they could vnto
their fellows in the citie,there to liue or die together. The Chriſtians in theſe ſuburbs,beſide
much other rich prey,tooke alſo 14 great pieces of artillerie,with good ſtore of ſhot & pouder.
The ſuburbs (the greateſt ſtrength of the city) thus happily taken, the Duke againe ſummoned
the citie,requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him: whereunto the Turks gaue no other
anſwer but by their pieces,which they diſcharged vpon the Chriſtians ſo perſuading them to
yeeld. Wherwith the Duke much diſpleaſed,ſent them word,That he would ſend them other
manner of meſſengers to morrow,and by Gods help ſup with them in the citie, although hee
were not vnto him welcome. Neither failed he of that his promiſe: for the next day hauing
out of the ſuburbs by the fury of his artillerie made two faire breaches in the city, he by the
ruines thereof with great ſlaughter of the enemie entred the citie, albeit that the Turkes did
what they might to haue defended the ſame,by caſting down vpon the Chriſtians as they entered,
darts,wild-fire,& ſuch like things,vſually prouided for ſuch purpoſe. But ſeeing now no
remedy,but that they muſt needs giue place to the fortune of their enemies, they fled amaine

The ſuburbs of Alba Regalis ſurpriſed by the lord Ruſſworm

Alba Regalis taken by the Chriſtians.

into their houſes, there to defend themſelues, or els to die: many of which houſes they had
before of purpoſe ſo vndermined, as that they could eaſily ouerthrow them, & ſo ouerwhelm G
as many as ſhould come within the danger of them: which ſo ſtrange a reſolution was by many
of them as deſperatly performed, inſomuch that the goodly church, the palace, with many
other ſumpuous buildings, were left vnto the Chriſtians all rent & torn, not much better than
rude heaps of rubbidge and ſtones. Howbeit the Baſſa vpon promiſe of life, yeelded himſelfe,
and was by the Duke preſently ſent vnto the camp; the reſt of the ſoldiers being (as in ſuch caſe
it commonly hapneth) all or moſt of them put to the ſword. The greateſt part of the prey fell
vnto the Wallons, who by heaps breaking into the richeſt houſes, not only tooke what themſelues
light vpon, but ſtript the Germans alſo of ſuch things as they had by chance gotten, to
their great heart-burning & griefe: yea theſe rauenous and irreligious men not ſo contented, H
opened the tombs of the Hungarian kings, there long before buried, to ſpoile euen the dead of
ſuch things, as had for honors ſake bin long before interred with them (if haply any ſuch thing
were there to be found) ſhewing themſelues therein more barbarous than the Turkes, who by
the ſpace of 60 yeres hauing had the city in their poſſeſſion, had yet ſpared thoſe reuerent monuments,
and ſuffered the reliques of thoſe worthy Princes to reſt in peace. Of this taking of
Alba-Regalis, the Baſſa of Buda long before taken priſoner, and then lying at Vienna, hearing,
abſtained from meat with his two ſeruants a whole day, proſtrate vpon his face, praying vnto
his Prophet *Mahomet*, who had (as he ſaid) all this yere been angry with the Turks. Which had
the ſiege of Caniſia taken the like effect, had then vndoubtedly been vnto them moſt vnfortunat:
but God in his wiſedome ſtill tempereth the ſweet with the ſoure. I

Aſſan Baſſa commeth out of ſeaſon to haue relieued Alba Regalis.

The victorie of the Chriſtians ouer the Turks.

The Baſſa of Buda ſlaine.

Now in the meane while was *Aſſan* the Viſier Baſſa and Generall of the Turks army, with
ſuch ſouldiers as were already aſſembled at Belgrade, comming to haue relieued Alba-Regalis:
and albeit that he vnderſtood by the way as hee marched, that the citie was by the Chriſtians
won, yet held he on his intended iourny: and ſo taking with him the Baſſa of Buda with
the other Sanzacks and Commanders of the townes and caſtles thereabout, had formed an army
of about threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, but for moſt part raw and vnexpert ſouldiers: with
which power hee ſtill held on his way towards Alba-Regalis, as well thereby to giue ſome
contentment vnto the angry Sultan his Maſter, as in hope alſo to ouerthrow the Chriſtian army,
or at leaſtwiſe to find the city as yet vnrepaired, and ſo to regain it. But vain was that his K
deſignement, eſpecially for the recouerie of the city: for that the Duke had no ſooner taken it,
but that he forthwith cauſed the breaches to be repaired, and for the more aſſurance of it, put
into it a ſtrong garriſon of old expert ſouldiers: and being himſelfe about twentie thouſand
ſtrong, and hearing of the Baſſaes comming, ſet forward to meet him, & being come neere vnto
him, began an hot and bloudie skirmiſh with him. Yet the Baſſa to proſecute his intended
purpoſe for the recouerie of Alba-Regalis, the next day ſent away part of his armie, to make
proofe if happily the city might yet be againe recouered; and himſelfe in the mean time with
the reſt of his army offered battell vnto the Chriſtians, ſo to buſie them, that they ſhould not
be able to trouble them whom he had ſent to Alba-Regalis, or to relieue the city, if it ſhould
chance to be by them diſtreſſed. Whenas the Duke, before enformed of the baſeneſſe of the L
ſouldiers in the Baſſaes armie, and that although he were for number of men far aboue him, yet
that for old, hardy, and expert ſouldiers he was ſtrong enough for him, valiantly went out and
encountered him: and ſo euen at the firſt onſet by plaine valor diſordering the formoſt ſquadrons
of the Turks battell, enforced them to retire with the loſſe of ſix thouſand men; among
whom were the Baſſa of Buda, ſix Sanzacks, with diuers other Captains and Commanders of
good place and marke. At which time he alſo tooke from them diuers pieces of great artillerie,
and had vndoubtedly with a notable ſlaughter ouerthrowne all the reſt of the Baſſaes army
had not a gret ſquadron of the Tartars euen at that inſtant ſhewed themſelues at the backs of
the Chriſtians, and ſo ſtaying them, giuen leiſure vnto the Baſſa again to reſtore his diſordered
battell. Whereupon the Duke contenting himſelfe with the victorie he had already gotten, in M
good order retired again into his trenches, hauing in this conflict not loſt aboue three hundred
of his people. But whileſt both armies thus lay, and new ſupplies ſtill repairing vnto them, expecting
but when they ſhould come to a generall day of battell; the Ianizaries ſtill murmuring,
that it was now no time of the yeare longer to keepe the field, by their importunitie
enforced the Baſſa to retire to Buda, and there to diſband his armie. In which his

A retreat many were by the Chriſtians cut off in the taile of his armie, and a number of priſoners taken, and amongſt the reſt fiftie of the French mutiners of Pappa; whom the Archduke *Matthias* at the inſtance of duke *Mercurie* afterwards pardoned. Neither ſped they much better, that were ſent by the Baſſa to haue attempted the taking of Alba-Regalis; for being come neere thereunto, they were ſo welcommed with great ſhot out of the citie, and charged with often ſallies by the ſtrong garriſon, that ſeeing no hope to preuaile, they were glad to riſe and to returne againe vnto the Baſſa that ſent them.

About the ſame time that the duke began to beſiege Alba-Regalis, *Ferdinand* the Archduke hauing receiued great aid from the Pope with the other Princes of Italy and the King of Spain, and ſo now 30000 ſtrong, by the aduice of the duke of Mantua his lieutenant General, reſolued B to beſiege Caniſia; which to haue again recouered out of the hands of the Turks concerned much, not them of Stiria & Auſtria only, but the other prouinces ajoining, yea and Italie it ſelfe alſo: whereupon he with his armie in good order came the tenth of September and encamped before it; the Duke of Mantua and *Don Iohn de Medices* with 2000 harquebuſiers and two cornets of horſe being come the day before to take view of the town, at whom the Turks made diuers ſhot, but without any harme doing. And albeit that the Turks there in garriſon (in number not paſt a thouſand, accounting amongſt them 300 of the Wallons ſomtime of the garriſon of Pappa) with their often & gallant ſallies greatly troubled the Chriſtians, and that great bands of other Turkes came many times out of the ſtrong townes and fortreſſes thereby, to skirmiſh with them, and to ſee if they could put any moe ſoldiers into the towne for the more C aſſurance thereof; yet ſuch was the carefulneſſe of the Chriſtian Commanders, and valour of their ſoldiers, that the Turks both in the one place and in the other were ſtill repulſed and put to flight, with the loſſe alſo of ſome of their ſmall caſtles and forts thereabout. To approch this ſtrong towne, and to plant a batterie againſt it, ſeemed to be a matter of great difficultie, for that it was (as we haue elſwhere ſaid) enuironed round with a mariſh: yet means was found to drie it a little, and to fill it vp on the one ſide, and to come ſo neere the towne, that hauing planted three tyre of artillerie againſt it, the Chriſtians began furiouſly to batter it, beating downe both the walls, the houſes and other buildings therein. Yea at length they had brought their approches ſo neere, that they were come with their trenches euen cloſe vnto the towne D ditch, perſuading the Turkes, now whileſt they might vpon good conditions, to ſurrender the towne, and ſo to ſaue their liues. Whereunto their fierce and enraged mindes were ſo farre from hearkening, that brauing the Chriſtians, they ſaid, That they would in deſpight of all their forces keepe the place for their Sultan, do what they could. Whereupon the Archduke and the Duke of Mantua, by the aduice of *Medices* and the reſt of the principal captaines and commanders in the armie, reſolued to giue a general aſſault vnto the towne. In the mean time newes was brought into the campe of the winning of Alba-Regalis, which there made great reioycing; in ſigne whereof the Chriſtians (as their manner is) in triumph many times diſcharged their great ordnance; and by fit men perſuaded the garriſon ſouldiers in Caniſia to yeeld, and not to caſt themſelues into ſuch danger as had their fellowes at Alba-Regalis; for that in ſo doing they ſhould not onely ſaue their liues, but eaſily alſo obtaine ſuch other conditions as they could reaſonably deſire; whereas otherwiſe they ſhould to their coſt E finde the Chriſtians ſtrong enough to conſtraine them, which muſt needs bring with it their vtter ruine and deſtruction. Whereunto the Garriſon ſouldiours (amongſt whome the renegate Wallons were the chiefe) contemptuouſly anſwered, That they little feared ſuch weake aſſailants: and with great crie and ſcorne commaunding the meſſengers to depart, in token of their confidence, as alſo not to ſeeme inferiour vnto the Chriſtians, oftentimes to ſmall purpoſe diſcharged their great ordnance, as had the Chriſtians the day before. Now though the walls of the towne were with continual batterie ſore ſhaken, and the breaches almoſt laid open; yet was the intended aſſault for a while delaied, vntill the bridges might be made that were to be layd ouer the towne ditch for the Chriſtians to paſſe ouer vpon. But all things (as was thought) now in a readineſſe, and the Florentines with ſome other of the Italians (whoſe lot it was to giue the firſt aſſault) being come forward, the bridge whereby they were to paſſe the towne ditch, was found both too ſhort and too weake for them to get ouer vnto the other ſide by: ſo that ſinking vnder them, not the ſouldiers only, but euen the Commaunders themſelues (aad namely *Herberſteine*) were in great danger to haue been loſt. By which

Caniſia beſieged by Ferdinand the Archduke.

which means they hindered, & the enemies mnrthering pieces continually flanking them and
their musketiers ſtil playing vpon thē afront, they were enforced to retire, leauing behind them G
300 of their men ſlaine. Yet were not the Chriſtian commanders any thing therewith diſcouraged,
but being generally reſolued not to giue ouer that they had taken in hand, vntil they had
brought it to effect, began to make ſuch prouiſion as they knew to be needfull to preſerue their
army vnder, againſt the violence of the winter weather, as alſo to hinder that no victual might
be brought vnto the towne, ſo by famin at length to enforce the Turks and Wallons to yeeld:
who although they were alreadie pinched with wants, inſomuch that horſe-fleſh was daintie
cheere with them; yet for all that they nothing abated of their woonted fierceneſſe, but being
againe required to yeeld, vouchſafed not to anſwer them one word, but in ſtead thereof ſhooke
their naked ſwords a far off at them, in token of their vndanted courage. But yet for all this reſolution H
of the commanders for the continuance of the ſiege, *Aldobrandino* General of the Italians
being now a little before dead of an old infirmitie that he had, the Italians began at the
firſt ſome few of them ſecretly to withdraw themſelues out of their quarter: but afterward by
greater numbers to depart, and ſo to returne againe into their country; alledging for their excuſe
want both of pay and victuals. But the reſt better minded, vnderſtanding that the Turkes
were riſen from before Alba-Regalis, and the reſt of their armie disbanded, began to enter into
new hope by ſome deuice or other to paſſe the ditch, and ſo by force to take the towne: and
the rather, for that they were by a French fugitiue enformed both of the weakeneſſe & wants
of the beſieged. Whereupon they began afreſh to make new engines for the approching of the
wals, without danger of the enemies ordnance any more to flanke them. At which time alſo, I
viz. the fourth of Nouember the Lord *Ruſſworm* came vnto the campe, ſent thither from duke
Mercury with 8000 ſoldiers, after that *Haſſan Baſſa* had broke vp his army: by whoſe comming
they were alſo the more encouraged to proſecute that they had taken in hand. Neither failed
the Turks in the meane time with often ſallies to trouble the Chriſtians; attempting aboue all
things to haue fired their tents, for that ſo lying open in that ſo cold a ſeaſon of the yeare they
muſt thereby of neceſſity be enforced to raiſe their ſiege and be gon. But the ſucceſſe of theſe
their ſo great deſignes was not anſwerable to their hopes, being ſtill to their loſſe beaten backe
into the towne by the Chriſtians: whom it behooued to looke well about them, for that the
beſieged deſperatly ſet, and all reſolued rather to die than to yeeld, aduentured themſelues to
all dangers, neuer ceaſing to do what they might to put the Chriſtians out of hope for winning K
the towne. But whileſt the Turks with doubtfull and as it were deſperat hope ſo defend the
place, and the Chriſtians growne ſtronger by the comming of their friends, lay in hope to win
the ſame; lo, in the later end of Nouember, the North winde accompanied with a deep ſnow
ſo furiouſly raged, that it ouerthrew the greateſt part of the tents and pauilions of the Chriſtians,
and as it were buried their whole armie in the ſnow and yce, in ſuch wiſe, as that in *Ferdinand*
the Archdukes campe (being reaſonably well prouided for) were 1500 men with 300
horſes ſtarued and frozen to death. At which time the ſtate of them that came with the Lord
Ruſſworm was moſt miſerable; who wearied with the ſiege of Alba-Regalis, and as it were
ſpent with the dirtie trauell of the deepe way, had not brought with them their tents or other
prouiſion, and were therefore enforced to lie abroad in ſo cold and vnſeaſonable a time: with L
whoſe miſeries although their good General was much grieued, yet to do the Chriſtian commonweale
ſeruice, he with them right patiently endured. In which ſo great an extremitie, the
Archduke with the reſt of the commanders vpon view taken, wel conſidering what ſmal hope
there was in good time to take the towne, the vnreaſonableneſſe of the Winter weather ſtill
more and more encreaſing; thought it better betime to riſe, than longer to expoſe their army
vuto moſt certaine deſtruction, either of the enemie or the cold. Which was done with ſuch
haſte and confuſed tumult, as that their riſing ſeemed rather an haſtie flight, than honourable
departure; leauing behinde them for haſte their great ordnance, with their tents and baggage;
a common voice ſtill running, That they were well if they might but ſaue themſelues: ſo that
the ſoldiers euery man mindfull but of himſelfe, and in feare to be purſued by the enemie, no M
man chaſing them, fled, but ſtil accompanied with ſuch furious winds, ſnow, and extreme cold,
that with all the labor they could take they could get them no heat, but fell downe to the earth
many of them frozen, and ſo once falling, neuer roſe more, being vnable for want of heate to
helpe themſelues: in which caſe they were not to expect for helpe from others, euery man ha-

uing

The Chriſtians by tempeſt and extreamitie of weather enforced to giue ouer the ſiege of Caniſa.

A uing enough to doe to looke vnto himſelfe : ſo that vpon the way whereby the armie went
thus diſperſed with the weather, lay aboue fiue hundred dead of cold, beſide foure hundred
others left ſicke in the forſaken trenches, who forthwith after the departure of the armie were
thought to haue beene all put to the ſword by them of the garriſon of Caniſia.

But hauing thus paſſed through theſe troubles of Hungarie, it is time now alſo to looke
backe againe into the frontier countries of Tranſyluania and Valachia; which to haue kept in
the Emperors obeiſance, and ſo preſerued as a liuely member of the Chriſtian commonweale
no leſſe concerned him, than the keeping of any other his frontier territories, which are ma-
ny. *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, the laſt yeare for his crueltie firſt driuen out of Tranſyl-
B uania by *Baſta*, and afterwards out of Valachia by the great Chancellor of Polonia (as is afore-
ſaid) and another placed in his ſtead; as a man forſaken euen of his owne better fortunes, and
not well knowing which way to turn himſelfe, thought it beſt now at laſt to ſubmit himſelfe
vnto the Emperor, if ſo happily by his meanes he might in ſome ſort repaire his broken eſtate,
and ſo at leaſtwiſe recouer his gouernment in Valachia. So reſolued, he ſet forward, and in the
beginning of this yeare, *viz.* the three and twentieth of Ianuarie, with fiue and thirtie of his
followers and ſix coaches arriued at Prague, where he was by the Emperors appointment ho-
nourably receiued, and his coſt at the Emperors charge defraied. Vnto whom he excuſed him-
ſelfe of the ſeueritie by him vſed in Tranſyluania (the cauſe of thoſe late troubles in that
country) as enforced therunto by the ſtubbornneſſe of the Tranſyluanians themſelues, whom
C he found ſtill enclined to rebellion, & vnwilling to be commanded by any but by themſelues.
Which his excuſe (as true) was wel admitted, and he with all kindneſſe vſed. Now at this ſame
time *Baſta* lying alſo in Tranſyluania, as Gouernor for the Emperor, right ſlenderly accompa-
nied (as is before alſo declared) the parliament at Clauſenburg beeing ended, and all contro-
uerſies (as was thought) well compoſed, now without feare one night, the watch beeing ſet,
went to bed to take his reſt, where he had not long lien, but that certaine of the Tranſyluanian
Lords, among whom the Chiaki was chiefe, came with their followers, and ſurpriſing the
watch, and entering the Pallace, brake into the chamber where he lay, took him out of his bed,
and ſo kept him priſoner all that night. And the next morning going forth, about twelue miles
off met with *Sigiſmund Bathor* their late Prince, before ſecretly by them called in, whom they
D honourably conducted to Clauſenburg, and there deliuered vnto him *Baſta*, the late Gouernor
for the Emperor, whom he commanded to be caſt into yrons : and ſo going to the palace, gaue
like order for the apprehending and ſafe keeping of the reſt of the nobilitie alſo, ſuch as had
taken part with *Baſta* in the behalfe of the Emperour. For now the Tranſyluanians were diui-
ded into three parts : wherof the one ſtood for the Emperor; the ſecond for *Istuan Bathor* (pre-
tending, that vnto him belonged the ſoueraigntie of that Prouince) but the third and farre the
greateſt, for *Sigiſmund* their antient Lord and leader, who now by meanes of the King of Po-
lonia reconciled vnto the great Turke, and in this troubleſome time by his fauourits called
againe into his countrey, was by them ioyfully receiued at Alba-Iulia, Clauſenburg, and the
reſt of the chiefe cities of Tranſyluania. Who now thereof againe poſſeſſed, for the better
E aſſuring of his eſtate forthwith writ vnto the Emperor what had happened, requeſting him to
content himſelfe, that hee was deſirous of his loue and fauour, promiſing to bee alwayes his
good friend and neighbour, and for euer to keepe good amitie with him : giuing *Baſta* alſo
(whom he had now at the interceſſion of certaine great friends againe enlarged) to vnderſtand,
That he was forthwith to depart from all the places belonging vnto his principality, as alſo to
ceaſe from further moleſting of his people that were now voluntarily againe returned vnto
his obedience : which his requeſt was neither of the one, nor of the other much regarded or
hearkened vnto : For the Emperour vpon the firſt aduertiſement of this ſo great an altera-
tion in Tranſyluania, calling vnto him *Michael* the Vayuod (not ſo much troubled with the
ſtrangeneſſe of the matter, as for that his wife and ſonne, whome hee had left as hoſtages with
Baſta, were now come into the hands of the Tranſyluanians his mortall enemies) and ſatisfy-
ing him in many things that hee had before requeſted, tooke order with him, That with all
conuenient ſpeed returning home againe into Valachia, where hee was now much longed
for (the people generally diſliking of the ſimple Vayuod, by the great Chancellor ſet ouer
them) and gathering together ſuch power as he could, he ſhould ioyne himſelfe with *Baſta* his
Lieutenant Generall, vnto whom he had alreadie ſent great companies both of horſe and foot

Michael the Vayuod ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto the Emperour.

Baſta taken priſoner by the Tranſyluanians.

Sigiſmund recouereth his ſtate in Tranſyluania.

for the expulſing of *Sigiſmund* out of Tranſyluania, and the reducing againe of that Prouince G vnder his obeiſance. Whereupon the Vayuod forthwith returning into Valachia, and aſſembling about ten thouſand of his friends, all good and expert ſouldiers, went to ſeeke for *Baſta* as he had with the Emperour agreed; whom he found ready in the field with about twentie thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe, but newly departed from Veradinum: where muſtering their army, they with their vnited forces entred into Tranſyluania, there to put in execution what the Emperor had commanded. Where the Vayuod in diſdaine of the people which loued him not, with fire and ſword waſted all the country before him as he went: not without the great diſcontentment of *Baſta*, to whom it ſeemed not good to make deſolat that country which he was in good hope ſhould in ſhort time be his Lord and Maſters the Emperours. But *Sigiſmund* vnderſtanding both of the comming of his enemies, and of the harme they did in his countrey, riſe from Solnock, where he lay encamped with his army, and ſo to hinder their further proceeding went to meet them: howbeit being come ſo neere vnto them as that hee might well diſcouer them, he would not come to the triall of a battell with them, which was by them offered; but fortified himſelfe in his trenches, ſo ſeeking but to delay the time vntill the comming of the Tartars, which were to haue come vnto him from the Chancellor of Polonia, as alſo of ſix thouſand Turks to haue been ſent him from the Baſſa of Belgrade. Where hauing afterward vnderſtood that the paſſage of the Tartars to haue bin ſent him, was ſtayed by *Don Ferrant Gonzaga* the Emperors Lieutenant in the vpper Hungarie; & that the Turkes ſtaying at Giula, would come no farther except they had their pay before hand: finding himſelfe too weake with his owne power to encounter with his enemies, he riſe with his armie, I with purpoſe to haue retired a little backe, and to haue taken certaine ſtrait paſſages whereby the enemy muſt needs paſſe, ſo by the aduantage of the place to haue holpen his owne weake ſtrength. But *Baſta* and the Vayuod perceiuing his riſing (whereunto they were ſtill attentiue) followed him with ſuch ſpeed, that they ouertooke him before hee could get thither, and ſo hardly preſſed him, that needs he muſt turn his face and ioyne battell, or els ſuffer his people altogether like beaſts to be ſlaine. In which doing, albeit that neither he nor his failed to doe what was by men to be done for the obtaining of a notable victorie, yet ſuch was the valour of the ſoldiers of *Baſta* and the Vayuod, that in a great fight hauing diſordered his footmen, they put them to flight, and ſo cut them all in pieces. Which the Prince beholding, and not able to K remedy the matter, betime fled with his horſmen from the fury of his enemies, and ſo retired to the vttermoſt confines of Tranſyluania, hauing in this battell loſt ten thouſand of his faithful ſouldiers. Whereupon Claudiopolis with diuers other cities and townes of that countrey, returned againe vnto the Emperors obeiſance.

Sigiſmund ouerthrown by Baſta & the Vayuod, flieth out of Tranſyluania

In the proſecuting of this victory, the Vayuod to ſatisfie the hatred he had of long borne againſt the Tranſyluanians, did what ſpoile he could, vtterly waſting all the places whereby he paſſed: which *Baſta* not liking, requeſted him to vſe his victory with more modeſtie, and to haue more reſpect to what he did, eſpecially vnto ſuch places or perſons as of themſelues returned vnto the Emperours obeiſance. Whereunto he proudly anſwered, That he would doe what he thought good, without his appointment or the Emperours either, eſpecially in that L country which he had now with his own ſword twice conquered: & that therfore *Baſta* might command them that were by him to be commanded, as for himſelfe he acknowledged no ſoueraigntie that either *Baſta* or the Emperor had ouer him. Vnto which his ſo preſumptuous a ſpeech *Baſta* replied not, but yet much therewith diſcontented, began to enter into a great ſuſpition from what ground thoſe his hautie conceits (eaſily by his words to be gathered) might grow. And ſo from that time better obſeruing his proceedings, perceiued him to haue intelligence with the Turkes, with purpoſe to ioyne hands with them, that ſo by their help *chaſing* the Imperials out of Tranſyluania, he might hold it to himſelfe as tributarie to the *Othoman* Emperour, of all others beſt able to defend him. Which to bee true (beſide diuers other ſtrong preſumptions) he certainly vnderſtood by certain letters of his written to that purpoſe, M intercepted by his ſouldiers and brought vnto him: whereupon he became verie penſiue and heauy, for the great power the Vayuod was of in thoſe countries, as alſo for the great ſtrength he had euen then preſent about him, and wherewith he was as it were then guarded. So conſulting with certaine of his Colonels and chiefe Commanders of his armie, what were beſt to be done in that ſo dangerous a caſe, whereof ſo much depended: A Wallon captaine offered himſelfe to go into the Vayuod his campe, and there in his owne tent to kill him as a traitour. Which his offer well liked off, and he as ready to performe as he was to promiſe, going into the Vayuods camp accompanied with ſome threeſcore men, and finding him in his tent, boldly ſtepping to him, willed him to yeeld himſelfe the Emperours priſoner: whereat he beeing about to lay his hand vpon his ſcimitar, the Wallon captaine with an halbard thruſt him into the breaſt, at which very inſtant another with a ſword at one blow claue his head down to the ſhoulders. An vnworthy death for ſo worthy a captain, had not ambition (the torment of great ſpirits) carried him too high with the wings of immoderat deſire, beyond the bounds of loyalty and reaſon. But there he lieth now dead among his friends, whom the great Turke ſomtime more feared euen in his palace at Conſtantinople, than he did al the reſt of the Emperors commanders. Preſently vpon his death a great tumult and hurly burly was raiſed by the ſouldiers in his camp: but *Baſta* forthwith ſhewing himſelfe with all his ſouldiers in armes, and withall producing the letters declaring the treaſon by the Vayuod contriued with the Baſſa of Temeſwar againſt the Emperor, all was againe appeaſed: but eſpecially for that his ſouldiers now ſaw themſelues without an head, and too weake alſo for the Imperials there preſent and already in armes. In the Vayuods tent were alſo other letters found, ſo plainly declaring his ſecret colluſion with the Turke, and treaſon againſt the Emperor, that the Valachians who at the firſt were wonderfully moued with his death, and hearing the ſame read, reſted not now only contented, but ſaid moreouer, that he was worthily ſlaine, and that if they had knowne him to haue had any ſuch traiterous purpoſe, they would themſelus long before haue taken of him deſerued puniſhment. Now vnto his ſouldiers *Baſta* offered, at their choice, either to depart whither they would without danger; or els taking the oath of obedience vnto the Emperour, to enter into his; pay which moſt part of them did. The tumult appeaſed, the dead body of the Vayuod was layed out a whole day for the ſouldiers to gaze vpon, and ſo afterward buried. So lieth he, that but of late, and many times before, had ſo fortunatly ouerthrown his enemies; vnhappie man himſelfe now ouerthrowne by his owne ambition and vnconſtancie.

Michael the Vayuod ſlaine.

Baſta now deliuered of the great feare he had before of the Vayuod, what by force, what by agreement, in ſhort time took in moſt part of the country: for that the Tranſyluanians ſeeing the ſmall power of *Sigiſmund*, & well comforted with the death of *Michael* the Vayuod ſo much of them hated; as alſo to auoid the dangers euen preſently hanging ouer their heads from the Imperials, if they ſhould in any thing ſhew themſelues obſtinate againſt them; ſubmitted themſelnes wholly to the courteſie of *Baſta*, ſo that the places were but few that yet held out for the Prince *Sigiſmund*: who in the meane time was doing what he might for the raiſing of a new army (hauing not altogether with this late ouerthrow forthwith alſo loſt his hope) by the help of the Turks, Tartars, and Polonians, to recouer again the poſſeſſion of his ſtate, and by force of armes to chaſe out the Imperials. But he being brought to ſo low an ebbe, and almoſt all the country of Tranſyluania poſſeſſed by *Baſta*; who would not haue thought but that now after ſo long trauels it would haue remained wholly at the Emperors deuotion: and ſo many, that thought themſelues to ſee much, ſaid aſſuredly it would. But ſee the change, and what ſmall aſſurance euen the greateſt haue of the conſtancy of the vain multitude: neuer more like themſelues, than in diſliking to morrow what they beſt liked to day, fooliſh, ſenceleſſe, improuident, raſh, headſtrong, violent, and aboue all things mutable, and vnconſtant. So now for all that *Baſta* had done for the aſſurance of this countrie vnto the Emperor (being ſo much as moſt men thought to haue bin ſufficient, and indeed as much as was poſſible for him to do) euen in the winding vp of this yeare 1601, the Tranſyluanians vnderſtanding that *Sigiſmund* with a great army of Polonians, Turks, & Tartars, was now comming againſt the Imperials, moſt part of them preſently tooke vp armes in his fauour; ſaying, That their firſt oath voluntarily giuen vnto him as their naturall Prince & Gouernor, was more to be reſpected than any other afterwards by force extorted from them by a forrein Prince. Inſomuch that *Baſta* perceiuing with what a tempeſt he was like euen preſently to be ouerwhelmed, to ſaue himſelf and his people from the rage thereof, withdrew himſelfe with his followers vnto a ſtrong town in a corner of that country: from whence he with all ſpeed ſent vnto the Emperor for greater aid, as wel for the defence of the place he yet held, as for the ſubduing again of that rebellious people. After

The Tranſyluanians ſubmit themſelues vnto Baſta.

The Tranſiluanians reuolt againe vnto Sigiſmund their old Prince.

Baſta flyeth

whoſe departure *Sigiſmund* without reſiſtance entring the country, was of the people in generall ioyfully receiued as their moſt lawfull Prince and ſoueraigne, and all the honor done vnto him that was by them poſſible: in which his ſo princely, but dangerous eſtate, now twice in leſſe than the ſpace of one yeare by him regained, and yet thereof no whit aſſured, we will for a while leaue him to ioy therein with his ſubiects. C

The Baſſa of Agria ouerthrown by Ferrant Gonzaga

But whileſt the ſtate thus turneth vpſide downe in Tranſyluania, the Baſſa of Agria going out with ten thouſand Turkes in hope to haue ſurpriſed Toccaie (a ſtrong hold of the Chriſtians in the vpper Hungarie) was encountered by *Ferrant Gonzaga* the Emperours Lieutenant there, and by him ouerthrowne, and with great ſlaughter of his Turks chaſed to the gates of Agria.

Now was *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperor this yeare alſo no leſſe troubled with the proceedings of the *Scriuano* in Caramania and Natolia, than with the euill ſucceſſe of his affaires in Tranſyluania and Hungarie. For the *Scriuano* by his laſt yeares victorie growne into great credit with the common people, and ſtill by them more and more followed, to maintain the reputation of his credit, came now again this yere with a great power into the field, to meet with *Mahomet* the great Baſſa and Generall of the Turks armie, who with fiftie thouſand good ſoldiers (a power thought ſufficient to haue repreſſed him) was ready to encounter him. With whom the *Scriuano* ioyning battel, in a great fight cut in ſunder a great part of the Baſſa's army, and ſo became maſter of the field, forraged all the countries adioining almoſt as far as Aleppo, ſtill calling the people vnto libertie, and cauſing himſelſe to be proclaimed the true defender of the Mahometane Faith, and of the libertie of thoſe countries with him combined: in ſuch ſort, as that it now ſtood the great Turke vpon to ſend another great armie to the aid of *Mahomet* the diſcomfited Baſſa. With whom alſo the *Scriuano* (preſuming of his former fortune) comming to a day of battell, and ouercharged with the multitude of his enemies, was at the firſt encounter with his people put to the worſe: but forthwith by his good direction hauing repaired his diſordered battell, and thereby giuen as it were new courage to his fainting ſouldiers, he with a great ſlaughter diſordered alſo the Baſſaes armie. Yet hauing not any other firme ſtate or ſtay to reſt vpon, more than the fauour and reputation he held with theſe his rebellious followers, of whom he had now loſt a great many, he thought it not beſt to aduenture too farre (not knowing how preſently to repaire his loſſes) but contenting himſelſe with what he had already don, retired with his army into the ſtrength of the mountains, there that Winter to liue vpon the ſpoile of the countries adioyning, and the next yere to do more harm than euer he had done before. H I K

The Ianizaries in mutinie at Conſtantinople.

Beſide all which former troubles, the plague alſo this yeare ſore raged both in Conſtantinople and many other places of the Turkiſh empire. At which time alſo the Ianizaries at Conſtantinople hauing receiued ſome diſgrace by ſome of the great Sultans fauorits, & with great inſolencie requiring to haue their heads, cauſed their Aga well accompanied preſumptuouſly to enter into the Seraglio to preferre this their requeſt: whom *Mahomet* to the terror of the reſt, cauſed for his preſumption to be taken into the midſt of the Spahi, and ſo by them to be cut in pieces, which was not done without the great ſlaughter of the Spahi themſelues alſo, ſlaine by the Ianizaries. Whereupon the other Ianizaries ariſing vp in arms alſo, and euen now ready to haue reuenged the death of their captaine, were yet by the wiſedome of *Cicala Baſſa*, beſtowing amongſt them a great ſumme of money, againe appeaſed, without further harm doing. Which their ſo great inſolencie *Mahomet* imputing vnto their exceſſiue drinking of wine, contrary to their law of the great Prophet, by the perſuaſion of the Mufti, commanded all ſuch as had any Wine in their houſes in the citie of Conſtantinople and Pera, vpon paine of death to bring it out and to ſtaue it, except the Embaſſadours of the Queenes Maieſtie of England, the French king, and of the State of Venice: ſo that as ſome report, wine for a ſpace ran downe the channels of the ſtreets in Conſtantinople, as if it had beene water after a great ſhower of raine.

1602

Sigiſmund the Tranſyluanian prince now of late againe poſſeſſed of Tranſyluania (as is before declared) could not yet well aſſure himſelfe of the keeping thereof: for that he with the Tranſyluanians of his faction alone, was not able to withſtand the force of *Baſta*, who ſtill ſtrengthened with new ſupplies both of men and all things elſe neceſſarie for the wars from the

A the Emperor, was now with a great power alreadie entred into Tranſyluania: the Polonians buſied in the warres of Sueuia, and the Turks with their other greater affaires, neither of them ſending him their promiſed aid, the greateſt hope and ſtay of himſelfe in that newneſſe of his eſtate. Wherefore ſeeing himſelfe euery day to loſe one place or other, and fearing alſo leſt his ſouldiers for want of pay ſhould in ſhort time quite forſake him and goe ouer to *Baſta*; he thought it beſt betimes and whileſt he had yet ſomething left, and was not yet altogether become deſperat, otherwiſe to prouide for his eſtate, eſpecially hauing ſmall truſt in the Turks, to whom he had been before ſo great an enemie. Wherefore he dealt with *Baſta* for a truce or ceſſation from armes, vntill Embaſſadors might be ſent vnto the Emperor, to entreat with him B for ſome good attonement. Wherewith *Baſta* beeing content, and the Embaſſadors ſent, the matter was ſo handled with the Emperor, that *Sigiſmund* to make an end of all theſe troubles, was contented to the behoofe of his Imperiall Maieſtie, to reſigne vnto *Baſta* his Lieutenant all ſuch places as he yet held in Tranſyluania, vpon much like conditions he had about three yeares before made with him: and ſo in all, and for all, to ſubmit himſelfe vnto his Maieſtie. Which intended ſurrender of the Princes being bruted in Tranſyluania, *Zachel Moiſes* his Lieutenant (& now in field with the Princes forces) not able to endure or to heare that that noble Prouince ſhould again fall into the hands of the Germans; encouraging his ſouldiers, went vpon the ſudden to aſſaile *Baſta*, in hope to haue found him vnprouided, & ſo diſcomfiting his armie, to haue driuen the Imperials quite out of Tranſyluania: but he an old and expert C Commander, perceiuing euen the firſt mouing of the Tranſyluanians, with great celeritie put his armie in good order, and ſo ioyned battell with them: wherein he with the loſſe of ſome fiue hundred men ouerthrew *Moyſes*, with his armie of Tranſyluanians, Turks, and Tartars hauing ſlaine aboue three thouſand of them, and put the reſt to flight: *Moyſes* himſelfe with ſome few others being now glad to take their refuge into the frontiers of the Turks territories towards Temeſwar. But when *Sigiſmund* vnderſtood what his Lieutenant had without his knowledge done, he in token of his owne innocencie went himſelfe vnto the Imperial camp, accompanied only with certain of his gentlemen, and there vnto *Baſta* excuſed himſelfe of that which was by his Lieutenant againſt his will, and without his priuitie done; frankly offering to performe whatſoeuer was on his part to be performed, according to the agreement made betwixt the Emperor and him. And ſo preſently calling his garriſons out of all ſuch ſtrong places as were yet for him holden, he ſurrendred them to *Baſta*; & ſo forthwith honorably accompanied, put himſelfe vpon his way towards the Emperor. After whoſe departure out of Tranſyluania, all that Prouince voluntarily and without more adoe yeelded to *Baſta* as to the Emperors Lieutenant: who preſently called an aſſemblie of all the Nobilitie of the countrie, taking of them an oath for their obedience and loyaltie vnto the Emperor. Thus by the wiſedome and proweſſe of this worthy commander, is the country of Tranſyluania once againe brought vnder the Emperors obeiſance; a matter of far greater importance, than to haue woon the ſtrongeſt citie the Turke holdeth in Hungarie.

Zachell Moiſes ouerthrown by Baſta.

Great troubles in Valachia.

But whileſt theſe things thus paſſed in Tranſyluania, great troubles ariſe in Valachia (the countrie next adioyning) for that the people of that Prouince not able longer to endure the great inſolencie of the Turks (who after the death of *Michael* had by their power made one *Ieremias* Vayuod there) by a generall conſent tooke vp armes, and proclaiming one *Radoll* (a fauorit of the Emperors) Vayuod, chaſed *Ieremias* (before placed by the Turks) quite out of the country: who flying vnto *Simon* Palatine of Moldauia, his friend, by his means and the helpe of the Turkes, returning vnto Valachia, draue out thence *Radoll* againe: who beeing now at this preſent with *Baſta*, with about ten thouſand Valachians his followers, earneſtly requeſted of him (now that hee was ſo quietly poſſeſſed of Tranſyluania) to helpe him with his forces for the recouerie of Valachia. And *Baſta* well conſidering how much it concerned the quiet and ſure keeping of the poſſeſſion of Tranſyluania for the Emperour, to haue that ſo neere a Prouince to friend, eaſily yeelded to his requeſt; and gaue him a great Regiment of his old approoued ſouldiers, and ſo ſent him away to recouer his eſtate: with whome (at his enterance into Valachia) the Moldauian meeting with a great power both of his owne, and of the Turks, come thither in the fauour of *Hieremias*, there was fought betwixt them a moſt terrible and bloudie battell, the glorie whereof fell vnto *Radoll*, hee carrying away the victorie. In which battell two of the Turks Baſſaes were there ſlaine, with a great number of others both of the Moldauians and Turks. After which victorie *Radoll* recouered againe the ſoueraigntie of Valachia, for which he was beholding to *Baſta*: and ſhortly after with the ſame aid cut in pieces a great power of the Tartars, that were comming to haue aided the Moldauian.

Troubles in Hungarie.

Now in the meane time in Hungarie alſo paſſed many an hot skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, whoſe garriſons at Buda and in other places in the lower Hungarie, attempting to haue ſurpriſed Alba-Regalis, & diſcouered by the Chriſtians, were with great ſlaughter enforced to retire. At which time alſo, Countie *Serinus* vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that the Turks with two hundred waggons with munition and victuals were going to Caniſia, vpon the ſudden ſet vpon them, and hauing ſlaine and put to flight the conuoy that guarded them, carried the waggons with all that was in them away with him. And ſhortly after, the free Haiducks of Comara in a great party going out towards Buda to ſeek after booty, & hauing taken threeſcore Turkes priſoners, and ſo with them about to haue returned home; vnderſtanding by the way, that *Ali* ſometime the Baſſa of Buda, and now Gouernour of Peſth, was with a ſmall retinue about to come downe the riuer Danubius from Buda towards Belgrade, there to meet the Viſier Baſſa, but then comming into Hungarie; they ſlew all the priſoners, and hauing got two ſmall boats, about fifteene miles beneath Buda lay in wait for the Baſſa: who according to their expectation comming downe the riuer, was by theſe aduenturers fiercely aſſailed, and of his thirty followers hauing fourteene ſlaine, being himſelfe alſo ſhot in two places of his bodie, was there with a great bootie taken, and ſo brought to Comara, and ſhortly after preſented vnto *Matthias* the Archduke at Vienna: who amongſt other things, certainly enformed, that *Haſſan Baſſa* was with a great armie by the commandement of the great Sultan *Mahomet* comming to beſiege Alba-Regalis, and that hee was now vpon his way as farre as Belgrade; preſently ſent thither the Countie *Yſolan* Gouernour thereof, who with much adoe got into the citie, the Turks hauing already taken all the paſſages, to haue hindered the Chriſtians from putting in either men or munition, more than was therein alreadie. Howbeit the Countie now got in there, and being no leſſe good enginer than a valiant Commander, cauſed all them in the citie to labor vpon the rampiers: ſo that beſide the naturall ſcituation thereof, which was very ſtrong, he had in ſhort time ſo fortified it, as that in moſt mens iudgement it ſeemed a place almoſt impregnable. This *Ali Baſſa* was ſometime the great Turks butler, but after the taking of Agria, made Baſſa of Buda; which great place hee held but three moneths, being by the enuie and ambition of ſome, but eſpecially of *Amurath Baſſa*, remooued thence, and made Gouernour of Peſth: from whence now going downe the Riuer to Belgrade, it was his fortune to be thus taken by the Haiducks, vnto whom he offered for his ranſome three hundred thouſand Sultanines; and had with him when he was taken ſeuentie thouſand Duckats.

Ali Baſſa taken priſoner.

A great ranſome offered by Ali Baſſa.

Mahomet the great Sultan not a little troubled with the loſſe of Alba-Regalis (taken from him by the Chriſtians the laſt yeare) and now reſolued for the recouerie of the ſame, to ingage if need ſhould be a great part of his forces, had cauſed an armie of an hundred and fiftie thouſand ſtrong, to meet at Hadrianople for that purpoſe, vnder the leading of *Haſſan Baſſa* one of the chiefe Viſiers, to be ſent into Hungarie. Who by the way of Belgrade comming to Buda, and from thence to Alba-Regalis, there the twelfth of Auguſt incamped (as he had oftentimes before threatned) with the multitude of his tents couering all the countrie round about, as if it had bin a white ſnow: where hauing well entrenched himſelfe, & planted his artillerie, hee began a moſt terrible & furious battery, in ſuch ſort as if he had not meant to haue made a breach only, but to haue beaten the citie euen from the face of the earth, which ſeemed now to tremble vnder his feet, and the clouds to rend with the thundring of his great ordnance: & for that the mariſh and deep ditches were a great let vnto his men for to come vnto the aſſault, he cauſed them with the number of his pioners to be filled vp (a worke thought almoſt impoſſible) & ſo brought on his men to aſſault the counterſcarf, which the gouernor had cauſed to be made before the city for better defence therof: which aſſault coſt him much bloud, by reaſon of the wonderful valor of the defendāts: yet in the end the great number of the Turks preuailing, the Chriſtians were inforced to forſake it & retire into the city: but ſhortly after ſallying out again, they

Alba-Regalis beſieged by the Turkes.

they with ſuch force aſſailed the Turkes now got within the counterſcarſe, that hauing ſlaine moſt part of them that were entred, they forced the other out againe: at the brute wherof, an alarm being raiſed throughout the camp, infinit numbers of the barbarous enemies came running thither with ſuch ſauage fury, that without regard of their liues they as deſperate men preſſing ſtill on, fell twice as many as before: inſomuch that the Chriſtians weary of that long and bloudy fight, & on euery ſide charged or rather ouerwhelmed with the enemies ſhot, were glad againe, but not without great loſſe to abandon the place. With which skirmiſhes and diuers others that they had, the number of the defendants was greatly diminiſhed, to keepe a weake citie, ſhewing as yet the ruins of the late ſiege, when it was by the Chriſtians woon; the breaches therof being but euil repaired, & the mines yet gaping, requiring great & ſtrong fortifications to hold out and endure any long ſiege againſt ſo puiſſant an enemie. Yet was not the courage of the valiant County *Yſolan* the Italian Gouernor, any whit therwith abated, but by his letters gaue the Archduke *Matthias* to vnderſtand in what caſe things ſtood with them in the city; requeſting him with al ſpeed to ſend him reliefe, for that otherwiſe the city, ſo weakly both manned & fortified, would be in danger to be loſt; many of the garriſon ſoldiers being already ſlain in the defence thereof, and diuers of the Hungarians forſaking the wals, daily flying vnto the Turks campe; promiſing yet neuertheleſſe himſelſe to do the vttermoſt of his deuoir. Vpon the receit of which letters, the Archduke gaue order vnto the lord *Ruſſworm* (maſter of the campe) to go forthwith to Comara, & there with ſuch forces as were from diuers places come thither, to goe forth and to prooue if by any meanes the weake garriſon of Alba-Regalis might ſo be relieued, by putting in ſome good ſupply of freſh ſoldiers. According to which command, *Ruſſworm* comming thither, without delay tooke the field with 12000 men which he found there, to ſee if he might with them, put into the city the deſired reliefe. But whileſt the matter was in the performance therof too long delaid, by diſcord ariſing betwixt him and the other colonels, about the maner of relieuing the town, the Baſſa had time to effect his purpoſe; who the 28 of the ſame moneth of Auguſt, after a long and terrible batterie, cauſed a generall aſſault to be giuen vnto the citie: which the Turkes from time to time renuing, continued all that day and the next night, with ſome part of the day following alſo, without ceaſing: ſo that the defendants now much weakned, and they alſo that were left, ſo wearied or wounded, as that they were not well able to make any longer reſiſtance (and the countie himſelfe, who gaue as it were life vnto them all, being now alſo carried away dangerouſly hurt in the thigh with a musket ſhot) there was a ſigne of parly giuen vnto the enemy: which the Baſſa granting, and the fury of the aſſault ſtaid, certaine of the chiefe captains and commanders in the citie, going vnto the Gouernor, put him in mind of the weakneſſe of the place, of the force of the enemie, of the number of his moſt valiant men ſlain, of the want of the defendants. They had (as they ſaid) done enough for their honor, hauing endured ſo many and ſo great aſſaults, in a place not defencible: & enough to diſcharge their fidelitie, hauing holden it out to the vttermoſt of their power. That they could do no more than they had done, being not relieued; and that the ſame bond which bound them to defend the place, bound the Emperor alſo to relieue them, ſeeing that otherwiſe it was not in their power to maintain it. That they had, with the loſſe of their liues and bloud, ſhewed their fidelitie vnto the Emperor, no ſufficient armie appearing from him (according to his promiſe) for their ſuccor. That to fight any longer was but to encreaſe the glory of their enemies, and their owne loſſes: ſeeing that after they had don what they poſſibly could, expoſed to a thouſand dangers, they ſhould neuertheles be vanquiſhed, and the citie taken. That the ſame conſideration which carried valiant minds vnto the effects of honour when they are relieued with hope, diſſuaded them being out of all hope of any happy end of their troubles: & to loſe themſelus to no purpoſe, was as great a ſigne of folly, as to let ſlip a faire opportunity, was a ſigne of cowardiſe. That they were to expect nothing but extreame miſerie, if the enemy ſhould againe force them; the breaches being ſo broad, as wherby they might eaſily enter: and their own beſt men ſlain, that ſhould keep them out. And that therefore he ſhould do well, to come to ſome good compoſition with the enemy, whileſt they had yet ſomething to yeeld vp vnto him, and that he ſtood in ſome feare of them; & not to expect, whilſt they were ſpoiled of al means, either to reſiſt him by force, or to bind him by courteſie: nothing remaining for them in the place, but death, if they ſhould obſtinatly ſtand

A long and terrible aſſault.

Reaſons wherby the beſieged captains perſuaded the Gouernor to yeeld the citie.

to the defence thereof; nor no way left to ſaue their liues, but by yeelding.

The capitulation betwixt the Baſſa and the countie, for the yeelding vp of the city of Alba Regalis.

Great diſorder and confuſion among the beſieged.

Alba Regalis taken by the Turkes.

The Chriſtians cruelly murdered in Alba Regalis.

With theſe perſuaſions the Gouernour moued, came to a parley with the Baſſa being right glad thereof; as well knowing that a towne beſieged comming to a parley, is commonly more than halfe woon: and glad by any means to gain it, for that thereof depended the aſſurance both of his head and honour: where after ſome ſhort talke it was agreed, That the County ſhould yeeld the town into the hands of the Baſſa, with all the great ordnance, and other warlike munition therein: and that the countie with his garriſon, ſhould with bag & baggage in ſafety depart with their armes, by the ſuburbs leading toward Rab; and with a good conuoy in ſafety to be brought halfe way thither: This capitulation agreed vpon, and by the Baſſa and the county ſigned, euery man aſſured himſelfe of the Baſſaes faith, and thereon reſted. But what faith is to be expected from a faithleſſe man? Vpon the firſt brute of this compoſition, yea and before it was altogether well concluded; whileſt the merchants in the towne were ſeeking for waggons to carry their merchandiſe, and the ſouldiers for horſes to carrie their baggage, the ſcarceneſſe thereof bred a great confuſion and ſtir among the people; as commonly it falleth out in things done in haſte, but eſpecially where men for ſafegard of their liues, in their flight for haſte fall into a thouſand errors: ſo whileſt ſome in this hurly burly were quarrelling about their horſes and carriages, and otherſome were opening the gates to be gone; others were as buſie in robbing and pilfering the baggages of their captaines and companions; miſerable men, who all appointed for a prey vnto the greedy and merciles Turks, yet fel to preying one vpon another. Which diſorders encouraged the reſt of the ſouldiers to fall to pillage all alſo, ſome loading themſelues with ſuch goods as the merchants had for lacke of carriages left behind them; and otherſome euen with the goods of their owne captaines; which the ſouldiers appointed for defence of the breaches ſeeing, left their charge, and came thronging into the towne, & thruſt themſelues in amongſt the pilferers, as if the pillage of the towne had bin vnto them by triumphant victory aſſured, and that they themſelues had bin victors, and not men vanquiſhed. The Tartars lodged at the foot of the breach, ſeeing it forſaken, and without any great ſtrength to defend it, let not this opportunitie ſlip, but preſſing on without any great reſiſtance, entred the ſame; and ſo in a trice full thirtie thouſand of them thruſt into the towne, and there ſurpriſed the vanquiſhed Chriſtians, at once loaded with prey, feare, and deſpaire. After whome, euen by the ſame breach, the Turks entered alſo, to be partakers of the ſpoile: ſo that in a moment the town was full of enemies both Turks and Tartars. The Turks beſide the bootie they took themſelues, fell to quarrelling with the Tartars, for ſome part of theirs; and ſo long as there was any thing that might pleaſe their eies, or fill their hands, they abſtained from ſlaughter & bloudſhed, buſying themſelues with that which for the preſent was more for their profit: but the pillaging ceaſing, by reaſon there was no more to be had, then the perfidious wretches fell to maſſacring of the miſerable Chriſtians, the ſword deuouring al that they could light vpon, ſo that all the citie flowed with bloud. Neither was there any end thereof, vntill that by the comming in of the Baſſa the ſlaughter was ſtayed; by which meanes Countie *Yſolan* the late Gouernour with ſome other captaines and ſouldiers were ſaued, hauing eſcaped the enemies fury.

County Yſolan carried away priſoner to Conſtantinople.

In this maſſacre were ſlaine 3000 Chriſtian ſouldiers, beſide others of the citiſens, in number not few. The captaines that were ſpared, were led priſoners to Conſtantinople, there to be fed with the bread of tribulation: and with them the Countie *Yſolan*, for his valor and noble courage vnworthy of ſo hard a fortune. Howbeit, that he by liuely and pregnant reaſons ſhewed, both himſelfe & the reſt to be vniuſtly detained, as taken priſoners contrary to the publicke faith vnto them before giuen, within the aſſurance of the capitulation agreed vpon with the Baſſa, and out of the actions of war. Whereunto it was againe anſwered him, That the towne when it was taken, was yet ſtill in his power, and he at choice whether he would *deliuer it or no*. That if he would by the yeelding vp of the town challenge his liberty, according to the articles of the capitulation, he ought then to haue deliuered it as was agreed, & not to haue ſuffred it to haue bin taken by force, according to the ordinary proceeding of war: the laws whereof do iuſtly condemne to death, or to captiuity, ſuch as are by force of arms vanquiſhed. That euery town which during the treaty of capitulation, is by force taken, followeth the courſe of the latter condition and ſtate, & not of the former, ſeeing that it is conquered and not deliue-

red

A red. That this is the reaſon that they are puniſhed by the rigor of armes, which haue not bin carefull to preſerue themſelues by the ſweetneſſe of peace: for that a man is not to expect of his mortall enemie any other curteſie, than that which neceſſity cauſed him to promiſe, which he may for his owne good againe violate, as he for the good of his enemie againſt his wil hath granted. With which quirkes and quillets the Countie deluded, ſay what he could, was carried away priſoner to Conſtantinople, where wee muſt for a while leaue him. Aud ſo the Baſſa hauing in eighteene dayes taken Alba-Regalis, (now being eleuen moneths poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians) cauſed the breaches he had made, to be againe repaired, and the citie well prouided for both of victuals and munition, leauing therein a ſtrong garriſon of 6000 ſoldiers; and with his people hauing ouerrun all the countrey as far as Strigonium, roſe with his armie and B retyred againe to Buda: where as he was making a bridge of boats ouer the Danubius betwixt Buda and Peſth, for the more eaſie tranſporting of victual, and better relieuing of the one the other as need ſhould require; and hauing brought that worke to paſſe, and about to haue gone to the ſiege of Strigonium; commaundement came from the Great Sultan, That hee ſhould with all ſpeed returne to Conſtantinople, for that *Mahomet* accounting of him as of a moſt valiant man, was now minded to employ him in his wars againſt his Rebels in Natolia, where things now went not well, as ſhall be hereafter declared. Vpon which commaundement, the *Baſſa* gaue leaue to all ſuch in his armie as had charge of any place, forthwith to returne to their ſeuerall places of gouernment: appointing ſome others with thirtie thouſand ſouldiors, in the companie of *Zachel Moyſes* (but of late Prince *Sigiſmund* his Lieutenant) to go with him into C Tranſyluania: who after the ouerthrow he had there receiued by *Baſta*, was come vnto this great Baſſa, offering vnto him, with ſuch an aid as was now appointed for him, and the helpe of ſuch other his friends as he had in Tranſyluania, to chaſe *Baſta* with his Germanes from out thence, and to reduce that Prouince againe vnto the deuotion of the *Othoman* Emperours, as it had in former time beene. And ſo by the way of Belgrade *Haſſan Baſſa* himſelfe with the reſt of his Armie haſted towards Conſtantinople. Which hee was thought the more willingly to do, for that the Great Sultan before his ſetting forth had put him in good hope to marrie one of his Aunts (a woman of great wealth and honour) if by the winning againe of Alba-Regalis he ſhould make himſelfe worthie ſo honourable a match; after which he now D longed.

But long it was not after his departure, but that the Imperials now at laſt aſſembled together at Comara, to the number of about 30000 men, with twelue * Naſſadies and two gallies, ſome by water, ſome by land, marched downe alongſt the riuer to Strigonium; where were alſo 20 other ſhips readie to receiue them, and ſo all embarked, were by the Lord *Ruſſworm* and other the Imperial Captaines conducted to Buda, there with ſome notable enterpriſe to redeeme the diſgrace by them before receiued in not relieuing of Alba-Regalis. Whoſe comming was ſo ſudden and ſo vnlooked for of the Turks there, as that they had not any time to take in any greater helpe or prouiſion than was alreadie in the citie. And for as much as the Chriſtians knew the good ſucceſſe of this their enterpriſe taken in hand, not ſo much to depend of their ſtrength, as of their politique proceeding and ſpeedie diſpatch of the matter begun, they thought it not good to vſe any long delay, or to ſpare for any labor, but ſo ſoon as they might, by taking of the Water-city (or as ſome call it, the Iewes ſuburbes) ſo to cut off the paſſage of them of Buda to Peſth, as alſo from thence to trouble them in the caſtle and the vpper city of Buda. Which their intended exploit they happily attempted and brought to paſſe in this ſort: The citie of Peſth ſtanding right ouer againſt Buda, is (as we haue oftentimes before ſaid) diuided from the ſame with the great and ſwift riuer of Danubius; ouer which the Turkes vpon boats had with great labor and coſt of late built a moſt eaſie and commodious bridge for paſſage or carriage of things from the one citie to the other. This bridge the Imperials thought neceſſarie firſt to breake, the more eaſie to beſiege either the one or other city; and for that purpoſe had by a ſtrange deuice built a ſhip, which by the force of the ſtreame carried downe the riuer, and reſting vpon the bridge, ſhould by a wonderfull power breake the ſame. Which ſhip the Turkes ſeeing comming downe the riuer with the reſt of the Fleet after her, they ran by heapes, eſpecially out of the Water-Citie, to the bridge for the defence thereof: where whilſt they were thus buſied, Countie *Sultze* on the other ſide by land with a petard blew vp

The Naſſadies are a certaine kinde of boats which the Hungarians vſe vpon the Riuer of Danubius.

The lower citie of Buda taken by the Chriſtians.

one of the gates of the city, and ſo entering and killing all ſuch as he light vpon, came vnloo-
ked for vpon the backs of the Turks at the bridge, of whom ſome he ſlew, ſome he draue into G
the riuer, who there periſhed; the reſt, in number not many, by ſpeedie flight retiring them-
ſelues into the citie: whereupon he had now brought ſuch a general feare, that they all as well
the ſouldiers as the citiſens, with the Chriſtians at their heeles, with as much haſte as they
could tooke their refuge into the vpper citie of Buda, much ſtronger and better fortified than
was the lower citie. At which time the bridge was by them vpon the riuer broken alſo, ſo
that now the one citie could no more thereby relieue the other as before.

The Water-citie thus woon, and the bridge broken, the next was for the Imperials to be-
ſiege either the one or the other city. But for that they of Peſth might with their great Ord-
nance much anoy them in the beſieging of the caſtle and the vpper city of Buda, they thought H
beſt to begin with it firſt: which they did in much like ſort as they had before done at the low-
er citie of Buda, the ſame deuice againe wel proſpering in their hand. For the Lord *Ruſſworm*
with the fleet vpon the riuer making a great ſhew as if he would euen preſently on that ſide
haue entered, had with the ſtirre by him raiſed, drawne downe moſt part of the garriſon ſoul-
diors vnto that ſide of the towne, where moſt ſhew of danger was: whileſt in the meane time
Countie *Sultze* with the gouernor of Althem (before vndiſcouered) vpon the ſudden by land
ſcaled the other ſide of the citie, and gained the walls, the Turks yet dreaming of no ſuch mat-
ter. But hereupon began a terrible outcry, the Turkes ſtanding as men aſtonied, eſpecially
now feeling the Chriſtians weapons in their bodies, before they knew they were got into the I
citie. In this ſo great an amazement ſuch of them as could fled into the ſtrongeſt towers, the
reſt hid themſelues in cellars and other the moſt ſecret corners they could finde, out of which
they were afterwards by the Chriſtians drawne and ſlaine. They which were retired alſo into
the towers and other ſtronger places of the city, ſeeing the great ordnance bent vpon them, and
now out of all hope of reliefe, offered to yeeld; requeſting only, that they might with their
wiues and children with life depart; promiſing for that fauour ſo ſhewed them, to perſuade
them of Buda alſo in like manner to yeeld. Vpon which promiſe, that their poore requeſt
was granted, and the Lord *Nadaſti* with certaine other Captaines ſent with ſome of theſe ci-
tiſens of Peſth, with their wiues and children to Buda: who comming thither, according to
their promiſe moſt earneſtly requeſted them of Buda to yeeld, for that they were not now to K
expect any further helpe, and that by their fooliſh obſtinacie they ſhould be the cauſe of the
death of them, their friends, their wiues, and children. Vnto whom alſo, to mooue them the
more, the Lord *Nadaſti* promiſed in the name of General, That they ſhould all excepting
ſome of their chiefe Commanders in ſafetie depart. Howbeit they of Buda would not hear-
ken thereunto, but ſtood ſtill vpon their gard. In this city of Peſth, well inhabited with Tur-
kiſh Merchants, the Chriſtians found great ſtore of wealth, which all became a prey vnto the
ſouldiers, with a thouſand horſes for ſeruice, many great pieces of artillerie and much other
warlike prouiſion.

The citie of Peſth taken by the Chriſtians.

Peſth thus woon, and a ſtrong garriſon left therein, they returned againe ouer the riuer to
beſiege the caſtle and vpper citie of Buda, which they attempted by vndermining the ſame, as L
alſo by batterie, hauing placed ſome of their great ordnance ſo high, that they could at their
pleaſure ſhoote into the middeſt of the ſtreets of the Citie; wherewith they much troubled
the Turks, not a little before diſcouraged with the loſſe of Peſth; thundering alſo at the ſame
time with their other batteries in diuers places of the walls both of the caſtle and of the citie:
Where vnderſtanding that the Turkes garriſons of the frontier Townes and Caſtles therea-
bouts (hearing of the ſiege) were comming to the reliefe of their diſtreſſed friends, they ſent
out their horſemen with ſome part of their footmen againſt them: who meeting with them,
gaue them a great ouerthrow, and ſo with victorie returned againe vnto the reſt of the Armie
lying at the ſiege, being ſtill in hope either by force or compoſition to become Maſters of M
the citie.

The vpper citie and caſtle of Buda beſieged by the Chriſtians.

But whileſt they lay in this hope, and hauing the twelfth of October brought their appro-
ches neerer vnto the wall,s had there planted certaine notable pieces of batterie, with pur-
poſe the next day with all their power to haue aſſaulted the Citie; behold, the *Viſier Baſſa*
hearing (by the way as he was going to Belgrad, & ſo to Conſtantinople) that the city of Peſth
was

A was woon, and Buda beſieged; changing his mind, returned in haſte with ſuch forces as he had
yet left; and ſo vnlooked for, came and ſat downe before Peſth, being not then aboue fiue and
twentie thouſand ſtrong, but thoſe all for the moſt part old and expert ſouldiers. But whileſt
the Baſſa thus lay at the ſiege of Peſth on the one ſide of the riuer, and the Imperials at the
ſiege of Buda on the other, diuers braue attempts were in both places giuen both on the one
ſide and the other. The Chriſtians in Peſth beſieged by the Turks, hauing amongſt them di-
uers braue captains, and deſirous of honor, one day vnder their conduct ſallied out of the citie
to skirmiſh with the Turks; and comming with them to the ſword, by plaine valor diſordered
them, and enforced them to flie, & ſo allured with the ſweetneſſe of the victory, purſued them
B euen to the trenches: from whence a great ſquadron of the Turks horſemen and harquebuſi-
ers at the ſame inſtant iſſuing out, and with their multitude ouercharging the Imperials, con-
ſtrained them of force to retire: in which retreat, Countie *Maximilian Martinengo* (one of
theſe aduenturers) doing what hee might both with his valour and direction to haue ſtayed
the diſordered retreat of the Chriſtians, was with many others ſlaine: wherewith the reſt diſ-
couraged, tooke their refuge towards the citie. Which they of the garriſon beholding, ſent
out certaine companies to relieue them; by whoſe comming out, the furie of the Turkes was
not onely repreſſed, but they alſo euen vnto their trenches again repulſed. Shortly after which
hot skirmiſhes, the Lord *Ruſſworm* with the other Chriſtian Captains on the other ſide of the
riuer, hauing with continuall batterie made ſuch a breach into the caſtle, as that the ſame ſee-
C med to be now ſaultable, in good order came on with certaine companies of their footmen ap-
pointed for that ſeruice (and ſo couragiouſly aſſailed the breach: where the Turks, who before
had expected this aſſault, hauing in beſt ſort they could repaired the breach, and on both ſides
thereof placed diuers murthering pieces, with great ſtore of dangerous fire-workes, at ſuch
time as the firſt companies of the Chriſtians ſought couragiouſly to haue entred the breach,
ouerwhelmed them with that deadly fire, and ſo rent them with their murthering ſhot, that
they no faſter entered, but that they were forthwith cut off and ſlaine; with the ſight where-
of, they which were appointed to ſecond them, nothing diſcouraged, but ſeeking deſperately
to haue entered, and with the taking of the caſtle, and ſlaughter of the Turks, to haue requited
the death of their fellowes, were themſelues in like ſort welcommed. So that now a thouſand
D of them being loſt, the captaines conſidering how much the loſſe of ſo many braue ſouldiers
concerned the whole enterpriſe taken in hand, and that the breach could not be gained with-
out the loſſe of the greateſt part of them, they cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and ſo the aſſault
for that time to be giuen ouer.

A notable skir miſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

But long it was not that the Viſier Baſſa (thus retired as aforeſaid) had lien before Peſth, but
that by reaſon of his ſudden returne, great wants began to ariſe in his camp; his ſouldiers for
want of food beeing glad to eat their dead horſes, a pound of bread being ſold for two Hun-
garian Duckats, and a buſhell of oates for fiue, and yet hardly ſo to be gotten: which wants in
that ſo waſted a country ſtil more and more encreaſing, & many of his ſouldiers ſecretly ſtea-
ling away from him, he had much adoe by al the means he could vſe, to perſuade them there
E to ſtay eight daies longer. Which time expired, and nothing more done, than ſome few weake
attempts giuen, and ſome light skirmiſhes made, rather for faſhions ſake than for any hope of
preuailing, and the want of all things ſtill encreaſing; hee with the reſt of the Commanders
fearing ſome ſudden miſchiefe to bee done them by the hungrie and diſcontented ſouldiers,
the ſecond of Nouember, cauſing his baggage to bee truſſed vp in the dead time of the
darke and ſilent night, riſe with his armie, and ſo in haſte retired directly to Belgrade, leauing
behind him in his campe three hundred dead horſes, not yet eaten by his hunger-ſtarued ſol-
diers. Immediatly after whoſe departure, the Lord *Nadaſti* and ſome other of the comman-
ders in the armie, with fiue thouſand ſouldiers and certaine great pieces of artillerie, ſome by
land, ſome by water, went downe alongſt the riuer to Adom, a faire well built towne vpon the
banke of Danubius, about foure Hungarian miles from Buda, and ſeruing as it were for a ſtore-
houſe for the garriſon there: Which towne *Nadaſti* ſummoned by his Huſſars ſent be-
fore, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him. Which they of the towne at the firſt refuſed
to doe: but afterwards ſeeing a far greater power come, prouided of great ordnance and all
things elſe requiſit for a ſiege, they with the ſight thereof diſcouraged, without more ado offe-

The Viſier Baſſa raiſeth his ſiege.

red to yeeld the towne, ſo that they might with bag and baggage in ſafety depart; which they did, the Chriſtians conducting them as far as Feldwar, which caſtle was alſo at the firſt ſummons, G by the perſuaſion of them of Adom deliuered vnto them: for they of the caſtle, by them enformed of the great ſtrength of the Chriſtians, and of the ſtore of great ordnance they had brought with them, and that they ſtaid there with but faſt by, were eaſily perſuaded to hearken to their friends, and ſo yeelded. Which done, the free Haiducks the ſame night ſurpriſed alſo the caſtle of Pax: from whence the Chriſtians ſtill marching on alongſt the riuer, tooke in alſo the citie of Tolna.

But whileſt *Nadaſti* with the reſt were thus buſied in taking theſe caſtles and towns alongſt the South ſide of Danubius, they in the camp at Buda were aduertiſed of the new deſignes of the Turkes Lieutenants and Captaines thereabout, for the reliefe of the beſieged: as that the Baſſa of Boſna, with the Gouernors of Caniſia, Sigeth, and others, had aſſembled an army of H thirtie thouſand for the raiſing of the ſiege. Wherefore the Chriſtians doubting as they lay at the ſiege diſperſed, to be by them oppreſſed, leauing their tents in their trenches, gathered themſelues together into the Water-city: which the Turks out of the vpper city quickly perceiuing, as feeling themſelues now at ſome more libertie, preſently ſallying out, took both the trenches and the tents ſo left, with no ſmall ſlaughter of ſuch as were left for the keeping of them: and ſo poſſeſſed of the trenches and the tents, held them by the ſpace of two houres, vntill they were by ſtrong hand by the Chriſtians beaten out, and ſo with ſome loſſe inforced againe to retire into the citie. The Lord *Nadaſti* alſo, with the reſt that had taken the aforeſaid caſtles and towns vpon the ſide of Danubius, making a rode towards Alba Regalis, in their returne I within a mile of Buda light vpon a thouſand Turks there gathered together, moſt part of whom they ſlew, and hauing put the reſt to flight, took ſome fifty of them priſoners. At which time alſo another of the Imperiall Colonels meeting with certaine other companies of the Turks comming to the reliefe of the beſieged, not far from Buda, ſlew moſt part of them, took an hundred and threeſcore of them priſoners, with a number of horſes and much other rich bootie, all which he brought into the campe. Neither were they at the ſiege in the mean time idle, their great artillerie ſtill thundering againſt the wals both of the caſtle and the citie: ſo that by the fury of the cannon hauing beaten downe a ſtrong tower next vnto the Danubius, not far from the kings ſtable, they were a little before night about to haue there entered, when ſuddenly ſuch a tempeſt of winde and raine ariſe, as that they could not poſſibly vſe their pieces, K or well any other weapon: ſo that the heauens as it were then fighting for the enemy, they were enforced for that time to giue ouer the aſſault begun. Which ſtorme was no ſooner ended, but that two thouſand of the Turkes both horſe and foot, to keepe the Chriſtians otherwiſe buſied, ſuddenly iſſuing out of the citie, charged vpon the Stirian horſemen; who preſently relieued by the men at armes, ſo welcommed them, that hauing loſt an hundred and threeſcore of their men, they were glad with more ſpeed to retire, than they came out. But ſeeing ſome of the Chriſtians that ſo hardly purſued them, ſome ſlaine, and ſome hurt from the wals; taking heart againe, the next day (being the eleuenth of Nouember) they ſallied out againe; where albeit that a great number of them were ſlaine, yet fell they out againe the third day alſo, L and were againe by the Countie *Thurne* with great loſſe of their men beaten backe into the citie: wherein purſuing of them, the Chriſtians were by certaine Ianizaries (laid cloſe for that purpoſe) ſuddenly aſſailed and dangerouſly gauled, the Countie himſelfe beeing hurt in his left arme, and ſome other captaines ſlaine. In all which ſallies, although the Turks were ſtill put to the worſe, yet thereby they gained time in ſome good ſort to repaire againe their breaches.

The ſiege of Buda for feare of the Tartars giuen ouer by the Chriſtians.

Shortly after, the Imperials thus lying at the ſiege, certainely enformed that a world of the fierce and rude Tartars by the incitement of the Turke (hauing made themſelues way through Valachia) where comming as farre as Temeſwar to relieue Buda; thought it not beſt (eſpecially now that Winter was come) to abide the comming of that ſo great a Northern tempeſt, M but betimes whileſt they had yet ſpace, to raiſe their ſiege and be gone: Which they did the ſixteenth of Nouember, leauing the Water-citie, with all that they had got about Buda, againe vnto the enemie: onely Peſth they furniſhed with victuals and all things elſe neceſſarie, leauing therein almoſt ten thouſand ſoldiers in garriſon, for the defence therof againſt the barbarous

bar

rous enemy. As for Adom it was ſtrengthened with a garriſon of Hungarians only, with their wages offred to be paid before hand; which for all that, they refuſed to accept; alledging that for the great danger this place was expoſed to aboue others, they could not ſafely take their oath for the defence thereof: yet offering withall to vndertake the charge, and to do what beſeemed valiant ſoldiers, in ſuch ſort as that all men ſhould well vnderſtand, that nothing euill ſhould happen thereunto through their default or negligence.

The ſiege of Buda for feare of the Tartars thus giuen ouer, and the Imperials departed and gon, the Turks forthwith came downe out of the higher citie into the lower, declaring their ioy for the recouerie thereof, by the often thundring of their great ordnance, with diuers other ſignes of triumph. But whileſt in their iolitie they ſpared not by the mouth of the cannon to ſend commendation to them of Peſth, they from them againe receiued the like; but in ſuch rude manner, that the Turks wearied with ſuch greetings, requeſted them to ſpare their ſhot and pouder, and quietly to liue by them as became neighbours for that Winter vntill the next Spring, at which time it was to be thought that this ſtrife ſhould be ended by their Emperors, the weaker yeelding vnto the ſtronger either the one or the other citie. Yet for all this their great ioy, their cheere in Buda was not great, victuals by this ſiege being become ſo ſcarce, that it was by the Turks feared, That if the Chriſtians had there longer lien, they ſhould for verie want haue been enforced to haue yeelded the city. Of which their need their friends not ignorant, and hauing made what prouiſion they were able for their reliefe, were with a great conuoy bringing the ſame towards Buda: whereof the garriſons of Comara and Strigonium hauing intelligence, went preſently out, and meeting with the Turks in the mid way betwixt Alba-Regalis and Buda, ouerthrew the conuoy, and carried away all that prouiſion of victuals; like vnbidden gueſts making themſelues merrie with that which was neuer prouided for them.

Theſe doubtfull wars of Hungarie, with the general reuolt of Tranſyluania much troubled *Mahomet* the great Sultan; but nothing like vnto the warres he had in Aſia againſt the *Scriuano* and the rebels his followers; the euill ſucceſſe whereof (as moſt dangerous to his State) ſo much tormented his haughtie minde, as that it would ſcarce ſuffer him to thinke of any thing els. For the Rebel encouraged with the ſucceſſe of the laſt yeares wars, and ſtil growing ſtronger and ſtronger, (by reaſon of the great number which, allured with the ſweet name of libertie, hope of prey, or the good entertainment by him giuen, dayly more and more reſorted vnto his campe) had this yeare ouerrun a great part of the Turks dominions in Aſia, putting all to fire and ſword that ſtood in his way, ranſacking alſo diuers walled and fenced cities by the way as he went. Which he might the more eaſily do, for that the Ianizaries of Aleppo and Damaſco, with many other their partakers and fauourits, which might greatly haue hindered his proceedings, were at the ſame time alſo vp in arms, and together by the eares amongſt themſelues, to the great benefit of the *Scriuano*: who in the midſt of the courſe of theſe his deſired fortunes, fell ſicke of a natural diſeaſe, and ſo died. By whoſe death the rebellion was no whit appeaſed, (as commonly in like caſe it falleth out, and as was then of many expected) but in ſhort time grew to be both far greater and more dangerous than before: for the *Scriuano* was no ſooner dead, but that a yonger brother of his no leſſe warlike & couragious than himſelfe (to the great contentment of the rebellious) ſtept vp in his place, fiercely proſecuting the wars his brother had before him taken in hand. Againſt whom *Haſſan Baſſa* by commandement from the grand Seignior with a great armie ſetting forward, with hope in that newneſſe of his command to haue oppreſſed him, and ſo to haue quenched that ſo ſpreading a fire; at length met with him, that was eaſie enough to be found, and ioyning battell with him, was by him in a great and bloudie fight ouerthrowne and ſlaine together with his whole army, except ſuch as by ſpeedy flight ſaued themſelues from the furie of their fierce enemies. So that *Mahomet* the great Sultan now enforced to employ his beſt commanders and ſoldiers into thoſe parts for the ſubduing of him, for that cauſe called *Mahomet* the Viſier Baſſa out of Hungarie to ſerue againſt this new Rebel: who in the meane time following the courſe of his victorie, made hauock of all as he went, taking vnto his owne vſe all ſuch tribute as was in thoſe Countries and others alſo farther off, due vnto the great Sultan; hauing of late exacted onely of the citie of Ancyra and

Mahomet much troubled with the Scriuano.

The death of the Scriuano.

The Scriuano his yonger brother take vpon him the leading of the Rebels in his brothers ſtead.

Haſſan Baſſa ſlaine, and his armie ouerthrowne by the rebels.

and the countrey thereabout, three hundred thouſand duckets: ſo by exacting of great ſummes of mony from the countrey people (ſuch as be his enemies) heaping vp great treaſures for the maintenance of his wars.

Diuers incurſions of the Tartars into the frontiers of the Emperours territories, and much harme by them there done.

Now though *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperor had called home *Mahomet* the Viſier Baſſa out of Hungarie, to go againſt the rebels in Aſia, (as is aforeſaid) yet had he before prouided, that for the better aſſurance of his townes and territories in Hungarie, the Tartar *Han* with a great power of his Crim Tartars ſhould euen againſt that time come downe into that countrey. Which rough and needie people dwelling neere vnto the fennes of Meotis, for pay or prey always readie to do the *Othoman* Emperors ſeruice, ſetting forward vnder the leading of their great *Han* himſelfe, and of his two ſonnes, and by plaine force breaking through Valachia, though not without great loſſe of their men (being fought with by the Valachians and free Haiducks a whole day) were now in the later end of December with their huge companies come into Hungarie, the *Han* himſelfe with fortie thouſand to Quinque Eccleſiæ, and his ſons with twentie thouſand moe into Poſſega (a fertile countrey lying betweene the great riuers Sauus and Drauus) where they ſpoiled all as well the Turks as the other poore Chriſtians, pretending all that frontier countrey with the whole command thereof to be giuen vnto them by *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperor in reward of their good ſeruice. But long they lay not there quiet, but that to ſhew for what they came, they enforced the Chriſtians thereabout to victual Caniſia for the Turks: and ſo breaking into Stiria, not far from Caramant (*the neereſt Fortreſſe* of the Chriſtians towards Caniſia) carried away aboue two thouſand Chriſtians captiues: and ſhortly after ſurpriſing Keſchemet a great and populous towne, ſlew moſt part of the inhabitants, and carried away the reſt priſoners. Other ſome of them alſo at the ſame time making an inrode to Sharuar, and hauing burnt twentie villages downe to the ground, carried away thence about a thouſand ſoules into moſt miſerable captiuitie and thraldome. They alſo at their firſt comming relieued them of Buda, the Lord *Nadaſti* with his Huſſars, who before kept them from victuals, not being able for the great number of them, now longer ſo to do. By them alſo the Turks encouraged, tooke and burnt certaine places poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians neere vnto Buda, putting them all to the ſword that they found therin. So that the poore countrey of Hungarie (neuer to be ſufficiently pittied) with the reſt of the countries and prouinces belonging vnto the houſe of Auſtria, and confining vpon the Turke, were not ſo much eaſed by the calling home of the Viſier Baſſa with his army, as they were now annoyed by the comming of theſe roguiſh Tartars, a people wholly euen from their infancie giuen to the ſpoyle. Againſt whom for all that, the Chriſtians beſide their ordinarie garriſons, began now euen in the depth of Winter to oppoſe ſome other of their forces alſo: the Palatine of Rhine ſending ten companies of horſemen to Poſſonium, from thence to be ſent to Sharuar for the defence of Stiria: and *Collonitz* (but lately knighted by the Emperour) for his part raiſing foure hundred horſe, a thouſand Huſſars, and three thouſand of the free Haiducks for the repreſſing of thoſe Tartars: the Duke of Brunſwick alſo at that time for the ſame ſeruice ſending thither a thouſand horſe with two thouſand foot, againſt thoſe ſworne Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion.

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THe troubles of this yere thus ouerpaſt, Alba-Regalis being by the Chriſtians loſt, Peſth with ſome other places woon, Tranſyluania recouered, Buda beſieged, the Viſier Baſſa returned, and the Tartars come into Hungarie, Ianuarie with a ſharpe froſt began to open the next yere; by force whereof the riuers in many places, but eſpecially in thoſe more Eaſterly countries, were not onely frozen ouer, but ſeemed rather euen wholly turned into yce: Danubius that great riuer (for all his ſwift courſe) beeing then alſo (as it is often) ſo hard froſen, that men and carts might ſafely paſſe too and fro thereupon. Which ſo hard a ſeaſon for all that did no whit freeſe but rather encreaſe the hot deſires of the greedie Turks, ſtill breathing after the vtter ſpoile and ruine of the Chriſtians dwelling neere vnto them. For which purpoſe, they euen in this dead time of the yeare, and extremitie of nature (which commonly affoordeth vnto moſt mortall enemies a ceſſation from armes) out of their garriſons of Sigeth, Buda, Caniſia, Alba-Regalis, Babotz, and ſuch other places, raiſed an armie of eighteene thouſand ſtrong, to haue forraged and ouerrunne the Chriſtians, with their territories confining vpon them; Quermanie with the countrey thereabout beeing the places by them aſſigned to haue felt the firſt force of their ſudden rage and furie. Of which their deſignes *Collonitz*, Gouernour for the Emperour in thoſe parts, vnderſtanding, to preuent the ſame, and to meet with their forces, with all ſpeed put into the ſuburbes of Quermanie a thouſand Reiſters, and two thouſand Lanſquenets; and in the Burroughes thereabouts laded the regiment of the Countie *Reingraue*, with ſix companies of the Coſſackes, foure thouſand Haiducks, foure hundred Carabins, French, and Wallons, two hundred horſe of the Regiment of *Collonitz*; with whome was *Collonitz* himſelfe, commanding ouer all theſe troupes: a man for his worth euery way anſwerable vnto his charge. Who for the more aſſurance of this Countrey, ouer which the enemie now houered, commaunded all the inhabitants thereabout to take vp armes; and withall, with good and ſtrong barricadoes to ſtrengthen the wayes, and ſtop vp the paſſages into their countrey: which they right cheerefully performed, with their weapons in the one hand, and their ſpades and ſhouels in the other. Of which their ſo great reſolution the Turkes vnderſtanding, changed their purpoſe. For they conſidering the aſſured danger they were to vndergoe, in forcing of theſe troupes, ſtanding vpon the wals of their defence, & ſtrong in their reſolution, changed their former deſigne, for the inuading of Quermanie (where they for the ſpace of fiue weekes together had by the Chriſtians been expected) and vpon a new reſolution marched along by Roquesbourg, with purpoſe to haue loaded themſelues with the ſpoyle of the countrey thereabout. Which their new deſigne cauſed *Collonitz* to gather together his forces to croſſe and fruſtrate them therein: which hee did by fauour of the riuer, which both ſtrengthened him againſt their incurſions, and was well to be *defended*. But the Turkes, whoſe purpoſe was not to fight, but to haue robbed and ſpoiled the countrey at their pleaſure, finding now contrarie to their expectation, ſuch ſtrong reſiſtance, and their deſignes diſturbed, in fine, gaue ouer their enterpriſe, and ſo againe retired; contenting themſelues to gather a conuoy of victuals to put into Caniſia, which then lay in great extremitie for want thereof. Which victuals they drew out of the villages thereabout, and ſo came to Babotz, to march to Caniſia, a towne moſt commodious for ſuch an aſſemblie, and for the relieuing of Caniſia. Of this their purpoſe *Collonitz* (who ſpared for no coſt) by his eſpials aduertiſed, euen hee which before was appointed as a prey vnto his enemies, began now to plot with himſelfe, that they ſhould become a prey vnto him: their cowardiſe, by ſo many precedent effects declared, had giuen him the meanto aduenture vpon them, and the hope to ouerthrow them. A neceſſarie conſideration in martiall affaires, for Commanders to put in execution their deſignes, at what price ſoeuer: for that it is better to loſe in the performance of them, with the preſeruation of their reputation, than otherwiſe to gaine with the loſſe thereof: for that it preſerued, ſtill ſtriketh a feare of their valor into the mindes of their enemies, oftentimes ouercome euen with this their apprehenſion thereof: Whereas otherwiſe they might happily ouercome, in the aſſurance by them conceiued of their enemies cowardiſe.

A great froſt.

An army of the Turkes raiſed out of their garriſons.

Collonitz in armes againſt the Turkes.

The Turkes for feare of the Chriſtians cowardly retire.

Vpon which reſolution this braue Colonell the foure and twentieth of March with his troupes marched towards little Comara, about two leagues from Caniſia, and lay with

Collonitz ſets in ambuſh for the Turkes.

them cloſe in ambuſh in the woods neere vnto two mariſhes, ouer which the Turks had made two bridges to paſſe the great artillerie and wagons vpon: the Turks being well neere 20000 ſtrong, and our men but 8200, whereof there were 2200 horſemen, and 6000 foot, a ſmall number in compariſon of their enemies. But whileſt that thoſe men lie thus cloſe in ambuſh, with a purpoſe to doe ſome notable exploit, let vs in the meane time run to Peſth, to ſee what there in the meane time paſſed.

The Turkes after the loſſe of Peſth much grieued to haue this impoſtume ſo neere their hearts, ſought to breake it to our hurt, employing all their treacherie to gaine our garriſon ſouldiers, and with their forces to diſtreſſe them of victuals. And the Chriſtian armie was no ſooner riſen from before Buda, but that the Turks came downe againe into their baſe towne; which they found much ruinated and in euill eſtate. But the ioy of their conqueſt buried in it all the obiect of their ſorrow, and the feeling of their griefe; the leſſer paſſions alwaies giuing place vnto the greater, and ſorrow finding no place at all in the middeſt of their immoderate ioy. Whereof they gaue a number of teſtimonies, by the thundring of their great ordnance, by fires of ioy, and vollies of ſmal ſhot; all which their fury they diſcharged vpon them of Peſth; who with the like courteſie requited them, ſending them backe againe bullets for bullets. Which now became a common exerciſe among the canoniers, paſſing the time in theſe actions, more vpon a brauerie than to any purpoſe, ſmall harme being done thereby either on the one ſide or on the other: in ſuch ſort, that in the end the Turks better aduiſed, requeſted our men to ceaſe from ſuch ſhooting, as they on their part would doe likewiſe, and to expect the end of the negotiation of peace, of a certaine begun (as they ſaid) betwixt their Princes; but meaning indeed by this meanes to ſpare their pouder, ſhot, and paines, and to reſerue them to their better vſes.

Buda diſtreſſed for want of victuals.

And yet for all this triumphant ioy, the Turks in Buda were in great want of victuals, the late ſiege hauing deuoured all their prouiſions, and no new ſupplie thereof as yet come vnto them: inſomuch, that their greateſt care was now how to come by victuals, without which they muſt needs forſake their city. Of which their ſo great neceſſity the other garriſons in the places thereabout aduertiſed, aſſembled themſelues to take order therefore; and hauing prouided 200 wagons, loded with all manner of neceſſary prouiſions at Alba-Regalis, with a conuoy of 6000 ſouldiers put themſelues vpon the way toward Buda. Of all which their proceedings the garriſon of Strigonium hauing got vnderſtanding, and ioyning vnto them the garriſon of Comara, met with them vpon the way betwixt Alba-Regalis and Buda, and charged them; and ſo with great confidence on both ſides came to handie blowes, the Turks being in number ſtronger, and our men in valour and reſolution; the waggons in the meane time ſtanding ſtill, as the motiue of the charge, and appointed for a prey vnto the victors. But our horſmen beeing for the moſt part Huſſars, well acquainted with ſuch charge, with their diuers courſes greatly troubled the enemies, our footmen in the meane time charging them alſo with a number of harquebuſiers: againſt whom the Turkes with the ſame armes and like courage defending themſelues, and many of them being ſlaine, and the waggons gained from them, gaue place vnto their valour, and ſo were almoſt all cut in pieces. The waggons thus ſurpriſed, were diuided as a rich bootie among the victors: fortie whereof were ſent vnto the garriſon at Peſth; who were well content that the enemies trauell and wealth had been gathered for their good, and without their owne paines to ſolace themſelues with the fruit of their enemies labours.

The Turkes in carrying a conuoy of victuals to Buda ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians.

But what ſhould we ſay? The moſt ſure reſolutions are ſometimes by chances croſſed, and tempeſts otherwhiles ouertake vs, euen in the enterance of the deſired port. The Turkes of Buda vnderſtanding of the bruit of this medley, and that it was for their bread, poſted in haſt to haue ſuccoured their troupes, and arriued at the ſame time that our men victoriouſly led alongſt by the Riuer of Danubius the waggons they had before gained. At the ſight of which obiect, they animated with hunger after the victuals, and with deſire to bee reuenged vpon the men, charged them. But our men, who thought of nothing more, but that they were victorious, and poſſeſſors of their enemies bootie, ſeeing theſe new come enemies ſo furiouſly to charge them, daunted with the preſent perill, and with the conſideration thereof onely poſſeſſed, bethought themſelues of nothing elſe, but how to ſaue themſelues, and to leaue their honour, bootie, and the field, all as ſpoiles vnto their enemies. The furious countenance of the Turkes, and their number ſurmounting ours by 1500, ſo bereft them of their reſolution for to fight for their liues and waggons, as that they without more adoe quite forſooke them, accounting themſelues happie enough if they might but ſaue themſelues. And the Turkes without farther purſuing of them, contented to haue recouered their victuals, left them, and ſo returned homeward, driuing their waggons along the banke of Danubius. But ſee the wind which by and by changed, and hauing as it were with a ſudden tempeſt vndertaken euen at the enterance of the port to ſwallow vp both the one and the other, ſent the garriſon of Peſth vpon them of Buda to ſtay them. Great changes of fortune in one moment of time, which mocketh men with ſhewes, bringing forth effects quite contrarie to their expectation. Theſe Turkes ſtayed vpon their retreat by the comming of theſe new come aduerſaries, did euen as ours had done before. For not willing to prefer their good before their life, and more greedie of victuall than of battell, they quitted their prize, and retired. For our men in number two thouſand, were ſeized of a forreſt about the middeſt of the way whereby the Turks were to paſſe, & which they could by no means ſhun; and diuided into two companies, kept themſelues cloſe there in ambuſh, reſolutely attending for the comming of their enemies. Of which their purpoſe the Turks not aware, and ſtill preſſing on forward, found themſelues hardly charged, before they could ſee them by whom they were ſo charged; one of our companies charging them afront, and the other behind. So that the Turks incloſed betwixt them, and in ſo great and ſudden a feare not knowing againſt whom to defend themſelues, without any great reſiſtance betooke themſelues to flight, leauing their waggons, and caſting away their armes: yet ſo, that a number of them were left dead vpon the place, ſome others of them taken priſoners, and the reſt chaſed euen vnto the gates of their citie. But our men beeing victors, with the waggons, and a number of priſoners returned home, and by the mouth of their great artillerie gaue a thouſand teſtimonies of their victory vnto the ſorrowfull cowards, who themſelues alſo carried the heauie newes thereof vnto the reſt of their fellowes ſhut vp within the citie of Buda.

The conuoy of victuals again recouered from the Chriſtians by the garriſon of Buda.

The ſame conuoy of victuals recouered from the Turkes by the garriſon of Peſth.

But ſee againe the change of Fortune, conſtant only in vnconſtancie, as the ſequell ſhortly after ſhewed. Danubius that great riuer was then alſo (as it is often) ſo hard frozen, that men and catts might now ſafely paſſe too and fro thereupon. In which ſo hard ſeaſon, the Turkes in garriſon at Buda hauing once vpon the frozen Riuer braued the Chriſtians in Peſth, and the two and twentieth of Ianuarie in like brauerie comming out the ſecond time, were by the garriſon ſouldiers of Peſth put to flight, and by two hundred of the moſt forward and valiant ſouldiers hardly purſued; vpon whome, not onely they which fled, but other of the Turkes alſo out of Buda in greater number returning, chaſed them likewiſe backe againe euen to the bridge, whereby they were to haue paſſed into the Citie: which now drawne vp for feare of greater harme from ſuch a number of Turkes as were now come out, and were readie to haue entered at the heeles of the flying ſouldiers; the poore ſoules ſo ſhut out, and too weake for ſuch a multitude as then had them in chaſe, were there euen in their friends ſight euerie man ſlaine, the Turkes themſelues with little harme returning to Buda.

The garriſon ſouldiers of Peſth ouerthrowne by the Turks of Buda.

Neither long laſted the ioy of this victorie: for within a few dayes after, one *Letbner* a Captaine of the Chriſtian garriſon in Peſth, more grieued than the reſt with the loſſe of ſo many valiant men, and ſome of them his frends and companions alſo; certainely vnderſtanding that certaine of the chiefe of the Turkes of Buda, with two of their greateſt Commanders, and a great traine of gallant Gentlewomen, were for their pleaſure the next day about to goe vnto the hoat Bathes neere vnto Buda, and taking with him threeſcore musketiers, the night before ſecretly vpon the yce paſſed ouer the Riuer, and ſo not farre from the Bathes lay cloſe in ambuſh, expecting the comming of their deſired prey. In which expectance they lay not long, but that theſe Turkes caſting no perill, came accordingly as they could haue wiſhed, and in thoſe pleaſant Bathes merrily bathed and ſolaced themſelues: fooles to ſeeke after the pleaſures of peace amidſt the gulfe of the miſeries of warres, and ill aduiſed to aſſure themſelues of faire weather in a ſtorme ſo neere at hand. For in the middeſt of all their delights theſe reſolute men came ſuddenly vpon them, not fearing any

The Turkes in bathing themſelues at Buda, by them of Peſth ſurpriſed and ſlaine.

ſuch danger, and ſlew all the men, ſparing none but one boy and the Gentlewomen: who in the time of the conflict, naked as they were, ran as faſt as they could into the Citie, feare hauing in them ouercome the modeſtie of their ſexe. Which exploit done, the Captaine leauing the Turkes ſlaine in the Bath (now become red with their bloud) returned with his ſouldiers, laded with the rich bootie, and merrily ſporting at the naked gentlewomen: with whoſe fearefull crie they of Buda ſtirred vp, ſent out certaine of their garriſon after them, but to no purpoſe; for why, they were in ſafety before got home. By continuance of this froſt, by reaſon whereof victuals could not be ſent down the riuer, the ſouldiers in garriſon at Peſth were driuen to ſuch wants, as that dogs and cats were accounted good meat among them; the Turkes their enemies ſtill roaming about in the fields, to keepe them from victuals, and to encreaſe their neceſſitie.

Great want of victuals in Peſth.

Of theſe neceſſities the Turkes of Buda were partakers alſo, hunger-ſtarued as were the other, but yet euerie day in the field to ſeeke reliefe. They knew right well, that hunger was hard to bee deceiued, beeing ſtill in action and vigilant: and therefore they ſought ſome meanes how to deceiue our men, ſtill attending vpon them, and ſo to aſſure themſelues of victuals. To which end they gaue it out, and made ſhew as if they would haue beſieged the fort of Adom, diſtant about two leagues from Buda: Vnder the colour whereof, they receiued into their citie a conuoy of fiftie waggons laded with victuals and munition: which our men hindered not, for that they had no ſuſpition of any ſuch purpoſe of theirs. With which reliefe the Turkes encouraged, gaue knowledge thereof vnto their ouerthwart neighbours in Peſth by a thouſand great ſhot, which they in thundering manner ſent ouer the Riuer vnto them, as from men of courage, and deuoid of feare. Howbeit, that this action was more vaine than profitable vnto the Turkes, who for the diſpence of their ſhot and powder gained not ſo much as the life of one ſouldier, nor one ſtone out of the walls of Peſth. Vpon this jolitie theſe ſame garriſon ſouldiers of Buda ſhortly after thought to haue vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed Palotta, a ſmall Caſtle of the Chriſtians, by night: but beeing in good time diſcouered, were deceiued of their hope, and with the loſſe of an hundred and twentie of their men enforced to retire: vnto whome *Gaſpar Horwad* Captaine of the Caſtle, by a countrey peaſant before ſworne to doe the errand, ſent a little pot full of ſalt, and a bottle of wine, willing them (in deriſion) with that ſalt to ſeaſon the Veniſon they had taken in their late hunting, and to emptie that bottle to quench their thirſt, and to cheere them vp after their late conqueſt.

Buda victualled.

The Turks ſeeking to ſurpriſe Palotta, themſelues ouerthrowne.

This jeaſt more prouoked theſe enemies, galled ſo to heare of their ſhame and loſſe; in ſuch ſort, that in reuenge thereof they diſcharged a ſhower of thundering great ſhot and ſmall bullets vpon the garriſon of Peſth, which in great abundance fell out of the cloud of their rage. But all to ſmall purpoſe: for that their cannons beeing euill leuelled, ouerſhot the towne, carrying with their thundering bullets more feare than they did hurt: yea that worſe was, the ruine made by their great batterie fell vpon their owne citie. For while they were thus thundering, fire by negligence of the cannóniers fell into one of their barrels of powder, which taking hold of another, and ſo running along, as if it had been by a traine of purpoſe layed, burſt out with ſuch force, that it ouerthrew a long peece of the wall of Buda, which in the fall thereof ouerwhelmed a great number of the ſouldiers neere vnto it. The noiſe of this thunderclap was great, and the force thereof terrible, ſo that it reuiued them of Peſth with ſome good hope, by this breach to force the place, the Turkes beeing from thence retired. Vpon which occaſion the Gouernour of Peſth reſolued to giue an aſſault vnto the place, and to make vſe of the meane that Fortune, without his paine or trauell, had put into his hand. Whereupon taking with him a thouſand Almaines, and three hundred Hungarians, he foorthwith (in hope of good ſucceſſe) marched toward the breach; and happily had preuailed, but that by the way they by chance met with a companie of Turkes, who gaue an alarme vnto them of the vpper towne, who vpon that brute of their approch manned their wals, and with great ſpeed repaired the breach. Now all that they of Peſth could doe, was to reuenge themſelues vpon theſe Turks whom they had met withall, who were there all ſlaine, except ſome few, whom they ſaued, and carried priſoners vnto Peſth, to be by them inſtructed of the enemies affaires.

A breach made in the walls of Buda by the negligence of a cannonier.

Abo

Siliſtria ſpoiled by the Vayuod of Valachia.

A About this time *Radul* Vayuod of Valachia aduertiſed, that the Turkes in garriſon at Siliſtria were gone abroad into the countrey to ſeeke after bootie and victuals, with his ſouldiers paſſed forthwith ouer the Riuer Danubius vpon the yce, to ſurpriſe the towne, now bared of the garriſon: whoſe men for the deſire of the riches of the place, and for feare leſt the garriſon ſouldiers ſhould returne before they had gained the place, with redoubled force and courage ſo aſſailed the towne, that the Turkes diſmayed, and deeming the number of the Chriſtians that ſo furiouſly aſſayled them to bee greater than indeed it was, by reaſon of the greatneſſe of the enterpriſe by them taken in hand; after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, left the way open for them to enter: who forthwith ouer the dead bodies of their B enemies thruſt into the town, took the whole ſpoyle thereof (which was both great and rich, as being a towne well peopled) & ſo ſet fire vpon it, to the intent that it ſhould no more ſerue for a place for the enemie to retire vnto. The Vayuod thus victorious and rich, returned with his ſouldiers laded with ſpoyles of their enemies, before that the Turkes could gather themſelues together to hinder their retreat. And vnto *George Baſta*, who was then in Tranſyluania in armes againſt the Turks, for his part of the bootie he ſent him thirteene of the enemies Enſignes.

But our troups are now too long in their ambuſh, where the valiant *Collonitz* holdeth them cloſe, attending the comming of the Turkes, and of their conuoy to Caniſia; now wee muſt draw them out of their Sentinels and ſee what effects their deſignes ſhall bring forth. Theſe C braue ſouldiers had now lyen three dayes in their ambuſhes without diſcouering of any enemie, vntill that the ſixth of March three eſpies fell into their hands, whome the Turkes had ſent forth before, to diſcouer what enemies were then abroad in the field. But theſe faithfull Infidels ſo taken, would not by any meanes diſcouer any thing hurtfull vnto their friends, or profitable for ours: So that in fine the Generall mooued with their obſtinacie, commanded one of their heads to be ſtrucke off, to terrifie the other two, and by force to draw from them that which faire entreatie and perſuaſion could not. The other two that were yet aliue diſmayed with this ſpectacle, and well beaten to tell the truth, were at laſt conſtrained to confeſſe, That they were the enemies ſpies, ſent forth to view the country, to ſee if the Chriſtians had any forces there, able to let their cannons and waggons to enter into Caniſia; which not D appearing, and they reporting vnto their companies, that the countrey was cleare, that then within two dayes after the conuoy was to paſſe euen by the ſame place where they then lay, to be put into Caniſia, ſetting forth from Babotz two houres before day. Our men thus enformed of the enemies deſignes, forced their hope to defeat them, and againe retired themſelues into their ambuſcado's, attending for their hoped prey, in ſuch ſort, that our men in their *conceits* held the victorie now as good as gained; howbeit, that it was yet but in hope and expectation. And that which more confirmed the matter, was, that within two houres after the *taking* of theſe ſpies, the Haiduckes, layed without the principall ambuſcado, and hidden in the *thi*ckets and buſhes, diſcouered a cornet of horſemen, with fiue enſignes of the Turks, come out of Caniſia, marching to meet with the conuoy, in ſafetie to conduct the ſame in- E to the towne. At which ouerture the Hungarians awaked, gaue knowledge vnto the Generall of the arriuall of the enemie, to the end he might reſolue what was beſt in that caſe to be done. Which opportunitie *Collonitz* embracing, and making much of time, put his horſemen in good order, to encloſe the Turkes betwixt the mariſh and the wood, and to cut them ſo encloſed in pieces. The Turks hauing diſcouered nothing but the mariſhes and the woods, held on their way, and ſo as men hauing their hands and feet bound, fell into the power of their enemies. For beeing come into the danger, the Chriſtian Carabins charged them in the head of their companies as they marched, and diſordered them; The Hungarians fell vpon their flankes, which they opened; and the horſemen preſſed them at their backes. Theſe poore miſerable men ſo encloſed, not knowing againſt whome firſt to defend themſelues, and ſeeing death vpon euerie ſide of them, became as beaſts to bee ſacrificed vnto the furie of the Chriſtians. The ſmall reſiſtance that they made deſerued not the name of a fight, beeing all ſlaine, and hauing themſelues not ſlaine one man; layed by heapes one vpon another, not hauing ouerthrowne ſo much as one of their enemies: In ſuch ſort, that of ſix hundred men that were there together, there were not foure of them ſaued. Their horſemen

Three of the Turkes ſpies taken.

The Turkes by Collonitz ouerthrowne.

which followeth them, ſeeing them ſurpriſed, in ſtead of relieuing them, ſhamefully fled, and
thinking by flight to ſaue themſelues, whileſt that their companions were in maſſacring, preferred G
their liues before their honour: For if it bee a ſhame for ſouldiers in fight to flie with
the ſafetie of their friends, it muſt needs be an irreparable diſhonour to flie and leaue them to
the ſlaughter. But our Carabins taking the occaſion for their aduantage, no more ſpared their
horſes in the purſuit of theſe Infidels, than they had done their hands in the defeating of their
fellowes: but purſuing amaine after theſe fugitiues, ſlew a number of ſuch of them as were
worſt mounted, and purſued the reſt euen to the gates of Caniſia. Thoſe of the towne at this
tumult raiſed an alarme, ſhot off their great artillerie, and diſcharged many vollies of ſmal ſhot
againſt our men, as well to ſtay the purſuit of our men, and to ſaue their owne, as to giue warning
vnto them that were to bring the conuoy, that our men were in the field, ready to ſurpriſe
them. But during this fight, three of the Turks horſemen paſſing well mounted, and exceeding H
hardie, aduentured to paſſe by our troups, and vpon the ſpurre to meet with them which were
bringing of the conuoy, and to giue them warning of the ouerthrow, and that they ſhould
again returne to Babotz. Which their ſo braue an attempt Fortune fauoured, as not willing to
fruſtrat the deſert of ſo well deſeruing valour. And the Turks vpon the way with the conuoy,
now vpon this aduertiſement returned, and retired themſelues againe into the Caſtle from
whence they came.

Babotz in vain beſieged by Colloniz.

But our men aduertiſed of this their retreat, & as it were deceiued of the hope by them conceiued
for the intercepting of the conuoy, vndertooke an exploit much more hautie, braue, &
dangerous: for forthwith they made head toward Babotz, with a reſolution to carry the place; I
and though they were almoſt ſixteene miles from it, yet they reſolued to goe thither, and to
make themſelues maſters therof. And ſo marching cheerfully on, therein vſed ſuch diligence,
that about nine of the clocke at night they arriued at the place: whither they were no ſooner
come, but that they did what they might to daunt their enemies, to make their conqueſt the
more eaſie. The greatneſſe of the attempt it ſelfe ſerued well to that purpoſe, but yet the beleefe
more, if they could driue into their enemies minds the ſufficiencie of their forces, for the
performance of ſo great an exploit. Which cauſed them to ſound their trumpets, to ſtrike vp
their drums, to remooue their artillerie, to ruſſle with their armes, to keepe a ſtirre with their
ſouldiers, and to make the noiſe not of a ſmall, but of a puiſſant and great armie. But the Turks
in number twice ſo many as were our men, and within a good and ſtrong place, were not with K
ſuch a bruit to be carried away, but ſtanding faſt vpon their guard and reſolution, prepared
themſelues for fight, and how to receiue our men, if they ſhould attempt to aſſaile them. Now
whileſt the alarme thus ſounded, our companies aduanced themſelues, repeating oftentimes
the name of *Ieſus*, and making themſelues readie for to fight. This skirmiſh began with a thouſand
cannon ſhot which the Turks out of their Caſtle deliuered vpon the troups of the Chriſtians,
and their muskets ſtill playing from the curtaine of their wals, ſo that the caſtle ſeemed
as if it had been a mountaine of fire. All which terrors no whit ſtaied the hope of our reſolute
footmen, who paſſing thwart theſe flaming ſhowers, marched along the counterſcarp of the
ditch toward the gate of the towne, to haue broken open and forced the ſame. The Turkes at L
the ſame time were come forth out of the towne, making ſhew as if they would haue ſallied
forth vpon our men, and haue fought with them. But at the ſame inſtant that they charged
the front of our footmen, they were by them ſo encountered and beaten backe, that hauing loſt
ſome of their men, they were glad againe to retire into the towne: where they did there endeuor
to defend themſelues, not daring afterward to fight without the fauor of their wals: within
which it ſtood them vpon to haue both courage and power, being ſtill furiouſly aſſailed by
our men, who planted vpon the towne ditch, with their muskets and harquebuſes ſo plied the
Turks vpon their wals and in their holds, as that they durſt not ſhew themſelues or looke out
for the ſhowers of lead which they thundered vpon them. And aſſuredly, if our men had then
had inſtruments wherwith to haue opned the gates or the wals, as wel as their muskets & harquebuſes M
had made a breach into the reſolution of the Turks, the town had vndoubtedly bin
ours: but this deſigne being not before foreſeene, neither intended, wanted the meanes to put
it in execution; ſo that, for want of Petards and of ſcaling ladders, the place remained ſtill the
Turkes, and ſaued it ſelfe out of our hands. In fine, our men hauing beene foure houres in fight

before

A before it, both doing and receiuing harme, and finding no mean to enter the place, were enforced to ſound a retreat, and to leaue it.

In which retreat the Chriſtians burnt certaine villages of the enemies, rather to ſhew that they had beene there, than for any their valour therein: ſeeing that things inſenſible, which follow the order of their nature, are without offence, and they which hurt them without reaſon. This done, they of purpoſe retired to little Comara: for the long time that they had kept the field, the diuers exploits by them done againſt the enemies, and the common report of the vanquiſhed, had ſtirred vp the enemies, ſo that they began now on euery ſide by heapes to flocke together, to ſwallow them vp, and euen now preſſed vpon their retreat. So *Collonitz* in B deſpight of the enemie, in ſafetie brought backe his ſouldiers: and being entered into Comara, cauſed the heads of the principall of the ſlain enemies to be ſet vpon the pikes of the paliſadoes, & vpon a great pine tree ſtanding before the gate, which for this purpoſe had almoſt all the branches lopped off. An action learned from the cruelty of the Turks, and now done by the Chriſtians, more to aſtoniſh and deterre them from this their cruell cuſtome, than for any glorie or profit enſuing thereby: ſeeing that to tyrannize vpon a dead body, is but a ſigne of cowardiſe, and an action altogether vnprofitable.

Collonitz retireth to Comara

This done, our men departed from this caſtle, as men worne, and almoſt ſpent with trauell and wearineſſe, but yet more with famine. For why, they thinking to haue executed but that deſigne which had put them in armes, and that in ſo ſhort a time alſo, had taken no prouiſion of C victuals with them: ſo that they were all pined with hunger, ouercome with watching, and halfe dead with labour. Their horſes alſo in like ſort languiſhed, the countrey being alike cruell both to the one and to the other. For beſide that it was vnfruitfull for ſuch as held the field (all the fruits thereof beeing gathered together and carried into the towns by the men of warre) it was not poſſible for our men to forrage, or to ſeeke for victuall there, and to come to an happie end of their deſigne, for that they had raiſed an alarme abroad in the countrey, and ſo perhaps might themſelues haue become a prey vnto them, whome they ought to prey vpon. Which was the cauſe that our ſouldiers had for the ſpace of three daies eaten nothing but crabbes and acorns which they found in the woods which couered their ambuſhes: ſo that beeing now come vnto this Caſtle, they deuoured a world of victuals, and requeſted D euerie one of them to returne againe vnto their garriſons; their bodies weakened with hunger, beeing ſcarce able to beare their armes. But that was not all; for departing from little Comara, they were aduertiſed, that the Turkes ſhut vp the wayes whereby they were to make their retreat home; in hope eaſily to ouercome men alreadie with hunger brought low, and to kill the bodies which trauell alreadie had ſpent. Howbeit, the great courage of our men fruſtrated this the enemies deſigne, and ſaued themſelues. But ſo farre off was it that this aduertiſement diſmaid *Collonitz*, that euen to the contrarie it the more encreaſed his courage, as appointed for his glory: being glad to haue ſuch an occaſion offered him for the ſhewing of his valor, although it were through the middeſt of danger, death, and ſlaughter. So that in ſtead of ſhunning the combat, whereas it was reported, that the Turks with great aſſurance E marched neere vnto a Caſtle of the Chriſtians, to make head vpon a paſſage whereby our men were to retire; hee turned head toward the ſame place, with a firme reſolution, with true valour vpon the ſudden to encounter the enemie, which had thought to haue ſurpriſed him by cowardiſe. And the ſouldiers, weakened with hunger, although they well apprehended the danger of this deſigne; yet reſting vpon the great reſolution of their Generall, and conſidering the neceſſitie they had to goe farther for their ſafetie, vpon a good courage were content to follow whither ſoeuer their Generall would: who led them directly vnto the aforeſaid Caſtle, where it was expected that the Turkes ſhould haue charged them. But being come thither, there was no bodie to be ſeene: and yet our men, as hungrie as they were, ſtayed there one day in ambuſh, expecting the comming of their enemies; who for all that, hauing no minde to meet them, appeared not, but gaue them time and libertie in ſafetie to F retire themſelues euery man vnto his own garriſon, to refreſh themſelues, and to recouer their ſtrength.

The notable reſolution of Collonitz.

But now whileſt our men of Warre, after theſe troubles in Tranſyluania and Hungarie, repoſe themſelues; let vs in the meane time take our journey to Conſtantinople, and goe vnto the marriage of *Haſſan Baſſa* one of the Viſiers of the Graund Seignior, and laſt yeare Generall of the Turks armie in Hungarie.

At ſuch time as he departed from this great Citie, to goe vnto the conqueſt of Alba-Regalis, [G] *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour, reſolued to ſet all vpon the regaining of this citie, cauſed to be preſented vnto him a Crowne and a Sword, the one in reward of his valour, if hee returned with victorie from this exploit; and the other in reuenge of his cowardiſe, if he failed in the performance thereof: promiſing him indeed his ſiſter in marriage, amongſt other the glorious rewards and trophies of his victorie: and threatning him with death, as a puniſhment amongſt the griefes of his diſhonour. But it came to paſſe, that by the cowardiſe of our men, he came vnto the effect of his deſire (as is aforeſaid) and tooke the citie, which promiſed vnto him the glorious triumph in Conſtantinople.

Haſſan Baſſa after the winning of Alba Regalis honorably receiued at Conſtantinople

And vnder the ſweet influence of this Planet he returned to Conſtantinople, where he found all things in readineſſe for the ſatisfying of [H] his expectation, and the aduancement of his glory. He is magnificently receiued of his Prince, courteouſly ſaluted by all the nobilitie, and with greateſt reuerence poſſible honoured of the people. And as he had happily diſcharged his charge, he found in like manner all things prepared and in readineſſe for the performance of the promiſe of the grand Seignior his Lord and Maſter: who had cauſed them to be in moſt ſumptuous manner prouided for the ſolemnizing of the marriage, and the contentment of the Baſſa.

The Spahi and Ianizaries in mutiny, demãd audience of the great Baſſaes.

But nothing now wanting that hee could haue deſired or wiſhed, more than the very ſolemnizing of the marriage it ſelfe, and that alſo euerie day of all men expected; the Ianizaries and Spahi, with the other ſouldiers of the Court, to the number of fiue and twentie thouſand, euen vpon the ſudden, when as no ſuch thing was feared, came and in armes preſented themſelues before the Diuano, or Tribunall, [I] holden for the chiefe adminiſtration of Iuſtice in the Turkes Palace, the firſt foure dayes in euerie weeke: and hauing ſet guards at the Court gates, the more ſafely to execute what they were before reſolued vpon, proudly demanded to haue audience for certaine of the Spahi and Ianizaries, of whom they had made choice, in the names of them all to deliuer vnto the great Baſſaes their grieuances, and the cauſes of that their aſſemblie Who as ſoone as they were entered into the Diuano before the Baſſaes (of whom the moſt couragious of them was not without feare, as looking for nothing but for preſent death) they at the firſt demanded to haue *Haſſan Baſſa* deliuered vnto them: Who thinking that his head ſhould haue ſerued for a ſacrifice to pacifie this their furie; as a man altogether diſmayed, wan and pale, paſſed through this mutinous multitude, to haue gone vnto the great Sultan, proteſting of his owne [K] innocencie, and calling vpon his Prophet *Mahomet*, to diſcouer vnto them the truth of all things.

Haſſan Baſſa in great feare of his life.

But they, after a thouſand iniuries and reproaches by them heaped vpon him, rudely demanded of him, whence it proceeded, that whileſt hee with a great part of the forces of the Empire was buſied in Hungarie, for the recouering of Alba-Regalis, there was in the meane time no good order taken for the repreſſing of the Rebell in Aſia; who by ſufferance was (as they ſaid) now growne ſo proud, as with Enſignes diſplayed to come within three or foure dayes iourney of Conſtantinople, the Imperiall ſeat of the *Othoman* Emperors. Whereunto hee in no ſmall feare anſwered, That he for his part had done his duetie, as well while hee had the charge of the armie in Aſia, as now of late whileſt hee had the like charge a- [L] gainſt the Chriſtians in Hungarie, as euen the enemies themſelues could witneſſe. But ſeeing himſelfe euen readie to die, hee yet requeſted them, That his guiltleſſe death might bee vnto the State in general profitable: and in diſcharging of his conſcience, to declare vnto them the cauſes of this contempt and neglect, for the ſuppreſſing of the Aſian Rebell, which they were ſo deſirous to know. It proceedeth (ſaid hee) onely from the euill gouernement of the Grand Sultans mother (who then all commanded) and from the negligent careleſneſſe of the Capi-Aga. Which his ſpeech although they with much impatience and ſtorming gaue eare vnto, yet hearing him ſo well to excuſe himſelfe, and to lay the blame there where they were well content it ſhould reſt; they gaue him leaue to goe to the great Sultan, to requeſt him that they might ſpeake with him; and further to deale with him, that they might haue [M] the head of them who had beene the cauſe of this diſhonorable ſeruice, or otherwiſe cowardly behaued themſelues in the managing of the warres againſt the rebels in Aſia: Threatning him withall, That if hee failed to performe this his charge, hee ſhould not faile to feele the heauie effects of their iuſt furie. An heauie charge, yet glad was the Baſſa to vndergoe the ſame, to rid himſelfe out of their hands, where hee ſaw himſelfe in greater danger, amongſt them, A them, moſt of whom had ſometimes ſerued vnder him, than amongſt ſo many his moſt mortal enemies: but what remedie? he muſt now ſo do or die therefore; for which he was the more to be excuſed. So in great feare comming vnto the great Sultan, almoſt as fearefull as himſelfe, he ſhewed vnto him the great danger like euen preſently to enſue, by the mutinie of his beſt ſouldiours, and guarders of his perſon: perſuading him, betime to appeaſe their fury, before they had embrued themſelues with bloud; for feare of further danger like enough to enſue, as well vnto his owne perſon, as vnto the reſt of his moſt faithfull and truſtie Counſellors, from ſuch furious headſtrong men, vp in tumult with their armes in their hands. And although that a Prince ought not for the greatneſſe of his Eſtate to do any thing as thereunto forced by his ſubiects, leſt in ſo doing he might breed in them a contempt of himſelfe, and B increaſe their inſolencie; that yet neuertheleſſe in this action, being altogether extraordinarie, he was not to reſt vpon that point: for that theſe mutinous ſouldiers turned not their weapons (as they pretended) againſt his Imperial power and ſoueraigntie, but rather to the contrarie, againſt the contemners thereof, ſeeking to be reuenged vpon them that had done him ſuch euill ſeruice for the maintenance of his Honour and Majeſtie, and for the puniſhment of the inſolent and diſloyall. And that therefore the juſtice of the cauſe requiring and couering the malice of the fact, he was of opinion, That it were beſt for him to yeeld a little vnto the zeale of theſe his beſt ſouldiers, and to ſatisfie their juſt deſire, although they had by verie euill and vnlawfull meanes ſought for the ſame. And therefore aduiſed his Majeſtie, in ſome ſort to ſatisfie the juſt complaints of theſe men, armed for the reuenge of his honour: and to chaſtiſe C the chiefe Commanders of his Aſian Forces, ſuch as by whoſe treacherie or cowardiſe his ſeruice being neglected, had armed theſe men againſt them: with the ſame hand puniſhing ſuch as had wronged his Majeſtie in honour, and appeaſing the diſcontented for the good of his ſeruice. *Mahomet* thus by the Baſſa perſuaded, as alſo to ſhew himſelfe in his Majeſtie vnto theſe his diſcontented Subiects, one part of their deſire; the neceſſitie of the cauſe ſo requiring, in his Imperial ſeat preſented himſelfe vnto them, accompanied with the Mufti (the great Mahometan Prieſt) and ſome few others of the reuerend Doctors of their Law: who by the Sultan commanded to ſit downe, and the Baſſa's ſtanding vp (ſo great the reſpect is to men of that ſort, euen in a barbarous Nation of ſo ſmall reſpect) the chiefe of the ſeditious ſtepping forth, demanded leaue to ſpeake both for himſelfe and the reſt. Which being granted, he boldly D thus began;

Haſſan Baſſa perſuadeth the Great Sultan to giue way vnto the Ianizaries, and to grant thē their requeſt.

Mahomet by the perſuaſion of Haſſan Baſſa ſheweth himſelfe to the mutinous ſouldiours of the Court.

Moſt happie and mightie Emperour, we the Spahies and Ianizaries thy obedient Slaues, full of griefe and diſcontentment to ſee a great part of thine Empire in danger to be loſt; deſire to know of thee the cauſe why thy Greatneſſe doth not remedie it, and employ the meanes which God hath giuen thee. They ſuppoſe that the Rebels courſes in Aſia are vnto thee vnknowne, ſeeing they haue beene ſo hardie as to come in Armes ſo neere vnto thy Imperial Citie, the place of thine abode, and that without any let or reſiſtance. They deſire to know if all this haue beene made knowne vnto thee, and whether thou wilt take vpon thy ſelfe the care of the gouernment of thy great Monarchie, or no; which through the negligent careleſneſſe and euill gouernment of ſome by thee put in truſt, is like vnto a bodie with great and well proportioned members, but of little or no ſtrength or power. Or elſe, that thou void of care, canſt be content that all ſhould be diſmembred, and ſo euery man to take vnto himſelfe what he can lay hand of, as the rebels do in Aſia.

The proud and rude ſpeech of one of the Mutiniers vnto Mahomet the Great Sultan.

Now let no man maruell at this preſumptuous rude ſpeech of a proud Ianizarie vnto his ſoueraigne: for why, they are the men which may moſt boldly ſpeake in Turky, they are the ſtay of the Turks Empire, the great Sultans children acknowledging no other father but them: nay rather the Great Turke himſelfe is their creature, for they raiſe him vp and confirme him in the Empire: they are his greateſt ſtrength, and vnto them he is moſt beholden. If *Mahomet* were with ſo inſolent a ſpeech much moued, he was not iuſtly to be therefore blamed: howbeit being beſet with ſuch a furious multitude with weapons in their hands, and hauing no meanes to withſtand their fury, he wiſely diſſembled his inward choler, and with a faire countenance and a majeſtie full of mildeneſſe, with the beſt and calmeſt words he could deuiſe, ſought to appeaſe them: imputing the diſorder and euill ſucceſſe of his affaires vnto the vnfaithfulneſſe of his miniſters, and the concealing of the truth thereof from him. Saying more-

Sultan Mahomet with milde words ſeeketh to appeaſe the mutinous ſouldiers of the Court.

ouer, That before this their complaint he had reſolued to reforme theſe matters, and to take C
from them all occaſions of diſcontentment, or for them to vſe any ſuch ſpeech as was not beſeeming
them; whoſe obedience and reſpect of loyal dutie vnto him their Soueraigne, ſhould
haue beene an example vnto the reſt of his ſubiects. Vpon which ſpeech, they fiercely demanded
of *Haſſan Baſſa*, Why he had not giuen an account vnto his Maieſtie, of the Rebels
proceeding in Aſia. Who anſwered, That he had neuer failed of his dutie therein, but that he
had beene alwayes hindered ſo to do by the Capi-Aga; ſaying, That it was not needfull to
trouble him their Soueraigne therewith, (hauing committed theſe matters to others) but to
reforme and amend them as well as they might otherwiſe, without giuing of him any ſuch diſtaſte
concerning theſe matters. And further, That the cauſe of all theſe diſorders proceeded
from the Empreſſe his mother, the Capi-Aga, and ſome few others, vnto whom he had commended H
the mannaging of thoſe his affaires. With which his anſwer the Mutiners more mooued,
furiouſly ſaid, That they were thither aſſembled to demand the heads of ſuch offendors;
being reſolued to take another courſe, if he ſhould refuſe to grant it them: [meaning thereby
to make a new Emperour.] Whereunto for all that, the great Sultan anſwered, That it was no
reaſon, neither that hee would for their humours put ſuch as they demaunded innocently to
death; but willed them to reſt themſelues contented, vntill it might by order of iuſtice be
tried whether they had deſerued death or no, and that then he would giue them euen his owne
ſonne, if he were found culpable. But the mutiners conſtant in their reſolution, againe replied,
That he had not by juſtice put his brethren to death, but for the preſeruation of the State;
and that thoſe whom they ſo demanded were ſo guilty of that wherewith they were charged, I
as that they deſerued not to haue an orderly trial: That the lawes, how juſt ſoeuer, ſhould be
vnprofitable, and juſtice iniurie, if they were not by them to be puniſhed; and that therefore
it muſt needs be ſo, or els that they would take therein a courſe themſelues. As for the Empreſſe
his mother, they were contented that ſhe ſhould be confined vnto ſome place farther
off, and no more to meddle in matters of State. A ſtrange thing it was, to ſee ſo great a Prince
ſo to be forced by the ſedition and mutinie of his ſubiects, to deliuer ſo great an officer of his
Court as was the Capi-Aga, with ſuch others as they required, to be vſed at their diſcretion.
But the violent reſolution of theſe moſt inſolent men ſo vp in mutinie, made the Sultan *Mahomet*
wiſely to yeeld to what they demanded, cauſing the Capi-Aga and the others to be
brought forth; who preſented themſelues vnto their furie as men alreadie halfe dead. *Mahomet* K
did what he might to haue ſaued them, but the mutiners with a great and dreadfull clamour
ſtill cried out to haue them diſpatched, neither could they be appeaſed vntil they ſaw
their heads ſtrucke from their bodies. For the loſſe of whom ſo deere vnto him, *Mahomet* inwardly
grieued, to be in ſome part reuenged commanded the executioner to proceed, and to
do vnto ſome other of the chiefe Baſſa's (whom he knew to be much beloued and reſpected
of the Ianizaries, and whom he could haue been content to haue been rid of) as hee had done
vnto the Capi-Aga and the reſt: but then the murmuring and mutinie of the Ianizaries was
in ſuch ſort increaſed, and as it were redoubled, as that *Mahomet* was for feare forced with
patience to temper his choler, and by giuing way ſo to appeaſe them. The Empreſſe the
Sultans mother for all that was not then confined, but reſerued to the further troubling of the L
State.

Haſſan Baſſa excuſeth himſelfe, and layeth the fault vpon the Empreſſe Mahomet his mother and the Capi-Aga.

The Capi-Aga with ſome others executed.

Mahomet glad to giue way vnto his mutinous ſouldiors.

Other cruelties of Sultan Mahomet.

With like tyrannie, and no leſſe injuſtice, *Mahomet* but a few dayes before had cauſed *Capin*
one of his great Baſſa's to be beheaded; but whether it were for the deſire he had of his
wealth and riches, or for the enuy of his honor and valor, was vncertaine: howbeit the former
cauſe ſeemed vnto many to be the more probable, for that *Mahomet* immediatly after his death
tooke the whole ſpoile of his wealth, and ſeiſed vpon all his goods except 400000. duckets,
which *Caly Baſſa* father of the dead Baſſa had detained for himſelfe. Which his purloyning
Mahomet hauing diſcouered (as the eye of the couetous man is alwayes fixed vpon his prey)
demanded one day of the Baſſa, If it were true that he had retained vnto himſelfe thoſe 400000 M
duckets. Which fact the Baſſa, partly for feare, and partly for couetouſneſſe conſtantly denied,
and ſwore himſelfe to be guiltleſſe from any ſuch crime. Whereupon he was forthwith taken,
and thinking by lying to haue ſaued his life, was for the truth put to death, without any
further examination of the matter, hauing his head ſtruck off. Such is the ſmall aſſurance euen
of the greateſt that liue in tyrants courts. Neither reſted his greedie minde ſo contented with

the Baſſaes bloud; for why, that ſerued but for a ſhew; it was his wealth muſt worke that cure, which was all forthwith ſeiſed vpon, rifled, and carried away to ſatisfie in effect the greedy appetite of the hungrie tyrant, who changed the dowrie and ſucceſſion of the wife and children of the dead Baſſa, into bonds, chaines, priſons, and ſlaueries.

Mahomet Baſſa by the Ianizaries ſlaine.

Mahomet another Baſſa with theſe cruelties diſmaied, and perceiuing the like euill hap and danger to hang ouer his owne head, that had ouerwhelmed *Calil* and his ſonne; reſolued to haue prouided for himſelfe againſt this miſchiefe, by flying vnto the rebels in Aſia. But this his purpoſe diſcouered by certaine ſpies (which ſerue as means to open a way vnto the Turks crueltie) and he with one of the chiefe followers of *Capin Baſſa* taken by the Ianizaries, were both by them cut in pieces.

The ſucceſſe of the rebels in Aſia.

But whileſt theſe things thus paſſed at Conſtantinople, the rebels with all diligence proſecuted their rebellion in Aſia, and bent their forces againſt the great townes there. Their army was exceeding great, euery man ioyning himſelfe vnto the firſt forces which were in good eſtate, being not as yet by any greater power repreſſed, and rich with the ſpoiles that they had taken. Theſe men had beſieged Angore a great and ſtrong towne in Aſia, and ſeemed reſolutely ſet downe for the carrying thereof. Whereof the citiſens being afraid, and out of hope of reliefe, came to parly, offering vnto them a ſum of money to redeeme themſelues and their citie: and ſo in fine agreed to giue them 200000 Duckats; vpon the readie payment whereof, the rebels without more adoe preſently departed.

Shortly after, the new Captaines of Sultan *Mahomet* arriued there alſo, whom he had placed in the places of them whom he had before executed for the appeaſing of the ſouldiers of the court, who would needs make it treaſon, and put to death the citiſens, for hauing giuen ſuch money as is aforeſaid, vnto the rebels, though it were done for the preſeruation of their liues: as if the lawes were to be reſpected in the horrours of neceſſitie, or that life were to become a ſlaue vnto riches, and riches not made for the vſe of mans life. Well, needs they would for this ſuppoſed treaſon (as they pretended) haue put them to death, and ſacked their citie; but indeed all was in their greedie furie to haue carried away that which the rebels had in their mercie left them. Theſe poore citiſens with this ſo cruell a reſolution diſmayed, and out of all hope of finding fauour at ſuch mercileſſe mens hands, reſolued now to hazard all, and ſo vpon the ſudden taking vp armes, ſtood vpon their owne defence. Hereupon aroſe a great and cruell fight betwixt theſe ſouldiers and the citiſens, both the ſubiects of one Prince, and all of them of one and the ſelfeſame ſuperſtition: but the one ſide armed with pride and couetouſneſſe, and the other with neceſſitie and deſpaire: howbeit at laſt the iuſter cauſe preuailing, the citiſens ouercame theſe new come ſouldiers, and hauing ſlaine a great number of them, chaſed the reſt out of the citie. This euill encounter of theſe new Captaines euen at the firſt enterance into their charges, giuen them by the ſubiects themſelues, encreaſed the rebels courage, ſo that they being in number fortie thouſand, vnder the leading of one of the Tartar Han his brethren, beſieged Burze a great and rich Citie, being the ſtore-houſe for the warlike prouiſions of Aſia, and the place whereunto the Turkes cuſtomes, taxes, and ſubſidies of Aſia were brought, and there kept. Theſe men after certaine dayes beſtowed in the ſiege, and great reſiſtance made by the beſieged, at length by force carried the place, ſlew the inhabitants, and ſacked the citie. Which exploit gracing their fortune with honour and bootie, increaſed alſo their power and reputation, ſo that redoubled on all ſides, and increaſed with courage and ſpoyles, *Mahomet* diſmaied, reſolued by faire meanes to appeaſe them, and to entreat with them of peace. This good fortune had drawne vnto their part the Gouernor of Babylon, either wearie of the ſeruice of the Turke, or deſirous by the ruine of the State in generall, to increaſe his owne power: whoſe reuolt greatly increaſed the rebels power, and diminiſhed the grand Seigniors. Beſide theſe miſhaps alſo, the great Shaugh of Perſia (commonly called the Sophi) thruſting himſelfe into theſe diſorders, to make his gaine, and to fiſh (as they ſay) in a troubled water, had now taken Corbery, a ſtrong town vpon the borders of the Turks empire, and was making himſelfe ready for new conqueſts. All which tempeſts ariſing as it were in one together, cauſed *Mahomet* to ſtrike ſaile, and maugre his Imperiall dignity and honor, to ſeek for peace; which indeed could not be great in ſuch weakneſſe of his nature, neither braue in ſuch his great want of courage. For great dignities and honors without valor to maintaine them, are but like rich garments which couer bodies almoſt rotten, but heale them not.

The Turkes together by the eares among themſelues.

Mahomet deſirous to come to ſome good agreement with his rebellious ſubiects,at length(but not without his great diſhonour)obtained the ſame;granting to them all their demands,diſarming them by yeelding vnto them, and not by valour: and giuing vnto ***Zellalie*** one of their chiefetaines, the honourable place of the Baſſa of Boſna,to content his ambition,and to binde him therewith to doe his ſeruice. The readie way by ſufferance to encreaſe the diſloyall ſubiects courage, in ſtead of ſtopping their furie by the ſeueritie of Iuſtice: for to grace a rebell with offices of authoritie,is but to arme him with lawfull power,for him the better to vndertake whatſoeuer ſhall beſt fit his appetite and deſire,vpon the hope of his owne priuat and certaine profit or aduancement.

The captaines and ſouldiers murmure againſt their Sultan Mahomet.

Mahomet his other captains and men of war,ſeeing this diſhonorable peace of their Prince, and preferment of the rebels,honored with honors and dignities,in ſtead of paines and puniſhments which they ſhould of right haue for their rebellion indured; began to enter into great murmuring and diſcontentment againſt their great Sultan. They conſidered his vniuſt dealing and baſe feare,in aduancing the rebels vnto ſuch honors and dignities,as of right belonged vnto his moſt faithful and loyall officers and ſeruants, by ſuch their vnworthie preferments making them ſlaues vnto his enemies, and vaſſals vnto the rebels: they, to their diſhonour and loſſe,by their inſolencie and treacherie,inioying the honours and preferments of right due vnto their faithfull and loyall ſeruices. Which dangerous perſuaſions tranſported them ſo far from their allegeance and dutie, as to vndertake a greater and more perillous matter againſt his crowne and dignitie, than had the rebels before by taking vp of armes in the field againſt him, whereunto the aſſured knowledge they had of his cowardiſe encouraged them alſo: ſo that their reſolution was to thruſt him out of his Imperiall State,and to ſet vp his eldeſt ſon called alſo *Mahomet* in his place. Theſe are the ordinarie effects of iniuſtice and cowardiſe, the ouerthrow of Princes; their iniuſtice through crueltie arming all creatures againſt them; and their cowardiſe through contempt diſpenſing with euery man for his dutie: ſo that hee muſt bee iuſt, that will keepe his ſubiects in order; and valiant, that muſt hold them in awe.

Mahomet in danger to haue beene depoſed from his empire and his eldeſt ſon ſet vp in his place.

Vnto theſe diſcontentments theſe mutiners ioyned alſo (as I ſaid) the ſlothfulneſſe, effeminatneſſe,and inſufficiency of ***Mahomet***,vnfit to deale in matters of eſtate,and altogether vnable to manage armes. He was too cowardly,as they thought,to repreſſe their valor by force, and too weake to croſſe their deſignes by wiſedome: which not a little encouraged them in that their ſo deſperat and dangerous a reſolution. They drew alſo into this their plot the Sultaneſſe ***Mahomet*** his chiefe wife, and mother to the yong Prince: who blinded with ambition (the bane of great ſpirits) had not the hap to reiect their perſuaſions,as dangerous vnto her and her ſon,but ſhutting her eies againſt the due conſideration of loyaltie and duty, caſt both herſelſe and her ſonne headlong into the midſt of moſt deſperat dangers.

This proiect (of no leſſe importance, than of the depoſing of one of the greateſt Monarchs of the World) reſolued vpon, ſome of theſe men,according to the manner of the Turkes,ioyning ſuperſtition vnto their deſignes,conſulted with an Aſtrologer,concerning the ſucceſſe of the actions of the young Prince, whome they were about to enſtall in his fathers Imperiall throne. This man to be excuſed in his trumperies, ſeeing that to deceiue is the chiefe point of his art, erected the figure of the Princes natiuitie,conſulted with his ſpirits,conſidered the cœleſtial bodies,and in fine arriued at the point of his iudgement,for the good and welfare of the Prince: and thereupon diſpatched an Eunuch towards the Sultaneſſe, with theſe pleaſing ſpeeches, That ſhe ſhould be of good courage,and in aſſured hope that the young Prince her ſonne within a few daies ſhould haue the Imperiall crowne ſet vpon his head, and the royall ſcepter put into his hand: his art (as he ſaid) promiſing vnto him theſe honours, by the fauor of the cœleſtiall bodies, of whome he had learned theſe newes; and by the conference with ſpirits, from whom hee had this aſſurance. But ô the vaine and fooliſh knowledge of man againſt God! attributing vnto the ſecond cauſes, that which altogether belongeth vnto his owne power; robbing him of his owne prouidence,which extendeth ouer all,to giue the ſame vnto creatures, which neither haue their owne beeing,neither are able of themſelues to bring forth,or to worke any effects at all without it! and that more is, to giue certaine credit vnto the enemie of all faith and beliefe,euen to the Father of leaſing,who taketh as much glorie in falſhood,as God himſelfe doth in truth; as being the proper marke of his power. For it chan-

A ced that theſe letters ſent by the Eunuch to the Sultaneſſe, were intercepted & brought vnto *Mahomet* the great Sultan, whom they moſt concerned: whereupon it ſo fel out, that he which tooke vpon him to foretell the long life and empire to befall to another man, could not foreſee the end of his own life, which followed him faſt, euen at the heeles, being himſelfe by the commaundement of the great Sultan, with the young prince, the Eunuch, and fiftie others of the conſpirators, & ſuch as were conſenting vnto the conſpiracie, moſt cruelly ſtrangled, and the Sultaneſſe her ſelfe drowned. Howbeit ſome report this yong Prince to haue bin ſtrangled vpon ſuſpicion of conſpiring againſt his father, with the rebels of ASIA: which after his death being found not to be ſo, the Baſſa which put that ſuſpicion into *Mahomets* head, to haue bin therefore worthily hanged. But with theſe contentments taken from the croſſes B of our enemies, let vs againe returne vnto HVNGARIE.

Mahomet cauſeth his eldeſt ſonne, with diuers others to be ſtrangled.

The laſt yeare ended with the great bruit of the comming of the Tartar Han, with a great army into HVNGARIE, and now he had diſpatched his Embaſſadors towards the king of POLONIA, to demand of him tribute, and paſſage through his countrie. Great and proud demands to be both at once required. But the King of POLONIA requited him againe with the like, denying him both the one and the other, roughly anſwering of his threats. Which ſo reſolute and blunt a refuſall, cauſed the proud tyrant to change his intended courſe, & for feare of being defeated by the Polonians in paſſing through their countrie, (as the Tartars had often beene) before he could come into HVNGARIE, tooke another way, and turned with his Armie toward VALACHIA. Of whoſe comming *Radul* the Vayuod vnderſtanding, and C that beſide the forraging of his countrie, they had a purpoſe to diſplace him, & to ſet vp another Vayuod in his ſtead; with great diligence gathered together the greateſt power that he could, and ſo marched vnto the borders of his country, there to attend the comming of theſe Tartars, and to ſtay them from entring. Which in effect fell out according to his deſire, for the barbarous people beeing arriued, and attempting with all their force to haue entred, were by this little armie encountred; which commanding the countrey, tooke all the aduantages of the ſtrait paſſages, and there notably repulſed the fierce enemie. Two of the firſt encounters fel out fortunately vnto the Valachians, who therein ſlew about 3000 of the Tartars; whoſe auantgard for all that ſtill came on, and at the third encounter ſo long maintained the fight, that their whole Armie was now come in; and hardly charged the Valachians; whoſe fortune ſurcharged, began then to change, the hardie beeing conſtrained to bow vnder the multitude, & valor forced to yeeld vnto number. Which was not done without a long and cruel fight, both armies encountring with great courage and furie, the one for the defence of their countrie, and the other for an entrance vnto their conqueſts. Howbeit the ſtrong enemie at length preuailed, and entring into VALACHIA, brought in with it ruine, death, and deſtruction.

The Polonian denieth the Tartars paſſage through his countrie, into Hungarie.

Diuers hard cōflicts betwixt the Tartars & the Valachies in their paſſage through Valachia.

The Tartars hauing by force thus opened themſelues a way through VALACHIA, and grieuouſly ſpoyled the countrie, were come with their armie to QVINQVE ECCLESIÆ, a town in HVNGARIE, to ioyne their forces with *Haſſan Baſſa*, now after his marriage returned into this countrey with a great armie to continue his charge: who cauſed the Tartars to bee muſtred in his preſence, and found them to be fortie thouſand ſtrong. Men of great courage againſt the weake, but meere cowards before the couragious: who in ſtead of aſſaulting the walls of any ſtrong towne, fell vpon the cottages of poore countrey villages, ranſacking and pilling the poore inhabitants, as well in the villages of the territories ſubiect vnto the Turks, as in the territories of the Chriſtians; conſtraining the poore people, contrarie to their conſcience, and to the preiudice of their faith, to ſweare to ſerue the Turke: Beſides that, they enforced them to furniſh them with all warlike prouiſion and munition, which they put into CANISA, but a while after that our men had defeated the Garriſon there. Neither were they ſo contented, all the neighbours beeing thereabouts ſubiect to this tempeſt: for they paſſed into STIRIA with their families, and ouerran a part of that Prouince, ſpoyling it of men, cattell, & goods; leauing in ſtead of them, deſtruction, miſerie, and death; and carried away with them two thouſand poore Chriſtians for ſlaues, whom they ſold vnto the Turks, and made great profit of them. From thence they went into the Countrey of SHAVARIE, embruing themſelues with the bloud of the Chriſtians, rifling their Villages, and after that burning them; carrying away with them a thouſand Chriſtian captiues into moſt miſerable

The Tartars in Hungarie.

Great ſpoyle made by the Tartars in Hungarie, Stiria, & Shauarie.

Collonitz oppoſeth his forces againſt the Tartars.

bondage and ſlauerie. Which cruell outrages afterward thruſt the valiant Colonell *Collonitz* G into the field, againſt theſe barbarous people, to ſtay their incurſions, and to defeat them if he could.

This worthie Commander had but a few dayes before been much troubled in appeaſing the French light horſemen in garriſon in the villages about ROQVESBVRG, riſen vp in mutinie for their pay: whoſe hot and moued ſpirits he by his wiſedome ſo calmed, as that they were content againe to be ſworne to the Emperor, and ſo ioyned themſelues vnto the armie of *Collonitz*, which was then 10000 good men ſtrong.

In the meane time, the Tartars greedie of prey, and ſtill ſeeking after bootie, ranſackt and ſpoyled fiue and twentie countrey villages about VERADIN; all which they afterward burned alſo, carrying away with them a great bootie both of men and cattell, no man reſiſting H them. At which time other companies of them alſo inuading the Countie *Serin* his Iſland as farre as RACKENSPVRGE, made in it great ſpoyle, as had their fellowes elſewhere, and beſide other bootie, carried away with them two thouſand Chriſtian Captiues. Theſe outrages of the Tartars armed the Countie on the one ſide, and *Collonitz* on the other; who couragiouſly oppoſing themſelues againſt theſe Barbarians, for a time ſtayed their incurſions, they not daring to abide the force of this little Armie, ſufficient enough for the valour thereof, to haue ouerthrowne that of their enemies, for number dreadfull. This made them to turne their courſe another way into SCLAVONIA, beeing in number fiue and thirtie thouſand men, leauing nothing behind them there but death and deſolation, for the number of priſoners and great booties which they carried from thence. Amongſt other their ſpoyles, it was I their fortune by the way to meet with ſixe hundred of the Chriſtian ſouldiers, of whome not one eſcaped their hands, but were ſlaine euery mothers ſonne. At length it ſo fortuned, that certaine of their Troupes in roaming abroad, fell into the danger of the Countie *Serin*, who with his Followers ſtill houered aloofe off, for feare to bee of their great multitude ouerwhelmed: a part whereof now falling into his hands, were by his ſoldiers ouerthrowne and all cut in pieces, and a number of Chriſtian Captiues by them taken, deliuered out of chaines, and ſet at libertie. Which exployt was greater for the feare it brought vpon the Enemie, than for the ſlaughter there made. For the Tartars, ſtill in doubt to meet againe with the Chriſtian Troupes (who left not one of them aliue that they could light on) were glad now to keepe themſelues cloſer together, and ſo did a great deale the leſſe harme K than when they without feare roamed vp and downe at their pleaſure: ſo that euen by this little victorie the Countrey receiued ſome comfort, and the Earle greater honour; Small helpes beeing infinite Treaſures in time of neceſſitie, which out of it would not bee to bee reckoned of.

The Tartars repreſſed by countie Serin.

The Garriſon Souldiers of CANISIA, of late defeated by *Collonitz* in going to meet the Conuoy comming towards them with victuals (as is before declared) the reſt of the Garriſon deſirous to be reuenged, were conſulting of the meanes how to bring the ſame to paſſe. It fortuned that at the ſame time there was a fugitiue Chriſtian Soldier in the towne, who made ſhew of a man male-content, deſirous to turne Turke: of whom the Turks made much reckoning, for that he ſeemed to know much of the deſignes of the Chriſtians, and the meanes how to croſſe them: Whereof hee ſo aſſured them, as if the matter had been now alreadie done; promiſing to bring them euen into the middeſt of the Chriſtian Campe, and to deliuer it into their hands and power. Howbeit his meaning was nothing leſſe; for ſeeing the Turkes much buſied with carrying in of victualls into the Caſtle, brought into the Towne after the ouerthrow of their Fellowes before ſent forth for the bringing in thereof, and wholly intentiue to that buſineſſe; knowing the place in the Caſtle where the powder and munition lay, hee at the ſame time by a traine layd fire thereunto, and afterward, amiddeſt the tumult and the ſturre, by a loope hole in the wall, got himſelfe out of the Towne, and came to *Collonitz*, who with his Troupes lay neere there by in ambuſh, expecting the opportunitie to performe ſome notable exployt vpon the ſucceſſe of ſo dangerous an aduenture, whereunto hee had before beene made priuie. Neither fayled the fire any thing of the accuſtomed violence thereof, but ſeemed rather to redouble the ſame, it had ſo ſuddenly conſumed the Buildings, Munitions, and perſons. All the place felt the furie thereof; the Cannons, Cannoniers, Souldiers, and whatſoeuer elſe, was ſubiect vnto

A notable exployt done by a fugitiue Chriſtian.

A vnto this dreadfull blaſt: all was ſhaken and turned vpſide downe, yea the fire burſt out of the caſtle, and burnt the greateſt part of the towne alſo. There was a confuſion of feare, miſhap, and miſerie together, the terror whereof cauſed many of the Turkes to caſt themſelues ouer the walls, in hope ſo to haue ſaued their liues: but whileſt they thought ſo to haue eſcaped the danger of the fire, they preſently fell vpon the edge of the ſword: for meeting with the ſouldiers of *Collonitz* (who lying in ambuſh neere thereby, awaited the opportunitie in that ſo confuſed a tumult, to haue ſeiſed vpon the place) they were all either taken priſoners, or ſlaine. But ſee the hap, how one croſſe chance of fortune ouerthrew this ſo notable a deſigne, as had it beene well followed, might in one moment haue recouered that ſtrong place, which had before for the ſpace of many dayes endured the greateſt forces of the *Otho-* B *man* Emperour; neither yet was then ſo loſt, but through the infamous treacherie of our owne men.

A faire opportunitie for the recouerie of Canſia, ouerſlipped through the diſloyalty of the French & Wallons.

You haue heard before, how that *Collonitz* had by faire perſuaſions, rather than by true effects, appeaſed the French men and Wallons, vp in mutinie for their pay; ſo that by him perſuaded, they had againe giuen their oath of fidelitie vnto the Emperour, and to follow his Armie. But now when Occaſion ſerued, and held out as it were both her armes vnto the Chriſtians, for the regaining and conqueſt of Canisia, theſe French men and Wallons, the greateſt part of *Collonitz* his ſtrength, iniuriouſly refuſed her ſo faire an offer; and at ſuch time as they ſhould rather haue fought naked, than haue failed in their dutie, (it beeing to haue gained a moſt great and rich conqueſt) for want of pay (as they pretended) turned their C backes, and being by no intreatie or perſuaſions to bee mooued, to the diſcouragement of the reſt, who were better minded, and their owne eternall infamie, withdrew themſelues from the Armie. So that *Collonitz* rather by the wicked vnfaithfulneſſe of his owne diſloyall ſouldiers, than by the valour of his enemies, diſappoynted of his purpoſe, was to his great diſcontentment, contrarie to that he hoped, enforceed to retyre without any thing more doing.

The Tartars defeated by the Huſſars of the Lord Nadaſti.

While this exployt, ſo well begun, but euill performed, was in hand, the Turkes and Tartars aſſembled together, made a cruell ſpoyle in the country about Rab, euen almoſt vnto the Gates of the Towne, carrying away with them a great number both of men and beaſts. In fine, it chanced that the Huſſars of the Lord *Nadaſti* came that way, who vnderſtanding D what had happened, with all ſpeed made after theſe Robbers, ouertooke them in their retreat neere vnto Alba Regalis, ſlew a great number of them, and inforced the reſt to leaue a great part of their prey behind them. With which bootie recouered euen out of *the Lyons* mouth, they returned to Rab; of whom the poore inhabitants and country people, with teares ſtanding in their eyes, requeſted to haue againe their own goods. But War, the enemie of Charitie, and nurſe of barbarous Crueltie, had ſo hardned the hearts of theſe men of Warre, as that they were not to bee mooued to reſtore them their Cattell againe, but that they muſt redeeme them for preſent money, which they did, and ſo receiued them.

Now the noble *Collonitz* ſeeing himſelfe ſo ſhamefully forſaken of his owne Souldiers, and diſappointed of his purpoſe, and the Turkes and Tartars in great numbers comming to the reliefe and repairing of this ſo ſore ſhaken towne; and out of hope to do any good thereon, full of griefe and indignation returned towards Comora. And howbeit that euill happe had cruelly fruſtrated the glorie of his enterpriſe, yet the Heauens, in deſpight of Fortunes frowne, left not this noble and valiant Captaine altogether without honour, but as amorous of his vertues and valour, preſented vnto him in this Winter of Fortunes diſpleaſure, ſome trophies of glorie. For vpon the way as he was returning home he met with 2000 Turkes, whom after ſome ſmall reſiſtance he cut all in pieces; miſerable ſacrifices, appointed vnto the furie of his wrath. In this fight their enſignes were all taken, and a number of priſoners, the chief of whom, together with the Enſignes, he ſent to Pragve, as a Preſent for the Emperour, and a token of his good ſeruice.

2000 Turks defeated by Collonitz.

The report then was, That the Turkes and Tartars with their vnited forces had forraged Sclavonia, taken diuers ſtrong holds, burnt a number of villages, and carried away eight thouſand Chriſtians priſoners, beſide a great number moe ſlaine with the ſword, or conſumed with fire, and all the Cattell of the Country driuen away; and that being with this bootie come to QVINQVE ECCLESIÆ, they had there receiued command with *Mahomet Baſſa*, G to beſiege COMORA, and that all the Commanders of the Turkes Armie were thereupon reſolued. All which reports no whit diſmayed the valiant *Collonitz*, or any thing altred his deſignes; but hauing fortified COMORA againſt the intended ſiege of the Turkes, and taken from thence foure culuerins, according to a former purpoſe by himſelfe intended, reſolued now to take from the Turkes the caſtles of LOQVA and BOVLONNEVAR, the garriſons whereof greatly annoyed the territories of the Chriſtians, and hindred the deſignes of this great Captaine. Theſe two Caſtles are ſcituate vpon a great mariſh which ſeperateth HVNGARIE from RASCIA, and are therefore as bounders of Hungarie, and ſtrong enough to be defended againſt a ſmall armie.

The caſtle of Loqua beſieged by Collonitz.

Vpon which reſolution he ſet forward with his ſmall and valiant power, and the fourth H day arriued within the ſight of LOQVA, a Caſtle well manned, and furniſhed with all things neceſſarie for the defence thereof. The army lodged, *Collonitz* with a drum ſummoned the beſieged to yeeld vp the place, with promiſes of curteſie if they ſhould now accept of the ſame whileſt it was offred them: Which they ſtoutly refuſed to doe, ſwearing to the contrary, That they would die and liue within thoſe their walls. *Collonitz* ſeeing them ſo reſolued, firſt cauſed a Mill to be aſſaulted, which placed ouer againſt the caſtle, and well fortified, ſerued it in ſtead of a bulwarke, and ſeemed hard to be taken: howbeit his men, loath to haue their good fortune euen in the beginning checked, gaue thereunto ſo braue an aſſault, that after the enemie had done what he could for the defence thereof, they became maſters of the I place, carried it, and therein lodged: but finding it dangerous to bee kept, and to ſtand them in ſmall ſtead, they ſet it on fire, and afterward planted foure Culuerins in batterie before the Caſtle. But as they were thus buſied, the Turkes couragiouſly ſallied out vpon them, not doubting to aduenture themſelues, for the hope they had to bee in ſhort time by their great Armie relieued. In this ſallie they met afront with the Haiduckes, whom they fiercely charged, and ſo gauled them, that hauing ſlaine thirtie of them, they retyred without any loſſe, forthwith diſcharging ſo many thundring ſhot and arrowes vpon our men, as that they well knew not how to ſaue themſelues from the danger of them, in ſuch ſort, that all the ways to approch the place being ſtopped, they began to deuiſe how to ſet the caſtle on fire: Which they by certaine fire-works attempted, but to ſmal purpoſe, the fire being no ſooner kindled, K but that it was forthwith by the Turkes quenched. This done, and our men diſappointed of their hope, they deuiſed to ſet fire vpon the timber which ioyned the paliſado to the Caſtle ſtretching toward the port. Which their attempt ſorted but to ſmall effect alſo, the fire burning but ſlowly to do the enemies any great harme. All which deuices failing, they reſolued by plaine force to aſſault the Caſtle, and to ſcale the ſame: which enterpriſe reſolued vpon, the Haiduckes carrying before them certaine ſtrong and thicke plankes of wood, in ſtead of targuets, to defend them from the ſmall ſhot and arrowes of their enemies; by this deuice gained the paliſado placed vpon the ditch: and being there in ſome ſafetie, with their muſkets and harquebuſies ſo applied the beſieged, that they draue them from their curtaines, and made that they durſt no more ſhew themſelues vpon the walls. And immediately after, two companies of the Haiduckes placed ten ladders againſt one of the towers of the Caſtle, and ſo with their Enſignes in their hands couragiouſly mounted the ladders, in hope to haue gained the place: but the Turkes as men reſolued to liue and die in their caſtle, valiantly repulſed thoſe Haiduckes, and by force drew in vnto them from off the ladders, the two Enſigne-bearers of the Haiduckes, whoſe heads they cut off, and caſt them downe vnto their fellows, which were yet comming vp the ladders; and the two Enſignes ſo gained vpon the wals, they placed in the middeſt of their owne, as the trophies of the ſpoyles of them who would haue ſpoyled them. With which ſo great courage of the enemies, and death of their fellowes, our men not a little diſmayed, kept themſelues cloſe at the foot of the wall, as afraid any further to force the place, which to their loſſe they ſaw ſtored with ſuch valiant men to defend it.

Notable reſiſtance made by the beſieged Turkes.

Collonitz perceiuing this diſcomfiture of theſe men, and wel aſſured that the caſtle was not but by valor to be woon, immediatly drew out of euerie companie of the County *Ringraue*, cer-

A certaine of the beſt and moſt reſolute Souldiours to renew the aſſault: Which ſo honourable a charge they cheerefully vndertooke, and as men of courage, began forthwith to mount the ladders. Which the Haiduckes beholding, againe tooke courage, and partly aſhamed of themſelues, and partly to be partakers of the ſpoyle and prey, if they ſhould preuaile, did what they might for the winning of the place, ſtriuing now who ſhould doe beſt. Which aſſault was with ſuch furie and preaſe of men maintained, that the Turkes not able longer to withſtand ſo great forces, were conſtrained to yeeld both themſelues and their Caſtle vnto the furie of their angrie enemies. Which caſtle indeed coſt much Chriſtian bloud, but yet more of the Turks: for the Haiduckes armed with rage and reuenge, ſlew almoſt all in the caſtle, as well Raſcians as Turks, and tooke the reſt priſoners. Among others there was an Hun-B garian renegate there taken, whom for haſt they beheaded, beeing not at leiſure to empaile him, the ordinarie puniſhment for ſuch faithleſſe miſcreants. But during this ſpoyle made by men chafed with furie, the wind and fire were on their part exerciſing of their rage alſo. For the fire which they had caſt vpon the paliſado, and which they had before neglected, as of little or no force, now increaſed with the wind, by little and little getting hold of one thing after another, hauing burnt the paliſado, got hold of the caſtle alſo; whereunto the Souldiours (loaded with prey and bootie, the things they moſt deſired) had no regard at all: ſo that the fire vtterly conſumed the Caſtle, with whatſoeuer elſe had eſcaped their greedie hands.

The Caſtle of Loqua by the Chriſtians take and ſacked.

The Turkes in garriſon at Bovlovvenar (a fortreſſe but a league diſtant from this burnt C Caſtle) ſeeing theſe flames of fire, and doubting what might beſide themſelues, began to conſult what courſe were beſt for them to take, as either to attend the comming of the enemie, and ſo to abide the chance of warre, or elſe betimes to prouide for themſelues by flight: the conſideration of their honour and dutie perſuaded them to ſtay, but the ruine of their neighbours, as ſtrong and valiant as themſelues, perſuaded them otherwiſe. In fine, the care of the preſeruation of their liues preuailed, and the reſolution was, That they ſhould flie. And ſo putting all their houſhold-ſtuffe and goods into certaine boats there readie vpon the Lake, they by the middeſt thereof fled: fooliſhly perſuading themſelues, that our men comming thither, and finding nothing there, would not long there ſtay, but bee gone; after whoſe departure they might as they thought returne againe vnto their old dwellings, and in the meane time hid themſelues in the mariſh, vntill that the enemie were paſt. But our men comming thither, and finding no man in the Caſtle, neither yet any thing elſe that could wel be carried away, wondered to ſee that there were any men ſo cowardly, as for feare to abandon ſuch a place, as for the ſtrength thereof might haue beene an example to others to ſtand vpon their guard and defence, they ſought out euery corner thereabout, to find out whither the Turkes were fled. At laſt after much diligent ſearch, they found certaine boats which the Turkes had ſunke in the channell neere vnto the caſtle gate, which cauſed them to thinke that they were fled by water, and happely were in ſome place not far off. Theſe boats were forthwith drawne vp out of the water, and found furniſhed with oares and ſuch other things as belonged vnto them. Which done, *Collonitz* choſe out certaine of the moſt valiant and reſolute of the Haiducks, whom he commanded in thoſe boats to follow after the Turks in the Lake. Who accuſtomed to ſuch exployts, and not ignorant of the places and ſecrets of their Countrie, went aboord, and did as they were commanded. Neither had they gone paſt two leagues vpon the lake, but that they diſcouered a party of theſe fugitiues hid in a little iſland, awaiting the end of this tempeſt, to recouer againe that which they had forſaken. The Turks diſmayed with the ſight of theſe men, and forced by neceſſitie ſtand vpon their guard, welcommed them with certaine little faulcon ſhot which they brought with them in their boats, thinking to haue hindered them from landing. But they were too well acquainted with ſuch muſick, to be moued therewith: beſides that, the deſire of the booty, which was by the Turks brought out of the caſtle into the iſle, exceedingly animated them for the gaining thereof, ſo that al fear of danger ſet apart, they landed in the Iſle. Whom ſo landing, the Turks with great courage receiued; ſo that betwixt them was fought a greater fight than is for ſo ſmal a number on both ſides to be beleeued, only valor and not number holding the ballance of the victorie. But in the end, the chiefe of the Turkes, and he which was their gouernour in Bovlovvenar, ſlaine, the reſt diſcouraged came to parley, yeelding themſelues with

The Turkes for feare forſake the Caſtle of Bonlouuenar.

The Turkes fled out of the caſtle of Boulouuenar ſurpriſed and ouerthrowne.

their wiues and children, and all that they had, as a prey vnto the victors. The priſoners were G brought backe againe vnto the Caſtle, vntill the next day, that our men hauing put a good and ſtrong garriſon of foure hundred Haiduckes, and two hundred Huſſars into BOYLOWINAR, with their priſoners, and their bootie returned toward COMORA: where they, notwithſtanding diuers reports of the aſſembly of the Turks garriſons for the ſurpriſing of them vpon the way, in ſafetie arriued, with a rich bootie, and a number of wagons loaded with the ſpoiles of their enemies. The emperour had for his part thirteene enſignes, beſide the places woon; which being nigh vnto CANISIA, much bridled the ſpoylings and incuſions of that garriſon.

Moyſes by Baſta ouerthrown flyeth vnto his ſtrong caſtle of Solomoſe.

He with his wife and familie flieth vnto the Turkes.

But leauing theſe endleſſe troubles of HVNGARIE for a while, let vs now again looke into TRANSILVANIA, to ſee what they there do. *Moyſes* the rebel by *Baſta* the Emperors lieutenant (as we haue before ſaid) ouerthrowne, and diſappointed of his hope, betooke himſelfe H vnto a ſtrong caſtle of his owne, called SOLOMOSE, there in feare attending the final ſucceſſe of his affaires. *Baſta* in the meane time being as wiſe to make vſe of his victorie, as he was valiant to obtaine the ſame, ſubdued the reſt of the countrie, repreſſed the rebels, ſtopped the way of ſedition, and put *Moyſes* in diſpaire of all ſafetie. Who ſeeing himſelfe brought vnto ſuch extremitie, offered to yeeld his caſtle vnto the Turkes, and ſo without farther acquainting of any man with his purpoſe, thruſt himſelfe with his wife and family, and all the reſt of his ſubſtance into TEMESVVAR, a ſtrong citie of the Turkes not far off: whom the Baſſa in ſhew moſt courteouſly receiued, and the rather, for that he was in good hope to make a prey of the great wealth of this new-come fugitiue: who had not there long ſtaied, but that he had I perſuaded the captain of GIVASGAR, a ſtrong frontier caſtle there by, to deliuer the ſame to the Turks, and that without the priuity of the gariſon ſoldiers, for that he doubted that they would hardly be therunto drawn: who yet getting knowledge therof, put their captain in remembrance of his duty, beſeeching him not to draw ſuch an infamy both vpon himſelfe and them, by committing ſo foule a fact. But afterward finding him reſolutely ſet downe for the betraying of the Caſtle, they ſuddenly layd hands vpon him, and ſtruck of his head; and ſo with the bloud of their traiterous captain, hauing auerted the eminent danger, with great honour held the place.

Baſta beſiegeth the Turkes in the caſtle Solomoſe.

Moyſes now as he thought in ſafetie at TEMESVVAR, was yet ſtill plotting how to trouble the ſtate of TRANSYLVANIA, and raiſe new ſturs therein; and to that end ſent a number of K ſpies with letters of credence vnto the principall men of that countrie, aſſuring them of great and ſufficient aid from the great Turke, if they would but take vp armes for their libertie (as he termed it) and ſhew themſelues in field againſt the Imperialls. Neither was *Baſta* in the meane time careleſſe of him, or negligent in his ſo weightie affaires; but knowing that he as a notorious rebel had yeelded his Caſtle vnto the Turkes, and was himſelfe retyred vnto TEMESVVAR, forthwith made choice of ſix thouſand of the beſt ſouldiers in his whole Armie, and ſo ſet forward to beſiege it: whom at his arriuall the Turkes there in garriſon derided, in hope to fruſtrate his deſignes. For why, they thought that their Caſtle ſeated vpon a ſteepe high hill, fortified with good and ſtrong walls, enuironed with a broad and deepe ditch, and not ſubiect vnto batterie, could not but with much labour, great danger, and long time, bee L gained out of their hands, it being impoſſible (as they ſuppoſed) for their enemies to make a breach, or find an entrance thereinto. And indeed our men ſeeing the ſtrength of the place, and the difficultie to force it, ſtood at the firſt as men diſmayed at the foot of the hill where the Caſtle ſtood; yet more diſcouraged with the impregnableneſſe of the place, than with the valour of the defendants. But what cannot induſtrie and valour do? in ſeeking about to find ſome means to make ſhew of their courage & valor, they diſcouered a little ſharpe ſteepe hill ouer againſt the caſtle, from the top whereof the caſtle was to be battered, and the beſieged diſtreſſed: but to bring the cannon thither, and eſpecially with horſes, was impoſſible, by reaſon of the ſteep roughneſſe of the aſcent thereunto, with broken and hanging rocks, ouergrowne with trees and buſhes, as if it had bin another Alps, not but with fire and vinegre to be opened: yet in fine, our men reſoluing to gaine the place, did themſelues that which their horſes ſhould haue done but could not, & by force of hand drew their cannon vp to the top of the hill, & hauing planted it ouer againſt the midſt of their enemies great ordnance, began to batter the caſtle: which done, they day & night made their approches, fortified their forts &

trenches, brought on their warlike munitions, and put all things in ſuch order, as if they would euen by plaine force haue carried the place. But the Turkes more admiring the valorous reſolution of our men, then reſoluing themſelues vpon their reſiſtance, being not many in number within the place, and ſeeing themſelues to haue to do with men of inuincible courage, laying aſide both their hope and weapons, craued to come to a parley. Which granted, it was at length agreed, That they ſhould deliuer vp the Caſtle, leauing behind them, their great ordnance, their munition and enſignes, and ſo with their armes, and liues onely ſaued, to depart. A great and glorious conqueſt got with ſmall charge; onely by reſolution gained by our men without perill: thoſe being indeed the true victories, which neither draw bloud out of the veines, nor teares out of the eyes.

The caſtle of Solomoſe by the Turks yeelded vp to Baſta.

This ſtrong place ſo gained, contrary to the common opinion conceiued thereof, led the whole prouince as it were by the hand vnto the obeiſance of the emperour: in ſuch ſort, that *Baſta* hauing called together all the principall men of TRANSYLVANIA, declared vnto them the iuſtice of his cauſe, the right of the Emperour, with the malice and trechery of the Turks and rebels: how they might liue in aſſurance with the one, and become miſerable with the others: That the Emperour was alwaies armed for their defence and health, deſiring nothing but their welfare and preſeruation; wheras their enemies to the contrary ſought altogether their ruine and decay: That as they were not to expect light flames of fire out of the ſea, no more they were to looke for aid from thoſe their mortall enemies, whom they knew to haue before decreed to haue put them all to death, and to haue giuen their countrey vnto the Tartars their enemies: That this diſaſter had not now beene to fall vpon them, either euer haue been by them perceiued, without the aid of the Emperour; who oppoſing himſelfe againſt this fire, had quenched it and put it out; preſeruing them with his great charge, and ſauing them euen in the middeſt of their greateſt perils and dangers. That they ſhould therefore remember theſe his ſo great benefites, to the intent to make him recompence according to the publique faith, which bindeth vs to the reward of good deſerts: and that all the recompence that the Emperour deſired, was the welfare of the eſtate, as concerning their owne good; inſomuch, that hee deſired nothing of them but their obeyſance, for being bound to defend them and preſerue them to his power; whereby it ſhould come to paſſe, that he ſhould be ſatisfied for his trauels, and they preſerued from their enemies; the prince and the ſubiects together iointly working their mutuall health and welfare, each of them according vnto their proportion, for that this mutuall performance of dutie preſerued the ſcepter for the good gouernment of their eſtate. Whereunto their anſwer was, That they beſought him that their countrey might be relieued from the croud and crueltie of the men of war, and deliuered from the intollerable burthens of tributes, which ſo heauily oppreſſed it: that theſe obiects and inconueniences could not keepe them conſtant in their obedience, ſeeing that they both felt them, and receiued them from the hand of them, to whom they had yeelded their obedience, in hope to haue beene by them relieued: That the new feeling of the wound did continually renew in them the hatred, and the obiect of their harms ſtill kept both their eies and their minds occupied vpon them who were the cauſes thereof; ſo that they could not well either looke vpon them or make reckoning of them: That therfore it would pleaſe him to eaſe them of their grieuances, in recompence whereof they would pay him 15000 Hungarian duckats yerely for to pay his men of war, and would farther furniſh them with al proviſions neceſſarie; it being a thing more honorable and profitable alſo vnto a prince, moderately to vſe his ſubiects means to keep his ſtate in perpetuitie, than through couetouſnes to deuoure them in one day, in their loſſe to vndoe himſelfe for euer. This their offer was by *Baſta* accepted, and the minds of theſe people by this contentment giuen them, kept in their dutifull allegeance and loyaltie vnto the Emperour.

Baſta his admonitions to them of Tranſyluania.

The anſwere of the Tranſyluanians vnto the admonitions of Baſta,

But whilſt *Baſta* thus trauelled for the quieting of TRANSILVANIA, *Moyſes* the rebell in the meane time was for his part no leſſe buſied for the diſturbing thereof againe, inſomuch, that hauing by the appointment of the Viſier Baſſa receiued tenne thouſand Tartars in his aid, and aſſiſted with a great number of Turks, he with enſignes diſplaied, entred into TRANSILVANIA, proteſting there to dye, or to be reuenged of *Baſta*, who had before chaſed him out thence. And the better to effect this troubleſome deſigne, hee now had made choice of a moſt fit time for the performance thereof. *Baſta* vpon the truſt he had of the publique faith

New enterpriſes by the rebell Moyſes in Tranſyluania.

He with enſigns diſplaid entreth into Tranſyluania.

which he came to take of the Tranſyluanians, for their allegeance vnto the Emperor, which aſſured him from all ſtirs and tumults in that prouince, being with a ſmall power come from CLAVDIOPOLIS in HVNGARIE, and then lying at WISCEBOVRG, vpon the confines of HVNGARIE. Which his journy, and the neceſſity of his preſence in HVNGARIE for the defence thereof, had cauſed the Tranſyluanians to beleeue, that he ſhould for that yeare ſtay in HVNGARIE as Generall of the Emperours armie there. Vpon which perſuaſion of his abſence many of them began againe to hold vp their heads, and to entertaine high conceits of new ſtirrs, whereunto *Moyſes* by his eſpials had prepared them, and now by his preſence not a little incouraged: inſomuch that many as wel of the nobilitie as others, ioyned themſelues vnto him, and his increaſed armie againſt the Imperials.

Wiſcebourg beſieged by Moyſes.

Wiſcebourg yeelded to Moyſes.

Moyſes with his power beeing come into the prouince, firſt forced a caſtle, about three leagues diſtant from WISCEBOVRG, and ſlew all the garriſon therein. Which exploit incouraged him farther, ful of hope in the abſence of *Baſta*; and ſeeing himſelfe now the abſolute maſter of the field, which he at his pleaſure without reſiſtance forraged, robbed, and ſpoiled, with his men loaded with bootie, beſieged WISCEBORVG, a little towne vpon the confines of HVNGARIE and TRANSILVANIA, neither by art nor by nature ſtrong, but expoſed as a prey vnto him that is in the field ſtrongeſt, if ſuccours be not at hand to relieue it. Howbeit weak as it was, it held out three weeks ſiege, and hauing a breach made in the wals endured two aſſaults againſt all the forces of the rebell. After which the beſieged thinking themſelues to haue ſufficiently diſcharged their dutie, in holding out ſo long, and induring of ſo much, and out of hope to be relieued by the weake forces of *Baſta*, came to parley with the enemie, and their liues and goods ſaued, yeelded vnto him the towne, and ſo departed themſelues to VARADIN.

Moyſes in great fauour with Mahomet.

Now albeit that there were no great forces of the Emperours on foot in TRANSILVANIA, yet the hungrie Haiduckes for all that fayled not to follow theſe warres, euen amidſt the great clouds of their enemies, and were euer taking of ſome prey or bootie from the enemie, the chiefeſt and almoſt the onely meanes whereby they liue. In which doing, as they benefited themſelues (the chiefe Motiues of their aduentures) ſo they not a little eaſed the countrey, by repreſſing the excurſions and pillages of the Turkes, whereof the countrey had indured the furie. Where, amongſt other priſoners by them taken, it was their fortune to light vpon a Chiaus of the Turkes come from CONSTANTINOPLE, going toward the rebell *Moyſes* from the great Sultan *Mahomet*. Who by them examined, confeſſed, That *Moyſes* was a man in great grace and reputation with his Lord and Maſter the Graund Seignior: And that hee was ſent to aſſure him thereof, as alſo of all the needfull aſſiſtance of his Prince, if hee ſhould faithfully and effectually ſerue him in TRANSILVANIA, and bring it vnder his ſubiection and power, as hee had promiſed and ſworne. In which doing, he ſhould not onely gaine the credit of a noble and faithfull ſeruant towards him, but ſhould farther obtaine thereby the honour to bee the Lieutenant Generall of his armie in this Prouince; the great Sultan (as hee ſaid) hauing meanes as eaſie as wordes to aduaunce his faithfull ſeruitours; who might draw more good fortunes in one houre out of this infinite ſource of felicitie and greatneſſe, than they could in a thouſand yeares out of the pouertie of the Princes of EVROPE. Hee ſayd alſo, That the Great Sultan had on foot an armie of a hundred and fiftie thouſand men ſtrong, for the conqueſt of PESTH and STRIGONIVM, furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, which had now alreadie turned head toward HVNGARIE, had it not been for the rebellion of ſome of his diſloyall ſubiects, whom for all that hee would in ſhort time chaſtiſe, and ſo turne his whole forces vpon the Emperour.

A Generall beſieged, looſeth his reputation.

Moyſes proud of his late conqueſt, and hauing found a great deale of great Ordnance in WISCEBOVRG, reſolued to proſecute his victorie, and to beſiege *Baſta* in SOMOSINNAR, whereinto he had thruſt himſelfe, with the reſt of his ſmall forces. But *Baſta* better acquainted with martiall affaires than hee, and knowing that a generall departed from his charge, and brought to the mercie of a wall for his chiefe defence, hath loſt his credit and reputation with his friends, and they alſo in hope of ſafetie from him thought it beſt firſt to take order for the ſtrengthening of the place, ſo to put *Moyſes* out of hope of the winning thereof, and afterwards as he might to prouide for the ſafetie of himſelfe and his

Baſta prayeth aid of the Gouernor of Caſſoua.

The Vayuod of Valachia ſendeth ayd to the reliefe of Baſta.

Moyſes raiſeth his ſiege.

The Baſſa of Temeſwar calleth home his Turkes out of Tranſyluania, for the repreſſing of the Haiduckes.

A Wherefore he in good time aduertiſed the Gouernour of CASSOVA (who was neereſt vnto him) of *Moyſes* his deſignes, and of the neceſſitie wherewith he was himſelfe encloſed. Who forthwith conceiuing the conſequence of ſo great an exploit, as concerned both the loſſe of the place, and of ſo great a commander as was *Baſta*, a loſſe irreparable, preſently commanded ſix companies of horſemen to thruſt themſelues into the place, for the better defence thereof. Theſe horſemen either afraid of the rebels armie, or elſe fauouring his proceedings, without reſpect of that they had in charge, or of their honour (things deerer vnto men of worth than their liues) without any attempt at all giuen returned again to CASSOVA; hauing with their pilfering and outrages by the way much offended and prouoked the minds of the countrey people by him ſpoiled. But being now better aduiſed, and repenting themſelues B of their faults, and crauing pardon of their Gouernour, who was about with the reſt of his power to haue cut them in pieces, they offered him for ſatisfaction, ſix of the principall authors of their diſloyaltie; who were all forthwith executed, and their quarters (to the terrour of others) hanged vp vpon Gibbets by the high waies ſide. But *Baſta* by their trechery lay in the meane time without ſuccour, forſaken by his friends, and the place wherin he lay, in danger to be taken: when the Tranſyluanians dwelling neere thereby reſolued to relieue him as well for feare of the Turks bondage, as for the tyrannie of *Moyſes*; one of whoſe Secretaries with letters of credence then threatened all the countrey with fire and ſword, and al kind of miſeries, if the inhabitants helped not with all their power to force the place and to win it. Which threats by *Moiſes* publiſhed before he had any abſolute power, diſmaied euery man: C for why, they could not hope for any moderation or kindnes in the proſperitie of him, who in the time of his aduerſitie gaue ſuch apparent teſtimonies of his crueltie. So that the people, doubting this angrie man, reſolued to preuent his ſo grieuous threats by relieuing of *Baſta*, who onely was able to ſtop him. Amongſt others, *Radul* Vayuod of VALACHIA mindful of the aid that *Baſta* had giuen him againſt the Tartars, and willing now as a friend to reach his hand in time of his ſo hard diſtreſſe, immediatly rayſed a power of eight thouſand Valachians, which he preſently ſent to the reliefe of *Baſta*. *Moyſes* aduertiſed of their comming, and farther vnderſtanding that *Baſta* hauing well fortified the place, was departed thence, hauing before his departure aſſuredly promiſed his men there left to relieue them, and that hee was now in the midſt of the field gathering together his armie, changed both his reſolution D and purpoſe, of himſelfe raiſed his ſiege, and ſo departed. After which, miſhaps began to fall vpon him by heaps. The Turks forthwith forſooke him, taking their way to TEMESVVAR, whither they were by the Baſſa called backe, to repreſſe the Haiducks, who were now euery day euen at the gates of the citie. Theſe actiue and couragious men for their profit attending vpon al occaſions, knowing that the better part of the garriſon of TEMESVVAR, was gone to aid *Moyſes*, vpon the ſudden had deſperatly aſſailed the ſuburbs of that ſtrong citie ſlain, all that they found there, rifled them & burnt them: & ſo loaded with a great & rich prey both of cattel and other things, returned to VERADIN, no man purſuing of them: And not ſo contented were euery day abroad ſeeking after new bootie; which was the cauſe that the Baſſa now called backe the Turks from *Moyſes* home againe into their garriſons.

Claudinople beſieged by Moiſes

Moyſes notwithſtanding this departure of the garriſon Turks of TEMESVVAR, was yet maſter of the field, *Baſta* with his ſmall forces not daring to oppoſe himſelfe againſt him, yet by far too ſtrong for him, the ſuccours from the Vayuod of VALACHIA beeing not yet come which he daily expected, howbeit that many hot skirmiſhes paſſed betweene the ſtragling ſoldiers on both ſides, as they by chance met together roaming abroad in the countrey ſeeking after bootie. *Moyſes* therefore ſeeing not any ſufficient enemie to appeare in field able to ſtay him, laid ſiege to CLAVDINOPLE, a great but weak citie, and not very wel manned; for that it was thought a place fitter by the weakneſſe thereof to weaken and deſtroy ſuch as ſhould vndertake the defence thereof, than ſufficient to be maintained by their valour. Neuertheleſſe, the garriſon ſouldiers and the inhabitants (more to make a ſhew of their fidelity and allegeance toward the Emperor, than for any hope they had to maintain the place) ſtanding vpon their guard & defence, *Moyſes* was conſtrained to plant his great ordnance againſt it, and to batter it, which he did, and in a very ſhort time with the fury of the cannon had beaten downe the bulwarkes and ſlankers thereof, and made a faire breach in the wall, ready how to haue giuen thereunto an aſſault, and to haue entred. Whereupon the beſieged not ignorant, *Claudinople yeelded to Moyſes.*

Moyſes ſendeth for his wife and familie to Temeſwar.

The Ianizaries of Tameſwar refuſe to deliuer Moyſes his wife and familie.

rant of their owne weakneſſe, came to parley, and agreed to giue vp the citie, the citizens hauing their liues, goods, libertie, and religion ſaued, to ſtay there ſtill, and the ſouldiers with G their armes and baggage to bee in ſafetie brought ouer the mountaines into ſome place of ſuretie. The taking of this citie much encouraged the rebell, reſolued there to make his reſiſtance, and the ſeat of his principalitie. Full eares of corne draw birds to pick vpon them, and the good fortunes of Generals, ſouldiers to follow them: they forſake none but ſuch as are before forſaken of their better fortunes; to become ſlaues vnto gaine, and enemies vnto honour. The Turkes and Tartars thirſting after theſe commodities, and allured with the ſmell of riches, repared thither on euery ſide, in ſuch ſort, that the army of *Moiſes* increaſed in number, his mind with hope, & his fortune with power. Armed with theſe aſſurances, he ſent for his wife & familie then at TEMESVVAR to come vnto him to CLAVDINOPLE, to be partakers with him of his good hap. And for that purpoſe ſent a conuoy of 400 Turks to con- H duct them on the way thither. Who being come to TEMESVVAR, and about to haue led the wife & family of *Moſes* out of the citie, were not ſuffered by the Ianizaries that had the garding of the towne, ſo to do: who told them, That the great Sultan had in former times found ſo many diſloialties, trecheries, & treaſons in the Hungarians, Tranſyluanians, and Valachians, to the great hurt and hinderance of his eſtate, that hee could no more aſſure himſelfe of them: and that doubting of the fidelitie of *Moiſes*, being a Tranſyluanian, hee was reſolued to keepe this gage for his more aſſurance: aſſuring him withall, That his wife and family being in his power, ſhould receiue nothing from him but fauour and grace, ſo long as he receiued from him the effects of his loyaltie, but that hee ſhould neuer hope to inioy them but in I TEMESVVAR, or ſome other ſuch like place aſſured for his ſeruice. *Moſes* aſtonied at this anſwer, was much mooued againſt the great Sultan; complained in his ſoule, that hauing ruinated his faith, his honor, & the welfare of his country, to aſſure him of his fidelitie towards him, hee yet doubted of his conſtancie, as if all theſe crimes did not bind him to ſerue him with his perſon for euer, were it euen but for feare of puniſhment from them whom hee had ſo grieuouſly offended.

The Valachians by Moyſes put to flight.

In the meane time the ſuccours ſent from the Vayuod of VALACHIA were vpon the borders of TRANSYLVANIA vnder the conduct of *Marſa* the Vayuod his lieutenant, and *Baſta* was gathering together his forces, to recouer again his former ſtate; expecting euerie houre the comming of two thouſand horſemen out of SILECIA, with which vnited power hee K was in good hope to diſcomfit the rebel, & to recouer his former loſſes. Al which, *Moſyes* by his eſpials right well knew, and for the remedy thereof reſolued to march with thirtie thouſand men to meet with the Valachians, and to cut them off, before they could come far into TRANSYLVANIA, or ioine their forces with *Baſta*. For the furthering of which his purpoſe he had learned the place wherby they were to enter, their number, & the way they were to hold, the better to conduct his armie againſt them; and beeing in number more than three to one, alreadie aſſured himſelfe of the Victorie. All which fell out according to his deſire: for the Valachians comming on, being in number but eight thouſand, fell as it were a prey into his mouth. For needs fight they muſt, or die therefore, although the number were vnequall; for that to flie was more dangerous to the Valachians (hauing the Turkes & Tartarian L horſmen at their backs) than manfully to fight it out. Neceſſitie gaue courage vnto the weaker ſide, and feare cauſed them to performe more than they would haue done, had they had libertie to haue fled: yet for al that the greater number at length preuailed againſt the leſſe; ſo that after a great and mortall fight, wherin a great number of the Turkes and Tartars were ſlaine, the Valachians in the end were enforced to leaue their dead companions, their honor, and their tents, with all their baggage in the field, and to betake themſelues to flight; but not all in rout as freſh-water ſouldiers, but with often making ſtands, as men diſdayning by true valour, but onely with number oppreſſed, to bee ouercome. The rebels proud of their victorie, and now fearing no more harme, forthwith gaue themſelues to the rifling of the enemies campe, diuided the ſpoyle, and filling the heauens with the noyſe of their trumpets, publiſhing thereby the trophies of their victorie. Which diſorder the Valachians perceiuing, and thereof couceiuing hope of ſome good to bee done, turned head, and ſerred cloſe together, cuoragiouſly thruſt themſelues into the midſt of theſe proud and tryumphant victors. Which vnexpected thunderclap ſo diſmaied them and troubled their wits, that ſurpriſed in diſorder, with their hands full of ſpoils in ſtead of weapons, they could neither recouer their courage, nor put themſelues againe in order. Such confuſion maketh men oftentimes to feele the blowes of death, before they be aware of the armie that giueth the ſame: ſo, of theſe men ſo confounded, ſome ſtood as men amazed, otherſome ran away to ſaue themſelues, and otherſome ſtood vpon their defence, but all were alike ſlaine: ſo that in fine, this great armie was for the moſt part cut in pieces, and the reſt put to flight. *Moyſes* himſelfe was there among the reſt ſlaine, worthy for his treaſon to haue been reſerued to a more ſhamefull death.

Moyſes with his army by the Valachians ouerthrowne, and himſelfe ſlaine

Of this victorie the Vayuod by letters certified *Baſta*, to whom he ſent fiue and twenty of the enemies enſignes for an honourable preſent, with this ioyfull newes of the death and ouerthrow of the rebell; whoſe bodie as the Vayuod writ, was found dead among the midſt of the dead, ſlaine euen at the firſt charge, wherein his gaurd was ouerthrowne. And for that it was commonly beleeued, that hee was not yet dead, neither preſent at that battell, as ſome had giuen it out, to manifeſt the contrarie vnto the world, and by his example to terrifie others, his head was vpon a lance ſet vp at CAROLSTAD for all men to behold: a preferment well beſeeming ſuch an ambitious head, as had made ſo great troubles, and beene the death of ſo many Chriſtians.

Moyſes his head vpon a lance ſet vp at Carolſtad

This rebell ſuppreſſed, another by and by ſtart vp, called *Albert Nage*, who gathering together the rebels of TRANSILVANIA, mingled with certain Turkes, Tartars, Coſſackes, and Moldauians, all together amounting to the number of ſix thouſand, made head towards LIPPA. Againſt whom, *Baſta* with all ſpeed ſent foorth three thouſand Haiduckes well acquainted with the countrey, which ſometimes ſerued them to better purpoſe than their armes, for that the rebels ſought not ſo much to come to a ſet battell, and to trie the matter by true valour, as by taking the aduantages of places, to delay the time and gaine purchaſe, the chiefe end of their rebellion. Theſe rebels the Haiduckes ſurpriſed, neere vnto a Caſtle called FERRE, where they meant to haue lodged, and charged them. Who ſo vpon the ſuddaine ouertaken, and ignorant of their enemies power, ſuppoſing them to haue beene more in number than indeed they were, made ſmall reſiſtance, but as a many of raſcalls, gathered by villanie, and without truſting of one another, by flight prouided euery man for himſelfe as hee might. In which flight, the greateſt number of them were ſlaine, and their chiefetaine with much adoe ſaued, to be at another time for his euill deſerts iuſtly executed.

New rebels in Tranſyluania diſcomfited.

Baſta by theſe good haps, and the aid of the Vayuod of VALACHIA, being again become maſter of the field, in very ſhort time after had again reduced all TRANSYLVANIA vnder the Emperours obeyſance; vnto whom, he together with the Vayuod, for an honorable preſent and a teſtimonie of their good ſeruice, ſent to VIENNA, and from thence to PRAGE, an hundred enſignes gained from the rebels. All which with ſome other rich ſpoils, the maſter of the Ceremonies in great pompe and triumph led, together with *Moyſes* the late rebels horſe, exceeding richly furniſhed with furniture of pure gold, and was for his paines by the Emperor rewarded with a chaine of gold, ſent vnto him by the Countie *Fuſtenberg*.

An honourable preſent by the L. Baſta ſent vnto the Emperour.

The troubles of TRANSYLVANIA thus once again quieted, *Baſta* reſoluing again to beſiege TEMESVVAR, with his power marched towards LIPPA, there to meet with the forces of the Vayuod of VALACHIA, the better to vndertake and perform the intended exploit. His army conſiſted of twenty thouſand men ſtrong, carrying with them fiue and twenty pieces of great ordnance, furniſhed with al things neceſſarie. And of the enterpriſe it ſelfe euery man had good hope, aſwell for the ſufficiencie of him the generall that had vndertaken it, as for the want of reliefe that was not any way like to be brought vnto the beſieged. But while hee ſo lay at the ſiege thereof, his ſouldiers too greedily and exceſſiuely feeding vpon fruit whereof (there was that yeare great ſtore) fell ſo into the bloudie flyx, and thereof in ſuch number died (although hee had giuen moſt ſtrait commaund, That none ſhould be eaten, or vpon great penalties be brought into the camp) that he was glad to riſe with his armie and be gone.

Whileſt this was in doing, the Countie *Solmes* lying in garriſon at CAROLSTAD, tooke vpon him to ſurpriſe WISCENBOVRG, and ſetting forth but with foure hundred ſoldiers of his garriſon, with wonderfull diligence ſurpriſed the place, and without any great reſiſtance

Countie Solmes ſurpriſing Wiſcenbourg, is himſelfe taken priſoner.

reſiſtance became maſters therof. But the citizens ouer-grieued with the inſolent outrages of theſe men of war, opened the gates of their town vnto the rebels of TRANSILVANIA, euen then fled from the late ouerthrow: who full of reuenge, took the place, and beeing too ſtrong for the Countie & his ſoldiers, made ſuch ſlaughter of them in the ſtreets (they of the town out of their windows, and from the tops of their houſes helping them) that of al thoſe which the Countie brought with him, there were but 60 left aliue; who all taken, were together with the Countie thruſt into a ſtrong and loathſome priſon.

A great army of the chriſtians.

Now the bruit of the comming of the Turks great army into HVNGARIE had awaked the Chriſtian forces to aſſemble themſelues together, and to do their indeuour to withſtand the ſame; ſo that a number of companies were raiſed in GERMANIE, who came into HVNGARY marching towards STRIGONVM, where the army was to be aſſembled. The good ſucceſſe of things paſt, the opinion men had of the Turks troubles with his rebels, and the great promiſes of the emperor, drew many into theſe liſts of honor; in ſuch ſort, that there were come together an army of fiue and twenty thouſand foot, and tenne thouſand horſe; all good and braue companies, well appointed and well conducted. Of this braue and gallant armie the Lord *Ruſſworm* was for this yeare appointed Generall; who therewith marched within the ſight of STRIGONIVM, to aſſure the inhabitants of reliefe, if the enemie ſhould chance to beſiege them, as the newes then went. About three weeks this armie lay there by encamped, attending the comming of the reſt of the forces, which were to ſtrengthen and make vp the ſame; during which time the Generall diſpoſed of all things neceſſarie for the keeping of STRIGONIVM, and put into the fort of S. *Andrew* neere vnto it three thouſand Lanſquenets for reliefe of the citie: which done, he remooued with his armie toward PESTH, & encamped within a league therof toward the weſt, reſolued ſo to croſſe the deſignes of the enemie if he ſhould atempt to beſiege this place (as it was doubted he would) & in hope that the preſeruation thereof might in time be a cauſe for the winning of BVDA, and a mean to impeach the enemies forces.

The Turks army of 100000 men in field.

The Turks army within a few daies after vpon a contrary deſigne conducted for the winning of PESTH (& reſolued to raiſe the Chriſtians campe) in number an hundred thouſand men, came, & face to face incamped within the ſight of the Chriſtian army on the other ſide of the riuer Danubius. In the meane time whileſt they ſo lay, certaine cowardly ſoldiers, of PESTH, more in loue with their bellies than with their honour, by ſtealth fled out of their garriſon in PESTH to the Turks ouer againſt them in BVDA, ſhamefully crauing of them victuals; whom the Turks being themſelues almoſt in as great want, yet bounteouſly relieued.

The ſhameful flight of certain of the garriſon ſoldiers of Peſth vnto the Turks at Buda.

Beſides that, the Baſſa of BVDA to corrupt the reſt of their fellows, cauſed theſe renegate fugitiues to be entertained with double pay: who therefore gaue the Baſſa a thouſand thanks, extolling his bountie vnto the heauens, & from the walls inuited their companions to do as they had done, and ſo to become pertakers of ſuch bountie and pleaſure as they were. Howbeit theſe fugitiues nothing profited the Baſſa, either by their perſuaſion or example: for albeit that they from the mouth of the Baſſa promiſed vnto their companions plentie of victuals, good entertainment, & foure months pay more, yet was there not any of them which hearkened or gaue eare vnto their allurements: but rather the more to aſſure their commanders of their fidelitie, of themſelues offred to be ſworn again vnto their allegeance vnto the Emperour, and to dy in the place rather than to forſake it. Yet was the want of victuals then in PESTH great, and the garriſon therewith extreamely pinched, fed almoſt as much with

Peſth victualled

hope, as with that little which was left them. Neither was it long after, but that according to their deſires the 15 of May a great ſhip arriued there, laded with wine and victuals ſufficient for the reliefe of their preſent neceſſities. Of the comming of which ſhip, the Turke hauing heard, attended the paſſage therof in the Iſle, to haue intercepted it. Of which their purpoſe the garriſon ſoldiers of PESTH hauing knowledge, & armed with neceſſitie, ſallied out vpon them, and killing a number of them, inforced the reſt to quit the place. This ſhip was but the forerunner of greater ſuccors; for ſhortly after followd a number of other ſhips: which arriuing at PESTH, laden with victuals and other neceſſaries, filled the place with as great plentie, as there had been before want. Which ſupply was conducted vnto PESTH by 500 harquebuſiers of STRIGONIVM, the Turks from BVDA looking on, but not daring or not able to ſtay the ſame.

A It fortuned at the ſelfeſame time, that a Captaine of the Turks fled from Alba-Regalis to Rab, ſhewed vnto the Chriſtians there the way and the meane how they might come to the ſuburbs of Alba-Regalis, and take the ſpoile of the ſame, yea and happily, as things might fall out, finde occaſion to ſurpriſe the towne it ſelfe alſo; offering himſelfe to be the guide in the ſame action. And albeit that this Turke was an enemy to be feared and diſtruſted, yet the Chriſtian ſouldiers as men deſirous both of honor and of prey, and induced alſo with the probabilitie of the attempt, gaue credit vnto him, and embraced the ſame. Neither failed he of his promiſe, neither the Chriſtians of their deuoire in performance of the exploit. For the two garriſons of Rab and Strigonium aſſembled together, by the leading of this Turke ſurpriſed the ſuburbs of Alba-Regalis, ſlew all them that made reſiſtance, rifled them on all hands, ſet them B on fire, and ſo laded with riches and ſpoile, returned home againe in ſafetie.

The ſuburbs of Alba Regalis by the Chriſtians ſacked and burnt.

At the ſame time alſo the Chriſtians on the other ſide Danubius gathered an head together to conduct another conuoy of victuals into Peſth, with a reſolution to march with the ſame through the plaine field at noone time of the day, euen in the eye of the enemie, ſo to braue him. And to this purpoſe the Lo. *Nadaſti* was there preſent with a good number of Hungarians, Colonell *Mesbourg* with a Regiment of Almaines, and the Countie *Thurn* with a number of Huſſars, all good ſouldiers and men of courage, deſirous to haue made proofe thereof vpon their enemies. This conuoy, with the trumpets gallantly ſounding, brauely marched ouer the plaine at mid day, the Turks from the wals of Buda beholding the ſame, but not daring to aduenture vpon it. And ſo Peſth for want of victuals before diſtreſſed, was now both by water C and by land plentifully relieued.

Another conuoy of victuals by land put into Peſth.

The Chriſtians the laſt yeare hauing left the ſiege of Buda for the reaſons before written, in their returne tooke the Caſtle of Adom, ſeated vpon the banke of Danubius, about two leagues from Buda, and for the keeping thereof, left therein a garriſon of Haiducks. This Caſtle was commodious for the annoying of the Turks in Buda, and for the reliefe of the Chriſtians in Peſth, for that it impeacheth the bringing of victuals vnto the one, and fauoured the victualling of the other. The good and faithfull defence of which place, theſe Haiducks vndertooke to the vttermoſt of their power, vpon their honor and credit, as they would be accounted valiant and couragious men: but yet refuſed to be bound by oath to render an account of the place, whatſoeuer might befall, a thing (as they truly ſaid) aboue their forces, & more than was in their power to performe. Theſe men now vpon the bruit of the comming of the Turks great army afraid of their ſhadowes, hauing before truſſed vp their baggage, ſet fire on the Caſtle, and ſo departed, retiring themſelues to Strigonium: where examined by the Gouernour *Althem* of the cauſe of their flight, and what enemies had chaſed them thence, and being not able to make therefore any excuſe, neither to yeeld thereof any reaſon more than their imaginarie feare, were by his commandement impriſoned, there to remaine, vntill order were taken by the Generall of the armie for their further puniſhment.

The caſtle of Adom vpon a vaine feare forſaken by the Haiducks, who had the keeping thereof.

Sultan *Mahomet* now wallowing amidſt his ſenſuall delights in Conſtantinople, yet found not therein ſo full contentment, but that his pleaſures had alſo their griefes fully mixt with them. In Conſtantinople, the ſtrong ſeat of his mightie Empire, hee was in the midſt of the inſolencies and mutinies of his proud Baſſaes and tumultuous Ianizaries, and abroad he was in warres both againſt his rebellious ſubiects in Aſia, and the Chriſtians in Europe. Vnto all which troubles hee ſaw not how to giue remedie at once, and therefore reſolued (if it were poſſible) firſt to appeaſe the troubles abroad with his rebellious ſubiects in Aſia, as more deſirous to be at peace with his owne ſubiects than with ſtrangers: howbeit, that the puniſhing of rebellion is more neceſſarie in a Prince for the maintenance of his State, than is warre againſt a ſtranger for the conquering of a new Countrie or Kingdome; the one preuenting the danger hanging ouer his head, the other ſeruing but his vaine and ambitious deſire: ſo hee preferring peace with the rebels his ſubiects before peace with the Chriſtians his enemies, reſolued (as I ſaid) to pacifie the firſt, the more eaſily to ruinate the other. But whether he vpon good faith or vpon policie entered into this reſolution, and whether indeed hee meant plainely with theſe Rebels, or but onely to deceiue them, is hard to ſay. Howbeit, as the ſequell of the matter ſhewed, falſhood and treacherie was the ground of all this buſineſſe both on the one ſide and the other. For theſe men reſpecting only the ſafety and aſſurance of their eſtate, held all other actions to them indifferent, whether they were good or bad, ſo that they ſerued to that effect:

Sultan Mahomet among his greateſt pleaſures perplexed

Mahomet in vain ſeeketh to make peace with the rebels in Aſia.

Hhhhh and

and nouriſhed with the ſame milke of Infidelitie that their Prince was, trained vp in the ſame ſchoole, and foſtered with the ſame aire, feared in him againſt them, that which they felt in themſelues againſt him. An hard matter it is to aſſure minds fraught with like craft, ſubtiltie, and deceit, and poſſeſſed with like diſtruſt one of them of another. Howbeit *Mahomet* ſpared no kind of cunning to deceiue theſe craftie and ſubtill men; offering vnto them, together with his gracious pardon, great preferments, dignities, & honours, ſo that they would but yeeld to him their due obedience, lay downe their armes, and no more take vp the ſame but in his ſeruice. But theſe wily foxes knew right well, that the promiſes of faithleſſe Princes coſt them nothing but words, the honor & credit whereof they regarded not, ſo that thereby they might attaine vnto the effect of their deſires, which they eſteemed aboue all other things: ſo that for them to truſt vnto a thing of ſo ſmal value, with him that was ſo prodigall thereof, and for the ſame ſo eaſily to yeeld vp their liues and fortunes, which they eſteemed as their only treaſure, they thought right worthily to deſerue all ſhame and miſhap that might betide them. So that they not only refuſed to lay down armes, and to yeeld their obedience vnto him, as he deſired, but euen to haue peace with him vpon any conditions whatſoeuer, ſeeing them dangerous vnto themſelues, and good onely for him their enemie.

Mahomet ſeeing his offers reiected by the rebels of Aſia, couertly ſeeketh for peace with the Chriſtians.

Mahomet finding the Rebels ſo reſolutely ſet downe, as not by any meanes but by force to be appeaſed, thought it now beſt to turne his purpoſe vnto the Chriſtians, and to offer them that which the other had refuſed, in hope that peace made with the one, ſhould be the ruine and deſtruction of the other. Vpon which point hee beeing in himſelfe reſolued, ſought now but ſome honeſt meanes, not vnbeſeeming his greatneſſe, to ioyne vnto this his proiect, to giue him a way thereunto. For the eaſing him of which care, the French Embaſſadour, then Lieger at Conſtantinople, was verie fitly then entreating with the Viſier Baſſaes for the deliuerance of the Countie *Yſolan*, taken at Alba-Regalis the laſt yeare, and againſt all Law of armes detained priſoner at Conſtantinople. This noble Gentleman *Mahomet* thought fit as well for the ſufficiencie of himſelfe as with inſtructions to deale with the Emperor concerning an entreatie of peace to bee had. Whereupon hee commanded him to be ſet at libertie, with charge, That he ſhould both diſcreetly and faithfully deale with the Emperour concerning this matter of peace: which if hee ſhould by his induſtrie effect, to the good liking and contentment of *Mahomet* the great Sultan, that then hee ſhould become and remaine free, otherwiſe to returne againe into his former captiuitie and bondage; for whome the French Embaſſadour gaue his word, and became pledge. Vpon which barbarous conditions the Earle was forthwith deliuered, who by the Law of armes ſhould not at all haue beene detained. Beſides this plot laied for the negotiation of this peace, *Achmet Baſſa* to this purpoſe writ to *Collonitz*, then Commander of the Emperours armie in Hungarie. But ſee the copie of the Letters themſelues.

The letters of Achmet Baſſa to Collonitz concerning a treaty of peace to be had.

To thee our friend Collonitz *health and greeting. I ſuppoſe that you yet remember the propoſitions concerning peace which our Soueraigne and moſt mightie Monarch not long agoe cauſed to be opened and propounded vnto you by certaine of his Baſſaes neere vnto Strigonium, which as then remained not reſolued. But if now it ſhall ſeeme vnto you good, that wee ſhould aſſemble our ſelues together into ſome place of aſſurance both to the one ſide and to the other, wee may againe conferre about that buſineſſe as hauing on my part full power and commandement from my Prince ſo to doe; yet with charge, that before all other things Strigonium ſhould be againe deliuered vnto vs. Which being done wee may eaſily afterward determine the other difficulties, and conclude a good and wholeſome peace. God which raigneth alone in the heauens aboue is witneſſe of our faithfull and iuſt deſire, to aſſure a quiet and firme peace betwixt vs, and that to auert theſe floods of warre from the poore people, and to giue them ſome repoſe and reſt after ſo great troubles. This is our intent and purpoſe, which God knoweth to be void of all fraud and guile; which we now declare vnto you, in hope to vnderſtand yours alſo. But if you bee not reſolued to render to vs Strigonium before we begin to intreat of any other matter, it is not needfull for you to trouble your ſelfe to giue any anſwere to theſe our letters. But if you ſhall reſolue to the contrarie, to deliuer the ſame, with as much ſpeed as you can let vs in few words vnderſtand your reſolution, the time, and the place fit for our aſſemblie and meeting, to the intent fully to determine of theſe affairs. You know alſo, that you haue beene of long time accuſtomed to pay tribute vnto our Prince: which if you ſhall continue to pay for the time to come, and diſcharge the arrerages for the time paſt, it ſhall be*

A *bee commodious for vs, and honourable for you, ſeeing that it is an honour vnto you to bee tributaries vnto the Grand Seigniour, it hauing alwayes in times paſt beene for your good and profit. Beſides that, peace ſhall likewiſe bee entreated of with the great Cham of Tartarie, who as commanded by our moſt mightie and gracious Emperour vpon iuſt and reaſonable conditions to entertaine the ſame, and neuer more but in peaceable manner to come into Hungarie. Now if that you ſhal neglect or reiect this treatie for peace, it is certaine that you ſhall bee the authour of the miſerie and ruine of the whole countrie, it beeing impoſſible that the townes and villages conſumed with fire ſhould euer recouer their former beautie or felicitie. God which raigneth in heauen is there witneſſe vnto mee, and my dread Emperour vpon earth, that I ſpeake franckely with you, and without diſſimulation concerning this matter. Now on your part, let vs vnderſtand if you haue a deſire to attend vnto this treaty of peace; according to*
B *the purport of our Letters: for if you ſhall reſolue to the contrarie, we proteſt vnto you to write no more concerning theſe affaires.*

Collonitz hauing receiued theſe letters, ſent them forthwith vnto the Emperor, requeſting his Maieſtie to conſider what anſwer he would haue giuen vnto them. Whom the Emperour, deſirous of a good peace, commanded to embrace the occaſion, and by proofe to learne whether the Turkes deſire were indeed conformable to their words or not. Whereupon *Collonitz* taking vnto him certaine of the beſt commanders in the armie, vndertooke the buſineſſe, and entered into the treatie of peace with the Turks: wherein he found the vnreaſonableneſſe of their demands to tend ſo much vnto the hurt and diſhonour of the Emperor, as that they euen
C at the firſt entrance ſhut vp the way to al further or reaſonable conference; it being altogether impoſſible to bring to any conformitie minds ſet downe vpon reſolutions ſo far different. For the Turks (as if the Emperor would haue beene glad of peace vpon any condition) after their proud manner, vnreaſonably demanded to haue Tranſyluania, Strigonium, and Peſth reſtored vnto them; for which they offered to deliuer vnto the Emperour Agria and Caniſia, peble for pearles. So that vpon propoſitions ſo farre different, being able to conclude nothing, they departed on both ſides as they came, to trie by armes that which by talke and conference they could not agree vpon. But as all the Turkes treaties of peace with the Chriſtians are indeed but falſe ſhewes to abuſe the facilitie of the Chriſtians by, euen ſo now alſo it was knowne, that they in the meane time, whileſt this treatie of peace was in hand, gathered to-
D gether great ſtore both of men and munition at Belgrade, wherewith to arme a great conuoy of victuals, which they had thought during this interparley for peace to haue put into Buda. But *Collonitz* vnderſtanding thereof, ceaſed further to entreat of peace, which with the falſe ſhew thereof did but hurt and deceiue the Chriſtians, and betooke himſelfe againe to his arms (his and their ſafeſt and ſureſt refuge) reſoluing with the other Captains and Commanders of the armie to doe what they might for the croſſing and hindering of the Turkes in their purpoſe for the putting of victuals into Buda: whereof there was now ſuch want, that the Turkes in garriſon there hauing alreadie eaten all their horſes, and for victuals rifled the Gouernors houſe, were reſolued to abandon the citie, if they ſhould not be within ſome few daies relieued.

The Emperor aduertiſed of the Turkes motion for peace, giueth order to Collonitz for the entertaining thereof.

The Turks vnreaſonable demands breake off all the treatie of peace.

E Now vpon this reſolution for the keeping of the Turks from the victualling of Buda, the Chriſtians for the more aſſurance of their purpoſe, prepared therefore both by water and by land, embarking their footmen vpon the riuer, vnder the conduct of Colonell *Altmeine* and *Sultze*, the one the Gouernour of Strigonium, and the other of Peſth; whileſt that *Collonitz* with the horſemen ſcouring alongſt the bankes of the riuer of Danubius, tooke the charge by land. And ſo it fortuned, that vpon the 22 day of Auguſt he with his horſemen neere vnto the village of Moharſch (famous for the death of King *Lewis*) fell vpon the head of the Turks armie, led by the Baſſa *Murat*, conſiſting of ſix thouſand Turkes, two thouſand of them being Ianizaries: who altogether lay encamped vpon an euen plaine, verie commodious for our horſemen, who let ſlip neither the time nor the opportunitie of ſo great an aduantage offered them, but forthwith charged them: where after a number of notable charges both giuen and receiued, which ſtill abated both the number and courage of the Turkes, they at laſt retired toward the bodie of their armie, and that in ſuch haſt, as that their retreat little differed from a ſpeedie flight. After whome *Collonitz* followed, with like heate as hee had charged them; but euill followed by his friends, who euill performed their charge, ſeeking after

A notable enterpriſe of Collonitz vpon the auantguard of the Turks army

the ſpoyle in ſtead of purſuing of their enemies; the Turkes perceiuing the ſmall number
that purſued them, turned vpon them, and ſo began againe not onely to make ſtrong reſiſtance, G
but euen right hardly to charge them. Who ſo by them preſſed with no leſſe courage than
power, were now glad themſelues to retire in ſtead of purſuing of the victorie, but yet ſo,
as that the retreat was made without any great loſſe therein receiued. Howbeit, the Turkes
not a little encouraged with this change of Fortune, and perceiuing themſelues too ſtrong
for their enemies that charged them, came on ſo faſt and ſo couragiouſly, as that in fine they
had defeated the Chriſtians, had not the Haiduckes out of their boats from the Riuer in
good time come reſolutely to their reliefe. Which cloud the Turkes perceiuing, readie to
poure forth a great tempeſt vpon their heads, and not daring to abide the ſame, againe retired,
leauing the Chriſtians victors both in the firſt and laſt charge: who not content with the H
retreat of the Turks, furiouſly charged them, and purſued them euen vnto their great campe,
and ſo returned, carrying backe with them both the glorie of the field, and the ſpoile of their
enemies.

Collonitz in good time relieued by the Haiduckes.

The Turkes affaires and deſignes made knowne vnto the Chriſtians by Saxar Beg, by them taken priſoner.

In this conflict the red cornet of *Murat Baſſa*, the cogniſance of his great command, was
taken, with two field-pieces, ſeuen hundred Turkes were left dead vpon the place, and ſixſcore
moe taken priſoners; amongſt whome was *Saxar Beg*: who being a man of vnderſtanding, and
by the Chriſtians examined, confeſſed, That *Haſſan Baſſa* the day before this conflict came into
the campe, and there honourably dined with the great Cham: with whom after their great
cheere he entring into diſcourſe of many great matters, and among the reſt, concerning his returne
into his countrey; was much againſt the ſame, vntill ſuch time as they had new victualled I
Buda, whereunto he was (as hee ſaid) both in honour and in duetie bound to giue his aſſiſtance,
the loſſe of this good place being of ſo great importance vnto the great Sultan. That
otherwiſe his aid had beene to him rather hurtfull than profitable, his people hauing deuoured
ſo much victuals and performed nothing, if he ſhould now at this time faile to doe his
Prince ſeruice, who could neuer thinke either valour or fidelitie to be in him, if hee ſhould
faile in ſuch actions as wherein his valour and fidelitie ſhould appeare; all things hauing no
other credit and reputation, but according vnto their effects. And that therefore he ſhould reſolue
to ſee the end of this exploit, which required euery mans helping hand for the performance
thereof, conſidering the forces of the enemie in readineſſe to hinder the ſame. Moreouer,
hee aſſured them, that the Baſſaes purpoſe was to new fortifie Haſwar, Pax, and Kaletſch K
frontier caſtles, and neceſſarie for this action, and ſo to goe to the ſiege of Peſth; and that done,
to beſiege Strigonium, which for all that he doubted to win this yeare, as well by reaſon of
the approch of Winter, as for that a great part of his forces were far off, and not eaſily in a little
time to be aſſembled together. That the Tarters were yet a great way from the campe, where
the Baſſaes of Aſia and Caramania were within a few daies expected; the one of them leading
with him the reconciled Rebels of Aſia, and the other ſix thouſand Ianizaries. Which his confeſſion
although it were not altogether true, yet carried it ſhew of ſome probability, as time
by proofe afterward declared.

The negligence of certain Chriſtian ſouldiers forgetful of diuers duties.

Some of our men were in this charge ſlaine alſo, but few in compariſon of the Turks, who
there loſt ſome of their beſt men. It was noted, that in this conflict the ſouldiers of Colonell L
Sultze had euill behaued themſelues, refuſing to purſue the enemie being in flight, whether it
were for that they feared ſome ambuſh laid for them, or for that they diſdained to follow the
Generall *Collonitz*: the reaſons perhaps for which their Colonell ſtayed them from the purſuit
of the enemie, but to euill purpoſe: for being out of order at ſuch time as the Turkes
turning backe, renewed the fight, they had beene all ſlaine and cut in pieces, had not the Haiduckes
in good time (as wee ſaid) come on to their reſcue. As for *Collonitz*, hee moſt brauely
bare himſelfe in this conflict, ſo much as in him was vrging his good fortune, for the obtaining
of a full victorie; ſometime performing the part of a good Captaine, and ſometime of a
valiant ſouldier; ſometime forcing the charge, and againe ſtaying his men in their retreat: inſomuch, M
that oftentimes loſt amongſt his enemies, and againe returning by the grace of God,
hee eſcaped death as it were by myracle, and from beeing taken priſoner, by chance. Into
neither of which dangers hee could haue fallen, without the danger of the whole armie;
which, next vnto God, was for the ſafetie thereof beholding vnto the valour of him their
ſo braue a Leader. But God in his wiſedome createth not ſuch worthie men, but by his pro-

The great and braue endeuor of Collonitz to haue obtained the victory ouer the Turkes.

uidence

A uidence alſo to preſerue them: wonder it were otherwiſe, that euer ſuch worthie men ſhould returne from amongſt the midſt of ſo many deſperat dangers, death as it were enuying at their liues, and their enemies for their glory chuſing them out to triumph of their ſpoiles and ouerthrow. And without doubt, had the reſt of the Chriſtians after his example proſecuted their good fortune, and done what good ſouldiers ſhould of duty haue done, their enemies had bin quite ouerthrowne, and they themſelues had beene both victorious and rich; where now for lacke of good reſolution, the victory was almoſt equall. For beſide the ſpoiles by them gotten, they might haue carried away with them a whole yeres pay, due to the gariſon of Buda, which the Turks (put into a feare, and carefull onely of their liues) had left in their camp; which they afterward againe recouered, vpon the recouerie of their force and courage. This money, with
B much more, was all appointed as a prey vnto the good fortune of our men, had their valor had the courage to haue gone to fetch it; but failing of their endeauour in ſo glorious an action, Fortune failed them alſo of her bountie.

A great & rich bootie loſt through the negligence of the Chriſtians.

Now at length the armie of the Chriſtians was met together, about the fourth of September, wherein the Lord *Ruſſworm* commanded as Generall: who deſirous to vnderſtand of the Turks affaires and deſignes, ſent forth two of his moſt truſty and expert ſouldiers to performe that piece of ſeruice: who in Turkes apparell beeing got into the Turkes armie, were there eight daies vndiſcouered or ſuſpected of any. Where, after that they roaming vp and downe, had taken a full view of the Turkes armie, and in what they might diſcouered their deſignes, they returning backe, declared vnto the Generall what they had both there heard and ſeene:
C as, That the Turks armie was verie great, but yet not ſuch, as that which the laſt yeare had beſieged Peſth: That the Turkes lay encamped at large, and not cloſe together, which cauſed their armie to ſeeme the greater, taking vp for the lodgement thereof halfe a league, beeing well prouided of cannon and other field pieces: That *Haſſan Baſſa* commanded therein as Generall, hauing brought with him twelue thouſand Ianizaries, beſide his horſemen, and the reconciled Rebels of Aſia, which were dayly looked for, the leader of whome was not knowne: ſome thinking it to be him who had alwayes commanded them, being a moſt valiant man, and expert Commander; but ſome other deeming him to bee but one of his Captaines that had forſaken him (as indeed hee was) a right valiant man alſo, but not of ſo great experience as hee: That the great Tartar Han, come to aid the Turkes in their warres in Hun-
D garie, was (to the great diſcontentment of *Haſſan Baſſa* the Turkes Generall) now alreadie returned towards his own countrie (with ſuch bootie and priſoners as he had got from the poore Chriſtians) to appeaſe a rebellion there raiſed by a young Tartar Prince his Nephew, who by *his* Vncle the great Han, giuen in hoſtage vnto Sultan *Mahomet*, and kept at Conſtantinople as in priſon, hauing found meanes to make an eſcape, and to returne into Tartarie, was about to *trouble* his Vncles affaires, in hope now in his abſence to mount vnto the Throne of his eſtate: and that the Tartar beeing come to the banke of Danubius, and by the Turkes denied boats to paſſe ouer the Riuer in, and with many railing and opprobrious ſpeeches by them charged for his departure as a coward, had found meanes to make a flaoting bridge of great faggots, whereby hee paſſed his footmen ouer the Riuer, his horſemen ſwimming ouer the
E ſame; and ſo was by great iournies returning home, boaſting by the way as he went, that hee had reiected and troden vnder foot all the prayers and requeſts of *Haſſan Baſſa*, entreating him yet to ſtay a while in Hungarie for the ſeruice of the great Sultan his Maſter. Beſides that, That they had ſeene ſix great veſſels vpon the riuer of Danubius, with ten leſſer veſſels following of them, manned with three thouſand ſouldiers well armed, and men of good ſort, three hundred of them being Ianizaries, appointed to ſafe conduct the munition to be brought vp the riuer, and to ſerue for a conuoy vnto the other veſſels that were to follow them with victuals, if happily the Chriſtians ſhould attempt to doe any thing againſt them. And in fine, That the Turkes army could not this yeare poſſibly be great, by reaſon of many great lets wherewith the great Sultan was this yeare troubled: which much abated both the courage and hope of his Captains, who hanging their heads came, vnwillingly to theſe wars, accounting themſelues happy, if they might in this expedition but take Peſth, that they might not returne ſo much diſhonoured, as they came danted and diſcouraged. With which newes the Chriſtians were ſo much encouraged to encounter with the Turks, as if they had been aſſured to fight with men already diſcouraged and out of heart.

The Lord Ruſſworm Generall of the Chriſtian army, by his eſpials certainly enformed of the eſtate of the Turkes armie.

The Turks ouerthrowne by the garriſon of Strigonium.

The Turkes defeated by Colonel Sultze.

In the meane time the Huſſars of Strigonium, alwaies readie for fight, by good fortune going foorth, met with foure hundred Turkes ſeeking for forrage: who encountering together, at the firſt made a moſt braue and gallant fight, euerie one of them wiſhing, That their priuate ſucceſſe might bee the beginning of their generall victorie. But the Huſſars being both more skilfull in that manner of skirmiſhing and ſudden encounter, and alſo of greater courage, at length brake the Turks rankes: of whome; ſix ſcore lay dead vpon the ground moſt of the reſt were taken priſoners, with an hundred and thirtie good and ſeruiceable horſes, wherewith both the glorie and the profit of their victorie was encreaſed. Colonell *Sultze* alſo with three hundred men marching out from the campe, chanced to diſcouer an hundred of thoſe braue] horſemen which but newly came out of Aſia with *Zellaly* the Rebell; who hauing neuer ſeene the armie of the Chriſtians, nor yet felt of their forces, were with three hundred Ianizaries vpon a brauerie come ouer the riuer of Danubius, to take a view of the Chriſtian campe: for the drawing on of whome, the politique Colonell had ſent forth fiftie of his horſemen a great way from the reſt of his troupe, as it were to diſcouer the countrey thereabout. Theſe forerunners fayled not to meet with the Turkes, as if it had been by chance, and were by them forthwith charged, as thinking to haue had a great hand ouer that ſo ſmall a number; when vpon the ſudden *Sultze* with the reſt of his companie comming on, and hotly charging them, encouraged his owne men, and diſcouraged the Turkes: who ſurpriſed with feare, thinking the Chriſtians to bee more in number than indeed they were, hauing left ſome fiftie of their men dead vpon the place, as men diſmayed and void of vnderſtanding, fled. In which flight, ſuch as were not by the Chriſtians ſlaine, were in the riuer of Danubius drowned, whereinto they for feare all headlong plunged themſelues.

The General of the Chriſtian army prouidently fortifieth vpon the riuer of Danubius.

All theſe little conflicts ſerued but as ſparkes to kindle the great fire by the Baſſa entended; his firſt purpoſe beeing to put a conuoy of victuals into Buda, which the Chriſtians thought by all meanes to hinder; which ſo contrarie intentions were not but by force and policie to be decided. The Chriſtian Generall wiſely doubting leſt the Baſſa ſhould come and lodge his armie betwixt Vicegrade and Buda, and ſo victuall the citie at his pleaſure, raiſed a ſtrong fort of an old Church betwixt the ſaid two places, and therein lodged a Regiment of Lanſquenets. Beſide which fort, called the fort of Saint *Andrew*, he built another at the head thereof in the Iſle of Vicegrade, in ſuch order and proportion, that theſe two forts might one of them defend the other, and annoy them that ſhould attempt to force either of them. Together with this commodiouſneſſe, the fort in the Iſle kept the paſſage vpon Danubius free and open for the bringing of victuals and other neceſſaries to the campe of the Chriſtians; and was but a league and an halfe from Buda: into which fort was put a Regiment of foure thouſand Italians, beeing all verie well armed. Which done, he made a bridge of boats vpon the Riuer, which began in the campe, and ended at the Iſle, for the relieuing of the fort; and ſo from thence paſſed quite ouer the riuer to Vacia, a little towne, which it was needfull for the Chriſtians to keepe.

The Turks aſſailing one of the forts of the Chriſtiãs, with loſſe repulſed.

The Turkes made a bridge ouer the riuer of Danubius.

A great ambuſh laid for the intercepting of the Turkes.

Theſe forts finiſhed according to the neceſſitie of the time, it was not long after, but that the Baſſa ſent ten thouſand Turkes both horſe and foot to take the firſt of them, which they ſuppoſed to haue beene but weakely fortified. Who comming thither, were with ſuch courage receiued by the Lanſquenets with their harquebuſes, as that the whole fort ſeemed to haue beene on fire. Wherewith the Turkes diſmayed, as men in their expectation deceiued, and in approching of the ſame hauing ſome of their men ſlaine, and moe hurt, they ſounded a retreat, and hauing done nothing, but loſt a number of their men, returned to their campe from whence they came. In which enterpriſe they failing, they reſolued vpon another, and began to make a bridge ouer Danubius, in hope thereby to paſſe ouer, and to annoy the Chriſtians on the other ſide of the riuer. Whereof the Generall of the Chriſtians vnderſtanding, ſuffered them without any interruption to ſpend the time in performing of the ſame. But certainely enformed by his eſpials, both of the day and houre wherein they were about to paſſe ouer, he layed an ambuſh of foure thouſand Lanſquenets and two thouſand Reiſters for them, in ſuch place as from whence they might without danger doe great harme vnto the enemie, and aſſure the bodie of the Chriſtian armie. The riuer of Danubius had growing vpon the bankes thereof, and eſpecially in the deſolate and vnfrequented places, great ſtore of flags

and

A and reeds; which were now thicke, and high enough to couer theſe footmen in, hauing with them foure culuerins readie charged. Behinde this ambuſh lay Colonel *Collonitz* with his regiment, and in the head of it the Prince *Ioinuille* with a certaine number of French gentlemen, who vpon a braue courage, and a deſire they had to ſee ſeruice, had followed him into thoſe wars. There was alſo the Lord of Baſſomperre another French Lord, with his own priuat followers, in number few, but in valor great. Vpon the flanks lay foure troups of Carabins French men, Loranoiſes, and Wallons, moſt expert and reſolute ſouldiers.

The Turks hauing made their bridge, began now to paſſe ouer the ſame, being charged by ſome few ſtragling and looſe forerunners of the Chriſtians, ſent before for that purpoſe: whom the Turks not much regarding, ſtill preſſed on, in hope to ouertake them, and to cut B them in pieces, not aware of the ambuſh laid for them, nor of their enemies counter-deſignes. The footmen in the meane time lying ſtil cloſe in the reeds in ambuſh, beholding how and in what order they paſſed, and expecting but the time when they were to begin their charge. But hauing perceiued ten thouſand of the Turks to be now come ouer, and making head toward them; the Wallons vpon the banke of the riuer (as was before appointed) firſt diſcharged their pieces vpon them and ſlew ſome few of them. Neuertheleſſe the Turks ſtill paſſing on by them, ſlew of them alſo about foure and twentie, and ſo keeping their way, marched directly toward the Chriſtians. But this their forwardneſſe was quickely ſtayed, and their courage abated: for in paſſing by they were vpon the ſudden aſſailed by the Lanſquenets & Reiſters, now riſen out of ambuſh, and by them hardly laid vnto on euery ſide; as alſo by the C horſemen, who now come in, had put them into ſome diſorder before they were well aware of them. The Wallons alſo at the firſt by the Turks ſcattered, but now againe rallied, and deſirous to reuenge the death of their friends and fellowes, now played their parts, and on another ſide right furiouſly charged their enemies. During all which fight the culuerins ceaſed not to open the flanks of the Turks battell, with the loſſe of a number of their men by the furie of them rent in pieces. Neither did *Collonitz* foreſlow ſo faire an opportunitie, but afront charging this diſmaied companie, by plaine force cauſed them to giue ground; the Carabins in the meane time charging them vpon their flanks, and the Wallons behinde. Who thus on euerie ſide beſet and hardly layd vnto; as men diſcouraged, and out of hope to be relieued, turned their backs and fled amaine, to haue recouered the bridge whereby they came ouer. In which D fight and flight two thouſand of them being ſlaine, and the reſt not able to recouer the bridge, driuen headlong into the riuer, were therein drowned and ſlaine to the number of fiue thouſand of them, thoſe which remained aliue being all taken priſoners. Amongſt the reſt, one of the Baſſa's, a man of great account amongſt the Turks, was ſlaine, with many other Captaines and Commanders of great note, and fifteene hundred Ianizaries. There were alſo foure field pieces taken, with thirtie enſignes and two cornets, beſide a very rich prey of braue and couragious horſes, with much faire armour, rich apparel, and good ſcimiters, weapons of no ſmall account and price among the Turks. This ouerthrow much abated the courage and hope of the reſt of the Turks for comming to the effect of their deſignes; and increaſed the courage and hope of the Chriſtians, reaſonably wel hereby aſſured of the good ſucceſſe of their affaires E for this yeare in Hungarie.

The Turks falling into the ambuſh laied for them by the Chriſtians, receiue a notable ouerthrow.

About this time Sultan *Mahomet* hauing put a Fleet of Gallies to ſea, to haue gone againſt the King of Fez, was certainly informed, how that the ſame with tempeſt ſore beaten, to auoid ſhipwrecke, was againe returned vnto the ſame port from whence it looſed, bringing backe with it nothing for all his great charges, but ſickeneſſe and great loſſes at ſea receiued. The like euill hap or worſe hauing at the ſame time alſo betided another Fleet by him ſet out into the Euxine or blacke ſea, to defend thoſe ſea coaſts from being rifled and ſpoyled by the Rebels in Aſia, who with their dayly incurſions did there ſtill great harme. For albeit that *Zelaly* one of the Captaines of the Rebels, allured with *Mahomet* his faire promiſes, was by the ſtrait of the Dardanelli (called in antient time the ſtrait of Helleſpont) come with twelue thouſand good ſouldiours out of Aſia into Europe, and ſo marching through Macedonia, was come into Hungarie, there to doe his Lord and Maſter ſeruice; yet the chiefe Rebell held ſtill out, and both now and for diuers yeares after maintained a moſt cruell and dangerous warre, to the great trouble of the Graund Seigniour, and the hindering of his affaires. And euen now the craftie Rebell hauing made ſhew as if he would haue ſubmitted himſelfe,

Sultan Mahomet much troubled in his affaires.

The doings of the Rebels in Aſia.

and come ouer into Europe as *Zellaly* did; and had therefore certaine gallies ſent vnto him G
from *Mahomet*, to haue tranſported him and his ſouldiors in: he now of them poſſeſſed, ſlew
all them that were ſent therein, and kept the gallies to himſelfe. So that ſo far from was it, that
the rebellion was extinguiſhed in Aſia, and the Rebels ſuppreſſed, as that they were now vp in
greater number than euer, and ſo did alſo more harme. Whereunto they were alſo the more
encouraged by the example of *Haſſan Baſſa* (not him the General in Hungarie, but another
Baſſa of the ſame name) who by the Great Sultan ſent againſt theſe Rebels, had for a time
kept them vnder, and ſomewhat repreſſed their inſolencie: but now by *Mahomet* diſplaced,
and another being ſent to ſucceed him; he therewith diſcontented, ſo animated and incenſed
his ſouldiers againſt him, as that comming to haue taken vpon him his charge, he found moſt
part of the ſouldiers readie to turne their weapons vpon him: ſo that at length they fell toge- H
ther by the eares about the matter, ſome taking part with the old General, and ſome with the
new. In which tumultuous quarrell a number of ſouldiers were ſlaine, all they of the richer
ſort ſpoiled, and the Great Sultans ſeruice and authoritie neglected. But the new General ar-
med with his Princes authoritie, and ſome of the old ſouldiers alſo taking his part, at laſt pre-
uailing, *Haſſan* the old Generall with his partakers were glad to flie and ſhift for themſelues:
who for all that, hauing afterward gathered together the diſperſed ſouldiers, and joining with
the reſt of the Rebels, held ſtill the bodie of a good armie on foot; by his example ſtirring vp
the people to rebellion, croſſing the ſeruice of his Soueraign, and doing what harme he could,
ſo to ſeeme vnto his followers the more valiant. The Perſian King on the other ſide taking
the aduantage of theſe the Turks troubles at home, as alſo of his wars with the Chriſtians; at I
the ſame time with a great armie beſieged the great citie of Tauris, as then kept by the Turks
with a moſt ſtrong garriſon. In which ſiege he for batterie vſed the helpe of the cannon, an
engine of long time by the Perſians ſcorned, as not beſeeming valiant men; vntil that by their
owne harmes taught, he was now content to vſe it; being with the ſame, as alſo with skilfull
cannoniers furniſhed by the Portugals: by which means he in ſhort time after againe recouered
this great citie from the Turks, being before by Sultan *Amurath* taken from *Mahomet* the
Perſian King, but now againe reſtored vnto the Perſian Kingdome.

The great citie of Tauris beſieged and taken by the Perſian King.

Sultan Mahomet perplexed with the euill ſucceſſe of his affaires, falleth to his ſuperſtitious deuotions

Sultan *Mahomet* thus on euery ſide beſet with troubles, and not well knowing which way to
turne himſelfe for to remedie the ſame, being in minde much troubled and perplexed, began
to enter into conſideration of the vanitie of theſe earthly things, & of the frailtie of his eſtate; K
and ſo ſtrucke as it were with a remorſe of conſcience, and a firme beleefe that God did thus
chaſtiſe and puniſh him for his offences, conſidering that his aunceſtors had neuer bin troubled
with any ſuch attaints or diſgraces, he conuerted all his thoughts vnto prayers towards God:
and therefore gaue commandement for publike prayers to be continually ſaid in all the Moſ-
quies or churches throughout all his dominions, giuing himſelf wholly alſo vnto ſuch deuout
exerciſes and works of charitie: and withall ſent two of his moſt reuerend Prieſts bare headed
and bare footed on pilgrimage to Mecha (where the chiefe Temple of their great Prophet is,
and wherein they vainly beleeue their ſuperſtitious praiers to be of him moſt ſpeedily heard)
there to pray vnto him for the health and proſperitie of him their Prince and Soueraigne.

A great fight of a Flemiſh ſhip with the gallies of Amurat Rais

At the ſame time, *Amurat Rais* an old pyrat the Turks Admiral for the Weſt part of the Me- L
diterranian, roaming there vp and down, and doing what harme he could, chanced to light vp-
on a great Flemiſh ſhip, which he with his gallies forthwith encloſed, the calmeneſſe of the
weather then fauouring him, and hindring the Flemings, their ſhip being able to make no way.
Who ſo beſet, and hauing made a great fight againſt the whole fleet, and ſlain a number of the
Turks, and ſore rent diuers of their gallies, though not without loſſe of many of their own men
alſo; being not able longer to fight, and now ſeeing themſelues boorded by as many Turks as
could well ſtand vpon the hatches of the ſhip, & their gallies hanging round about her; as men
of inuincible courage, and reſolued to die, and yet to ſell their liues at as deere a rate as they
could, laid all the pouder they had left in the ſhip on an heape together, & thereunto vpon the
ſudden put fire, by force whereof the Turks with the hatches were al blown vp, the Flemings M
with their ſhip rent in pieces, together with diuers of the gallies that were faſt grapled vnto
her, and an incredible harme done vnto ſuch other of the gallies as were neere vnto her. Men
worthie alwayes to vanquiſh, ſeeing that they feare nothing more than to be themſelues van-
quiſhed: and more worthie to haue liued for the glorie of men, than by their crueltie to
haue

A haue periſhed to the diſhonor of men. The old pyrat aſtonied at ſo great and deſperat a reſolution, hauing in this exploit loſt much, and gained nothing, haſted to the ſhore to repaire his rent gallies, and ſo to put to ſea againe: Where he had not long beene, but that he by chance (and that full ſore againſt his will) met with the great Duke of Florence his gallies, accounted the beſt gallies in the world, and ſuch as now at this preſent moſt troubled the Turkes deſignes. At which meeting, after many a thundering cannon ſhot on both ſides diſcharged, not without the apparant loſſe on the Turks behalfe, when they ſhould haue come to haue grapled together, and to haue fought hand to hand, a thing which the Florentines moſt deſired, as in hope to haue made that famous pyrat the prize of their victorie; he not willing ſo to do, ſuddenly turned about and fled; after whom the Florentines followed amaine, and in the chaſe B ſunke ſome of his gallies, and tooke other ſome full of great riches: and ſo brake the credit of this old and renowned Pyrat, as that for a great while after he was little by the Chriſtians feared vpon that coaſt. But leauing *Mahomet* to his deuotions, & the old pyrat to bewaile his loſſes, let vs againe returne to ſee what the great armies of the Turks and of the Chriſtians did more in Hungarie.

The Turkes in a skirmiſh by the Chriſtians ouerthrowne.

While theſe armies lay encamped the one attending vpon the other, many an hot skirmiſh paſſed betwixt them, moſt whereof ſorted vnto the hurt and loſſe of the Turks. Among others it fortuned, that a troupe of aduenturers going out of the Chriſtian army to ſeeke after booty, fell vpon a like troup of the Turks, come out for the like purpoſe: where after a ſharp encounter on both ſides giuen and receiued, the Turks at length put to the worſe & defeated, betook C themſelues to flight, hauing left a number of their fellowes dead vpon the place, and loſt two of their enſignes, with an hundred and thirty horſes of ſeruice. In which chaſe the Chriſtians hardly purſuing them, draue a number moe of them into the Danubius, wherein they moſt miſerably periſhed; and tooke a great many moe priſoners, amongſt whom were found aboue fourescore Italian renegates, who brought into the camp, were as enemies vnto God, in a martiall court all condemned to be hanged, and ſo accordingly executed, ſauing the Captain himſelfe, who for the regard of his place was beheaded.

Eighty Italian renegates hanged.

The Turkes army greatly diminiſhed and diſcouraged.

Shortly after, the great Baſſa ariſing with his armie, came in the beginning of October and encamped neere Buda, both for the preſeruation of the place, and the ſafetie of his armie, now greatly diminiſhed both in number and courage. For it was certainely knowne by diuers fugi- D tiues from the Turkes, that in theſe many conflicts they had loſt a number of their beſt ſouldiers, but eſpecially of their Ianizaries. So that the Baſſa for the ſupplying of that defect, was glad to make choice of 6000 of his beſt ſoldiers, whom armed with muskets and ſcimitars, the proper armes of the Ianizaries, he entertained into the roomes and pay of the Ianizaries that were dead and ſlaine: the reſt of his armie for the moſt part conſiſting of bare and feeble baſe raw ſouldiers. Beſides this, that all the army was full of mourning and lamentation, the ſouldiers in all places bewailing the loſſe of their brethren, their friends, and companions: ſo that in ſtead of their wonted threats and brauerie, nothing was to be heard but ſighing and complaining. And moreouer, that the generall opinion conceiued of the greatneſſe of the Chriſtian army (imagined to bee much greater and ſtronger than indeed it was) had ſtrucke ſuch a feare into the E mindes of the Turks, as that they were reſolued, Buda being once victualled, to returne home, all their other proud deſignes for this yeare ſet apart: which was the cauſe that they had diſlodged with their army, and drawne neere vnto the city, the better to attend to the new victualling thereof, and ſo to be gone; accounting themſelues right happie, if they might but performe that good piece of ſeruice and ſaue themſelues.

The Chriſtians with their army follow the Turks.

The Chriſtians before in doubt leſt the Turkes ſhould haue beſieged Peſth, as they had before giuen it forth they would, and ſeeing them now to be riſen with their armie and encamped neere vnto Buda, reſolued to follow them, and in what they might to croſſe their deſignes: and thereupon leauing Peſth, as now out of danger, they roſe alſo, and came and encamped before the fort in the Iſle of Vicegrade, betwixt the ſaid fort and Vacia, where they ſtayed foure dayes, and then by a bridge which they made vpon the Danubie, whereby to paſſe from the Iſle where the Italians lay in garriſon, vnto the fort of S. *Andrew*, kept by the Lanſquenets, they with the whole armie paſſed the riuer, and ſo came and encamped before the fort of Saint *Andrew*, in the face of the enemie. Now the field betwixt the heads of the two armies was plaine and open, without woods, buſhes, or riuers, to hinder the ioining of a ſet battell. In which ſo fit a place, the Chriſtians incouraged with the feare of their enemies, and the diminiſhing of their number and courage (whereof they had got knowledge as well by their tumultuous riſing, as by other aduertiſements) were deſirous in ſo fauourable occaſions, to haue giuen them battell; and for the deſire they had thereof, were come thither to ſeeke it: which the Turkes on the other ſide ſought as much to ſhun, not daring to aduenture themſelues vnto the fortune of a generall battell, for all the bragges they had made. Neuertheleſſe, very ſhame arming them with ſome reſolution, they put forth into the field a battalion of fiue thouſand men, fiue daies after that the Chriſtians were encamped on that ſide of the Riuer. This battell of the Turkes came marching on, within halfe a quarter of a league of the Chriſtians; which they would not haue done but vpon the confidence of a greater number following of them, hauing behinde them ten thouſand men both horſe and foot layed as cloſe as they poſſibly could a little out of the way. Now the Chriſtians thinking of no other forces ready to fight, but thoſe which appeared in their ſight, ſent forth twelue hundred men againſt theſe fiue thouſand Turkes, to skirmiſh with them, vntill the whole armie were put into order, euen for a generall battell that day to haue beene fought, if the Turkes ſhould accept thereof; whereunto the Generall, the Colonels, Captaines, and ſouldiers in generall, were fully enclined, the whole armie with great cheerefulneſſe marching on foot, at this loud alarme of their common deſire.

The Chriſtians reſolue to giue the Turks battell.

Which had not failed to bring forth great change of effects, had the Turkes beene likewiſe diſpoſed for the producing of the ſame. But they bee the extraordinarie fauours of Fortune, when fit occaſions ioyne themſelues with braue reſolutions, and ſuch reſolutions with meanes to effect the ſame. This is the let of many moſt noble trophies, which moſt commonly faile, either for lacke of fit occaſion, or for lacke of good reſolution for the performance of them. But as moſt men iudge of other mens conceits by their owne inclination, ſo the Chriſtians themſelues, reſolued to giue battell, thought the Turkes their enemies to haue beene of the ſame reſolution: and thoſe fiue thouſand men to haue beene the head of the auantguard, followed with the whole armie, comming to draw them out to skirmiſh vntill the comming on of the reſt of their forces.

The Turks ſeek to draw the Chriſtians into the danger of their ambuſh.

Howbeit their deſigne was quite contrarie to this the Chriſtians hope, for their purpoſe was onely to traine them out into their ambuſhes, ſo without danger to cut them in pieces. Of which their purpoſe they gaue ſufficient teſtimonie, and cauſe of ſuſpect; for that the skirmiſh hauing continued three houres, with ſome loſſe on both ſides, the Turkes armie appeared not: and theſe fiue thouſand Turkes now in skirmiſh, by little and little retiring, ſought ſo to haue drawne the Chriſtians into the danger of their ambuſh. Which their manner of fight cauſed the Chriſtians to ſuſpect the matter: for it was not like, that fiue thouſand men ſhould giue ground to twelue hundred, if they had not had ſome ſecret meaning therein, which they ſought to effect to their more aduantage. Which cauſed the Chriſtian Carabins which followed them, not to bee too earneſt in purſuing of them, and more cloſely to ſerre themſelues together, the better to endure the ſhocke of their enemies, if they ſhould charge them. Neither were they in that their prouident feare deceiued: for the Turkes ſeeing their purpoſe diſcouered, and themſelues now out of hope to effect the ſame, vpon the ſudden made a ſtand, and ſo preſently comming on, hardly charged the formoſt of our Carabins: who as men halfe ſurpriſed, to ſee themſelues ſo readily and reſolutely charged, by men who but now made ſhew as if they would haue fled, were not able ſo valiantly to receiue the charge (conſidering the great number of them by whome they were charged) but that ſome few of them were ouerthrowne and ſlaine, with ſome of the Hungarians amongſt them.

A conflict betwixt the Turkes and the Chriſtians.

Howbeit they made good reſiſtance, and right valiantly repulſed their enemies, of whom they ſlew a good number alſo. The preaſe in this conflict was great, euerie one deſiring to ſhew himſelfe braue and couragious in the head of his owne armie. But new ſupplies ſtill comming in, the Turkes in fine ſhrunke backe and retired, hauing left three hundred of their fellowes dead vpon the place, accompanied with an hundred of the Chriſtians there ſlaine likewiſe. Now vpon the retreat on both ſides, euery man in his conceit appointed the next day for the generall day of battell: the bragging ſpeeches of the Turkes giuing the Chriſtians occaſion ſo to thinke; for why, they ſeldome or neuer refuſe battell being offered them by the Chriſtians, as wel for the confidence they commonly haue in their multitude, as for the fooliſh opinion they haue of the ineuitable predeſtination of men to life or death: accounting it amongſt them an eternall infamie, A famie, to refuſe any combat againſt the Chriſtians; which howſoeuer it fall out, ſhould ſort to their aduantage, by vanquiſhing gaining the fruits of their victory; and by loſing their liues in battell, to gaine the joyes of heauen: being vainly perſuaded, no mens ſoules to go more readily vnto heauen, than the ſoules of ſuch as die in battell againſt the Chriſtians. Such effects old ſuperſtitious opinions are able to worke in the mindes of men, euen to the deſperat aduenturing and ſpending of their liues. Howbeit that this effect for this time witneſſeth, that theſe men with all theſe aduantages as much feared the danger as any other poore faint hearted men; and that a ſtrong apprehenſion of feare is able to preuaile againſt all cuſtoms and perſuaſions, be they neuer ſo old, as alſo againſt all other accidents whatſoeuer. For why, the Turks contenting themſelues with their great bragges and vaine threats, came not forth according to B their promiſe, neither could by any meanes be drawne to aduenture themſelues vnto the hazard of a general battell. The loſſe of their great and choiceſt men diſcouraged and deterred them from aduenturing all to the hazard of ſo great a perill. For (as I haue ſaid) almoſt all their Ianizaries and moſt valiant ſouldiours were dead or ſlaine, and the reſt, men of ſmall ſpirit or courage, reſerued that little which was in them, for the ſafegard of themſelues, and not for the gaining of any notable victorie. They had alſo in theſe often conflicts loſt all their Erasbles, which are a deſperate kinde of ſouldiours fighting on horſebacke without ſaddles, hauing onely a little piece of tapeſtrie vpon their horſes backes, and by the readineſſe of their horſes do for a long time in one ſort maintaine their fight. They carry light darts made of ſtrait and faire canes, excellently wel made, and ſtrongly armed; and their handie weapons C are good ſables, or broad and ſharpe curtleaſſes. Theſe men a great while fought moſt valiantly in the laſt combats, but in fine were all ſlaine, except ſome few which caſt themſelues into Danubius, and were there drowned. The loſſe of which men much diſcouraged the Turks; for why, their ſeruice ſtood them in great ſtead in receiuing the enemies charges, and with their bodies couering of the Turks ſquadrons in their greateſt perils and combats. Howbeit the Turks receiued not theſe loſſes without returning of ſome part thereof to vs againe: For *Collonitz* had a little before fallen into great danger of his perſon, and loſt ſome of his followers in an enterpriſe of great moment, had the effect anſwered vnto the proiect thereof. While the Turkes yet lodged in the Iſle of Vicegrade, he cauſed eight great field pieces to be ſo placed, as that therewith he ſo much annoyed the Turks, that they were about to haue forſaken the place. And the more to force them ſo to do, the ſecond of October he embarqued himſelfe with ſix hundred Haiducks vpon the Danubius, and ſo by night with great ſilence landed neere vnto the enemies, thinking ſo vpon the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed them. Which for all that could not ſo ſecretly be done, by reaſon of the comming on of the day, but that the Turks were thereof aware; who thereupon with great preiſe iſſued out of their trenches, and with all their force and power charged him. Againſt whom he made head, rather vpon a braue and conſtant reſolution, than vpon any confidence he had in his owne forces, not hauing men ynow to withſtand the leaſt part of his enemies. Which his ſo great reſolution ſo abated the Turks fury, as that they ſtood a good while in doubt to charge men ſo reſolued. The field pieces which he had brought ouer with him into the Iſle, then ſerued him to good purpoſe, beating them backe with their murthering bullets, who with their number thought to haue ouerwhelmed him. Which good helpe oppoſed againſt the number of the enemies, for a time ballanced the victorie, and wrought the death of many on both ſides. This manner of fight endured the ſpace of two houres, maintained more by reſolution than by ſtrength and power. At length for all that, the Turks with their number preuailing, the Chriſtians therewith rather oppreſſed than vanquiſhed, forſaking their field pieces, diſorderly retired toward their boats. After whom the Turks eagerly following, in that purſuit ſlew 400 of the Haiducks, the reſt with much ado recouering their boats, carrying with them their General, by them hardly defended from the furie of the enemie. Which loſſe happened not ſo vnto the Chriſtians, but that it was mingled with ſome loſſe of the Turks alſo, of whom the moſt forward and couragious were in that fight ſlaine, as was afterwards knowne by certaine priſoners of theirs afterward taken, who made report of the loſſes by them there receiued. The Turks by this ſo deſperat & dangerous an attempt warned to preuent the like for the time to come, caſt vp great trenches in the Iſle alongſt the banke of Danubius, therein placing certaine Ianizaries and other their beſt ſoldiers, who there lay vntil the diſlodgement of the camp to go to lie before Buda.

The Turkes refuſe to come to a general battell with the Chriſtians.

Erasbles what manner of ſoldiers they be amõg the Turks.

Collonitz in going about to ſurpriſe the Turkes, with loſſe repulſed, and himſelf indangered.

The bridge of Lamaſcin taken & broken by the Gouernor of Stiria.

The Turkes had before built a bridge of boats at Lamaſcin, which gaue them paſſage into Stiria, where they did great harme; for the ſtrengthening whereof they had built at both ends thereof a ſtrong fort, well furniſhed both with men and munition. This bridge ſo commodious for the Turks, and hurtfull to the Chriſtians, *Trantmeſtorf* Gouernor of Stiria, and a great Commander in thoſe parts, with his Stirian troupes and ſome good aid brought vnto him by the Countie *Serin*, vndertooke to breake. Vpon which reſolution he vpon the ſudden approched one of the aforeſaid forts, and ſo right furiouſly aſſailed the ſame before they in the fort were well aware of his comming. In which doing he cauſed the greateſt noiſe and ſtirre that was poſſible to be made with trumpets, drummes, and clattering of armour, as if it had been ſome great armie employed in that action, the more to terrifie the beſieged. Which ſo great and dreadfull a noiſe, joyned vnto ſo braue an attempt, with ſo great courage begun, ſtrucke ſuch a terror into the mindes of the Turks, that they without any great reſiſtance quitted the place, and fled ouer the bridge to the other fort. Of which forſaken fort the Chriſtians became maſters, and with all ſpeed proſecuting their good fortune, preſently drew out thereof three cannons, and therewith battered the other Fort. In which the Turks, hauing no other place of refuge to flee vnto, nor hope of ſafetie but in their laſt valour, ſo well behaued themſelues, as that the Chriſtians had much ado to force them. Howbeit a breach being made by the furie of the canon, and ſcaling ladders ſet vp, the fort was on euery ſide aſſaulted; which the Turks for the ſpace of fiue houres ſo valiantly endured, as that it was hard to ſay who ſhould preuaile or haue the better. In this aſſault were many on both ſides ſlaine; the Turkes not being to be ouercome but with the loſſe both of their liues and honour; nor the Chriſtians able to retyre without loſing the fruit of that their ſo great and rich an enterpriſe: So that the aſſault was with great reſolution on both ſides maintained, the Turkes fighting for their liues, and the Chriſtians for their honour; vntill that at laſt the Turkes with much ſlaughter ouercome, the fort was by the Chriſtians taken, and moſt of the Turks therein being ſlain, and the reſt taken priſoners, both the forts were forthwith raſed, and the bridge broken, which before had ſerued for an ordinarie paſſage for the Turks to forrage and ſpoile the Chriſtian territories by. The boats whereof the bridge was made were all burnt, and ſome great ordnance therein found broken in pieces and caſt into the riuer.

Lugaze a ſtrōg place deliuered to Baſta.

At the ſame time Lugaze a place of great importance for the ſeruice of the Emperour, and ſo neere vnto the Turks, as that they could hardly attempt any thing thereabouts, but that it might from thence be diſcouered and knowne, was by the Tranſyluanians deliuered to *Baſta* General for the Emperor in that country. From which place he ſending out certain ſcouts toward Belgrade, they brought in with them certaine priſoners; who being examined, ſaid, that *Haſſan Baſſa* the Turks General in Hungarie, had writ to *Giaffer Baſſa* the Gouernor of Temeſwar, That he ſhould only attend to the preſeruation of his owne, without attempting any thing further againſt the Chriſtians, the preſent eſtate of their affaires ſo requiring: And that hauing reuictualled Buda, his purpoſe was for this yeare to returne, in hope of ſome good peace to be ere long concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperor.

The Chriſtians offer the Turks battell.

The two armies of the Turkes and the Chriſtians lay ſtill neere the one of them vnto the other, the Turkes carefull for the reuictualling of Buda, and the Chriſtians ſtill intentiue to their doings, and deſirous in what they might to hinder and fruſtrate the ſame. Which becauſe they could no way better do than by offering of them battell; they thereupon generally reſolued, vpon a Friday being the ſeuenteenth of October, the day by them aſſigned for the battell (hauing by the ſhooting off of three great cannons giuen warning vnto the ſouldiours throughout the campe, for the preparing of themſelues firſt toward God, and then to the ſeruice of their Prince) after they had well refreſhed themſelues, in good order tooke the field, and ſo ſtood readie ranged there, either to giue or to accept of battel. Before whom the Countie *Ringraue* was ſent forth with his regiment, about halfe the way betwixt the two armies, to diſcouer the mouing of the enemie, and to receiue his firſt charge if occaſion ſhould ſo require. Whoſe Scouts before ſent forth, about noone diſcouered a troupe of horſemen come out of the Turks campe, about ſome buſineſſe they had to do, but to them vnknowne: whome the Scouts ſuppoſing to haue beene the forerunners of the Turks armie, and by them almoſt ſurpriſed, haſtily retyred back again, and by their haſtie retreat put the whole armie in an alarme, which came brauely marching on, in hope now to haue come to trie the matter by true va-

A lour, and by the fortune of a generall battell to haue made that day for euer famous by their victory and the ouerthrow of their proud enemies. And in the heat of their ſo great courage like enough as it was for them to haue performed the ſame, had the Turkes had but ſo much courage in them as to haue met them in the field, as was wel hoped they now would. But they with their former loſſes diſcouraged, and reſolued only vpon the ſafegard of themſelues, and the victualling of Buda, had no minde to enter into theſe honorable liſts, but kept themſelues cloſe within the couert of their tents and the ſtrength of their trenches. And ſo the Chriſtians with a falſe alarme moued, and hauing for the moſt part of the day in vaine expected the comming forth of their enemies, returned into their campe deceiued of their expectation.

The Turkes refuſe to accept of battell offered them by the Chriſtians.

The ſame day there was an eſpie taken, whom they which tooke him thought to haue beene B a Turke, howbeit he was found to be one of their owne men; by whom they were better enformed of the cowardiſe of the Turks, of their purpoſe for the ſhunning of battel, and of their reſolution for the keeping of themſelues within the ſafegard of their trenches, and that they ſo did, as wel for the loſſes they had before receiued, as for diuers other vnlucky accidents, which cauſed them to miſdoubt ſome euill ſucceſſe in the end & winding vp of this their expedition. Neuertheleſſe, the Chriſtians not greatly truſting to theſe reports, ſtill kept their armie in readines, to giue their enemies battell vpon the leaſt occaſion offered them. Howbeit, that indeed they had no great cauſe of feare, the Turkes hauing no deſire at all to come to a generall battell: ſo that in ſtead of great effects that were expected, the time paſſed but in light skirmiſhes and vaine alarmes betwixt the two armies; vntill that at length the Turks hauing by the C riuer ſufficiently ſtored the citie of Buda with victuals, the great Baſſa ſecretly by night roſe with his army, and ſo retired toward Belgrade. Which ſo baſe a retreat differed not much from a cowardly flight, being with ſuch ſilence made vnder the darke couert of the night, as that the Chriſtians had thereof no perceiuing vntill that they were quite departed and gone. This victualling of Buda and of ſome other few places of the Turks in Hungarie, was all that the great Baſſa did this yere with his great armie; whereas at his firſt comming it was giuen out, that he would therewith take both Strigonium and Peſth from the Chriſtians.

The great Baſſa hauing victualled Buda, ſecretly by night riſeth with his armie, & ſo retireth out of Hungarie.

The next day the haſtie and ſudden departure of the enemie being perceiued, the Generall of the Chriſtians called together the Colonels and other great Commanders of the armie, to conſult with them, what were beſt to be done in ſo vnexpected an occurrent? Of whom, ſome D were of opinion, That it was beſt forthwith in all haſte to purſue their fearfull enemies: otherſome for many reaſons diſſuading the ſame, and otherſome withall propounding ſome other notable exploits to bee taken in hand. But in concluſion, the ſafeſt point was reſolued vpon, which was, not to hazard any their troupes in purſuing of their flying enemies, who were hardly to be ouertaken; but now immediatly after their departure to attempt the taking in of ſome one of their ſtrong holds: where, amongſt others that were propounded, Hatwan was thought to be the moſt neceſſarie place, being ſo ſeated, as that beſide the great harme it did to the Chriſtians thereabout, it much hindered both aduertiſements and victuals to be brought vnto Peſth. Which exploit reſolued vpon, they forthwith raſed the fort of S. *Andrew*, and the fort bẏ them built in the Iſle of Vicegade, becauſe they ſhould not ſtand the Turks in any E ſtead after their departure, and ſo with all their power ſet forward toward Hatwan. This towne is ſeated beyond the riuer of Danubius toward the North, about eight leagues from Buda, croſſing the way to Tranſyluania and Caſſoua, vpon a faire and euen plaine, neere vnto a great and deepe mariſh, and was ſometime defended with good and ſtrong wals, with a caſtle, and three large and deepe ditches, for a long time in the power of the Turks, and which without loſſe a great while held out againſt the valiant Baron *Teuffenbach*, by whom it was moſt ſtraitly in vaine beſieged: vntill that afterward it was againe beſieged by *Maximilian* the Archduke, the Emperours brother, then Generall of his armie in Hungarie in the yeare 1594, vnto whom it was by compoſition ſurrendered, after it had for a certaine ſpace beene by the Turkes notably defended: who conſidering the harme this place did vnto the Emperors territories, by reaſon of the ſcituation thereof, wherein a great and ſtrong garriſon of the Turkes alwaies lying, forraged all the Chriſtian territories as farre as the riuer Vague, yea and oftentimes tooke booties as far as Strigonium, and by ſpoiling of all that ſide of Hungarie, cauſed the countrey to pay contribution as farre as Ternauie, ſtanding within foure leagues of the mountaines which ſeperat Hungarie and Morauia: all irreparable loſſes to the Chriſtians, and

The Chriſtians after the departure of the Turkes reſolue to beſiege Hatwan.

Hatwan taken & diſmantled by Maximilian the Archduke in the yere 1594

Hatwan again fortified by the Turkes.

hardly to be auoided : for which reaſons he cauſed it then to be diſmantled, and to be made
vnſeruiceable for the wars. After which time for all that, the Turks for the commodiouſneſſe G
of the place, had with great labour againe new fortified the ſame, with wals made with great
piles of wood and faggots, with earth rammed in betwixt them; a ſtronger kind of fortification,
and better able to withſtand the fury of the cannon, than are walls of ſtone : in which ſort
the Turks vſe moſt commonly to fortifie ſuch places as they meane to defend, and which oftentimes
coſt much for the Chriſtians to gaine the ſame from them.

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Graſold Generall of the Italians ſlaine.

The Turkes in Hatwan craue parley.

This place thus fortified, and both with men and munition well furniſhed, and with all
things needfull ſtored, was able to endure a great and long ſiege; whereunto the garriſon therein
was as reſolutely ſet downe, as were the Chriſtians to attempt it : where now, at their firſt
comming vnto it, a part of the Italian Regiment, aſſiſted with 300 Lanſquenets, vnder the leading H
of Countie *Sultze*, and *Graſold* Generall of the Italians, were appointed to go before the
reſt of the armie, and to begin to make the approches : which they did by forcing of a watermill,
driuen by the water of the mariſh, not paſt a musket ſhot from the town. Wherein while
they were buſied, the Turkes ſallying out of the towne, came to fight hand to hand with the
Chriſtians, and had with them a ſharpe combat, the Turkes fighting for the defending of the
place and of their liues, and the Chriſtians for the gaining of the ſame, and for their honour.
Which ſo contrarie a reſolution in that conflict coſt the liues of many; and amongſt others, the
life of *Graſold*, Generall of the Italians, there ſlaine with a harquebuſe ſhot, vnto the great hurt
of the whole armie, but eſpecially of the Italians, now depriued of ſo great and expert a Commander.
At laſt for all that, the Turks were enforced confuſedly to retire again into the towne, I
hauing in this ſallie loſt a number of their men alſo. The Chriſtians neuertheleſſe hauing driuen
the Turks backe into the towne, went forward with their buſineſſe in making their approches,
and placing their gabions to couer their cannon : wherein the Turks with their great &
ſmall ſhot did them great harme, but eſpecially with their murthering pieces, charged with
nailes and other ſmall pieces of yron. Howbeit, by the comming of the Lord *Roſſworm* with
the reſt of the armie, the approches were the next day brought on, and the batterie planted ſo
neere vnto the towne, as that the Turks could not without moſt manifeſt danger and loſſe, any
more ſally out to trouble the Chriſtians in their workes. The firſt inconuenience the beſieged
felt, was the want of water, which through the diligence of our men was ſoone taken from
them, the cannon right furiouſly battering the wals in the mean ſpace. Wherewith the Turks K
diſcouraged, and now out of hope to be relieued, thought it not beſt for them to expect either
whileſt a breach were made, or an aſſault giuen, but by parly to preuent theſe dangers, in hope
ſo to come to ſome eaſier compoſition, while yet they ſtood in their whole ſtrength. And ſo
parley by the Turkes demanded, and by the Chriſtians granted, and hoſtages for the ſuretie
thereof on both ſides giuen, they ſent two of the chiefe men amongſt them to entreat of the
ſame : who at the firſt demanded, That their liues and libertie ſaued, they might with bag and
baggage depart. Whereunto anſwer was giuen them, That they ſhould onely with their liues
and libertie be gone, with ſome few hundreds of their worſt horſes of courteſie giuen them, to
carry them to ſuch place as they meant to retire themſelues vnto, and to deliuer into the hands
of the Chriſtians all ſuch renegats as were in the towne. I

Hatwan yeelded vnto the Chriſtians.

Now the beſieged Turks carrying yet the markes of the crueltie by the Wallons exerciſed
vpon them in the former ſiege, when as the ſame town was by force taken, and filled with dead
bodies of all ages & ſex, and doubting now this ſecond ſhipwreck, with like miſery threatned
vnto them by the Chriſtian Generall, if they ſhould expect the dreadfull euent of a generall
aſſault; accepted of theſe hard conditions, ſeeing no better could be obtained; and ſo couenanting,
that they with their families, their liues and liberties ſaued, might with a ſafe conuoy be
conducted vnto ſome place of ſurety within their own territory, they promiſed to giue vp the
town. Which agreement on both parties reſolued vpon, they ful of ſorrow and heauines, with
their families departing out of the town the 29 of Nouember, were by Colonel *Andaſi* with
certain Huſſars ſafely conducted to Solnoc. The Chriſtians entring the towne, found therein M
great ſtore of victuals & munition, the houſes ful of corne and other neceſſaries, and the ſhops
ſtored with weapons, ſhot & pouder, with 24 pieces of great ordnance ready mounted, which
might haue well ſufficed for the defence of the place. But all theſe things are but acceſſories
vnto one principall, that is to ſay, to reſolution, without which they are but of ſmall force, and

with-

A with which they are able to do much. Beſide that, the place it ſelfe thus furniſhed well conſidered, ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to haue bin forced, but eſpecially now that Winter was come on, which might haue brought a thouſand ſtormes and difficulties, by the Chriſtians not to haue been endured: ſo that euery man beholding the ſame, with his eies caſt vp towards heauen, gaue God the praiſe, for taking away the Turks courages in their ſo great aduantages, and encreaſing of the Chriſtians in their no leſſe difficulties: vnto whom the glory of this victory was wholly attributed, ſeeing that contrary to all apparance and mans forces, he had giuen to the Chriſtians the victorie, no way able by their owne forces to haue been gained. But God, which in his prouidence from heauen beholdeth all things vpon earth, diſpoſeth of the ſame as he ſeeth beſt for his glorie, and the welfare of his: ſo that in this action he was the only pilot B which brought this our ſhip into the hauen of health; for the haires of our head are of him numbred, and euen the leaſt creatures vpon earth are by him regarded.

Into this new gained town the Chriſtian Generall put a good and ſtrong garriſon of a thouſand Lanſquenets and fiue hundred Hungarians, part horſemen, and part footmen, for the keeping of the place and of the countrey thereabout: which done, he retired with his armie toward Peſth, which he relieued with victuals, and ſtrengthened with the troupes of the Colonels *Collonitz*, *Geisberg*, and *Rouer*, who were there bilited to paſſe the Winter, and to preſerue the place againſt the deuiſes and enterpriſes of the Turks of Buda, who were ſtill deuiſing and practiſing for the regaining thereof.

The time of the yeare for ſouldiers any longer to keep the field now paſt, and the great armie of C the Turks riſen and gone, the Lord *Ruſſworm* breaking vp his armie neere vnto Strigonium, cauſed all the Enſignes by him this yere gained from the Turks, euen 64 in number, to be gathered together, all very braue and gallant, all which he ſent with great pomp & triumph to Vienna, for a Preſent to the Archduke *Matthias*; who receiued them with great thanks giuen both vnto the Generall that ſent them, and the ſouldiers that had gained them, and bountifully rewarding them that had brought them. They of Vienna at the ſame time highly commending the Generall, and not a little reioycing to ſee thoſe ſame Enſignes now in their power within the citie, which not long before had proudly braued them in the field.

The Lord Ruſſworm breaketh vp his army, & ſendeth the enſignes gained from the Turke for a preſent to the Archduke Matthias.

Now after the breaking vp of the Chriſtian armie, a great number of inſolent and ſeditious ſouldiers, eſpecially of the Regiment of Colonel *Altmein*, roming vp and downe the country, D to ſeeke for bootie, moſt cruelly rifled and ſpoiled the countrey villages, with the inhabitants therein, as well the Chriſtians as the Turks, ſparing no more the one than the other, whoſe outrage not otherwiſe to be ſtayed, they were by commandement from the Emperor, by force charged at Widhof, and two hundred and thirty of them being brought in priſoners to Vienna, foure and thirtie of them were there for example hanged, and the reſt as men not worthy of entertainment caſhiered.

Inſolent ſoldiers iuſtly puniſhed.

The time of the yeare hauing (as we ſaid) broken vp the armie of the Chriſtians, the Regiment of the Countie *Reingraue* was put in garriſon into the villages of Chiante and Ternauie, alwaies at hand with the enemies, as fitteſt to repulſe them. Theſe ſouldiers were alwaies kept in doings, ſtil fighting whileſt others were at peace, and mannaging their armes, whileſt others hanged theirs by the wals. For beſide the troubles they had with the Turks, their nigh but bad neighbours, the very inhabitants of the countrey (who held all that might hurt them, for enemies, were they neuer ſo much their friends) oftentimes, and that for little or no occaſion at al, tooke vp armes, and right furiouſly charged them as their mortal enemies. Of which combats there was no end, the countrey peaſants ſtill ſtriuing to rid themſelues of ſuch gheſts. So that theſe valiant men ſtill enforced to buy their bread with the price of their bloud, as men become deſperat, vſed the Chriſtians as they did the Turks, diuiding all things with them by the ſword. But in theſe ſmall and often fights moe men were ſlaine & loſt than would haue bin in a generall battel, ſome good number either on the one ſide or the other being euery day ſlain: which daily inconueniences cauſed theſe ſouldiers to reſolue to goe to ſeeke their liuing elſewhere, rather than in the midſt of the graues of their fellows. Whereunto they were the rather enduced, for that but a little before, the troupe of Captaine *Clinchampe*, the beſt and braueſt of the whole Regiment, was one night right furiouſly aſſailed, and almoſt ſurpriſed by the countrey peaſants. Wherfore they departed out of Hungarie into Auſtria without victuals, apparel, or money, their pay due vnto them for 17 months being kept from them. A crueltie full of

The ſoldiers of the regiment of the Reingraue euill bilited, by extremities driuen to prouide for themſelues.

couetouſneſſe, and a couetouſneſſe full of crueltie, by wrong and hard dealing to leaue thoſe
men to the deſperat extreamitie of hunger, who for our ſafetie had expoſed themſelues to all G
manner of danger. For if the Prince (as he may of right) demand the liues of his ſubiects in his
ſeruice, as bound vnto their loyaltie; they may alſo of right require due prouiſion for their
maintenance: of which two offices where one faileth, the whole ſtate muſt needs fall. For prouiding
wherefore, great was the wiſdome of *Auguſtus*, who laid vp the publique reuenue apart
by it ſelfe, to defray the publique charge; and that which was his owne priuat, to ſerue his
owne priuat vſes.

Theſe poore ſouldiers thus reſolued, craued leaue of the Biſhop of Preſbourg to paſſe by
the ſuburbs of his towne, without doing therein any harme: which their requeſt he courteouſly
granted; and ſo according to their word they indeed paſſed, not ſo much as once wiſhing H
for that they durſt not once touch. Which their ſo quiet paſſage cauſed the Biſhop to furniſh
them with boats, whereby to paſſe ouer the riuer which diuideth Hungarie from Auſtria.
Which once knowne vnto the peaſants of Auſtria, they aſſembled themſelues together, to the
number of 1500 men, and caſt vp a fort vpon the banke of the riuer, with three faulconers in it,
reſolutely ſet downe to keepe them from comming ouer into their countrey. Which their ſo
forward a reſolution for a while ſtaid theſe men of warre: who to auoid further trouble, courteouſly
requeſted paſſage of theſe men, promiſing all their good behauiour in paſſing quietly
through their country: which the carles in moſt churliſh manner refuſed to grant, with proud
threats of the danger of their liues, if they ſhould by force attempt the paſſage, and not with
quietneſſe returne. With which brauadoes of the countrey churles theſe troupes of martiall I
men prouoked, reſolued by force to remoue theſe lets, and by the ſword to open themſelues a
way: ſo turning the head of their bagages toward the fort, as if they would haue there paſſed;
while the peaſants ſtood gazing vpon them, *Camgaillard* with his troupe of horſemen vnperceiued
of them tooke the riuer a little higher vp, and by ſwimming gained the farther banke:
after whom captaine *Clinchamp* with his troupes immediatly followed alſo. In which paſſage
they were much troubled with great flakes of yce, with the great deepneſſe of the riuer, with
the ſteepneſſe of the bankes where they were to land, and many other difficulties: all which
they regarded not, to be reuenged of their enemies. Theſe valiant men being got ouer, vpon
the ſudden ſurpriſing theſe rude country churles, & furiouſly charging of them, quickly ouerthrew
them, and cut them in pieces: of whom 300 were left dead vpon the place, as many K
moe hurt, and the reſt put to flight. Which was no ſooner done, but that the reſt of the troups
of the regiment without let paſſed the riuer, and ſo ioyned themſelues vnto their victorious
companions. Seuen weekes this Regiment ſtaied in Auſtria; and ſo longer had, but that vpon
the complaint and requeſt of the nobilitie and of the people of the countrie, they hauing for
17 months pay due vnto them receiued nine months pay, were licenſed to depart. Which was
a great ouerſight in them that had to do therewith, at once to diſband ſo many good men, as
had not their like amongſt all the reſt of the Emperours garriſons; and who being ſtaid with a
little money, might with their good ſeruice haue ſtood the Emperour in great ſtead: as by
proofe afterward appeared; when as the Emperour by neceſſitie forced to call them together
againe, could not of all that ſtrong regiment raiſe but three companies; the reſt being ſome of L
them returned into their owne countries, other ſome of them gone to ſerue in other places, or
elſe otherwiſe diſperſed. Of which three companies, the firſt was giuen to *Camgaillard*, the ſecond
to *Baltazar Marades*, a Spaniard, and the laſt to *Iohn Paul* an Italian: Which three Captaines
had before commanded in the Reingraues regiment, and don the Emperor good ſeruice
as they did afterward alſo.

The peſants of Auſtria ſeek by force to ſtay the paſſage of the ſouldiers of the Reingraues regiment into their country.

The churles of Auſtria ouerthrowne.

The reſt of this yeare ended in Hungarie, with diuers other encounters and combats, Fortune
therein ſtill fauouring the Chriſtians. As, 300 Haiducks, going forth to ſeeke for bootie,
by good hap chanced to meet with a companie of the Turkes being very rich, and diuers of
them men of good account; amongſt whom, the Gouernour of Mohatz was one: all whome
theſe Haiducks cut in pieces, to be borne withall, for ſhewing no fauor vnto them, who moſt M
cruelly had before ſpoiled them of their parents, lands, and goods. Beſides that, they tooke
the Gouernor of Copan, with his ſonne, and 24 other very rich Turks, with 170 horſes of ſeruice,
and eight fat Oxen prepared for their prouiſion. Which fat booties drew forth other
ſouldiers alſo to ſeeke out for the like: of whom, certain troups of the Chriſtians going forth
toward

Diuers happie conflicts of the Chriſtians with the Turkes and Tartars.

A toward Batſwar, a towne of the enemies, met the Gouernor of the towne and of the territorie thereabout come out with his garriſon againſt them; where betwixt them was made a right hot and ſharpe fight: wherein at the firſt encounter the Turks ſeemed to haue the better, but in the end the Chriſtians taking courage, ouerthrew them and cut them in pieces. In this conflict diuers priſoners were taken, with three Enſignes, and many other rich ſpoiles. This happy exploit was ſeconded with newes agreeable thereunto out of Moldauia, whereof the Vayuod by a Curror ſent of purpoſe, gaue our men to vnderſtand; which was, of the general ouerthrow of the Tartars: who hauing with all manner of crueltie waſted the countrey, had in the end made the inhabitants ſo deſperat, that repoſing more comfort in a ſpeedie death (the end of all miſeries) than in a lingring life, turmoiled with ſo many intollerable calamities, they generally B arming themſelues, ioyned themſelues with their Vayuod, ſo to trie their laſt fortune. With which reſolution they in battell encountering with the Tartars, gaue them a great ouerthrow, a number of them beeing left dead vpon the field, and the reſt put to flight, and chaſed out of the countrey, the Moldauians notably reuenging their former loſſes, and in their owne territories burying their enemies.

Neither were the Turks in this cold and hard time of the yeare on their parts idle, but ſtill plotting of their great and notable deſignes, euen through the middeſt of the froſt and ſnow to haue beene performed. The Baſſa *Beged* hearing that the Lord *Baſta* lay with his troupes diſperſed in the country about Lippa, in great ſecurity by reaſon of the extremity of the time, altogether vnfit for men to keepe the field: and therefore imagining it to be no great matter, C now amidſt the froſt and the ſnow to ſurprize him; acquainted three other of the Turks Captaines and Commanders threabout with the matter: who liking well thereof, with 5000 men all together ſet forward, in hope to haue vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed him. But he an old expert Captaine, and not ſo careleſſe as they ſuppoſed, had his ſecret ſpies ſtill abroad among them: by whom, he aduertiſed both of their purpoſe and of their comming, reſolued in both to preuent them; and to that end hauing called together his forces, ſet forward to meet them in the mid way, and ſo before they were aware to intercept them; neither failed he of his purpoſe: for meeting with the Turkes fearing no ſuch matter in place of diſaduantage, and vpon the ſudden charging them round, they, deceiued of their expectation for the eaſineſſe of the victorie promiſed them, as men diſmaied, after ſome ſmal reſiſtance fled; aboue eleuen hundred D of them beeing in this conflict ſlaine, and the reſt put in rout, and driuen into the riuer Maruze, there periſhing; ſome few onely by ſpeedie flight with the Baſſa eſcaping. Twentie of the Turkes Captaines were heere taken, with ſome few other priſoners, and a great and rich bootie.

Beged Baſſa thinking to haue ſurpriſed the lord Baſta, is himſelfe by him ſurpriſed & ouerthrown.

Much about the ſame time *George Barbell*, one of the chiefe of the Rebels in Tranſyluania, acknowledging his fault, came to Claudionople, to take the oath for his alleageance vnto the Emperor: by whoſe example a great number of others moued, came in and ſubmitted themſelues alſo: and happily he being a good and valiant Captaine, had done much more for the ſeruice of the Emperor, had he not bin by death preuented; for ſhortly after he ſuddenly died. The other Rebels mooued neither by his example, nor by the comming in of ſome others of E their companions, made choice of one *Bethlin Habor* (a moſt renowned Captaine, and of great reputation amongſt the ſouldiers) for their Chiefetaine: who proud of ſuch a choice, immediatly after ſent an Herauld vnto *Baſta*, to will him forthwith to deliuer vnto him all the countrie of Tranſyluania, as to him that was of late choſen Prince thereof, or elſe to denounce vnto him moſt cruell war: and to tell him further, That if he refuſed ſo to do, he was in good hope by his owne forces, without any aid from the Turke, to driue him out, beeing well aſſured of the faithful deuoire of the Tranſyluanians. At whoſe proud threats *Baſta* ſmiling, only ſhewed him his open hand in ſigne that hee accepted of his proud threates, not vouchſafing him any other anſwer at all. This glorious boaſter bare himſelfe the higher, for that he had maried the widow of *Moyſes* the chiefe Rebell, wherby he had gained both great riches, and much credit and reputation among the common people: both which he enioyed but a while; for the fourth day after that he was married, he died, and ſo was buried. *Baſta* neuertheleſſe, for the better aſſuring of the ſtrong places of Tranſyluania, put into them garriſons of his moſt faithfull Germanes, and diſpatched *Cranſenich* away toward the Emperour, to requeſt of him a ſupplie of a thouſand horſemen and foure thouſand foot, without which hee thought it impoſſible to

Bethlin Habor choſen chiefe of the rebels in Tranſyluania.

Baſta his ſcornful anſwer to the meſſenger of Bethlin.

Baſta ſendeth for new ſupplies vnto the emperor for the keeping of Tranſyluania.

preſerue and keepe the Prouince troubled with ſo great factions, and ſo earneſtly ſought after by the Turkes: and further to certifie him, That the little forces he had left was not ſufficient G for the keeping of the places beſet with ſo many enemies, and all lying as it were in their mouthes: That the Prouince ſwarmed with ſeditious people, one thruſting another forward in miſchiefe and rebellion, as the eares of wheat driuen with the winde doe one another in the field: that the Turkes were alwayes making of new incurſions, which hee was not able to repreſſe without greater forces, which he expected from his Maieſty with al ſpeed poſſible: proteſting, for want of ſuch ſupply to bee in time ſent vnto him, to lay the loſſe of the Prouince vpon the negligence of them which might and ought to haue ſent the ſame; acquitting himſelfe for the loſſe thereof, ſeeing that he durſt not to repoſe any truſt or confidence in the faith of the citiſens and inhabitants of the townes, although they were diſarmed, for hauing ſo often falſified their faith, and put their Prouince in danger of vtter ruine and deſtruction. But H leauing theſe troubles of Tranſyluania and Hungarie, let vs a little ſtep backe to ſee what happened among the Turkes themſelues, after the departure of the great Baſſa with his armie out of Hungarie.

Mahomet the great Sultan had (as is before declared) by great promiſes made vnto his Rebels, ſought to appeaſe the rebellion in Aſia, and by that meanes drawne *Zellaly*, one of the chiefe Rebels, with twelue thouſand good ſouldiers out of Aſia into Europe, and ſo into his warres in Hungarie, vpon an aſſured promiſe made vnto him of the gouernment of *Boſna*: the hope whereof, as it had drawne him into theſe late warres, ſo had it alſo encouraged him with his gallant troupes of moſt braue horſemen to doe the beſt ſeruice he could, ſo to ſhew himſelfe worthie of ſo honourable a preferment: which hee right notably performed during all I the time of the Baſſaes abode in Hungarie, to his owne great commendation, and the furthering of his Lord and Maſters ſeruice. But the Baſſa with his weake armie retired out of Hungarie, and the Baſſa himſelfe returned toward Conſtantinople; *Zellaly* with three thouſand horſe withdrew himſelfe into his promiſed gouernment of Boſna, to poſſeſſe himſelfe thereof: and beeing come neere to Bagualue, the chiefe towne of that Prouince, hee there encamped in a faire large medow, within ſight of the citie. Now *Zeffer Baſſa*, then Gouernour of the Prouince, and not as yet thereof diſcharged, ſeeing this Rebell thus to encroach vpon his charge, as if he would euen by force intrude himſelfe thereinto; with all ſpeed called together his garriſons and men of warre (euer readie at his becke) and ſo went forth againſt K *Zellaly*, with a purpoſe to haue quickely, and without any great trouble, cut him with his ſo ſmall a company all in pieces. But the old Rebell not ignorant either of his owne weakneſſe, or of the Baſſaes ſtrength, hauing himſelfe loſt the beſt part of his forces before in Hungarie; as he was a man of no leſſe wiſedome than courage, reſolued now to attempt by policie that which hee well knew hee could not by force effect. Wherefore he as a great Prince, vpon ſome braue reſolution, began to encampe himſelfe as if hee had meant there to haue lyen, when as immediatly after vpon a faire night hauing cauſed diuers great fires to be made in his tents, as if it had been to beguile the enemie with, he ſuddenly roſe and departed. Of whoſe flight (for ſo it was like) the Baſſa vnderſtanding, and that hee had forſaken his campe, haſted L thither with all ſpeed with his ſouldiers to take and pillage the ſame; not making any other account of him that was ſo fled and gone, but as of a baſe and faint-hearted coward, who for feare and want of courage had left both his campe and honour as a prey vnto his enemies; the ſpoyle whereof the Baſſa (being poſſeſſed of the campe) gaue vnto his ſouldiers; who glad of ſuch a morſell, greedily ſwallowed it vp, which by and by after became their bane and vtter deſtruction: for whileſt that they were charging themſelues with booties, and euery man was thinking of his prey, nothing carefull of their common ſafetie, *Zellaly* with his three thouſand horſe, all valiant and reſolute men, ſuddenly the ſame night returning, ſurpriſed the *Turks* being faſt on ſleepe, as buried in ſecuritie, and cut them in pieces. Some of greater courage than the reſt, began to make head, and to giue ſome ſhew of their valor, but ouercome with the generall feare, out of order, and not reſolued what to do, they were quickly with the reſt forced, M ouerthrown, and ſlaine. In this ſurpriſe there were of the Baſſaes men ſix thouſand found dead vpon the place: a verie great ſlaughter to be made by ſo few men. But what cannot valiant reſolution do againſt carelesneſſe, lulled aſleep in the lap of ſecuritie? The Baſſa himſelfe eſcaped by flight, with ſuch as could get out of the campe to follow him.

Zellaly commeth into Boſna

By pollicy ouerthroweth Zeffer Baſſa the Gouernour, and poſſeſſeth it himſelfe.

Now *Zellaly* well knowing how to vſe his victorie, marched in haſte to all the chiefe places of the Prouince, and with his forces, more feared for their victorie than for their number, cauſed all the inhabitants of thoſe places, with moſt part of the reſt of the people of the countrey, to ſweare vnto him their obedience and fidelitie. In which doing he gathered together great ſtore of wealth, with a great number of braue horſes for ſeruice: all which hee put into Balnaluc, a ſtrong towne, whereinto he in triumphant manner entred, with a crowne of laurell vpon his head, and his ſouldiers ſinging his praiſes amiddeſt the ſmoke of a thouſand pieces of great ordnance, which he cauſed inceſſantly to be ſhot off for the ſpace of two daies together; giuing it out withall (amongſt all the ioyfull feaſts and triumphs, made for the magnifying and ſetting forth of his praiſe and glorie) That his reſolution was, to take part with the Chriſtian Emperor, if the great Baſſa's, or other his enemies in great place in court, ſhould ſeeke to croſſe his deſires, or to formalize his actions or proceedings in this manner of the obtaining of his gouernment.

Sultan Mahomet ſendeth for Zellaly to come vnto him to Conſtantinople.

Now *Mahomet* doubting what this man, ſo well acquainted with rebellion, would do, had by diuers meſſengers ſent for him to Conſtantinople, after the breaking vp of the armie in Hungarie, there of his Imperiall and infinit bountie, to receiue the honorable rewards of his good ſeruice and valor, the greatneſſe whereof he had (as he ſaid) alreadie vnderſtood by *Haſſan Baſſa* the Generall: which ſo bound him to the reward thereof, as that his deſire and pleaſure was, to grace him in court with his owne hands, for the greater teſtimonie of the loue he bare him, and of the eſteeme he had of him. But the craftie and miſtruſtfull Rebell, doubting that theſe faire words were all but baits to draw him into his power, to the endangering or aſſured loſſe both of his life and libertie, ſhut his eares againſt theſe ſo ſweet charmes, and as a man well aduiſed, and one which knew that the hand of a Prince iuſtly offended, is alwayes open for to puniſh his rebellious ſubiects, being once in his power, with as great iuſtice in puniſhing him, as he with wrong and diſloyaltie offended him; would in no wiſe accept of the offer: but ciuilly anſwered, That hee moſt humbly thanked the great Sultan, for his ſo great and honorable offers, and that he was ſo mindfull of him: but that he for his part deſired not any greater reward for the ſeruices by him done, more than the gouernment which his Maieſtie had before promiſed him, whereof (according to which promiſe, which hee could not thinke, but to be agreeable to his good liking) he was now poſſeſſed, with a reſolution to hold and keepe the ſame for his Maieſties ſeruice. Which was as much in effect, as for a diſloyall ſubiect to talke with his angrie Soueraigne, with his hand vpon his ſword: but with this ſlie anſwer, ſuch as it was, Sultan *Mahomet* for all his greatneſſe, muſt as yet content himſelfe, for feare leſt if he ſhould haue ſought to haue by force remoued him, hee might ſo haue raiſed a more dangerous rebellion in Europe, than was alreadie in Aſia. *Zellaly* ſo politique and reſolute a man, and not to ſeeke what to doe in ſuch matters, being poſſeſſed of ſo great a gouernement, and the Chriſtian Emperour at hand readie to haue backed him, if hee ſhould vpon any diſcontentment haue reuolted.

Zellaly refuſeth to come to Conſtantinople at the great Sultans ſending for.

1604

The troubles of this yeare 1603 thus ouerpaſt, the beginning of the next was like vnto a faire blooming tree, which promiſing great ſtore of fruit, but afterward blaſted with the extremitie of the weather, proueth in effect as barren, as it before ſeemed in hope fruitfull. For beginning with the ſweet Weſterne windes of peace, it ended with the ſterne Northren blaſts of warre. The Turkes had oftentimes the laſt yeare made motion of peace, but eſpecially toward the end thereof; outwardly making ſhew of a great deſire and forwardneſſe in themſelues thereunto. Which buſineſſe the laſt yeare begun, was euen with the beginning of this yeare alſo effectually continued, that Commiſſioners were on both ſides appointed to conferre and conclude vpon the ſame. Among theſe Commiſſioners Colonell *Althem* was one; who to performe his charge, hauing taken with him the other Commiſſioners deputed with him for this purpoſe, with certaine other Captaines, embarqued himſelfe with them in thirteene ſhips from Strigonium, and from thence ſayling downe the Riuer, landed with his traine in the Iland betwixt Buda and Peſth. Of whoſe arriuall there, the Turkes of Buda aduertiſed, and on their part readie, came forthwith thither alſo, with all the outward ſhewes that might be, of their moſt earneſt deſire for the concluding of peace: whereas our men, who by a thouſand effects were aſſured of the vnfaithfulneſſe of the Turkes, and that neceſſitie, and not the deſire of any quietneſſe, had drawne them to ſeeke for peace, to the contrarie ſhewed

Commiſſioners appointed to conſer vpon a peace to bee made betwixt the Chriſtians & the Turkes.

them,

The cauſes which moued the Turks to [illegible] to peace

The Baſſa of Buda faileth to meet the Chriſtian commiſſioners according to his promiſe.

An euill preſage of the future peace.

The Chriſtian commiſſioners courteouſly entertained at Buda.

A truce for twelue daies agreed vpon betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

Preſents by the Turks giuen to the Chriſtian commiſſioners.

themſelues verie backward in this buſineſſe. For why, they knew right well, that the Turkes had not taken this matter in hand, but to ouertake them, and by this time of peace to gaine a time of war more commodious and fit for their ambitious and cruell deſignes. They had the yere before made ſufficient proofe of our forces, accompanied with good fortune, which cauſed them to deſpaire by ſtrong hand to vanquiſh and ouercome vs: beſides that, they ſtill euerie houre in one place or other receiued a thouſand loſſes and croſſes from our garriſons, who diſtreſſed and annoyed them both with their forces, and with driuing of them vnto the extremitie of wants. Our men knew moreouer alſo, that the troubles of Aſia as well from the Rebels as from the Perſian which lay ſo heauie vpon the great Sultan, drew them to this neceſſitie, to ſeeke for a breathing time of peace, wherein to repaire that which was in their forces and ſtrength by wars impaired. And euen yet alſo the manner of the Turkes demeaning of themſelues in this action, their delaies, their excuſes, & deferring from day to day to conclude vpon ſome point of this treatie, gaue our men good cauſe to ſuſpect them of euill meaning, as men reſpecting their profit, more than their faith: and more ſubtill and cruell in all their actions, than honorable and valorous. The fifth of Ianuarie was the day by our men expected for the treaty; for as then the Baſſa of Buda had appointed with the reſt of the commiſſioners to come into the Iſle, to heare what our commiſſioners ſhould demand, & to entreat of the peace. But he was too true an Infidell to faile of his Infidelitie, and ſo came not at all, but deceiued our men both of their hope & expectation. At length in ſtead of himſelf, letters were brought from him to Colonell *Althem*; wherby he excuſed himſelfe for not comming, requeſting him with the reſt of the commiſſioners, to come ouer the riuer to Buda, the more commodiouſly for them to confer together, & ſo the better to conclude their negotiation. Now though *Althem* for the maieſtie of his Prince, and the honor of the State, ought not at the requeſt of theſe his enemies to haue put himſelfe into their power, but to haue ſtood faſt vpon the tearmes of honor, yet to the end that the countrey of Hungarie, ſo miſerably ſpoiled with warres, ſhould not take occaſion to complaine of his negligence in this negotiation of peace, hee reſolued to go to Buda, as the Baſſa had requeſted: deeming euery action tending to the hinderance of the common good, to be but in ſhew honorable, and in deed hurtfull. Vpon which reſolution hee ſent before the Gentleman of his ſtable, and his Cooke, with a Gentleman of the Turkes, ſent but the day before from the Baſſa: which men going aboord together, were aſſailed with ſuch a cruell tempeſt vpon the riuer, that neither the skill of the watermen, nor goodneſſe of the veſſell was able to reſiſt the force thereof, ſo that the boat was ſunke, and the men drowned. An euill preſage of the peace to be made, the raging waterr as it were foreſhewing the troubles to come. But this tempeſt by the ſacrifice of thoſe poore drowned men appeaſed, *Althem* and *Geiſberg*, two of the chiefe commiſſioners, embarked themſelues, and ſo paſſed ouer the riuer to Buda. At whoſe arriuall the Turks gaue in ſhew a thouſand teſtimonies of their ioy for their comming. Neither did the Germans refuſe their kind offered courteſies, but largely fed of the good cheere, and filled themſelues with the good wines, whereof the Turks had giuen them plentie: and they againe vſing them as kindly, as if they had been their brethren, & conuerſing with them as with their owne countrymen. Amidſt this carowſing and platters full of good cheere, the propoſition of peace, which the Turks meant to demand, were ſerued in alſo, and a truce for twelue daies demanded to conſider of the matter: during which time it ſhould be lawfull for euerie man without let freely to come and goe whither they would: which was forthwith on both ſides agreed vpon. And for better teſtimony of the Turkes true meaning in this their negotiation of peace, the Baſſa in the preſence of our commiſſioners diſpatched a Curror toward the great Sultan, to aduertiſe him of this buſineſſe, and of the proceeding therein, according to the commandement by him before giuen. Which he did, to cauſe our men to beleeue, that the great Sultan himſelfe was deſirous of peace, and that his Captaines well affected thereunto, were willing to further the ſame. Which done, the Baſſa preſented vnto Colonell *Althem* two caſes full of Turkes armes, of all manner of faſhions, verie rich, and cunningly wrought; both carried by a mule, with furniture for an horſe, embroydered with gold and pearle, verie ſumptuous and rich, as a Preſent from the great Sultan his Lord and Maſter, to the Emperour. And for the Archduke *Matthias*, hee preſented vnto the Colonell, a robe of purple veluet, with ſleeues cunningly embroydered with gold and pearle, emboſſed with fine and curious figures cunningly wrought with the needle:

for

A for the rareneſſe thereof as admirable to behold, as for the richneſſe thereof to haue been deſired: which was by euery man wondered at, when as ſhortly after it was by *Althem* preſented vnto the Archduke, together with other preſents from the Turks. Beſides that, the ſame Baſſa in token of friendſhip, preſented vnto *Althem* himſelfe another verie faire and rich robe: all the reſt of the Commiſſioners receiuing alſo from the Baſſa other robes of leſſe value, but yet all very rich and ſumptuous.

This buſineſſe for this time thus ended, and the truce for twelue days concluded, the Chriſtian Commiſſioners loded with Preſents tooke their leaue of the Turks, with the ſhewes of their good wils, and ſo returned backe againe to Peſth. Howbeit theſe the enemies faire preſents ſtill ſauoured but of enmitie, being indeed but like to the Preſents of *Hector* and *Ajax*, B tending rather to war than to peace.

The true and iuſt commendation of the Lord Nadaſti.

Now the death of the moſt valiant and renowned Lord *Nadaſta*, which at this time happened, was another euil preſage of the bad ſucceſſe of this treatie of peace now at hand: who hauing of long beene a barre vnto the Turks rage in that part of Hungarie where he dwelt, they now after his death, with the violence of their forces, as with an headie ſtreame, bare downe before them all our good fortune in that prouince. This worthie man of great fame and deſert, had ſpent both his yeares and fortune in the moſt honourable warres againſt the Turkes: wherein he was ſo skilfull and expert, that he was of them feared as another *Huniades*, and of the Chriſtians honoured as another *Matthias*. He had a thouſand times moſt valiantly fought againſt theſe miſcreants, and as many times foiled them, to the great benefit of the Chriſtian C Commonweale, the aduancement of the Emperours ſeruice, and the reliefe of his diſtreſſed Countrey. Theſe his heroical deeds of armes were engrauen vpon the gates of the Townes and Cities of Hungarie, and within the rockes of Tranſyluania, hauing both in the one countrey and the other right happily defeated theſe Infidels. He had the honour to haue receiued the firſt incurſions and attempts of the Turkes, at ſuch time as *Amurath* the third hauing perfidiouſly broken the League made with *Maximilian* the Emperour, with his Forces inuaded Hungarie; and was the firſt of all the Chriſtian Chiefetaines that made head againſt them; and being by their ſudden comming in by them almoſt ſurpriſed, performed yet great and worthie exploits and ſeruice againſt theſe faithleſſe men. It ſhould ſeeme that good fortune fauoured the Countrey of Hungarie, but onely in reſpect of him: for he being dead, it died alſo, burying it ſelfe as it were in his graue, and him in glorie; not ſuffering him to grow old, and ſo to languiſh in the ruines of his natiue Countrey. He died of a natural death, about fiftie and foure yeares old, moſt part whereof he liued in armes, ſtill charged with the burthen of his armour, and euen at the yeelding vp of the ghoſt yet breathing wars againſt theſe the enemies of the Chriſtian Faith. His death was much lamented for of many faithfull Chriſtians, but eſpecially of his owne tenants and ſubiects, whom he had alwayes kept and preſerued in ſafetie, and ſtill maintained them in all peace and tranquilitie during all theſe former warres; the Turkes not daring once to aſſaile them, nor to enter into their territorie, being ſtayd from ſo doing by the bulwarke of his valour, right dreadfull to their attempts. Neuer Turke was buried in his Territorie, no more than were the Barbarians vpon the bankes of the riuer *Eurotas*, his wiſedome had ſo wiſely prouided for the preſeruation of his people; and his valour ſo worthily aſſured them of their health and ſafetie. He was for his Countrey another *Epiminondas*, who made his town not only free from the armes and inuaſions of their enemies, but alſo dreadfull to their forces ſo long as he liued. The Turks on the contrarie part no leſſe reioyced for his death; but accounting his country now rich & plentiful (for that it had neuer been by them ſpoiled) for their moſt aſſured prey came now thither on all ſides, to haue taken the ſpoile thereof, and therewith to haue enriched themſelues. But as they were about ſo to haue done, the valiant *Collonitz* honoring the remembrance of the Lord *Nadaſti* his late fellow and companion in armes, and holding that for his owne which he had left, oppoſed himſelfe with his forces againſt theſe rauening wolues. So that they were no ſooner entered into this his territorie, but that contrarie to their expectation, they were encountered by this new *Nadaſti*, and by him ſo ouerthrowne and cut in pieces, that for a good while after they durſt no more attempt the like.

The death of the Lord Nadaſti.

This ſo great a loſſe of ſo worthie a man was a little eaſed by the victorie about the ſame time gained by the Vayuod of Valachia againſt the Turkes ſpoyling of his countrey. This

The Turks ouerthrowne by the Vayuod of Valachia.

valiant champion not able longer to endure the proud inſolencie and tyrannie of thoſe barbarous people, gathered together his troupes of horſemen, with ſuch other ſmall forces as hee had; whereof the Turks hauing made ſmall reckoning, and therefore without order pillaging and ranſacking his countrie, were when they leaſt feared, by him vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed and ouerthrowne, many of them being cut in pieces, a number moe taken priſoners, withall the ſpoiles they had got, and the reſt with ſuch feare chaſed out of his countrey, as that being glad to haue eſcaped, they tooke no pleaſure for a great while after, to looke into that his prouince againe.

The ſmall time of Truce yeeldeth great contentment both vnto the Chriſtians & Turks in Hungarie.

The death of the great Sultan Mahomet.

But to returne againe to the Commiſſioners for the peace to be made betwixt the Great Sultan and the Emperour, the Baſſa of Buda, to the end that the Captaines and Gouernours of the Turks and Caſtles belonging to the Turks, being ignorant of the truce, ſhould not continue their warlike actions, to the preiudice of his faith giuen; immediately after the departure of the Chriſtian Commiſſioners from Buda, diſpatched diuers courrours towards them, to giue them knowledge thereof, and eſpecially to the Gouernor of Agria, commanding them from thenceforth to abſtain from their ordinarie incurſions into their enemies territories, and from all other actions of hoſtilitie, and ſo to keep themſelues quiet vntil they were from him otherwiſe commanded. This little time of reſpite and breathing from warre, gaue great contentment vnto the poore Countrey-people, now with warres almoſt exhauſted and ſpent. And now our ſouldiours during this time of truce laying their armes aſide, ranne by heapes with ſpades and ſhouels vnto the places where our armies had ſometime lyen encamped, there to delve and ſearch to finde ſuch things as the Armies riſing in haſte had haply left there buried. In which action they ſo buſied themſelues as if they had beene Labourers in harueſt, ſo that nothing was in the fields to be ſeene, but men digging and remoouing of ſtones and earth. A right fooliſh buſineſſe, and yet ſo exceedingly pleaſing the greedie mindes of theſe couetous men, as that amiddeſt their ſuch moiling labour they accounted themſelues at great eaſe. The Turks alſo did the like, mingled together with our men, and our men with them, without any iniurie doing one to another either by word or deed. And no doubt it is, but that there they found more trauell than wealth, the greedie deſire which drew them into this worke, deceiuing them in effect. And in this mad labour both the parties ſpent many dayes without any let or iniurie doing either on the one ſide or the other. The Chriſtians of Peſth alſo paſſing ouer the Danubie, went into the victualling houſes of the Turks at Buda, whereinto they were ſuffered to enter, and at libertie to walke vp and downe the Towne at their pleaſure. And ſo the Turks of Buda likewiſe came ouer the riuer vnto Peſth, and there walked at their pleaſure, no man letting of them. Which manner of liuing was verie commodious and pleaſing both for the one ſide and the other, the Chriſtians buying of the Turks ſuch things as they needed, and the Turks of them likewiſe. Through which quiet and peaceable intercourſe and traffique, the people in general ſeemed euen in that ſhort time to haue forgotten a great part of their forepaſſed miſeries, this little time of peace, joyned with ſecurity, hauing well aſſuaged the ſame. But while theſe mutual and vnwonted courteſies thus paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, and the mindes of moſt men were filled with the expectation of an aſſured peace to haue beene euen forthwith concluded, the Great Sultan *Mahomet* in the middeſt of all his pleaſures and delights died in his Imperial Palace at Conſtantinople: the newes whereof being in the euening brought to Buda by a courrour of purpoſe ſent from Conſtantinople, the Baſſa forthwith ſent the Captaine of the Sentinels of Buda, to Colonell *Geisberg* at Peſth, to aſſure him of the death of the Great Sultan *Mahomet*, and of the ſucceſſion of his yong ſon *Achmet* into his Empire, now alreadie both at Conſtantinople and other places thereabout proclaimed Emperour. By which meſſenger he alſo wrote vnto Colonel *Althem*, to certifie him both of the death of the Great Sultan, and of the ſucceſſion of his ſonne, as alſo that he was by him commanded to continue the negotiation of the peace, and ſo if he could to conclude the ſame. For the more euidence whereof, behold the copie of the letters themſelues:

The Letters of the Baſſa of Buda to Colonell *Althem.*

Our due commendations remembered, noble Lord Gouernour, our deere friend and right honourable neighbour, A *neighbour. Wee haue thought good to aduertiſe you, that the fourth day after your departure from this citie wee receiued Letters from Conſtantinople, giuing vs certainely to vnderſtand of the death of our moſt mightie Emperour* Mahomet, *and of the ſucceſsion of his ſonne Sultan* Achmat, *into all his dominions and Empires: whereby we were, as his moſt humble ſubiects, ſummoned to yeeld vnto him our oath of faithfull obedience, as vnto our rightfull Lord, and lawfull ſucceſſor of his father into all his eſtates and dominions. Moreouer, he particularly commandeth vs, to giue him certaine aduice and knowledge concerning the negotiation of the peace begun betwixt vs and you, by the commandement of his deceaſed father: promiſing to confirme and ratifie all that whatſoeuer he ſhall finde done and agreed vpon concerning that buſineſſe, without any qualification at all. And that if the treatie be not yet concluded and ended, that his will and deſire was, that it ſhould be ſo, according to the iuſt meanes and aſſurances* B *that we ſhould faithfully and carefully together deuiſe. Whereof I ſhould readily giue him aduice and anſwer; which I haue deferred to do, vntill I haue receiued your anſwer, which may inſtruct me what to reſolue vpon. Which your anſwer I attending, haue ſtaied the Curror of Conſtantinople, to the intent he may carry backe word vnto our Emperor, what he is to hope for concerning this buſineſſe, by the anſwer that you ſhall giue vs. Theſe are now therefore to aduiſe you, as our deere friend, and a moſt valiant Gouernor, to ſet downe that which you ſhall thinke to be moſt fit and neceſſarie in this buſineſſe: giuing you withall to vnderſtand, that our new Emperour is a man of reſolution euen in theſe his young yeares, wherein hee now flouriſheth, hating idleneſſe, deeming no loſſe greater, and altogether irrepairable, than the loſſe of time. If then you be ſtill deſirous, that the peace betwixt our Emperors ſhould be made and confirmed, I hope you will employ your whole endeuor with ſpeed to determine this moſt happie negotiation, and ſo ne-* C *ceſſarie for euery mans good. As alſo to auert farre from our owne heads, the curſes of the common people, for whom it is moſt needfull that the peace ſhould for their good and quietneſſe bee concluded, ſeeing that the fruit thereof is expected to be vnto them happie, and the glorie thereof for euer ours, for hauing by our diligence and true endeauour concluded the ſame. Which maketh me to hope, that when you ſhall finde your ſelfe readie to conclude this treatie, you will not bring with you men enemies vnto peace, or ſuch as ſhal diſſuade the ſame; but rather wiſe and graue men, which to the vttermoſt of their power may aduance the ſame, and finde out good and reaſonable meanes to aſſure an eternall and faithfull peace betwixt our Emperors, vnto which ſo generall a good euery one of vs is in dutie bound to imploy the vttermoſt of his ſufficiencie and power. And this is that I haue of truth to write vnto you at this time, and And ſo I bid you farewell.*

Now theſe Letters although they moſt concerned the continuation of the treatie of peace, alreadie begun, and were too friendly from an enemie, to haue in them any good meaning, yet did they well aſſure the Colonell to whom they were written, of the death of the great and late Sultan *Mahomet*, and of the ſucceſſion of his ſonne *Achmat* into his Empire, to which end they are here ſet downe.

This late mightie Monarch, and now nothing but a loathſome lump of dead fleſh, the great Sultan *Mahomet*, departed this life about the latter end of Ianuarie, in the yere of Grace 1604, (according to their computation which begin the yeare at Chriſtmas) when hee had liued about 44 yeares, and thereof raigned eight. He was a man of no great ſpirit, and yet exceeding proud; which was the cauſe that he was both the leſſe beloued and feared of his ſubiects in generall, but eſpecially of the Ianizaries and other his ſouldiers and men of warre, who ſcorning his looſe gouernment, and grieued to ſee euen the greateſt affaires of his State not onely imparted to women, but by them mannaged and ouerruled alſo (as by his mother, the Sultaneſſe his wife, and others) not onely rebelled againſt him, but were oftentimes in their rages about to haue depoſed him. Hee was altogether giuen to ſenſualitie and voluptuous pleaſure, the marks whereof he ſtill carried about with him, a foule ſwolne, vnwealdy, & ouergrown body, vnfit for any princely office or function: and a minde thereto anſwerable, wholly giuen ouer vnto idleneſſe, pleaſure, and exceſſe, no ſmall meanes for the ſhortening of his daies, which he ended with obloquie, vnregarded of his ſubiects, and but of few or none of them lamented.

Mahomet, why he was not regarded of his men of warre.

He had iſſue foure ſonnes, and three daughters married vnto three of the great Baſſaes.

Mahomets his iſſue.

His firſt and eldeſt ſonne was called *Mahomet* (after his owne name) whom he cauſed to be ſtrangled in his owne ſight, vpon ſuſpition of aſpiring to the Empire, and conſpiring with the Rebels in Aſia: but afterward finding him guiltleſſe, cauſed his bodie to be buried in his own Sepulchre, and hanged the Baſſa that had miſinformed him.

His ſecond ſonne died a naturall death, being yet verie young:

His third ſonne was Sultan *Achmat*, who ſucceeded his father, and came to the Empire by the vntimely death of *Mahomet* his eldeſt brother. G

His fourth ſonne being then a youth of about ſixteene yeares old, was carefully kept within the Seraglio, with ſuch a ſtrait guard ſet ouer him, as that his name was not to be learned, euen by a good vnderſtanding friend of mine, of late lying aboue three moneths together at Conſtantinople, who moſt curiouſly enquired after the ſame, hauing verie good meanes to haue learned it. He was reported to haue been long ſince murthered, howbeit that he of late liued, but looking euery day to be by his brothers cruel commandement ſtrangled, which is accounted but a matter of courſe, and a death hereditarie to all the yonger male children of the *Othoman* Emperours: the policie for the maintenance of their great Empire entire and whole, ſo requiring. H

Mahomet, how he lieth buried at Conſtantinople.

His dead body lyeth buried at Conſtantinople, in a faire Chappell of white Marble (neere vnto the moſt famous and beautifull Church of S. *Sophia*) for that onely purpoſe by himſelfe moſt ſumptuouſly built about fifty foot ſquare, with foure high ſmall round towers, about the which are certain ſmall round galleries of ſtone: from which the Turkiſh prieſts and churchmen, at certain houres, vſe to call the people euery day to Church: for they vſe no bels themſelues, neither will they ſuffer the Chriſtians to vſe any. But the top of this Chappell is built round, like vnto the antient Temples of the heathen gods in Rome. In the midſt of this Chappell (being indeed nothing elſe but this great Sultans Sepulchre) ſtandeth his tombe, which is nothing elſe but a great vrne or coffin of faire white Marble, wherein lieth his bodie, couered with a great couering of the ſame ſtone ouer it, made riſing in the midſt, and ſtooping on each ſide: not much vnlike to the coffins of the antient tombes of the Saxon kings, which are to be ſeen on the North ſide of the Quire of S. *Pauls* Church, and in other places of this land: but that this coffin of the great Sultan is much greater and more ſtately than are thoſe of the Saxon kings; it being aboue fiue foot high at the end thereof, and by little and little falling toward the feet, couered with a rich hearſe of cloth of gold downe to the ground: his turbant ſtanding at his head, and two exceeding great candles of white waxe, about three or foure yards long, ſtanding in great braſſe or ſiluer candleſtickes gilded, the one at his head, the other at his feet, which neuer burne, but there ſtand for ſhew onely. All the flore of the Chappell being couered with mats, and faire Turkie carpets vpon them. And round about this his tomb, euen in the ſame Chappell, are the like tombes for his wiues and children, but nothing ſo great and faire. Into this Chappell, or any other the Turks Churches or Chappels, it is not lawfull for either Turke or Chriſtian to enter, but firſt he muſt put off his ſhooes, leauing them at the church or chappell gate, or carrying them in his hand. Neere vnto this chappell, and the great Temple of *Sophia*, are diuers other chappels of the other great Turks; as of Sultan *Selim*, this mans grandfather, with his ſeuen and thirty children about him: of Sultan *Amurath*, this mans father, with his fiue and fortie children entombed about him. And in other places not far from them, are the chappels and ſepulchres of the reſt of the great Sultans; as of Sultan *Mahomet* the Great, of Sultan *Baiazet*, Sultan *Selym* the firſt, Sultan *Solyman*: all by theſe great Mahometane Emperors built, whoſe names they beare. And being all of almoſt one forme and faſhion, haue euery one of them a faire hoſpitall adioyning vnto them, wherein a great multitude of poore people are daily ſtill relieued. I K L

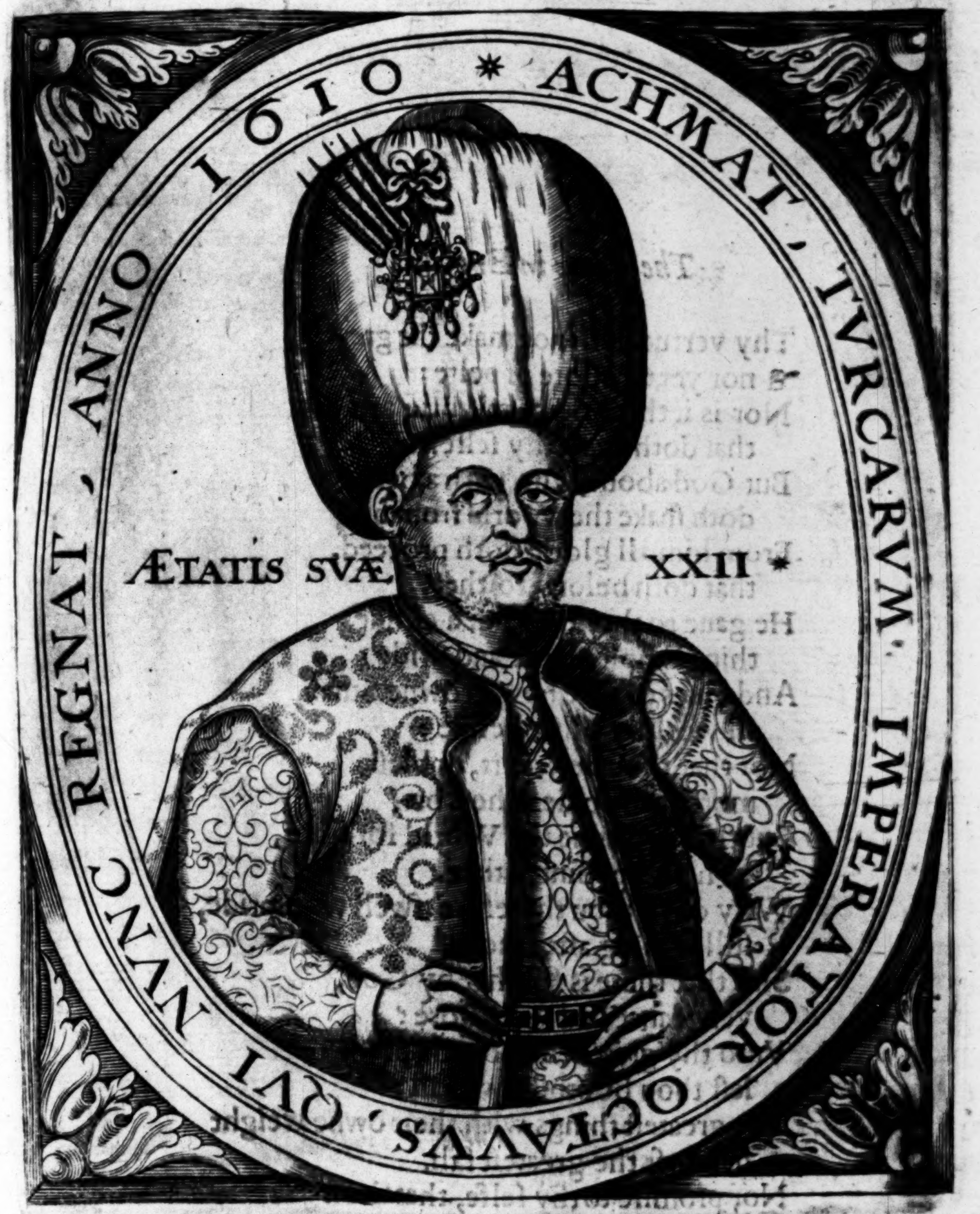
The Turks bury not in their Churches, neither within the wals of their cities, but in the fields.

Some others of the great Baſſaes haue their Chappels and Sepulchres, with their great and ſtately almes-houſes alſo, not much inferiour vnto thoſe of the great Sultans; as namely *Ibrahim Baſſa*, of all the Baſſaes that euer were amongſt the Turkes the moſt magnificent, hath his ſtately chappell, ſepulchre, and almes-houſes, neere both in place and beautie, vnto that of *Solymans*. The Turkes burie not at all within their churches, neither are any at all buried within the walls of the citie, but the great Turkiſh Emperours themſelues, with their wiues and children about them, and ſome few other of their great Baſſaes, and thoſe onely in Chappels by themſelues built for that purpoſe. Al the reſt of the Turks are buried in the fields; ſome of the better ſort in tombes of marble; but the reſt with tombe ſtones laied vpon them, or with two great ſtones, the one ſet vp at the head, and the other at the feet of euerie graue, the greateſt part of them being of white Marble, brought from the Iſle of Marmora. They will not bury any man where another hath beene buried, accounting it impietie to digge vp another mans bones. M

A bones. By reaſon whereof they couer all the beſt ground about the city with ſuch great white ſtones: which for the infinit number of them, are thought ſufficient to make another wal about the citie. But not to ſtand longer vpon the manner of the Turks burials, leauing this great Sultan to reſt with his anceſtors, let vs now proſecute the courſe of our Hiſtorie.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Mahomet the third.	*Emperours of Germany*		*Rodolph the ſecund.*	1577.	
	Kings,	*Of England,*	*Queene Eliza-beth.*	1558.	45.
		Of France,	*Henrie the fourth.*	1589.	
		Of Scotland,	*Iames the ſixth, now King of great Britaine*	1567.	
	Biſhops of Rome,		*Clement the VIII.*	1592.	13.
			Leo the XI.	1605.	26. dayes.
			Paul the V.	1605.	


ACHMAT, TVRCARVM IMPERATOR OCTAVVS, QVI NVNC REGNAT, ANNO 1610 *
ÆTATIS SVÆ XXII *

Non tua te virtus, non ingens copia rerum
Te faciunt magnum, non tua dextra potens:
Maximus eſt ſuperûm, nutu qui territat orbem,
Hinc Achmate *tibi gloria tota manat.*
Hic tibi tunc tenero regalia ſceptra parauit,
Hic tibi nunc iuveni maxima quæque dedit.
Non quod ſis alijs melior, multumue beatus,
Sed quò ſis alijs terror & ira Dei.
Quid turges igitur, faſtuve ſuperbis inani?
Sic te cum miſeris numinis ira premat.
Pone modum magnis, ni vis ſuccumbere magnus:
Maxima quæque ſuo pondere preſſa ruunt.
Nec tibi promittes regnandi tempora longa
Te tua fata vocant, te tua fata premunt.

RICH. KNOLLES.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Thy vertue doth not make the great,
  nor yet thy ſtore of pelfe:
Nor is it thine owne mightie arme,
  that doth exalt thy ſelfe.
But God aboue, who with a becke
  doth ſhake the World from hie;
From him all glorie doth proceed,
  that doth belong to thee.
He gaue to thee, then but a childe,
  thine Empire large and wide;
And giues to thee now growne a man,
  all worldly bliſſe beſide:
Not that thou better art, or bleſt,
  more than ſome others be;
But that to plague the World for ſinne,
  he hath appointed thee.
Why doeſt thou therefore ſwell with pride,
  ſtill ſeeking after more,
Sith that there is for thee by God,
  vengeance laid vp in ſtore?
Vnto thy greatneſſe bounds prefix,
  leſt thou be cruſht withall:
The greateſt things with their owne weight
  haue oft the greateſt fall.
Nor promiſe to thy ſelfe, that thou
  ſhalt long time liue and raigne:
Thy Deſtinies doe call thee hence,
  and thruſt thee on amaine.

THE LIFE OF ACHMAT, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, EIGHTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

MAhomet the late Sultan in the middeſt of his exceſſiue pleaſures by vntimely death taken away, *Achmat* the elder of his two ſonnes yet liuing, who was to ſucceed him in the Empire, to preuent the vſuall and inſolent tumults of the Ianizaries and other ſouldiers of the court at the change of the Emperours, and to take from them all occaſions of diſcontentment; by the counſell of the great Baſſaes (before he tooke vpon him the gouernment) cauſed an exceeding great ſumme of money (*viz.* two millions and an halfe) as a token of his bountie, to bee diſtributed amongſt them: the Spahi and Silictars his chiefe horſemen receiuing thereof 10 crowns a man, with 5 aſpers a day more to encreaſe their pay; and the Ianizaries 30 crownes a man, and one aſper a day more of ordinarie pay: they of his court, but eſpecially the chiefe officers, taſting of this his bounteous liberality alſo. With which ſo great a larges all men well contented, he in a moſt rich and ſtately chariot, ſo placed as that all men might well ſee him, was in great maieſtie carried through all the chiefe ſtreets of Conſtantinople, the people on euery ſide gazing vpon him, and ſtill as he paſſed by them, proſecuting him with their moſt ioyfull and happy acclamations. Some wiſhing that he being but yong, might as another *Solyman* begin his raign with the conqueſt of Malta, as had the other with the conqueſt of the Rhodes: and other ſome as heartily praying, that with glorious & victorious conqueſts he might be like *Mahomet* vnto the Great, whom he was then reported much to reſemble. In which ſo great and publique magnificence, he being about 15 yeares old, was with all the accuſtomed ſolemnities openly crowned, euery man wiſhing vnto him a moſt long and happie raigne. And albeit that no great fruit was for the preſent from ſo young and tender a plant to be expected, yet neuertheleſſe by his authoritie and in his name, many good orders were taken for the reliefe of his ſubiects, with moſt heauy grieuances generally oppreſſed, during the looſe and careleſſe raigne of his father. His grandmother alſo a moſt proud, ambitious, and imperious woman, and withall exceeding rich, who with great authoritie at her pleaſure ouerruled all in the time of the raigne of her ſonne *Mahomet*, hee now remooued from the State, as not fit for her to haue to doe therein, and ſo depriued her of all her former power and command. The Perſian Embaſſadour, whome his father in his diſpleaſure had cloſe ſhut vp, hee ſet at libertie, and with him ſent the Baſſa of Alepo to intreat of peace with the great Shaugh of Perſia, who not long before (as was reported) had recouered the great citie of Tauris, and was then preparing himſelfe for new conqueſts. Which report for the motion of peace with the Perſian, diſcouered in his ſubiects their diuers opinions concerning himſelfe; ſome condemning his patience, as not beſeeming the *Othoman* Emperours, vnto whome furie and rage had alwayes made them a way vnto their great and dreadfull conqueſts, euen againſt the moſt puiſſant armies and ſtrongeſt townes and fortreſſes of their enemies: and ſome other to the contrarie prayſing therein his wiſedome, in ſeeking by faire meanes (now in the beginning of his raigne) to diſarme his enemies when they might moſt hurt him; at his better opportunitie, in his ſetled eſtate, to oppreſſe them for

Achmat by exceſſiue bountie procureth the fauour of his great courtiers & men of war.

Achmat crowned emperor of the Turks at Conſtantinople.

Achmat remoueth his grandmother from dealing with matters of ſtate

The Turkes diuerſly conceited of their new emperour.

for euer. So the actions of Princes are like vnto ſtrange lights appearing by night in the ayre, which hold mens eyes buſied with the intentiue beholding of them, ſome thereof diuining well, and ſome others euill, according to the diuerſitie of the beholders conceits and humours.

The treatie for peace in Hungarie continued.

The treatie for peace alſo in Hungarie was notwithſtanding the death of *Mahomet*, by the Baſſa of Buda ſtill continued, who (as hee ſayd) by the new Sultan authoriſed, by letters incited the Gouernour of Strigonium to repaire vnto ſome ſuch conuenient place as wherein the matter might be ſafely concluded. Vpon which motion the Gouernour with the reſt of the Commiſſioners departing from Strigonium, the fourth of Februarie came to *Collonitz* his Campe, from whence they were by the ſouldiers moſt brauely conducted along the bankes of Danubius, vnto the ſhips which lay readie for them, to carrie them downe the Riuer to Peſth: during which time of their paſſage nothing was to bee ſeene or heard but fire and ſmoake, and the thundering of the great artillerie both from Peſth and Buda, the Chriſtians and the Turks both ſtriuing to excell each other in theſe their ſhewes of ioy and triumph. The Gouernour with the reſt of his companie beeing happily arriued at Peſth, met there with a number of the better ſort of the Turkes ſent thither by the Baſſa to meet him, and in his name to greet him: who with a thouſand honours, againe receiued and ſaluted them. All ſhewes of kindneſſe, and ſignes of the happie ſucceſſe of the negotiation begun. And now the Chriſtians deſirous to excell the Turks, as well in courteſie as in valor, appointed a number of them the next day to goe to Buda, to inuite certaine of the chiefeſt and moſt honourable men amongſt the Turkes, vnto a banquet at Peſth: Who willingly accepted of the offer, and ſo came ſix hundred of the better ſort of them ouer the Danubie to Peſth, where the feaſt was moſt ſumptuouſly and magnificently prepared for them. There were ten faire and rich pauillions, ſet vp for the entertainement of them a little diſtant from Peſth, in a faire place, and fit for this purpoſe. In the firſt whereof were placed three verie proud and ſtately tables. At the firſt of which tables, on the right hand, were ſet the Commiſſioners for the Emperour, with the two Baſſaes, and one Mufti or Arch-Prieſt, with a Mytre vpon his head, a long furred gowne vpon his backe, and vnder that, a robe of moſt fine and exceeding rich ſilke. Vpon the left hand, at the ſame table were placed certaine of the Turkes Lords, and other great men. At the other two tables were ſet other of the beſt ſort of the Turkes mingled with the Chriſtians: and ſo at all the other tables in like order were ſet a Chriſtian and a Turke, vntill that the ſix hundred Turkes were placed, with as many Chriſtians among them: who by their good countenance and behauiour one of them to another, might haue ſeemed to haue beene all of one and the ſame Beliefe, Nation, and Countrey. The Turkes after the manner of their ſuperſtition, would not ſit downe before the ſetting of the Sunne, which beeing ſet, they with a thouſand Ceremonies, to the imitation of their Archprieſt, ſet themſelues downe at the tables in order as is aforeſaid, and there merrily repoſed themſelues vntill nine of the clocke at night. At which time the tables with great reuerence taken away, the Turkes as men well contented, and full of ioy, returned to Buda, the inſtruments of muſicke, trumpets, and Drummes, on euerie ſide ſounding about them with much glee, and as it were witneſſing vnto heauen and earth the great contentment they had receiued. And yet was all this faire ſhew nothing elſe but deepe diſſimulation mixt with moſt foule treacherie. For a little before their departure, they of Peſth were aduertiſed, That the Turkes in great number well appointed, were come out from Buda to ſurpriſe Peſth, during the time of the feaſt; beeing in hope that the Chriſtians all buſied in this action, had left the walls of the towne vnfurniſhed of defence. But they too well acquainted with their treacheries, to put any truſt or confidence in their faire ſhewes, had as well prouided for the defence and ſafetie of the towne, as for the magnificence of the feaſt abroad. By which meanes the Turkes diſappointed of their intended purpoſe, were in the attempting thereof repulſed, and ſo glad to returne as they came, backe againe to Buda.

The Turks honorably feaſted by the Chriſtians neere Peſth.

The Turkes by treachery ſeek to ſurpriſe Peſth.

The Turks commiſſioners diſauow the practiſe for the ſurpriſing of Peſth.

The next day after, the Commiſſioners for the Emperour complained vnto the Baſſa and the reſt of the Turkes Commiſſioners, of this ſo treacherous dealing: who excuſed themſelues as altogether ignorant thereof, diſauowing the action for want of ſucceſſe, which had it beene effected, they would to the vttermoſt haue ſhamefully maintained. An ordinarie courſe

A courſe among the Great, with ſpeech and countenance in ſhew to condemne that for want of effect, which they in heart and minde could for their owne profit haue wiſhed to haue beene performed.

The commiſſioners for the emperor refuſe any more to go to Buda.

Neuertheleſſe the Turkes the next day (as if no ſuch thing had beene meant) requeſted the Chriſtian Commiſſioners to come to Buda, as they had done to Peſth: but they, as well by proofe, as by report, perceiuing the euill meaning of the Turkes, excuſing themſelues, returned to Strigonium, as loth any more to aduenture themſelues into the power of their faithleſſe enemies; yet left they *Geuberg* at Peſth, with commiſſion to continue the negotiation for peace with the Baſſa of Buda, if he ſhould finde him thereunto diſpoſed, or any hope of bringing the treatie to good effect or iſſue.

The meſſage of Countie Yſolan from the great Sultan to the Emperour.

B *Mahomet* the late Sultan had a little before his death (as is before declared) ſet at libertie the Countie *Yſolan* (carried away priſoner to Conſtantinople after the taking of Alba Regalis, and ſent him with letters of credence to intreat of a peace to bee made with the Emperor, with promiſe to yeeld himſelfe againe priſoner, if he failed to obtaine the ſame: for whome the French Embaſſadour became pledge. Hee hauing now deliuered his letters of credence vnto the Emperour, and commaunded to ſay what hee had further in charge, declared, That the great Sultan offered to deliuer vnto his Maieſtie the ſtrong Townes of Buda, Alba-Regalis, and Caniſia, in exchange of Tranſyluania and Valachia, whereunto he layed claime, promiſing on his part to make a moſt firme and ſure peace with the Emperour for the time to come, and to giue thereof ſuch aſſurance as ſhould of him reaſonably be demaunded.

The Turkes in al the negotiation for peace did nothing but diſſemble with the Emperours Commiſſioners.

C The Baſſa of Buda alſo amongſt other the faire remonſtrances of peace, had offered vnto the Emperours Commiſſioners to reſtore Caniſia and Agria for Peſth, Hatwan, and Vacia, together with the remiſſion of all ſuch payments and tributes as were by the Emperour due vnto the Great Sultan for the Kingdome of Hungarie. All which faire ſhewes and offers, though much vnreaſonable, were nothing but windie wordes to delay the time, and ſubtill baits to deceiue the Chriſtians: for the euent and iſſue, which giueth life to all actions, with a forme vnto them agreeable, hath by experience taught the Chriſtians, That all the glorious and glozing proceedings of the Turkes in this buſineſſe of the peace, ſo much wiſhed and expected of the Chriſtians, were but nets and ſnares wherewith to entangle them with the vaine hope thereof, vntill that they in the meane time might forD tifie their townes with new ſupplies of men, munition, victuals, and whatſoeuer elſe was needfull, the more eaſily afterward to annoy them at their pleaſure, and ſo to laugh at their ſimplicitie and light beleefe: For *Mahomet* being dead, and *Achmat* his ſonne (yet by reaſon of his minoritie vnder the tuition of his mother and other the great Baſſaes) ſucceeding in his place, the Turkes aggrauated the conditions of the peace, and propounded them ſo farre from reaſon, as that any man might ſee them now to haue no more deſire or regard of peace, after that they had diſpatched that for which they ſeemed before deſirous thereof; inſomuch, that they ſent a meſſenger in poſt from Conſtantinople vnto the Baſſa of Buda, to forbid him vpon the paine of his head any further to continue the treatie of peace, but forthwith to renew the warre. So this peace ſo much expected, and now of the people generally holden E for as good as concluded, ſuddenly vaniſhed into ſmoake, nothing remaining of that bodie, compoſed of ſo many wiſhes, more than a vaine expectation, now diſperſed with the winde of the Turkiſh treacherie. And yet during the time of this negotiation for peace ſought for by the Turkes both by often letters and meſſengers, many a ſolemne oath had paſſed both from the Sultan *Mahomet* and from the Viſier Baſſa, for their faithfull and ſincere dealing in the treatie thereof; as, *By the God of heauen and earth*; *By the bookes of* Moyſes; *By the Pſalmes of* Dauid; and *By the holy Euangeliſts*; oathes much vſed of Turks, and reſerued for their greateſt ſolemnities, and ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their leagues and promiſes: all which for all that hauing ſerued but as baits and traines to beguile the ſimple and well meaning men, lay now neglected and vnregarded: ſuch is the faith and aſſurance which men haue from faithleſſe and vntruſtie men.

The treatie for peace with the Turks commeth to nothing.

Diuers reports concerning the Turkes great preparations and deſignes.

The treatie of peace thus broken off, it was foorthwith by ſome bruited, That *Achmat* the great Sultan, vnder the conduct of the Viſier Baſſa his Gouernour, was himſelfe in perſon with a moſt huge armie about to come into Hungarie: Some others in the meane time reporting, that he was letted ſo to do by reaſon of the Perſian warres, whereunto he was of neceſſitie

to ſend the greateſt part of his forces: ſo that hee would but onely ſend one of his great Baſſaes
with the remainder of his ſo great an armie againſt the Chriſtians in Hungarie, being before G
ſworne neuer to returne againe vnto Conſtantinople, vntill he had brought the countries
of Tranſyluania and Valachia, with the remainder of Hungarie, vnder the obeyſance of the
great Sultan, together with the countrey of Auſtria, and eſpecially the ſtrong citie of Vienna,
the end of the Turkiſh Emperors conqueſts: and that to this purpoſe the Grand Seignior had
with great rigour in all places leuied great ſummes of money vpon his ſubiects for the maintenance
of his ſo great an armie. It was by others reported alſo, That onely the preparations
for ſo great an armie ſhould bee made this yeare, the Turkes beeing reſolued to
doe much therewith the next yeare, and therefore willing to beſtow much, in hope with ſo
great and puiſſant an armie as they were about to raiſe, to make an end of the warres in Hungarie, H
and not to returne vntill they had conquered all the reſt of that Kingdome, in the rent
reliques whereof the fortune of the *Othoman* Emperours had ſtayed: ſo that all handycrafts
men were ſet to worke by day and night, not onely to forge weapons, to caſt great ordnance,
and to make pouder, but to prepare all other things neceſſarie alſo for ſo great an
exploit.

All theſe great preparations were made for the ſeruice of the Viſier Baſſa for the warre in
Hungarie, and of *Cicala Baſſa* in Perſia, whereof hee was appointed Generall, hauing before
preſumptuouſly promiſed, vtterly to ruinate the Perſians eſtate, and with ſo great a power
euen to ſwallow him vp. And indeed theſe Eaſterne warres greatly troubled the Turkes;
newes comming ſtill concerning the conqueſts of the Perſian vpon his territories; and that I
euen of late the Perſian King proſecuting his victories, had taken Babylon, with all the countrey
thereabout: and that diuers other townes and cities, more mooued with feare than with
the faith wherewith they had bound themſelues vnto the Turks, now yeelded themſelues vnto
the Perſian, as wearie of the Turkes ſeruitude, and deſirous of their antient libertie. And
yet for all that, the Turkes (as they are wiſe to diſſemble their loſſes, and to ſtrike a feare into
their enemies) had giuen it out in Conſtantinople, That the Perſian King was neere vnto
Babylon diſcomfited, all his armie ouerthrowne, and hee himſelfe taken priſoner; ſo that
the Turks forces before diſtracted, ſhould now wholly ioyne together, to the vtter ruine and
deſtruction of the Chriſtians in Hungarie. And the more to confirme this euill newes, it
was reported, That the Beglerbeg of Græcia had rayſed a great power to ioyne with the K
Viſier Baſſa his forces, to the intent to leaue nothing vnconquered in Hungarie. For the better
effecting whereof, it was ſaid alſo, That the Viſier Baſſa had cauſed a great number of
veſſels loded with pouder and other warlike prouiſion to bee brought by water out of Ægypt
to Belgrade, to ruinate the eſtate of the Chriſtians. All which reports were by the Turks
giuen out, to couer their owne miſhaps, and to terrifie their enemies: as knowing right well,
warres to depend much vpon reports, and that a falſe bruit beleeued, worketh oftentimes the
effect of a thing in deed done. Howſoeuer it was, thoſe ſo dreadfull reports might well haue
ſerued to haue ſtirred vp the ſpirits of the Chriſtians to haue prouided for their owne defence,
and to haue ſtood vpon their guard: for hee that fayleth to prouide againſt the preparations
of his enemie, well deſerueth either bondage or death, which ſoeuer ſhall befall L
him, for hauing by his negligence betrayed his owne abilitie and power to haue withſtood
him.

Babylon reported to haue bin taken by the Perſian king.

The Turkes wiſely diſſemble their loſſes.

The great opinion the Turks haue of the power of their great Sultan.

The great report of the Turks preparations and forces had now daſht all the talke of peace
at Conſtantinople, and the hot fire of ambition had quite ſcortched the ſweet flowers appearing
vpon the ouerture of the late hope of the common repoſe; ſome perſuading the Great
Sultan, that hee was able with his power at the ſame time both to ſubdue the Perſian King,
and to confound the forces of the Chriſtian Emperour, hauing ſo many Kingdomes within
his Empire, ſo many armouries ſtored for his ſeruice, and ſuch ſtore of treaſure readie
for his deſignes, promiſing vnto him moſt happie and eaſie ſucceſſe both in the one and other
expedition, euen at one and the ſelfe ſame time: ſo that hee might vanquiſh the Perſian by *Cicala*, M
Chiefetaine of his armie in Perſia, and conquer the remainder of Hungarie, with the
Countries of Tranſyluania and Valachia, by the Viſier Baſſa, Generall of his forces againſt
the Chriſtians; it beeing (as they ſayd) a thing both honourable and profitable for a
Prince to beſtow both men and money, thereby to gaine men, honour, and Empire: So that

things

A things which with great charge might be done all at once, were more profitable than were
thoſe which with leſſe charge were done at diuers times: for that things ſo done at once,yeelded
preſent profit,as being in our power,and recompenſing our charge;the other in long time
putting vs to great charge,and yeelding little or no profit at all. And indeed men ſtand in great
feare of this the Turks young Emperour, being by nature fierce, haſtie, vigilant, cruell, ambitious,
and proud; and who in his behauior and actions much reſembleth *Mahomet* the ſecond,
he which tooke from the Chriſtians ſo many kingdoms,townes,and cities,and amongſt
the reſt, the Imperiall citie of Conſtantinople. He like vnto a young *Alexander*, occupieth
himſelfe in all the exerciſes of war, hateth idleneſſe, his fathers greateſt pleaſure: he cauſeth
armes to be made,cannons to be caſt,ſhips and gallies to be built, and taketh a pleaſure to diſcourſe,
B how the ſame are to be employed againſt his enemies: ſo that it is greatly to be feared,
that he being but a child in Conſtantinople,will prooue a man growne in Chriſtendome,
in bringing the ſame vnder his power and obeiſance.He ſpareth no perſon nor meanes which
may ſerue to ſatisfie his deſire. So that ſtrangers are to expect ſmall courteſies at his hands,
when as they ſee him to vſe ſuch bloudie crueltie againſt his Noblemen and domeſticall ſeruants,
of the chiefeſt of whome ſince he was Emperour hee hath alreadie put diuers to death,
with one of his Baſſaes alſo,who was the Gouernour of Peſth when as our men woon it. But
as iuſtice and clemencie vnto good Princes are the ſureſt bonds to keepe their ſubiects faſt
bound vnto them in their obedience and duties, ſo are crueltie and rage bridles wherewith
the Turkiſh Emperours keepe their ſubiects in awe and ſubiection vnto them,and themſelues
C in their eſtate.

The diſpoſition of the yong Turkiſh Emperour

Fury and tiranie the chiefe means whereby the Turkiſh emperors comand their ſubiects.

But leauing the Turkes buſie about their preparations for the acompliſhing of their young
Emperours high deſignes, let vs returne into Hungarie, taking Tranſyluania in our way, the
wofull miſeries of which countrey my minde abhorreth to thinke vpon, and my pen thereof
to write. This Prouince, ſometime much renowned for the great victories obtained againſt
the Turkes by the inhabitants thereof,vnder the leading of their Prince *Sigiſmund Bator*, and
others,and abounding with plenty of all things,was now not by any inuaſion of the Turkes,
but by ciuill diſcord amongſt themſelues,and rebellion againſt the Emperor, now their Soueraigne,
ſo waſted and ſpoyled by the ſouldiers on all ſides, that many of the poore inhabitants
for want of food fell downe dead as they went in the ſtreets and fields: miſerable wretches,alwaies
D ſowing,but neuer reaping; alwaies labouring, but nothing profiting,the mercileſſe and
greedie ſouldier ſtill ſpoiling or deuouring all. By long continuance of which daily outrages
the fields at length lay now vntilled, the paſtures vnſtored and neglected, and all things elſe
vnmanured and quite out of courſe: by means wherof, the famine ſo encreaſed,that the poore
peaſants of the countrie hauing eaten vp for great dainties all the dogs and cats,mice and rats,
that they could get, fell to eating of dead horſes, and the lothſome carrion of other hungerſtarued
beaſts. It is reported alſo, That one man ſhould eat another: and that at Hermanſtat a
woman hauing ſix children,did among them eat one another,vntill they were at length all ſix
deuoured: and to the contrarie, that two men did eat their owne mother: yea theeues, and
other malefactors hanged for their villanies, were by the poore and miſerable hungrie people
E cut downe from the gallowes, and deuoured, the people generally liuing vpon nothing
but vpon the roots of weeds,greene hearbs,and the leaues of trees. For remedie of which ſo
extreme miſeries,it was on all parts agreed,that a generall aſſembly of the States of the whole
Prouince ſhould be holden at Dewa: wherein it was accorded, That all hoſtilitie ſet apart,
the Gentlemen of Tranſyluania hauing by their rebellion forfeited both their liues and lands,
ſhould be pardoned their liues,with three fourth parts of their lands reſerued vnto them, and
that for ready mony they might of the Emperor redeeme the fourth part alſo. But concerning
the moueables of ſuch as were dead in the time of theſe troubles, and alreadie confiſcat vnto
the Emperour,they ſhould ſo remaine; and that they ſhould pay their diſmes, or tenth part
of their wine and fruits, vnto the Emperour. And further, That there ſhould be no further exerciſe
of Religion permitted vnto them, but onely the Romiſh Religion: and that the townes
of Cronſtadt and Clauſenburg ſhould within the ſpace of three weekes, pay the one
twentie thouſand dollars, and the other eight thouſand; and the magiſtrates of thoſe townes
ſhould deliuer the keyes of their townes, with all their power, into the hands of the Emperours

The miſerable eſtate of the countrey of Tranſyluania.

An horrible famine.

An aſſembly of the States of Tranſyluania, for the appeaſing of the troubles there.

rours Lieutenant: and that the Gentlemen of theſe townes which would not be accounted G in the number of the Rebels, ſhould for the ſafetie of their perſons take letters of pardon for their rebellion, of the Generall of the armie. This pacification gaue ſome little time of breathing vnto this poore diſtreſſed country, which bared of all ſtrength, and as it were vpon the graues brinke, had now but euen the laſt gaſpe to giue; and the country people began againe to giue themſelues vnto their wonted labors, in hope at length to reape the profit thereof themſelues; but alas all in vaine: for why, the rauening ſouldiers inured to prey, after their woonted manner made hauocke and ſpoile of all things, leauing nothing vnto the poore countreyman, but his labour for his paine, and time enough to bewaile his manifold and remedileſſe miſeries: the cauſes whereof were the Nobilitie and Gentlemen themſelues; who not liking to be gouerned, or rather (as they tooke it) oppreſſed by the Germanes, and hauing not vpon H any deſire they had of peace, but rather by neceſſitie inforced, yeelded vnto the pacification aforeſaid, ceaſed not ſtill vnderhand to incite the ſouldiers (ready enough of themſelues to do miſchiefe) and in what they might to trouble the gouernment of the State by the Germans, being vnto them (as they accounted of them) but ſtrangers. All which their doings *Baſſa* the Emperours Lieutenant well perceiuing, cauſed three of the greateſt of the Gentlemen of the countrey, and whome hee moſt ſuſpected to bee the authours of theſe troubles, to bee apprehended and faſt mured vp betwixt two ſtrong wals in an old ruinous monaſterie; whither their friends afterwards comming to haue viſited them, and finding them ſtarued to death, were therewith much abaſhed, as were alſo other their complices, as ſoone as they heard thereof. But leauing them to worke themſelues further troubles, let vs againe returne vnto I the Turkes affaires.

The troubles of Tranſyluania ſecretly maintained by the Nobilitie of the Countrey.

A ſeuere and miſerable kind of puniſhment.

The treatie of peace betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks quite broken off, & the war againe begun.

Now was all the hope of peace betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks become deſperate, the Turks making thereof no more account, ſeeing that according to their deſire they had prouided Alba-Regalis, Agria, and Buda, of their neceſſarie prouiſions. They had in foure wagons put into Agria the pay due vnto their garriſons; ſo that their affaires being now in good eſtate, and their courages reuiued, they began to ſcoffe and jeſt at our credulitie, to beleeue that they had had any purpoſe to conclude vpon any thing that was not agreeing with their profit, how far ſoeuer it were differing from their honor or from their faith: So that now theſe faithleſſe men began againe to renew their wonted incurſions and pillages vpon the Chriſtians, with all other manner of hoſtilitie, and that in more cruell manner than euer before: and our Huſſars K on the other ſide well requited them with the like, being as well contented as they with theſe manner of doings, their whole fortune depending vpon the points of their weapons, and euer ready to the ſeruice of their prince for their pay. Now it fortuned that fourſcore of the Turks going forth to ſeeke for bootie, chanced to meet with certaine of theſe Huſſars, who finding themſelues too weake to encounter with our men, and betaking themſelues to flight, were certaine of them taken priſoners, and ſo brought vnto the Generall; vnto whom they vpon examination confeſſed, That the Turkes much maruelled at the ſimpſicitie and fooliſhneſſe of the Chriſtians, to beleeue that they were deſirous of peace, and not to haue diſcouered their ſo manifeſt intentions to the contrary, tending onely to the pleaſuring of themſelues, and the annoying of them their enemies, to the ſtrengthning of themſelues, and deſtruction of the Chri- L ſtians, as by proofe it appeared, ſo ſoon as their deſires were accompliſhed, vnto the preiudice of their enemies: and that their yong Emperor was alwaies againſt this treatie of peace, whatſoeuer ſhew hee had made to the contrarie, conſtrained thereunto by the victories and conqueſts of the Perſian King; all his wiſhes and deſires aiming at no other marke, than at the generall ruine of Chriſtendome. Our garriſons alſo ſeeing themſelues charged by the Turks, tooke vp arms likewiſe, and requited them with like outrages, as they did. They of Pappa, and Veſprinium, were the firſt which began theſe broiles after the treatie of the peace, who hauing joyned their forces together, and making head toward Alba-Regalis, met with a number of Turkes, driuing of ſheepe and cattell thither, whome they ſurpriſed, and together with their cattell carried them away with them priſoners. Which good hap was ſecon- M ded with the libertie of twentie Chriſtian priſoners from Buda, who one night ſeeing their keepers oppreſſed with ſleep and with wine, cut their throats, and ſo happily eſcaped ouer the riuer to Peſth.

Booties taken from the Turks by the Chriſtians.

The Chriſtians by the Turk[illegible] priſoners informed of their euill meaning in the treatie of the peace.

A Now while theſe troubles betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks (after the treatie of peace broken off) thus began againe in Hungarie, the Turkes, beſide the rebellion in Aſia, were together by the eares in the prouince of Boſna. *Zellaly* hauing by force ioyned with policie, driuen *Zeffer Baſſa* (as is aforeſaid) out of Boſna, and poſſeſſed himſelfe of that Prouince, thought himſelfe now ſure enough within the ſtrength of his gouernment, although he being by the Great Sultan ſent for to Conſtantinople, had refuſed to come, as knowing right well himſelfe to hold that ſo great a gouernment much againſt his will and pleaſure. But *Zeffer Baſſa* now ſupported with the authoritie of the Great Sultan, and deſirous to be reuenged of the great diſhonour and loſſe he had before receiued from *Zellaly* his enemie, with a great armie ſuddenly entered into Boſna, and ſo comming vnto *Zellaly*, fearing as then no ſuch matter, B ouerthrew him with all his power, and neuer left purſuing of him, vntill he had chaſed him quite out of the Prouince, and ſo againe recouered the gouernment thereof. But ſhort was the ioy the Baſſa receiued of this ſo pleaſing a victorie; for within few dayes after he died, comforting himſelfe onely in this, that he died not vnreuenged. Of all which things the great Baſſa's of the Court vnderſtanding, and loth to loſe ſo great a ſouldier as was *Zellaly* (who as a man diſtreſſed, was now making ſhift for himſelfe, or by vſing of him hardly, to deterre the other Aſian rebels from comming in, and yet not willing to truſt him with ſo great a gouernment as was the prouince of Boſna; they to prouide for all euents, appointed him to be gouernor of Temeſwar; and *Begedes Baſſa* (before gouernor there) to ſucceed *Zeffer Baſſa* in the gouernment of Boſna: ſo contenting all parties, to keepe their forces whole and entire againſt C the Chriſtians.

Zeffer Baſſa recouereth the gouernment of Boſna from Zellaly, and ſhortly after dieth.

Zellaly made gouernour of Temeſwar.

But as the Turks were troubled with their affaires in Boſna, ſo the Chriſtians were no leſſe, but rather more buſied with theirs both in Tranſyluania and Hungarie. The Eſtates of Hungarie had appointed a general meeting at Poſſonium, wherein the Archduke *Matthias* was to ſit as Preſident, there to conſult of the means for the maintenance of this yeres wars againſt the Turks. But as the Archduke was about to haue entred into the citie in the midſt of his ſoldiers ſuch a fire vpon the ſudden aroſe in the citie, as conſumed the greateſt part thereof: an euill preſage of the action then in hand, and a wofull ſpectacle to behold, with the terror whereof all mens mindes poſſeſſed, turned them from the magnificent entertaining of the Archduke, (as was before determined) to the quenching of the raging fire, as more neceſſarie and concerning D them than the other. Beſides that, the miſeries then to be ſeene in the other parts of Hungarie yet holden by the Chriſtians, were both great and lamentable: for beſide the harmes therein done by the Turks, the regiment of Colonel *Althem* had made ſuch ſpoile and hauock all ouer the countrey where it lay, that the townes and people in generall ſo grieuouſly complained thereof vnto the Emperour, that he mooued with their iuſt complaints, cauſed the authors of theſe ſo great outrages to be apprehended and brought priſoners to Vienna, where ſome of them were beheaded, and ſome others of them hanged: Beſide whom ſo condemned and executed, there were ſome other Captaines and lieutenants, of whom ſome denying the fact, and other ſome ſtanding vpon the iuſtifying of that they had done, as thereunto by extreme neceſſitie enforced, were for their further triall ſent priſoners vnto Prague, where they were committed vnto priſon into the caſtle, vntill their cauſes might be heard. Among which captains and lieutenants, and other ſuch great officers, was one *Genderot* Colonel *Althem* his Antient, who moſt wickedly but a little before had ſlaine *Nudercy* a gentleman of good ſort and his fellow-companion in armes: for which murther he was committed priſoner into a very high and ſtrong tower within the caſtle (wherein Countie *Paradiſer*, who ſould Caniſia vnto the Turks, lay ſometime priſoner) vntill his trial might within a few dayes after be made. The horror of which criminal place, together with the guilt of conſcience, ſo troubled and wounded the minde of *Genderot*, as that all the hope now to ſaue his life, was by making an eſcape, & ſo to auoid the ſtroke of iuſtice. Which he happily brought to paſſe by the helpe of one of his lacquies, who had found means to bring vnto him a long cord, where by ſtraining himſelfe out at a little window (whereby it was thought almoſt impoſſible for any man to haue got out) he in ſafetie got down to the ground, and there hauing two good horſes readie for him, he with his man fled amain, and ſo eſcaped, his keepers drunken ouer night, being in the morning found yet ſleeping, without perceiuing of any thing, whoſe drunkennes & fauor toward the priſoner

The miſeries of the Hungarians.

The regiment of Colonel Althem in mutinie.

had giuen him means to eſcape. The reſt of the Captaines and Lieutenants in priſon at Prague G were ſome of them beheaded, and ſome of them hanged, and the reſt at the interceſſion of the Nobilitie of Auſtria, and of other great men, pardoned, yet with condition, That they ſhould pay the fines ſet vpon them, and ſerue the Emperor in his warres three moneths of their owne charge without pay: ſome few of the common ſouldiers, to the terrour of others, had two of the fore-fingers of their right hands cut off, and afterward faſt nailed vnto gibbets ſet vp by the high waies ſide.

The regiment of Colonell Meysberg in mutinie.

In like manner alſo the regiment of Colonell *Meysberg* roſe in mutinie for their pay & came, and encamped at Sneche, about a league from Vienna; threatning to deſtroy the countrey, and to kill the chiefe men therein, if they were not paied their pay. Which rebellious mutinie the Captaines did what they might to appeaſe; they beſought them, but in vaine; they entreated them, but to no purpoſe; they promiſed them pay, but preuailed not; yea, the Colonell him- H ſelfe thruſt himſelfe into the midſt of them, with moſt earneſt prayers, and his hands caſt vp, putting them in mind of their duty, and laying before them the danger of moſt aſſured death and diſhonour, if they continued further to proceed in that their diſloyaltie, whereunto their headſtrong furie ſo diſorderedly led them. But they as men enraged, carried headlong with their furie, breathing nothing but threats and deſtruction, and by no prayers or perſwaſion to be moued, preſently made choice of another Chiefetaine, vnder whoſe conduct and leading they reſolued to rifle the ſuburbs of Vienna, and with the ſpoile of them to pay themſelues. Vpon which reſolution they marched on, and ſo drew neere vnto the city: with which their ſo great and dangerous an inſolencie the Gouernors of the citie moued (the ſufferance whereof they ac- I counted to be vnto themſelues both diſhonorable & harmfull) they on the other ſide reſolued by plaine force to repreſſe them, and by iuſt armes to chaſtiſe them, who were not otherwiſe to be reclaimed. But ſuch be the miſerable calamities of warre, where violent remedies muſt purge out of the body of the commonweale the good humors together with the bad, ſo to recouer the health thereof: which remedies, not but vpon neceſſitie to be vſed, *are ſo quicke and* violent in their working, as that they affoord not leiſure to diſcern the whole and *ſound from* the ſicke and infected, to ſaue the one, and to ſpill the other; but that they muſt altogether run the ſelfeſame way. For albeit that the whole Regiment was in this mutinous action, and ſo all in like danger, yet were they not therof all alike guilty, many of them being euen againſt their wils and good liking carried away headlong, as with the violent courſe of an headie riuer. K

Now the Captaines of the towne with their troupes and companies, ſtrengthened with ſome other ſupplie ſent from other places, were to ſet forward againſt theſe rebellious mutiners, and to fruſtrate their deſignes: for the greater ſtrenthening of whom, diuers of the burgeſſes of the towne were enforced to enter into this action alſo: amongſt whome, there were two accounted very honeſt religious men, who by all meanes ſought to excuſe themſelues from going, labouring both by liuely reaſons, and by the word of God, to prooue, that they neither might nor ought of right to enter into armes againſt their Chriſtian brethren, enforced with extreamities, for want of their due pay, to forget their duetie, and to doe that beſeemed them not. But what auaileth it to alleadge either reaſon or law amongſt the clattering of armes; the noiſe whereof is ſo great, as that Reaſon and Law cannot there bee heard. Theſe I two men ſeeing themſelues enforced to goe, and much grieued in conſcience to doe that they were enioyned to doe, and to helpe to ſhed the guiltleſſe bloud of their innocent brethren (as they accounted them) entered both of them into a moſt ſtrange and wofull reſolution, which was to die themſelues; rather than to embrue their hands with the bloud of the guiltleſſe: whereupon one of them hauing oftentimes called vpon the name of *Ieſus*, with his owne ſword thruſt himſelfe through the body, and ſo died: the other vpon the like reſolution threw himſelfe into the riuer, and ſo periſhed alſo: men worthie to be pittied for their conſcience ſake, but iuſtly to be condemned for their ſo weake and deſperat a reſolution. In fine, the rebellious mutiners ſeeing in what perill they were, being euen now readie to be charged, and withall conſidering the weakeneſſe of their power in compariſon of them that came againſt L them, thought it beſt vpon the ſight of ſo great a tempeſt to ſtrike ſayle, and ſo changing their former determination, and laying downe their armes, craued pardon of the Archduke, who graciouſly granted it them, and ſo tooke them to his mercie; yet with condition, that they

A ſtrange action of two of the citiſens of Vienna.

ſhould againe returne vnto their garriſons, and deliuer into his hands the ringleaders & chiefe authors of that mutinie to be puniſhed according to their deſerts, as afterwards they were; the ordinarie end of ſuch inſolent and diſordered actions, which haue nothing aſſured vnto them but death, which (all things elſe failing) attendeth onely vpon them.

The Turkes in vaine ſeeke to ſurprize Lippa

But while the Chriſtians thus diuided were at variance among themſelues, the Turks were readie enough to take aduantage of ſuch their dangerous diſcord. And firſt of all, *Zellaly* the old Rebell, but now Gouernour of Temeſwar, hauing in his craftie head plotted the taking of the citie of Lippa by ſurprize, and to that purpoſe gathering the greateſt power that hee was able to make, in the euening ſet forward from Temeſwar, and ſo trauelling by night, came to Lippa, vnto the wals whereof he planted ſcaling ladders, and at the ſame time labored to haue forced the gates, in hope ſo to haue gained the towne: which was done with ſuch a terrible noyſe and outcrie as was poſſible by the Turkes to bee made, after that they were once diſcouered, thereby to haue diſmayed the Chriſtians within the towne; who well acquainted with ſuch ſtratagemes of their enemies, and now therewith awaked, came readily to the walls, and there ſo well defended themſelues and their Towne, that the Turkes repulſed, were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and hauing loſt a number of their men, with all ſpeed to retire; vpon whome the Chriſtians ſallying out, ſlew many of them in that their diſordered retreat, little differing from plaine flight, and tooke many moe of them priſoners: yea *Zellaly*, who not many houres before had thought to haue ſurpriſed Lippa, was now glad himſelfe to haue recouered the walls of Temeſwar. Some of the Turkes that were there taken priſoners beeing examined, reported, That the armie that was this yeare to come into Hungarie, was like to bee verie great, and that a part thereof was now come to Belgrade, expecting there the comming of the Tartars, who were together with them to enter into Hungarie: and that by reaſon of the warres with the Perſian, which deuoured almoſt all the ſouldiers in Conſtantinople, and yet could not bee therewith ſatiſfied, the great Sultan had commanded, That all ſuch as were able to beare armes, as well in Boſna, as in that part of Hungarie which was ſubiect vnto him, and in the other Prouinces thereunto adioyning, ſhould be ready to ioyne with his armie in Hungarie, for the furthering of his conqueſts there: And that the Perſian King proſecuting the courſe of his victories, had ouerthrowne *Cicala Baſſa* with his armie, and taken his ſonne priſoner, almoſt ſlaine all his troupes, and entered into confederacie with *Caracaſe*, chiefe of the Rebels in Aſia, a man of great power, who had following of him a great number of valiant men, all reſolutely ſet downe for the troubling of the great Sultans eſtate.

Caſſoua in danger to haue beene burnt by the Turkes.

About the ſame time the Gouernour of Caſſouia (a great and ſtrong citie in the vpper part of Hungarie) going forth with ſome good part of his garriſon to appeaſe the ſouldiers lying about in the countrey (but now vp in mutinie for their pay) and there ſpending ſome few dayes about this buſineſſe, in ſhewing of them the danger of their inſolencie, and perſuading them by the euill ſucceſſe and end of ſuch like actions to returne againe vnto their dueties; and they againe to the contrarie obſtinatly vrging the payment of their pay, or elſe to haue leaue to depart, as being not able longer to continue without the one or the other: and ſo the time paſſing, it fortuned that certaine Turks, then priſoners in Caſſouia, encouraged by the abſence of the Gouernour and of the garriſon ſouldiers, to attempt the gaining of their libertie, brake their yrons, and ſlew their keepers, in hope ſo to haue eſcaped: but being in the doing thereof diſcouered, and ſo againe ſurpriſed before they could doe any further harme, and vpon torture examined, by what meanes they thought to haue eſcaped out of the citie, the wals thereof beeing kept with continuall ſentinels: they confeſſed, That their purpoſe was, the ſame night to haue ſet fire vpon diuers places of the citie (ſo to haue drawne the people to the quenching thereof) and at the ſame time to haue ſlaine the ſentinels vpon the walls, and ſo to haue made their eſcape: for which their ſo miſchieuous a fact and purpoſe, they were ſome of them executed, and the reſt againe committed to priſon, and more ſtraitly kept and looked vnto than before.

The citadell of Caniſia by chance burnt.

Now as Caſſouia had by the prouidence of God eſcaped ſo great an intended miſchiefe, Caniſia at the ſame time alone felt the euill hap by the Turkes entended both to Caſſouia and Lippa: for a ſouldier of the garriſon in the citadell there hauing through negligence or miſhap caſt fire into the pouder prouided for the ſtore of the Caſtle, the pouder taking fire, blew vp the citadell, the towers, the houſes, and walls; and to be briefe, made this poore place like vnto another Rome burnt by *Nero*. So that had any of the Chriſtian forces been then neere vnto the place, it had been an eaſie matter to haue woon the ſame, as well for the ſmall reſiſtance that was therein to haue been found in ſo great an aſtoniſhment of the men, and deſtruction of the place. But ſuch accidents haue no certaine houres limited to their beginnings, nor aſſurance of their comming, ſo that they oftentimes chance, without any man to make vſe of them; and againe flie away, when men make their greateſt preparations to obtaine them. C

The Turks of Buda ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians of Peſth.

At the ſame time the Turks of Buda ſent two hundred of the ſouldiers of their garriſon to fetch in forrage a little from Peſth, who as they were in the doing thereof too preſumptuous, ſo were they well puniſhed for their pride: For the Chriſtians in Peſth hauing diſcouered them in this action, ſallied out vpon them and charged them; againſt whome they for a while right valiantly defended themſelues, but at length oppreſſed with number, and ouerthrowne, they were moſt of them ſlaine, and the reſt taken priſoners: Wherewith the Baſſa of Buda was ſo much offended, that in reuenge thereof, he in his rage threatened with fire and ſword to do what harme he might vnto the Chriſtians. But as the common prouerbe ſaith, Men warned are halfe armed; and enemies threats bring this comfort with them, That in receiuing of the threatned harmes, we are in hope to be thereof reuenged, as therefore before prouided. H

New tumults in Tranſyluania.

The rebels in Tranſyluania ſurpriſed and ſlaine.

The miſerable eſtate of Tranſyluania.

Vnto theſe wofull troubles of Hungarie, proceeding as well from the inſolencies of the Chriſtian ſouldiers themſelues, as from the furie of the Turkes, who were their antient and mortall enemies, were ioyned the like or rather worſe calamities in Tranſyluania, I extreame famine and want of all things ſore raging in both countries; ſo that hardly hath any miſerie or extreamitie beene ſeene or read of, euen in Countries by the iuſt and heauie iudgements of the Almightie God appointed to deſtruction, which were not in thoſe two Countries to bee found, and of many felt. For remedie whereof, *George Baſſa* the Emperours Lieutenant in Tranſyluania, had there done what hee might for the appeaſing of the tumults and troubles of that Prouince, and now of late brought the ſame into ſome good tearmes, as was thought, and as is before declared. Howbeit, that in proofe it fell out farre otherwiſe, and that the more he therein laboured, the farther hee was off from his intent and purpoſe: for the Nobilitie of that Prouince, who were generally enclined vnto K rebellion, and deteſting the Germanes, together with their gouernement, reiected the decrees and orders which were agreed vpon in their late meeting together for the concluding of peace; inſomuch, that aſſiſted by the Turkes, they had taken certaine Caſtles and ſtrong places in that Prouince: and the better to ſupport their rebellion and inſolencie, they had appointed a certaine place to meet at, where the Turkes and they might conferre together of the meanes which they intended for the effecting of their deſignes. Whereof *Baſſa* hauing by ſecret meanes got vnderſtanding, to remedie this pretended miſchiefe, hee ſent away a great number of Haiduckes, to lye in wait to ſurpriſe them vpon the way. Which men, who were skilfull in the paſſages of the Countrey, fayled not in this action, but lay cloſe in ambuſh, verie conueniently for the ſurpriſing of their enemies: who proceeding in their intended purpoſe, and thinking of nothing leſſe than of that which was entended againſt them, L were ſuddenly, before they were aware, Turks and Tranſyluanians, altogether ſurpriſed and ſlaine. Which exploit beeing performed, theſe Haiduckes and other ſouldiers deſtitute of their pay, and enraged with furie, fell vpon the Prouince, vſing therein all hoſtilitie, as if they had beene mortall enemies vnto it; puniſhing the guiltleſſe for the guiltie, and ſeiſing vpon all mens goods in common, to pay themſelues that which was by ſome few in priuat kept from them. All the whole Prouince was ſubiect vnto the rage and furie of thoſe and other ſuch mercileſſe men of warre, who without any remorſe at all indifferently ſlew and maſſacred all of them that came in their way; but eſpecially the poore and weake innocent people, who called vpon the Almighty God for remedy and redreſſe of theſe euils which they ſuſtained, and M cried out vnto him for reuenge of their ſo great and cruell wrongs. The high waies were euerie where ſo full of theeues, that no man could trauell from place to place, but that hee was in great danger to be ſet vpon, and ſpoiled. For the Haiducks (being men that liue altogether by prey, and roaming vp and downe the Countrey) made good priſe and bootie of whatſoeuer

A came in their way, ſparing neither Turkes nor Chriſtians : inſomuch, that they hearing, how that the Zeeclers with a good conuoy were bringing a number of waggons laden with victuals, and a great many of Oxen and other cattell to Claudionople, although they were of the ſame partie, beleefe, and Nation, yet they lay in wait for them to ſurpriſe them : againſt whome the Zeeclers ſeeking to defend themſelues, were by them cruelly maſſacred, and their waggons, with their Beeues and other cattell, all carried quite away. But what ſhould wee ſay ? Hunger breaketh euen the ſtone walls, and forceth men vnto all extremities : and now the famine in that Prouince was ſuch, as that the people were for the moſt part glad to liue by feeding vpon the roots of hearbs and weeds, and ſuch other vnwholſome things, whereof great mortalitie afterward enſued amongſt them : Which was the B cauſe that *Horwat*, Captaine of theſe Haiduckes, beeing reprooued for the outrages by them committed, and charged to take order, that no more ſuch like ſhould afterward bee done; anſwered, That it was not poſſible to keepe ſouldiers in any order amiddeſt the extreamitie of famine; for that the bellie was an inexorable vſurer, which tooke pittie vpon nothing, but with great rage exacting that which it thought due for the nouriſhment of it ſelfe.

Captaine Ho wat his anſwer in excuſe of the Haiduckes.

Amideſt theſe troubles of Tranſyluania and Hungarie, there were two of the Turkes ſpyes of Buda diſcouered and taken; who at Vienna, had obſerued all the actions and proceedings of the Chriſtians, and to the vttermoſt of their power had informed themſelues of their deſignes, as alſo of their preparations and forces to bee raiſed and C leuied for this yeares warres : of which two ſpyes, the one was empayled, and the other kept in cloſe and ſtraight priſon, vntill that further matter might be drawne out from him.

Two of the Turks ſpies of Buda taken.

The forces of the Chriſtians were now beginning to gather themſelues together and to make an head in Hungarie; a riſe report at that time going, That they would forthwith take the field : whereof the Baſſa of Buda vnderſtanding, and deſirous in what he might to hinder that their forwardneſſe (whereof hee doubted the effects) thought it beſt to betake himſelfe to his old and cunning practiſe, for the treatie and concluding of a peace with the Chriſtians, whereof hee now made ſhew himſelfe, together with the reſt of the Turkes, to bee verie deſirous : ſo by putting the Chriſtians in hope thereof, D to make them the more remiſſe and negligent in their doings, and to gaine time of them, vntill that the Turkes great armie (then in preparing) might bee brought downe into Hungarie. To which purpoſe hee in moſt friendly manner thus writ vnto the Gouernour of Strigonium.

The Letters of the Baſſa of Buda to the Gouernour of Strigonium.

Wee know right well (Noble Gouernour) that you are not ignorant, how that your brother the Gouernour of Strigonium before you, hath moſt earneſtly embraced the negotiation of peace, in ſuch ſort, as that wee cannot ſo much yeeld vnto our ordinarie quarrels and diſſention, but that wee muſt giue you to vnderſtand the cauſes which haue croſſed and hindered the concluding of ſo great a good the laſt yeare now paſſed. The firſt let come by reaſon of the time, choſen too late to bee employed in that treatie for peace, when as now both the armies were alreadie on foot, and euen in readineſſe to ioyne battell, and could not bee then ſtayed by that entreatie, nor bee ſent backe againe without ſome exploit dong : Each part had reſolued vpon their proper deſignes, and euen choſen their ground for battell, and were then hardly to bee turned from that whereupon they were before reſolued. And albeit, that during this laſt Winter, the treatie for the peace was againe begun, and that the men of warre on both ſides in hope thereof, reſted vnarmed, and free from all hoſtilitie; a moſt fit time to haue begun and ended this treatie of peace, which hath beene ſo much wiſhed for of our Soueraigne Emperour, deſired of his ſubiects, and requeſted by thoſe of your Emperours, with whome ym dread Soueraigne would confirme and contract a firme and continuall peace : yet for all that, ſince the departure of the Gouernour from Strigonium, wee ſee three moneths to haue beene paſſed, without any Letters at all, or meſſage by word of mouth brought vnto vs concerning this matter; ſo that wee haue not any thing whereof to certifie our Soueraigne Emperour. And foraſmuch as the courſe of time hath brought theſe two contrarie armies euen vnto the point of battell, and that they are marching one of them *to encounter with the other, and ſo to enter into the liſts of honour, wee haue thought good before to deſire to know of you, what we are to expect concerning the peace. Wee therefore requeſt you as our verie good brother and friend, in what wee may to ſtay the comming of our armies into this Kingdome, and to attend to that which may produce the concluſion of this treatie, beeing on our part moſt readie to lend both our eare and deſire to whatſoeuer ſhall be iuſt and meet in this treatie, and neceſſarie for the common good: beſeeching you to beleeue vs in this buſineſſe, and not to doubt of our good will, more affected to your good, than is yours to our welfare: whereof wee in good time aduertiſe you, for that our armie which is now before Belgrade, beeing once arriued heere, and marching in field wee cannot poſſibly cauſe it to returne without ſomething doing, conſidering the great harmes, which under the aſſurance of your faith giuen, wee haue receiued from your people during the time of the truce, which they haue many wayes violated. Which their euill dealing hath greatly incenced vs againſt your men in captiuitie with vs, and cauſed our ſouldiers to ſhew great rigour againſt their ſlaues: wee therefore attend your anſwere, and the returne of your brother, to the end wee may together reſolue according vnto reaſon and equitie, of that which ſhall bee needfull to bee done for the common good and welfare.*

Now for all this faire gloſing, it was no hard matter to gheſſe at the Baſſaes ſecret meaning: for how deſirous ſoeuer hee ſeemed to bee of peace, and willing to the furtherance thereof, yet neuertheleſſe true it is, that during the time of all theſe faire ſhewes, the Turkes hauing aſſembled their garriſons on all ſides, had by night ſurpriſed the caſtle of Simnin vpon the Chriſtians, ſlaine part of the ſouldiers therein, carried away the reſt priſoners, and moſt cruelly afterwards burnt the place: So manifeſting by their foule deeds the euill meaning of their faire and deceitfull words. But now leauing the Baſſa for a while vnto his craftie deuices, and paſſing ouer many ſmall skirmiſhes which happened in Hungarie and Tranſyluania, as not beſeeming the grauitie of an Hiſtorie, let vs now out of Europe looke ouer into Aſia, to ſee how the Great Turkes affaires there in the meane time went.

The rebellion in Aſia was by the comming ouer of *Zellaly* and his followers for a time ſomewhat weakened, but not ſuppreſſed, that peſtilent humour of diſloyaltie hauing before infected the mindes of ſo many, as that in ſhort time after the Rebels were much ſtronger and the rebellion much more dangerous than before: for the appeaſing and repreſſing whereof, *Cicala Baſſa* the old renegate, and a man of great experience and ſeruice, was as Generall ſent ouer with a great and mightie armie into Aſia, where hee needed not long to ſeeke for his enemies, they being as ready as he either to giue or to accept of battell: So that for men ſo on both ſides reſolued, it was no hard matter to bring them to the triall of battell: which they with like deſire and equall hope ioyning, there made a great and terrible fight, the Baſſa fighting for his honour, and the Rebell for his life. Howbeit, that at length the Baſſa after much bloudſhed and a great number on both ſides ſlain, being put to to the worſe, fled with his armie altogether diſordered, and in rout, hauing in that ſo dangerous a confuſion of his people much adoe to ſaue himſelfe. With which ſo ſhamefull an ouerthrow giuen him by the Rebell, the Baſſa who was more aſhamed than diſcouraged, againe repaired his armie, ioyning thereunto great and mightie ſupplies, and ſo ſtrengthened, came now againe the ſecond time to reuenge himſelfe of the great diſhonour which he had before receiued, and vtterly to ſuppreſſe the Rebels: who now finding themſelues too weake to encounter with ſo great and mightie a power, wiſely betime retired, praying aide of the Perſian King, who ſent vnto them his owne ſonne with a great armie of good and valiant ſouldiers; which might haue giuen the Baſſa cauſe enough to haue ſtayed his haſte, and to haue beene well aduiſed how hee ioyned battell with ſuch deſperate and reſolute enemies, and now backt with ſuch ſtrong ſupplyes: But hee being blinded with the furie of his former loſſe, and too much deſirous to be thereof reuenged, with more haſt than good ſpeed came on, and ioyned battell with theſe his enemies, now in readineſſe and well prouided to receiue him. The two armies were in number equall, but the Rebels of the two more reſolute and carefull of themſelues and of their welfare, as they which had repoſed all their hope and confidence in their owne armes and valour, ſo that the battell was with great outcries and furie begun both on the

Cicala Baſſa with his army ouerthrown by the Rebels in Aſia.

one ſide and on the other: in the beginning whereof the Turks right furiouſly charged the rebels, and ſeemed ſomewhat to preuaile vpon them, vntill that the Perſian Kings ſonne with certaine troupes of his moſt braue horſemen charging them in the rereward, and ſome other of the Rebels with like furie aſſailing them vpon their flankes, their whole armie was ſo diſordered, that *Cicala* doing what he could to haue put his men againe in order, and ſo to haue reſtored the battell, nothing therein preuailed, but was glad together with the reſt of his armie, now all in rout, to betake himſelfe to flight. In this battell were fortie thouſand men on the one ſide and the other ſlaine, whereof thirtie thouſand were of the Baſſaes armie, and the reſt of the Rebels; who by this their ſo great a victorie, gained no leſſe honour and reputation, than had the old Baſſa got of contempt and diſgrace. The Perſian King alſo after this diſcomfiture of the Turkes, continuing his conqueſts, tooke in the Countrey of Siruan (a matter of great importance) beeing now deſtitute of all reliefe by the ouerthrow of *Cicala Baſſa*, who, had he preuailed againſt the Rebels, ſhould haue marched thither againſt the Perſian King, to haue ſtayed the courſe of his victories: who now victorious and out of feare, made head toward Aruſta, a very great and ſtrong towne, neere whereunto the riuer Tygris diſchargeth it ſelfe into the great riuer Euphrates, which citie hee at laſt woon, with all the places and Countries thereunto adioyning; and hath ſince as a moſt happy and victorious Prince againe recouered from the Turkes whatſoeuer they had ſince the time of Sultan *Solyman* by force of armes taken from the Perſian Kings his predeceſſours, two or three ſtrong places onely excepted. Of which moſt notable warres betwixt theſe two of the moſt mightie Eaſterne Princes, *viz.* the great Turke and the Perſian King, I can rather wiſh than hope to bee better enformed, and that, not ſo much for curioſitie (although that the knowledge of ſuch matters yeeld vnto ſuch as bee deſirous thereof much pleaſure, with no leſſe contentment) as for that they (though farre off) in ſome ſort much concerne the good and quiet of the Chriſtian Commonweale, the Perſian warres being the onely meanes whereby the furie of the Great Turkiſh Sultan hath beene, and yet is, for a time auerted from the Chriſtians in Europe vpon the Perſians in Aſia: as it is greatly to be feared, that ſome one or other (if not moe) of the Chriſtian Princes neereſt vnto him, ſhall to their great coſt and harme feele, ſo ſoone as theſe two great Mahometane Princes ſhall bee at peace betweene themſelues. But leaue wee the Baſſa a while to grieue at his ouerthrowes, and the Perſian King to triumph of theſe victories, and ſee what the Great Sultan himſelfe in the meane time doth.

Cicala Baſſa againe ouerthrowne.

The ſucceſſe of the Perſian King.

This young Prince *Achmat*, now one of the greateſt Monarches of the World, had not many moneths raigned, but that hee fell ſicke of the ſmall pox, wherewith hee hauing a groſſe and full bodie, was ſo foulely tormented for the ſpace of foureteene dayes, that oftentimes fainting, it was generally thought hee would thereof haue died: yea, diuers of the great Baſſaes were in ſpeech concerning his younger brother to bee taken out of the Seraglio to ſucceed him: which was thought would haue coſt the younger brother his life, after that the Sultan his elder brother was againe recouered; as no doubt it had, but that hee was the onely heire that was then left of the *Othoman* Familie, if that his brother the Sultan ſhould haue fayled. But hee againe recouered of his foule and childiſh diſeaſe; to ſhew vnto the Ianizaries and others (who doubted thereof) that hee was ſo recouered, proudly mounted vpon a goodly horſe, moſt ſumptuouſly furniſhed, and in great ſtate and magnificence rid vp and downe through moſt of the chiefe ſtreets of the Imperiall Citie, the people (as their ccuſtomed manner is) in euery place as hee went reioycing to ſee him, and proſecuting him ith their moſt ioyfull acclamations, wiſhing vnto him a moſt long and happie raigne. Neither is it to be maruelled, ſeeing that the Almightie God hath euen in the faces and countenances of Princes engrauen ſome reſemblance of his owne, if they become reſpectuous and dmirable in the eyes and ſight of the common people, who cannot but honour them with heir voices, whome God hath bleſſed with his power, and other his extraordinarie world-y bleſſings.

Sultan Achmat ſick of the ſmall pox.

This young Prince ſo recouered of his ſickneſſe, and hauing ſhewed himſelfe vnto his ubiects, began foorthwith to giue himſelfe (according vnto the heat of his youthfull ſpi-it) immoderatly vnto the pleaſures of the field, and other ſuch violent exerciſes, be-g in their moderate vſe wholeſome, but in their violences much hurtfull, but eſpecially

Good counſell taken in euill part by Sultan Achmat.

vpon the new recouerie of his late ſickneſſe, the griefes whereof came in haſte, but were to leaue him at leiſure. Whereupon two of his Baſſaes carefull of his health, were ſo bold, as out of their loue to reproue him for ſuch his violent and immoderat exerciſes (the day not beeing long enough for them) and by effectuall reaſons to diſſuade him from the ſame. But ſo farre off was hee from hearkening vnto their wholeſome perſuaſions, as that to the contrarie hee therwith inraged, thruſt them both out of their places. So dangerous a thing it is, euen in zeale and loue to preſume to controll great Princes in their moſt vaine pleaſures; others in the meane time not louing them at all, but onely for their owne profit attending vpon their idle appetites, enjoying the preferments due vnto their more faithfull and loyall ſubiects, and yet ſecretly in themſelues ſmiling at the vanitie of ſuch as by whom they be ſo vnworthily honoured and promoted.

But as in the immoderat vſe of all things there is a ſacietie which breedeth a diſliking and diſtaſte of them (pleaſures being not by any meanes more commended, than by their nouelties and ſeldome vſe) ſo this young Sultan *Achmat* hauing glutted himſelfe with his pleaſures, began now to caſt his eyes vpon his other more neceſſarie affaires of State, but eſpecially vpon his warres both with the Chriſtian Emperour and the Mahometane Perſian King. Now hee was not ignorant of the great valour and ſufficiencie of *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa, for the mannaging of his warres in Hungarie, wherein he had of long time beene exerciſed, and ſo therein beſt experienced. This old Captaine pleaſed him beſt, whome as an old, expert, and politicke Generall, hee reſolued to continue in his charge as Lieutenant Generall of his warres in Hungarie, and by the continuation of him in ſo great and honourable a place, to binde him to all loyall ſeruices in thoſe warres, euen to the vttermoſt of his power. This Great Baſſa was then at Belgrade, vpon the frontier of his gouernment in doubtfull ſuſpence expecting the reſolution of his Prince concerning this buſineſſe, and yet in hope longing after a ſecond charge: Whoſe longing deſire *Achmat* quickely ſatisfied, by ſending vnto him both a commiſſion for the continuation of his charge and dignitie, and certaine honourable Preſents in token of his extraordinarie fauour towards him; which were a Generals Enſigne, with an Hungarian Mace of pure gold. Now whether theſe Preſents, ioyned vnto the continuation of his charge, were welcome unto him, or not, ambitious mindes (ſuch as was his) can eaſily tell: and hee to ſhew his contentment therewith, gaue thereof good teſtimonie by the publique actions of joy, cauſing all the great Ordnance of the place in thundering wiſe to be oftentimes diſcharged, and the Trumpets and Drummes to be moſt ioyfully ſounded.

Haſſan Baſſa appointed lieutenant General of the Turkes warres in Hungarie.

In the meane time newes was brought vnto Conſtantinople, how that the Perſian king hauing muſtered his men, was in the field with aboue an hundred thouſand good ſouldiers, and that *Bagages Baſſa*, one of the great Rebels in Aſia, had confederated himſelfe with him, to the further troubling of the Turkes eſtate. Whereupon *Achmat*, although hee had before giuen order vnto *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa his Lieutenant in Hungarie, for the beſieging and taking of Veradinum, a ſtrong Citie in the vpper Hungarie; now by a meſſenger ſent in haſte, commaunded the ſame Baſſa, all other buſineſſes ſet apart, with all the power that hee could make, forthwith to returne to Conſtantinople, there with him and the reſt of the Baſſaes to conſult and reſolue vpon the moſt neceſſarie warre, and of the readieſt meanes for the continuing of the ſame. For albeit that the Turkes were moſt deſirous to haue warres with the Chriſtians, and ſo (if it were poſſible) to haue conquered the remainders of Hungarie; yet the danger of the Perſian warres and of the rebellion in Aſia daily more and more encreaſing, ſuffered them not wholly to attend vnto the warres againſt the Chriſtians in Hungarie, but drew them now into a doubtfull conſultation, which way firſt to turne their forces. But the Baſſa being come to Conſtantinople, the Grand Seignior tooke the paines and did him the honour to come vnto his houſe, whither the Counſell for the State beeing aſſembled, it was there moſt proudly reſolued vpon, euen forthwith at one and the ſelfe ſame time with equall forces to make warre both vpon the Chriſtian Emperour in Hungarie, and the Perſian King in Aſia, accounting themſelues ſtrong enough to ſubdue and bring vnder foot both the one and the other, no power vpon earth beeing in their proud conceit of themſelues able to encounter or withſtand theirs. So for the mannaging of theſe warres, and of their ſo proud a reſolution to be performed in ſo remote

Haſſan Baſſa ſent for to come to Conſtantinople.

A remote parts of the world, *Haſſan Baſſa* was continued in his charge, as General of the armie in Hungarie; and *Cicala Baſſa* was appointed to haue the command of the armie to be ſent againſt the Perſian: Two moſt expert Captaines, being to fight againſt their hereditarie enemies; *Haſſan* againſt the Chriſtians, and *Cicala* againſt the Perſians, by whom he had not long before bin euil vſed. An ordinarie policie of the *Othoman* Emperors, not to commit the charge of their armies againſt the Chriſtians, vnto Renegats; for feare leſt they, touched with ſome remorſe of conſcience, might betray the ſame, or otherwiſe deale vnfaithfully in their charge: but ſtill to employ them againſt the Perſians, of whom they haue no further knowledge, but as of their enemies in the field. But *Cicala Baſſa* well acquainted both with the difficultie and the danger of the Perſian war, (the ſcarres whereof he yet bare about with him) made ſhew B as if he had been vnwilling to take vpon him the charge thereof; and ſo begun to excuſe himſelfe, vntill that at length vpon promiſe made vnto him, for the furniſhing of him with a ſufficient armie, and all things els neceſſarie for ſo great a war, with a large and moſt honourable entertainment for himſelfe, and all the Perſian priſoners being alſo giuen vnto him in reward; he therewith contented, accepted of the honorable charge, whereof in his ambitious minde he was indeed moſt deſirous. And ſo receiuing the Generals Enſigne, with the other markes and cogniſances of his honour, cauſing the drums to be ſtrucken vp, and the trumpets to be joyfully ſounded, he cheerefully prepared himſelfe for that his ſo great an expedition; expecting but the comming of his ſonne, who at the requeſt of the Venetians was gon forth with a fleet of gallies, to ſcoure the Leuant ſeas of the pyrats, who then exceedingly troubled the C traffique of the Venetian merchants.

Haſſan Baſſa continued Generall of the Turks Armie againſt the Chriſtians, and Cicala appointed General of their armie againſt the Perſians.

Cicala Baſſa maketh ſhew as if he were vnwilling to be General in the warres againſt the Perſians.

Amiddeſt which the Turks ſo great deſignes, the Tartar Cham, bound for his pay to ſerue the Great Turke in his warres againſt the Chriſtians; by his Embaſſadour excuſed himſelfe vnto the Great Sultan, for that he could not himſelfe in perſon come this yeare with his forces into Hungarie, by reaſon that he was otherwiſe neceſſarily buſied with the moſt vrgent affaires of his owne Eſtate: yet promiſing withall, in ſtead of himſelfe, to ſend his ſonne with a good power of men. Now whereas many men maruell, why the Tartar Cham, being ſo great a Prince, and not much in danger vnto the Turke (being ſeparated from him by the Blacke or Euxine ſea) ſhould be ſtill ſo readie at the Turkes call, to doe him ſeruice in his warres: The cauſes thereof are diuers, and thoſe not far to ſeeke. Firſt, Their neere affini- D tie (as both diſcended from the ſame beginning) by often marriages ſtill confirmed: Then, Their likeneſſe of manners and condition, no ſmall bonds of loue and friendſhip: And thirdly, For that the Turkiſh Empire for want of heires males of the *Othoman* Familie, is aſſured, and as it were entailed vnto the Tartar Cham: But moſt of all, For the yearely penſion and great pay which he, being a bare Prince, receiueth from the Turkes; his rude and needie people being alſo euer readie, in hope of the ſpoyle, to follow him into theſe warres. But this his excuſe for not comming himſelfe this yeare into Hungarie, being by the Great Sultan accepted of, *Haſſan Baſſa* reſolued vpon his expedition for Hungarie, made great preparation for the good ſucceſſe of the warre there, gaue great hope thereof vnto the Great Sultan, and cauſed himſelfe to be proclaimed Lieutenant Generall of all the Great Sultans E Forces againſt the Chriſtians: euerie man affoording vnto theſe good hopes a thouſand wiſhes for his health and welfare: but eſpecially the Mahometane Prieſts aſſured him of their helpe, ſo that hee would not faile to doe the vttermoſt of his endeauour againſt the Chriſtians their enemies. For why, the Turkes doe account him the beſt and moſt zealous man, which can do the Chriſtians moſt harme. And ſo with theſe ſo great acclamations of joy and honour, *Haſſan* the great Baſſa ſet forward with his armie from Conſtantinople toward Hungarie.

The reaſons why the Tartar Cham is ſo readie to ſerue the great Turke in his wars againſt the Chriſtians.

Haſſan Baſſa ſetteth forward with his armie toward Hungarie.

The Chriſtian Emperor not ignorant of all theſe the Turks great preparations and haughty deſignes, ſought by all meanes how to reſiſt them, ſparing nothing that might any way ſerue or ſtand him in ſtead to that purpoſe. Experience had aſſured him of the Popes readineſſe in contributing to this action, what in his power was; hauing before receiued ſo many teſtimonies of his good will. Which cauſed him now to diſpatch alſo his brother *Maximilian* the Archduke, a good and a deuout Prince, vnto him, with expreſſe charge in the Emperors name to yeeld all ſubmiſſion vnto his Holineſſe, to mooue him to relieue the wofull eſtate of his diſtreſſed affaires. *Maximilian* ſetting forward about this buſineſſe, arriued at Venice, where

Maximilian the Archduke ſent Embaſſadour from the Emperor vnto the Pope, to craue his ayd againſt the Turke.

he was by that State right honorably entertained. From Venice he trauelling towards Rome, and with a great retinue approching the citie, was there met by a great number of Noblemen with their followers, ſent from the Pope, and ſo by them with great honour was brought into the Vaticane Pelace, to the intent that ſo he might the oftener and with more eaſe haue acceſſe vnto the Pope, who then lay there ſicke of the gout. The next day he being brought vnto the Popes preſence, and after vſual reuerence done, hauing audience giuen him, in the preſence of all the Cardinals he began to deliuer vnto him the cauſes of his comming; which (as he ſaid) were two: Firſt, to put his Holineſſe in remembrance of the manifeſt perill and danger which hung ouer the heads of the Chriſtians in generall, from the Turke, but eſpecially ouer them of Italie, being ſo neere vnto the Turkiſh Empire, and a great gap laid open for the Turks thereinto to enter, by the way of Caniſia, the key of Stiria. And then in the Emperors behalfe to requeſt him to ſtretch forth his helping hand againſt this his mortal enemie, who was now drawing all his power together into one head, to deſtroy him: hauing certaine vnderſtanding of the great preparation by him made throughout all his dominions, to thruſt him out of his, if in theſe extremeties he were not relieued by ſuch Princes as could not in the end themſelues auoid the laſt violences of theſe harmes, whereof he felt the firſt aſſaults. Which his Holineſſe conſidering in the zeale of his deuotion, and by the encreaſing of the danger, he was in hope to finde of it the like aſſiſtance in this his ſecond need, that he had before receiued in his former affaires: the pretious balme of his deuout charitie being of greater vertue than to ſerue but for one time, but being of ſufficient power to ſerue for all ages, and all times of neceſſitie. And that therefore he beſought his Holineſſe to applie the ſame vpon the preſent wound, ſeeing that without his helpe, he was more like to periſh than to liue. Whereunto the Pope anſwered, That his former actions alreadie paſſed ſpake enough for him in this action, to manifeſt his deuout meaning, ſo that it was needleſſe for him to vſe further words to expreſſe the ſame. That the great ſupplies both of men and money which he had ſent forth for the good of the Chriſtian commonweale, were the ſure teſtimonies of his carefulneſſe for the ſame. And albeit that theſe euill haps had ſo far preuailed in Hungarie, yet that he for his part neuertheleſſe had ſtill done what he might for the remedying of thoſe ſo great euils. And that now by the aduice of his honourable Counſellors there preſent, he had appointed an hundred and fiftie thouſand crownes to be payd toward the maintenance of the Chriſtian Armie in Hungarie this yeare; in hope to do more than that afterward for the Emperor in his wars againſt the Turks: whom God had (as he ſaid) ſuffered to preuaile vpon the Chriſtians, not for any goodneſſe that was in them, but for the chaſtiſing of the wickedneſſe of the Chriſtians themſelues.

The Popes anſwer vnto the Emperours demands.

Which ſumme of an hundred and fiftie thouſand crownes was afterward according to a decree made by the Pope and Cardinals, leuied and payd of the tenths of the Clergie throughout all Italie. And ſo *Maximilian* the Archduke moſt magnificently entertained and feaſted by the Pope, and by him rewarded with foure thouſand crownes, hauing wel diſpatched the buſineſſe he came for, returned againe vnto the Emperor his brother.

But as the Chriſtian Emperour was thus carefull about his prouiſions for the withſtanding of the Turks, they were not any whit behinde him in augmenting of their forces for the inuading of him. And now the Tartars in great number being about to come vnto their aid into Hungarie, being denied paſſage by the Polonians, had turned head towards Valachia, with a purpoſe by force and ſtrong hand to get that of theſe weake people, which the power of the ſtronger had embarred them of. And ſo preſuming vpon their number, they entered into the ſame Prouince, which they all ouer rifled and ſpoiled at their pleaſure. Where ſuch of the countrey people as could eſcape their furie, fled into the townes, leauing their goods behinde them vnto their mercileſſe rage, not with any thing to be ſatisfied. *Rodolph* the Vayuod himſelfe as a man with furie diſmaied, fled to Cronſtat to *George Baſta*: where he conſidering the danger he was now in, and that he was ſtill to expect the like ſo often as the Tartars were for the ſeruice of the Turke to come into Hungarie; before *Baſta* tooke a new oath of allegeance vnto the Emperor, ſolemnly proteſting to die and liue in his ſeruice; neceſſitie now enforcing him to acknowledge his dutie, and to ſeeke for the remedie of his harmes, which he had before oftentimes moſt proudly reiected. Vpon which his ſo humble ſubmiſſion, *Baſta* receiued him and his countrey into his protection.

Valachia ſpoyled by the Tartars.

Rodolph the Vayod ſubmitteth himſelf & his countrey to the Emperours protection.

A In the meane time two traitours were brought to Claudinople, who hauing by wonderfull craft ſurpriſed a ſtrong caſtle belonging vnto a certain great Ladie a widow, neere vnto a burrough called Caraſebe, and rifled and ſacked the ſame, traiterouſly afterward ſold it vnto the Turks, to the great hurt of the Emperors ſubiects neere vnto the place, and the no leſſe aduantage of the Turks. Whereof the Haiducks hauing gotten vnderſtanding, and cunning in ſuch matters, vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the Turks by the way as they were comming to haue taken poſſeſſion of the place: who ſeeing themſelues too weake to withſtand their enemies, and out of hope to ſaue themſelues by flight, were there as men diſmaied and appointed to the ſlaughter, moſt of them by the Haiducks cut in pieces, and the reſt taken priſoners. The two Traitors being according to their deſerts, for their ſhamefull trecherie, moſt cruelly put to death, B to the terror of others.

The Turks ſurpriſed by the Haiduckes.

The Haiducks hauing no houſes but the fields, nor other trade but their armes, ſpoiled of the one by the Turks, and armed with the other by neceſſitie, are alwaies in readineſſe for ſeruice. In hope of profit, it is to them a pleaſure to paſſe ouer the mountaines of yce, to trauell through the ſtormes of thunder and lightening, to ſwimme ouer the deepe riuers, and to thruſt themſelues into a thouſand dangers, which as it is no commendable kinde of life, ſo is the practiſe of it vniuſt. For as in this, ſo in other their actions, they ſpare neither friend nor foe, all that comes in their way being ſubiect, and as it were appointed to their furie: but eſpecially when they want their pay, which affoordeth vnto them a thouſand excuſes, for the robbing and ſpoiling of all men without reſpect. With which manner of furie they were euen at C this time enraged for want of their pay, in ſuch ſort, as that if their right hands ſpoyled the Turks, their left hands robbed the Chriſtians: as vpon one and the ſelfe ſame day they tooke from the Turks of Agria a number of beaſts and cattel, and rifled diuers villages of the Chriſtians. And not content with theſe outrages, meeting with an hundred, or ſix ſcore waggons, laded with great ſtore of victuals, going toward Alba-Iulia, conducted by the Zeclers, ſet vpon them, ſlew them that driue them, and carried away the waggons with them. But theſe wrongs by Chriſtians done vnto Chriſtians, euen the mortall enemies of the Chriſtians, the Turks themſelues reuenged. For the Turks of Temeſwar hauing been abroad toward Lippa, and found good ſtore of bootie, meeting with theſe ſharkers, were by them charged, not ſo much for that they were their enemies, or for the zeale of Chriſtianitie, or for the deſire of D honour, as for to haue had from them their prey and bootie. But the Turks being in number twice as many as they, and withall wel acquainted with ſuch buſineſſe, were not ſo eaſily ſpoiled; but knowing their owne ſtrength, with their number, oppreſſed their enemies, moſt of whom they ſlew, and tooke the reſt priſoners. God being as iuſt in his puniſhments, as he is in works powerfull, puniſhing the wicked by the weapons of others as wicked, or rather worſe than they.

The Haiduckes what maner of men they be, & their outragious inſolencie.

The Turks in the meane time whileſt things thus paſſed, began againe to fall to their old practiſe, for the ſoliciting of a peace: but ſuch fantaſies were too ſtale and common for them any more to deceiue the Chriſtians with: howbeit that they yet gaue ſome eare thereunto, to diſcouer in their policie the commodities and inconueniences of the peace by them in ſhew offered, with a thouſand proteſtations in their words, but farre differing from their thoughts and deeds: who during the time of the parley, laboured in what they might to benefit themſelues, and to hurt vs. For euen in that ſame verie time they fortified their townes and caſtles with men and victuals, but eſpecially the citie of Buda, whereinto by a conuoy of three thouſand Turks come from Belgrade, they put an exceeding quantitie of all ſort of neceſſarie prouiſion, ſufficient to ſerue the ſame for an whole yeare. Beſides that, it was certainly knowne by certaine Turks taken priſoners and brought to Poſconium, that all this parley and treatie of peace was but of purpoſe feigned to put the Chriſtians in ſecurity; for that the Baſſa of Buda, who was the chiefe publiſher of the ſame, had no ſuch commiſſion from the Great Sultan for the concluding of any peace in the abſence of the Viſier Baſſa, vnto whom the Graund Seigniour had giuen charge, not to make any peace with the Emperour, but vpon condition, That hee ſhould firſt deliuer vnto him thu Citie of Strigonium: which if hee would not yeeld, that then he ſhould beſiege it, and by force take it from him; and after the winning thereof to refuſe all other treatie of peace, it being the onely cauſe for which the Turks deſired peace. Of all which their double dealing and craftie deſignes the Emperour vnderſtanding, and whole-

The Turkes in their hearts meaning war, make ſhew as if they were deſirous of peace.

ly reſolued for war, preſently ſent Countie *Sulze* with commiſſion to Vienna, and appointed *George Baſta* Lieutenant Generall of his Armie in Hungarie; aduiſing them carefully to looke to their charge, and not too much to truſt vnto the gloſing and flattering ſpeeches of the Turks.

The caſtle of Reouin ſurpriſed by the Haiducks.

The Haiduckes in the meane time alwaies in armes, as hauing no other inheritance whereon to liue, ceaſed not ſtill to looke abroad, to finde that was neuer loſt. Now it fortuned them in roaming abroad toward Belgrade, to light vpon Reouin a ſtrong and faire caſtle of the Turks, wherein eight hundred of the Turks ſouldiers and other of their countrey people had their abode, together with the greateſt part of their ſubſtance. In the ſtrength of which caſtle the Turks truſting, and there lying in ſecuritie, without further care of their ſafetie, were vpon the ſudden before they were aware, by theſe aduenturous men ſurpriſed, who for haſt thruſting one another forward, at length carried the place, ſlew the greateſt part of the Turks, and taking the reſt priſoners, with a great and rich bootie returned to Lippa. The like exploit they of the gariſon of Caniſia attempted vpon the caſtle and burrough of Lambac, which they tooke and ſpoiled, and afterwards ſet it on fire: The flame whereof ſerued for a ſignal vnto the troupes of Countie *Serin*, which paſſing that way, and lighting vpon the Turks ouerloded with the ſpoiles they had there taken, cut them in pieces, and ſo recouered from them the bootie.

Petrinia in danger to haue been betrayed vnto the Turks

About this time, certaine of the garriſon ſouldiers of Petrinia, hauing ſecretly conſpired with the Turkes (by whom they were before corrupted) to deliuer vnto them that ſtrong caſtle: and being about to haue betrayed the ſame by a Mine which they were in making vnder a ſtable neere vnto a ſtore-houſe wherein the pouder for the ſtore of the caſtle lay, with a purpoſe by firing of the ſame, to haue giuen the Turkes enterance by the ruines thereof, who lay cloſe hidden in a wood neere vnto the place; it fortuned this their wicked purpoſe to be perceiued by certaine offendors then kept priſoners in the ſame ſtable neere vnto the Mine: who hauing diſcouered the Traitours whole purpoſe, and in feare to be burned or blowne vp by the furie of the Mine ſo neere vnto them, diſcouered the ſame vnto the Gaoler, who made the Gouernour therewith acquainted; by whoſe commandement they were forthwith apprehended, and being conuicted of their ſo foule a treaſon, were with exemplarie puniſhment executed.

Now as the Turks had oftentimes made ſhew as if they had beene deſirous of peace, ſo ceaſed they not yet with great earneſtneſſe to ſolicit the ſame: ſo that the Emperour, although he knew it to be a thing rather to be wiſhed than hoped for, yet leſt he ſhould ſeeme careleſſe of the common quiet of his ſubiects and people, and to refuſe ſo great a good ſo oftentimes offered him; now once againe appointed certaine perſonages of great place and authoritie to attend the propoſitions of peace to be on the Turks behalfe propounded. Of which Commiſſioners, *Cæſar Gallen* Sherife of Strigonium, an Italian, and a man of great experience in matters of State, was one. Whom the Gouernour of Strigonium had of purpoſe ſent to Peſth, to conſider of ſome good meanes for the concluding of the peace, whereof he himſelfe in perſon had layd the firſt foundation; and vnderſtood the Turks demands and pretenſions, not much differing from thoſe which they had many times before demanded. Whereof the firſt was, That the Emperour ſhould for the time to come well and truly pay vnto the Great Sultan and his ſucceſſors, all ſuch tribute as he was wont to pay vnto the Turkiſh Emperors his predeceſſors, during the time of his leagues with them, and that without any demand to be thereof made. The ſecond, That the Emperour ſhould alwaies haue his Embaſſadour Lieger at the Great Sultans Court, with honourable Preſents, there to ſolicit the continuation of his loue and friendſhip toward the Emperour his Maſter. The third, That the Emperour ſhould deliuer vnto the Turks all the townes and caſtles which he had taken from them either by force or by ſurpriſe, during the time of this warre, together with the countries of Tranſyluania and Valachia. Vpon which demands granted, they promiſed to ſend a meſſenger vnto the Great Sultan, in their names to entreat him to ſurrender Caniſia vnto the Emperor, but not Agria, which (as they ſaid) they might in no wiſe deliuer, except they were thereunto by force of armes conſtrained.

The inſolent & vnreaſonable demands of the Turks, for the concluding of a peace with the Chriſtians.

The anſwer of the Emperours Deputies vnto the Turkes proud demãds.

Vnto which their ſo proud and vnreaſonable demaunds the Commiſſioners for the Emperour anſwered, That the Emperour long before this time had made peace with Sultan Selym the

A the ſecond of that name, and with Sultan *Amurath* the third, this Sultan *Achmat* his pre-
deceſſours. An aſſured peace, ſworne vnto and confirmed by all the iuſt and ſolemne
Oathes that could haue beene by any man deſired: and for the more aſſurance thereof, in-
to writing conceiued, and with the moſt authentique ſeales of their Maieſties confirmed:
whereby both parties were moſt ſeuerely and ſtraitly forbidden, one of them to attempt any
thing againſt the other, or to encroach the one of them vpon the other, during the time
of ſuch their League: And if ſo bee that contrarie to the tenour thereof, either part ſhould
vndertake to ſurpriſe any place belonging to the other, and ſo become maſters thereof, that
vpon the leaſt requeſt of the partie ſo wronged, the places ſurpriſed ſhould bee againe forth-
with reſtored, as vſurped vpon, contrarie to the publique faith, and the vſurpers to bee ſe-
B uerely for the ſame puniſhed. And that yet the Turkes notwithſtanding thruſting by heapes
beyond the barres of this ſo ſtrong and holy a League, had violated and broken the ſame, by
ſurpriſing a number of places both in the high and lower Countries of Hungarie, neuer
giuing eare vnto any ſpeech or requeſt that could bee made vnto them for the reſtitution
thereof. And yet not ſo contented, had alſo taken a number of places from the Emperour
in Sclauonia, betweene the riuers of Culpe and Vnna: Which places hee had oftentimes
by as juſt right redemaunded, as they were by vniuſt forces vſurped, before the beginning
of theſe warres. Demaunds eſteemed juſt and reaſonable euen by the Turkes themſelues,
and yet for all that altogether reiected by the great Sultans themſelues: of which their ſo
great iniuſtice the Emperour had oftentimes moſt juſtly complained, and ſo did euen at this
C day, at the feeling of ſuch his hurts and harmes. And that the Emperour hauing by ſo many
perfidious dealings made proofe of the vntruſtineſſe of the Grand Seigniour his predeceſ-
ſours, what aſſurance then can hee conceiue of his fidelitie? or vpon what foundation of
faith can hee build the ſure building of peace, ſo much deſired of him? And yet if he might
hope ſo much of the faith of another man, as he is aſſured of his owne juſt meaning, differing
much from that of the Grand Seigniours, which hee knew to be neuer anſwerable vnto his,
that he for his part could be well content to embrace the peace; prouided alwaies, That hee
might haue Caniſia and Agria deliuered vnto him. Or that if they would needs ſtil hold thoſe
places, that he might likewiſe in peace hold the places that he had before woon in that war, the
reaſons being on both ſides alike. And that as concerning Tranſyluania, hee could not deli-
D uer that without betraying of his owne right, and the welfare of that Prouince; hauing obtai-
ned the ſame as well by agreements and couenants betweene him and the ſonne of the laſt
Duke, *Iohn*, as by the free and voluntarie releaſement which *Sigiſmund Bathor*, the laſt and
immediat Prince thereof, had not long before made vnto him: for the defence of which his
rights, hee had ſpent many men, and great ſummes of money, and all for the keeping of that
Prouince by force of armes, which by ſo good right belonged vnto him. And that for Vala-
chia he could be content to yeeld ſome part of his right vnto that Prouince, ſo that the Turks
ſhould ſeaſe from thenceforth to demand of him any yearly tribute, or that he ſhould as of or-
dinary duty ſend his embaſſadors with yerely Preſents to the Grand Seignior, not being able
without need, to conſent vnto ſuch a needleſſe ſeruitude: ſeeing that euery Prince ought to be
at libertie, at his owne choice to ſend his Embaſſadors, and not at the appointment of ano-
ther man.

Which anſwere of the Emperours Commiſſioners ſerued to no other purpoſe, but for the Turkes to laugh and ſport at, how juſt and reaſonable ſoeuer they were: ſtill preſſing them io yeeld vnto their vnreaſonable demaunds; or elſe threatening to aduertiſe the Great Sultan thereof, who by force would take that from them, to their further loſſe, which they refuſed to grant him by faire meanes, to their owne good. And ſo the treatie was for that time broken off, without any thing concluded: which cauſed the Gouernour of Strigonium to retire himſelfe backe againe vnto his charge; yet for all that, leauing *Caſar Gallen* behind him, to entertaine it in ſuch ſmall hope as was there of yet left: who afterwards ſeeing it almoſt deſperate, making a great feaſt vnto certaine of the chiefe of the Turkes of Buda, and hauing in that merriment drawne from them a promiſe to liue as friends with them of the garriſon of Peſth, and of other places which lay neere vnto that towne, hee retired himſelfe afterwards vnto Strigonium alſo.

The Turkes ſcorne and deride the reaſonable anſwere of the emperors Commiſſioners.

The ſhamefull cowardiſe of Iagenreuter gouernor of Peſth

Peſth moſt ſhamefully abandoned by the Chriſtians.

Shortly after whoſe departure, *Iagenreuter* Gouernour of Peſth, notwithſtanding the late promiſes of the Turkes of Buda, for their liuing by him in peace and amitie; and the aſſured G promiſe of *Cæſar Gallen*, at his laſt departure, for the ſpeedy furniſhing of the towne both with men and all things elſe neceſſarie for the defence thereof, which he ought with great aſſurance to haue expected; yet diſmaied with the brute of the comming of *Haſſan Baſſa* the Turkes Generall with his great armie, and that by the ſtrait commandement of the great Sultan, hee was to begin his conqueſts in Hungarie with the winning of Peſth; as a man afraid of his owne ſhadow, thought good betime to prouide for himſelfe: and vpon that reſolution, hauing yet ſeene no enemie at all to force him, truſſing vp his baggage, the fifth of September forſooke the towne, with fiue companies of footmen, and ſix troupes of horſemen following him: a ſufficient number to haue for a time defended the towne, and endured a ſiege, eſpecially in H ſo ſtrong a place, and ſo well prouided both of victuals and munition. All which, this moſt cowardly Gouernor (but vnworthie that name) left together with his honor, for a prey vnto his enemies: hauing yet before his departure out of the towne, cauſed the principal buildings thereof to be vndermined, and barrels of gunpouder to be laid vnder them, wherewith they were ſhortly after all ouerthrowne, and moſt part of the towne burnt. But being gone not paſt halfe a league from the place, hee met with foure hundred Haiduckes all well armed, whome the Gouernour of Strigonium had ſent for the reliefe of Peſth, with a number of boats loaded with corne, munition, and other neceſſaries of all ſorts, for the better aſſurance of the place, and the performing of the promiſe before to that end made by the Gouernour of Strigonium: which Hungarian Haiduckes meeting with theſe diſmayed cowards vpon the way, I thought it not beſt to goe any farther, as thinking themſelues not able to doe that with their ſo ſmall a number, which the other durſt not to vndertake with their far greater: and ſo ioyning themſelues with the other fearefull fugitiues, they with them returned to Strigonium, leauing their veſſels and munitions vnto their enemies, who immediatly after ſeiſed vpon them.

Peſth taken by the Turkes.

The next day after, the mines hauing taken their effect, the Turks wondering to ſee ſo great and terrible a fire in Peſth, which ſtill more and more encreaſed, there beeing none that went about to quench it, aduentured to come ouer the riuer from Buda, and to draw neere vnto the towne now all on a light fire. Which they finding abandoned and forſaken by the Chriſtians, they with great diligence quenched, repaired the ruines of the towne, and ſo without any K loſſe became maſters of the ſame.

Iagenrenter for his cowardiſe worthily committed to priſon.

Iagenrenter the cowardly late Gouernor with his fearefull troupes in the meane time comming to Strigonium, and by the Gouernour there examined of the cauſes of his flight, and of the ſo ſhamefull leauing of his charge, and being able to alledge no other cauſe or reaſon, but the great brute and report of the Viſier Baſſaes comming with his armie to beſiege the towne, was therefore committed to priſon, and there reſerued to be afterward iuſtly puniſhed for his diſloyaltie and cowardiſe.

The Baſſa of Buda excuſeth himſelf for the taking of Peſth

The Baſſa of Buda by the cowardiſe of the Gouernour thus poſſeſſed of Peſth, by letters excuſed himſelfe vnto the Gouernour of Strigonium, for the taking thereof, the treatie of peace being not as yet quite broken off: alleadging for himſelfe (as the truth was) That he had L taken it as a place by the Chriſtians vpon a vain feare forſaken, and deſperatly ſet on fire, without any ſuch cauſe giuen them ſo to doe by the Turkes, or on his behalfe. And further, offered vnto the Gouernour, if hee ſo pleaſed, to deale with him for the exchange of priſoners on both ſides taken, offering to exchange one of them for another. And as for the concluding of the peace ſo oftentimes treated of, and euen yet in hand, that hee for his part was wonderfull deſirous that it might bee fully concluded and ended, before the arriuall of *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa with his armie in Hungarie: for that hee beeing once come, there would then be no time amidſt the noiſe of ſo many weapons, and ſo many men of warre, to talke of peace.

Haſſan Baſſa commeth into Hungarie.

Haſſan the Viſier Baſſa was now for all that alreadie entered into Hungarie, drawing after M him a world of men, and was come towards Sexart, for the viewing of which armie the Gouernour of Pallantwar going foorth with an hundred horſemen, by euill hap chanced, before hee was aware, vpon the ſudden to meet with fiue hundred Turkes, by the Baſſa himſelfe likewiſe ſent forth to diſcouer the countrey, and the paſſages thereof: by whom he charged, and

A and with the multitude of his enemies oppreſſed, was himſelfe taken priſoner, moſt of his men being in that conflict ſlaine, ſome few of them that were left aliue by ſpeedie flight hardly eſcaping. Which euill hap on the Chriſtians ſide, was forthwith recompenced with the better ſucceſſe of the Countie *Serin*, who falling vpon three hundred Turkes neere vnto Sigeth, beeing in number ſcarce halfe ſo many as they, yet ſet vpon them with ſuch courage, that giuing them no leiſure to conſider of the weakneſſe of his forces, they were by them ouerthrowne and cut in pieces, before they were well aware of him.

But together with the time of the yeare, to come vnto the maine point of theſe preſent warres in Hungarie, the Turkes finding themſelues out of hope by any capitulations or treaties of peace, to regaine the ſtrong towne of Strigonium out of the hands of the Chri- B ſtians, were now reſolued to employ the vttermoſt of their forces for the obtaining of the ſame; with a thouſand proteſtations, That if by force of armes and ſtrong hand they ſhould gaine the place, they would neuer more haue peace with the Chriſtians. At which their vaine threats and ſpeeches, the Chriſtians before reſolutely ſet downe for the defending of the place by them ſo much deſired, and well acquainted with their great brags, could not but with ſcorne ſmile, as men nothing therewith diſmaied, nor ſo to bee remooued. Neuertheleſſe the Baſſa conſtant in his reſolution for the regaining Strigonium, with all his forces came the eighteenth day of September and layed ſiege vnto it. Now vnto this ſiege the Turkes, in hope of ſpoyle and bootie, came flocking from all places, as it had beene to ſome great mart; and the fields in all the Countrey thereabout were couered and ſwarmed C with armes, men, horſes, and tents. They encamped neere vnto *Charles* his hill, taking vp with their tents halfe a league of the Countrey round about: and at their firſt comming moſt brauely aduanced their Enſignes with their halfe Moones, the armes of their ſtill encreaſing Empire. Whom the beſieged in this action imitated, brauely aduancing their Enſignes vpon their walls, as did the Turkes in the fields; and further brauing and prouoking them with a thouſand thundering ſhot, diſcharged out of the Towne amongſt them. All the walls round about the Towne, gliſtered with armes and flames of fire, out of which the deadly bullets flew carrying with them death and terrour into the middeſt of theſe new come enemies, for their welcome. The Turkes neuertheleſſe came ſtill reſolutely on, and as men prodigal of their liues euen in the middeſt of ſo many dangers, began to make their approches. D Vpon whom the Chriſtians with great courage ſallied forth, to diſturbe them in their works, and ſo for the ſpace of certaine houres hauing had with them an hot and ſharpe skirmiſh, without any great hurt receiued, retired againe into the towne, leauing vnto their enemies by that they had done, a good teſtimonie of their valour and reſolution. The Turkes for all that lodged themſelues, made their trenches, and ſo encamped before the mount of Saint *Thomas*, where by the placing of their cannon, they well declared their meaning for the battering of that fort.

Strigonium beſieged by the Turkes.

The Chriſtians ſally forth vpon the Turkes.

Againſt which their deſignes, *George Baſta*, Lieutenant Generall of the Imperial army, right reſolutely oppoſed himſelfe, hauing neere vnto Strigonium caſt vp a ſtrong fort, well furniſhed with men and great artillerie, from which he greatly annoied the Turks with his great ordnance, and with the furie thereof enforced them to remoue farther off with their approches: his armie vpon the riuer of Danubius in the meane time lying betwixt the Iſle of Strigonium, and the old towne of the Raſcians, to keep the enemy from entering either into the one place or the other.

The carefull endeuors of Baſta the Emperours Lieutenant Generall, for the preſeruation of Strigonium.

Countie *Sultze* Gouernour of the place alſo hauing taken a generall muſter of his men, and with comfortable and cheerefull ſpeeches encouraged his ſouldiers, putting them in minde of their duetie, and of the honourableneſſe of the action now in hand, as vndertaken for the maintenance of the Chriſtian religion, for the ſeruice of the Emperor, and the ſafegard of their owne liues: perſuading them withall, not to put any truſt or confidence in the Turks faith, or faire promiſes, conſidering that their weapons were euen yet wet with the bloud of their Chriſtian brethren, moſt perfidiouſly by them of late maſſacred and ſlaine at the taking of Alba Regalis: encouraging them alſo with the goodneſſe of their cauſe, with the carefulneſſe of their friends abroad for their reliefe, with the regard of their owne valour, and cowardiſe of their barbarous enemies, whoſe onely hope and truſt was in their multitude: and with-

The comfortable ſpeech of countie Sultze Gouernour of Strigonium, to his garriſon.

withall comforting them, that holding out but ſome few moneths, the very elements themſelues and the time of the yeare, would as it were fight for them, and affoord them aid, their enemies being not able with their great armie, in the extremitie of Winter weather, without their irreparable loſſes to hold the field. And that as for himſelfe, his honor together with his life, were ſo bound vnto his graue and ſepulchre, at the foot of the wals of that place, as that they could not be from the ſame ſeparated; hauing propoſed the glory of the preſeruation of that place, or elſe of an honourable death, as the end of all his actions, and conſummation of all his hopes. And that therefore he moſt earneſtly beſought them to follow his ſo honourable a purpoſe, in aſſiſting him in that action, ſo much concerning their liues and honour, and wholly depending of their courage and reſolution. And that for teſtimonie of his earneſt deſire to the furthering of this ſeruice, he was willing to depart with a good part of his ſubſtance and treaſure, to be beſtowed vpon them, amiddeſt theſe the trophies of his honour; hauing commanded them to haue certaine moneths pay payed before hand vnto them, which was accordingly done. G H

Now the Turkes hauing a purpoſe eaſily to begin the conqueſt of Strigonium by the taking of the ſtrong fort of Saint *Thomas*, came the foure and twentieth day of September to aſſault and batter the ſame: vpon whome fiue hundred horſemen, and two thouſand footmen ſallying out of the fort, cauſed them, after a ſharpe and bloudie conflict, and not without ſome loſſe on both ſides, to retire backe againe, and to forſake the mount whereupon they were encamped. But in purſuing of them too farre, they fell into a great ambuſh, before by the Turkes for that purpoſe layed to entrap them; where betwixt them was fought a moſt ſharpe and bloudie fight; the Turkes preſuming vpon their multitude, and the Chriſtians ſtanding vpon their valour and honour. Vntill that in fine, valour by number being oppreſſed, ſeuen hundred of the Turkes being ſlaine, the Chriſtians were enforced to retire, hauing loſt about an hundred of their men, and amongſt them the valiant Countie *Caſimir* of Holenloth, for whoſe bodie there was a notable fight betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turkes; not much vnlike vnto that which the Poet *Homer* deſcribeth, to haue beene fought betwixt the Trojanes and the Greekes, for the bodie of *Patroclus*. Howbeit that at length the Chriſtians beeing ouercharged with the comming on of the whole armie of the Turks, were glad (as I ſaid) to retire, and ſo to leaue the dead bodie of the Countie *Caſimir* in the power of their mercileſſe enemies; who as dogges which reuenge themſelues vpon the ſtones which are caſt at them, being not able to bite the hands of them that threw them, ſo did they vpon the bodie of this gentle Knight, by cutting off his noſe and eares, and afterwards his head. But within ſome few dayes after, this bodie ſo disfigured was againe deliuered vnto the Chriſtians for a Turke of good account, who was about that time by them taken priſoner. At which time the Turkes ſeemed to bee verie deſirous of peace, moſt earneſtly requeſting Countie *Fredericke* of Holenloth (the ſlaine Counties brother) not to be an hinderer thereof. Howbeit that this was but one of their old practiſes, depending ſtill vpon vnreaſonable conditions, whereof the yeelding vp of Strigonium was one of the chiefeſt, as the place by them moſt deſired.

A notable ſally of the Chriſtiãs out of the fort of S. Thomas. The Chriſtians falling into an ambuſh of the Turkes, loſe one of their chiefe Commanders.

More than beaſtly cruelty exercised by the Turks vpon the dead bodie of Countie Holenloth.

But if this ſiege of the Turkes auailed them not againſt the place beſieged, yet was it profitable for them againſt another place by them not attempted, which was the ſtrong towne of Hatwan, more ſubiect vnto feare, without any danger, than was Strigonium vnto the bullets and batterie of the Turkes, with juſt cauſe of diſtruſt. For the ſouldiers which lay there in garriſon, terrified with the ſiege of Strigonium, and doubting leſt the Turks leauing that ſiege, ſhould come and beſiege them, truſſing vp their bag and baggage, the nineteenth of September abandoned the place, and carrying away with them the beſt of the great ordnance, left the reſt altogether with the place, and great ſtore of prouiſion, vnto the enemie, not in hope of any ſuch matter.

Hatwan moſt ſhamefully forſaken by the Chriſtians.

The bruit of the ſiege of Strigonium had called thither all the forces of both parties in Hungarie, and the Countries thereabouts, on the one ſide for the winning thereof, and on the other for the defence of the ſame. Amongſt others, the Countie of Tambier, Gouernour of Lippa, was about to haue gone thither with certaine of his troupes to haue aided his Generall, for the preſeruation of the place. But in the mean time *Bethlin Habor*, chiefe of the rebels in

Tranſyluania

Bethlin Habor the Rebell ſurpriſed & ouerthrown by the Countie Tambier.

A Tranſyluania, aſſiſted by *Beckberes Baſſa* with foure thouſand Turkes entered into the Prouince to haue made himſelfe maſter thereof vnder the protection of the Turke. Whereof the Countie hauing got knowledge, reſolued to goe and meet him, and to encounter him at the verie firſt enterance of him into the Prouince. This old Rebell knowing that *George Baſta* was by the Emperours appointment gone out of the Countrey with the beſt troupes of his horſemen, the greateſt ſtrength of the Prouince, came on in great ſecuritie, thinking of nothing but of victorie, and of performing his entended exploit, without feare of any to let him: ſo that caſting no further perill, hee was ſurpriſed by the Countie, before he was aware, and put to flight. Neither was the fight long betwixt men accuſtomed to vanquiſh, reſolutely ſet downe, and well armed, againſt men diſmayed, halfe naked, and ſurpriſed. B In which conflict aboue a thouſand of them beeing ſlaine, and a thouſand of horſes of ſeruice taken, the reſt fled; amongſt whome *Bethlin* himſelfe with his Baſſa flying, were glad by ſwimming to ſaue themſelues amiddeſt a thouſand chances and dangers of their liues.

Succors ſent to the rebel by the Baſſa of Temeſwar, defeated by the Countie Tambier, & the Baſſa his Lieutenant ſlaine.

The Baſſa of Temeſwar aduertiſed of this ouerthrow by one of them that was fled from the ſame, preſently hee ſent forth his Lieutenant with a good number of men, to relieue the vanquiſhed Turkes: Who by the way vnderſtanding of the generall ouerthrow of them whome he was ſent forth to relieue, as alſo of the ſtrength of his enemies, and that he was come too late to the reliefe of his friends, retired as faſt as he could with his men backe againe homeward toward Temeſwar. But beeing in their retreat diſcouered, and hotly purC ſued by theſe men imbrued with the bloud of their enemies, and yet breathing with victorie, they were by them ouertaken euen almoſt at the gates of their Citie, and there (as men before ouercome with feare, and ouerwhelmed with deſpaire) cut in pieces, without any fight or reſiſtance by them made, beſeeming men of their ſort; the Lieutenant himſelfe beeing there ſlaine alſo.

After which exploits done, the Countie turning towards Iula, chanced to light vpon certaine companies of Turkes loaded with bootie, which they had got in roaming abroad into the Countrey thereabout, whome he purſued euen vnto the gates of the towne, which they found ſhut againſt them; for that they within the towne ſeeing the Chriſtians euen at the heeles of their companions, had ſhut their gates, neither durſt now open the ſame, for feare leſt the Chriſtians ſhould together with them enter the towne, and ſo become maſters thereof. Who ſo ſhut out by their owne friends, were there all by the Chriſtians ſlaine, euen in the ſight of their companions, not daring to let them in, nor able to relieue them. After which maſſacre done, the Chriſtians not yet ſo contented, burnt the ſuburbes of the towne, and ſo loaded with the ſpoyles of their enemies, departed. The Countie after ſo many honourable exploits in a ſmall time by him performed, returned to Lippa, where hee arriued the fiue and twentieth of September, and from thence afterward aduertiſing *Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant Generall, of theſe his exploits done, cauſed ten of the Turkes Enſignes, all ſtayned with their owne bloud, to be preſented vnto him, as the ſure tokens of his good ſeruice done.

The Viſier Baſſa ſeeketh to gaine Strigonium by offering of the Chriſtians peace.

But to returne againe vnto the ſiege of Strigonium, the greateſt exploit by the Turkes entended for this yeare, from which wee haue from the occurrent of the ſame time a little ſtrayed. The Viſier Baſſa perceiuing by the valiant and reſolute defence of our men, how little hee preuayled in this ſiege, and that it was like enough to tend at length to his diſhonour, thought it good once againe to prooue, if hee might by compoſition gaine that which hee was now almoſt out of hope by force to obtaine. And to that purpoſe cauſed a motion to be made vnto the beſieged, for a treatie to be had concerning a peace, and a day appointed for the ſame. Vnto which motion for peace the Imperials (although they had no hope at all, of any peace to be concluded) eaſily yeelded, leſt they might be thought obſtinately to haue reiected the ſame. Whereupon Commiſſioners were on both ſides appoynted to meet together, to conferre of the matter. And ſo for the Emperour *Althem* himſelfe, with *Ferdinand Collonitz*, and *Fredericke* of Hohenlo, Countie of Rhene, were appointed neere vnto the Raſcian towne to meet with the Turkes Commiſſioners, to heare what they would ſay. Howbeit the Commiſſioners on both ſides beeing met at the place aforeſaid, all their conference was but vaine and to no purpoſe, the Turkes ſtill vrging the yeelding

Deputies appointed to entreat with the Turks of peace.

The treaty for peace broken off.

yeelding vp of Strigonium,and the Imperials as earneſtly refuſing the ſame. So that the treatie for peace being broken off, and the Commiſſioners departing, the ſiege was more cruelly C by the Turks continued than before.

The Coſſackes depart out of the Turks camp vnto the Chriſtians.

Now there were in the Turkes armie lying at the ſiege, certaine companies of Coſſackes, men for their pay indifferent to ſerue any Prince of what religion ſoeuer. Which ſeruiceable men,in number 700,had agreed together the 28 of September, by night to forſake the Turks campe,and to come vnto the Chriſtians.Of which their purpoſe and deſigne the Viſier Baſſa hauing by ſome vntruſtie amongſt them got knowledge, cauſed the footmen of theſe companies to be apprehended and ſlaine; the horſemen in the meane time making themſelues way ouer the bellies of ſuch as would haue ſtayed them,fled,and eſcaped, ſome of them to Komara,and ſome to Dotis. Threeſcore of theſe Coſſacks being by the Turks hardly purſued,aduentured to ſwim ouer Danubius, and ſo all naked came to *Collonitz*, by whome they were H courteouſly entertained and apparelled. And within three daies after,two hundred horſemen moe of the ſame Coſſacks came vnto *Collonitz* alſo: who marching in good order vnto the head of the Chriſtian campe,were there ſworne vnto the Emperors ſeruice; and in token of their loyaltie,there diſcharged their piſtols thrice.Which horſemen *Collonitz* diuided among the reſt of his troupes, as hauing before time had good experience of the courage and good ſeruice of diuers ſuch others of their fellowes.

The Ianizaries in mutinie againſt the Viſier Baſſa.

The reaſon of the mutinie of the Ianizaries againſt the Baſſa their Generall.

By theſe fugitiue ſouldiers it was vnderſtood, that the Ianizaries in great number vp in mutinie againſt the Viſier Baſſa, would haue enforced him to haue raiſed the ſiege, and ſo to haue departed. The cauſe of their ſo great diſcontentment (as they pretended) was the manifeſt and aſſured danger of their liues, with little or no hope at all for the gayning of the I place: They themſelues beeing ſtill expoſed to the dangers both of the ſiege and of the field,hauing the beſieged on head of them armed with an aſſured reſolution, and the Chriſtian armie at their backs,of knowne valour and experience: Beſides that, the place it ſelfe was (as they ſaid)impregnable,being at all times to be relieued,by reaſon that it commanded ouer the Danubie,which might alwaies relieue it both with men and victuals. And that therefore, after that they had ſatisfied their honour, by giuing of an aſſault or two vnto the fort of Saint *Thomas*, they had reſolued to ariſe, and to be gone.And much about this time,*viz.* the nine and twentieth of September,in the night time,was a moſt dreadful fierie impreſſion ſeen in faſhion much like a Rainbow, of a fierie red colour,which beginning ouer Cockera,and riſing higher ouer Strigonium, at length vaniſhed away ouer the fort of *S. Thomas*. The ſight K whereof much troubled the beholders thereof, as well the Chriſtians as the Turkes: ſuch ſtrange meteors and apparitions being oftentimes the preſages of the ruine of them to whom they appeare.

In the meane time whileſt the Turks thus lay before Strigonium,at the ſiege of Saint *Thomas* fort, the Lord *Baſta*, Lieutenant Generall of the Emperours forces, to giue the Turkes to vnderſtand,how that he was alwaies in readineſſe to attend vpon their doings,and to take hold of all ſuch opportunities as ſhould by them bee offered, and ſo to keepe them in *ſuſpence*, came with ſeuen thouſand braue horſemen, and ſhewed himſelfe in the plaine field in order of battell; ſo, as it were, brauing the Turkes euen vnto their owne trenches: where hauing L diſcharged their piſtols thrice,they returned as victorious,alwaies keeping themſelues in order, as men readie either to giue or to accept of battell. Howbeit the Turkes for the preſent keeping themſelues cloſe within their trenches, mooued not; but afterwards being deſirous to counter-braue this the Chriſtians preſumption, the third day of October they came forth

The fort of S. Thomas the ſecond time aſſaulted by the Turks.

of their trenches, and gaue a ſecond aſſault vnto Saint *Thomas* fort, imploying the vttermoſt of their power in this action, whereupon they well knew a great part both of their honour and of their ſafetie to depend. But in aſſayling the fort they met with them as reſolutely ſet downe for the defence thereof, and for the maintenance of their honour, as were they for the winning of the ſame. So the aſſault was begun with great furie and aduenture, as was M the other before: howbeit that it endured not long, for that the Turkes fought rather for the diſcharge of their dutie,and to haue ſome juſt cauſe to raiſe their ſiege, than for any hope they had to preuaile, or to carrie the place. For it befell them according as they had expected,ſo that after that the fight had endured little more than halfe an houre,amiddeſt the tempeſts of armes and furie, in fine the Turkes out of hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the ſiege, and retired,

hauing

A hauing in that conflict loſt fiue hundred of their beſt ſouldiers.

The Gouernour of Strigonium had in the citie vnder his charge ſix thouſand Haiduckes, who attainted with treaſon and feare, all forſooke the place excepting fiue hundred, preferring their liues, vnworthie the ſauing, before their dutie, and the life and honour of their Generall. With which ſhameful treaſon, and the reſolution of the great Baſſa for forcing of the place, the Germanes there left, ſeeing their Captaines diſmaied, gathered themſelues together, promiſing by their owne valour, to ſupplie what wanted by reaſon of the trecherie of the others, offering themſelues to be ſworne againe vnto the ſeruice of the Emperour, and rather to die all in the place, than to yeeld it vp vnto the Turkes, or to leaue it vnto their enemies: where by their generall conſent a ſolemne decree was made, That whoſoeuer he were which B ſhould ſpeake or once make mention of yeelding the towne, ſhould forthwith therefore bee hanged vpon a gibbet. The Turkes although they had now in two aſſaults beene twice repulſed, came yet forth once againe the fifth day of October, and aſſaulted Saint *Thomas* fort the third time: wherein they fayled not to doe what they might, but were by the Chriſtians therein ſo receiued, that deſpairing of the winning thereof, they with great loſſe and ſhame retired. Which diſgrace cauſed them to returne to their old practiſes, for the taking of places by policie. For hauing in many places vndermined the wals, and filled them with gunpouder, they were in hope by that means to haue opened themſelues a way vnto their conqueſt. Of which their hope for all that, they were deceiued: for the Chriſtians hauing perceiued their meaning, did by countermining not onely fruſtrate their endeauour, but carried C away the pouder alſo, which they had before layed in the mines, reſeruing it to their owne further neceſſitie and vſe. Wherefore the Turkes ſeeing themſelues of their hope deceiued, returned againe vnto their old practiſes, to come to a parley for peace. Of which their motion the Chriſtians nothing diſliked. But the Commiſſioners on both ſides being met together for that purpoſe, in a little Iſland beneath Strigonium, when as the Turkes had offered vnto the Chriſtians the Citie of Agria for Strigonium; or if ſo be that that exchange pleaſed them not, but that they would needs keepe the Citie of Strigonium ſtill, that then in conſideration of the peace, they ſhould deliuer vnto them the ſtrong townes of Fileck, Saint Setſchin, Pallanke, and Nouigrade; both of which demaunds were verie vnreaſonable: The Commiſſioners thereupon againe departed without concluding of any D thing.

The ſhamefull treaſon of the Haiduckes of Strigonium.

The fort of S. Thomas the third time aſſaulted by the Turkes.

The Turks ſeeking to vndermine the fort of S. Thomas, diſappointed of their purpoſe.

A treatie for peace.

The treatie broken off, and nothing concluded.

Now the armie of the Turkes was in it ſelfe diuerſly diuided with quite contrarie deſires, the Viſier Baſſa with ſome other of the Commanders, ſtood ſtifly for the taking of the place, as men willing either to returne from thence with victorie, or elſe there to end their daies: but the Ianizaries to the contrarie, were as earneſt to bee gone, and to raiſe the ſiege, deeming it impoſſible as then to preuaile againſt a place ſo ſtrong, ſo well manned, and ſo eaſily to be ſtill relieued. With which their reſolution ſo contrarie vnto his, the Baſſa enraged, and yet propoſing before his departure to proue the vttermoſt of his forces againſt the fort now alreadie by him thrice before aſſaulted, the tenth of October gaue thereunto ſix great aſſaults, but with like ſucceſſe as before, finding there ſtill the ſame defendants, no whit diſcouraged, but armed with their accuſtomed reſolution. For the defendants encouraged by their moſt valiant commanders, with ſuch furie repulled the Turks, that they were glad to giue ouer aſſault vpon aſſault, and with great loſſe of their men to retire. Their often retreats alſo being vnto them no leſſe hurtfull than were their aſſaults, the deadly bullets being out of the fort diſcharged vpon them like ſhowers of haile. So that the Baſſa now after ſo many aſſaults, out of all hope to gaine the fort, and ſtill preſſed by the Ianizaries for the rayſing of the ſiege, immediatly after roſe with his armie, quitted his trenches, and retired with his campe neere vnto a caſtle, about a league diſtant from Strigonium. From whence the Turks, the better to couer their diſhonour, and to hinder the Chriſtians from purſuing of them in their retreat, the next day after came into the field with a good part of their armie, and ſhewed themſelues before the Raſcian towne, and there skirmiſhed with the Chriſtian Haiduckes. Which manner of skirmiſhing for all that was more in ſhew, than in effect, neither partie therein receiuing any great loſſe or hurt. In the meane time, the beſieged which were in Strigonium, hauing gotten certaine knowledge, that the enemie had alreadie remooued his cannon and other prouiſion for the ſiege backe againe into Buda, in token of joy diſcharged all their great Ordnance

The Ianizaries vnwilling to continue the ſiege of Strigonium.

The fort of S. Thomas ſix times in one day aſſaulted by the Turkes.

The ſiege of Strigonium giuen ouer by the Turkes.

out of the citie and the fort, by the report thereof giuing knowledge vnto the other townes and caſtles of the Chriſtians, of their deliuerance. Of which ſo common a ioy euery one of them were partakers, as deliuered from ſome part of the feare which the ſiege of ſo great a Citie as was Strigonium, had brought vpon them. And ſo the ſiege of Strigonium, begun the eighteenth day of September, was by the Turkes giuen ouer the thirteenth of October: the Ianizaries inſolently threatening to haue ſlaine the great Baſſa their Generall, if he had there any longer ſtaied.

Baſta purſueth the Turkes army departing from the ſiege of Strigonium.

Baſta the Emperours Lieutenant in the meane time awaiting all opportunities, failed not to take hold of ſo fit an occaſion, but with his horſemen following after the Turks armie, ſlew of them a great number, and tooke ſome other of them priſoners. And afterward returning vnto their campe, found it void of men, but full of bullets, with certain peeces of great ordnance, which the Turks had left there, hauing not time to remoue the ſame to Buda. Vpon this riſing of the Turks army the Commanders thereof were diuerſly affected vnto the ſeruice that was further to be done, as they had before been in the time of the ſiege. Such of them as lay in Hungarie, or neere thereunto, deſiring ſtill to hold the field, in hope of the ſpoile of the countrey: but they which dwelt farther off, eſpecially ſuch as were come out of Aſia, deſiring as much to be diſcharged, their horſes being almoſt all dead with faintneſſe and trauell, and themſelues wearie of the ſeruice.

The vpper Hungarie by the Turkes and Tartars ſpoiled and burnt.

Shortly after the riſing of the Turkes armie from Strigonium, two fugitiues of the Turkes moſt brauely mounted, came vnto ***Baſta*** the Emperors Lieutenant, and preſenting him with a ring of great value, and a moſt faire Turkiſh Enſigne, told him, moſt part of the Turks armie to lie then incamped in the country neere vnto Peſth; & the great Cham, a yong Prince of about twentie yeares old to be come thither with a great power of Tartars, to aid the Baſſa: And that the Turks by their comming incouraged, were determined yet to make a great excurſion for the ſpoiling of the countrey. All which ſhortly after was certainly knowne to be true, the plaine countrey of the vpper Hungarie about Palanka, Setſchin, and Villecampe, beeing by them, but eſpecially by theſe new come Tartars, all ſpoyled and burnt. For remedie whereof ***Sigeſride Collonitz*** oppoſing himſelfe with his Hungarian horſemen, againſt theſe inſolent forragers, ſo danted them, that ceaſing further to ſpoile the country, they departed, carrying away with them ſuch priſoners and ſpoile as they had there taken, and leauing behind them a ſtrong garriſon of three thouſand good ſouldiers, for the repairing and keeping of Peſth, but a little before cowardly (as we ſaid) by the Chriſtians forſaken. But within ſome few daies after, ***viz.*** the foure and twentieth of October, the Viſier Baſſa by his letters written vnto Countie ***Althem*** Gouernour of Strigonium, made a mention for a treatie of peace to bee had for the comfort of the diſtreſſed people of that ſpoyled Countrey, ſolemnly proteſting, moſt religiouſly on his part to keepe the ſame, if it ſhould bee once concluded: and yet in the meane time with fire and ſword ſpoiling all the Countrey by the way as hee departed out of Hungarie.

The Viſier Baſſa by his letters maketh a motion for the treatie of peace.

New rebellion in Tranſiluania raiſed by Iſtiuan, ſyrnamed Botſcay.

But now as this poore Countrey began to feele reliefe by the departure of the great Baſſa with his army out thereof, ſo the Countrey of Tranſyluania joyning thereunto, was at the ſame time as much with rebellion and diſcord diſtreſſed. ***Bethlin Habor*** the Rebell, with his Baſſa ouerthrowne and driuen out of Tranſyluania (as is aforeſaid) the Lord ***Belgioſo***, ***Baſta*** his Lieutenant in this Prouince, thinking all things now at quiet, was making himſelfe ready with his troups, to haue gon to aid the Lord ***Baſta*** his Generall, then incamped in the plains of Strigonium, to hinder the Turks deſignes for the taking of this towne. But as hee was about ſo to haue done, behold, euen at the ſame time when hee leaſt feared, a ſecond Rebell there ſtarted vp, far worſe than the firſt, namely the lord ***Iſtiuan*** (otherwiſe ſyrnamed ***Botſcay***, or more truly * ***Potſcay***) who accompanied with great troupes of men of warre vnder the protection of the Turke, and ſtiling himſelfe by the name of the Prince of Tranſyluania, entering that Prouince, miſerably burnt and ſpoyled the ſame. For the repreſſing of which ſo ſudden a rebellion, ***Belgioſa*** with a thouſand horſe, vnder the leading of ***Rotkouitz*** and ***Peter Loſſe***, marched toward Veradin: and with his troupe comming to Ador, a countrey village about a league diſtant from Veradin, and meaning thither to aſſemble together his armie, hee ſent to ***Peſſie*** Gouernour of Veradin, to put him in minde of his dutie, and to craue his aid. Which valiant Captaine, alwaies preſt and readie to do his prince ſeruice, failed not now of his dutie, but calling

** He was in ſcorn called Potſcay (which in the Bohemian language ſignifieth tarry, or ſtay) of the long delaies he by way of diſgrace had before endured in the emperors Court.*

A ling together ſix companies of footmen out of Romoſa, and joyning vnto them foure companies out of Veradin, together with the Sileſian horſmen of *Schuet-Kenhut* his regiment (whom by reaſon of his ſickneſſe he was not able to lead) and with them the Haiduckes of Countie *Tambier*, came vnto the place of the rendezuous, bringing with him all warlike prouiſion in token of his fidelitie. With this armie *Belgioſa* marched againſt the Rebels, who as reſolute men attented his comming: for why, *Botſcay* knowing the Haiducks of Countie *Tambier* ſecretly to fauour him and his rebellion more than they did *Belgioſa* and his juſt quarrels, ſtood in no feare of them, but aſſured himſelfe of them as of his friends; who failed not of his hope and expectation, but euen at the firſt joyning of the battell, turned themſelues to his part: with the going ouer of whom, the number of the Rebels was much encreaſed, and *Belgioſa* his B power both in force and courage much weakened, ſeeing themſelues at once expoſed both vnto the force of their enemies, and to the trecherie of their fellowes, who now with conjoyned forces moſt fiercely aſſailed them: who finding themſelues now on all ſides enuironed with ſo great a multitude, and not able with ſo ſmall a number as was left, to withſtand the violence of their enemies, and the treaſon of their companions; after they had to the vttermoſt of their power performed all the parts of valiant and couragious men, were there almoſt all cut in pieces, and there buried in the field of their loyaltie, honoured with their owne bloud, and altogether embrued with the bloud of their enemies. In this vnluckie and diſloyal fight were diuers good and faithfull Captaines ſlaine: *Petſie* Gouernour of Veradin, and *Pallas Lippa*, both great Captaines, and grieuouſly wounded, were there taken priſoners. The C Lieutenant of *Petſie* alſo, hauing retyred himſelfe with ſome of his troupes into a place of good ſtrength, there ſo valiantly defended themſelues, that *Botſcay* out of hope to ouercome them by force, to get them into his power, promiſed them vpon his Oath, if they would yeeld themſelues, to ſuffer them in ſafetie to depart. But what truſt or credit is to be giuen to him who hath before broken his faith and loyaltie to his Prince, this Rebell well ſhewed by the death of theſe valiant and warlike men, who after that they had vpon his faith and promiſe yeelded themſelues, were by his appointment cruelly ſlaine and cut in pieces. The Sileſian horſemen were there alſo all ouerthrowne and buried in the middeſt of their enemies: and as for *Belgioſa* himſelfe, he ſtrangely eſcaped out of the battaile, and ſaued himſelfe by flying to Veradin. The victorious Rebell after the battaile, in ſtead of praiſing God, ſacrificed to D the Diuell, by ſending a great part of the Enſignes by him gained, vnto the Viſier Baſſa, with a thouſand praiſes of his glorie, for ſupporting of him in his rebellion; and vaunting much of this his victorie, gaue him withall to vnderſtand, That he had ſlaine aboue ſix thouſand of his enemies.

Belgioſa goeth againſt the rebels of Tranſyluania.

Belgioſa in a great battell ouerthrowne by Botſcay the Rebell.

Botſcay dealeth vnfaithfully with ſuch as vpon his faith giuen vnto them, yeelded vnto him.

This victorie gotten, together with the humble ſubmiſſion of *Botſcay*, obtained of the Great Sultan, That from thenceforth hee ſhould be ſtiled by the name of the Prince of Tranſyluania, with a further charge from him, to do the vttermoſt of his endeauour for the ſubduing vnto his obeyſance the reſt of Tranſyluania; promiſing plentifully to ſupplie his wants both with men and money, and out of hand to ſend him three thouſand Tartars to his ayd. And indeed this was a verie great and bloudie battell, fought from the firſt breake of the day, vntill eleuen a clocke at noone: but whether ſo many were ſlaine there or no, it cannot certainely be told, for that diuers of them who were ſaid to be ſlaine, and ſo accounted among the dead, had hid themſelues in the wood thereby, and ſome others of them by ſome other meanes eſcaped death alſo. *Petſie* himſelfe had with him when hee was taken, two Monkes, whom the ſouldiours in deſpight cut into many pieces, and carried him faſt bound in chaines to Detritza, to be there cured of the dangerous wounds by him in the battaile receiued.

Botſcay in his rebellion countenanced by the Great Sultan, and called prince of Tranſyluania.

But as for *Pallas Lippa*, who being wounded, was taken priſoner with *Petſie*, hee was afterwards by *Botſcay* appointed his Lieutenant Generall, and ſo by his commaundement was publiquely proclaimed; as he which was deſirous to take vpon him the defence of the reformed Religion, and of ſuch as were willing to profeſſe the ſame: who forthwith made a generall proclamation, That all they which were deſirous of the libertie of conſcience, and to liue free from the ſuperſtitions of the Roman Church, ſhould repaire vnto him as vnto their head and chiefetaine, readie to entertaine them, and to allow to euerie one of them fiue Dollars a moneth for their pay. Vpon which Proclamation made, a great multitude of men vpon the

Pallas Lippa Botſcay his lieutenant, pretendeth the defence of Religion for the ſtrengthening of Botſcay in his rebellion.

ſudden

out of the citie and the fort, by the report thereof giuing knowledge vnto the other townes and caſtles of the Chriſtians, of their deliuerance. Of which ſo common a ioy euery one of them were partakers, as deliuered from ſome part of the feare which the ſiege of ſo great a Citie as was Strigonium, had brought vpon them. And ſo the ſiege of Strigonium, begun the eighteenth day of September, was by the Turkes giuen ouer the thirteenth of October: the Ianizaries inſolently threatening to haue ſlaine the great Baſſa their Generall, if he had there any longer ſtaied.

Baſta purſueth the Turkes army departing from the ſiege of Strigonium.

Baſta the Emperours Lieutenant in the meane time awaiting all opportunities, failed not to take hold of ſo fit an occaſion, but with his horſemen following after the Turks armie, ſlew of them a great number, and tooke ſome other of them priſoners. And afterward returning vnto their campe, found it void of men, but full of bullets, with certain peeces of great ordnance, which the Turks had left there, hauing not time to remoue the ſame to Buda. Vpon this riſing of the Turks army the Commanders thereof were diuerſly affected vnto the ſeruice that was further to be done, as they had before been in the time of the ſiege. Such of them as lay in Hungarie, or neere thereunto, deſiring ſtill to hold the field, in hope of the ſpoile of the countrey: but they which dwelt farther off, eſpecially ſuch as were come out of Aſia, deſiring as much to be diſcharged, their horſes being almoſt all dead with faintneſſe and trauell, and themſelues wearie of the ſeruice.

The vpper Hungarie by the Turkes and Tartars ſpoiled and burnt.

The Viſier Baſſa by his letters maketh a motion for the treatie of peace.

Shortly after the riſing of the Turkes armie from Strigonium, two fugitiues of the Turkes moſt brauely mounted, came vnto *Baſta* the Emperors Lieutenant, and preſenting him with a ring of great value, and a moſt faire Turkiſh Enſigne, told him, moſt part of the Turks armie to lie then incamped in the country neere vnto Peſth; & the great Cham, a yong Prince of about twentie yeares old to be come thither with a great power of Tartars, to aid the Baſſa: And that the Turks by their comming incouraged, were determined yet to make a great excurſion for the ſpoiling of the countrey. All which ſhortly after was certainly knowne to be true, the plaine countrey of the vpper Hungarie about Palanka, Setſchin, and Villecampe, beeing by them, but eſpecially by theſe new come Tartars, all ſpoyled and burnt. For remedie whereof *Sigeſride Collonitz* oppoſing himſelfe with his Hungarian horſemen, againſt theſe inſolent forragers, ſo danted them, that ceaſing further to ſpoile the country, they departed, carrying away with them ſuch priſoners and ſpoile as they had there taken, and leauing behind them a ſtrong garriſon of three thouſand good ſouldiers, for the repairing and keeping of Peſth, but a little before cowardly (as we ſaid) by the Chriſtians forſaken. But within ſome few daies after, *viz.* the foure and twentieth of October, the Viſier Baſſa by his letters written vnto Countie *Althem* Gouernour of Strigonium, made a mention for a treatie of peace to bee had for the comfort of the diſtreſſed people of that ſpoyled Countrey, ſolemnly proteſting, moſt religiouſly on his part to keepe the ſame, if it ſhould bee once concluded: and yet in the meane time with fire and ſword ſpoiling all the Countrey by the way as hee departed out of Hungarie.

New rebellion in Tranſiluania raiſed by Iſtiuan, ſyrnamed Botſcay.

He was in ſcorn called Potſcay (which in the Bohemian language ſignifieth tarry, or ſtay) of the long delaies he by way of diſgrace had before endured in the emperors Court.

But now as this poore Countrey began to feele reliefe by the departure of the great Baſſa with his army out thereof, ſo the Countrey of Tranſyluania ioyning thereunto, was at the ſame time as much with rebellion and diſcord diſtreſſed. *Bethlin Habor* the Rebell, with his Baſſa ouerthrowne and driuen out of Tranſyluania (as is aforeſaid) the Lord *Belgioſa*, *Baſta* his Lieutenant in this Prouince, thinking all things now at quiet, was making himſelfe ready with his troups, to haue gon to aid the Lord *Baſta* his Generall, then incamped in the plains of Strigonium, to hinder the Turks deſignes for the taking of this towne. But as hee was about ſo to haue done, behold, euen at the ſame time when hee leaſt feared, a ſecond Rebell there ſtarted vp, far worſe than the firſt, namely the lord *Iſtiuan* (otherwiſe ſyrnamed *Botſcay*, or more truly * *Potſcay*) who accompanied with great troupes of men of warre vnder the protection of the Turke, and ſtiling himſelfe by the name of the Prince of Tranſyluania, entering that Prouince, miſerably burnt and ſpoyled the ſame. For the repreſſing of which ſo ſudden a rebellion, *Belgioſa* with a thouſand horſe, vnder the leading of *Rotkonitz* and *Peter Laſſe*, marched toward Veradin: and with his troupe comming to Ador, a countrey village about a league diſtant from Veradin, and meaning thither to aſſemble together his armie, hee ſent to *Peſſie* Gouernour of Veradin, to put him in minde of his dutie, and to craue his aid. Which valiant Captaine, alwaies preſt and readie to do his prince ſeruice, failed not now of his dutie, but cal-

ling

A ling together ſix companies of footmen out of Romoſa, and joyning vnto them foure companies
out of Veradin, together with the Sileſian horſmen of *Schuet-Kenhut* his regiment(whom
by reaſon of his ſickneſſe he was not able to lead) and with them the Haiduckes of Countie
Tambier, came vnto the place of the rendezuous, bringing with him all warlike prouiſion in
token of his fidelitie. With this armie *Belgioſa* marched againſt the Rebels, who as reſolute
men attented his comming: for why, *Botſcay* knowing the Haiducks of Countie *Tambier* ſecretly
to fauour him and his rebellion more than they did *Belgioſa* and his juſt quarrels, ſtood
in no feare of them, but aſſured himſelfe of them as of his friends; who failed not of his hope
and expectation, but euen at the firſt joyning of the battell, turned themſelues to his part: with
the going ouer of whom, the number of the Rebels was much encreaſed, and *Belgioſa* his power
B both in force and courage much weakened, ſeeing themſelues at once expoſed both vnto
the force of their enemies, and to the trecherie of their fellowes, who now with conjoyned
forces moſt fiercely aſſailed them: who finding themſelues now on all ſides enuironed with ſo
great a multitude, and not able with ſo ſmall a number as was left, to withſtand the violence of
their enemies, and the treaſon of their companions; after they had to the vttermoſt of their power
performed all the parts of valiant and couragious men, were there almoſt all cut in pieces,
and there buried in the field of their loyaltie, honoured with their owne bloud, and altogether
embrued with the bloud of their enemies. In this vnluckie and diſloyal fight were
diuers good and faithfull Captaines ſlaine: *Petſie* Gouernour of Veradin, and *Pallas Lippa*,
both great Captaines, and grieuouſly wounded, were there taken priſoners. The Lieutenant
C of *Petſie* alſo, hauing retyred himſelfe with ſome of his troupes into a place of good
ſtrength, there ſo valiantly defended themſelues, that *Botſcay* out of hope to ouercome them
by force, to get them into his power, promiſed them vpon his Oath, if they would yeeld
themſelues, to ſuffer them in ſafetie to depart. But what truſt or credit is to be giuen to him
who hath before broken his faith and loyaltie to his Prince, this Rebell well ſhewed by the
death of theſe valiant and warlike men, who after that they had vpon his faith and promiſe
yeelded themſelues, were by his appointment cruelly ſlaine and cut in pieces. The Sileſian
horſemen were there alſo all ouerthrowne and buried in the middeſt of their enemies: and
as for *Belgioſa* himſelfe, he ſtrangely eſcaped out of the battaile, and ſaued himſelfe by flying
to Veradin. The victorious Rebell after the battaile, in ſtead of praiſing God, ſacrificed to
the Diuell, by ſending a great part of the Enſignes by him gained, vnto the Viſier Baſſa, with
a thouſand praiſes of his glorie, for ſupporting of him in his rebellion; and vaunting much of
this his victorie, gaue him withall to vnderſtand, That he had ſlaine aboue ſix thouſand of his
enemies.

Belgioſa goeth againſt the rebels of Tranſyluania.

Belgioſa in a great battell ouerthrowne by Botſcay the Rebell.

Botſcay dealeth vnfaithfully with ſuch as vpon his faith giuen vnto them, yeelded vnto him.

This victorie gotten, together with the humble ſubmiſſion of *Botſcay*, obtained of the Great Sultan, That from thenceforth hee ſhould be ſtiled by the name of the Prince of Tranſyluania, with a further charge from him, to do the vttermoſt of his endeauour for the ſubduing vnto his obeyſance the reſt of Tranſyluania; promiſing plentifully to ſupplie his wants both with men and money, and out of hand to ſend him three thouſand Tartars to his ayd. And indeed this was a verie great and bloudie battell, fought from the firſt breake of the day, vntill eleuen a clocke at noone: but whether ſo many were ſlaine there or no, it cannot certainely be told, for that diuers of them who were ſaid to be ſlaine, and ſo accounted among the dead, had hid themſelues in the wood thereby, and ſome others of them by ſome other meanes eſcaped death alſo. *Petſie* himſelfe had with him when hee was taken, two Monkes, whom the ſouldiours in deſpight cut into many pieces, and carried him faſt bound in chaines to Derritza, to be there cured of the dangerous wounds by him in the battaile receiued.

Botſcay in his rebellion countenanced by the Great Sultan, and called prince of Tranſyluania.

But as for *Pallas Lippa*, who being wounded, was taken priſoner with *Petſie*, hee was afterwards by *Botſcay* appointed his Lieutenant Generall, and ſo by his commaundement was publiquely proclaimed; as he which was deſirous to take vpon him the defence of the reformed Religion, and of ſuch as were willing to profeſſe the ſame: who forthwith made a generall proclamation, That all they which were deſirous of the libertie of conſcience, and to liue free from the ſuperſtitions of the Roman Church, ſhould repaire vnto him as vnto their head and chiefetaine, readie to entertaine them, and to allow to euerie one of them fiue Dollars a moneth for their pay. Vpon which Proclamation made, a great multitude of men vpon the

Pallas Lippa Botſcay his lieutenant, pretendeth the defence of Religion for the ſtrengthening of Botſcay in his rebellion.

ſudden reſorted vnto him, ſo that in a ſhort time he had following of him ten thouſand Haiducks, G beſide a number of other of the common raſcall people; yea, almoſt all the gentlemen of the countrey repairing vnto him, bound themſelues by oath to him, and one of them to another, That as they would not take vp armes to fight againſt the Chriſtian Emperor, ſo they would not ſubmit themſelues vnto the Turke, but onely ſtand vpon the defence of their religion, and the libertie of conſcience.

The great citie of Caſſouia yeelded to the rebel Botſcay.

The rebell *Botſcay* thus wonderfully encreaſed in ſtrength and number, beſet almoſt all the paſſages of the countrey, and with the ſword of rebellion in his hand, and his ſouldiers following him, commanded the cities ſtil as he went, to yeeld vnto him: but, hearing that *Belgioſa* was after the late ouerthrow gone from Veradin to Caſſouia, where his wife lay; and being come thither, to haue been by the citiſens reiected, who would not only not receiue him into their citie, but turned his wife alſo out of the citie vnto him, he with a great armie comming H thither, tooke the Citie without reſiſtance, the Citiſens for the moſt part enclining vnto him: Of which Citie being poſſeſſed, hee forthwith changed both the Religion and ciuile gouernement thereof, ſlew part of ſuch as were of the Romiſh Religion, and thruſt the reſt out of the Citie, with all the Church-men, tooke the Biſhop and the Emperours Treaſuror priſoners, and ſo changed the whole gouernment of the towne vp-ſide downe. The onely man he ſtood in feare of, was *Belgioſa*, for whom he laid wait by all meanes hee could to haue taken him, with a purpoſe to haue vſed him moſt hardly, if he had fallen into his hands.

An impudent ſhift of the Viſier Baſſa for the ſauing of his credit with the great Sultan.

Theſe things thus done in Tranſyluania and in Hungarie, the Viſier Baſſa being about to I returne to Conſtantinople, to grace that little which he had done this yeare in Hungarie, and to auoid the ſuſpition of his euill ſucceſſe in that Prouince, borrowed of *Botſcay* the reſt of the Enſignes, together with *Petſie* and other the noble Chriſtian captiues which he had taken in the late battell with *Belgioſa*: which Enſignes and priſoners he confidently afterwards cauſed to be preſented vnto the Great Sultan *Achmat*, as taken by himſelfe; and in recompence thereof, left three thouſand Turks and Tartars with the Rebell, to aid him in his wars both in Tranſyluania and Hungarie.

Baſta goeth with his armie againſt the Rebels in the vpper Hungarie.

Baſta the Emperours Lieutenant in Hungarie, and Gouernour of Tranſyluania, hearing of the ſtirres and troubles of late raiſed in both thoſe Countreys, by *Botſcay* and his rebellious Followers, and hauing as he thought beſt, ſet all things in order againe at Strigonium, K marched thence with his Armie, being fourteene thouſand ſtrong, towards Caſſouia, with a purpoſe to haue ſuppreſſed the rebellion in the vpper Hungarie, before it ſhould haue ſpred farther, to the endangering of the whole ſtate of both thoſe Countreys, as afterward it did. Howbeit before hee could come thither, the Rebels after the taking of Caſſouia, being wonderfully encreaſed both in ſtrength and number, had taken in moſt of the ſtrong Townes and places in the vpper Hungarie, the people almoſt generally now fauouring their quarrell, carrying with it the face of Religion, with the ſuppreſſing of the German gouernment, both things vnto them much pleaſing. And now hearing that *Belgioſa* (a man of them moſt hated, being as we ſaid, ſhut out of Caſſouia) was fled into the Caſtle of Zipze, they by Letters required of *Turſon* Captaine of the Caſtle, to haue him deliuered L vnto them, to be according to his deſerts puniſhed; promiſing withall, to doe *Turſon* himſelfe no harme, ſo that hee would take part with them in the defence of their Religion, and of the libertie of conſcience: which if hee ſhould refuſe to doe, yet that they would giue him free libertie to depart whither he would, out of his Caſtle, and in ſafety to conduct him thither, ſo that hee would foothwith reſolue, what courſe hee would take: But if hee ſhould of this his offer miſlike alſo, then they threatened to ſpoyle his Countrey, to kill his people, to raſe his Caſtle, and to make himſelfe an example vnto others. Wherewith for all that, he nothing mooued, refuſed to deliuer vnto them *Belgioſa*, the man whom they ſo much deſired, or yet to accept of any of their other offers. Whereupon the Rebels with great labour repairing the broken way betwixt Caſſouia and the Caſtle, M and bringing certaine pieces of great Ordnance from Caſſouia, in great number came and ſtraightly beſieged the Caſtle. With whoſe attempts the valiant Captaine nothing mooued, with his thundering ſhot out of the Caſtle ſo welcommed them, that hauing thereby receiued great harme, they thought it not their beſt courſe to ſtay any longer there

Belgioſa in the caſtle of Zipze beſieged by the Rebels.

A with ſo great a power, but with the greateſt part thereof to go to Presburg, to reforme that citie and ſome other places by the way; perſuading themſelues, That the Captaine of this caſtle ſo ſhut vp, and on euerie ſide beſet with his enemies, would at length of himſelf yeeld vp the caſtle.

But while the Rebels thus lay at the ſiege of this caſtle, certaine companies of them went to haue taken the ſpoile of a Religious houſe there by: but comming thither, and breaking open the doores, and ſearching euery ſecret corner of the houſe, they found therein nothing worth the reckoning of, but ſo returned almoſt emptie handed: for the Prieſts had for feare of them before carried away with them all the beſt of their goods and ſubſtance into the beſieged caſtle. And ſo likewiſe the riſe report of their comming to Presburg flying abroad, B almoſt all the Prieſts and Ieſuits in Presburg and the countrey thereabout, leauing their Churches and Colledges, fled with their ſubſtance to Vienna, ſcarcely accounting themſelues ſafe there, vntill that the garriſon of that ſtrong citie was increaſed with a new ſupplie of ſixe hundred good ſouldiers.

The Prieſts and Ieſuits for feare of the Haiduckes flie from Presburg to Vienna.

And now the Rebels, their number ſtill more and more encreaſing, and hauing ſet all the vpper part of Hungarie on a broile, were beſieging diuers other caſtles and ſtrong places, yet holden for the Emperor; when as *Baſta* in the meane time, comming from the ſiege of Strigonium, came and with his armie incamped about three miles from Filek. Of whoſe comming the Rebels hearing, and thereupon retyring, he forthwith followed after them toward Budnoc, which caſtle they alſo left, and ſo neere vnto Ramoſambat, the place of their rendez-C uous, gathered together in great number, with an intent to haue giuen *Baſta* battell. Whereof *Baſta* hauing knowledge, to ſpare the effuſion of more Chriſtian bloud, by an herauld ſent vnto them in friendly and courteous manner, aduiſed them to change their mindes, and to returne againe vnto their former allegeance. But finding them obſtinately ſet downe in their former purpoſe, for the maintaining of their rebellion, and the giuing of him battell, he marching forward with his armie, with great force charged certaine companies of the Rebels, appointed to keepe the paſſage of Filek; who at the firſt right valiantly receiued the charge, and defended the paſſage, vntill that at length with number oppreſſed, and aboue foure hundred of them ſlaine, they were put to the worſe, and enforced to flee; in which flight, amongſt others there taken priſoners, *Blaſe Nemet* their captaine was taken alſo, whom *Baſta* cauſed to D be hanged vp by the heeles, with the enſignes ſet vp about him which he had taken from the Rebels in the late fight; and after he had for a time ſo hung, made him to be taken downe, and his head to be ſtrucke off from his ſhoulders. In this conflict fiftie of *Baſta* his men were ſlain alſo, and many moe hurt, and amongſt them *Collonitz*, hurt in his ſhoulder and his foot with a ſmall ſhot.

Certaine companies of the rebels diſcomfited and ouerthrowne by the Lord Baſta.

Blaſe Nemet one of the captains of the rebels taken and put to death.

Baſta after this victorie marching on with his armie, by the way met with certaine other companies of the rebellious Haiducks as he was going to S. *Peters*, with whom he had many an hot skirmiſh for the ſpace of three dayes together, being by them ſtill put to the worſe, inſomuch that hauing burnt many of his carriages, tents, and other luggage, he was of nothing more carefull, than how well to get out of their hands. Neuertheleſſe ſeeing no other remedie, he with great courage not onely endured the often and fierce aſſaults of his enemies, ſtill more and more encreaſing vpon him, but the fourth day after ſo many vnfortunate skirmiſhes, (being the eight and twentieth of Nouember) putting his men in order of battell, right valiantly againe charged the Rebels: who by reaſon of the darkeneſſe of the weather, it being then a verie thicke miſt, being not able to perceiue where the enemies attempts were moſt to be feared, or what way to turne their owne forces; as men diſmaied, were eaſily by them ouerthrowne and put to flight: whom ſo flying, *Baſta* with his ſouldiours fiercely purſuing, made of them a great ſlaughter: ſo that in the ſpace of leſſe than three houres, fifteen hundred of them were in this thicke and darke miſt ſlaine, with ſome few alſo of *Baſta* his ſouldiers, and amongſt them *Fredericke* Earle of Solmes, and the Countie of Erbach wounded. Vpon the report of which ouerthrow, the Rebels which yet lay at the ſiege of the caſtle of Zipze, in hope there at length to haue taken *Belgioſa*, forthwith roſe and retyred themſelues to Leuſta. But *Baſta* after this victorie remoouing to S. *Andrewes*, and hauing recouered that towne from the Rebels, and thereinto put a new garriſon, and ſo by this meanes ſomewhat daunted and repreſſed the inſolencie of the Haiduckes in thoſe quarters, and being not well able longer

Baſta diſtreſſed by the Rebels.

The rebels by Baſta ouerthrowne.

to

The citiſens of Caſſouia refuſe to ſubmit thẽſelues, and to receiue the emperors ſoldiers into their city.

Eperia yeelded vnto Baſta.

to keepe the field with his armie in ſo vnſeaſonable a time of the yeare, and ſo to maintain war as it were both againſt his enemies, and the extremities of nature, ſought by letters to haue reclaimed them of Caſſouia againe vnto their obedience; offering vnto them pardon for all their offences paſt, ſo that they would now at laſt acknowledge their fault, and receiue into their towne a garriſon of the Emperors. To which purpoſe he writ alſo to them of Eperia; in hope that if he might ſo haue gained thoſe two ſtrong townes, to haue in them wintered in ſafetie with his armie. But they of Caſſouia hauing in the citie a ſtrong garriſon of ſix thouſand good ſouldiers, and out of feare to be by **Baſta** beſieged at that time of the yeare, and withall in hope (if need were) to be by **Botſcay** relieued, (who was then reported to be fortie thouſand ſtrong) vtterly refuſed to hearken vnto **Baſta** his motion, for their reconciliation, or at all to ſubmit themſelues againe vnto the Emperor. Which cauſed him with his armie to come neerer vnto the citie, yet ſtill ſeeeking rather by faire meanes to haue perſuaded the citiſens to haue returned vnto their loyaltie, than by force to haue conſtrained them. But finding them obſtinately ſet downe, and by no perſuaſions to be remoued, but with their great ordnance in what they might to trouble his campe, he ſent before, the Countie **Hohenloh** and **Rotuitz**, with part of his armie to Eperia, to command them vpon their allegeance to receiue the Emperors ſoldiers into the citie, and to relieue them with ſuch things as they were able: and within a few dayes after, *viz.* the fifth of December, followed himſelfe with the reſt of his armie. But being come thither, after much talke had with the chiefe men of the Citie, it was at length, contrarie to all mens expectation, agreed, That **Baſta** aſſuring them of the free exerciſe of their religion, of the good behauiour of the ſoldiers towards them, and to defend them from the iniurie and incurſions of their enemies, they ſhould open their gates vnto the Imperials, and relieue them with what they were able, and ſo as before to continue in their allegeance and obedience vnto the Emperor. Of all which things when **Baſta** had vpon his faith giuen, aſſured them, they opened their gates and receiued in the ſouldiers: vnto whom (now almoſt dead and ſtarued with hunger) nothing could haue happened more comfortable or welcome. Leuſta, Barbeld, and Zebena, famous townes in thoſe places, following the example of Eperia, ſubmitted themſelues in like manner, and helped **Baſta** his ſouldiers with reliefe. Thither with great danger came vnto **Baſta**, **Sigefrid Collonitz**, a man of great power and authoritie in that part of Hungarie, to confer with him about the appeaſing of theſe troubles: who afterward by his letters vnto the States and the reſt of the Nobilitie of Hungarie, yea and to **Botſcay** himſelfe, in vaine perſuaded them to lay downe armes, and to returne againe vnto their wonted obedience vnto the Emperour.

The Huſſars traiterouſly ſpoyle them whome they ſhould haue conducted.

There had been hitherto in the Imperial campe great ſcarcitie of victuals and of other neceſſaries, ſo that for want thereof, and for the extremitie of the cold, and other miſeries, it was greatly feared, leſt the campe ſhould haue been broken vp; to the irrepairable loſſe of his Imperial Majeſtie, as the ſtate of things then ſtood in Hungary. For the remedie whereof, thirtie waggons loded with money and cloath were ſent from Vienna, vnder the conduct of Countie **Solmes**, Colonell **Starenberg**, the Treaſurer, and others: vnto whom **Tanbuſar** joyned fifteene hundred Huſſars (Hungarian horſemen ſo called) to ſtrengthen the conuoy againſt the danger which was feared from the Haiducks which lay vpon the way, and who indeed were now roaming about and ſeeking after bootie in euerie corner of the countrey. Which Huſſars being come with the reſt of the conuoy into a thick wood, about two miles from Filek, like enemies ſet vpon the waggoners, whom they ſhould haue conducted, and there made a great ſlaughter of ſuch as were about to reſiſt them; inſomuch that the Countie **Sólmes** had much ado to ſaue himſelfe, and to get out of their hands, leauing the waggons as a prey vnto the trecherous Huſſars; who now become maſters of them, draue them away to **Botſcay** the Rebels campe: **Tanbuſar** their Captaine in vaine purſuing after them (with ſuch of his Huſſars as more faithfull than the reſt, had no hand in that ſo foule a treacherie) and recouering nothing but tenne waggons loaded with cloath, which the traitors had left behinde them, hauing taken the horſes out of them, and put them into the other waggons wherein the mony was, (which was reported to be 130000 florens) with the more ſpeed to bring them vnto **Botſcay**. Who hauing vpon the ſudden receiued ſo great a ſumme of money, by him not looked for, forthwith diuided the ſame amongſt his ſouldiers, the more to encourage them in their rebellion againſt the Emperour.

The newes of this ſo great a loſſe being quickly ſpred thorow all the Emperours campe, at the firſt filled the ſouldiers with griefe and diſdaine againſt the trecherous Huſſars, but afterwards with wrath and indignation againſt their owne Commanders, as deeming it to haue bin nothing but a falſe report by them deuiſed and giuen out to deceiue them, and to feed them with a vaine hope. Which perſuaſion, though not true, had now ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed their mindes, as that they were about al to haue riſen vp in mutiny, and to haue forſaken the ſeruice, to the vtter perill of their Captains, and endangering of the whole Prouince, now vpon point to haue been for euer loſt. All which miſchiefes *Baſta* foreſeeing, did firſt what he might with words and faire promiſes to haue appeaſed them; which not ſeruing, he with certaine thouſands of duckats and waggons of cloth taken vp at Leuſta and other townes there by, wiſely contented them, in ſome good meaſure furniſhing the old ſoldiers, before halfe naked, both with money and apparell, the ſouldiers greateſt contentments.

Baſta wiſely appeaſeth his ſoldiers, ready to forſake his ſeruice.

Which mutinie ſo againe appeaſed, the Imperials ſhortly after ſurpriſing a caſtle not farre from Eperia, found therein a great many of Hungarian Gentlemen, whom they carried away with them priſoners, to learne of them what they might concerning the Rebels proceedings, and further deſignes. In the meane time the Haiduckes on the other ſide beſieged the caſtle of Sendra, which they after many aſſaults tooke, and put to the ſword all the garriſon ſouldiers therin; and departing thence, firſt rifled and after burnt the towne of Filek. They alſo took the caſtles of Boluar, Setſchin, Dregell, Burac, Holloc, Blauenſtein, and the ſtrong caſtle of Cabragetia, whither they of Hatwan not long before had carried their great ordnance at ſuch time as they for feare of the Turks, then lying at the ſiege of Strigonium, had abandoned the place: all ſtrong holds in the vpper Hungarie. After the taking of which places, *Ferentius Radius*, and *Charles Iſtuan* (*Botſcay* his neere kinſman) and the chiefe Captains and ringleaders of the rebels, exacted contribution money of the minerall townes (as they call them) belonging vnto the Emperor in the vpper Hungarie; but eſpecially of the city of Newſoll, enforcing them alſo to ſweare to be in all things obedient to *Botſcay*, and to take his part againſt the Imperials, threatning with fire and ſword to infeſt ſuch places as ſhould refuſe to do the like. And to the intent that they ſhould not by *Collonitz* be encouraged or defended, who to that end was comming thither, the Rebels in great number went to meet him, and hauing belayed all the paſſages, enforced him to retire himſelfe vnto his caſtle of Libentſia; where he lying in great danger with his wife then in child-bed, accompanied but with 50 German ſouldiers only, for that he durſt not to truſt his Hungarian Coſſackes, now in heart altogether enclining vnto the Rebels, was glad in poſt to ſend to Vienna, moſt humbly requeſting to haue a new ſupply of German ſouldiers ſent vnto him for his reliefe, and the furtherance of the Emperors ſeruice, in that ſo dangerous a time and wauering eſtate of that countrey, being the beſt part of that the Emperour then held in Hungarie.

Diuers places taken by the Haiduckes.

Collonitz prayeth aid from Vienna.

Now while *Baſta* thus lay with his armie at Eperia and in the countrey thereabout, he dayly receiued great harme from the Haiduckes, who were ſtill houering about him, as Hawkes ouer their prey; his ſouldiers, by neceſſitie enforced to fetch in wood, and other things neceſſarie into the campe, being ſtill moſt miſerably ſlaine and cut in pieces; yea, they were ſo bold, as oftentimes to trouble him in his campe, and to aſſayle his ſouldiers where they lay quartered in their trenches; as amongſt other times, they did in the latter end of December to end the yere withall: at which time they by night breaking into the quarter where *Charles Collonitz*, with *Copell* and *Pettenger*, two Captaines of Auſtria, with their companies lay, they ſlew the ſaid *Copell*, with almoſt all his ſouldiers, and burnt *Pettinger* in his tent, *Collonitz* himſelfe beeing at the ſame time in great danger, and hardly by them beſet alſo; vntill that encouraging his men, by performing all the parts both of a good Captaine and valiant ſouldier, hee by true valour enforced them at length to retyre backe againe into the woods, from whence they came, hauing in this conflict ſlaine foureteene of them with his owne hand.

Copel and Pettinger ſlaine by the Haiduckes.

About this time was a ſpie taken in the Imperiall campe, one of *Botſcay* his chiefe men, diſcouered by one comming from Caſſouia to Eperia which knew him: who by *Baſta* his commandement apprehended, and vpon torture examined, and confeſſing what he had done, was for his good ſeruice hanged and afterward quartered, to the terrour of others attempting the like.

A ſpie taken.

The euill ſucceſſe of Cicala Baſſa againſt the Perſians.

The effect of the embaſſage of the Perſian king vnto the Emperour.

The Turks this yeare were not much fortunat in their warres: *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa and their Generall againſt the Chriſtians in Hungarie hauing in vaine (as is before declared) beſieged Strigonium, and with all his forces done nothing worth the remembrance; and *Cicala Baſſa* their other Generall againſt the Perſians in the Eaſt beeing with all his great power by the Perſian King ouerthrowne and put to flight, and the citie of Babylon now called Bagdat taken: and was firſt at Prague the two and twentieth of October reported by the Secretarie of the Vayuod of Valachia, ſent thither in embaſſage from his Maſter vnto the Emperour, and afterward confirmed by an Embaſſadour ſent from the Perſian King himſelfe vnto the Emperour; who hauing audience, told his Maieſtie, how that the King his Maſter was not ignorant of the great and difficult warre by him now for many yeares maintained againſt the Turkiſh Sultan, with whome although hee for his part might haue liued in peace and amitie, yet that mooued with the zeale which one Prince ought to haue to the reliefe of another, he had taken vp armes againſt him, ſo to auert ſome part of that heauie warre from his Maieſtie euen vpon himſelfe: and that he had alreadie obtained many great and notable victories and conqueſts againſt him: and recouered a great territorie, wrongfully before taken from the Perſian Kings his predeceſſours by the Turkiſh Sultans: and that now hee was of nothing more deſirous, than to joyne in a perpetuall league and amitie with his Maieſtie, that ſo in a moſt ſtrong confederation combined together, they might neuer afterward be diſſeuered, or euer make peace with the Sultan, without one anothers knowledge and conſent. And further, That for his part hee was minded neuer to giue ouer the warre ſo happily by him begun, vntill hee had driuen him euen into his Imperiall Citie of Conſtantinople, ſo that his Maieſtie would on his part doe the like, by continuing of his preſent warres; it beeing not poſſible for the Turke to hold out againſt them both, and the onely meanes to abate his greatneſſe, and to aſſure them in their eſtates: requeſting him withall, to ſend backe with him ſome graue man his Embaſſadour, with ſufficient authoritie and inſtructions to conferre about theſe matters with him; that ſo knowing and vnderſtanding one anothers minde, the league and confederation betwixt them might the more eaſily and commodiouſly bee made and concluded.

The Turkes troubled with ciuill warres

Neither were the Turks buſied with theſe forraine warres onely, againſt theſe ſo great and mightie Princes, in places ſo remote and farre off, but vnto theſe were joyned their owne inteſtine and ciuill warres and troubles alſo; the Rebels beeing yet vp in the leſſer Aſia, and the Baſſa's of Aleppo and Damaſco, two of the moſt famous cities in Siria, and both of them men of great place and command, of late vp in armes one of them againſt the other: inſomuch, that they had brought the matter to be tryed by the ſword in the plaine field, where the Baſſa of Aleppo in a great and bloudy battell ouercome, and flying vnto his own citie, was by the Baſſa of Damaſco purſued thither, and ſo ſtraitly by him beſieged with an armie of thirty thouſand men, that in fine hee was glad to reconcile himſelfe vnto him, and to make his peace, by yeelding vnto whatſoeuer the other Baſſa his enemie pleaſed to demand of him; as being thereunto driuen by the extremitie of famine, which then reigned in the citie; as alſo for that he had loſt a great number of his men, whom he had ſent ſecretly out of the citie to ſeeke for victuals, being all ſlaine by the Baſſa of Damaſco his ſouldiers. With which ſo great matters the Baſſaes of the Court (who had the mannaging of the State vnder the young Sultan) were much troubled, he himſelfe (as was fitteſt for his yeres) in the meane time delighting himſelfe with the pleaſures of the Court, and much reioycing at the birth of his firſt begotten ſonne, who was about that time borne.

Sultan Achmat his firſt ſonne borne.

1605

Ciuill diſcord the ruine of Hungarie.

Belioioſa author of the great rebellion in Hungarie.

The reuolution of time had now thus brought this yeare to an end, the troubles of Hungarie and Tranſyluania yet ſtill more and more ſo encreaſing, as if that thoſe moſt miſerable countries had by the juſt and heauie judgements of God beene now appointed vnto their laſt and vtter ruine and deſtruction: the cauſes of their ſo great miſeries proceeding not ſo much from the Turks their enemies, as from the naturall inhabitants themſelues; who in minds diuided both in religion and affection, ſome of them continuing in their allegeance vnto the Emperor, and other ſome following the Enſignes of the Rebell *Botſcay*, did both vnto themſelues and to their country more harme in a little time, than had the Turks in many yeres before. Of which ſo dangerous a diſſention, and of the harmes thereof inſuing, *Belioioſa* left by *Baſta* as his Lieutenant, was reported to haue beene the firſt and chiefe authour: For whereas the yeare

before

A before the Biſhops and other Clergie men, in an aſſembly of them at Poſſonium, had without the knowledge of the Nobilitie and States of Hungarie, publiſhed a decree by them there made, for the burning or perpetuall baniſhing of all ſuch as were of the reformed Religion in Hungarie: and that the States of that Kingdome vnderſtanding thereof, and ſolemnly proteſting againſt the ſame, vnder the Seale of the Lord *Palatine*, had publiquely affirmed, with juſt armes to defend themſelues, if they ſhould for their religion bee called into queſtion or troubled: and had againe repeated the ſame their proteſtation at Gallet. Yet *Belioioſa* neuertheleſſe in the meane time by cunning ſeizing vpon the reformed Churches at Caſſouia, would not ſuffer the citiſens of the reformed religion there, to haue any ſermons in their owne priuat houſes, or ſo much as to read on the holy Bible. Neither any whit mooued with the former B proteſtations of the Nobilitie and States, had taken vnto himſelfe all the lands and goods of them of their religion in Caſſouia, not ſuffering them to burie the bodies of their dead within the Citie, neere vnto the Monaſteries. And requeſting to haue borrowed of *Botſcay* certaine thouſands of crownes, and thereof by him denied, cauſed his ſouldiers to ranſacke two of his caſtles, and to ſpoile him of all the wealth and treaſure he therein had. For which indignities and iniuries *Botſcay* enraged, cauſed open proclamation to be made, That he would giue vnto euerie Haiducke that would ſerue him, foure crownes a moneth pay, with all the bootie that they could get. Whereupon ſix thouſand Haiduckes, which then ſerued vnder *Belioioſa*, forthwith reuolted vnto *Botſcay*, their number encreaſing daily. But after that vnto this extraordinarie pay, *Pallas Lippa*, his Lieutenant, had alſo ioyned the protection of the C reformed religion, it is wonderfull to ſay, how the Haiduckes by heaps reſorted vnto him, and how the people in all parts of Hungarie generally fauoured him and his quarrell, being in all places whereas he came, ready to ioyne hands with him againſt the Imperials. The Turks and Tartars alſo, both with men and money furthering him in all his doings, whoſe helpe he refuſed not. Whereof proceeded all the aforeſaid miſeries both in Hungarie and Tranſyluania, with many other worſe than they, which together with the beginning of this yeare tooke their beginning and encreaſe alſo. Vnto which ſo great troubles ſtill more and more encreaſing, *Baſta* not able by force to giue remedie, ſought by lenitie and faire perſuaſions to haue eaſed the ſame: by letters oftentimes aduiſing euen *Botſcay* the chiefe Rebell himſelf, to change his minde, to lay downe armes, to diſband his forces, and to perſuade with the reſt of his ſe- D ditious followers, to ſubmit themſelues vnto the Emperour, and to returne againe vnto their wonted obedience. Whereunto he at length anſwered, That if the gouernment of all Tranſyluania might be left vnto himſelfe alone: if a naturall Hungarian borne might be ſtill choſen Lieutenant Generall in Hungarie: if none but ſuch as were Hungarians borne ſhould haue the gouernement and command of all the Garriſons in Hungarie: if the Wallon and French ſoldiers might be ſhut out of Hungarie: if the naturall Hungarians borne, might from thenceforth be regarded and prouided of their pay: if it might be lawfull for euery man to haue the free exerciſe of his religion: if the authours of theſe troubles might be deliuered vnto the Hungarians to be puniſhed: if the Emperour himſelfe in perſon ſhould come and be preſent at the parliament at Presburg: if the Germane garriſon ſouldiers ſhould ſtil keepe themſelues within the places whereunto they were appointed, without making of any excurſions into the townes or villages neere vnto them, or hurting of the poore countrie men: he could then be content to come to ſuch a good agreement for peace. With which offer he ſent two of the Rebels, his followers, vnto *Baſta*, who not liking thereof, returned them backe againe, without concluding of any thing.

The chiefe cauſes of Botſcay his diſcontentment.

Botſcay his vnreaſonable demands for to come to a peace

But while things were thus in talke, ſome of the Haiducks in the meane time with a number of Tartars ioyned vnto them, in ſeeking after bootie, ſurpriſed Gokara, a town ouer againſt Strigonium: where hauing ſlaine certaine Germanes which had the keeping of the place, and rifled the towne, as they were about to haue ſet it on fire, by the comming ouer of the Gouernour of Strigonium, with his garriſon, they were enforced to forſake the place, and againe to retire. This loſſe receiued at Gokara, was againe by our men requited by the taking of Palantwar, a good fortreſſe of the Turkes, after a long and cruell fight taken by Captaine *Bathian* (Commander of the Imperiall troupes on this ſide of the riuer of Danubius) whereinto a number of the Turkes being retired, were there together with the garriſon ſouldiers all ſlaine, and amongſt them diuers men of great account, who but ſome few dayes

Gokara ſurpriſed by the Haiduckes.

Palantwar taken by the Imperials.

before we come thither. Which fortreſſe the Captaine cauſed to be forthwith raſed, becauſe it ſhould no more ſtand the Turks in ſtead for the annoying of the Chriſtians.

Vacia moſt ſhamefully by the Haiducks betrayed, and deliuered vnto the Turkes.

The Turks about this time had a purpoſe to beſiege Vacia, a city not far from Vicegrade on the other ſide of Danubius, a place which ſtill did them great harme, and ſtood the Chriſtians in great ſtead. The garriſon of which place was part Germans, and part Hungarians, as the reſt of all the garriſons in the Imperial townes of Hungarie were. Of which the Turks purpoſe for the ſiege, the trecherous Haiducks there in garriſon hauing got vnderſtanding, conſpired to deliuer vnto them the place; and yet not ſo contented, to joyne thereunto a treaſon more bloudie and trecherous than was the betraying of the towne: for finding themſelues by farre too ſtrong for the Germans in garriſon in the towne with them, they fell vpon them, fearing no ſuch matter, and ſlew moſt part of them, the reſt ſauing themſelues by ſpeedie flight to Strigonium: and ſo afterward, according to their former pretended treaſon, deliuered the towne vnto the Turks, joyning with them and the Tartars, and directing them for the more eaſie ſpoiling of the Chriſtians and the countrey thereabout.

Strigonium in vaine attempted to haue bin ſurpriſed by the Turkes and the Haiducks.

The taking of this citie of Vacia had in ſhort time called together great numbers of the Turks and Tartars out of all places of the realme; who together with the Haiduckes made a great and puiſſant armie, to the terror of the Chriſtians, not then able to hold the field againſt them, and the encouraging of the Turks, thus holpen euen by the Chriſtians themſelues, to the deſtroying of one another. With this army they turned from Vacia to Gokara, with a purpoſe from thence to haue paſſed ouer the Danubius vpon the yce, and to haue ſurpriſed Strigonium. Which exploit they had once before attempted againſt the baſe towne, being then by the Chriſtians repulſed and beaten backe with their great and ſmall ſhot out of the towne, as now they were againe. Howbeit that ſeeing the number of their enemies dayly more and more to encreaſe, they in Strigonium ſtood more in doubt of a ſecond ſiege, than they had done of the firſt, whereof we haue before ſpoken.

The report of theſe ſo great troubles, and of the general reuolt of the diſcontented Haiducks in Hungarie, much troubled and grieued the Chriſtian Emperor: Who both in reſpect of his honour, and of the ſafetie of his eſtate, raiſed what power he might out of his prouinces thereabout, and leuied great ſummes of money from his ſubiects, taking a ducket vpon euery houſe in Auſtria, being then in great feare of theſe miſeries and miſchiefes ſo faſt ſpreading, and ſtill more and more encreaſing and approching that way. Vnto whoſe forces alreadie on foot, had the aid promiſed from the King of Spaine, the Pope, the Princes of Italy and Germanie, with ſix thouſand footmen and two thouſand horſe out of Bohemia, been in time joyned, they might haue made a ſufficient armie vnder the conduct of *Baſta* the Emperors Lieutent, to haue repreſſed both the attempts of the enemie, and the inſolencie of the rebellious Haiducks. All or moſt part of which aid this yeare failing, and *Baſta* with his ſmall forces much weakened with wants and the extremitie of Winter, and not able to keepe the field, the enemies ſtill encreaſing both in number and in ſtrength, and without feare of any to encounter them, at their pleaſure roaming vp and downe, began now to draw neere vnto Vicegrade (a good and ſtrong towne of Hungarie ſtanding vpon the ſide of Danubius, about the mid way betwixt Buda and Strigonium) with a purpoſe to haue beſieged the ſame. Of whoſe comming the Germans there in garriſon hearing, and warned by the trecherie of the Haiducks of Vacia, what to feare from the Haiducks in garriſon with them in Vicegrade, betime retyred themſelues out of the towne into the caſtle. In which doing they were well aduiſed, being otherwiſe like enough to haue run the ſame fortune that the Germanes their fellowes before had done at Vacia. For the Turks with the rebellious Haiducks were no ſooner come thither, but that the Haiducks in the towne, without more ado, opened the gates of the towne vnto them, as vnto their friends; directing them in beſt ſort they could both for the beſieging and winning of the caſtle. Which while the Turks hardly beſieged, and the Germans therein notably defended, *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa, together with *Begedes Baſſa*, to perſuade them to yeeld vp the caſtle, writ vnto them in this ſort.

The towne of Vicegrade by the Haiducks yeelded vnto the Turks.

The Letters of Haſſan the Viſier, and of Begedes Baſſa, vnto the German ſouldiers beſieged in the caſtle

Right worthie and valiant friends, it is not to you vnknowne, the Caſtle of Vicegrade of right to belong vnto our moſt mightie and dread Soueraigne, the Great Sultan. And therefore ſeeing that it is reaſon that euerie man ſhould haue that which of right belongeth vnto him; We aduertiſe and re-

quest you to yeeld vp the ſame Caſtle vnto our moſt mightie Emperour, and the honourable Lord Stephen Botſcay, *Prince of Hungarie; and with all your ſubſtance to depart thence. Promiſing you vpon our faith and honour, to ſuffer you quietly and in ſafetie with your wiues and children, bag and baggage, to depart thence; and to prouide you ſufficient ſhipping for the carrying away of your things to Strigonium. And if it ſhall pleaſe you to take part with vs, wee promiſe you the ſame pay from our Emperour, that you had from your owne; and the ſame kinde entertainement which the Wallons haue before had with vs. But if that you vpon an obſtinate reſolution ſhall refuſe this our friendly motion and grace offered you, blame vs not, if we ſhall by ſtrong hand and force of armes ſeeke to obtaine our right. In kindeneſſe we offer you our friendſhip, and ſo with ſpeed expect your anſwer.*

But the Germanes hearkening not vnto theſe letters, as men reſolued, valiantly ſtood vpon the defence of themſelues, and of the place, vntill that by extreame neceſſity forced thereunto, they yeelded the ſame by compoſition.

Baſta in the meane time with his forces much diminiſhed, lying at Eperia, and in the countrey thereabout, ſeeing the generall reuolt of the Haiducks, of late the Emperours greateſt ſtrength in Hungarie, and *Botſcay* the Rebels ſtrength dayly to encreaſe more and more, with no poſſibility for himſelf with ſuch ſmal forces as he then had, to repreſſe the Rebels inſolency, or to remedie theſe ſo far ſpreading euils, but for want of greater ſtrength he muſt lie ſtil as it were a man beſieged, was therewith exceedingly grieued, and as it were almoſt ouerwhelmed with the heauie burthen of ſo many great miſeries at once beſetting him. To threaten without power hee knew to be but folly; and to ſpeake faire, to be but vaine. Neuertheleſſe hauing procured from the Emperour a generall pardon for all ſuch as hauing taken part with the Rebels, were willing to returne againe to their alleageance: hee to aſſure all them whom it might concerne, of the Emperours gracious fauour, and to put them all out of feare, cauſed letters of generall pardon to bee publiſhed, for all men to take knowledge of: the purport whereof was this.

Baſta perplexed publiſheth a generall pardon vnto the rebels.

Wee George Baſta *Countie of Huſt and Marmar, Lord of Sult, Knight, Counſellour to his Imperiall Maieſtie, Gouernour of the Realme of Tranſyluania, and Lieutenant of the Chriſtian armies of the Emperour, to all Faithfull, loue and greeting. Whereas in this ſo troubleſome a ſtate of things, ſome as well of the Nobilitie as others, in theſe vpper parts of Hungarie, partly of their owne accord, and partly for feare, haue reuolted from his Imperiall Maieſtie, and taken part with the traiterous Haiduckes in their rebellion, to the great preiudice of the Emperour his ſeruice, and the ſtaining of their faith: Wee in the name of his Imperiall and Royall Maieſtie, whome we know to be greatly enclined, and readie to pardon his ſubiects euen of his owne naturall goodneſſe and clementie, haue by vertue of the full power and authoritie, by his ſaid Imperiall Maieſtie granted vnto vs, giuen free grace and pardon to all them which haue withdrawne themſelues from his obeiſance, or forſaken the ſame, of what order, qualitie, or condition ſoeuer they be, whome wee will receiue into our protection, as void of all crime: and requeſt them, as much as in vs is poſsible, to make their profit of this grace, and to returne vnto their former duty and obeyſance, vnder all aſſurance of impunitie for their forepaſſed faults; and without any ſearch or inquirie to be of the ſame hereafter made, as well for matters of religion, as of State: aſſuring them of their liues, goods, fortunes, dignities, franchiſes, priuiledges, and immunities whatſoeuer, as is more at large declared by his Maieſties letters patents which remaine with vs. And if any letted either with their vrgent affaires, or with ſickneſſe, cannot repaire vnto vs within the day in the ſame letters patents nominated, we will accept of their iuſt excuſes. But if any contrarie to our hope, ſhall vpon any indurat minde, or obſtinat contumacie, faile to repent, and to make their appearance before vs within the day limited, wee denounce them to bee Rebels, ſubiect vnto the paine of rebellion, and ſtained with the note of infamie: pronouncing their liues, their goods, and dignities to be confiſcat and deuolued vnto the Emperour his cofers: for which they ſhall by vs the Chiefetaines, and Captaines of his armies, with all rigour and extreamitie be proſecuted. Proteſting before the Maieſtie of God, before the Maieſtie of the Emperour, and before all Chriſtendome, vs not to be in any ſort culpable of the euills, calamities, and miſeries, which ſhall enſue of the warres and diſaſters which ſuch their rebellion ſhall cauſe: but to be therefrom exempt and acquited, the onely authors of theſe diſorders hauing deſerued theſe imprecations and calamities: vpon the heads of whom wee iuſt-*

The proclamation giuen out by Baſta for the appeaſing of the rebellion in Hungarie.

ly from henceforth lay them, as vpon the miſerable authors thereof, by their wickedneſſe hauing refuſed ſo great grace from the Emperour and vs ; vnto all men made knowne by theſe Preſents.

Baſta his proclamation little regarded.

This Proclamation ſolemnely by *Baſta* publiſhed with the ſound of man y Drummes and Trumpets, the ſixteenth of Ianuarie, and ten dayes libertie giuen for ſuch as would to come in, and againe ſubmit themſelues ; diuers Gentlemen of the Countrey neere vnto Eperia, where *Baſta* with his armie lay, for feare of being ſpoiled came in,and accepted of the grace offered : other of the ſeditious,dwelling farther off,little or nothing at all regarding the ſame. Inſomuch, that the Rebels in number daily increaſing, and the rebellion ſtill farther and farther ſpreading, *Botſcay* was now growne ſo ſtrong, that hee diſmiſſed from him moſt part of the Turkes, whoſe ſeruice hee had in all theſe troubles hitherto vſed ; reſeruing yet certaine Ianizaries, whome he mingled with the garriſon of Haiduckes, which he had put into Caſſouia.

Pallas Lippa Botſcoy his lieutenant by his commandement beheaded.

Pallas Lippa before by *Botſcay* taken priſoner, and vpon his reuolt from the Emperour,by *Botſcay* made his Lieutenant Generall, and a great man amongſt the Rebels (as is before declared) was now of many thought to be a moſt fortunat and happie man. But in the middeſt of ſuch his happineſſe,and the greatneſſe of his command, he was by the malice of ſome, enuying at his eſtate, accuſed to *Botſcay*, as if he had had a purpoſe to haue made him away ; and deliuering the ſtrong citie of Caſſouia vnto *Baſta*, to haue gone ouer againe vnto the Emperor,and to haue followed his Enſignes. Vpon which ſuſpition he was by the commandement of *Botſcay* beheaded, with fiue other men moe, of good place, ſuſpected to haue beene partakers of the conſpiracie with *Lippa*.In whoſe treaſure,after that he was executed,were found an hundred thouſand Hungarian duckats,with ſeuen hundred chains of gold;all which he had ſcraped together in that ſmall time wherein he had been *Botſcay* his Lieutenant amongſt the Rebels. With which mony *Botſcay* in his rebellion confirmed,became therein more obſtinat and furious than before ; not admitting any talke with *Baſta*,concerning peace, but vpon ſuch vnreaſonable conditions, as beſt ſtood with his owne good liking.

The caſtle of Sacmar yeelded to the Haiducks

Tokay in vaine attempted to haue beene ſurpriſed by the Haiduckes.

Now long and tedious it were to proſecute euery particular exploit, with the diuers wofull euents thereof, during this ſo great and dangerous a rebellion in Hungarie ; which how heauie ſo euer they were for the poore Chriſtians there dwelling, to endure, as tending all to the ruine and deſtruction both of themſelues and of their Countrey (ſometime one of the moſt flouriſhing Kingdomes of Chriſtendome, but now become as it were a large Theatre, for all the World to behold moſt wofull tragedies, and bloudie maſſacres acted in) yet for all that vnto ſome nothing is pleaſing, but what is written of the greateſt actions ; as of great and bloudie battels,of the conqueſts of whole Kingdomes,and the ruine of moſt mightie and famous Princes ; all other things elſe being vnto them tedious. In ſome part to eaſe them of ſuch wearineſſe,and to pleaſe their appetites, I will briefly paſſe ouer,and euen lightly touch ſuch things as for the moſt part of this yere paſſed in this troubleſome country, not ſtaying but vpon matters of greateſt weight and importance. The Haiduckes ſtill proceeding in their rebellion,in the beginning of Februarie beſieged the Caſtle of Sacmar,a place verie fit for their purpoſe : which Caſtle the ſouldiers there in gtrriſon doubting to be able to hold againſt them (being not paſt threeſcore ſound men left in it) and deſtitute alſo of their neceſſarie prouiſion, couenanting to haue their liues ſpared, at length yeelded vnto them. But in going thence, meeting with certaine other companies of Haiduckes neere vnto Tokay, they were by them moſt part of them ſlaine, ſome few of them by ſpeedie flight eſcaping. The ſame Haiduckes which had taken Sacmar, immediatly after attempted to haue ſurpriſed the towne and caſtle of Tokay alſo : But the Gouernour of the place in good time aduertiſed of their intent and purpoſe, cauſed the yce wherewith the riuer was hard froſen, to be broken fortie paces ouer,neere vnto the caſtle, and the ſame to be lightly couered ouer with ſtraw. Whither the Haiducks comming by night, and finding the yce on the other ſide, the riuer, whereunto they firſt came, ſtrong enough to beare them, by heapes thruſting one another forward,to haue ſcaled the caſtle, the yce breaking vnder them, they there together by heapes moſt miſerably periſhed, many of the reſt which eſcaped that danger, being with ſhot out of the caſtle ſlaine alſo. In this caſtle was no great ſtore of victuals : whereof *Baſta* vnderſtanding,with his armie marched from Eperia toward Bodac, a towne holden by the

Rebels, in hope with the ſpoile thereof to haue relieued Tokay. But the Rebels hearing of his comming, hauing themſelues burnt the town, had got themſelues with that they had, into the caſtle, and from thence with their great ordnance ſo welcomed *Baſta* at his comming, that diſappointed of his purpoſe, and hauing loſt ſome of his men, he was glad with all ſpeed (not hauing ſtayed aboue foure houres) to returne againe to Eperia: certaine of the nobilitie of that country, which tooke part with the Rebels, being reported, in his abſence, to haue made a road towards Eperia, to the endangering of that citie. In which his return towards Eperia, the troups of Countie *Turon*, and of *Charles Collonitz*, by chance lighting vpon 500 Haiducks in a country village, ſet the ſame on fire, and therein burnt moſt of the ſaid Rebels, and ſlew the reſt of them that remained, in ſeeking by flight to haue ſaued themſelues.

The Turkes with money maintaine the rebellion in Hungarie.

In the meane time one of the great men amongſt the Turkes came to Caſſouia, bringing with him a great ſum of money, which being diuided amongſt the Rebels there, much confirmed them, both in their rebellion, and deuotion toward the Turks; which rebellion they ſpared not for any coſt by all meanes to maintaine, as more preuailing thereby, than by the greateſt forces they could vſe for the conquering of Hungarie.

Baſta his ſoldiers in mutinie for their pay.

But *Baſta* was no ſooner with his army returned againe to Eperia, but that the ſouldiers generally exclaiming, and calling vpon him for their pay, were about in a mutinie to haue forſaken him. For the appeaſing of which tumult, he was glad preſently to make what ſhift he could for money, wherewith hee in ſome meaſure gaue them contentment, and ſo with much adoe, agreed with them for ſix weekes ſeruice longer: thereby deliuering the citiſens of Eperia from a great feare, wherein they were, for being ſpoiled by thoſe mutinous ſoldiers, of whom they ſtood in no leſſe doubt than they did of their enemies.

Newſol ſurpriſed by the Haiducks, and again recouered from them.

And now the ſeditious Haiducks after their wonted manner ſtill roaming vp and down the vpper part of Hungarie, the ſecond day of march, about ſeuen of the clocke in the morning came to Newſoll, a faire in that countrey, and there by many reaſons perſuading the citiſens to reuolt, and to take part with them, had parley with them vntill it was full twelue of the clocke; but drawing ſtill neerer and neerer vnto the towne. Inſomuch that *Turbelius* Gouernor of the place, perceiuing a yeelding inclination in the citiſens, and doubting without their helpe to be able to defend ſo great a citie againſt the Haiducks, with ſo weake a garriſon as he then had therein, he with his Coſſackes, for his more ſafetie retired himſelfe into the Caſtle. Which done, the Haiduckes forthwith breaking into the citie with ſix companies, ſummoned the caſtle, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto them. Of whom *Turbelius* ſlew diuers with ſhot out of the Caſtle: and the ſame day in the euening couragiouſly ſallying out of the Caſtle, with certaine companies of harquebuſiers, draue the Haiducks againe out of the Citie; which he afterward better fortified againſt their like attempts. And the next day vnderſtanding by a countreyman, That certaine companies of Haiduckes and Turkes together, were comming to Turtzo, a town not far off, carrying with with them a great number of cattel, women and children, which they had got out of the countrey townes and villages thereabout: hee preſently ſent forth his Lieutenant againſt them, with his Coſſackes (a deſperat kinde of horſemen) who meeting with theſe Haiducks and Turks, ſlew of them about 150, and recouered from them all the captiues, the cattell, with 200 horſes, and a mule loaded with 4000 Hungarian duckats.

Filek yeelded vnto the Haiducks.

Now had Filek (a moſt beautifull caſtle, and as it were the key of that part of the vpper Hungarie, which the Chriſtian Emperour yet held againſt the Turkes) for certaine moneths been hardly beſieged by the Haiduckes: which although it was ſo well ſtored with victuals, and other neceſſarie prouiſion, as that it might haue holden out three months longer ſiege, yet the ſouldiers there in garriſon, for want of water were enforced now at length to yeeld the ſame. For the keeping of which caſtle *Redeius Ferentſius*, captaine of the Haiducks which had woon it, placed therein a garriſon, part Haiducks, part Turks: as not daring to truſt either of them alone; the Haiducks for feare of their trecherie; nor the Turks, for that he knew them to be deſirous of the place, for the commodious ſcituation thereof, as giuing them a way to enter farther into the territories of the Chriſtians: which *Redeius*, though a Rebell, would not yet in any ſort grant them.

This caſtle of Filek ſo (as is before ſaid) beſieged, the valiant *Collonitz* had oftentimes in vaine ſought to haue relieued; all the waies being ſo beſet, and as it were, fortified with the infinit number of the Turks, Tartars, and Rebels, as that there was no comming vnto it: and moſt part of his owne ſouldiers being Haiducks alſo, to whom he durſt not well truſt, for feare of being betraied by them. Concerning which matters, he ſhortly after writing to a certaine nobleman, after that he had ſhewed vnto him, That he deſired nothing more of the Emperor, than to be diſcharged of his ſeruice, he thus breaketh forth.

The letters of Collonitz to a certaine nobleman, concerning the troubles raiſed by the Rebels in Hungarie.

I cannot (ſaith hee) *any more performe faithfull ſeruice vnto the Emperour: for being attended vpon with verie traitours, I am enforced to hazard euen mine honeſt reputation. I would willingly ſerue with Germane horſemen; and I could alſo wiſh, three thouſand Coſſackes, and two thouſand Polonian Huſſars to bee againe raiſed, who would doe notable ſeruice in purſuing of the enemie: but euerie moneth they muſt needes haue their wages payed them. The number of the enemie encreaſeth daylie; and their ſtrength ſtill more and more: ſo that things cannot be in worſe ſtate than now they are. All deuices are directed to the hurt of the Emperour: neither is there any place quiet. What courage am I of, which haue loſt all my wealth and ſubſtance, is eaſie for any man to iudge: all which, for all that, I could conceale, and diſſemble, ſo that I might faithfully, and according to my deſire, ſerue the Emperour: which for all that is not poſſible for mee to doe without a ſufficient ſtrength of Germane ſouldiers. But this of all doth moſt comfort mee, for that I know mee to haue done my duetie: for otherwiſe this miſchiefe had ſpread farther. Many were in hope that I would rather haue reuolted from the Emperor, than haue loſt my goods: and ſome there were which doubted not to ſay ſo of mee. The enemies are now in my Dukedome of Cleue, and there made ſpoile of all. Setchin, Iarmeta, Tregla, Palanka, Samoſchin, Blauenſtein, Rabenſtein, Vacia, Regiomont, Dillena, Pugantſa, Tabra, Libetna, Sitna, Dibina, Sacmaria, Sendra, Onoth, Diſgiora, Zatnar, Calo, Scharoſpotac, Budnoc, Nagibana, Filek, and almoſt all Tranſyluania, are now ſubiect to the Rebels: So that what will enſue thereof, except they ſpeedily bee confronted, euerie man may right eaſily gueſſe.*

Strong townes and places by the Turkes and rebels taken in the vpper Hungarie.

Now if *Collonitz* one of the greateſt and beſt Commaunders of the Emperours forces againſt the Turkes in Hungarie, was thus beſet, and ſpoyled of his ſubſtance, by the rebels, as he in theſe his letters complayneth, and as indeed he was, hauing at one time receiued from them ſo great harme, as was deemed to haue amounted to an hundred thouſand Duckats; and not daring to truſt his owne Hungarian ſouldiers, whoſe hearts hee knew to be with the Rebels: In what ſtate may the reſt of the people of that diſtreſſed Prouince, be thought to haue beene, beeing at the ſame time expoſed vnto the ſame Rebels as a prey and ſpoyle, and their countrey layed open for the Turkes and Tartars to forrage and ouerrunne at their pleaſure.

Wiglaſe in vain attempted to haue been ſurpriſed by the Haiduckes.

But in briefe, to run along with the Haiduckes, foure thouſand of them attempting to haue ſurpriſed Wiglaſe, were ſo from thence repulſed, as that many of them being there ſlaine, fiue and thirtie wagons were ſcarce ſufficient to carry the reſt of the wounded ouer the mountains, of whom an hundred died by the way. But going from thence, they brake into *Turſon* his countrey: where they hauing rifled all the townes and villages, commanded all the States of the countrey, within three daies next after, to ſubmit themſelues to *Botſcay*, and to ſweare vnto him fealty; or otherwiſe to expect all extremities: who with feare diſmaied, all promiſed to ſubmit themſelues vnto *Redeius*, *Botſcay* his Lieutenant.

Botſcay refuſeth to receiue the Emperours Embaſſadours.

Now for remedie of theſe euils, *Napragius* and *Forgatius*, two graue counſellors, were ſent in the Emperours name, to entreat of peace with *Botſcay*: who the ſeuen and twentieth of March departing from Eperia, with foureſcore harquebuſiers towards Caſſouia, before they came thither, ſent before them an herauld, to aduertiſe *Botſcay* of their comming. Which meſſenger, ſo ſoone as hee was come into Caſſouia, the Turkes ſo ſtraitly kept, as that no man might ſpeake with him but *Botſcay* himſelfe; and not he alſo, but in open place, and that in the hearing of the Turkes. Who at his firſt meeting with him, told him, That if the Embaſſadours from whome he came, were ſent from the Nobilitie and States of Hungarie, they ſhould bee right welcome vnto him, and haue audience: but if they came from the Emperour, as had *Rogatſius* and *Ciaccius* before ſent from *Baſta*, they ſhould then ſpare their labour, and come no farther: for that all matters had with him beene often enough talked vpon; it beeing now more than time, that things ſo often conſulted vpon, ſhould bee no more talked of, but indeed performed. Which meſſenger returning vnto the Embaſſadours, told them what *Botſcay* had ſaid, and that the Haiducks had in Caſſouia built a bulwarke of a wonderfull height, beſet the gates with ſtrong guards, and ſo filled the trenches with ſouldiours, that a man could hardly enter into the citie; howbeit that euery man might ſafely come and go thither about his trade and buſineſſe. He told them alſo, how that *Botſcay* his Lieutenant had called together all the gouernors of the places thereabout, and aduiſed them for the ſpace of fourteene dayes to beware of the excurſions of the Haiducks, and in the mean time, for their more ſafetie, to bring their wiues and children, with ſuch other things as they made moſt reckoning of, into the citie, for that he could not as yet (as he ſaid) repreſſe the vnruly and headſtrong Haiducks, being yet in their rage and furie, as the manner of the diſcontented multitude is. Of which Haiducks, ſome going forth toward Newhuſe, and bringing home a great booty of cattell, were by *Collonitz* and *Trautmanſtorf*, purſuing them with their horſemen, ouerthrowne, and all the bootie againe recouered.

Botſcay about this time, *viz.* the nine and twentieth day of March, ſummoned all the Nobilitie and States of Hungary vnto an aſſemblie to be holden at Serentium the ſeuenteenth day of Aprill, writing vnto them in this ſort:

Botſcay his letters to the Nobilitie & ſtates of Hungarie, to call them together to Serents.

You know (ſaid he) *right worthie and valiant men, into what extreame miſeries our afflicted countrey (all the antient priuiledges and immunities thereof being contemned and troden vnder foot) is by the comming in of ſtrangers brought: whoſe inſolencie is gone ſo farre, that we cannot only not quietly poſſeſſe our owne goods, but ſo much as enioy the libertie of our owne conſciences. For which cauſe the Nobilitie of the whole kingdome being the laſt yeare ſent in embaſſie, and as it were foreſeeing what was to come; the aſſemblie of the Empire being ended, openly proteſted before the whole Imperial Dyet, and by their letters oftentimes declared, that they ſhould of neceſſitie be at length enforced to take vpon themſelues the defence of their priuiledges and of their Religion: by which their proteſtation for all that, they ſo little preuailed, that forthwith after, ſuch an intollerable Edict was by the Emperours commandement publiſhed, as had expoſed vs all and euery one of vs to moſt certaine death, had we not betime prouided for our ſelues. All which things are vnto you all moſt certainly knowne, both by the vnlawfull Acts themſelues, and the whole proceeding of the Prouoſt General. All which things conſidered, you met together at Galeſt, and from thence againe openly ſignified vnto the aforeſaid Prouoſt General (vnto whom his Imperial Maieſtie had committed the ſhedding of our bloud, the aboliſhing of our priuiledges and Religion,* viz. *the execution of this cruel Edict) that if he proceeded to go forward in that buſineſſe, you would put into execution what you had before publiquely proteſted, in the general aſſemblie of the whole Empire at Presburg. But what anſwer you receiued from him, foraſmuch as it is not vnto any of you vnknowne, it is not needfull here to rehearſe. Wherefore when as he going about the execution of the aforeſaid Edict, did in forcible manner with certaine pieces of great ordnance impugne the Armie of his Imperial Majeſtie, both in his and our dread Lord and Soueraigne, and by force tooke from vs ſome of our caſtles, and beſieged ſome others; we found no other remedie againſt theſe ſo great euils, but that which God himſelfe euen then ſhewed vnto vs, which was, by force of armes to defend our ſelues ſo far as we might. In which our purpoſe ſeeing that the grace of God, and the good ſucceſſe which we haue hitherto had, will vs to continue, although we haue ſuffered no little harme from the Germanes and Haiducks (which for all that, is for the recouerie of the libertie of our countrey, patiently to be borne) to the intent that we vnited with other our brethren through Hungarie, may the better withſtand our enemies, and fight againſt them; it is moſt neceſſarie that we ſhould meet together, and all matters ſet apart, enter into conſultation, how hereafter to reſiſt our enemies, and ſet our countrey in peace and quietneſſe. Wherefore ſeeing that we haue determined to hold an aſſemblie at Serents the 17 day of Aprill, wee by theſe Preſents warn and requeſt you al, there at the aforeſaid 17 day of April to make your perſonal appearance, to ioyn in amity with vs, and after Gods name called vpo, to conſult and conclude vpon ſuch things as may be both acceptable and pleaſing vnto God, and moſt profitable and neceſſarie for the good of our afflicted countrey in general. But if there ſhall be any which vpon a preſumptuous or careleſſe contempt ſhall not at the time appointed come, nor ſeeme to regard ſuch things as ſo much concerne the common good and welfare of their natiue Countrey; let them aſſuredly know, both themſelues to be therefore to be accounted for enemies vnto their Countrey, and their goods alſo ſo to be diſpoſed of, as ſhall vnto the Nobilitie and States then and there aſſembled, be thought meet and conuenient.*

A great tumult and fire in Conſtantinople.

Much about this time a great tumult was raiſed amongſt the Ianizaries and other ſouldiers of the Court at Conſtantinople, at which time a great fire aroſe alſo in the Citie (as oft times the like hath before done through the inſolencie of the Ianizaries, who in ſuch confuſion of mens mindes vſe to make their owne gaines) wherein many both men and women periſhed, with aboue fiue hundred ſhops and ware-houſes full of rich merchandiſe, moſt part whereof belonged vnto the Iewes; of whom almoſt two hundred are ſaid to haue bin there burnt: the deformitie and ſpoile made by which fire in the citie, remaining euen yet to be ſeene. Theſe troubles brought a great feare vpon the young Sultan, who firſt therewith halfe diſmaied, and ſeeing the like to ariſe in Pera alſo on the other ſide of the hauen, about a mile off from the Seraglio, could not otherwiſe thinke, but that the ſouldiours were about ſome dangerous treaſon. Which ſuſpition two meſſengers but a little before come from *Cicala Baſſa*, encreaſed; who by the ſame meſſengers deſired new ſupplies to be forthwith ſent vnto him; proteſting, that for as much as he had not long before, in a great battell loſt a number of his men, if he were not with new ſupplies ſpeedily relieued, he muſt of force retyre, and leaue all vnto the Perſian. Howbeit the fire quenched, and the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers with the ſpoile they had of the loſſes of others gotten, ſatisfied, the tumult was without much ado againe quieted.

The Emperours ſoldiers in mutinie for their pay, threaten their Generall, and ſpoyle the Countrey betwixt Eperia and Preſburg.

Now beſide the aforeſaid troubles from the Rebels in Tranſyluania and the vpper Hungarie, that nothing might be wanting vnto the miſerie of thoſe ſo miſerable Countries, the Emperors ſouldiers which ſerued vnder *Baſta*, hauing of long from day to day in vaine expected their pay, and ſeeing neither pay nor other reliefe to come vnto them, roſe vp in mutinie, and ſo in a great rage brake into *Baſta* the Generall his lodging, where hauing heaped vpon him many vnworthie and deſpightfull reproches, with their Pieces bent againſt him, and taking the ſpoyle of certain carriages loded with many rich commodities, they departed from him, and ſo marching thorow the countrey toward Preſburg, by the way vſed ſuch inſolencie and crueltie, by rifling and ſpoiling whatſoeuer came in their way, as that they ſeemed vnto the people as they went, worſe and more inhumane than the very Turks and Tartars themſelues: where amongſt other the prey by them taken, which were verie great, they carried away with them toward Preſburg aboue ten thouſand oxen and two thouſand horſes; threatening by the way as they went, to burne the ſuburbs of the citie ſo ſoon as they came thither, if they were not forthwith payed their pay: whereupon many of the Citiſens for feare forſooke their dwellings, and remooued to Vienna.

Newſoll taken by the Haiduks

But the Rebels on the other ſide hauing (as is before declared) in vaine attempted to haue taken Newſoll, being forthwith driuen out of it againe, aſſembling themſelues in great number, came now againe and beſieged it, and the ſixteenth day of Aprill tooke it, to the great and incomparable loſſe of the citiſens: other of their fellowes in other places hauing but the day before taken Cibinium, Portfeld, Schemnitſe, with ſome other places alſo.

The miſerable eſtate of Hungary through ciuil diſcord.

Thus while the Haiduckes at their pleaſure on the one ſide ſpoile the vpper part of Hungarie, and the Emperours ſouldiers on the other ſide for want of pay do therein no leſſe harme than they, as enemies rifling and ranſacking euery corner of the countrey as they went, the poore husbandmen dwelling here and there, diſperſed abroad in the countrey, for feare leauing their homely dwellings with ſuch things as they had, fled ſome of them into Polonia, other ſome into the mountaines, where many of them periſhed with hunger; the poore husbandman not daring now to go forth to till his land, neither the ſheepheard to feed his flocke, all places being filled with miſerie, mourning, and heauineſſe; the Turkes and Tartars, the common enemies of the Chriſtians, being not the cauſers thereof, but euen the Chriſtians themſelues, one of them euen with greedineſſe ſeeking the ruine and deſtruction of another; as commonly it falleth out in kingdomes and States diuided.

Morauia ſpoyled by the rebel Bous Haiduks.

Neither did theſe ſo great troubles, the ground of ſo many miſeries, containe themſelues within the bounds of Hungarie onely, but brake out into other countries and prouinces thereunto adjoyning alſo; but eſpecially into Morauia, into which Countrey the Haiduckes breaking, miſerably ſpoyled the ſame, by force tooke certaine townes, which they robbed and rifled, carrying away with them euen the verie little children, taken from their heauie parents, to be ſould afterwards vnto the Turks: a miſerable kind of merchandiſe, and of all Chriſtians to be deteſted. For remedie of which miſchiefes, by ſufferance ſtill more and more encreaſing, *Lichtenſtein* Gouernor of the country hauing raiſed all the power that he was able for to make, went againſt them, and with much ado at length draue them out of the countrey, with fire and ſword now by them moſt grieuouſly ſpoiled: they for all that carrying away with them a great part of the wealth of that countrey, with foure thouſand captiues, all by them appointed vnto the Turks ſlauerie.

About this time alſo *Baſta* lying at Presburg, and vnderſtanding that fourteene thouſand Turks and Tartars being come to S. *Georges*, ſix thouſand of them were gon ouer the Danubius, about a mile beneath Presburg, to the end that whileſt they were making a road into Auſtria, the reſt in the meane time might proue their forces vpon Presburg; with his horſemen followed after them himſelfe, to cut off ſuch ſtragling companies of them, as otherwiſe might haue done great harme abroad in the countrey, leauing behinde him in Presburg but three hundred Wallon horſemen, with certaine companies of footmen for the keeping of the citie. Which three hundred horſemen being verie good and expert ſouldiers, and deſirous to be doing ſomething, by night made a road out of the citie, toward S. *Georges*, where the reſt of the Haiducks and Turks in great ſecuritie lay; vpon whom theſe reſolute men vpon the ſudden falling, brought a great feare vpon the whole campe, and hauing ſlaine of them aboue fiue hundred before the reſt could arme themſelues, returned with a great victorie, though but with ſmall prey, carrying with them ſome few horſes of ſeruice to Presburg: where by that they had done it was reaſonably thought, that had they been but a thouſand ſtrong, they had diſcomfited the enemies whole campe.

A notable exploit by a few performed.

In the meane time they of the garriſon of Comora vnderſtanding that *Begedes Baſſa* was determined with a notable conuoy to go from Buda with ſeuenteene waggons loaded with money and other things of great value, to *Botſcay* the Rebell and the Tartar Cham his ſonne, who with certaine thouſands of Tartars was come to Solnok, to the aid of *Botſcay* and the Rebels: they in hope of ſo great a bootie lay in wait for him vpon the way whereby hee muſt needs paſſe, and at his comming ſet vpon him, and ſlew a number of his men; amongſt whom it fortuned the Baſſa himſelfe to be ſlaine, ſhot in the breaſt with a ſmall ſhot whileſt hee was mounting vp his horſe: whoſe dead bodie the Turks about him hauing taken vp, and therewith about to flee, were there ſome of them ſlaine, and ſome of them taken priſoners, the reſt by ſpeedie flight eſcaping. Here were alſo all the aforeſaid waggons taken, with an exceeding rich bootie; all which the garriſon ſouldiers, well worthie thereof, carried away with them to Comora, together with the Baſſa's head, ſtrucke from his bodie with his owne ſcimitar: which ſcimitar, with the Baſſa's rich coat, *Pogranus* the gouernor of Comora afterward ſent as a Preſent to the Emperor at Prague. This Baſſa while he liued was a moſt craftie and ſubtil man, the chiefe plotter and author of all the late troubles in Hungary, hauing before put all Tranſyluania into moſt dangerous ſtirs and tumults, & greatly confirmed *Botſcay* in his rebellion: he ſpake the Hungarian language naturally, and was therein verie eloquent, which ſerued him to great purpoſe both for the raiſing and maintaining of the rebellion both in Tranſyluania and in Hungarie. Which ſo dangerous a man taken out of the way, many were in good hope of ſome good end to be made of theſe ciuile warres, more dangerous vnto the ſtate of both theſe afflicted Countreys, than were the great and puiſſant armies of the Turks, which were almoſt euerie yeare in the heart of the one or of the other of them to bee ſeene.

Begedes Baſſa ſlaine.

Now was the rebellion growne ſo great in Hungarie, and the Rebels ſo ſtrong, that euen the verie name of the Germans was become vnto the Hungarians both odious and contemptible: inſomuch that *Baſta* offering to haue put new ſupplies of German ſouldiors into the Citie of Tyrna, then in danger of the Haiducks; the Gouernours of the place not onely refuſed to receiue them, but alſo to let them haue any thing of them for their readie money, ſaying, That they had Citiſens ynow in the Citie to defend the ſame againſt their enemies, and that therefore as they needed not of the helpe of the Germanes, ſo they would haue nothing to do with them. And yet as ſoone as *Redeius*, *Botſcay* his Lieutenant, was with his Armie come thither, they without more ado opened vnto him the gates of the citie, and receiuing him in, were about to haue ſlaine all the Germanes there dwelling amongſt them, being well neere a third part of the Inhabitants; and had ſo done, but that ſome wiſer than the reſt, conſidering

The name of the Germanes odious vnto the Hungarians.

The Germans in Tyrna conſtrained to weare garmēts like to the Hungarians.

that the Germans hauing there long dwelt, were by often marriages joyned in affinitie with the Hungarians, and the Hungarians with them, otherwiſe perſuaded them, leſt in ſo doing they might ſeeme to be cruell againſt their owne bloud. And ſo the matter being referred to *Redeius* himſelfe, it was by him (by the counſel of one of the greateſt men of the Turks) ordered, That the Germans ſhould be ſpared their liues, ſo that from thenceforth they ſhould no more vſe the German but the Hungarian apparell and attire; onely the German attyre being taken away for the Germans themſelues.

Great townes taken and rifled by the rebels in Hungarie.

But to proceed with theſe troubles according to the courſe of the time and of the yeare, about the twentie fourth of May the Turkes and Tartars joyning their forces with the Rebels, burnt fourteene countrey villages about the lake of Neuſidier, and as many moe in other places alſo towards Neuſtat, leauing behinde them moſt lamentable remembrances and teſtimonies of their barbarous and inhumane crueltie, hauing put moſt of the women and children to the ſword, and impaled diuers vpon ſtakes, carrying the men away with them as captiues, and the beaſts and cattell as a prey; and ſo leauing the countrey as they went almoſt deſolate, ſcarce any being therein left to bewaile the miſeries thereof. And about the end of this ſame moneth the rebels ſurpriſed Simega, Grotta, and Coppernacum, and a little while after, Ginſium: all which places they rifled and ſpoyled, as they did alſo Hogengoa, a great towne of the Lord *Lichtenſteins*; and Niderſprunga a Towne of *Collonitzes*, which they firſt rifled, and afterward burnt: and with the terrour of this their dealing enforced all the Countrey thereabout both farre neere to yeeld vnto them; onely Altſoll and Chremnicz, who continued in their loyaltie, and ſtanding faſt for the Emperour, did the Rebels much harme.

The Haiduckes and Turkes ouerthrowne at Presburg by the Wallons.

About the beginning of Iune certaine companies of Turkes and Haiduckes mingled together, came againe, as they had before done, to Presburg: Of whoſe comming the Gouernor of the citie hauing aduertiſement, with three troupes of Wallon horſemen, and certaine companies of harquebuſiers, breaking out of the Citie, cauſed them forthwith to retyre: which the Wallon horſemen ſeeing, to preuent them in their retreat, fetching a compaſſe about, met with them when they thought themſelues paſt all danger, and falling vpon them, ſlew of them fiue hundred, and draue the reſt into Danubius; ſo that of all thoſe Turks and Haiducks none eſcaped but onely foureteene, amongſt whom three Turkes and one fugitiue Citiſen of Presburg were found, whom together with a great ſpoyle, the garriſon ſoldiers carried backe with them into the citie.

Veſprinium yeelded vnto the Rebels.

At the ſelfe ſame time the Citiſens of Veſprinium fauouring the proceedings of the Haiduckes, roſe themſelues in rebellion alſo, and taking the Captaine of the caſtle, together with his Lieutenant and the keyes of the Caſtle, cauſed them to be carried to *Redeius*, *Botſcay* his Lieutenant; yeelding themſelues into his protection. Of which reuolt of the citie the Turks tooke exceeding pleaſure, and forthwith ſent newes thereof vnto the Sultan, wiſhing him to haſt the comming of his Armie, for that the paſſages were now layed open vnto his further conqueſt; and further aduiſing him ſtill more and more to encourage *Botſcay* in his rebellion.

Stiria and Auſtria ſpoyled by the Rebels.

And now was Hungarie too little, or els too bare to containe and ſatisfie the ſtill encreaſing Rebels, who in great number breaking into Stiria (as they had before done on the other ſide of Hungarie into Morauia) did therein great harme, waſting and ſpoyling all before them as they went; inſomuch that Countie *Serin*, the Lord *Nadaſti*, and *Budian*, all right worthie men, and ſuch as heretofore had done great things againſt the Turkes, for the Chriſtian Commonweale, ſeeing themſelues and all that they had in danger to be ſpoyled, being themſelues not able to withſtand the Rebels, nor any other ſtay whereon to reſt, ſubmitted themſelues vnto *Botſcay*, as did many other Noblemen of that Countrey alſo. Out of Stiria the Rebels made head into Auſtria, and there roaming vp and downe the Countrey, did like harme.

Thus was the ſtate of Auſtria and Hungarie at this time moſt miſerable, which for that it is ſo well ſet downe in certaine letters by a graue and vnderſtanding Citiſen of Vienna, who was himſelfe an eye-witneſſe of moſt part thereof, as that it cannot well better be expreſſed; I haue thought it good to refer the report thereof vnto the letters themſelues.

The miſerable troubles of Hungarie and Auſtria notably deſcribed by the letters of a citiſen of Vienna.

All Auſtria (ſaith he) *is full of miſerie and calamitie. From out of the Caſtle and Bulwarkes here at Vienna, a man may ſometime at once behold fifteene townes and villages all on fire in the Countrey hereabout, kindled partly by the Rebels and Turkes, and partly by our owne mutinous ſouldiours. Odenburg is yet beſieged, and the Haiducks haue forraged the Countrey as farre Hinberg: whom had not the Regiment of* Collonitz *repreſſed, theſe our ſuburbs of Vienna had now beene taken, ranſacked, and burnt. Neuſtat is on euery ſide beſieged by the Enemie; all the Villages about Vienna, as farre as Dreſkirc are with fire deſtroyed: they of Newſtat went about to haue cut off ſome part of the Enemies Forces, but with euill ſucceſſe, hauing loſt aboue fiftie of their owne men. Brunna and Entzendorfe are alſo with fire conſumed: The Wallons lye incamped at Miedling, moſt miſerably ſpoiling the countrey People of all that they had: The Haiduckes hauing by night ſurpriſed the great Towne of Altenbourg, and from thence carrying a great prey, haue burnt it: The Caſtle had endured the like fortune, had not an hundred Harquebuſiers, that were by chance come thither holpen to defend it. Sixe thouſand of the enemies lie about Viſſelbourg, but whether the Wallons will attempt any thing againſt them or no, it is greatly doubted. Presburg is alſo in great danger; for the Garriſon ſouldiours there doe threaten the cruell ſpoyle of the Citiſens, and all extremities, if by a certaine day they receiue not their Pay: who if they ſhall depart thence, there is no doubt but that the Haiduckes will forthwith ſucceed them in their places. Theſe men indeed doe pretend Religion, but what louers they be thereof, the late example of a Miniſter by them moſt cruelly tormented, not farre from Cobbelſdorfe, doth manifeſtly ſhew. The report is, That the Vayuod of Valachia doth fauour neither part: into which Prouince a great number of Tartars are come in the aid of* Botſcay. *All the Market places and ſtreets heere in this Citie, lie full of poore fugitiue creatures of all ſex and ages; a moſt miſerable ſight to behold. Our owne mutinous ſouldiours beſet all the wayes to the Citie, and exclude vs from all manner of victuall; and not to vſe many words, in crueltie and hoſtilitie almoſt exceed the verie Enemies. The Hungarian Rebels, who of late forraged Auſtria, haue carried away with them aboue eight thouſand head of cattell, which, together with the Priſoners by them taken, they haue ſent into Turkey. The little boyes and children, which cannot by reaſon of their tender yeares goe, they carrie along with them vpon horſes, whoſe pittifull mourning and lamentation might mooue euen the verie ſtones; and yet are they (inhumane men) no whit mooued: yea many of theſe poore ſoules are heere and there by the way found daſhed againſt the ground, with their braines beaten out. And theſe Rebels in their behauiour ſhew ſuch crueltie, as whereat the verie Turkes themſelues were amazed. All things about Iſenſtad are by the Enemies taken and carried away. They of Neuhuſe, beſieged by thirtie thouſand of their Enemies, haue hitherto played the men, and of late repulſed the ſecond aſſault, with much ſlaughter of their Enemies. They ſay, That two thouſand Tartars, as many Rebels, and thirteene thouſand Turks, are to be yet expected to come vnto the Campe at Neuhuſe; who if they ſhall chance to come, it can ſcarce be, that they of Neuhuſe can long well hold out againſt them, eſpecially being not well appointed of neceſſarie prouiſion. The report is, That hauing taken Neuhuſe, they will remooue to Strigonium. It is ſaid alſo, twelue thouſand Turkes to haue now paſſed ouer the bridge at Eſſec; and great ſupplies both of men and money to come to* Botſcay, *who lieth encamped about Eperia, and is ſaid to haue made a couenant with the Great Sultan, That what place ſoeuer either of them ſhould firſt take, he ſhould hold the ſame wholly vnto himſelfe.* Tanhuſer, *who of late was Gouernour of Filek, is now (as the report goeth) of counſell with* Botſcay. Germenchius *hath put in three moneths victuall into Huſt in Tranſyluania. God in his mercie behold our poore afflicted and diſtreſſed Countrey.*

Thus far he: Whereby the Reader (as I ſuppoſe) may eaſily gather, the miſerable eſtate of both the countries of Hungarie and Auſtria, the Chriſtians themſelues being the chiefe Authors thereof.

Odenburg beſieged by the rebels, and by Baſta relieued.

The rebellious Haiduckes had hitherto moſt ſtraightly beſieged the Citie of Odenbourg, hauing aſſaulted it in fiue ſundrie places at once: vpon whom *Trautmanſtorfe*, Generall of the Garriſon there, cauſing part of his horſemen to ſallie forth, skirmiſhed with them from eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, vntill two of the clock in the afternoone, at which time the Haiducks beginning to preuaile, the Gouernour with the reſt of his horſemen, certaine enſignes of footmen, with ſome of the citiſens, with three field pieces vpon the ſudden breaking out of the gate, diſcomfited the Haiduckes, put them to flight, and ſlew many of them, hauing taken from them twelue enſignes, with many priſoners, whom he carried with him into the citie. Of which ouerthrow the Haiducks deſirous to be reuenged, with their renewed forces ſhortly after returned again vnto the city, burnt the ſuburbs of the ſame, and ſpoiled the villages thereabout. But whileſt they thus lay about Odenbourg, *Baſta* but with a ſmall power drawing neere vnto them, they preſently roſe, and paſſing ouer the riuer Drauus, carried away with them two thouſand head of cattell, with a great number of Chriſtian captiues.

The Turks ſeek to haue Caſſouia deliuered vnto them by Botſcay.

The Turkes being not to learne to make vſe of the diſcord of the Chriſtians among themſelues, had oftentimes been in hand with *Botſcay,* to deliuer Caſſouia wholly into their hands. Of which ſtrong citie, being the beſt that the Chriſtians now held in the vpper Hungarie, the Turkes were moſt deſirous, both for the commodious ſcituation thereof, and alſo for that they deemed themſelues partly thereof alreadie poſſeſſed, ſome good part of the garriſon therein being Turkes, as well Ianizaries as others. The full poſſeſſion of which ſtrong Citie the better to obtaine from *Botſcay*, and to get it into their owne hands, they ſent vnto him three waggons loaded with money and other rich commodities for a Preſent, and to ſupplie his wants, by a good conuoy of foure hundred Haiducks and ſome Turks ioyned vnto them.

The Turkes with a rich bootie by 400 Haiducks betrayed to the Gouernour of Tockay.

Which Haiducks as they were by the way to Caſſouia, to paſſe by Tockay, a ſtrong towne holden by the Chriſtians, gaue ſecret knowledge vnto the Gouernour of the place, of their comming that way, and that if he would receiue them into the towne, and ſo into his protection, they would with ſome ſmall helpe from him, deliuer into his hands that ſo rich a bootie, and ſo continue with him as his faithfull and truſtie ſouldiours. Of whoſe offer the Gouernor well aſſured, forthwith ſent forth foure hundred of the ſouldiours of his owne garriſon to meet them, who ioyning with the aforeſaid Haiduckes which came with the conuoy, ſet vpon the Turks which came with them, and ſlew them euery mothers ſonne: and ſo with the rich bootie were by the Gouernour receiued into the towne, and by him courteouſly entertained: where they had not long lien, but that after their woonted manner looking abroad into the countrey, they chanced to meet with certaine companies of *Botſcay* his men, with whom they encountering, and hauing ſlaine of them neere about fiue hundred, tooke from them ſeuen waggons loded with good prouiſion, and thirtie horſes, beſide much other rich ſpoile.

Totiſa yeelded vnto the Turks

Newhuſe hardly aſſaulted and valiantly defended.

But the Rebels, notwithſtanding theſe and ſuch other loſſes, encreaſing both in number and power, ſtill more and more in all places preuailed, but eſpecially in the vpper part of Hungarie, the townes there one after another dayly reuolting vnto them, as amongſt the reſt the ſtrong towne of Totiſa did; whereinto the Rebels entering, ſent from thence part of the great ordnance, together with *Relinger* a Germane Captaine Gouernour of the Towne, and certaine other Germane ſouldiours there taken, vnto *Redeius*, *Botſcay* his Lieutenant, then lying with a great armie of thirtie thouſand Hungarian Rebels and Turkes, at the ſiege of the ſtrong towne and caſtle of Newhuſe. Which as it had oftentimes by him beene ſharpely aſſaulted, ſo was it by the ſouldiours therein moſt notably defended; proteſting neuer to yeeld the ſame, but to hold it out euen to the laſt man therein to be left aliue. Which cauſed *Redeius* for the encouraging of his ſouldiours, (who had now lien there certaine moneths at the ſiege thereof) to promiſe vnto them the whole ſpoile of the towne, and of all that therein was. And yet for all that, oft times kept backe the Turks from aſſaulting the ſame, for feare leſt if they ſhould by force haue taken it, they would by force alſo haue holden it vnto themſelues, as a place for them moſt commodious for the conquering of that which remained of the vpper part of Hungarie: which hee, though one of the greateſt Rebels, was yet loth to haue it to fall into their hands; and yet himſelfe with the Haiduckes the Hungarian Rebels, afterward, *viz.* the 25 of Iuly, gaue thereunto a moſt furious aſſault, inſomuch that hauing aduaunced ten of their Enſignes to the top of the Rampiers, they were in great hope euen preſently to haue taken it, but yet were by the reſolute valour of the defendants notably repulſed, and enforced againe to retire, leauing behinde them aboue ſeuen hundred of their moſt forward men dead in the trenches. Vnto which ſiege the Baſſa of Agria came alſo afterward with three thouſand horſemen and a number of Ianizaries; ſo that the beſieged, partly with mynes, partly with ſhot and often aſſaults diſtreſſed, were ſo waſted and wounded, that there were ſcarcely two hundred whole and ſound men left in the whole garriſon: beſide that, both victuals and pouder begun now to grow ſcarce alſo, ſo that they were brought vnto ſuch extremity, as that well they could not be in worſe caſe: and yet armed with a conſtant reſolution, they ſeemed not to be any thing therewith danted or diſcouraged, but ſtill valiantly held it out.

Newhuſe diſtreſſed.

The Hungarians dwelling in the Iſle of Shut in the riuer of Danubius, hauing before ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Rebels, did with their helpe much trouble the paſſages vnto the towne of Rab and Comara, and the Citie of Strigonium; vnto whome certaine meſſengers were ſent on the Emperours behalfe to perſuade with them to forſake the Rebels and to returne againe vnto their antient obedience. Who ſo well vſed the matter with them, that taking a truce for eight dayes, they in the meane time ſent fiue of the chiefe men amongſt them by ſhip to Presburg, offering vnto the Gouernour there, That if they might be ſecured of their goods and ſafetie, and that the Haiduckes that were with them might be entertained in pay, they would be readie againe to take the oath of allegeance and faithfully to ſerue him as became his loyall ſubiects and valiant ſoldiers: and for the aſſurance thereof, to leaue their wiues and children as pledges at Presburg. Which their offer was vnto the Gouernour very acceptable and welcome, who yeelding vnto their requeſt, in friendly ſort diſmiſſed them. But they being returned home, and hauing declared to the reſt of their fellowes what they had done; it was by generall conſent agreed, that foure thouſand of them ſhould ioyne themſelues vnto the Emperours power vnder the Regiment of *Collonitz*, who to bee knowne from others, wore in their creſts certaine ſpeciall feathers; their wiues and children being carried to Presburg as pledges of their faith: but this agreement by them made with the Gonernor of Presburg beeing once knowne, the reſt of the Rebels in the Countrey thereabout together aſſembled with the Turkes, inuaded the Iſle, in hope vpon the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed them: but deceiued of their expectation, were by the inhabitants of the Iſle, and by the helpe of certaine Germane troupes ouerthrowne and put to flight, and three thouſand of them there ſlaine.

The Rebels in the Iſle of Shut ſubmit themſelues againe vnto the emperour.

About the beginning of Iuly certaine Commiſſioners were ſent on the Emperours behalfe to Coſſouia, to intreat with *Botſcay* concerning a pacification to be made, who being by him there honourably entertained, and hauing with him ſtayed almoſt a whole moneth, were at length the nine and twentieth of the ſame moneth againe diſmiſſed. Now the articles, which *Botſcay* propounded vnto theſe Commiſſioners to be conſidered of for the making of a peace, and which for the moſt part were agreed vpon in the peace afterward concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperour, were theſe.

Firſt, that it ſhould be lawfull for all ſuch as would, to haue the free exerciſe of the reformed religion. For although (as hee ſaid) he was not ignorant that there was an antient decree amongſt the Hungarians, whereby all that profeſſed not the Catholicke Religion, or that reuolted from the ſame, were to bee burnt, and that hee deſired not to haue that article repealed; yet that his requeſt was, That the Emperour hauing regard vnto the troubles of the preſent time, would promiſe and aſſure, That from thenceforth no man ſhould bee troubled for his Religion, or called in queſtion for his conſcience and Beliefe. Beſides that, he requeſted to haue the Principalitie of Tranſyluania during his life; yet with this condition, That after his death it ſhould againe returne vnto the Emperour, ſo that the Emperor in his abſence ſhould appoint a naturall Hungarian to gouerne the ſame, as alſo to haue the chiefe gouernement in Hungarie. That there ſhould no more Biſhops ſit in counſell but one, and that hee, if it ſhould bee ſo thought meet, ſhould beare the office of the Chancelour. That the liberties and priueledges of that Kingdome ſhould bee kept whole and inuiolate. That it ſhould be lawfull for him onely to make choice of the chiefe Palatine of the Kingdome. That goods confiſcated for any offence committed, ſhould not be diſperſed or ſold, but giuen to men of deſert. That all offenders againſt the State from thenceforth ſhould bee iudged by the Counſell of Hungarie. That none ſhould bee preferred to Biſhoprickes in Hungarie, but ſuch as were of the noble Hungarian bloud. That all iniuries heretofore done ſhould be abſolutely pardo-

Articles by Botſcay propounded vnto the Emperors commiſſioners for the appeaſing of the tumults in the vpper Hungarie.

pardoned, forgiuen and forgotten. All which things if they might be granted, he promiſed to labor to the vttermoſt of his power, vpon the beſt conditions he might to procure a peace betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperor. Laſt of all he requeſted, That the charters of peace containing theſe articles thus agreed vpon, might be ſubſcribed and confirmed by the Biſhop of Rome, the Emperor, the King of Polonia, and all the Imperiall Kingdomes and Prouinces. G

The great Sultan loth that Botſcay ſhould come to a peace with the Emperor.

The Turkiſh Sultan vnderſtanding of this treatie of peace betwixt the Emperour and *Botſcay*, by a meſſenger ſent in haſte to *Botſcay*, ſought by great offers and promiſes to hinder the ſame: putting him withall in remembrance, that a little before this treatie made, he had not onely by words but by letters alſo, ſubſcribed with his owne hand, promiſed vnto *Botſcay* his Embaſſadours ſent to Conſtantinople, That hee would bring to paſſe, that *Botſcay* rewarded with ſuch priuiledges as King *Iohn* in former time enioyed, ſhould in ſhort time be proclaimed and crowned King of Hungarie, and that to that purpoſe he was euen now readie to ſend H a ſcepter and a crowne, the ornaments of a King, to Alba Regalis. But for the preſent, hee by theſe meſſengers ſent vnto *Botſcay* two goodly horſes, with furniture of gold, gliſtering with precious ſtones. He ſent him alſo a rich ſcimitar, a paire of golden ſpurs, and a long horſemans coat garniſhed with gold and precious ſtones of great price; perſuading him valiantly to perſiſt in his former courſe and purpoſe. Which he failed not to doe: for immediatly after, hee with a gallant traine went from Caſſouia into Tranſyluania, there to take of the nobilitie of that Prouince the oath of their fidelitie vnto him; accounting no paines or labor great, which he tooke to turne the people from their obedience vnto the Emperor, and to ſtrengthen himſelfe. At which time he alſo ſent *Redeius* his Chancellor, with ſome others, into Polonia, to renew the confederation which was ſometime betwixt the Polonians and the Hungarians: who being admitted vnto the Kings preſence, and audience giuen him, firſt declared the cauſes of the diſcord and ciuill war that then was in Hungary, which he imputed chiefly vnto the oppreſſion of Religion, the free exerciſe thereof being forbidden them; and to the inſolencie of the Germans, who there at their pleaſure commanded ouer them. Vpon which two points he ſtood much, labouring with many words to perſuade the king thereof: and afterwards requeſting him of his gracious goodneſſe, and of the care which he, together with other Chriſtian Princes, had for the common quiet of the Chriſtian commonweale in generall, and eſpecially of thoſe two diſtreſſed countries, lying as it were euen in the enemies mouth, to enter into conſultation how the ſame euils might be remedied, and thoſe ſo great troubles again appeaſed, and to the effecting of ſo good a worke to put to his helping hand. Whereunto the King anſwered, That the frendſhip wherein *Botſcay* offered to ioyne with him being but the renuing of the antient amitie betwixt the Countries of Polonia and Hungarie, to be vnto him pleaſing; howbeit, hee could not for all that (as he ſaid) well like of *Botſcay* his reuolt from that houſe and familie, whereunto he was himſelfe ſo neere ioyned in affinitie; promiſing yet neuertheleſſe, that he would propound the matter vnto his nobilitie, to be further conſidered of: which when he had indeed done, it was by common conſent agreed, That no aid ſhould be giuen out of Polonia vnto *Botſcay* or the Rebels, and that whoſoeuer ſhould from thence afford him any aid, ſhould therefore loſe his head. With which anſwer the Embaſſadorus returned to *Botſcay* much diſcontented, beeing now with a great power againe returned out of Tranſyluania to Caſſouia.

Botſcay goeth into Tranſyluania.

He ſendeth embaſſadours into Polonia, and is there denied aid

The Lord Ruſſworm beheaded.

About this time the Lord *Ruſſworm* (ſometimes Generall of the Emperours armie againſt the Turks in Hungary, a man of great note and valor, and of whom we haue before much ſpoken) at Prague falling into words, and from words to blowes, with *Francis* Count *Belioioſa* his brother, and their men taking their parts on both ſides, it fortuned the ſaid *Francis*, the Earles brother, being grieuouſly wounded, to be there ſlaine, *Belioioſa* himſelfe being alſo in fiue places dangerouſly hurt; who ſo hardly proſecuted the death of his brother againſt the Lord *Ruſſworm*, that within a while after, he was therfore by the Emperor condemned, & at Prague beheaded, and diuers of his men hanged, with ſuch weapons hanging at their heeles, as wherewith they had ſlaine the ſaid *Francis* the Earles brother.

The Turkes troubles againſt his rebels and the Perſians in the Eaſt, an eaſe vnto the Chriſtians in the weſt.

Now was the time of the yeare come, when as the Turks great armies were woont to bee ſeene euen in the heart of Hungarie: howbeit, ſuch were their troubles in Aſia, both with the Perſian and their owne Rebels, that they were not at leiſure now to ſend ſuch great forces

A as they had before vſed, into Hungarie: neither could the Chriſtian Emperour on the other ſide now raiſe ſuch a power as he had in former times done to oppoſe againſt them, and to hinder their proceedings. The Hungarians themſelues (his greateſt ſtrength in thoſe wars) were now generally reuolted from him, and for moſt part followed the Enſignes of the Rebell *Botſcay*. The Princes wont to ſend him aid both out of Italie and out of Germanie, now affoorded him little or none at all: and his mercinarie ſouldiers for want of pay were now almoſt euery where vp in mutinie ready to forſake his ſeruice, and to pay themſelues with the ſpoile of his countries euen vnto the gates of Vienna. So that had not the Turkes beene ſo buſied in the Eaſt, but at leiſure to haue turned their whole power into Hungarie, as often times they had before done, it is hardly to be imagined, what ſhould haue letted them to haue ouerrun B not onely that which remained of Hungarie, but euen all Auſtria, with ſome good part of Germanie alſo; the Emperours preparations being then ſo ſmall, and his forces ſo weake, as that they were not able to hold the field againſt his own rebellious ſubiects, much leſſe againſt ſo puiſſant and dreadfull an enemie. But God which with his word hath ſet bounds vnto the raging ſea, beyond which it cannot paſſe, and by whoſe power Kings doe raigne and Princes bare rule, had by other meanes auerted the greateſt part of the Turkes forces Eaſtwards: ſo that *Serdar Baſſa*, Sultan *Achmat* his Lieutenant Generall for his wars againſt the Chriſtians, came this yeare but with a right ſmall armie (in compariſon of thoſe which the Turkiſh Sultans were woont to ſend) into Hungarie. Howbeit, with ſuch forces as he brought, and with ſuch ſupplies of the Rebels in Hungarie as came vnto him, he being growne fiftie thouſand C ſtrong, and out of feare of the Emperours forces, came the nine and twentieth day of Auguſt to Strigonium, and with his armie (part Turks, part Tartars, and part diſloyall Chriſtians) encamped in the ſelfeſame place where the Turks army had but the yeare before lodged; hauing brought with him fortie great pieces of batterie, with all things elſe neceſſarie for the ſiege. Neither were the Turks ſooner encamped, but that the Tartars which came with them to the ſiege (after their wonted manner) more deſirous of prey and booty, than of honor and victory, paſſing ouer the riuer of Gran into the territorie of the Chriſtians, there ſpoiled and burnt all before them as they went.

Strigonium beſieged by the Turkes.

The Turkes in the meane time to depriue the beſieged of all reliefe to be ſent vnto them down the riuer of Danubius, made a great bridge of boats ouer the riuer, well fortified at both D ends thereof on each ſide the riuer with a ſtrong *Corps de guard* for the defence thereof, ſo that nothing could that way paſſe to or from the beſieged citie. Which things much diſmaied them in the citie, ſeeing no preparations to be made on the other ſide for their defence or reliefe: yea *Baſta* himſelf, Generall of ſuch ſmal forces as the Emperor had then, ſeeing the enemy ſo ſtrong, and himſelfe ſo weake, began greatly to doubt of the euent of this ſiege: and yet neuertheleſſe reſolutely ſet downe to employ both his valour and his wiſedome for the ſafegard of the place, he during the time of the ſiege failed not to the vttermoſt of his power to ſhew the effects both of the one and of the other.

The Turkes make a bridge ouer the riuer of Danubius, to keep Strigonium from being that way relieued.

And now the Turks aſſiſted with the Hungarian Rebels, had performed an exploit vpon the Iſle of Strigonium, aſwell to take the ſame from the Imperials, as for the ſpoile and pillage E thereof. The inhabitants there had ſtill remained faithfull vnto the ſeruice of the Emperour, whom the Rebels for all that had oftentimes ſought both by force and by perſuaſion to haue remoued from this their loyaltie and iuſt deuoire. Within this Iſle were 200 Haiduckes, returned againe to the Emperors ſeruice, who were ioined vnto the Iſlanders, for the better defence both of them and of the Iſland. But the Rebels knowing well the paſſages and entrances into the Iſle, vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the ſame, and in it theſe poore Haiducks, whom they cut all in pieces: which loſſe cauſed *Baſta* to reſolue to ſend the Wallons he had in his army into the Iſle for the defence thereof. Which they of the Iſland vnderſtanding, made requeſt vnto the Generall, That he would not in any wiſe ſo doe, for that they greatly feared leſt the Wallons, beeing men altogether giuen to the ſpoyle, not finding the Rebels to prey vpon, ſhould F after their woonted manner prey vpon them, the Emperours faithfull ſubiects. At whoſe inſtance the former purpoſe for the ſending of the Wallons beeing changed, *Collonitz* himſelfe was appointed vnto that ſeruice, with whome *Monſieur de Laual*, a noble young Gentleman of France (who but a few dayes before was newly come vnto the campe, for

The Iſle of Strigonum ſpoiled by the Haiducks.

The Haiduckes inuading the Iſle of Strigonium, by Collonitz ouerthrowne.

Monſieur Laual ſlaine.

the honourable deſire he had to ſee ſeruice, and to ſerue himſelfe, with his troupe of horſemen whome hee had brought with him out of Fraunce) went ouer into the Iſland alſo: Whereinto when as the Rebels ſhortly after againe entered, they were by **Collonitz** ouerthrowne and driuen out of the Iſle, two hundred and fiftie of them beeing ſlaine, and aboue fiftie moe of them taken priſoners. In which conflict the noble young Gentleman **Laual** ſo brauely behaued himſelfe, as that he gained vnto himſelfe much honour and renowne, euerie mans mouth beeing full of his prayſes, and wondering to ſee ſo great courage in ſo young yeares, hee beeing then ſcarce nineteene yeares old. With which loſſe the Rebels rather enraged than diſcouraged, ſhortly after returned againe, in greater number and better reſolued; where betwixt them, and them that were left for the defence of the Iſland, was fought a more ſharpe and bloudie fight than was the former; yet ſo, as that the Rebels were enforced againe with loſſe to retire. In which ſo hot and bloudie a skirmiſh, **Mounſieur Laual** hauing moſt valiantly borne himſelfe againſt the enemie, and done enough for his honour, but not ſo contented, but carried away with the heat of youth, and the deſire of glorie, and not otherwiſe to be perſuaded, but ſtill aduenturouſly preſſing on the retiring enemie, was there with a ſmall ſhot ſlaine, all they which knew him much lamenting his vntimely death. But the Rebels not ſo diſcouraged, but ſtill in one place or other inuading the Iſland, and threatening the Iſlanders with all extreamities, except they would take part with them; what by force, what by perſuaſion, ſo much preuailed with them, that the moſt part of them reuolting from the Emperour, vpon the ſudden ſet vpon the Count of Rhene, beeing then in the Iſland, and hauing ſlaine three hundred of his men, grieuouſly wounded himſelfe alſo. For the ſpeedie appeaſing of which multitude, **Baſſa** ſent ouer into the Iſland certaine companies of the Ratzians and Wallons, who not regarding that the Iſlanders were daily damnified by the Rebels, moſt miſerably ſpoiled them of whatſoeuer the Rebels had yet left them.

S. Thomas fort battered and aſſaulted by the Turks.

The Turkes encamped before Strigonium, firſt planted their batterie againſt the ſtrong fort, ſtanding aloft vpon S. *Thomas* hill: for that from thence they ſhould haue receiued infinit harme, if they ſhould before the winning thereof haue attempted to haue woon the citie; it ſtanding on their backes, and all the plaine betwixt the hill and the citie wherein they were to plant their batterie being ſubiect vnto it. Which fort, though very ſtrong, they with continuall batterie by the ſpace of almoſt three weekes, hauing with infinit charge, and the loſſe of a number of their men, made ſaultable, the foure and twentith day of September mounted the hill to aſſault the ſame. Vnto which aſſault they went vp the hill ſo thicke one thruſting an other forward, that the hill ſeemed now to be nothing but a mount or heape of armed men, ſcarce any part of it being to be ſeene, it was ſo couered with them. Vpon whom ſo ſwarming vp, the Chriſtians in the fort, hauing repoſed all the hope of their welfare in their valour, and reſolued thereby to die or liue, couragiouſly diſcharged their murthering ſhot both great and ſmall, ſcarce any of their deadly bullets falling in vaine. Howbeit the Turkes, reſolutely ſet downe for the performing of that they had taken in hand, without reſpect of death or danger, came ſtill deſperately on, vntill that they were come to the puſh of pike, and ſo to handie blowes euen in the verie breaches, which the long furie of the Turks cannon had made verie ſaultable. Fiue houres this furious aſſault was by the Turks maintained, and by the Chriſtians with inuincible courage and reſolution endured, many braue and valiant men falling on both ſides: and thrice the Turkes repulſed, were enforced to retire, but were ſtill by their Commanders brought on againe. The loſſe was to both ſides common, many worthie men there ending their daies, worthie of eternall fame. The Chriſtians fell dead vpon the Turkes ſlaine by their valor, and the Turks vpon the Chriſtians ſlaine by their multitude. But what ſhould wee ſay? The Turkes by numbers died, but not their force, that being by their great numbers ſtill maintained euen in deſpight of death, and alwaies liuing in their great multitude, yet left aliue. Which was not ſo with the defendants, but euen quite contrarie; who could not loſe one onely man, without diminiſhing of their forces, and means of reſiſtance: ſo that they ſtill loſt without hope of ſafegard, and yet could not be in ſafetie, without continuing of their ſo great loſſes. But he that ſtill fighteth onely for to ſaue his life, without hope of killing of his enemie, being too mightie for him to ouercome, muſt needs at laſt die ouercome, if it were but

with

A with verie wearineſſe. So in the end of this long and furious aſſault,nine hundred of the Chriſtians being ſlaine, together with the Count *Oetingen*, their Chiefetaine, and his Lieutenant mortally wounded,and nothing now more left but a few ſore hurt men, and the dead wals for the Turkes to ouercome,they entered the place,ſlew thoſe few whome they found yet breathing, made bootie of their death, bloud,and armes; and by the infinite price of their owne bloud, gained that place which had now no more bloud or life left in it. From whence they carried certaine great pieces, to helpe to batter the citie withall, and to vanquiſh them, for whoſe defence they were but a little before appointed.

S. Thomas fort woon by the Turkes.

The baſe town of Strigonium battered.

The Turks hauing thus gained S.*Thomas* fort,euen as they were yet embrued with bloud, and prickt forward with furie, forthwith planted thirtie great pieces of batterie againſt the B baſe towne of Strigonium, ſtanding low by the ſide of Danubius, and commonly called the Water towne; which they with all their force and fury moſt terribly battered. This baſe towne was enuironed with a palliſado of wood, to defend it againſt all ſudden ſurpriſes, as almoſt all the townes of Hungarie are: Whereunto the confuſed multitude of the Turkes carried a number of bruſh faggots, ſtuffed with gunpouder and brimſtone, which beeing ſet on fire,preſently ſet fire vpon the palliſado alſo,and burnt it down to the ground,making a way for the Turks to come euen to the wals of the city; which they with their great ordnance both night and day inceſſantly moſt terribly battered,vntill that by the fury of the cannon they had therein made a faire and large ſaultable breach. A great ſhame for our men to ſuffer the ſame ſo to be made,and not again repaired: whereas the Turks before in the ſame place,had made C it good againſt the great armie of the Archduke *Matthias*,being neuer to be driuen and forced out of it by the Chriſtians valour, vntill they were therein ſlaine; and to be now by our men through their cowardiſe not to be able to be made good.For why,it was euen the ſame place of battell, the ſame men,the ſame armes, and the ſame forme of fight, but not the ſame courages.The Turks can very well learne of vs that which is for them profitable,& make vſe thereof to their owne aduantage; whereas we can borrow nothing of them to ſerue vs againſt them, and ſo profit our ſelues by their example. Beſides that,the confidence they haue in their multitude carrieth them vnto ſuch aduantages, as from which the deſpaire of being ſeconded & relieued keepeth vs: whoſe boldneſſe alſo firmely grounded vpon a reſolution to die,paſſeth our reſolution far,in fighting onely to ſaue our liues.

The baſe town of Strigonium aſſaulted.

A terrible aſſault.

The great Baſſa incourageth his ſoludiers in the time of the aſſault.

D The breach ſo made, the Turks in good order, ſtayed vpon a firme reſolution, came brauely marching on,one of them thruſting another,and as it were ſtriuing among themſelues who ſhould haue the honour to giue the firſt charge, their haughtineſſe of minde animating of them to ſeeke for honour euen where perils were rifeſt; ſo to haue the honor to die amongſt the moſt forward and valiant men of war, rather than to liue among cowards of no reputation or valor. During the heat of which their ſo great and firme a reſolution, they regarded not the ſhowers of deadly bullets falling amongſt them as thicke as haile, as too weake to dant their haughtie courages; but thruſting one another amidſt theſe ſo great dangers, came vnto the breach, there to trie the matter hand to hand with our men. The Ianizaries were the men eſpecially appointed to this ſeruice, and had taken the ſame vpon them; who with their great E muskets on their reſts cruelly gauled our men, expoſed to the danger of their deadly ſhot vpon the brinke as it were of their own graues. The great Baſſa himſelfe was there preſent at the aſſault, encouraging his ſouldiers with ſpeeches full of terror and of comfort, as he ſaw occaſion for either to be vſed; wherewith he ſtirred vp their valor as is a ſhip with a faire or rough gale of wind. Death it ſelfe could not ouercome theſe miſcreants,their number ſtill repairing in a moment what death had taken away in an houre: whereas our men ſlew others but to bee ſlaine themſelues; and fought not but to become ſacrifices vnto death themſelues,and not by their reſiſtance to carrie away the victory againſt inexorable deſtinie. The fight was great and terrible, and the bullets ſtill flew, few of them falling in vaine amongſt ſuch a multitude and preaſe of men. They of the high towne, who themſelues expected the like danger where-F in their companions now floated betwixt life and death, ſtood aboue looking on, not daring to giue them aide, or to remooue out of their ſtrength, but reſeruing themſelues with all their forces for the ſole ſafegard of themſelues and for their owne defence. Howbeit all this while the enemies forces ſtill encreaſed,and the Chriſtians diminiſhed; for death could not weaken theirs, whereas it ſtill deſtroyed ours, who failed but in number, not in valour, and gaue place but vnto the force of death, and not vnto the force of men. All the deadly blowes appointed to be giuen for the defence of a breach, had been by our men giuen; all the armes neceſſarie for ſuch a purpoſe had been employed, all reſiſtance that could be deſired had bin made, and all the duties of valiant and worthie men performed; ſo that nothing here wanted but number, and not valour. But in all ſuch actions there are two things neceſſarie, the one for the helping of the other, for the correſpondencie of their power; which both ioyned in one bodie, may doe all things, but being diuided, can neither of them doe any thing againſt him which is poſſeſſed of both.

Power & valour the life of great actions.

The baſe town of Strigonium woon by the Turkes.

The upper towne of Strigonium in vain by the Turkes aſſaulted.

In fine, after foure attempts in this aſſault, moſt of the Chriſtian defendants beeing ſlaine, the Turks forced the reſt, and gained the breach, treading vnderfoot the dead bodies both of the Turkes and of the Chriſtians, to get into the Citie. This place thus woon, and thoſe that were left, put to the ſword, and the towne rifled; the Turkes yet in breath, and all embrued in bloud, gaue an attempt vnto the high towne, in ſome hope euen at that time in ſo great a confuſion of the defendants to haue carried the ſame alſo. Howbeit, the defendants beholding their weapons yet dropping with the bloud of their friends and companions, and readie to ſhed theirs alſo, for the preſent notably repulſed them: Who ſo diſappointed of their purpoſe, and deſiring to gaine the place with the leaſt loſſe they might, reſolued to take the ſame by vndermining of it, repoſing more truſt in the ſpade and the mattocke, than in their ſwords and harquebuſies, beeing by experience of their former ſieges taught, how hard and dangerous a thing it was by batterie and aſſault to obtaine the ſame. This trauell in the mynes tooke ſucceſſe according to their deſire: for within a few dayes the mynes (with much labour) beeing brought to perfection, and fire put vnto them, they fayled not to worke their effect, but with great their violence blew vp the wals, rampiers, men, and munition, altogether, caſting fourth ſuch ſmoakes and flames, as wherewith a number of the defendants were ſmothered and burnt. Which breaches ſo made, and the defences of the Citie blowne vp, in ſuch ſort, that the Chriſtians lay open to the enemies deadly ſhot, beeing not able any more to ſhew themſelues without danger of their liues, the Turkes in order forthwith came to aſſault and force the ſame. Which the Captaines of the Chriſtians beholding, prepared themſelues to withſtand them, and to that purpoſe would haue giuen order vnto their ſouldiers for the defence both of the breach and of the walles; whome they found ſuch as *Eumenes* at his greateſt need found his, not willing in any wiſe to fight, and in the moſt aſſured perill of death, without courage either to vanquiſh their enemies, or defend themſelues; in ſuch ſort, that not one of them would put themſelues in order, ſhew themſelues vpon the breach, or come neere the walls. Lazie cowards, chuſing rather to attend an aſſured death in their cowardiſe and want of courage, than to aduenture their liues into the danger of armes; well deſeruing to endure the ſame with diſhonour, ſeeing that they refuſed by honourable reſiſtance to preſerue their liues. The Captaines for all that by faire ſpeeches and by threats ceaſed not to ſtirre them vp; praying, exhorting, and ſometime with death threatening them, if they thus refuſed to doe their duetie, and with their naked ſwords in their hands would haue enforced them to the breach. But all in vaine; their dead courages beeing not to bee reuiued or ſtirred vp in their ſo great a feare of death: Which much diſmayed the Captaines, ſeeing their liues and honour, together with the place (through this tumult and cowardiſe of their ſouldiers) to bee in extreame perill. During which time the Turkes comming on, had without any great reſiſtance gained the foot of the breach: whome the ſouldiers now ſeeing ſo neere vnto them, and out of hope to bee relieued, and deſtitute of courage alſo, in ſtead of truſting vnto their armes and valour, betooke themſelues vnto the refuge of their ſhame and cowardiſe. For compaſſing in the Count *Dampierre*, Gouernour of the place, they would by reaſons haue perſuaded him to haue yeelded, and by threates haue feared him from further reſiſting of the enemie. Their furie emboldened them, proceeding not from their valour, but from their feare; ſtorming againſt their Generall for not beeing a coward, as they themſelues were; trembling for feare of their enemies, and inſulting againſt him. They had but one man of him to fight againſt, which made them furious and hardie: hardie with cowardiſe againſt one,

Strigonium undermined.

Great cowardiſe in the garriſon ſouldiers of Strigonium.

The garriſon ſouldiers in mutiny againſt the gouernour, would enforce him to yeeld vp the citty.

The braue reſolution of Count Dampierre Gouernor of Strigonium.

His notable remonſtrances vnto his diſcouraged ſouldiers, to perſuade them to hold out the ſiege.

A one, not daring to hold vp their weapons againſt their enemies being many. Howbeit the Count in the middle of theſe feares enraged, continued firme in his reſolution, his courage encreaſing in this ſtorme of mutinie, wiſhing rather to die by the hands of his owne ſouldiours, in the performing of his dutie, than to be ſaued by the Turkes in the bottome of his diſhonour. Which his ſo braue a reſolution cauſed him euen in the middeſt of theſe furious and tumultuous companies, to put them in minde of their duties, and to perſuade with them: That the perill they ſo much feared, was greater through their owne feare, than indeed it was: that onely their fearefull apprehenſion made the danger, and not the action that was by them to be performed; ſeeing that it was impoſſible for the enemie to ouercome them, if they would but reſolutely ſtand vpon their valour to reſiſt him. That all things reſting but B in opinion, were by themſelues to be ſubdued, if they had but the deſire to ouercome them, and yet of power to ouerthrow them, if they will yeeld to their diſhonour. That therefore they ſhould propound vnto themſelues the honor and the ſhame that was to enſue vnto them, by the different deportment of themſelues in this action, how much the deformitie of the one differed from the beautie of the other, and aſpire vnto the honour which their enemies had ſometimes got in the ſame place, and in the verie ſame action wherein they were now, for hauing with leſſe appearance of their ſafetie ouercome the like danger, wherein their holding out had made them victorious with honour, without any great fight at all. That it ſhould be an eternall infamie vnto them, that the Turkes ſhould ſurmount them by their reſolution, in an action wherein they ought to ſhew themſelues moſt valorous; and by their cow- C ardiſe become ſubiect vnto them, whome at other times they had accounted vnworthie to be compared with them in valour. That they ſhould lay their hands vpon their hearts, and remember their eſtate and faith; bound vnto the firſt by their honour, and to the ſecond by their dutie. That they were men of Warre, liuing by their pay, which bound them to the ſeruice of him from whom they receiued it, euen vnto death; hauing before obliged their liues vnto their pay: and that they were Chriſtian Subjects, bound to keepe their promiſe giuen by oath before God. That forgetting either the one or the other of theſe things, they depriued themſelues of the pay promiſed to them which performed their ſeruice, and loſing their renowne in this world for their cowardiſe, and in the world to come for breaking their faith. That therefore they ſhould continue conſtant in the performance of their dutie, reſol- D uing themſelues rather to endure an honorable death, vnto which belonged the recompence of an eternall fame for their valour and fidelitie; than to prolong a miſerable life with perpetual infamie for their cowardiſe: whereof for all that, they could no more aſſure themſelues by the yeelding vp of the place, than by the defending thereof, for as much as the Turkes were oft times euen as cruell vpon them that yeelded, as thoſe that reſiſted; keeping no faith with the Chriſtians, but as beſt ſtood with their profit and their pleaſure. And that therefore for his part he was reſolued, rather to die with honour in the place, than to be beholden to his enemies for an infamous and miſerable life. And that therefore he beſought them to follow him in this laſt action of their deuoire, which carried with it all the trophees of their precedent actions, wherein they had oftentimes aſſiſted him in many actions of leſſe worth, and of E much greater perill.

Moſt ſhamefull cowardiſe.

This diſcourſe grounded vpon ſo good reaſons, and proceeding from ſo great valour, might haue preuailed with any other generous mindes, except with theſe degenerate ſouldiours, who by their cowardiſe had hardened themſelues againſt all the points of honor which might any way mooue them; in ſuch ſort, that they ſtood as faſt in their baſe cowardiſe, as did their General in his valorous and conſtant reſolution. They ſtood with their hands behinde them, without any weapons in them, as was their mindes without any courage at all: and as men appointed to be ſacrificed vpon the altar of death, attending without moouing, but the hands of them that ſhould ſacrifice them. Great and ſhameleſſe cowardiſe, not daring by reſiſtance to withſtand the violence of their enemies, for feare of hindering them in their deſires, being indeed ſuch as had vowed their death to ſatiſfie their owne furie. Meane while ſome of theſe ſouldiors ſeeing their ſpeeches to be but vaine, and not able to mooue their Gouernour to ſatiſfie their deſire, conceiued the ſame their requeſts, with the reaſons thereof, into writing, which they ſent vnto him. Which the Gouernor hauing read, in their ſight tore their letters

ters in pieces, and trode the ſame vnder his feet; reiecting as well their demands by letters, G as he had done their requeſt by words. In briefe, hauing forgotten nothing of the dutie of a worthie General, and valiant Captaine, joyned now thereunto the office of a ſimple Souldiour, going himſelfe vnto the breach, with ſome few, to defend the ſame. But the more the Count ſtood vpon this his ſo great reſolution, the more theſe cowardly and mutinous Villaines proceeded in their baſe obſtinacie, in ſo much that they fell from prayers, to furie and rage, threatening to deliuer him their Gouernour, together with the place, vnto the Enemie, to ſaue their liues, if he himſelfe would not by treatie ſaue them from the imminent perils. If theſe baſe cowards were before deafe vnto the juſt remonſtrances of their Gouernour, which might haue preſerued them from death and infamie, he was alſo as deafe as they, to conceiue their requeſts, or to be mooued with their threats; knowing that he had more reaſon on his H ſide, by conſtant valour to withſtand the wicked and ſhamefull reſolution of his ſoldiors, than they had with diſhonour to enforce him, or to offer him violence, to their eternall ſhame and infamie.

Moſt horrible inſolencie of mutinous ſoldiers againſt their gouernor.

The conditions wherupon Strigonium was to bee deliuered vnto the Turks

In the meane time theſe obſtinate and enraged cowards proceeeded from words to deeds, and from requeſts to violence, as did oft times the diſloyal ſouldiors of Rome, in ſlaying the good Emperors. For they in cruel manner, without reuerence, by force layed hands vpon the Gouernor, put him in priſon, and afterwards crauing parley, fel to treatie with the Great Baſſa about the deliuerie vp of the place. Where with the Baſſa well contented, ſent in vnto them *Haly Baſſa*, to conclude the matter. Where after ſome little talke, it was agreed, That they ſhould deliuer vp the place (which was not indeed theirs to diſpoſe of) and that the Baſſa I ſhould therefore promiſe and ſuffer them with bag and baggage in ſafetie to depart whither they would, with their enſignes frilled vp, and fire in their matches; leauing behinde them their great ordnance, with all their other munition and warlike prouiſion. Which only compoſition by the perfideous ſouldiors made in the abſence and indurance of their General, was by the Turks faithfully kept, amongſt a thouſand others like before by them broken: whether it were in reſpect of the eaſie conqueſt of the citie, (being one of the chiefe and principal places of all Hungary) or for that they being ouer-joyed with the gaining of that which they had ſo long deſired, and now ſo little hoped for, they forgat their wonted crueltie and breach of faith, is doubted.

The extraordinary curteſy of the Turkes toward the gariſon ſouldiers of Strigonium at their departure thence.

This citie thus yeelded the third of October, and the Turks forgetting their wonted crueltie, K according to their faith and promiſe before giuen, in ſafetie conducted theſe cowardly ſoldiors within a league of Comora, helping them by the way to carrie their ſicke and wounded men, together with their fardles, which the Turks oft times carried vpon their own ſhoulders. Theſe cowards which thus went out, with their Gouernor ſent out alſo with them, were in number a thouſand whole and ſound men, fitted whilſt they were in the citie, with all things neceſſarie for their honour, and defence of the place: but themſelues deſtitute and void of all honour and courage. A thouſand, which all together were not worth their Gouernor alone, ſeeing that in him alone there remained more valour than in all that whole multitude. Many of the Inhabitants which had there long dwelt, would not forſake the place, but by the leaue of the Turks there remained ſtill; the reſt which would not, hauing leaue in ſafetie to depart L whither they would.

Thus this famous Citie of Strigonium, one of the ſtrongeſt bulwarkes of Chriſtendome againſt the Turks, which the Chriſtians had now holden by the ſpace of ten yeares and one month, after that it was by Count *Charles Manſfelt* woon from the Turks, when as it had long time before been in the Turks poſſeſſion, woon from the Chriſtians by Sultan *Solyman*, now againe (as is before ſaid) fell into the power of the Turks, with threeſcore and ten pieces of great ordnance, and a wonderfull deale of other warlike prouiſion.

The Captaines and chiefe authours of the mutinie, and yeelding vp of Strigonium, impriſoned, condemned, and moſt ſhamefully. but worthily executed.

Theſe baſe and cowardly Souldiours, together with the Count their Gouernour, being come to Comora, were juſtly deſpoyled both of their honour and of their armes, and ſent backe againe to Presburg, where curſed and deteſted of all the world, and eſpecially of the Hungarians themſelues (who although they were reuolted from their alleageance toward the Emperour, yet could they not but much deteſt their ſo ſhamefull and notable cowardiſe) were there the chiefe of them committed to priſon; where after they had for a cer-

A a certaine time lien, and being brought to judgement, and conuicted of treaſon, in deliuering vp the city of Strigonium vnto the Turks, and in ſo doing to haue greatly damnified the Chriſtian commonweale, they were therefore condemned, and according to the qualitie of their offences, diuerſly in this manner executed. Captain *Leonard Fredericke Schleker* had his judgment, firſt to haue his right hand cut off, and his tongue drawne out behinde in his necke, and both of them nailed to the gallowes, and afterwards to be hanged; howbeit through the interceſſion of many of his friends he was not hanged but beheaded. *Iohn Michael Schorer*, *Iohn Hopff*, *Adam Lindawar*, *Philip Dur*, and *Caſpar Lielbarter*, all Captaines, were adiudged to haue their right hands firſt cut off and nailed to the gallowes, and afterward hanged, but through the interceſſion of Countie *Mansfeld*, they were hanged, and their hands not cut off. *Iohn Lau-* B *tenberger* was condemned to be quartered aliue; but was at the interceſſion of Countie *Mansfeld*, firſt beheaded, and afterward quartered. *Iohn Diſchoff* with eleuen other were only hanged. *Laurence Marſhal* was enjoyned to ſerue two yeares againſt the Turks as a common ſouldior, without pay; but through the interceſſion of Countie *Mansfeld* had one yeare pardoned him. *Ieremie Strelin*, with diuers other, which were either fled, or els remained ſtill in Strigonium, were judged, their names to be ſet vpon the gallowes, and being afterwards caught, ſome of them to be quartered, and other ſome their hands to be cut off, and nailed vpon the gallowes, and afterward hanged. And thus theſe diſloyal Captaines, by ſhunning of an honourable death in defence of Strigonium, and performing of their dutie; by neglecting the ſame, procured vnto themſelues a moſt ſhamefull death, attended vpon with perpetuall infamie and C diſhonour.

But as the loſſe of this ſtrong place was vnto the Chriſtians heauie and grieuous, ſo was it vnto the Turkes no leſſe pleaſing and joyfull; it being the place they had of long aboue all others deſired, and whereat they had euer ſince the loſſe thereof, with their great armies in Hungarie, for the ſpace of ten yeares ſtill aimed. Howbeit this their joy endured not long, their proſperitie being too hot to hold out without ſome cooling blaſt of aduerſe fortune. For the ſame report of Fame, which with the right hand preſented vnto the Great Sultan at Conſtantinople, the pleaſing newes of the winning of Strigonium in Hungarie; euen with the left hand deliuered likewiſe vnto him the melancholie report of the ouerthrow of his great armies in Aſia, with the loſſe of Damaſco the greateſt citie of Syria. For, to begin with the greateſt firſt: The King of Perſia, inuaded by *Cicala Baſſa*, Sultan *Achmat* his great Lieutenant in Aſia; and hearing that the Baſſa of Caramania had expreſſe charge, with all ſpeed to come vnto him with a great ſupplie of ſouldiours to be taken vp in Caramania and the countries thereabout: he then hauing a puiſſant armie on foot, before prepared for all euents, preſently ſet forward againſt *Cicala*: whome he comming vpon before hee was readie to fight, by his vnexpected comming, and ſudden charge, ouerthrew his armie, and tooke from him all his great ordnance; *Cicala* himſelfe with three hundred ſouldiours, with much adoe eſcaping and retyring himſelfe to Adena; which Citie the Perſian King, purſuing *Cicala*, ſhortly after ſtraitly beſieged. With which vnluckie newes Sultan *Achmat* much troubled, forthwith writ vnto the Baſſa of Trebezond, with all ſpeed to ſend aid vnto *Cicala*: who taking vnto him ſome other of the Turks Commanders, with a great armie ſet forward on his journey. Of whoſe comming *Cicala* hearing, the better to direct the Baſſa in his proceeding, cauſed himſelfe with ten of his ſouldiours whom he beſt truſted, ſecretly by night to be let downe ouer the walls of the citie. And ſo comming to the Baſſa, together with him kept on his way to joyne battell with the King as neere vnto the citie as he could, for that he had taken order before he came out of the citie, that ſo ſoone as they ſhould perceiue the battell to be joyned, they ſhould forthwith ſallie out vpon the backes of the Perſians, and ſo by holding of them with a doubtfull battell, to further the victorie. All which the Perſian King, hearing of the Baſſa's comming, wiſely doubting, and not willing to forſake the ſiege, diuided his armie, and leauing one part thereof to continue the ſiege, went himſelfe with the other to meet the Baſſa. Wherein hee vſed ſuch expedition and ſpeed, that with all his power falling vpon him before he could put his men in order, or range his battell, he made of the Turkes (now confuſedly and without all order fighting more for the ſafegard of their liues, than for any hope they had of victorie) ſuch an exceeding great ſlaughter, that few of them eſcaped, but were there almoſt all ſlaine. *Cicala* himſelfe but with two or three moe, hauing much ado by getting

Cicala Baſſa with his armie ouerthrowne by the Perſian King.

The Baſſa of Trebezond with his armie diſcomfited by the Perſian king.

ting into a little boat, and ſo by paſſing ouer the riuer, to eſcape the danger. After which victorie ſo eaſily gained, the King returning againe to the ſiege, after many ſharpe and great aſſaults thereunto giuen, and many men on both ſides loſt, had the ſame at length yeelded vnto his mercie.

Now with this newes of the loſſe of his armies, and of the victories of the Perſian king, Sultan *Achmat* enraged, cauſed *Cicala Baſſa* his houſe at Conſtantinople, ful of treaſure & wealth, to be rifled; after the manner of the world, deeming of the doings of him ſo great a Captaine, according to the euent and euill ſucceſſe thereof, though not in his power to haue been remedied: neuertheleſſe ſhortly after, he cauſed great ſummes of money to be deliuered out of his treaſures, and new forces raiſed for the renewing of the war againſt the Perſian King. Vnto which ſeruice (now become vnto the Turks dreadfull) when as many of the Ianizaries were to be appoiuted, they after their proud and inſolent manner, all ariſing vp in mutinie, ſaid flatly, That they would not ſtirre one foot out of Conſtantinople, except they were both before hand payed, and aſſured alſo to haue their wages encreaſed: complaining grieuouſly withall, of the Baſſa of Damaſco, the Great Sultan his high Treaſurer, that he conuerting the Sultans treaſures to his owne vſe, did not pay the ſouldiers their wages due. For the appeaſing of which mutinie and tumult, the Sultan cauſed the ſame Baſſa to be apprehended and his head ſtrucken off, and ſo with the price of his bloud againe appeaſed them.

The Ianizaries mutinie.

But leauing the Perſian King triumphing in his victories, and the Great Sultan grieuing at his loſſes, let vs turne aſide into Siria, to ſee the troubles the Turkes had euen among themſelues, to the weakening of their State, and the increaſing of the Great Sultans cares & griefe. The two Baſſa's of Damaſco and Aleppo had (as is before declared) been at great diſcord and variance betwixt themſelues, and the Baſſa of Aleppo in field ouerthrowne, and in his city beſieged, glad to make peace with the other Baſſa, by yeelding vnto all ſuch things as it pleaſed him to demand. Which two Baſſa's for all that being diuerſly affected vnto the State, long agreed not, he of Damaſco continuing faithfull in his allegeance towards the Great Sultan, and the other of Aleppo ſecretly inclining vnto rebellion. Which the Baſſa of Damaſco perceiuing, and joyning vnto him the Baſſa's of Tripolis and Gazare, with their vnited Forces went againſt the Baſſa of Aleppo, leading with them 60000 good men, with purpoſe to haue beſieged the Baſſa of Aleppo his enemie, in his citie. But he betimes aduertiſed of this his deſigne, and not vnprouided for his comming, quickely called together his Forces, and had in verie ſhort time raiſed an armie of thirtie thouſand valiant men, whom he encouraging, and finding them willing to follow him whitherſoeuer he would lead them, marched directly towards his enemies; with whom he meeting, readily joyned battell with them, which was fought with ſuch furie and hideous noiſe, as if it had been two thunder-claps oppoſing each other in one cloud, ſtriuing of themſelues, which ſhould burſt out firſt, being like people, like armes, and like order of fight. The medley for a great time continued ſharpe and furious, the number of the one ſide counteruailing the valour of the other, and the others valor ballancing the others great number: howbeit in the end the lone Baſſa ouercame the other three, and the ſmaller number the greater, and putting them to flight, remained ſole victors of the field. Now the victorious Baſſa, as wiſe to vſe the victorie, as he was valiant to obtaine the ſame, ſo eagerly purſued them, that without giuing them leaue to breathe, hee beſieged Tripolis, the Baſſa whereof at his comming abandoned the ſame, and carrying with him all his treaſure, fled into Cyprus; which made the taking of the place vnto the victorious Baſſa eaſie, who rifled and ranſacked the ſame: and not content with this conqueſt, forthwith beſieged the great and ſtrong citie of Damaſco, reſolued to die in the plaines thereof, or to become victorious within the walls of the ſame. During which ſiege, the Baſſa of Tripolis had out of the prouinces and countries of the Turks thereabouts, raiſed another great armie, and was comming to raiſe the ſiege, and to reſcue the Citie. Whereof the Baſſa of Aleppo hearing, roſe with the greateſt part of his armie, and meeting with him, gaue him battell, and therein the ſecond time ouerthrew him and put him to flight. Which misfortune ſo diſmaied the mindes of the beſieged, that deſpairing of all ſuccour and reliefe, they by conſent of their gouernor fell to parley with the enemies, and ſo vpon certaine capitulations yeelded vnto him the place. Whereinto the Baſſa entering, found therein great treaſure, raiſed of the Turkes tributes, whereupon hee ſeiſed, and by the meanes thereof reſolued to make himſelfe maſter of all Syria, the chiefe

The Baſſa's of Damaſco, Tripolis, and Gazare, ouerthrown by the Baſſa of Aleppo

The Baſſa of Tripolis the ſecond time ouerthrown by the Baſſa of Aleppo

Damaſco taken & rifled by the Baſſa of Aleppo

citie

A citie whereof he had now in his owne power: whereunto he gaue free acceſſe and traffique vnto all the Merchants of Perſia and of the Indies.

Now in the time of this his proſperitie, newes was brought him, That the Beglerbeg of Natolia had ſent his Lieutenant with a great armie againſt him; who knowing that diligence was the ſpirit of conqueſt, and that to conquer was to little purpoſe, without a vigilant care for the preſeruation thereof, reſted not vpon his former good fortune, but marched directly towards his enemies. Wherein his ſucceſſe was anſwerable vnto his deſigne, for within the ſpace of two dayes he had taken all the paſſages which might giue way vnto his enemies to diſtreſſe him: and in the ſtreights of the mountaines, whereby the enemie was to paſſe, layed a great ambuſh of two thouſand harquebuſiers and three thouſand horſe, who the enemies being paſſed, and hee charging them a head, ſet vpon them in the rereward, and brought ſuch a feare vpon them, that hauing made a great fight, in fine they hauing loſt a number of men, were glad to flie, and to leaue the victorie to the Baſſa. And to the encreaſing of his good happes, he intercepted a Ship, caſt by weather vpon that coaſt, laded with great treaſure, bound from Alexandria to Conſtantinople with the tributes of Ægypt, belonging to the Great Sultan. Of all which things the Perſian King aduertiſed, ſought to ioyne with him in amitie, highly commending his valiant acts, and ſending vnto him honourable Preſents; to wit, a Piſtoll, an Helmet, and a Targuet, all ſet with pretious ſtones, eſteemed to be worth fiftie thouſand Crownes. This flame of rebellion ſpread abroad out of Syria, into Caramania, and ſo farther and farther into the leſſer Aſia. Which was the cauſe that the Great Sultan ſent with all ſpeed vnto the Viſier Baſſa, then in Hungarie; commaunding him, now that Strigonium was taken, which before had hindered the concluding of peace, hee ſhould now vpon reaſonable conditions conclude the ſame, to the end that his affaires on this ſide of his Empire being ſet in quiet and ſecuritie, hee might foorthwith after turne his Forces againſt the Perſians and the Rebels in Aſia.

The Beglerbeg of Natolia his Lieutenaunt with his Armie diſcomfited by the Baſſa of Aleppo.

But after all theſe great troubles, to returne againe into Hungarie. The Rebels there had of long beſieged the ſtrong towne of Newhuſe, as is before declared: which being hitherto valiantly defended by the German garriſon therein, was now brought to ſuch extremitie, as that it was thought almoſt impoſſible to be longer defended, the garriſon ſouldiours therein being with often aſſaults for the moſt part ſlaine, and the reſt of them that were left, grieuouſly wounded. Of which ſtrong Towne (being as it were the Key of that ſide of the Countrey) the Turkes which together with the Rebels beſieged the ſame, were for the commodious ſcituation thereof verie deſirous: and the Rebels thereunto as vnwilling, for that it being once in their hand, would hardly euer be againe from them recouered. For which cauſe *Illiſhaſcius* one of the Captaines of the Hungarian Rebels then at the ſiege thereof, perceiuing it could not long be kept, to the intent that the Turks ſhould not by force obtaine the ſame, by letters requeſted of *Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant, though then his enemie, That the towne might be deliuered vnto *Humanoius*, another Captaine of the Hungarian Rebels, leſt the Turks ſhould by force obtaine the ſame: aſſuring him vpon the peril of his owne life, and the confiſcation of all his goods to the Emperour, that vpon a reconciliation and peace to be made betwixt the Emperour and the Hungarians his ſubiects, he ſhould againe deliuer the ſame towne and Fortreſſe into his poſſeſſion. Whereupon by commaundement of the Archduke and of *Baſta*, the Towne was yeelded vp the ſeuenteenth day of the moneth of October, vnto the aforeſaid *Humanoius*, and the Hungarians onely receiued into the towne; yet with this condition, That the Germane ſouldiours which were yet left, and who had valiantly thus long endured the ſiege, might ſtill ſtay in the towne in pay, and keepe watch and ward together with the reſt of the Hungarians; *Humanoius* hauing commaund ouer them all.

Newhuſe yeelded vnto the Hungarian Rebels.

Wherefore the Turkes ſeeing themſelues diſappointed of their purpoſe, for the obtaining of this ſtrong Towne, riſing by night, and not a little diſcontented with the Hungarians, marched towards Strigonium, at the ſiege whereof the Viſier Baſſa lay. Howbeit within a few dayes after, the Hungarians not liking to haue the Germanes in garriſon with them, turned them with their Captaine *Strenius* out of the Towne, and yet ſafely conducted them to Comara.

Altenſol yeelded to the Hungarian Rebels.

At the ſame time they of Altenſoll, another ſtrong towne of the vpper Hungarie, not farre from Neuhuſe, hauing bin long beſieged by the Rebels, and driuen for want of victuall to eat their horſes for the ſpace of fiue weekes; and hauing now eaten them all but ſeuen, and nothing elſe left, yeelded themſelues together with their towne to the Rebels: as did alſo they of Wiglas, Shemnitz, and Cremnitz.

In the meane time *Botſcay* with a verie great armie of his Hungarian Rebels, came to Tyirna, a ſtrong towne about ſixteene miles diſtant from Vienna, attended vpon with a guard of an hundred tall ſouldiers, gallantly apparelled all in blew: a little before whoſe comming, *Humanóius*, vnto whome Neuhuſe was a little before yeelded, had ſummoned Presburg, requiring the ſame to bee yeelded vnto him. Which thing *Botſcay*, beeing now come, by Letters likewiſe required of the citiſens, threatening otherwiſe moſt ſtraightly to beſiege them. Whereupon *Schonberg* Gouernour of Presburg, doubting of the faithfulneſſe of the citiſens, beeing almoſt all Hungarians, retired himſelfe with a good part of his ſouldiers into the Caſtle; with proteſtation, to ſpend his life and all that hee had for the keeping and defence thereof. With whoſe conſtancie the citiſens mooued, continued firme in their allegeance to the Emperor. Which *Botſcay* perceiuing, and that the city was not to be got by threats, forthwith remooued and went to Peſth, where he was moſt honorably receiued by the Viſier Baſſa and by him preſented with a crowne of curious workmanſhip, and threeſcore thouſand duckats, with fiue and twentie moſt goodly horſes: and there hauing receiued from him full power to entreat of peace, and to conclude the ſame with the Imperials, with *Haly Baſſa* and certaine other of the chiefe of the Turkes joyned in commiſſion with him, againe departed and went to Kyrpa, vnto an aſſembly of the Hungarians there to be holden: whither but a little before *Sigiſmund Forgatt* was come with the Emperours reſolution, concerning the negotiation of peace; when as in the meane time other commiſſioners from the Emperor were come to Comara about the treatie of peace with the Turkes, they themſelues ſo requiring. Howbeit *Collonitz* at the ſame time by letters writ vnto the Archduke, aduiſing him that this treatie of peace might not, together and at one time, be taken in hand with the Turks and the Rebels: but that if it were poſſible, an attonement ſhould be firſt made with the Rebels, and afterward a peace concluded with the Turkes; the common good of the common weale ſo requiring: for that he perceiued the Turks indeed not to be deſirous of peace at all, but onely to goe about, by keeping of the Chriſtians at variance among themſelues, and in ſuſpence betwixt hope and feare, to do them harme, and themſelues good; which was afterward found to be ſo indeed.

Botſcay obtaineth leaue of the Viſier Baſſa, to entreat of peace with the Emperors Commiſsioners.

The Perſian King had ſome moneths before ſent three Embaſſadours vnto his Imperiall Maieſtie, who being come at diuers times one after another, were all with peculiar letters diſmiſſed from Prague the 29 of Nouember. Vnto the firſt of which Embaſſadours letters were giuen, of this purport.

The Emperors Letters vnto the Perſian King.

Zinel Chan Beg *whome your Maieſtie hath ſent Embaſſadour vnto vs, wee haue willingly ſeene and receiued, and giuen him audience, in declaring of ſuch things as he had from you in charge. It is vnto vs both acceptable and pleaſing, that your Maieſty hath regard, ſo friendly to ſalute vs, and ſo carefully to ſeeke to ioine in amitie and friendſhip with vs, whereby your Maieſtie much bindeth vs vnto the like deſire of mutuall loue and friendſhip; and that we againe on our parts ſhould be readie to performe ſuch things as may be vnto your Maieſtie pleaſing: and that we ſhould wiſh for nothing more, than that our friendſhip ſhould daily more and more be confirmed, and for the common good of vs both for many yeres preſerued: wherein we for our parts wil not be wanting. Wheras your Maieſtie with great courage hath vndertaken, and with ſo happie ſucceſſe of victories continued your wars againſt the Turke, whereof you had ſo iuſt cauſe, wee from our hearts in your behalfe reioyce as all other Chriſtians worthily doe: and we our ſelues are thereby much animated valiantly and conſtantly to proceed in our warres, which wee now ſo many yeares haue made with the ſame enemie, nothing doubting but that God the reuenger of wrong will ſo proſper the honourable endeauours of your Maieſtie, as that you ſhall not onely recouer ſuch things as haue beene wrongfully taken from you, but alſo weaken and deſtroy the power of that perfidious enemie. Which that it may the better bee brought to paſſe, wee alſo renue our warres, raiſe greater forces, and by our Embaſſadours and Letters exhort and incite the greateſt Chriſtian Princes and Potentates to extend their power againſt this our common enemie: and*

A *thereby to giue fitter opportunitie and occaſion vnto your Maieſtie for the better proceeding of your affaires in Aſia. The courſe of our notable victories, which wee haue in few yeares paſt obtained againſt the Turkes, the tumults and troubles which the Turkes haue by ſecret deuiſes raiſed in Hungarie, haue ſomewhat hindered: howbeit we hope by Gods permiſſion, that all things ſhall ſhortly bee againe reſtored vnto their former eſtate, ſo that wee may wholly without let turne our ſelues with our power againſt the Turkes. Yet in the meane time we haue thus much preuailed with the King of Spaine, as that hee hath alreadie ſet forth a fleet vnto the borders of his territories, to diſtract his forces: the proſperous ſucceſſe of which fleet wee dayly expect. Wee haue alſo mooued the Pope, that hee ſhould alſo giue aid in this common cauſe, and excite other Princes alſo to doe the like, which hee with great indeauour doth. But concerning ſuch things as ſhall hereafter happen, wee ſhall by Letters and* B *Embaſſadours certifie your Maieſtie as occaſion ſhall require; as at this preſent we had appointed to ſend vnto you the Baron of Dohna, a famous and noble Gentleman, who (all things beeing readie for his iourney) ſuddenly dyed: and would now haue ſent another, had not the vnexpected change of the affaires of the Muſcouites otherwiſe diſſuaded vs, wee hauing no other way but that, at this time, to ſend into Perſia. For concerning this great Prince, who is now reported there to raigne, what his minde is, or how hee ſtandeth affected, wee haue as yet no experience. In the meane time wee ſo deſire a perpetuall and firme friendſhip to bee eſtabliſhed betwixt vs and your Maieſtie, with a certaine ſecure and free commerce, that if your Maieſtie (which wee wiſh) ſhall extend your victories vnto the ſea, your ſubiects may haue free acceſſe and traffique vnto all our Kingdomes and dominions. Wee alſo thanke your Maieſtie, that you ſo kindly entertaine the Chriſtians into your kingdomes, and grant to* C *them to haue the free exerciſe of their religion: as alſo for that you haue ſent your Embaſſadours vnto the King of Fraunce, although without wiſhed ſucceſſe, whereby we eaſily gather your Maieſties great care and circumſpection euerie way. As concerning them whom your Maieſtie hath ſent vnto vs, they haue diligently and faithfully performed their dutie, ſo that they haue deſerued praiſe and fauour both heere and in Perſia: whom we much commend vnto your Maieſtie, to whom in all things wee offer our greateſt loue and affection.*

Vnto the ſecond Embaſſadour were alſo giuen Letters from the Emperour, to this effect.

D *Whileſt we were yet buſied in the diſpatch of* Zinel Chan Beg, *your Maieſties former Embaſſadour, in the meane time* Methi Culi Beg, *another Embaſſadour of yours, came vnto vs, whome wee haue courteouſly entertained, and graciouſly heard: by whoſe ſpeech, as alſo by your Maieſties letters, wee haue with exceeding great pleaſure vnderſtood both your friendly greeting of vs, as alſo of the happie ſucceſſe of your affaires againſt the Turkes, ſince the departure of your former Embaſſadour, together with your kinde affection towards the Chriſtians in thoſe parts. One of the ſeruants alſo of our Embaſſadour which died by the way, hath reported vnto vs, how courteouſly our ſaid Embaſſadour, was by your Maieſtie receiued: and how you haue ſhewed your ſelfe affected againſt the common enemie, which was vnto vs a thing both acceptable and pleaſing. Vnto both which your Embaſſies the more ſolemnly to anſwere, wee had appointed againe to ſend an honourable Embaſſage vnto your Maieſtie,* E *had not theſe lets and impediments happened, which in our letters giuen vnto your former Embaſſador are declared. But ſo ſoone and as often as may bee, wee will endeauour either by Letters or by Embaſſadours, more at large to manifeſt our loue and affection towards you. Wherefore we greatly deſire that your Maieſtie may continue in perfect amitie with vs, and valiantly proceed in ſubduing of the common enemie; wee on our part being readie to performe all things whereby we may teſtifie vnto you the deſire wee haue for the preſeruation of our mutuall loue and friendſhip; as alſo of our endeauours in our warres againſt him. God almightie long preſerue your Maieſtie in health, and make you ſtill victorious againſt the common enemie.*

Vnto the third Embaſſadour were likewiſe letters giuen from the Emperour, of this purport.

Whereas Ius Baſſi Haſſan Beg, *your Maieſties Embaſſadour vnto the French King, came this way at the ſame time that other two of your Embaſſadours were heere preſent with vs, we receiued him with* *the ſame courteſie wherewith we receiued them, making ſtay of him, vntill that they might all three be together diſmiſſed. And for becauſe that his Embaſſage was vndertaken for the furtherance of the common good, although it wanted the wiſhed ſucceſſe, yet wee haue thought it good to giue thankes vnto your Maieſtie therefore, and in moſt friendly manner to greet you by this your ſaid Embaſſadour, whom we highly commend vnto you, for that for the time hee heere ſtayed in our Court, he ſo behaued himſelfe, as that hee well deſerued both our and your Maieſties fauour, whereof wee wiſh him to bee partaker. Almightie God bleſſe your Maieſtie with all felicitie, and long to his good pleaſure preſerue the ſame.*

Theſe Embaſſadors with theſe letters thus diſmiſſed, one of them went into Polonia, and there declared vnto the king the great loue and affection of the Perſian king towards him, offering vnto him all loue and kindneſſe: firſt requeſting him, That he would ioyn with his Maieſtie in all friendſhip and brotherly loue: and then, that hee would take vp armes againſt the Turke their common enemy: promiſing on his Maſters behalfe, That he ſhould not lay down armes vntill that enemie were vtterly brought to nought and deſtroied, ſo that the Chriſtian Princes would on the other ſide likewiſe impugne him. This was a ſtrange meſſage, and not before heard of in Polonia, where, for all that, the meſſenger was courteouſly and bountifully entertained, and afterward with good words put in hope of obtaining what he had requeſted, was ſo honourably diſmiſſed.

The Turks and Hungarian Rebels by the Imperials ouerthrowne.

But leauing theſe Embaſſadours vnto their long journey: to returne againe into Hungarie. A great number of the Turkes and Hungarian Rebels meeting together at Hidweg, had a purpoſe ſecretly to haue ſurpriſed and oppreſſed the Imperiall ſouldiers in their campe. Of which their purpoſe they in good time aduertiſed, and therefore keeping good watch and ward, ſo receiued the Turks and Rebels at their comming, contrarie to their expectation, as that after a ſmall fight they cauſed them to betake themſelues to flight: whome the Imperials ſo hotly purſued towards Caniſia, that they ſlew of them aboue a thouſand, tooke about two hundred more of them priſoners, with fifteene hundred horſe which they carried away with them; and ſo hauing left ſufficient garriſons on that ſide of the countrey towards Caniſia, returned themſelues towards Vienna.

The treatie of peace with the Turks and Rebels began.

In the meane time the Commiſſioners from the Emperor being met together at Comora, about the treatie of peace with the Turks and the Hungarians, the ſixth of December receiuing letters from the Baſſa of Buda, certaine of them the next day after went by water downe the riuer of Danubius to Buda: where they being honorably receiued, and hauing much and long talke with the Baſſa concerning a peace, found little difficulty therin, but that the Turkes ſaid they could thereof determine nothing, without the preſence and conſent of the Hungarians. With which anſwer they full of hope returned backe again to Comora, as did alſo *Sigiſmund Forgat* with the like hope of peace from *Botſcay*. At which time *Botſcay* beeing about to depart from the aſſemby of Kirpay, backe againe to Caſſouia, gaue power and authoritie to *Illiſhaſcius* for the furthering of the treatie for peace: who hauing receiued letters of ſafe conduct from the Archduke *Matthias*, about the end of December, together with his wife went to Vienna: who beeing admitted vnto the Archdukes preſence, and hauing had an houre and halfes talke with him, and euerie day after conferred with the counſellors from eight a clocke to twelue, at length compoſed all difficulties and differences touching the treatie of peace, excepting fiue articles onely concerning religion, the free exerciſe whereof the Hungarians in any wiſe required; ſo that now men began to conceiue ſome good hope of a peace to be in time concluded.

1606

The Haiduckes do great harme in the vpper Hungarie.

This yeare thus ending with the beginning of the treatie for peace, the next yeare begun with the wonted troubles of war, the rebellious Haiducks in Hungarie doing great harm in the vpper Hungarie, tyrannizing after their woonted manner vpon men of all ſort and condition. Where giuing diuers aſſaults vnto diuers cities, they being valiantly repulſed, were conſtrayned to retire (the Polonians and Coſſacks defending the ſame) yet did they neuertheleſſe no little harme vnto the countrey inhabitants. Whereof complaint being made vnto the King of Polonia, he by his Embaſſadour ſent to *Botſcay* at Caſſouia, obtained, that thoſe ſpoiling Haiducks ſhould be called backe againe out of theſe parts.

Now had *Illiſhaſcius* the negotiator for the treatie of peace to be made with the Rebels, ſo well dealt in that matter, as that the ſame, in the latter end of Ianuarie ſhould haue beene publiſhed at Vienna, but that certaine of the chiefe of the Clergie could not bee brought to conſent, that the free exerciſe of Religion ſhould indifferently be granted to all the people in generall, but to the Nobilitie onely. Whereupon *Illiſhaſcius* with the reſt of the Commiſſioners for the Hungarians, with great diſcontentment beeing about to returne home againe without any thing at all concluded, the deputies for the Emperour ſeeing that it could not bee otherwiſe brought to paſſe, at length agreed (although neuer ſo much contrarie to the liking of the Clergie men) to ſatisfie the Hungarians in this their requeſt, and that the free exerciſe as well of the reformed, as of the Romiſh Religion, ſhould be permitted to all men throughout all Hungarie, in ſuch ſort, as it had before beene in the time of the Emperours *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*. Concerning which point for the libertie of the Religion, letters were deliuered vnto *Illiſhaſcius*; all the other points concerning the peace beeing put off vnto the next aſſemblie of the States of Hungarie, ſhortly after to bee holden at Presbourg.

The free exerciſe of Religion granted to the Hungarians.

About the beginning of March the Spahi at Conſtantinople had requeſted of the Viſier Baſſa, That it might be lawfull for themſelues to take vp their woonted penſion of the farmers and husbandmen here and there in the conntrey: which although it were vnto them by the Viſier Baſſa denied, who had commaundement from the great Sultan within a few dayes after, to giue euerie one of them his preſent pay in money; yet they not ſo contented, but going out of the Citie, preſumptuouſly preſumed to trouble the countrey men, and to doe the farmers great harme. For which their inſolencie, the great Sultan (the chiefe Captaines and leaders of them beeing againe returned into the Citie) cauſed them ſome to be beheaded, ſome to be hanged, and otherſome to be bound in chaines and drowned: whereby no ſmall feare was ſtrucke into the reſt of the common ſouldiers. But the rebellion in Aſia ſtill encreaſing, and the Rebels there ſecretly both fauoring and furthering the proceedings of the Perſian king, the Sultan forthwith ſent for the Viſier Baſſa, who the laſt yere had ſerued in Hungarie, to go into Aſia, to repreſſe the Rebels there, and alſo to withſtand the proceedings of the Perſian king: committing in the meane time the mannaging of the war in Hungarie vnto his Lieutenant.

The ſpahi inſolently oppreſſing the countrey people, juſtly puniſhed.

The treatie of peace both with the Turks and the Rebels, was yet in hand, whereunto how much the Turks were for their part inclined, the garriſon ſouldiers of Rab had good proofe. for the eighteenth day of March, being the day at their requeſt appointed for the treatie, and whereon the Commiſſioners on both parts there meeting together, ſhould haue furthered the negotiation of the peace, not paſt fiftie of the Turkes comming to the gate of the towne, required to bee let in, as if they had come for that purpoſe. Whome our men nothing ſuſpecting, were about to receiue them into the towne; when as a ſentinell without the towne, it being a thicke miſt, perceiued three thouſand more of the Turkes lurking there by, and forthwith giuing an alarme to thoſe of the towne, bewrayed the enemies treacherie, who thereupon retired, they of the towne diſcharging their great ordnance after them. The next moneth, about the beginning of Aprill, certaine meſſengers came from Eperia (a citie of the vpper Hungarie, yet holden for the Emperour) to Vienna, declaring the moſt miſerable ſtate of that Citie: which although the way thereunto beeing three or foure weeks before opened, it had receiued ſome good ſtore of victuall, yet now (as they ſaid) was ſo on euerie ſide by the Rebels beſet, as that no prouiſion at all could more thereunto come: hoping by that meanes to bring to paſſe, that the citiſens pinched with hunger and want of things neceſſarie, ſhould at length yeeld themſelues together with the citie into their power. By which meanes they but a little before had obtained the ſtrong towne of Tokay: wherein the famine was ſo great, that the ſouldiers had not onely eaten their ſhooes and leather jerkins, but had now alſo kild two boyes to eat, and ſome others of them had caſt lots among themſelues, which ſhould be kild for the other to eat. By which extreamitie *Ruber* the Gouernor of the place, was enforced to yeeld: vnto whom *Botſcay*, who then lay at Caſſouia, is ſaid to haue offered a great ſum of money, with many other good things, to haue taken his part; all which he moſt conſtantly refuſed, proteſting euen vnto death to continue faithfull in his obedience to the Emperour.

Rab attempted to haue been by the Turks ſurpriſed.

Eperia by the Rebels diſtreſſed.

Tokay by the Rebels taken.

The letters of Illiſhaſchius ſent to a notable man of Vienna.

About the ſame time *Illiſhaſchius*, who had before not a little laboured about the furthering of the peace in Hungarie, writ letters from Caſſouia vnto a certaine great man at Vienna; whereby hee declared, that *Botſcay* without the conſent of the Eſtates of Hungarie could of himſelfe determine nothing concerning the concluſion of the peace: who had oft times told him to his face, that rather than they would againe ſubmit themſelues to a forreine Gouernour, they would for euer put themſelues vnder the Turkes protection: and yet promiſed by the ſame letters, that although hee had got vnto himſelfe great diſpleaſure thereby with the Haiduckes, hee would not for all that ceaſe by all meanes to draw the States of the countrie in their next aſſembly vnto his part, ſo that that which was before concluded at Vienna concerning Religion, ſhould not againe be reuerſed: for many of them (as hee ſaid) were afraid that it would not be performed, which was there promiſed vnto the States concerning the exerciſe of their Religion. And that therefore they could not yet bee perſuaded to put themſelues from vnder the Turkes protection, vntill they ſaw themſelues ſufficiently ſecured, both for the libertie of their Religion, and the keeping of their antient priuiledges. And that they could not, nor would not endure a forreine Gouernour to rule ouer them, with whome they could not talke; nor yet ſuffer Clergie men to haue any voyces in their ciuill affaires. And therefore (hee ſaid) hee thought it verie neceſſarie that the Emperor ſhould not doubt in this point to gratifie the Hungarians. And that Tranſyluania, whereupon hee had beene hitherto enforced to beſtow ſo great coſt for the keeping thereof, beeing now left vnto *Botſcay*, hee ſhould appoint ſuch a Gouernour ouer Hungarie as the States of that countrey ſhould require. For that there was no hope of any peace to be made with the Turkes, except *Botſcay* and the States of Hungarie ſhould vndertake the treatie thereof; ſeeing that they but onely ſeeking for a peace in ſhew, were oftentimes diſcouered but to ſeeke for their owne aduantages and profits.

Illiſhaſcius reprochfully vſed by the Hungarians.

But concerning *Illiſhaſchius* himſelfe, the Hungarian Rebels ſeeing him ſo much to labour about the concluding of a peace, in ſcorne called him by the by-name of *Cripeliſhacius*, as hee that too much enclined vnto the Germans: which by-name he tooke in ſo ill part, as that hee departed ſtraight to Eperia, with a purpoſe not to haue beene preſent at the next aſſemblie of the States: but beeing againe pacified, and by *Botſcay* called backe, hee made ſuch a notable ſpeech vnto the States in their next aſſemblie, that all men now began both to hope and wiſh more for peace than they had before done.

In the meane time the Turkes in great number beeing gathered together to Belgrade, expected the end of this treatie for peace, and letters from the great Sultan to *Botſcay* were intercepted alſo: whereby hee aduiſeth him to proceed in his purpoſe, and ioyning with his powers, to ſeize vpon Auſtria, Bohemia, and Morauia; for that hee could be contented with Hungarie and Tranſyluania, and leaue the reſt of the Prouinces vnto *Botſcay* as his inheritance.

The Haiducks inceſed againſt the Turkes and Tartars, truſt neither of them.

The Tartars about this time were about to make a road into Polonia; but when as they with their oft incurſions had not a little troubled the Haiduckes alſo in the vpper Hungarie, they reſolued amongſt themſelues to ioyne their forces together, and to fight as well againſt the Turkes as the Tartars, and from thenceforth neither to truſt the one nor the other.

Heereupon, when as the Turkes in great number came to aſſault Lippa, a towne of the Haiduckes, they forſaking the towne, fortified the caſtle with certaine companies of armed men, and afterwards beſtowed many others heere and there in caues and cellars in the towne, and layed great ſtore of gunpouder in the ſtreets. Vnto which towne the Turkes comming, and finding the gates open, and none to reſiſt them, haſted to haue taken the Caſtle. But in the meane time, the powder which the Haiduckes had layed taking fire, blew vp a number of them, and they which lay hid in the caues and cellars forthwith breaking out, ſlew of them whomſoeuer they met, and ſo made of the Turkes a great ſlaughter, and againe cleered the towne.

The Eſtates of Auſtria conſidering the great harmes they had in theſe late troubles receiued, as well from the Hungarian Rebels, as from the Emperors mutinous ſouldiers; and by experience taught how dangerous a thing it was for them to reſt vpon other mens protection, being vnto them ſtrangers: reſolued now in a generall aſſemblie of the Eſtates by them about this time holden, to take vpon themſelues the defence of their country, againſt ſuch ſudden incurſions and tumults of the mutinous ſouldiers, and no more to relie vpon forreine protection, ſtill to ſeeke when they had moſt need thereof. Wherefore to aſſure themſelues in their own ſtrength, they with a generall conſent agreed to haue alwaies in readineſſe two thouſand horſmen and eight thouſand footmen, to be maintained of the common charge; fiftie of the countrey peaſants ſtill finding of one of the ſaid ſouldiers.

The inhabitants of Auſtria prouide to ſtand vpon their owne ſtrength for the defence of their owne countrie.

And much about this time, *viz.* the third of Iune, *Illiſhaſcius* a great man amongſt the Rebels, and yet the greateſt furtherer of the peace, (as appeared by his doings and by that wee haue before of him written) hauing before obtained letters of ſafe conduct from the Archduke, came now againe with his wife alſo to Vienna, there more at large to conferre vpon the Articles for a peace to be concluded, with ſuch as were on the Emperours behalfe for that purpoſe deputed. Where comming to conferre and talke vpon the matter, hee was ſo croſſed by *Nicholas* Biſhop of Vienna, who hitherto had beene preſent in Counſell together with the reſt of the Commiſſioners (a great enemie vnto the peace, in reſpect of the article concerning the libertie of Religion) hee was I ſay by him ſo croſſed, as that there was no hope of any thing to bee for the common quiet concluded, ſo long as hee was there preſent. For which cauſe he, on both ſides and of all men deſirous of the peace diſliked, was in the Archdukes nanne willed no more to come into the Counſell for the diſturbing of the peace. In which negotiation for the concluding of the peace, *Illiſhaſcius* had taken ſuch paines in trauelling too and fro betwixt the Archduke then lying at Vienna, and *Botſcay* with the States of Hungarie then lying at Caſſouia, and ſo debated the matter on both ſides, that all things beeing as good as agreed vpon; for a full concluſion of all matters, he himſelfe, together with *George Humanoius*, *Francis Magot*, *Sebaſtian Tockell*, *Staniſlaus Turſon*, and others, with two hundred horſe, and two and thirtie waggons, in all foure hundred perſons, the ſeuenth of September came to Vienna with fiftie Huſſars following of them: Shortly after whoſe comming, the treatie for peace was earneſtly begun with often meſſengers paſſing too and fro betwixt Vienna and Caſſouia to *Botſcay* lying then verie daungerouſly ſicke, vntill that all the articles of peace were neere about the fourteenth of September fully on both parts agreed vpon: moſt difference ariſing about the article for the free exerciſe of Religion. For although it was before declared, that men might haue the free exerciſe of religion: yet the Hungarians recalling that generall word of Religion vnto a particularitie, would needes haue it ſet downe, that men might haue the free exerciſe of thoſe Religions which are at this day called the Lutheran, Caluinian, and Romiſh religion: neither would they conclude any peace vntill they were of their requeſt in that point ſatisfied. Which peace ſo concluded, the next day after, the deputies for the Hungarians ſent an embaſſador to the Viſier Baſſa at Buda, to certifie him of all their proceedings, and to requeſt him not as yet to attempt any thing for the diſturbing of the peace: now the articles whereupon the peace was concluded, were theſe:

The Biſhop of Vienna a great enemie to the peace to haue been concluded betwixt the emperor & his diſcontented ſubiects.

A peace concluded betwixt the emperor & his diſcontented ſubiects of the vpper Hungarie.

Firſt, That from thenceforth it ſhould be lawfull for euerie man throughout the Kingdome of Hungarie, to haue the free vſe of his Religion, and to beleeue what he would.

2 *That if the Hungarians ſo thought good, they might chuſe a Palatine for their Gouernour, and that in the meane time the Archduke* Matthias *ſhould no more vſe the title of a Gouernour, but of a Viceroy.*

3 *That the crowne of Hungarie ſhould ſtill be left in the Emperours keeping.*

4 *That the Biſhops that were nobly diſcended in Hungarie, and had lands of their owne, ſhould from thenceforth be admitted into the Counſell, but the other Biſhops not ſo to be receiued.*

5 *That* Botſcay *for himſelfe and his heires male ſhould for euer hold Tranſyluania.*

6 *That the ſame Countrey of Tranſyluania ſhould bee ſtill ſubiect vnto the Kingdome of Hungarie.*

7 *That for his Armes he ſhould beare three Royall Crownes and three open Helmets.*

8 *That he ſhould no more afterwards ſtile himſelfe Prince, but Lord of part of the Kingdome of Hungarie.*

9 *That they ſhould pay the Haiduckes their wages which had leuied them.*

10 *That the harmes done on both ſides ſhould for euer be forgotten.*

11 *That Bohmia, Morauia, Sileſia, Lauſniſium, and Auſtria, ſhould not onely with their Letters and Seales confirme the articles, but alſo ſweare at Vienna to keepe the ſame ſo far as ſhould concerne them.*

12 *That the Hungarians ſhould likewiſe ſend ſome to Vienna, who in their behalfe ſhould with their Letters, Seales, and Oathes, confirme and ratifie theſe articles.*

13 *That the aſſemblie of the Eſtates of Hungarie, ſhould be referred vntill a more conuenient time for them.*

14 *That all theſe things being done, this agreement ſhould be publiquely confirmed and enrolled in the Records of the Kingdome of Hungarie.*

15 *That it ſhould be lawfull for the Hungarians, by their Embaſſadors to inuite the Princes of the Empire to the approuing and confirming of theſe articles.*

Which fifteene articles were on the Emperours part ſubſcribed by *Tranſam, Mollart, Sigifrid, Pruner, Lichtenſtein,* and *Kreuberge*: and on the part of the Hungarians, by *Illiſhaſcius, Peter Erkod, George Turſo,* and *Sigiſmund Forgat*, and others.

The twentieth of September following, the Embaſſadour for the Hungarians and of *Botſcay*, beeing admitted vnto the preſence of the Archduke *Matthias*, obtained of him pardon for the forepaſſed rebellion, and all that was therein done: vnto whome ſecuritie for the ſame was afterward giuen by the Prouinces; thereby alſo to aſſure them, that they ſhould not be therefore afterwards troubled. But yet for all that was before done, the title of the Prince of Tranſyluania was left vnto *Botſcay* for terme of his life: who feeling his ſickneſſe dayly to encreaſe, would oftentimes ſay, That hee could willingly die, ſo that it might pleaſe God before his death, to giue him leaue to excuſe himſelfe of his rebellion before the whole Romane Empire. And ſo about the end of September all the aforeſaid Embaſſadours for the Hungarians and *Botſcay*, beeing aſſembled into the Caſtle of Vienna, together with the Emperours Councell, and certaine other Noblemen of the Prouinces belonging vnto the Emperour, receiued euerie one of them the Articles of the peace copied out, and faire written in parchment: which done, they returned euerie one to his owne dwelling. But *Illiſhaſcius* went from thence to Neuhuſe, to be preſent at the peace to bee afterwards made with the Turkes alſo: from whence hee afterwards writ Letters vnto the Viſier Baſſa, to requeſt him, not as yet to attempt any thing againſt the Emperours Prouinces, but peaceably and quietly to expect his Commiſſioners, which were ſhortly to come vnto him.

A great fire at Conſtantinople.

But in the meane time whileſt this peace was thus in concluding, certaine Tartars at Conſtantinople, in their inſolencie ſet fire vpon a certaine Iewes houſe, whereof aroſe ſuch a terrible fire, as burnt not only many houſes, but a great number of the Iewes themſelues alſo: the harme there done beeing eſteemed at fortie hundred thouſand duckats. In which tumult and noiſe of the people running too and fro, and quenching of the fire, the great Sultan hauing a fall from his horſe, was thereof for a while ſicke.

The Turks ſeeking to ſurpriſe others, themſelues ſurpriſed

The Turks of Caniſia alſo hauing conſpired with the Captaine of the leſſer Comora, came to haue ſurpriſed the ſame. But the garriſon ſouldiers there, hauing before had a ſuſpition thereof, ſuffered ſo many of the Turkes as they knew they were able to ouercome, to enter; and ſo ſhutting the gates of the Citie, kild them euerie mothers ſonne, the reſt which were without, returning againe to Caniſia.

The Commiſſioners for the emperor, to intreat of peace with the Turks came to Preſburg.

Peace thus (as is aforeſaid) concluded with the Hungarians, *George Turſon, Nicholas Iſtuan, Iohn Mollart,* and *Althem*, with ſome others, the Emperours Commiſſioners for a peace to be made with the Turkes, went to Comora; *Sigifrid Collonitz* and *Budin* following them with the armie; for as yet the ſaid Commiſſioners durſt not altogether truſt the Turkes for intercepting of them by the way. Which Commiſſioners carried with them *Solyman* the Baſſa of Buda, who had now beene ſeuen yeares kept priſoner in the Caſtle of Vienna, and *Aly Baſſa*, both brauely apparelled in blew ſilke; ſix waggons following of them, wherein were carried certaine preſents for the great Sultan, to wit, a moſt curious clocke, certaine

taine faire pieces of plate, an hundred thouſand duckets, with diuers other things of great value.

But whileſt they there ſtayed, expecting to heare from the Viſier Baſſa then at Buda; a ſudden inſolent accident fell out, like enough to haue broken off againe the peace, alreadie made with the Hungarians, as alſo to haue vtterly cut off the treatie of peace to be had with the Turks, and to haue ſet them all together by the eares againe. For albeit that the firſt article of the peace made with the Hungarians, was, That euery man ſhould haue the free exerciſe of his Religion; yet the eighth day of October, about three of the clocke in the afternoon, when as a certaine Hungarian Lutheran Preacher was in the pulpit preaching to the people in a Church, in the ſuburbs of Comora, *Buchem* and *Kneuie*, two Captaines, comming from dinner with certaine of their ſeruants more than halfe drunke, with their ſwords drawn ruſht into the Church, and draue out thence the Preacher, vpon whom Captaine *Buchem* his Trumpetter alſo diſcharged a piſtoll, and raiſed ſuch a tumult in the Church, that diuers children were troden to death vnder foot, and the reſt put in great feare of their liues.

The Peace already concluded with the Hungarians, like enough to haue again bin broken off throw the inſolencie of ſome few diſordered perſons.

Which inſolent fact ſo mooued the Hungarians, that *Turſon* and *Budian*, there preſent with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, readie to haue gone about the treatie of the peace, would needs the next day haue departed from Comora, and were hardly by *Mollart* and *Colloniz* entreated to ſtay; *Buchem* and *Kneuie* the two Captaines being bound to their appearance for the anſwering of the mater, and the trumpetter with yrons on his heeles clapt in priſon. But the newes hereof being carried to Neuhuſel, and (as the manner of report is) by fame made far greater than it was, as, That an hundred and fiftie perſons was ſlaine in the Church, there aroſe ſuch a tumult among the Hungarians there, as that *Illiſhaſchius* with the reſt of the Captaines had much ado to quiet and appeaſe the ſame: who joyning with the Turks of Strigonium, and the Haiducks of the Iſland, had determined now by night to haue inuaded Comora, where the outrage was committed, had not *Pogrania* the elder (a man of great grauitie) comming from thence, declared vnto *Illiſhaſchius* and the reſt of the Captaines, all the matter as it was done; vpon whoſe relation the whole tumult was againe appeaſed. But for as much as the two aforeſaid Captaines, bound to their appearance, were by night fled from Comora to Vienna, the Hungarians were verie earneſt to haue them ſeuerely puniſhed, as breakers of the firſt article of the Peace, concerning Religion. *Botſcay* in the meane time beheaded *Catayus* his Chancellor, who had gone about to haue poyſoned him, in hope after his death to haue been Prince of Tranſyluania himſelfe; placing *Iohn Ianuſy* in his ſtead, and giuing him *Catay* his lands.

Botſcay causeth his Chancellour to be beheaded.

Peace now made with the Hungarians (as is afore ſaid) and Commiſſioners appointed for a treatie of peace to be had with the Turks alſo, (whereunto the Viſier Baſſa, then lying at Buda, was as forward as any, being ſo commanded from the Great Sultan his Maſter) there wanted but a place commodious for the ſaid Commiſſioners, without ſuſpition of danger, and indifferent for them all to meet in. Whereupon *Cæſar Gallen* a man of great experience in ſuch matters, with ſome other Captaines, were appointed to finde out ſome ſuch conuenient place for them to meet in: who hauing viewed many, at length made choice of one within halfe a league of Comora, ſo fit for that purpoſe, as if nature had prouided it for the ſame. The great riuer of Danubius being there diuided into three parts, made therein three Iſlands, all compaſſed round with the arms thereof, into which Iſlands the Commiſſioners for the Emperour, for the Turke, and for the Hungarians, might come without let one of another, to entreat of their affaires, and ſo in little boats prepared for that purpoſe, paſſe ouer one to another as their occaſions required. Into this place, ſo commodious for all three parties, the Deputies for the Emperour the fiue and twentieth day of October, conducted by the horſemen of *Manſfeld*, *Hohenlo*, and *Bonchimin*. After whom followed *Illiſhaſcius*, and the other Deputies for the Hungarians, aſſiſted with the nobilitie of Hungarie, all attending the comming of the Great Sultans Commiſſioners; who likewiſe immediatly after came, being brought vp the riuer in foure and twentie braue ſhips well appointed.

The Commiſſioners for the emperour, the Turks, and the Hungarians, meet together to entreat of a peace.

Theſe Commiſſioners being thus apart arriued in the Iſlands, began firſt to conſult by themſelues euerie one, of their ſeueral affaires and buſineſſes, and afterwards many times meeting together, with much grauitie conſulted and conferred of the beſt wayes and meanes for

A peace concluded betweene the Emperour and the great Sultan.

the making of a good and aſſured peace for the appeaſing of theſe wars: which euery one of them and all together, to that end employing the vttermoſt of their endeauours, at laſt the nineteenth of Nouember it was betwixt all the three parties fully agreed vpon and concluded, and hoſtages on all parts giuen one to another, with oathes and promiſes ſolemnly on all ſides giuen and receiued, for the inuiolate keeping and obſeruing of the ſame; the articles whereupon the ſaid peace was concluded being theſe:

Articles of the Peace concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Great Sultan.

Firſt, That the Emperor and the Great Sultan, in all their Letters, Diſpatches, Inſtruments, and Embaſſages, ſhould not ſtile themſelues by any other names or additions, but by the names of Welbeloued Father and Sonne; to wit, the Emperour calling the Great Sultan his Sonne; and the Great Sultan the Emperour (in reſpect of his yeares) his Father.

That in the beginning of their Letters they ſhould take vpon them the name and quality of Emperor, and not of King, reſpectiuely one of them to another.

That theſe two Emperors ſhould take order, that the realme of Hungarie and the Archdukedome of Auſtria, might be in reſt, peace, and tranquilitie, and altogether deliuered and aſſured from all incurſions, oppreſsions, and outrages of the men of war on both parties.

That it ſhould be lawfull for the King of Spaine, if he ſo thought good, to enter into this treatie of peace, without the oppoſition or let of one or of the other of both theſe Emperors in any ſort.

That the Tartars, and all other people vſually wont to come in armes into Hungarie, ſhould be compriſed within this treatie of the peace, ſo to be diſarmed of all power, by their meanes to do harme within the realme of Hungarie, and they there aſſured from their violences and robberies.

That euery one both on the one part and on the other, ſhould forbeare from making incurſions and pillages, and enterpriſes of war, and from all acts of hoſtility one againſt another; and yet euery one neuertheleſſe to haue power to purſue theeues and robbers, and ſuch others ſeeking after bootie, to the diſturbing of the peace, and iniurying of the Commonweale: whereof euery man ſhould haue power to giue knowledge, to the intent by common force to ſuppreſſe them, and to cauſe them to recompence the wrongs and harmes by them done.

That all places, Caſtles, Townes, and Forts, ſhould remaine without attempt either on the one part or on the other, whether it were by force, ſurpriſe, or treaſon, and ſo likewiſe the goods, families, and cattel of the countrey-men, which were of their territories and iuriſdiction; Botſcay *ſtill holding all that was lately to him granted by the treatie of Vienna.*

That all priſoners taken in the wars ſhould be ſet at libertie, but eſpecially ſuch as had been taken in Townes and Citadels, which by their valour and courage they ſought to haue defended; and the other priſoners to be deliuered by exchange and ranſome, as ſhould be moſt expedient and eaſie for both parties.

That all controuerſies happening as well on this ſide as beyond the riuer of Danubius, ſhould be peaceably ended by the iudgement of the Gouernor of Rab, of the Baſſa of Buda, of the Gouernour of Sclauonia, and of the Gouernors of other places; and that if they ſhould chance to be of ſuch important weight and conſequence, as that they could not by theſe Magiſtrats be determined and compoſed, that they ſhould in that caſe be reſerued to be decided by their Imperial Majeſties: and that it ſhould be lawfull both for the one partie and the other to repaire and build the places ruined, but not to build places of new, which might preiudice either the one part or the other.

That Amurath *the Viſier Baſſa ſhould ſend his meſſengers with Preſents to the Archduke* Matthias, *and that the Emperor ſhould diſpatch an Embaſſador toward the Great Sultan with* 200000 *Duckets, and that the Great Sultan likewiſe ſhould ſend his Embaſſador to Prague with great and rich Preſents to the Emperor.*

That this peace ſhould begin in the yeare 1607, *and continue for the ſpace of twentie yeares, and that one of the Emperors ſhould ſend vnto the other euery three yeares their Embaſſadors with their honorable and rich Preſents, according to the pleaſure and power of their Majeſties.*

That all the Emperors ſucceſſors, as alſo thoſe of the Kingdome of Hungarie, ſhould be comprehended within this agreement of peace, together with all their kinſemen, allyes, and confederats, as likewiſe thoſe of the Great Sultans alſo.

That the Christians ſhould againe haue the Citie of Vacia, which they ſhould at their pleaſure keepe and fortifie, and that Strigonium, with all the Villages thereto belonging, ſhould remaine *vnto the Great Sultan; yet ſo, as that no man ſhould be with any new tribute oppreſſed; and that ſuch as had before been free from paying of tribute, ſhould ſtill keepe the ſame priuiledges.*

And that the Turkes ſhould not exact their tributes by the point of their ſwords, but by the way of Iuſtice, which they ſhould commit vnto the diſcretion of Iudges and Receiuers, to that end appointed, that ſo it might be payed without oppreſſing of the people, except haply they which ſhould pay it, vpon preſumption ſhould denie it, or too long deferre the payment of it: in which caſe it ſhould be lawfull both for the one ſide and the other, to vſe ſuch meanes as ſhould ſeeme vnto them good for the obtaining thereof.

Theſe are the Articles of this Peace, which God turne to the glorie of his Name, and the benefit of the Chriſtian Commonweale; and for which all the Townes of Hungarie made great joy and triumph, which they declared by the thundering of their Cannons, which they in great number diſcharged, with many other ſolemnities and triumphs. The Commiſſioners themſelues in token of their conceiued joy, magnificently feaſted one another alſo: which the Turks firſt began; and not content to haue made them great cheere, gaue vnto our Commiſſioners great Preſents alſo: for the Baſſa of Buda gaue vnto *Mollart*, *Althem*, *Turſon*, *Iſtuan*, *Collonitz*, *Budian*, *Hendoc*, *Cæſar Gallen*, and *Eleſchin*, braue and couragious horſes moſt gallantly furniſhed; and to the reſt exceeding rich garments and tapeſtrie hangings of great value. And as at the time of this feaſt, the troupe of *Mansfeld* had by many ſallies and vollies of ſhot giuen great pleaſure vnto the Turks as they ſate at the table; *Alla Baſſa* to declare the contentment and pleaſure he had therein receiued, ſent to the captaine of this troupe two hundred duckets, which he would not accept, requeſting in ſtead of them to haue deliuered vnto him a certaine captaine by the Turks then kept priſoner; whom the Baſſa cauſed freely to be deliuered vnto him, and withall ſent backe againe the two hundred duckets to be diuided among the ſouldiours; which for all that *Mansfeld* refuſed, ſending them backe againe vnto the Baſſa. After which actions of joy and peace, euery man returned home well content and pleaſed.

Great joy and triumph in Hungarie for the peace concluded with the Turke.

Theſe things thus done, and the peace confirmed, the Baſſa of Buda forthwith ſent his Embaſſadors to Conſtantinople, certifying the Great Sultan of the peace now made with the Chriſtians; who thereof conceiuing great joy, with a number of Ianizaries and others, in great magnificence went to the Church, to giue thanks therefore vnto his Prophet *Mahomet*, and ſpent the next day with great ſport and pleaſure, purpoſing from thenceforth to turne all his force and power for the ſuppreſſing of his Rebels in Aſia, and the ſubduing of the Perſian King.

The Great Sultan giueth thanks to his Prophet Mahomet, for the peace concluded with the Chriſtians.

Now albeit that there was a peace of late concluded with the Hungarians at Vienna (as is before declared) yet diuers ſtirres and Tumults were neuertheleſſe by the Haiducks in diuers places of the vpper Hungarie ſtill raiſed: inſomuch that about the end of Nouember the Inhabitants of the Countie of Bocotſie were through their inſolencies enforced to joyne battel with them, wherein a number were on both ſides ſlaine, and three countrey villages burnt: ſo that it ſhould ſeeme, no peace can be ſo well and indifferently made, but that ſome will be ſtill troubling and impugning the ſame.

The Haiduckes begin new ſtirs in Hungarie.

Shortly after, *viz.* the thirteenth of December, *Botſcay* calling together an aſſembly of the Eſtates of Hungarie, propounded to them to be conſidered of, firſt, That the late reuolt, almoſt generally made throughout all Hungarie, with all the ſtirres and troubles thereby raiſed, had all been hitherto to no other end made, but for the defence of their religion, and the maintenance of their antient Libertie: Then, That whereas they by their general good liking had made choice of him for their Prince, and that hitherto he had done nothing without their knowledge and conſent; and that euen now at this preſent hee was by their conſent readie to depart from the Caſtles and free Cities in the vpper Hungarie; and had now ſent his Letters vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, for the ſending of his Deputies to receiue them; whether hee ſhould from thenceforth relinquiſh the title of a Prince, or not. And that for as much as no warre could be made without great harme doing, that hee would therefore for the auoyding of further troubles about ſuch matters, that a Decree ſhould be made, That all ſuch wrongs and iniuries ſhould be forgiuen and forgotten, and that euery man ſhould ſtill hold all ſuch

Botſcay calleth an aſſemblie of the States of Hungarie, and inſtructeth the what to doe at their next generall aſſembly.

goods, whether they were moueable or immoueable, during the time of this late war. He wiſhed them alſo in the next general aſſemblie of the States, with all their power and endeauor, to vrge the repealing of the Article concerning the burning of Heretiques, with all other Articles contrarie to their Religion: and not to remit any thing concerning the choice of their Palatine, as had in former time been vſed: neither in this next general aſſemblie of the Eſtates to neglect any thing which might ſeeme to concern their priuiledges and libertie. And that therefore they ſhould be carefull to ſend thither wiſe and powerfull men, ſuch as ſhould not eaſily be ouercome with the clamors and outcries of the contrarie part. At length he wiſhed them to conſider of this alſo, how a true and ſincere confederation might be made betwixt Hungary and Tranſiluania, ſo that a ſafe and quiet traffique and commerce might in both places be vſed.

Botſcay dieth at Caſſouia.

Theſe things thus done, *Botſcay* his ſickneſſe ſtill more and more encreaſing vpon him, ſo at length preuailed, that it made an end of him, to the great ſorrow and griefe of all the people in general, who had him in great honour and regard. He died at Caſſouia the 30 of December, in the yeare 1606. He was honorably diſcended, and a man of great ſpirit, ambitious, wiſe, and politique, a great louer of his countrey, but an extreme enemie vnto the Germans, and their gouernment in Hungarie.

A little before his death, he earneſtly perſuaded *Iohn Iannſie* his Chancellor to continue in his allegeance to the Emperor, and not to raiſe new ſtirres, or ſo much as in him was, not to ſuffer any to be raiſed. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch his wholeſome counſell not regarded, there were ſome who immediatly after his death were about to haue raiſed new forces, for to haue ſeiſed vpon Tranſyluania, and ſo to haue ſtirred vp new troubles. For preuenting whereof, *Matthias* the Archduke forthwith ſent a meſſenger vnto the States of the vpper Hungary; aduiſing them, That the great harmes and miſeries conſidered which that part of Hungarie had of late felt end endured, almoſt to the vtter ruine and deſtruction thereof (which proceeded not ſo much from the wars with the Turks, as from their owne ciuile tumults and ſeditions) they ſhould from thenceforth giue themſelues to quietneſſe and peace, and not againe inſolently to preſcribe vnto the Emperor what to do, or how he was to diſpoſe of the countrey of Tranſyluania; aſſuring them, that the Emperour would not hereafter winke at ſuch their rebellious plots and deuices, but forthwith turne all his power and forces to the vtter deſtruction and rooting out of ſuch rebellious and ſeditious perſons, the diſturbers of the common peace and quiet. By which the Archdukes warning, ſome, otherwiſe readie enough to haue raiſed new ſtirres and troubles, were not therein ſo forward as otherwiſe haply they would haue bin, but kept themſelues quiet.

The Emperour not to be blamed for making peace with the Turke.

Now many there were (and yet are) which much maruelled, that the Chriſtian Emperour would thus make peace with the Great Sultan (as is aforeſaid) he being then ſo much troubled with wars, both againſt his owne Rebels, and the Perſian King, in Aſia, moſt part of his forces being turned that way; ſo that a fitter time, or of more aduantage, could not haue beene wiſhed for the Emperor to haue done great matters againſt him in, and not onely to haue holden his owne (which he did not) in Hungarie, but to haue recouered ſome good part of his loſſes there before receiued alſo. And indeed true it is, that the time then well ſerued for both: but what auaileth opportunitie without power? And had the Hungarians (the greateſt ſtrength the Emperour hath hitherto had for the defence of that little which is yet left of that ſo great a kingdome) been at quiet and at his command, and he himſelfe a Prince which had reſted vpon his owne ſtrength and power, euer at his pleaſure to haue been raiſed, and as need ſhould require ſupplied, without depending vpon his friends and allyes, then haply it might haue bin in him accounted a great ouerſight, to haue omitted and ouerſlipped ſo faire an opportunitie. But the Hungarians being then not only reuolted from him, but taking part with the Turks, and the Turks with them, and he of himſelfe with his owne power not able to hold the field againſt them, or well to maintaine a defenſiue warre; and his friends and allyes, his wonted and greateſt ſtayes, then at his greateſt need failing of him alſo, what ſhould he in ſuch a caſe do but as he did? to accept of a reaſonable peace whileſt he might haue it; eſpecially againſt ſuch an enemie, as whoſe whole power being turned againſt him, might haue eaſily endangered his whole eſtate. For it is not reaſonably to be thought, how the Emperour ſhould of

A of himſelfe, without the great aid of the other Chriſtian Princes, his friends and allies, be able to withſtand the huge and dreadfull power of the *Othoman* Emperour: as (without ominous preſage be it ſpoken) it is to be feared it will too true appeare, whenſoeuer his wars and troubles in the Eaſt being ended, he ſhall againe turne his forces this way toward the Weſt.

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Now *Botſcay* was no ſooner dead, but that ſome others of the Nobilitie both of Hungarie and Tranſyluania (happily no leſſe ambitious than was he) began by diuers means to ſeeke after and to aſpire to that principalitie. Of whom, though ſome either with the weakneſſe of their owne meanes or with the threats of *Matthias* the Archduke deterred, ceaſed further to ſeeke after it: yet were there ſome others, who better ſupported, and nothing afraid of the Archdukes great words, laboured vnder hand to haue obtained it. For the croſſing of whome, B and the auoiding of further troubles to be raiſed by theſe ambitious competitours, certaine of the Nobilitie of Tranſyluania gathered together at Claudionople the twelfth of Februarie, made choice of *Sigiſmund Ragotſie* for their Gouernor and their Prince of Tranſyluania, and the more to aſſure him of their loue and affection towards him, bound themſelues vnto him by the oath of their allegiance ſolemnely taken in the chiefe Church there. And afterward ſent meſſengers to the Archduke *Matthias* at Vienna, to certifie him what they had done, and to excuſe themſelues thereof: who comming to Presburg the twelfth of March, there openly proteſted this election of *Ragotſie* for their Prince to haue been made, not for that they were about to rebell, or to reuolt from the Emperour, whome they would alwayes acknowledge for their Soueraigne Lord; but for that their neceſſitie ſo required, many of the Nobilitie C both of Tranſyluania and of Hungarie gaping after this Principalitie, and going about, for the obtaining thereof, to raiſe new ſtirres and troubles. Howbeit, the ſame *Ragotſie* afterward doubting not to be able, without great trouble and danger, beſides the Emperors diſpleaſure, to hold the ſame Principalitie, of his own accord about a yeare after gaue the ſame vp again, and got himſelfe out of the way to Sarentum: who was no ſooner gone, but that *Gabriel Bathor* was about to haue ſtept into his place: vnto whome the States of Tranſyluania ſent word by two of the Noblemen, That the free election of the Prince belonged to them, and that therefore he ſhould not ſeeke by force to entrude himſelfe into the Principalitie, but quietly to come vnto the election, and not to bring with him aboue a thouſand horſemen, and fiue hundred foot.

Sigiſmund Ragotſie choſen prince of Tranſyluania, afterward yeeldeth vp the ſame Principalitie againe.

D About this time the ſtrong towne of Neuhuſe (otherwiſe called Neuheuſel) the laſt yeare ſo hardly woon by the Hungarian Rebels, was againe deliuered to *Sigefrid Collonitz* for the Emperour; who ſhortly after comming to Vienna, brought newes of a great number of the Turkes to haue riſen vp in rebellion at Belgrade, to haue rifled the towne, and to haue burnt another towne, called Aliſchria, downe to the ground, and ſo with a great prey to be gone ouer to the Rebels: and alſo *Redeius, Botſcay* his Lieutenant, in going to take poſſeſſion of certaine lands giuen him by *Botſcay*, to haue been by his owne tenants, lying in wait for him vpon a ſtrait paſſage, ſlaine.

Neuhuſe again deliuered vnto the Emperour.

Amongſt the articles of the peace before concluded betwixt the Emperor and the Great Sultan, one was for the mutuall ſending of Preſents one of them vnto another: With which E Preſents, when as the Embaſſadour, by the Emperour appointed for the carriage of the ſame to Conſtantinople, from day to day deferred to ſet forward, the Turkes and Tartars began to doubt, or elſe ſeemed to doubt, of the good meaning of the Chriſtians, for the obſeruing of the aforeſaid peace; and thereupon began againe not onely to roame abroad into the territories of the Chriſtians, but alſo cauſed the pledges left at Buda for the obſeruing of the peace, to be hardly handled and clapt faſt in priſon: whom when as the Baſſa of Buda ſhortly after ſuffered again a little to walke abroad, the proud Ianizaries were therewith ſo much offended that riſing in a tumult, they had almoſt ſlaine the Baſſa with ſtones, heaping vpon him many reproachfull words, and vnto his face calling him traitor and betrayer of his Prince and countrey, one of which pledges they grieuouſly wounded alſo. Which their inſolencie the F Baſſa in ſome ſort to chaſtice, and to deterre them from doeing the like againe, cauſed certaine of them the night following to be ſecretly taken, and beeing bound, to be ſo caſt into the riuer of Danubius. And yet ſhortly after, they purpoſing to make a road vpon the Chriſtians, to colour ſuch harmes as they ſhould therein doe, and to lay all the

The Ianizaries in mutinie against the Baſſa of Buda.

The effect of the Letters of the Baſſa of Buda to the Archduke Matthias

blame thereof vpon the Chriſtians, and to excuſe themſelues, they procured the Baſſa to write vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, of great wrongs done vnto the Turkes by the Chriſtians, when as there was no ſuch thing at all: the effect of which letters were, That whereas it was in the articles of peace ſet downe and agreed, that both parties ſhould abſtaine from roads and incurſions of each others countries, yet that the Chriſtians for all that had aboue an hundred times ſince the concluſion of the peace made roads into diuers territories of the Turkes, and ſlaine many of them: but eſpecially they of Leouen and Setſchin, who (as they ſaid) had ſlaine diuers Turkiſh merchants of Peſth, and taken from them great ſums of money, as they had alſo taken from them of Potſen a hundred and twentie horſes, with diuers other cattell. Beſides that, there were (as he ſaid) foure Turks more by the Chriſtians ſlaine, neere vnto Caniſa, and eight and twentie more taken priſoners: and that in the mid way betwixt Hatwan and Buda, fiue and twentie Turkes moe were ſlaine, and their horſes, with all that they had beſide, carried away. Which things for that they tended to the breach of the peace, he could not (as he ſaid) but aduertiſe his Highneſſe of, for that he thought the Chriſtian captaines vpon the borders of their territories to be men that hated peace, and to ſeeke by their excurſions, as heretofore they had done, ſo now likewiſe alſo, to diſturb this good worke begun, and by all meanes to encreaſe their owne priuat profit. And that therefore ſeeing that hee and the Turkes on their part wiſhed not to attempt or goe about any thing contrarie to the articles of the peace, that ſo likewiſe the Chriſtians ſhould containe themſelues within their owne bounds, and with all ſpeed by letters to giue him to vnderſtand, whether they would keepe the peace, or not.

The Rebels in the leſſer Aſia by the Viſier Baſſa appeaſed.

The Baſſa of Aleppo after 3. notable incounters with the Viſier, flyeth.

The great Sultan (as is aforeſaid) hauing made peace with the Chriſtian Emperour, and now purpoſing to turne all his forces againſt his Rebels in Aſia, and the Perſian King (as we haue oftentimes ſaid) and deſirous firſt to appeaſe thoſe his troubles at home, before hee had further to doe with the Perſian, hee ſent a meſſenger vnto the Baſſa of Aleppo, to lay downe armes, and to deliuer ouer his charge vnto another, to whom he had appointed the ſame, promiſing, that if he would ſhew himſelfe obedient vnto this his command, hee would not onely pardon him all that was paſt, but receiue him into his grace and fauour alſo. Whereunto the Baſſa anſwered, That he had neuer taken vp armes againſt his Majeſtie, but to be reuenged of the Baſſaes of Tripolis and Damaſco, his ſworne enemies; who once taken out of the way, hee would not onely yeeld himſelfe vnto his Maieſtie, but redeliuer alſo the tribute ſent him from Caire and Alexandria, by him before intercepted, and (if he ſo pleaſed to employ him) to bring great forces in his ſeruice againſt the Perſian King. With which anſwere the Sultan not contented, ſhortly after ſent the Viſier Baſſa with a great armie againſt the Rebels into Aſia; who by his wiſedome and diſcretion, more than by force of arms, hauing appeaſed the Rebels in the leſſer Aſia, and receiued certaine of the chiefeſt of them into his fauour, with an armie of an hundred and thirtie thouſand men marched directly towards Aleppo in Siria. Of whoſe comming the Baſſa of Aleppo hauing intelligence, with an armie of fortie thouſand men, moſt part of them harquebuſiers, went againſt him, and in a place of aduantage, not paſt two miles from the citie, there encountered him, and in three notable battells one after another, withſtood his whole forces. But making himſelfe readie to haue encountred him the fourth time, vnderſtanding of great aid comming to the Viſier, from the Baſſaes of Damaſco and Tripolis, he with ſpeed retired, and returning into the city, and hauing truſſed vp his treaſure, with ſuch things as he made moſt reckoning of, fled into the mountaines towards Perſia, with the greateſt part of his armie yet left ſtill following him. After which vnfortunate battell, the Viſier Baſſa with his armie comming vnto the citie, at length by force tooke the ſame, and there to the terrour of the inhabitants put to the ſword all the garriſon ſouldiers which the Baſſa had there left.

The Baſſa of Aleppo by the Great Sultan pardoned, and again receiued into fauour.

But the Baſſa purpoſing with new forces to haue encountered with the Viſier, finding himſelfe, together with his better fortune, forſaken by many of his former friends and companions, thought it beſt at length to take his refuge vnto the mercy of the great Sultan: and ſo reſolued, by letters requeſted the Viſier Baſſa to write in his behalfe vnto the Sultan, and ſo, if it were poſſible, to procure his peace. Which the Viſier hauing eaſily obtained, hee was by letters from the great Sultan ſent for to Conſtantinople, with aſſured promiſe, that hee

A ſhould be employed in ſeruice againſt the Perſian King. Vpon receit of which letters, the
Baſſa with an hundred horſe ſet forward; and comming to Conſtantinople, there in the
preſence of many other of the Baſſaes humbled himſelfe vnto the Sultan; who not onely
kept his promiſe with him in pardoning of him; but alſo, in regard of the antient familie
whereof he was diſcended, as alſo of his great valour and faire conditions, receiued him againe
into his fauour, and cauſed all the goods taken from him in Syria, to be againe vnto
him reſtored.

The great Sultan ſeeketh in vaine by the meanes of the Tartar to make peace with the Perſian.

Now in the meane time the great Sultan had by the meanes of the great Cham of Tartarie
ſought to make peace with the Perſian King; but all in vaine: for that hee demanded the
Citie of Tauris, with all the Prouinces before taken from him by the Perſians, to be againe
B vnto him reſtored: which the Perſian King vtterly denied, foraſmuch as hee had now by
force of armes recouered the ſame, and which in former time belonged vnto his anceſtours.
At which time the ſaid Perſian King, the more to entangle the Turke, writ vnto the King
of Spaine, for the turning of his forces alſo againſt the Turke their common enemie; the
Letters beeing to this effect: That though they were in Religion diuided, yet that in power
and in common hatred againſt the *Othoman* Empire they were conioyned: and that hee,
conſidering the greatneſſe of his power and armes; whereby hee was become his neighbor
in the Eaſt, he could not but moſt entirely loue and fauour of him: and that therefore he had
commanded all his Prouinces, as well in India as in other places thereabouts, that they
ſhould ſhew vnto his ſubiects all manner of courteſie, and to demand of them no tribute. And
C that hee hauing by force recouered the fortreſſe of Aden, which *Solyman* the Turkiſh Sultan
had ſometime by treaſon ſurpriſed, hee had appointed the ſame vnto the ſeruice of
the Spaniſh Gouernour dwelling in Goa. And that his pleaſure was, That all the Chriſtians
dwelling in his Kingdome ſhould enjoy the ſame libertie and priuiledges which his owne
faithfull ſubiects had. And beſides declared, that hee had now for ſeuen yeares ſpace made
continuall warres againſt the Turkiſh Sultan, who by treaſon had taken from him the ſtrong
towne of Chiamon, for the recouerie whereof hee had now diuers times ouerthrowne his
armies. But foraſmuch as hee was determined to make no end of this warre, vntill he had
driuen the Sultan out of thoſe parts of the Eaſt, and recouered the ſeat of *Iſmael* and *Inchel*,
his anceſtours in Babylon and Caire, hee therefore requeſted him, beeing a King of
D ſo great power, to joyne in league with him, and to ſend his dreadfull fleet into the Perſian
gulfe; promiſing, that by ſuch meanes the *Othoman* power driuen out, he could eaſily make
himſelfe Lord of Syria and of Ægypt. Laſt of all, hee reckoneth vp the Preſents hee ſent
him; to wit, the Images of *Iſmael*, *Inchel*, and of *Ionas*, together with his owne, caſt in gold,
and ſet with moſt rich precious ſtones and pearles; a Perſian writing table, garniſhed with
faire precious ſtones, foure dogs by nature wonderfully ſpotted with red, yellow, and blew
ſpots, two pieces of Arras adorned with moſt precious ſtones and pearle, wherein the worthie
acts of him that great *Tamerlane* were liuely to bee ſeene: foure hunters hornes verie
ſmooth and richly garniſhed: twelue moſt gallant plumes of feathers of diuers colours: ſix
drinking glaſſes which could not be broken, and couch-beds ſo cunningly made, as that they
were like vnto chaires, hauing wrought in them the antient wars betwixt *Aſcanius* and *Chiuſa*
King of the Medes.

The letters of the Perſian king vnto the king of Spaine.

The States of Hungary about to depart from Presburg, by the perſuaſion of the Archbiſhop there ſtaid.

Now the Emperour, for the better appeaſing of all former troubles, and the preuenting
of new, and the better aſſurance of the State, had about the middeſt of Auguſt called an
aſſemblie of the States of Hungarie to Presburg; whither they being come, and hauing
long in vaine expected the comming of *Matthias* the Archduke, by the Emperour appointed
to haue beene Preſident in that aſſemblie, were in the beginning of September about to
haue returned home, but that requeſted by the Archbiſhop to ſtay yet fifteene dayes longer,
they were contented ſo to doe; but yet vpon condition, That if the Archduke then came
not, they ſhould not be bound to ſtay any longer: For why, they by Letters certified of the
attempts of the Tartars (who had requeſted to haue a place in the borders of Hungarie, appointed
them to dwell in) were deſirous in any wiſe to haue that aſſemblie of Parliament
put off to a further time, that ſo they might the better betime preuent and meet with ſuch
the Tartars deſignes, whom they were loth to haue for their bad and troubleſome neighbours,

The Turkes in great number repaire to Buda

bours. And now the Turkes in the meane time, in hope that the peace betwixt them and the Chriſtians would not long hold, were come to Buda in ſuch multitude, that the houſes in the towne beeing not able to hold them, they were glad to ſet vp tents for them to lye in within the citie: for that the Baſſa would not ſuffer them to ſet vp any tents abroad in the fields, leſt the Chriſtians ſhould ſuſpect them to be about the raiſing of an armie, and ſo to diſturbe the peace.

The States of Hungarie depart from Preſburg without any thing doing.

But the States of Hungarie hauing ſtaied full 15 daies, as the Archbiſhop had requeſted, and the Archduke not comming; made a ſolemne proteſtation before the Chapter of the Cathedrall Church at Preſburg, that they departed from Preſburg, and ſo returned home, not vpon any diſcontentment or contumacie, but for want of things neceſſary, and other their vrgent occaſions (hauing aboue 7 weekes expected the Archdukes comming, without whom nothing could be done) and yet that if it ſhould pleaſe the Emperor by ſolemne ſummons at any time after to call another Parliament, they would be readie vpon ſuch ſummons giuen, to returne againe to Preſburg, and there to conſult of all ſuch things, as ſhould be for the good and welfare of the Common-weale: ſo that nothing were propounded contrary to the articles they the yere before agreed vpon at Vienna, which they would haue in all points kept whole & inuiolat: ſo that if any man ſhould go about or attempt any thing in diſpoſing and ordring of the publique affaires contrarie to that agreement, they would not in any wiſe ratifie the ſame, although it were by the Emperor himſelfe allowed: which their proteſtation they requeſted to haue regiſtred, and ſealed with the Chapters Seale, and ſo not hauing done any thing at all for which they came, againe returned.

The Haiduckes goe about to raiſe new ſtirs in Hungarie.

After whoſe departure from Preſburg, the Haiduckes (men vſed to liue by their ſwords, and not by their labour) of all others moſt diſcontented with this generall peace, began now to raiſe new ſtirres and tumults, and dayly to grow ſtronger and ſtronger, crauing aid of the Turkes and Tartars, and not of the other Hungarians their countreymen, now againe returned to their woonted allegeance vnto the Chriſtian Emperour: a number of which Haiducks flocking to Buda, the Baſſa there with ſome other of the Turks Captaines and Commanders, entered into conſultation what to doe with theſe ſo fit inſtruments for the troubling of the Chriſtians, and the diſturbing of the peace. To entertaine them he durſt not, and to caſt them off hee was loth; but yet purpoſing to vſe them and to ſet them a worke as occaſion ſhould ſerue, he to prepare an enterance thereunto, by letters threatened them of Comora, that except they better kept the capitulations and articles of the late peace, they ſhould ſhortly heare of new matters. But in the meane time letters were ſent from the great Sultan to the Baſſa of Buda, with charge, that although the Chriſtians were reported to encreaſe their ſtrength, hee ſhould yet keep himſelfe within his bounds, and to attempt nothing againſt them, except they ſhould proceed to manifeſt force: in which caſe he ſhould not faile by all lawfull meanes to reuenge himſelfe. Which the Sultans minde once made knowne, the Turkes againe departed from Buda, moſt part of the great ordnance that they brought with them being carried backe againe to Sigeth.

The Baſſa of Buda forbidden to make warres vpon the Chriſtians.

An aſſembly of the States of the vpper Hungary & the decrees by them there made.

But the States of Hungarie, beeing returned home from Preſburg, and againe aſſembled, the foureteenth day of October, by their generall conſent, decreed, That Tokay ſhould againe bee ioyned vnto their juriſdiction; and that the great ordnance throughout all the free cities ſhould be remoued and carried home vnto the places whereunto they before belonged: That the Vayuod of Tranſyluania ſhould be admoniſhed not to ſeperat Tranſyluania from Hungarie: That the Baſſa of Buda ſhould bee warned for to keepe his Turks within their owne bounds: and that the Nobilitie of Hungarie ſhould betime bee admoniſhed with all their force to repreſſe the Haiduckes, and all other their enemies. Howbeit the Haiduckes proceeding in their inſolent outrages more than before, tooke certaine forts, and with fire and ſword ſpoyled many places of the Countrey, cauſing the people to ſweare to be friends to them and the Turks, and enemies vnto the Germans and Wallons: and demanding of *Humanoius* the Crowne wherewith *Botſcay* had ſometime beene rewarded from the Grand Seigniour, had a purpoſe to haue crowned him, or ſome other for their King: who for all that, by a meſſenger ſent word vnto them, that hee would not at their hands accept that dignitie, but faithfully continue in his allegeance toward the Emperour. But when

The Haiduckes conſpire againſt the Germanes.

when the States of the vpper Hungarie were about to haue gone againſt theſe ſeditious and rebellious people to haue ſurpriſed them; they were from ſo doing deterred by the Baſſa of Agria, threatening with his Turkes and Tartars to take their parts if they ſhould once take vp armes againſt them.

The Turks further the inſolet attempts of the Haiducks.

About the ſame time ſix hundred Haiducks going to the caſtle of Saint *Andrew*, and comming thither, could not be let in by the garriſon ſouldiers, as they had deſired; and perceiuing them to make no reckoning of their ſeruice, could no longer hold, but openly profeſſed themſelues to become the great Sultans ſeruants: who from thence marching to Budnoc, tooke it by force, and ranſacked it: and ſo ſtill ſeeking after bootie, ran out towards Tockay, where by the way they were in a ſtrait by *Humanoius*, lying in wait for them, entrapped, and almoſt all ſlaine; who afterward ſent two of the Turks Enſignes, taken from them, to Vienna, and to the the terrour of others, empailed ſome of them vpon ſtakes, being brought priſoners to Caſſouia. For which vnfortunat expedition, ſome other of the Haiducks lighting vpon two of the Captains, who by chance had eſcaped out of *Humanoius* his hands, put them both to death for the euil leading of their fellowes, hanging vp the one, and with their ſwords hewing the other all to pieces. Now by the report of ſome of the priſoners there taken, it was known this new rebellion of the Haiducks to haue bin raiſed by the procurement of the Baſſaes of Buda and Agria, who by their meſſengers had promiſed vnto them all helpe. Which report to haue been true, the euent did ſhortly after confirme: for the 27 day of Nouember almoſt 15000 of theſe Haiducks hauing before receiued from the great Sultan 300000 duckats for pay, came and moſt ſtraightly beſieged Filek, a ſtrong caſtle, the Turks ſending them great ordnance from Agria; vnto whom theſe Haiducks had promiſed to deliuer all ſuch places as they ſhould win. Howbeit, the euent of this ſiege anſwered not to their deſire: for *Thomas Boſnias*, Captaine of Filek, with his garriſon all of Germane ſouldiers, ſo valiantly repulſed them, and the extremitie of the Winter weather ſo diſtreſſed them, that they were glad to rayſe their ſiege, and be gone.

Six hundred Haiducks intercepted by Humanoius.

The Haiduks in their rebellion ſupported by the Turks.

Now much about the ſame time, *viz.* about the beginning of Nouember, a great fire aroſe at Conſtantinople, wherein almoſt fiue hundred ſhops of wares with many other faire buildings were burnt, ſo that the harme there by fire done was eſteemed to amount to aboue two millions of gold.

A great fire at Conſtantinople.

At the ſame time that the aſſembly of the States of Hungarie ſhould haue beene holden at Presburg (as is before declared) the Emperor had appointed alſo another aſſembly of the nobilitie and States of Auſtria to be holden at Vienna; where after they were aſſembled, certain articles were vnto them on the Emperors behalfe propounded for them in that aſſembly then to conſider of: as firſt, that for the keeping of the frontiers of Auſtria in quiet, the contribution by them graunted amongſt themſelues the laſt yeare, ſhould this yeare following bee doubled. Then, that if it ſhould fortune the enemie to attempt any thing of new againſt that Prouince, that in ſtead of the horſes and money which they were woont to ſend vnto the warres, they ſhould for the ſpace of twelue moneths, or of the greateſt part thereof, as occaſion ſhould require, of their owne coſts maintaine ten companies of German footmen, euery companie beeing three hundred ſtrong; and as many troupes of German horſemen, euery troupe conſiſting of an hundred horſe. And, that if for the better defence of the borders of Auſtria there ſhould happily need a greater ſtrength, the ſame ſhould be raiſed in no other ſort than was vſed in Hungarie, nor at greater charges maintained. And, that if it ſhould continue peace, theſe charges ſhould be conuerted to the payment of the ſouldiers wages: And that the States and other ſubiects of that Prouince ſhould ſo much as might be, be eaſed from the trouble of ſending either of horſe or foot for the defence of the frontiers. Thirdly, that Commiſſaries ſhould be maintained this yeare alſo to attend the armie, and certaine skilfull Captaines appointed for the chuſing of a fit Generall for the armie. That diligent regard and care ſhould be had for the prouiſion of corne and victuals for the vſe of the people in generall, as well in the time of peace as of warre. And that foraſmuch as it much concerned the good of the Common-weale, to haue the frontiers of the Countrey toward Caniſia diligently viewed, for feare of the Turkes great garriſon there ſtill lying, that therefore certaine good and expert ſouldiers, which knew thoſe places well, ſhould bee

An aſſembly of the States of Auſtria, and the Emperours demands therein.

choſen,who together with the Deputies of the Emperour, Hungarians, and Stirians, riding G
about theſe confines,ſhould forthwith conſider what were beſt to be done for the ſafety thereof.
In briefe, ſeeing that of the ſafetie of Rab, the welfare of the citie of Vienna and of the
forts thereabouts depended,that for the repairing of the fortifications thereof, and the better
ſtrengthening of the ſame, the ſumme of foure thouſand florens ſhould be appointed : and for
the defence of the frontiers of Auſtria from the incurſion of the Turks gariſon of Caniſia,fiue
thouſand : and for the furthering of the buildings at Nuſtorfe, fiue thouſand moe ſhould bee
paied : and that thoſe who hitherto had beene ſlacke in paying of their contribution money,
ſhould forthwith be enforced to pay the ſame. And alſo that it might be conſidered of, how
that too much inhauncing of the value of monies might be reſtrained: that good orders might
be kept,all the countrie cleered from the roberies of the ſouldiers,ſtragling here and there vp H
and downe the ſame : that the counterfeit Hungarian and Polonian mony ſhould be prohibited,
as not currant : that good order might be taken for the ſtaying of the Plague, which then
began in many places in Auſtria.

The aſſembly broken vp, and nothing concluded.

Concerning which Articles,when as the States there aſſembled complained,all that countrie
to be with the long wars againſt the Turke,the incurſions of the Rebels,and the outrages
of the mutinous ſouldiers,already almoſt exhauſted,and miſerably bared of money ; no reſolution
could then, according as the neceſſitie required,be made, but was vnto a further time
deferred, and the aſſemblie broken vp.

1608

A Diet of the Empire by the Emperour appointed at Ratisbone.

The Emperour at the ſame time appointed a Diet of the Empire to bee holden at Ratiſbone
: wherein he hauing appointed *Ferdinand* Archduke of Auſtria,to be chiefe in his place, I
he with a notable traine of ſeuen hundred horſe, and a gallant guard of footmen,came thither
the eighth and twentieth of Nouember, and was there by the citiſens honourably receiued.
Vnto which aſſemblie,when as the Deputies of the Electors,and of the other Princes and Cities
of the empire,were in great number come,at length the twelfth of Ianuary Diuine ſeruice
beeing done in the Cathedrall Church , *Ferdinand* the Archduke, with his Courtiers, the
Emperours Counſellors,and other the Princes deputies being there preſent,taking horſe before
the Church, with a great companie of the Nobilitie and princes deputies following of
him,went to the Court;the citiſens in their armes ſtanding on both ſides: where *Godfrey Ortelius*
the Emperours Secretarie hauing in a notable Oration ſet forth the Emperours loue and
and affection towards the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire;and why, the Emperor K
himſelfe could not be preſent at this aſſemblie,as willingly he would haue been;he propounded
in his name fiue articles for them in this their aſſemblie to be eſpecially conſidered of.

The articles by the Emperour propounded to be conſidered of in the Diet of the Empire at Ratisbone.

Firſt, how the Empire might hereafter be preſerued and defended againſt the violence of the
Turks, and the dangerous rebellions by their procurement ſtirred vp in Hungarie, to the endangering
of the whole Empire ; eſpecially ſeeing that the Turkes themſelues (with whome
the peace was of late concluded) by their doings had heretofore more than ſufficiently declared
what truſt or credit was to bee giuen vnto them : and ſeeing that it is moſt manifeſt,
them therein to haue ſought for nothing elſe, than that hauing made or rather counterfeited
a peace with the Chriſtians for a time, for the ſuppreſſing of the Rebels, and the repreſſing of
the inuaſions of the Perſians , they might after ſuch victorie againſt them obtained, come L
better prouided, and ſtronger to ouercome the Chriſtians. Which was eaſie to bee ſeeene :
for that whileſt they were yet intreating of peace,they had taken Strigonium, and hauing concluded
peace,they ceaſed not as yet with their counſell and aid to helpe the Rebels in their
rebellious tumults : which was manifeſtly to bee perceiued by the Haiduckes themſelues,
who were not aſhamed openly to profeſſe themſelues to bee the Great Sultans ſeruants, to
require Cities and fortreſſes to bee yeelded vnto the Sultan, and to conſpire againſt the
verie name of the Germanes. For the ſpeedie remedie of which miſchiefe, the Emperour
had thought good, that conſideration of this point ſhould ſo bee had, as that the Princes
ſhould either conſent vnto a certaine ſtanding and perpetuall contribution, whereby a
ſufficient ſtrength might alwaies bee readie,wherewith to withſtand the enemies attempts : M
or elſe that for certaine yeares twentie thouſand footmen and foure thouſand horſe might
there bee ſtill in readineſſe , to bee maintained at the common charges of the Empire;which
the Emperour (neede ſo requiring) might vſe againſt the common enemie. Or that if this

were

A were heauie or troubleſome vnto the States of the Empire, yet at leaſt they ſhould conſent yearely to contribute ſuch money as might ſuffice for the ſuſtayning of ſuch a power. Another poynt of this concluſion, was about the correcting and reforming of the adminiſtration of Iuſtice in the Imperiall Chamber. For ſeeing that in the former aſſemblies and meetings this matter could not be fully decided, by reaſon of certaine hinderances and impediments which then fell out, and that without the due adminiſtration and execution of Iuſtice no Empire could long ſtand or flouriſh, no more than the World could without the Sunne; his Imperiall Maieſtie therefore would not haue the deliberation of this ſo neceſſarie a point to be put off or referred vnto any other aſſemblie, but to bee done and concluded in this preſent aſſemblie. The third point to be conſidered of, was the warre which B hath beene now ſo many yeares made in the Low-Countries, and the inconueniencie thereof redounding vnto the Empire. For whereas in the treatie of peace in the Low-Countries, (at which treatie both hee and the whole Empire ought to haue beene there preſent) for the better concluding and ending of the ſame, hee had heard the confederate Princes to bee now acknowledged for a free State, he could not now any longer (as he ſaid) forbeare, but that (ſeeing the Low-Countries to bee a member and fee of the Empire, and by the antient Records of the Empire, and of the Emperors, and by many other proofes it appeareth, the Gouernours of the Low-Countries to haue beene vaſſals of the Empire) hee ſhould by Letters which were written vnto the King of Spaine, the Archduke *Albertus*, and the States of the confederate Prouinces, admoniſh them, That they ſhould not proceed to doe or deter- C mine any thing in this matter, which might any way tend to the hurt or preiudice of the Emperour, of the Empire, and of the houſe of Auſtria. And foraſmuch as that warre in the Low-Countries had hitherto done no ſmall harme vnto the Empire, if happily it could not be agreed vpon betweene the parties, and that it ſhould happen the ſame warre to be any longer continued, or rather againe renewed, it ſhould then bee conſidered vpon, how the Empire might bee ſatisfied for the great harme it had vntill this preſent thereby receiued, and how it might be from the like harme hereafter kept and preſerued. The fourth point in this conſultation, which was to be conſidered of, concerned the coyne. For whereas it is manifeſt, that the value of the money to bee dayly more and more inhaunced and rayſed, and that thereby not onely the Magiſtrates in the publique receipt, but the ſubiects alſo in ge- D nerall receiued great and manifeſt harme, foraſmuch as the price of ſuch neceſſarie things which wee muſt in this life haue ordinarie vſe of, muſt of neceſſitie bee ſtill more and more encreaſed, according to the value of the money, the Emperour thought good with mature deliberation to remedie this miſchiefe in this preſent aſſemblie of the Empire. The fifth and laſt point which was to be conſidered vpon, was the perfecting of the Matriculer of the Empire, for the giuing vnto euerie man that which of due belongeth vnto him: the perfecting of which Matriculer, the Emperour would haue in this aſſemblie to bee amongſt them conſidered of.

Which articles thus propounded, there fell a great controuerſie amongſt the Deputies of the Princes concerning the manner of their proceeding in theſe matters: as whether they E ſhould conſider of theſe articles in ſuch order as they were propounded, or otherwiſe. And when as many thought it beſt firſt to conſider of the article, for the reformation of Iuſtice, beeing the ſecond article propounded to be conſidered of, and afterwards to come vnto the reſt of the articles to be afterward conſulted of: when as the two and twentieth day of Ianuarie they came againe to Counſell, a writing was by the Emperours commaund read vnto them, whereby it was ſignified vnto the States of the Empire; the rebellious tumults by *Botſcay* and ſome others rayſed in Hungarie to bee yet by the Haiduckes continued, the Sultan himſelfe ſending of them rewards, and furniſhing them with ordnance and other things neceſſarie for the warres, by the Gouernour of Agria, and the Baſſa of Buda, threatening all F extremities vnto them which ſhould goe about to reſiſt them; and then augmenting the danger which thereby might enſue vnto the Empire, and eſpecially vnto the Germane name, ſeeing that it was manifeſt thoſe rebellious Haiduckes to haue eſpecially conſpired the deſtruction of the Germanes, and to haue confirmed that their league, by drinking of an health: It was requeſted, that leauing off theſe contentions, for the manner of their proceeding, they would turne their conſultations vnto the firſt article, and reſolue how remedie might in time G bee giuen vnto this miſchiefe, and how aid might bee ſent vnto the Emperour againſt his enemies.

The deputies for the States of the Empire, in the aſſembly at Ratisbon, at variance among themſelues.

But when as in their often meetings, nothing could be concluded, by reaſon of the diuers and different opinions betwixt the Proteſtants and Catholickes, ***Ferdinand*** the Archduke againe calling together the Deputies of the Electors, of the Princes, and of the Imperiall cities, cauſed it by letters to be declared vnto them, How that the Emperour not without his great griefe and ſorrow had heard, That for certaine diſſention among them, they could not yet come to conſult of the articles propounded in that aſſemble to be by them conſidered of, but to his great griefe to be from day to day protracted: and that therefore he requeſted them, That either they themſelues would quietly end thoſe diſſentions amongſt them- H ſelues, or elſe ſend their differences conceiued in writing vnto the Emperour to be decided, and ſo at length to come effectually to conſult of the propounded articles. And indeed the Deputies aforeſaid had in writing before exhibited their mindes concerning that point, for the manner of their proceeding, vnto the Archduke ***Ferdinand.*** But foraſmuch as that writing was acccording to the manner of the Catholickes and the Proteſtants, of two different ſorts; the former thinking it meet to conſult of the aforeſaid articles in ſuch order as they were propounded, and firſt of all, to conſider of the contribution to be giuen againſt the Turks, and other enemies in Hungarie; but the other labouring, firſt for the reformation of Iuſtice, and the confirming of the peace of Religion, and afterward to prouide for aid againſt the forreine enemies, that ſo remedie might firſt bee prouided for inward, then for outward I griefes; eſpecially ſeeeing that they had no expreſſe commandement firſt to determine of the contribution. Vnto whome the Archduke by writing againe anſwered, That hee had receiued no other inſtruction from the Emperour, than that hee ſhould conſult of the aforeſaid articles, with the Deputies there preſent, in ſuch order as they were propounded: Neither that it was conuenient, that the firſt article concerning contribution beeing neglected, they ſhould proceed vnto the ſecond, ſeeing that the enemies might eaſily, by the delay of putting off the ſame in effect, take occaſion in the meane time to doe the Chriſtians great harme. Beſides that, that hee had ſufficiently proteſted, That conſultation concerning the reformation of Iuſtice ſhould in this preſent aſſemblie be had alſo; neither that it was the Emperours minde to haue it deferred vnto any other aſſemblie. Wherefore he exhorted the K Proteſtants, That they ſhould forthwith endeauour by their Letters vnto the Electors and Princes, and other their ſuperiours, to obtaine leaue, that they might firſt determine ſome certaintie about the firſt article concerning contribution; that ſo giuing way to the opinion of the other partie, they might inſtantly prepare themſelues for the making of the contribution. Howbeit, this his perſuaſion preuailed nothing, by reaſon of their diſcord and diſſenſion about the order of their conſultation; the one part ſtill labouring for the contribution to be firſt agreed vpon, and the other part holding as hard for the reformation of Iuſtice: ſo that ***Ferdinand*** the Archduke out of hope of concluding any thing that good was, not in vaine to ſpend his coſt and time any longer, the fifth of May diſmiſſed the aſſemblie, and returned home, as did all the reſt of the Electors and Princes Deputies, no one ar- L ticle that was propounded beeing ſo much as once reaſoned of, but all left vndecided: ſo ſmall care was there of the common good, either for the raiſing of money for the withſtanding of the Turkes and Rebels, or for the reformation of Iuſtice; the neceſſitie of both, either on the one ſide or the other, ſo hardly vrged, and yet in concluſion bee neither reſpected or regarded.

The Diet of the States of the empire at Ratisbone broken off, and nothing concluded.

Matthias the Archduke commeth to Presburg.

Whileſt the Diet to no purpoſe (as is aforeſaid) was by the Archduke ***Ferdinand*** holden at Ratisbone, ***Matthias*** the Archduke with a great traine following of him, came in the meane time to Presburg, where hee was with much joy and triumph receiued: the garriſon ſouldiers in order ſtanding on both ſides the way as hee went vnto the caſtle: ***Napragius*** the Biſhop of Rab, with an eloquent an Oration welcomming of him, in the preſence of certain of M the Hungarian Nobility, who had gone out as far as Hainburg to meet him, and now alſo honourably welcommed him, much reioycing at his comming. The next day the Archbiſhop and Cardinall of Strigonium with a notable traine of Hungarian Gentlemen came to Presburg.

burg: who forthwith receiued into the Caſtle, and hauing ſaluted the Archduke, conferred with him of many things in this aſſemblie to be conſulted of. In the meane time *Illiſhaſchius* (that noble Hungarian of whom we haue ſo often ſpoken) arriued there alſo with twelue coaches, ninetie harquebuſiers, and forty Hungarian horſemen going before him, and three hundred Haiducks which had attended vpon him, being at the gate diſmiſſed. So the chiefe of the Hungarian States being come, the conſultation was begun the three and twentieth day of Ianuarie: where when as the Archduke had propounded vnto the Hungarian Nobilitie, what things they were eſpecially to conſider of; it was by them anſwered, The Haiducks before their comming out, to haue determined, not one whit to depart from the Articles the yeare before propounded and agreed of at Vienna; nor to admit any limitation at all of them: ſo that for the appeaſing of the tumults of the Haiducks, there was no need of any new conſultation, but onely to confirme ſuch things as was then and there conſulted and agreed vpon. From which their reſolution when as the Hungarians were not to be remoued, and being grieued with the ſcoffing at of certaine of the Clergie (thereupon refuſing in any wiſe to make their appearance, as they were commanded, before the Cardinal in the Caſtle) were about againe to depart; making a ſolemne proteſtation, themſelues to be guiltleſſe of ſuch harmes as ſhould thereof afterwards enſue; it was at length on all parts agreed vpon, That the whole matter ſhould be committed vnto ten choſen out of the Hungarian Counſellours, and ten moe of the Counſellors of Auſtria, to be conſulted and determined of. By whom, being met all together the eight and twentieth of Ianuarie in the houſe of *Illiſhaſchius*, it was concluded, That ſeeing that peace and quietneſſe in thoſe Countries of Hungarie and Auſtria could not otherwiſe be made, that thoſe Articles and conditions, concernrng which no agreement could the yeare before be made in the treatie at Vienna, being quite left off and neglected, the reſt of the Articles which were there agreed vpon, ſhould be ſtill entirely obſerued and kept: and that it ſhould be lawfull for euerie man to haue the free exerciſe of his Religion. Which thing the Commiſſioners of Auſtria by a ſpecial writing there confirmed vnto the Hungarians. Whereby they declared themſelues after long and mature deliberation, to haue perceiued not onely by the true relation and report of the Hungarians, but alſo by their owne experience, vnto how great inconueniences the whole Kingdome of Hungarie hath of long been expoſed, as well for the warres it hath had with the common Enemie of the Chriſtians, as for diuers the ciuile tumults and ſeditions therein; and that therefore they not willing that ſuch harmes ſhould in thoſe Countries againe encreaſe and grow, to the infinite effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, after the Articles of Pacification agreed vpon at Vienna, ſaw no other better remedie for theſe ſo great inconueniences, than that all parties ſhould ſtill hold themſelues contented with the ſame Articles of Pacification concluded and agreed vpon in the ſaid aſſemblie at Vienna. And that therefore they had decreed, thoſe articles to be ſincerely and inuiolately kept: and promiſed vnto the States of Hungarie, to giue their aid for the defence of theſe articles, againſt all their enemies, being readie to giue good reaſon thereof before God, the Church, the Emperour *Rodolph*, the Archduke *Matthias*, and his other brethren, and all the Houſe of Auſtria, as the neceſſitie of thoſe Countries ſhould ſeeme to require: hoping alſo that the States of Hungarie would reſt themſelues likewiſe in that Pacification of Vienna, and the aſſurance thereof, in all points obſeruing the ſame; and that they would alwaies giue their readie helpe and aid vnto the Countries of Auſtria againſt their Enemies in like manner. All which things thus agreed vpon and determined, Letters of Confederation were in the name of *Matthias* the Archduke, and of all as well the Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal States of Hungarie and Auſtria, to this purpoſe written, That whereas for the appeaſing and ſuppreſſing of the tumults and ſeditions which the Haiduckes by the inſtigation of the Turks had of late not doubted to raiſe, for the concluding of peace with the Great Sultan, they were met together at Presburg, and therein altogether buſied, to deuiſe how the Kingdome of Hungarie, with the Countries adjoyning, might from deſtruction be deliuered, in the Chriſtian Religion preſerued, and from waſting and ſpoyling, whereunto they had hitherto beene expoſed, ſaued: Vpon mature deliberation, had as well in the name of them that were preſent, as of them that were abſent, made ſuch a Confederation and League; That if heereafter it ſhould fortune any detriment of warre

Commiſſioners appointed for the appeaſing of the new troubles in Hungarie.

Letters of confederation betwixt the States of Auſtria and Hungarie, for the maintaining of the Articles of Pacification agreed vpon at Vienna.

to be by any man made or done vnto the Hungarians, or the countries thereabout, for the afore-ſaid articles of Pacification, which they had determined religiouſly to keepe, that they would G forthwith with their vnited forces come to aid their confederat brethren, and together with them to liue or die.

With theſe letters ſigned and ſealed with the hand of the Archduke, and of the Noblemen there preſent, the firſt of February, *Illiſhaſchius* with *George Turſon*, were ſent vnto the tumultuous Haiducks (who had now appointed their meſſages to be ſent vnto the Sultan and the Tartar Cham, to craue their aid) to diſſuade them from ſuch their purpoſe, and to perſuade them to quietnes; threatening them withall, That if they would not hearken vnto ſuch honeſt conditions, they ſhould all together, and at once, be ſet vpon and oppreſſed by the whole power of the States.

The States of Enſerec commanded by the Archduke Mathias to be alwaies in a readineſſe againſt the Haiduckes.

The Aſſemblie at Presburg thus ended, *Matthias* the Archduke returning to Vienna, and H forthwith calling together the States of Enſeric, declared vnto them all that was done in the Aſſemblie at Presburg. And for as much as that aſſemblie was chiefely to that end appointed, That the kingdome of Hungarie ſhould not altogether be pluckt away from the Empire; and that after the reuolt thereof, the greateſt harme to be done by the incurſions and ſpoyling of the enemies, would lie vpon the countries of Auſtria; he aduiſed them ſo to looke vnto themſelues, and carefully to prouide for the Commonweale, as that hauing money alwaies in readineſſe to maintaine an armie, they might with all conuenient ſpeed go to meet with the Haiducks, if haply they would not conforme themſelues vnto the articles of Pacification, but againe raiſe new broiles; that ſo they might defend and preſerue their countrey from their I outrages.

The Prince of Valachia dieth; whoſe widow notably preſerueth the Country for her ſonne.

About the beginning of this Spring, when as *Ierome* Prince of Valachia was dead, leauing behinde him a ſonne but thirteene yeares old, the Emperor admitted him, as yet not capable of the gouernment, vnder Tutors, vnto the ſucceſſion of his heritage. Which thing the Valachians being by no meanes willing to endure, and bearing themſelues vpon the helpe of the Turks, went about to make choice of another in ſtead of their Prince of late dead. For which cauſe, the Princeſſe widow by letters certified *Polloſcie* her ſonne in law, of this outrage and injurie of her ſubjects: and hauing obtained of him a great ſumme of money, and therewith raiſed an armie of ten thouſand good ſouldiers, went forth againſt the Valachians, and in open field ouercame them in ſo bloudie and terrible a battel, that hauing ſlaine fiue thouſand of the K Valachians and Turks, ſhe had ouer them a notable victorie, and by that meanes preſerued the principalitie of that Countrey for her ſonne.

The Duke of Florence in vaine requeſted by the Turks to ſpare their gallies.

The Great Duke of Florence had hitherto done great harme with his fleet vnto the Turks in the Mediterranean ſea: for which cauſe a Meſſenger about this time comming vnto him in the Great Sultans name, promiſed him great matters, if he would from thenceforth forbeare to hurt and purſue the Turkes Gallies. Which his requeſt ſerued the Turkes to no other purpoſe, but as it were to put oyle vnto the fire. For the Duke afterward cauſed new gallies to be made, and his fleet encreaſed, and therewith did more harme than formerly he had done.

The Haiduckes refuſe to admit of the Pacification made at Vienna.

Now although that after the ending of the Aſſemblie at Presburg, *Illiſhaſchius* and *George* L *Turſon* had deliuered vnto the Haiduckes the Articles of the Pacification, and commaunded them from thencefoorth to keepe themſelues quiet; yet for all that, could they not yet be perſuaded to hearken vnto ſuch their counſell: for that they being men ſtill accuſtomed to the warres, and liuing by their ſwords, could not endure to fall to husbandrie, and ſuch other labours. For which cauſe they of the Countrey about Gymeric, writ vnto them which dwelt in the Countrey about Nuſol, letters to this effect: That forasmuch as they beeing diuers times certified of the miſerable eſtate of their neighbors, had refuſed to come to ayd them, they ſhould yet now remember how neceſſarie a thing it were, with their conjoined mindes and forces to helpe one another; for that the Haiduckes hauing now paſſed the riuer of Teiſe, were broken into that Prouince, and M were runne as farre as Budnoc: neither were they minded ſo to ſtay, but to robbe and ſpoyle all the Countrey before them, if they were not with ſpeed encountered. And the rather, for that but a few dayes before, they had receiued thirtie thouſand Hungarian Duckets from

A from the Turks, whom they now acknowledged for their Lords, with horſes and other gifts to be diuided among their Leaders and Captaines: and moreouer, dayly expected aid from the Tartars, who in great number lay about Belgrade. Wherefore ſeeing it could not be expreſſed, what great harme and loſſe was by the Haiducks done, as well vnto the Noblemen themſelues, as to the common countreymen; that they ſhould therefore thereof giue their Neighbours to vnderſtand, and with all ſpeed to take vp armes againſt the ſame rebellious Haiducks.

Not long after, about the latter end of March, Proclamation was made by the commandement of *Matthias* the Archduke, throughout all Auſtria, That euery man ſhould prouide himſelfe to take vp armes. The cauſe whereof men diuerſly ſuſpected: howbeit that vnto B this Proclamation was this reaſon joyned, That the Archduke was determined himſelfe to go about the fourteenth of Aprill into Morauia, and there to gather together all his power, as well Hungarians, as Auſtrians and Haiduckes, for the warre hee was to take in hand. There were alſo Letters in the Archdukes name ſent vnto the Vaſſals of Auſtria, to giue them to vnderſtand, That whereas they were not ignorant, what, for the obtaining of peace, and defence of theſe Countries, had of late beene decreed at Presburg; and that all the States of Enſeric had approoued the report thereof receiued from their Deputies, and ſo promiſed their helpe and aid vnto the Archduke, as if that he himſelfe would take in hand any expedition, they would joyne themſelues vnto him, and together with him to liue or die: yet that there were ſome, which being more deſirous of war than peace, did not onely not reſt C vpon the former pacification, but gathered an armie alſo in the borders of Morauia; with a purpoſe to make an inroad as well into Morauia, as into Auſtria it ſelfe. For which cauſe the States of Morauia alſo were enforced, for defence of themſelues to raiſe an armie, and to craue helpe from their Neighbours. And that therefore ſeeing the Archduke, mindefull of his promiſe for the common defence of the Countrey, was reſolued to beſtow his life and all his fortunes, and in his own perſon to vndertake an expedition vnto thoſe places from whence the greateſt danger was to be feared to fall vpon thoſe countries; neceſſitie then required, that the States themſelues alſo ſhould ſuffer nothing to be wanting on their behalfe, but euery one of them together with their ſeruants forthwith to joyne themſelues vnto the Archduke, and to the vttermoſt of their power to endeauor themſelues to deliuer them and theirs from death D and deſtruction. That God, in whoſe name this expedition was by them to be taken in hand, as by the louers of peace, might ſo in ſhort time make an end of all tumults, and grant vnto thoſe Countries wiſhed peace and quietneſſe. And that therefore they were to be admoniſhed, That according to the tenor of the Decree made at Presburg, they with ſuch a number of horſe and foot as they could vpon the ſudden raiſe at a day to be ſhortly after vnto them named, ſhould joyne themſelues vnto the Archduke, and not to ſuffer any thing to let them in ſo doing. So that if haply any chance or ſickneſſe ſhould happen vnto their General, yet notwithſtanding that they ſhould ſend their power vnder the leading of ſome other man, ſeeing that the Archduke himſelfe ſpared not to aduenture his life and fortunes, and (if God ſhould ſee it ſo good) account it a great gaine euen to loſe the ſame, ſo that thereby he might doe his E countrey good.

The States of Auſtria warned by the Archduke to prepare themſelues for an expedition to be made into Morauia.

About the beginning of April, the Cardinal returning from Prague to Vienna, brought with him the Emperors anſwer and reſolution, *viz.* That he did ratifie and confirme all things that were done and concluded with the Hungarians and Turks; but that his will was, That the confederation made betwixt the States of Hungarie and Auſtria at Presburg, ſhould be void and of none effect. Which the Archduke proteſting that he could by no meanes like of, or ſuffer to be done, he the 15 of Aprill afterwards with a great number of the Peeres, Nobilitie, and Counſellours, and a multitude of good ſouldiers, going out of Vienna towards the monaſterie of Neoburg, ſet forward vpon his journey, carrying with him eight and twentie pieces of ordnance, there expecting his ſouldiers in all places leuied: by publique Letters proteſting, F That no man ſhould from his armie receiue any harme; or if that by chance any harme were done vnto any man by his armie, aſſuring his ſubiects it ſhould be againe vnto them reſtored and recompenſed.

The Archduke Matthias prepareth himſelfe for his expedition into Morauia.

But the rumor of this expedition being brought into Bohemia, the Nobilitie of the Countrey began to aſſemble themſelues the fifteenth day of April; whither when as many of the

deputies

The Nobility of Bohemia are by the Emperour commanded to be readie in armes.

deputies of the other Countries were aſſembled alſo, it beeing decreed, That the Nobilitie of the faithfull States there preſent, ſhould with all ſpeed returne home, and ſo prouide themſelues and their ſubiects of neceſſarie armes; that, need ſo requiring, they ſhould therewith be able to defend themſelues and their countrey, the aſſembly was diſmiſſed. Beſides that, the Emperour himſelfe carefull for all euents, cauſed many both horſe and foot, to be brought to Prague, and to be diuerſly bilited in the citiſens houſes: and furthermore, the eighteenth of Aprill, by letters directed vnto certaine Princes of the Empire, and to certaine Earles alſo, citiſens, and other vaſſals of the Kingdome of Bohemia, warned them with all ſpeed to ſend aid vnto him at Prague.

The Archduke Matthias with an armie commeth to Zname in Morauia.

But *Matthias* the Archduke in the meane time marching forward with an armie of twentie thouſand horſe and foot, the foure and twentieth day of Aprill came to Zname, a citie of Morauia, and was there, by the States of Morauia (who the day before were come thither alſo with foure hundred horſe) honourably receiued and brought into the citie. From thence ſending out letters into the territories of Bohemia, and to the citie of Prague, hee requeſted, That they would ſend out of euery place two deputies for them, vnto the aſſemblie to be holden at Zaſlauia, the fourth day of May: promiſing withall, That hee himſelfe there beeing preſent, would yeeld vnto their deputies a reaſon of his doings, as alſo what he meant to do hereafter. Beſides that, hee by letters ſent vnto the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, declared the cauſe why hee was enforced to make this expedition: and withall ſending vnto them a copie of the agreement made at Vienna, the fiue and twentieth day of Aprill, in the yeare *1606*, by the common conſent of the Archdukes; in moſt friendly manner requeſted them, That they would not intermeddle in this buſineſſe, but rather with their counſell and aid to further the ſame.

The Emperour ſendeth embaſſadours to the Archduke Mathias at Zname

But the three and twentieth day of Aprill, the Emperour ſent the Popes Embaſſadors, with the Embaſſadours of diuers other Princes and States, then lying at Prague with ſundrie of the Bohemian Miniſters, in Embaſſage to the Archduke *Matthias*, ſtill lying at Zname: whom the Cardinal the next day after followed alſo, to make ſome good pacification, if it were poſſible, with the Archduke. But the Emperor in the meane time calling vnto him the counſellors of the old and new towne of Prague (contrarie to his woonted manner) moſt courteouſly with his owne hand receiued them, and giuing them thanks for the faithfull duties by them hitherto performed; requeſted them, That hereafter they would continue in their like fidelitie and loyaltie alſo: moſt liberally promiſing vnto them all kindneſſe, with the reſtitution of the priuiledges concerning the ſhutting of the gates of the citie: which libertie they had before loſt in the time of the Emperor *Ferdinand*. And not long after, a general muſter was taken, not only in the Citie of Prague, and the townes thereabouts, but alſo throughout all the Kingdome of Bohemia, and three hundred musketiers appointed for the gard and keeping of the caſtle, vnder the command of Count *Solmes*, who had commiſſion for the raiſing of other ſouldiers alſo.

The Tartar Cham dieth.

The ſeditious Turkes raiſe new ſtrifes in the leſſer Aſia, and ſpoil Smirna with the countrie thereabouts.

At the verie ſame time it was from Conſtantinople certainely reported, the Tartar Cham to haue dyed, and the Turkiſh Sultan hauing receiued newes thereof, to haue diſmiſſed his ſonne, whome hee hitherto had detained as a pledge, and with diuers ſhips and gallies, to haue cauſed him to bee tranſported ouer the Blacke Sea, vnto the borders of Tartarie, there to take poſſeſſion of his fathers Kingdome. It was alſo then reported, certaine of the ſeditious Turkes making of a road, to haue ſurpriſed Smirna, a rich Citie of Aſia, and to haue forraged all the Countrey about it farre and neere, acd comming vnto Magneſia, a chiefe Citie of that Countrey, to haue had ten thouſand crownes by the inhabitants offered, from thenceforth to ſpare the Countrey thereabouts. The Perſian King alſo at the ſame time notably to proceed in his warres, and to doe the Turkes great harme, the Turkes and Tartars ſeeking in vaine to withſtand him.

Embaſſadours ſent from the Electours of Saxony and of Brandenbourg, for the appeaſing of the troubls betwixt the Emperour and Matthias.

In the meane time Embaſſadours comming vnto Prague from the Electors of Saxonie and Brandenburg, part of them the ninth of May, went vnto the Archduke *Matthias* to Zaſlauia, who ſtill lay there encamped with an armie of fiue and twentie thouſand men: of whome they requeſting a truce for the ſpace of eight dayes, for the making of a pacification betwixt the Emperour and him, and for friendly ending of this buſineſſe, eaſily obtained the ſame, eſpecially ſeeing that thoſe Princes Electors, being ioyned and bound vnto the Emperour

rour in a double confederation, as well for their Electorſhip, as in reſpect of the Kingdome of Bohemia, could not, as they ſaid, otherwiſe do, but ſend preſent aid vnto the Emperor, his neceſſitie ſo requiring; to which end they had now in readineſſe certaine thouſands of ſouldiors in the frontiers of their countries, to be forthwith ſent vnto him: The other part of theſe Embaſſadors in the meane time ſtaying with the Emperor, where after the Germane manner they were well prouided of good cheere and wine.

About the ſeuenteenth of May *Matthias* the Archduke with eighteene thouſand men roſe and marched towards Prague, *Collonitz* with the reſt of the armie following him. And although that the Archduke had ſeuerely commanded his ſouldiers to abſtaine from robbing, ſpoyling, and burning of the countrey, and had diuers times ſeuerely puniſhed ſome offendors therein, by hanging of ſome, and heading of others, yet could he by no meanes ſo reſtraine them, and keepe them in, but that ſome of them would ſometimes be ſtragling abroad, and doing harme, eſpecially the Hungarians, who were ſtill running out euen as far as the Emperours campe, and the new citie of Prague. Whom for all that, the Emperors ſouldiers (being then twentie thouſand ſtrong) would not meddle withall, being ſo commanded by the Emperor. Howbeit ſome of theſe ſtraglers going too far abroad into the country, were by the countrey-men cut off and ſlaine.

Matthias the Archduke marcheth towards Prague.

The three and twentieth day of May an aſſemblie of the States of Bohemia was called at Prague, the Emperor himſelfe being there preſent; *Adam Waldſteine* carrying the drawen ſword before him. In which aſſemblie the Nobilitie and States of the countrey with one conſent promiſed to ſpend their goods and liues in the Emperors quarrell; yet in the meane time requeſting theſe things following to be granted and confirmed vnto them: *viz.* That Religion according to the confeſſion of Bohemia and Auguſta ſhould inuiolately be kept, and that they which profeſſed the one, ſhould not therefore ſcoffe or deſpiſe the other. That Bohemians only ſhould be preferred to Archbiſhopricks, Abbotſhips, and other ſpiritual preferments. That the Archbiſhop ſhould not meddle with ciuile and political affaires. That Eccleſiaſtical offices ſhould be permitted vnto the Proteſtant Miniſters, as in former time, the Catholickes in the meane time holding that they had. That the Pontificial diſpenſation in cauſes of Matrimonie, according to the Decree of the aſſembly holden in the yere 1602, ſhould be abrogated and taken away. That it ſhould not be lawfull for Prieſts and other Eccleſiaſtical perſons to buy lands or territories, without the expreſſe conſent of all the three States, but to hold themſelues contented with their tythes and other their reuenues. That it ſhould be lawfull for all men in their owne ground and territories to build Churches for religion, on both ſides. That Proteſtants and Patrons of the Vniuerſitie of Prague ſhould be joyned to the Conſiſtorie, as they were in the time of the Emperour *Ferdinand*. That one ſhould be choſen for Burgraue in this aſſembly. That chiefe political offices ſhould not be left void aboue a month. That vnto theſe political offices men of both religions ſhould be admitted: ſo that if the Burgraue were a Catholike, the chiefe judge ſhould be a Proteſtant. That euery man ſhould enjoy his right, and that no Decree ſhould be publiſhed againſt the ſame: neither that they which were of the Order of Knights ſhould be raſhly ſued, or bound to any areſt. That one of the Bohemians ſhould always be choſen into the ſecret Councel, and made acquainted with the Bohemian affaires. That euery man might haue acceſſe to the Emperour, and not all things to be done by his Counſellors. That it ſhould be declared to all men, what was to be vnderſtood by the crime of Treaſon. That a difference ſhould be made betwixt offences: and that no man ſhould for any light offence, together with his goods, loſe his life & reputation. That the ſuits of widowes, orphans, and others alſo, ſhould with expedition be diſpatched, and not from day to day deferred. That from henceforth the father ſhould not be bound to pay the ſons debt, which he was run into without his knowledge; neither yet the ſon himſelfe. That in political offices men ſhould not be too much grieued with too heauie exactions. That men ſued ſhould not be ſummoned but in good tearmes, and that ſuch as were in any reputation be bound vnto any arreſt, without the hearing of their cauſe, and much leſſe to be impriſoned. That the ſword vpon frowardneſſe or madneſſe taken out of the Church of Thine certain yeres before, ſhould be againe ſet in the former place. That Lawyers which pleaded mens cauſes, ſhould be contented with ſuch fees as were by common Decrees appointed them. And laſt of all to conclude, they

An aſſembly of the States of Bohemia, holden at Prage in the preſence of the Emperour.

The requeſts of the nobility & States of Bohemia vnto the Emperour.

they in any wiſe requeſted the Emperour, that it would pleaſe him to eaſe the Nobilitie and G States of Bohemia of theſe griefes, before they were compelled to anſwer vnto ſuch things as were to be propounded vnto them on his behalfe. Who eaſily granted vnto moſt of theſe articles, thoſe which concerned Religion only excepted; ſo that the Senators of the old town of Prague obtained the deſired ſword to be againe forthwith ſet in the wonted place. But as for the buſineſſe of Religion, it was altogether put off and deferred vnto the next aſſemblie to be holden at the feaſt of Saint *Michael*.

Matthias the Archdukes embaſſadors come to Prague.

About the end of May the Archduke *Matthias* his Embaſſadors hauing receiued ſafe conduct from the Emperor and the nobilitie of the kingdome of Bohemia, came to Prague: and being admitted into the councell of the Nobilitie, *Charles* Count *Tſeratin* to whome that charge was giuen, hauing in the Archdukes name firſt ſaluted the Nobilitie, cauſed what hee and the reſt had in charge, to be before them out of a long writing in the Bohemian tongue H read: which done, when as, the Nobilitie ſo requiring, they were put aſide, and almoſt an houre after were called againe, they receiued anſwer, That the points of the Embaſſage by them propounded, were greater and of more weight than that ſufficient deliberation could thereof in ſo ſhort a time be had; and that therefore it was by the Nobilitie thought meet, that Commiſſioners on both ſides meeting together in the open field neere vnto Debritſe ſhould there conſult of theſe articles, and by the conſent of the Emperor and Archduke to do what they might to end the matter: Vnto which anſwer the Archdukes Embaſſadors conſenting, the ninth of Iune returned againe vnto the campe. The Emperours Embaſſadors within two dayes after with fortie coaches and an hundred horſe following them vnto the place appointed: wo oftentimes going to and fro, at length ſo wrought the matter on both ſides, that I the buſineſſe quietly and friendly ended, they were againe made friends.

Commiſſioners appointed for the ending of the troubles betwixt the Emperor and Matthias the Archduke.

The articles of which pacification and agreement betwixt the Emperor and the Archduke were the ſeuenteenth day of Iune in the caſtle of Prage openly read in the Bohemian tongue, *Lichtenſtein*, *Kintskie*, and other Chiefetaines the Archdukes Embaſſadours, being there preſent, in order thus:

The Articles of pacification betwixt the Emperour and the Archduke Matthias.

That the Emperour refuſed not, but that the Crowne of Hungarie ſhould be deliuered into the Archduke *Matthias* his hands: and to yeeld vnto him the Kingdome of Hungarie, and to remit vnto his ſubjects the oath of their allegeance before giuen vnto him, ſo that the Nobilitie and States of Hungarie ſhould chuſe no other King but the Archduke. That in the K next Dyet of the Empire, he ſhould propound vnto the States of the Empire to be conſidered of, what contribution they ought to make vnto the Archduke for the defence of their frontiers, if happely longer warre were to be made with the Turke. That hee ſhould cauſe the Writings which concerned that Kingdome of Hungarie, within the ſpace of two months to be deliuered vnto the Archduke. That he ſhould likewiſe alſo ſurrender vp the Archdukedome of Auſtria, by himſelfe hitherto poſſeſſed, vnto the Archduke: yet ſo as that the Archduke ſhould take vpon himſelfe all the Emperours debt as well inungarie as in Auſtria, and within a yeare ſhould cauſe ſufficient Recognizance or Caution ſealed with his owne hand, to be deliuered vnto the Creditors. That hee ſhould cauſe all the Letters and Writings, as well concerning the vpper Auſtria, as the nether, within the ſame time to be deliue- L red vnto him, together with a Copie of the Priuiledges therein, vntill that deliberation might be had concerning them, to be transferred vnto him alſo. That the Nobilitie and States of Bohemia ſhould in the Emperors name ratifie and confirme the Treatie held at Vienna, for the making of the peace betwixt the Emperonr, the Turkes, and the Hungarians. That they alſo ſhould not refuſe at the Emperours requeſt, to promiſe vnto the Archduke a certaine ſucceſſion into the Kingdome of Bohemia; but yet with condition, ſo that if it ſhould happen the Emperour to die without heires male, before the death of the Archduke his brother: but if hee ſhould haue heires male lawfully begotten and vnder age: that in that caſe he ſhould onely haue the rule and gouernment of the Kingdome of Bohemia, yet with certaine Bohemian Councellors joyned vnto him. That the Archduke ſhould by writing M confirme vnto the Nobilitie and States of Bohemia, That hee ſhould after the vſual manner and faſhion demand the kingdome of Bohemia, being void of a King. That he ſhould take the vſual oath of a King, & alwaies haue like regard of all their priuiledges as the other Kings his predeceſſours had. That the States of Bohemia ſhould not gaineſay, but that the Archduke might heereafter vſe the title of the deſigned King of Hungarie. That the adminiſtration of the Marquiſet of Morauia ſhould be granted vnto the Archduke *Matthias* and his heires, together with the title of a Marqueſſe, vntill that after the death of the Emperor this Prouince was againe to reuert vnto him which was to enioy the Kingdome of Bohemia. But if it ſhould happen the Archduke to die before the Emperour, the States of Bohemia ſhould not refuſe, but that this Prouince ſeparate apart, might (as ſhould ſeeme good) chuſe vnto it ſelfe a patron and defendour, vnto the death of the Emperour. That the Biſhopricke of Almits, hitherto in temporalities ſubiect vnto the King of Bohemia, ſhould from thenceforth acknowledge the Archduke *Matthias* to be the Gouernour thereof, leſt there ſhould bee a confuſion of ſuites in Morauia; the Biſhop in the meane time hauing regard vnto his owne priuiledges. That the Emperour at the requeſt of the Archduke ſhould maintaine the priuiledges of them of Sileſia, and of the States of the ſix Cities, and augment them alſo with new priuiledges, beeing reaſonable and conuenient. That for the defence of the borders againſt the Turks, the Nobilitie and States of Bohemia ſhould not contribute more than hitherto they were woont; yet ſauing vnto the Archduke power and abilitie in the generall meetings and aſſemblies of the Kingdome to entreat thereof, as the Emperour had hitherto had. That the titles of all the Prouinces which the Emperor did now ſurrender vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, ſhould be ſtill vnto him reſerued. That the Archduke *Matthias* ſhould vtterly renounce the Countie of Tirali, and ſurrender his part thereof vnto the Emperour. That in the meetings and aſſemblies to come, the Archduke ſhould by all meanes endeauour, that the Emperour ſhould receiue a reaſonable yeerely contribution out of thoſe Prouinces which hee now departed with. That all offences hitherto committed, ſhould generally be forgiuen and pardoned, all and euerie the perſons on both parties, onely *Verkauious* excepted, concerning whome, as alſo concerning his debt, the Nobilitie of Morauia had vndertaken in their next aſſemblie to take order. And that armes ſhould on both ſides bee layed apart.

Which articles thus agreed vpon, and on both parts accepted of, the Crowne of Hungarie, with the ornaments thereto belonging, ſuch as are King *Stephen* his Sword, the golden Apple, with the Croſſe of the Kingdome vpon it, two paire of rich ſhooes, a verie antient Robe, with a Royall Scepter, were by the Emperours chiefe Lieutenant carried into the campe, and there in a broad and open field deliuered vnto the Archduke *Matthias*: who with his armie in order raunged, and ſixteene thouſand horſe and foot diuided into three battalions, after he had receiued theſe Royall ornaments, commanded three great vollies of ſhot to be diſcharged, and afterwards royally feaſted the Emperours Embaſſadours. Which pacification thus made, many out of the Archdukes campe, but eſpecially the Hungarians, went into the citie of Prague, there to buy things neceſſarie; and many came alſo out of the citie to ſee the Archdukes camp. But in the mean time certaine inſolent ſouldiers hauing by night broken vp certaine ſhops of the Iewes, and carried out of them much rich wares, were the cauſe of great ſtirres and tumults in the Citie; inſomuch, that diuers of the ſouldiers were therefore caſt into priſon.

The crowne of Hungarie deliuered vnto the Archduke Matthias.

The firſt of Iuly King *Matthias* riſing with his armie, departed from before Prague, taking his way with his chiefe Counſellors towards Lintze, and diuiding his armie into three parts, that ſo they might the more eaſilier paſſe through thoſe countries home. After the riſing of which armie, a certaine noble Bohemian and a good ſouldier, called *Cottouits*, vnto whome the Hungarians and Haiduckes had in this expedition done great harme, with ſix hundered harquebuſiers and a number of countreymen went foorth to a place called Partouitſe; where hauing cut off the paſſage, and cut downe trees croſſe the wayes, that none might that way conueniently paſſe, hee with ſuch furie in a place of aduantage charged the Hungarians, comming that way, that hauing ſlaine about nine hundred of them, ſome others were alſo carried away priſoners, with a great bootie of horſes, waggons, and other goods. With which deed the Hungarians grieued, trod downe the corne as they went, and began to ſet fire on the villages and houſes in the Countrie thereabouts. But the newes thereof beeing brought vnto the King, hee forthwith by *Herbenſtein*, Generall of the horſemen, commaunded the Hungarians and Haiduckes not onely to deſiſt from this their inſolencie,

King Matthias departeth with his army out of Bohemia.

The Hungarians and Haiducks by Cottouits ſlaine.

but themſelues alſo, vpon a great penaltie, to helpe to quench the fires by them raiſed.

King Matthias entereth into Hungary, & is royally receiued into Vienna.

In the meane time the comming of king *Matthias* being reported at Vienna, great preparation was there made for the receiuing of him and bringing of him into the citie, according to his royall dignitie: who the fourteenth of Iuly toward night being come thither, with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, and 3000 horſe, the Archbiſhop of Hungarie, who with Count *Trautſamius* and many other the Emperors counſellors and ſeruants went out of the citie to meet him, and there amidſt eight Enſignes of German ſouldiers, and 1500 horſemen, as it were ſet in order of battell, receiued him with a long & eloquent oration; as did afterwards *Trautſamius* in the name of the States of Auſtria, the Emperors Counſellors alſo honourably welcomming him. Which don, mounting again to horſe, the King, with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, ſtayed vntill that two troupes of the horſemen of Vienna (each of them H conſiſting of 200 horſe (were all entred into the citie; and afterward, 1500 of *Bucheime* his horſemen and the aforeſaid eight Enſignes of Germans going before, and the Emperors counſellors following them, the King himſelfe with the Archduke his brother, and all his traine, ſet forward, and paſſing ouer the bridge, whereon three triumphall arches were moſt ſumptuouſly erected, hee was by three thouſand citiſens of Vienna, gallantly apparelled and armed, with much thundering of the great ordnance and vollies of ſmall ſhot, moſt magnificently receiued, diuers other triumphs and ſports, to manifeſt the joy of the people, being there made alſo, which for breuitie ſake we paſſe ouer. But being gone a little further, he was by the Senators of Vienna on horſebacke receiued vnder a rich Canopie, borne vp by ſix of the aunticnteſt of the ſaid Senatours, and ſo brought to Saint *Stephens* Church: whither hee was no I ſooner come, but that lighting from his horſe, hee was there receiued by the whole Clergie, and vnder a Canopie brought into the Church: where, after Seruice done, he was with like triumph and magnificence, through diuers other triumphall arches, brought to the caſtle, the great ordnance on all ſides ſtill thundering off from the caſtle, the walls, and bulwarkes of the towne.

The Proteſtant States in Auſtria require to haue the free exerciſe of their religion granted vnto them.

The Proteſtant States of Auſtria refuſe to take their oath of allegeance vnto the king vntill they might be ſecured of the free exerciſe of their religion.

But theſe triumphs and ſolemnities ended, ſhortly after when as they began to conſult about ſuch things as concerned the good gouernment of the kingdome of Hungarie, and the crowning of the King, and that the Proteſtant States of Auſtria in many places began to exerciſe their Religion according to the manner of the Confeſſion of Auguſta, and that the Miniſters began openly to preach in the Churches there, *Leopold* the Archduke and Biſhop of K Paſſauia comming to Vienna, with *Melinus* the Popes Nuntio (but a little before come to Prague) with Cardinall *Forgatſius* and the Biſhop of Vienna, with earneſt and importunat ſoliciting of the king, obtained from him a commandement, That that exerciſe of religion ſhould be againe abrogated, the Churches ſhut, and publique preaching forbidden. Which thing forthwith brought forth new ſtirs and troubles in Auſtria. For the Proteſtant States forthwith calling a counſell among themſelues, by generall conſent refuſed by oath of loyaltie and alleageance to binde themſelues vnto the new king, vntill they had of him obtained the liberty for the free exerciſe of their Religion; and combining themſelues together, reſolued euen with the loſſe of their liues and goods to maintaine the free preaching of the Word, and the exerciſe of their Religion, according to the Confeſſion of Auguſta; and to that end commanded all L their ſubiects and tenants to be readie in armes, that need ſo requiring, euerie thirtieth man, tenth, or fifth, might be preſt to come forth vnto the wars. But hauing ſent a ſupplication vnto the king, whereunto 180 of the Nobilitie had ſet their hands, and receiuing no anſwere, but that they ſhould deſiſt from their purpoſe, and without delay to make their appearance to take the oath of their alleageance vnto the king, they forthwith the 14 of September going to Horne, by letters ſent vnto the reſt of the Roman Catholicke States, proteſted themſelues to be cleare before God and the whole world of all the euils and miſchiefes that were afterward to enſue, if thoſe States not regarding the appeaſing and ending of thoſe troubles, or the ſafetie of them their countreymen, ſhould take their oath of allegeance vnto the king. And ſo forthwith raiſing an army, leſt vpon the ſudden they ſhould be at Horne oppreſſed, they began by all M means to prouide for their affaires. But the report thereof comming vnto the States of Bohemia and Morauia, their neighbors, they were from them giuen to vnderſtand, that they would become interceſſors for them vnto the King, and yet not to be wanting vnto them at their need, as occaſion ſhould require

In

A In the meane time letters were brought from Conſtantinople to Vienna, declaring King *Matthias* his Embaſſadors (hauing audience with the great Sultan) to haue in an eloquent Oration on the Kings behalfe promiſed religiouſly to keepe the peace, of late made betwixt him, the *Othoman* Emperour, and the Hungarians: and afterward in the Kings name to haue offered his Preſents vnto the Sultan, and hee in the preſence of his chiefe Baſſaes to haue receiued them. But when hee came to requeſt the gouernement of Tranſyluania, he would in no wiſe thereto conſent, but gaue the ſame to *Gabriel Bathor*, with commandement vnto the Baſſa of Buda for the eſtabliſhing of him in this Principalitie.

Preſents ſent vnto the Great Sultan from King Mathias.

About the beginning of October, the Counties of Trautſame and Furtſenburg were from King *Matthias* ſent vnto the Proteſtant States at Horne, and ſhortly after them, *Maximilian* the B Archduke followed alſo: who although they with moſt glorious promiſes ſought to appeaſe them, and by all means to draw them to take the oath of their allegeance; yet could they with them no whit preuaile, without granting of them the free exerciſe of their religion. But the 16 of October, the Catholicke States not expecting the conſent of the Proteſtant States, at Vienna tooke the oath of allegeance vnto *Matthias* the new King of Hungarie, the great ordnance in the meane time thundring off, with drums and trumpets in euery place of the city ſounding, and the reſt of the day being with great feaſting, triumph, and ſolemnitie ſpent.

Matthias ſendeth vnto the Proteſtãt ſtates at Horne.

The Catholique States take the Oath of allegeance vnto king Matthias.

K. *Mathias* hauing thus at Vienna receiued the oath of allegeance of the Catholicks, ſhortly after departing thence, the 22 of October comming to Presburg, was there by the nobilitie of Hungary receiued and brought into the city with 10000 ſouldiers: which States afterwards, C *viz.* the 6 of Nouember, offered in writing vnto the King certaine articles, whereof they deſired to be by him aſſured: moſt of which articles were drawne out of the pacification made at Vienna the 23 day of Auguſt, in the yeare 1606, the chiefe effect wherof was this: That the free exerciſe of religion ſhould be permitted vnto all men in all the cities and townes of Hungarie, not ſo much as that city excepted wherein the king ſhould be reſident: That no German Captaine ſhould be ſuffered in any the ſtrong forts of Hungarie, but that the ſtrong townes of Rab, Comora, Viuaria, and others, ſhould be committed vnto the gouernment of natural Hungarians borne: That the crowne of Hungarie ſhould ſtill be kept in Hungarie, and committed to the keeping of temporall men: That firſt and before all other things, a Count Palatine ſhould be choſen: That the king himſelfe ſhould alwaies reſide in Hungarie; or if not, that the D Palatine ſhould in his abſence haue full power, with the counſellors of Eſtate of Hungarie, to determine and conclude of all things, and that the King ſhould therewithall hold himſelfe contented: That no publicke office ſhould bee beſtowed vpon any, but vpon ſuch naturall Hungarians as had of their countrie well deſerued; nor permitted vnto any for money: That no Ieſuites ſhould be ſuffered in the Kingdome, neither that Eccleſiaſticall men ſhould bee ſo much fauoted as formerly they had been: That officers ſhould not be bound to giue account of the adminiſtration of their offices, but before the Treaſurers of Presburg, being naturall Hungarians borne: That from henceforth money ſhould not be carried out of the Kingdome, as hitherto it had beene: That the Palatine being dead, the King ſhould within a yeare chuſe another, the chiefe Iuſtice in the meane time after the old manner ſupplying his roome.

King Matthias goeth to Preſburg.

Articles by the Hungarians preferred vnto King Matthias at Presburg.

E The Proteſtant States of Auſtria had a little before ſent their Embaſſadors vnto the Nobilitie and States of Hungarie, then gathered together at Presburg; with requeſt, that foraſmuch as they could not by any intreaty obtain of the king the free exerciſe of their religion, as well within their cities as without, and that verie neceſſitie had driuen them by force of armes to ſeeke for the ſame, that they would by ſending of them men, affoord them ſuch aid as was vnto them due by the former pacification made at Vienna in the yeare 1606. Which troubles of Auſtria the Nobilitie and States of Hungarie deſiring to haue appeaſed, ſent *George Turſon* and ſome others with letters of interceſſion in their behalfe vnto the Archduke *Maximilian*: which when they had deliuered vnto him, they receiued from him this anſwer, that king *Matthias* neuer thought to diſturbe the common quiet of that countrie, or to attempt any thing F againſt the priuiledges thereof, granted by the Emperor *Maximilian* of happy memory: but to grant vnto the cities the libertie of religion, he could by no means, partly in reſpect of conſcience, partly for the danger that might thereof enſue from the Pope and the king of Spaine, and yet neuertheles, that he would promiſe to ſuffer and tollerat the free exerciſe of religion without the cities, and in the beſtowing of publike offices to haue no reſpect of religion: yet with

The Proteſtant States of Auſtria craue ayd of the Nobility and States of Hungarie.

this condition, that they ſhould lay downe armes, ſubmit themſelues vnto the King, acknowledge their fault, and craue pardon for the ſame; for that in ſo doing, the States ſhould haply preuaile more than by force of armes.

The Proteſtant States of Auſtria by the Hungarians aduiſed to lay downe armes, and to ſubmit themſelues vnto the King.

With which anſwer, ſeeing no better could be got, the Hungarian Embaſſadors going vnto the Proteſtant States of Auſtria, began by diuers reaſons earneſtly to perſuade them to ſubmit themſelues vnto the King. If the Hungarians ſhould (as they ſaid) giue aid vnto them of Auſtria, they ſhould in ſo doing, in ſtead of helping them, but do them more harme; for that the Hungarian power could not be brought into Auſtria but to the vtter deſtruction thereof. That the league betwixt the Hungarians and them of Auſtria was a general league, and concerned as well the Catholiques as the Proteſtants. That the Chriſtian religion was neuer with the ſword planted or defended, Chriſt himſelfe ſaying, them to be happie which therefore ſuffer perſecution, and commanding *Peter* to put vp his ſword into his ſcabberd. That it was an eaſie matter for euery man to raiſe ſtirs and tumults, but that againe to appeaſe them was a far harder matter. That by the taking vp of armes, the free exerciſe of Religion could not be furthered or prouided for, it being rather dangerous, leſt the contrarie part preuailing, it ſhould be vtterly ſuppreſſed. That by this meanes Hungarie it ſelfe ſhould be expoſed to many dangers, for that not only new ſtirs might vpon this occaſion by the ſubiects thereof be raiſed, but other forein Princes take vp armes againſt it alſo; the Emperour by force of armes ſeeking for his right, and the Turkiſh Sultan by a new inuaſion going about to bring the ſame vnder his ſubiection: and telling them further, the Archduke to haue promiſed to take good order for al things, ſo that they would lay downe armes: and that the clemencie and bountie of thoſe princes being knowne, they were not to doubt but that they would indeed performe what they had in word promiſed: and that the Hungarians could not now do or attempt any thing againſt the King: but that if it ſhould happen theſe two Archdukes being dead without heires male, the gouernment of theſe two Prouinces ſhould come vnto the Archduke *Ferdinand*, that then they ſhould haue more cauſe to helpe them of Auſtria againſt him. Morauia they ſaid to be a free countrey, and yet the King to haue thereunto giuen no more aſſurance for the libertie of religion, more than his bare promiſe. Wherefore ſeeing that both the fortune and chance of war was doubtfull, and that war was not without the great expence of mony to be maintained; that they were of opinion, it to be beſt for the Proteſtant States of Auſtria to lay down armes, and by way of requeſt to ſolicitie their cauſe with the King.

Illiſhaſchius choſen Palatine of Hungarie. Matthias at Presburg crowned King of Hungarie.

In the meane time, the griefes whereof the Hungarians complained being taken away, and all controuerſies happily ended, *Illiſhaſchius* was by a general conſent choſen to be Palatine, and *Mathias* the 14 of Nouember openly proclaimed King of Hungary; and the 19 of the ſame month in S. *Martins* church at Presburg in this manner crowned: Firſt, the royal Crowne was in a ſtately chariot carried out of the caſtle vnto the church, with a great number of the Counſellors and Nobilitie of Hungarie attending the ſame; in which chariot were alſo carried ten Enſignes, with the armes of the Kingdome in them frilled vp; foure of the Hungarian Counſellors taking it out of the charet in a little cheſt couered with cloath of gold, and ſo carrying of it into the Chancel of the church. After which, King *Matthias*, together with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, followed on horſebacke, both attyred in Hungarian apparell, and ſo going into the Chancel, there ſtayed about halfe an houre, vntill that he was by two Biſhops brought forth vnto the Altar, before whom ten of the Hungarian nobility caried the ten aforeſaid enſignes: after whom followed the Palatine with the Crowne, *Endeodius* with the royall Scepter, *Forgatſie* with the Apple of the kingdome, *Turſo* with K. *Stephens* ſword, *Tſechius* carrying the Pax, as they call it; *Budian* the Croſſe, the Cardinal *Forgatſie* ſaying Maſſe, with diuers biſhops and prelats helping of him; by whom the King was at the beginning of Seruice annointed with oyle: where, while the Epiſtle and Goſpel were in reading, the Cardinal ſet the crowne vpon the Kings head, all the people crying out, *Long liue* Matthias *the King of Hungarie.* But the King with the crowne vpon his head taking a drawne ſword out of *Sigefred Collonitz* the Marſhals hand, thrice brandiſhed it acroſſe ouer the Clergy mens heads, and receiued the ſacrament at the Cardinals hand. The Maſſe being ended, he by an high way couered with cloth, going in his royal robes from S. *Martins* church, vnto the bare-foot Friers church, as he went, cauſed mony to be caſt abroad among the people. In which church after the firſt chapter of the Goſpell of S. *Iohn* being read, he made 28 Knights. From thence the king with the crowne yet on his head, and in his ſtately robes, went out of the citie at S. ***Michaels*** gate, and there on horſebacke was brought vnto an high ſtage couered with cloath, whereon he was ſworne vnto the Hungarians as their King, and they vnto him as his ſubiects: And afterward thrice mounting vp to horſe vpon a little hill made for that purpoſe, and ſo downe againe, and thrice brandiſhing his ſword acroſſe, he returned backe againe into the caſtle, where hee with ***Maximilian*** the Archduke, Cardinall ***Forgatſie***, the Popes Nuntio, and the Palatine ſat downe at one table, the reſt of the Hungarian nobility, to the number of 70, ſitting downe at ſix other tables, and ſo dining with great mirth; the Haiducks and common ſort of people beeing there bountifully feaſted alſo: where many of them, in ſcrambling for the money that was caſt abroad, and in taking vp of the cloth from the ſcaffold, hauing their hands and fingers cut off, and ſo lamed, carried from thence the wofull remembrance of that was there then done.

The ſolemnitie of this coronation thus paſt, king ***Matthias*** thought it good for him yet for a time to ſtay at Presburg, vntill that the new building in the caſtle was ended, which the nobilitie of Hungarie had appointed for the keeping of the Crowne of Hungarie, to the intent that he himſelfe might ſee the ſame, with other the royall ornaments, put thereinto, and ſealed vp with his owne ſeale: he in the mean while labouring to appeaſe diuers contentions, and to place fit men againe in the great offices of the common-weale: for that the Hungarians would by no means ſuffer the Germans to enioy any of the ſame: for which cauſe many of the chiefe officers, men of great authoritie, were diſplaced; and amongſt them, ***Sigifrid Collonitz*** alſo, a man who had moſt well deſerued of the kingdome of Hungarie: howbeit, ſhortly after he by the counſell of ***Maximilian*** the Archduke was by the Hungarians themſelues (repenting them of that they had done) not only reſtored vnto his former offices, but had by them (and that not without his iuſt deſert) euen greater preferments offered him alſo; ſo mutable a thing the iudgment of the common people is. But ***Illiſhaſchius***, now the Palatine of Hungarie, the 28 day of Nouember talking with the king ***Matthias*** at large, and earneſtly entreated with him in the behalfe of the Proteſtant States of Auſtria, eſpecially for that the other Proteſtant States of Hungary ſeemed now in their behalfe to be much moued alſo; and the Morauian Embaſſadors openly at the ſame time proteſting, that their ſtates could in no wiſe forſake them their friends the States of Auſtria, if their need ſo required. And albeit that both the Elector of Saxony, and other Princes of the Empire, were become earneſt interceſſours alſo vnto the king for them, yet the Popes Nuntio ſo hardly withſtood them, as nothing could as then be granted.

Illiſhaſchius & others in vaine intreat for the States of Auſtria.

About the beginning of December the king returning againe from Presburg to Vienna, about the 16 of December the Proteſtant States of Auſtria at length ſent ***Erneſtus*** the free Baron of Landau, ***Maximilian Polheime***, ***Sebaſtian Grobner***, ***Charles Forberger***, ***Pilgram Sitſendorff***, and ***Chriſtopher Buchner***, their Embaſſadors vnto the king, to bring them anſwer whereunto to truſt: who the 27 of December receiued anſwer, That they ſhould hold themſelues contented with ſuch anſwer as they had before receiued, and to ſubmit themſelues to the kings pleaſufe, or els to do what they themſelues ſaw good. With which anſwer they returning, the ſtates forthwith began to leuie new forces, and to perſuade their ſouldiers, that mindfull of their othes, they ſhould faithfully ſerue whitherſoeuer and againſt whomſoeuer they were led.

The ſtates prepare themſelues for war.

1609

And now a great army of the Proteſtant States of Auſtria lay in the villages about Crembſa and Spaine, ſo that thoſe two townes were thought to be in great danger of them: for the ſtrengthening of wich places, ***Bucheime*** was by the king ſent thither with 1500 horſe and certain pieces of great ordnance, and an Edict withall publiſhed the 10 of Ianuary, charging the States to be preſent at Vienna the 21 day of the ſame month, to take the oth of their allegeance to the king. Howbeit, they moſt ſtifly ſtill refuſed ſo to do, or to remit any thing of that which they had before required: inſomuch, that ***Maximilian*** the Archduke, who hitherto had not a little laboured in this cauſe, was quite out of hope to bring them to any conformity, or make any good end thereof. In the mean time certain of ***Bucheime*** his horſemen on the kings part being about to haue taken vp a place, ſuch as they thought conuenient for them to lodge in, had like to haue bin diſappointed of the ſame by the horſmen of ***Gerrane***, on the States ſide. About which matter ***Bucheime*** comming forth with 7 troups of horſmen, and ***Gerrane*** but with three troups of horſe, and 3 companies of foot, there was betwixt them an hot skirmiſh for the time fought the 13 of Ianuarie: in which skirmiſh 100 of ***Bucheime*** his horſemen were ſlaine, but of ***Gerrane*** his men not ſo many, they hauing the aduantage of the ground, and ſo therewith in

An hot skirmiſh.

the skirmiſh holpen both for the defence of themſelues and the annoying of their enemies. G Whereof the king hauing knowledge, and therewith much moued, beſide the aforeſaid Edict, cauſed another to be proclaimed at Vienna, againſt ſuch ſouldiers as ſerued the Proteſtants; proſcribing them all, and pronouncing them Rebels, except before the 21 day of Ianuary, they laying downe armes, departed out of the Proteſtants campe. Howbeit, the Proteſtant States were ſo far from diſmiſſing their forces, as that they with new ſupplies ſtrengthened the ſame: and hauing taken an hill not far from Hallenbynne, and from thence diſcharging three tire of 20 pieces of great ordnance, ſtrucke a great feare and terror into the minds of the kings ſouldiers within the towne.

The States of Morauia make interceſſian for the Proteſtant States of Auſtria.

About this time alſo the States of Morauia (that nothing might on their part bee wanting for the making of an attonement betwixt the king and the Proteſtant States of Auſtria) ſent H ſome of their Embaſſadors vnto thoſe States at Horn, and otherſome vnto the king at Vienna; who hauing acceſſe vnto the king, declared vnto him the States of Morauia, from whom they came, to be earneſtly importuned by the Proteſtant States of Auſtria, to ſend them aid, according to the agreement made with them the yeare before: and told him moreouer, That this manner of his proceeding tended not vnto peace and quietneſſe, but rather vnto the trouble and deſtruction both of the kingdom and of all the other Prouinces to him belonging: all that error, the ground of thoſe troubles (they ſaid) to depend of a peruerſe interpretation or miſconſtruing of words, rather than of the matter it ſelfe; ſo that it might by men deſirous of peace eaſily be compoſed and ended. And that therefore their requeſt vnto his Maieſtie was, That he hauing regard not onely vnto the good and welfare of his prouinces and ſubiects, but I euen of himſelfe and of his honour alſo, would of his clemencie and goodneſſe vouchſafe to giue remedie vnto the preſent danger, and auert the miſerable calamities now hanging ouer them, and euen readie to fall vpon their heads. The Proteſtant States they ſaid to be content to put the controuerſie to be decided and compoſed by certaine graue and wiſe men, to be choſen arbitrators on both parts; yet with this condition, That for the ſpace of 14 daies no hoſtility ſhould on either ſide be vſed: that the inhabitants both aboue and beneath Amiſum ſhould be compriſed within this truce: that ſuch as were kept in durance for their religion, ſhould be ſet at libertie: and that all high waies and paſſes ſhould be from all ambuſhes, and other dangers cleared. Vnto which their requeſts the king condeſcending, gaue leaue vnto the States of Morauia, vpon they moſt equall conditions the could deuiſe, to compoſe and end all matters: K who ſo laboured in this buſineſſe betwixt the king and the Proteſtant States of Auſtria, that at length, *viz.* the 12 of March, a pacification was made betwixt the king and them his ſubiects; *Leopold* the Archduke, *Melinus* the Popes Nuntio, the Biſhop of Vienna, and other great men of the contrarie Religion and faction, ſeeking in vaine to haue letted the ſame: the chiefe articles and points of which pacification were theſe: That the nobility in their caſtles & towns, as alſo in their houſes in the cities, ſhould for themſelues and their people haue the free exerciſe of their Religion: That the free exerciſe of preaching might be vſed the in 3 Churches at Iſerſdore, Trihelſuincell, and Horne: That the other Churches ſhut vp, might againe bee opened by three of the Romiſh and three of the reformed Religion, and the free exerciſe of Religion in them vſed: That counſellors and other publicke officers ſhould from thenceforth L indifferently be choſen of men of both Religions; but that ſuch offices as were hereditarie ſhould ſo ſtill remaine: That the Election of Magiſtrates and other publicke officers in towns and cities, ſhould from thenceforth be made by the Magiſtrates and citiſens themſelues, & not to be nominated from the Court, as hitherto they had bin: That no Church ſhould hereafter be ſhut againſt either part, but their owne Churches to be left vnto them both, quietly to vſe: That the townſmen and citiſens in their townes and cities ſhould from thenceforth haue power to make choice of their Miniſters and preachers: and that for them it ſhould be lawfull to viſit the ſicke, and to adminiſter vnto them the Lords Supper: That the oath of allegeance ſhould be taken of them of the reformed Religion, in like manner as it had bin before taken of them of the Romiſh, but yet not with the ſame ceremonies of the Romiſh church; all vnion & M confederation with them to be had, to be taken away: that all grudging hatred, and quarrell ſhould be on both ſides forgiuen, & for euer forgotten: *Wolfgang* of Hoffkirch, *Volſegius* and others remoued & put from their offices, for not taking the oth of alegeance, being again receiued into fauor, and reſtored into their places: That it might be lawfull for the towns & cities

The articles of the pacification in Auſtria.

aboue

A aboue Amiſum, to haue the free exerciſe of the reformed Religion in their Suburbs and Hoſpitals.

It was not long after this Pacification ſo made, but that King *Matthias* the ſeuenteenth of May going to Lintze with three hundred horſe, was there with eight troupes of horſemen, and fifteene companies of foot, by the States ſent forth to meet him, moſt honourably receiued, and by three triumphal Arches brought into the citie: where he receiued of the States of the Religion, the Oath of their obedience: which with much joy, triumph, and feaſting performed, hee the ſeuen and twentieth of the ſame moneth againe returned to Vienna. The aforeſaid States of Auſtria in the meane time with great zeale continuing the free exerciſe of their Religion at Horne; a great multitude of people dayly reſorting vnto the Sermons there B made: they of the Romiſh Religion much grieuing and fretting thereat. The King himſelfe alſo being come to Vienna, put diuers of the Romiſh Catholiques out of their Offices, and placed others of the Reformed Religion in their roomes, to the great diſcontentment of many.

The States of the Reformed Religion in Auſtria take the oath of obedience vnto King Matthias.

About this time the Baſſa of Agria, notwithſtanding the peace, had for the ſumme of twentie thouſand crownes before hand payed, ſecretly compacted with one *Andrew Drake*, to haue the ſtrong towne of Fileck in the vpper Hungarie deliuered vnto him. Which the traitor had intended (as he himſelfe confeſſed) to haue performed, by ſetting of the houſe wherein hee himſelfe dwelt, by night on fire: vnto the quenching whereof the garriſon ſouldiers reſorting, his purpoſe was in the meane time to haue ſecretly let in the Turks, and ſo to haue deli- C uered the towne into their hands. But this his ſo wicked a purpoſe in good time diſcouered, and by him confeſſed, he was therefore, as he had well deſerued) aliue cut into foure pieces: a iuſt reward for his foule intended treaſon. The Baſſa of Buda alſo, contrarie to the treatie of peace, about the ſame time went about to haue exacted the Oath of allegeance of aboue foure hundred countrey villages of the Chriſtians, being not compriſed within the foreſaid treatie. But as the Turkes for their part were ſecretly plotting how to encroach vpon the Chriſtians, and to do them harme; ſo the Haiduckes on the other ſide in great numbers gathered together in the vpper Hungarie, began here and there to moleſt and trouble the Turkes, vntill they were by their Superiours commanded to deſiſt from ſo doing, for diſturbing of the Peace.

The Turks ſeek ſecretly to encroch vpon the Chriſtians, and the Chriſtians ſeeke againe to annoy them.

D Now about this time alſo, *Illiſhaſchius* the Countie Palatine of Hungary died at Vienna; a man much beloued of the Hungarians his countreymen, and now by them no leſſe lamented for: whoſe dead bodie was with great honour afterward conueyed from Vienna, vnto his owne territorie in Hungarie, and there with all funeral pompe buried with his Anceſtors. In whoſe ſtead *George Turſon* was afterward by the general conſent of an hundred and fifty of the Hungarian Nobilitie choſen Countie Palatine of Hungarie, and ſo with the vniuerſal and ſolemne acclamations of the people ſaluted.

Illiſhaſchius the Palatine of Hungarie dieth.

And now the troubles for Religion were ſcarcely wel ended in Auſtria (as is aforeſaid) but that the like, or rather worſe, began forthwith, euen for the ſame quarrel, to ariſe in Bohemia; the Huſſites (as they call them) moſt earneſtly importuning the Emperor for the free exerciſe E of their Religion, or rather for the taking away of certaine grieuances done to their Religion: and the Romane Catholiques euen at the ſame time leauing nothing vnattempted, which might ſerue to bring them of the Religion into hatred with the Emperour, and others ſitting at the helme of the gouernment of the Eſtate, and ſo to fruſtrate whatſoeuer the Emperour had in the general Aſſembly of the States, the laſt yeare granted vnto them of the Religion, for the free exerciſe and aduancement thereof. The compoſing of which controuerſie, (tending vnto the rending in ſunder of the whole Kingdome) when as the Emperor had referred vnto certaine of his chiefe Counſellours, and they altogether fauouring the Romane Catholiques, would giue them of the Religion no certaine anſwer whereon to reſt; they therewith much diſcontented, as out of hope to be by them relieued, and in great feare to be by F their Aduerſaries, as enemies vnto the State, oppreſſed, layed their heads together, and after good deliberation taken, what were beſt for them to do, both for the ſafetie of themſelues, their wiues, children, and Religion; they by a general conſent, of themſelues appointed the fourth of May to hold a general meeting of them of the Religion, in the new court at Prague,

New troubles for Religion ariſe in Bohemia.

The States of the religion appoint an Aſſembly of themſelues to be holden in the new court at Prage.

there to conſult of all matters concerning the buſineſſe of Religion. And yet in the meane time openly in Parliament proteſting, by the mouth of *Wentceſlaus Bodonitſius* a Baron of Bohemia, Them to haue appointed this Aſſemblie for the Emperors good, and for the common quiet of the whole Realme; as alſo for the better informing of the Emperour of all matters: and to prouide that the Emperor and the kingdome might not through the meanes and perſuaſions of thoſe his euill Counſellors be brought into extreme perill and danger. Immediatly after, the States of the Religion, with all ſpeed diſpatched their Embaſſadors vnto King *Matthias*, the Electour Palatine, the Duke of Saxonie, and the Duke of Brunſwicke; to requeſt them, by their interceſſion to become mediators for them vnto the Emperor, for the obtaining of the free exerciſe of their Religion, which in all points agreed with the confeſſion of Auguſta, and which long before was exhibited vnto *Maximilian* the Emperour, and by him allowed. Now in the meane time theſe the States of the Religion were by ſome for theſe their proceedings commended; but by other ſome not onely blamed, but alſo accuſed of rebellion againſt the Emperour and the State. But the matter being declared vnto the Emperour, he complaining vnto himſelfe of the inconſiderateneſſe of his Counſellors; to maintaine his authoritie, cauſed the parliament then in hand to be prorogued; and to ſeeme of himſelfe to grant that which he could not well withſtand, commanded by a Decree, that ſame verie day to be appointed for the concluding of that article of Religion, on which the States themſelues had before appointed their aſſembly to be holden in the new court at Prague. Notwithſtanding which Decree, many troubleſome ſpirits publiquely ſet forth other their conceits in writing, to far other purpoſe, grieuouſly therein reprehending the States of the Religion, for that of themſelues they had appointed a day for their aſſembly into the new Court at Prague: Which (as they ſaid) was nothing els but in a rebellious manner to riſe againſt the Lawes of the Kingdome, and the authority of their lawfull Prince: and therefore aduiſed them to forbeare from making any ſuch aſſemblie as was by them appointed. Hereof aroſe great troubles euen vnder the Emperors noſe, in Prague the chiefe citie of Bohemia, they of the Religion not daring to truſt the Roman Catholiques, neither they them; being ſtil ready vpon euery falſe report, or vaine ſurmiſe, to go together by the eares: vntill that the Emperour for the ſtaying of theſe troubles, and the auoyding of further danger, was glad to cauſe it to be openly proclaimed in the new Court at Prague, That his Imperial Majeſtie hauing receiued and vnderſtood the Apologie of the States, now did abrogate that his Edict publiſhed againſt them but a few dayes before; and now by this his new Edict did account all the States of the Religion for his faithfull and well beloued Subiects; and as of them vnto whom the right of the Kingdome, and the King his oath belonged, as wel as to all other States of the kingdome. And that he alſo had thoſe the ſame States excuſed, in that they for the good of his Majeſtie, and of the whole Kingdome, had appointed their aſſemblie in the new Court at Prague: and that therefore he denounced them in ſo doing, not in any thing to haue done any thing contrarie vnto his Majeſtie. And that he appointed the fiue and twentieth day of May for the general aſſembly of Parliament to be holden in the caſtle of Prague, for the ending of the Article concerning Religion, and the reforming of other the publique grieuances of the Commonweale: yet with this prouiſo, That the ſaid States ſhould ſafely and quietly come vnto the ſaid Parliament, without entertaining of any forreine ſouldiers; as that his Majeſty ſhould alſo, not by himſelfe nor any other, for pay entertaine any, or ſuffer any forreine ſouldiers to come into the Kingdome. Which the Emperors Edict being proclaimed, the States of the Religion hauing made their publique prayers, and ſung certain Hymnes and Pſalmes vnto the glory of God, for the good ſucceſſe of their buſineſſe, left the new court at Prague, and returned euery man home to their owne houſes, to make themſelues readie to come vnto the Parliament to be holden at the appointed day.

The Emperor maketh faire weather with the States of the Religion in Bohemia.

The States of Bohemia by writing declare vnto the Emperor their purpoſe for the defence of their Religion.

But the day appointed for the Parliament being come, and the Emperour ſtill delaying the matter, the States of the Religion wearie of ſuch long delayes, and in doubt to bee therewith deluded, as hauing not receiued from the Emperour any ſuch anſwer as whereon to reſt, the third of Iune offered vnto the Emperour a ſhort writing, concerning their griefe and further purpoſe, to this effect. They had (as they ſaid) expected, and well hoped, that regard being had not onely of ſo many requeſts of ſo great and moſt noble Princes, made in

their

A their behalfe ; but euen of the Emperour his promiſe alſo, made vnto them, both in the generall aſſembly of the States the laſt yeare, and in the late precept of the Emperours alſo, they ſhould at length haue receiued ſuch anſwer vnto their petition, concerning the free exerciſe of their Religion, as whereon they might haue ſafely reſted. Which for that it had not beene yet done, they referred the doing thereof vnto God and future time ; imputing the blame thereof not vnto his Imperiall Majeſtie, but vnto the vnquiet and troubleſome natures of ſome as well the Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall magiſtrates and perſons. But foraſmuch as they meant not longer to be deluded by their enemies, and much leſſe to be defrauded of his Majeſties royall promiſe, which was now vnto the World knowne, they had thought good to offer and preſent vnto his Maieſtie a writing conceiued in the Bohemian tongue : according B vnto which they deſired to be ſecured, concerning the free exerciſe of their Religion ; moſt humbly requeſting his Maieſtie to accept of the ſame, and at length to ſatisfie their requeſts. Which if it might not be granted (the Emperour his Maieſtie hauing more reſpect vnto the troubleſome Clergie men, and ſome other his euill affected counſellors, than to the faithfull States and ſubiects of his Kingdome) that then they would reſt themſelues vpon the Decree made in the aſſembly holden in the yeare 1608, and vpon the laſt edict of his Maieſtie : yet with this ſolemne proteſtation, That ſeeing they had by certain information vnderſtood, much warlike preparation (but eſpecially in Bauaria) to be made, and diuers conſultations in many places to be holden againſt the States of the Religion (his Imperiall Maieſtie and the other his faithfull Counſellours, thereof not knowing) which might tend vnto the ruine and deC ſtruction both of his Maieſtie and of the whole Kingdome: they themſelues would take vpon them the defence thereof, and to doe their endeauour, that furniſhed with men and armes, they might to the vttermoſt of their power defend him their Soueraigne, together with themſelues, and the whole Kingdome, againſt the force and inuaſion of their foreine enemies.

In the meane time while theſe things were thus in doing, an Embaſſadour came from the Duke of Saxonie to Prague, to intreat the Emperour for the States, and for the granting of them the free exerciſe of their Religion : the Embaſſadours of the States of Sileſia forthwith following of them alſo, who in like manner requeſting alſo of the Emperour, to haue the libertie for the free exerciſe of their Religion by him confirmed vnto them ; promiſed their D moſt readie help and aid vnto the States of Bohemia, if need ſhould ſo require. But the States of Bohemia hauing from day to day in vaine expected anſwer from the Emperour, turning themſelues vnto their former reſolution for the defence of themſelues and of their Religion ; forthwith raiſed a great number both of horſe and foot, whome with their well knowne captaines and Commanders they brought euen vnto the citie of Prague. Howbeit at length, *viz.* the eleuenth of Iuly, the Saxon Embaſſadors earneſtly ſoliciting their cauſe, and vrging their requeſt, they according to their deſire receiued anſwer from the Emperour, by letters from his Maieſtie written to this effect.

Embaſſadours from the Duke of Saxonie in the behalfe of the States.

The States of Bohemia raiſe their forces.

Hee gaue all men (as hee ſaid) to vnderſtand, and by theſe his letters witneſſed to eternall memorie, That after that all the free States of his Kingdome of Bohemia, which, in the E receiuing of the Lords Supper, participate the bodie and bloud of our Lord Chriſt Ieſus vnder both kindes, his faithfull ſubiects, had in the aſſemblie holden in the caſtle at Prague in the yeare 1608, in all humilitie requeſted, That it might be lawfull for them to hold, and freely to exerciſe their Religion, according to the Confeſſion of Auguſta (as ſome call it) exhibited vnto his father *Maximilian* the Emperour of moſt happie memorie, and by him vnto the ſaid States allowed : and that he then and at that time, by reaſon of other moſt weightie buſineſſe, for which that aſſemblie was then called, and ſuch as could ſuffer no procraſtination or delay, had thought it good to deferre the allowing and ratifying of this their petition, vnto this preſent aſſemblie of Parliament : and that the ſame States now againe aſſembled, inceſſantly renewing this their former petition, and hauing thereunto joyned alſo the requeſt and F interceſſion of certaine noble perſonages, had requeſted to be therein ſatisfied : and that hee with his Counſellours would conſult how prouiſion might bee made for his ſubiects in the Kingdome of Bohemia, as well communicating vnder both kindes, as vnder one ; now at length to haue effected the ſame. Wherefore ſeeing that his will and deſire was, that both in

The Emperors letters vnto the States of the religion in Bohemia, for the free exerciſe of their Religion.

in theſe nad future times peace and quietneſſe might for the increaſing of the Kingdome be G
preſerued and kept amongſt his ſubiects of all the three eſtates of the Kingdome of Bohemia,
communicating as well vnder the one, as vnder both kindes : that both parties might
freely and without any impediment or let, hane the free exerciſe of their Religon, whereby
they were both in hope to obtaine euerlaſting ſaluation. And to the intent that accompliſhment
and ſatisfaction might in all poynts bee made, as well according vnto
the breaking vp of the aſſemblie of Parliament in the yeare 1608, as to the performance
of his owne precept, of late publiſhed (whereby hee hath acknowledged, and euen yet
acknowledgeth, thoſe ſame Eſtates communicating vnder both kindes, and ſubſcribing
to this confeſſion, for his faithfull and loyall ſubiects, vnto whom the rights and immunities
of the Kingdome of Bohemia belonged) hee by the common conſent of the Councellours, H
and other Magiſtrates of the Kingdome did determine, That his ſubiects communicating
both vnder one and both kindes, ſhould friendly and peaceably liue together,
without wronging or reuiling of one another ; and that vpon the payne and penaltie in the
Law ſet downe, to be inflicted vpon them that ſhould otherwiſe doe. And moreouer, ſeeing
that they which communicated but vnder one kinde, enioyed the free exerciſe of their
Religion in all poynts throughout the Kingdome of Bohemia, that hee gaue leaue and
commaunded, that they alſo which communicated vnder both kindes, *viz.* all the States
of the Religion, with all ſuch as embraced the Confeſſion of Bohemia, ſometime exhibited
to *Maximilian* the Emperour his father, in the Parliament holden in the yeare
1575, and now againe to himſelfe preſented, ſhould euerie where and in all places of
the Kingdome, haue the free exerciſe of their Religion, without the let or interruption I
of any ; to retaine the ſame, vntill a generall vnion of Religion, and an ending of all
diſſention and controuerſies might bee made. Moreouer, That hee did grant vnto the States
of the Religion this fauour, That they ſhould haue the lower Conſiſtorie at Prague, with
power to conforme the ſame according to their owne Confeſſion. That they might lawfully
make their Prieſtes, as well in the Bohemian as Germane Tongue, and ſet them ouer
their Churches, without any let of the Archbiſhop of Prague. That hee did alſo reſtore
vnto them the Vniuerſitie of Prague, which for many yeares agoe belonged vnto
the States of the Religion vnder both kindes : giuing them power againe to open the ſame,
to furniſh it with graue and learned men of their owne Confeſſion, to beautifie it with good K
Lawes, and to appoint certaine of their owne companie and profeſſion for Gouernours
and defendors as well of the Conſiſtorie as of the Vniuerſitie : whome ſo by the States
appointed and choſen, hee without any ſtay or delay, or other inſtruction or information
than they ſhould from the States receiue, would confirme in that their office, and pronounce
them for the lawfull Defendours : yet ſo, as that if hee beeing letted by other greater buſineſſe,
cannot performe the ſame within the ſpace of foureteene dayes, they ſhall neuertheleſſe
continue Defendours, and as well enioy the charge of the office committed vnto them,
as if they had beene therein by him confirmed : and that one or other of their number
beeing dead, it ſhall bee lawfull for the States to chuſe other in their places. And if that
beſide the Churches which they now hold, they would build other moe, or erect moe L
ſchooles for the inſtructing of the youth, it ſhall bee lawfull for them freely and without
any let ſo to doe, as well in the Cities as in the Countrey Townes and villages. And foraſmuch
as in ſome of the Cities of the Kingdome of Bohemia, men of both religions dwelt
together, hee therefore did will and commaund, That for the preſeruation of peace and
quietneſſe, either part freely exerciſing their religion, and obeying their Prieſts, ſhould by no
meanes either hurt or trouble them on the other part ; and much leſſe to hinder them to
burie their dead in their Churches or Church-yards, with the ringing or tolling of the Bels,
or goe about to turne any man from his Religion, of what ſtate or condition ſo euer he
bee, whether hee dwell in the Citie or in the Countrey towne or village ; or by force to
draw them to their opinion, or to take their part. For that he onely reſpected, that peace and M
quietneſſe might be kept, and that mutuall loue might ſtill grow amongſt all the three States:
Vnto which end and purpoſe, that hee for himſelfe and his heires, and the Kings of Bohemia
his Succeſſours, in the Faith and word of a King, did graunt and promiſe vnto the

A States of the Religion, vnto whom this common peace of Religion (as they call it) belongeth, as to a principal member of the Empire, all theſe things to be for euer inuiolably kept (the Eccleſiaſtical and temporal perſons whoſoeuer in vaine reſiſting) ſo that no contrarie precept or Edict, ſhould either by himſelfe, or any other his heires or ſucceſſors be publiſhed againſt the States of the Religion; or being publiſhed by any, ſhould be accounted effectual and ſtrong: eſpecially ſeeing that he by theſe his letters, pronounceth all the Edicts hitherto publiſhed againſt theſe the States of the Religion, to be voyd, fruſtrate, and of none effect. Neither would that any thing of thoſe which were done by the States of the Religion whileſt they ſought for the confirmation of this Article concerning Religion, ſhould for euer be layed to their charge, or by any man by way of reproch objected vnto them. And that B therefore he ſtraightly charged and commanded all Magiſtrates, and ſuch as bare rule in Bohemia, to the vttermoſt of their power to protect and defend all the three States, together with them of the Religion; and neither themſelues to trouble them, nor ſuffer them to be by any others for the exerciſe of their Religion moleſted or troubled: For that he and other the Kings of Bohemia his Succeſſours, would moſt ſeuerely chaſtiſe all ſuch as ſhould offend againſt theſe his Majeſties letters (which to be for euer remembred, he would cauſe the ſame to be enrolled in the publique Records of Parliament) whether ſuch offendors were Eccleſiaſticall or Temporall men; to bee ſharpely puniſhed as the troublers of the Common Peace.

This was the ſumme of his Majeſties Letters, which he cauſed to be publiquely ſet vp in C the Caſtle of Prague the thirteenth of Iuly, that it might be to all men knowne, this Article of Religion, which was the firſt of the Articles in this Parliament propounded, to be concluded and agreed vpon according to the minde of the States of the Religion, and ſo their requeſts to be in all points ſatisfied. Who forthwith thereupon, the fifteenth day of Iuly cauſed the firſt publique Sermon according to the confeſſion of Auguſta, to be preached in the German tongue in a Church of them of the Religion, which had for a long time before beene ſhut vp. At which time they alſo ſent vnto the Elector of Saxonie, to ſend vnto them certaine learned men, for the ſetting vp of the Vniuerſitie, and the gouerning of the Conſiſtorie at Prague. And yet for all this, the Embaſſadors for the States of Sileſia ſtill earneſtly laboring with the Emperor for the libertie of Religion to be granted to the ſaid States and the reſt D of the inhabitants of the Prouince; the States of Bohemia refuſed in any wiſe to diſmiſſe their ſouldiers whom they had muſtered neere vnto Roggenſon, vntill the Sileſians were of their requeſt in that point ſatisfied: offering alſo vnto the Emperor a large libell of the griefes of them the ſaid States.

Now it may be that ſome hauing read ſo much as is before written concerning theſe late troubles about the free exerciſe of the reformed Religion, but eſpecially in Bohemia, Auſtria, Morauia, and Sileſia, may deeme the ſame both tedious and beſide our purpoſe: vnto whom indeed it is not written; but rather vnto ſuch as who together with my ſelfe (the wars betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks ended, & the peace concluded as is aforeſaid) deſire yet to know in what ſtate thoſe frontier Countries ſtand; which being the greateſt Bulwarkes of E that ſide of Chriſtendome, and the chiefe Territories of the Houſe of Auſtria, are (the peace being either expired, or otherwiſe broken off) moſt ſubject vnto the furie of the puiſſant enemie, as neereſt vnto him, and ſo like ſooneſt to feele of his great force and power, prefining vnto it ſelfe neither bounds nor meaſure, ſo long as there is any thing farther. Againſt whom the Chriſtian Emperour had no other Forces of his owne to oppoſe, more than ſuch as hee could raiſe out of the reliques of Hungarie, and the aforeſaid frontier Countries. All together but weake helpes againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemie, as neuer commeth into the field but with a world of men following of him: but yet much weaker, being (as now of late they were) euerie one of them apart diuided in themſelues about matters of Religion, the incurable maladie of the Chriſtian Eſtates and Commonweales; the heauie and lamentable effect whereof too F much of late appeared in the loſſe of Strigonium, won by the Turks with a far leſſe army than euer the Grand Seigniors Lieutenant General was woont to come into Hungarie withall: and yet the Chriſtian Emperour by reaſon of the reuolt of the Hungarians (vpon a diſcontment about the exerciſe of their Religion) not able of himſelfe to relieue the diſtreſſed citie of

Strigonium, or yet to put an armie of any ſtrength into the field, for the defence of the reſt of his cities or territories. So weake are euen the greateſt Princes, their ſubjects being among themſelues in mindes diuided.

The Turks Embaſſadour commeth to Vienna, and from thence to Prage

But not to ſtray farther, the Turks Embaſſador in the meane-time with a notable traine of an hundred and fiftie Turks comming from Vienna the one and twentieth of September, and there hauing ſaluted, and with great gifts preſented the King, ſet forward toward Prague, where he was by the Citiſens and certaine Noblemen of the Emperours Councell the 12 of October honourably receiued; and the 19 of the ſame moneth admitted vnto the Emperors preſence, firſt preſented vnto him from the Great Sultan his Maſter, a rich Tent of diuers colours, moſt curiouſly wrought with faire Orient Pearle of great value; and then foure couragious horſes, all furniſhed with moſt rich and ſumptuous furniture. He preſented vnto him alſo certaine Turkiſh weapons ſet and garniſhed with pretious ſtones, and a Princely Turks robe ſuch as they vſe at their marriages, gliſtering with gold and pretious ſtones, with diuers other rare things of leſſe value: together with which he deliuered vnto him the Great Sultans Letters; and withall deſired the confirmation of the Peace before made for twentie yeares, to be now againe renewed. Vnto which Embaſſadour Letters were afterward deliuered from the Emperor, together with certaine other rich Preſents to be by him preſented vnto the Great Sultan: *viz.* certaine Caroches lined within with Damaske, and couered without with blacke Veluet; ſix faire and gallant horſes moſt richly furniſhed; a Clocke of wonderfull workmanſhip; two faire Desks to write vpon of Ebonie; with diuers other like Preſents of no ſmall price. Who ſo charged with Preſents, and bountifully rewarded, and to his good liking anſwered, was afterward in the beginning of Ianuarie with a traine of 200 horſe from Prague honourably diſmiſſed.

Here followeth a Continuation of this preſent Hiſtorie (containing thoſe occurrents which haue happened to the Turkiſh Empire ſince the yeare of our Lord, 1609, vnto the yeare, 1617, &c.)

By EDWARD GRIMSTON, *Sargeant at Armes.*

1610

THe Turkiſh Emperour, hauing beene freed ſome yeares from the care of warres in Hungarie, in regard that hee had concluded a truce for twentie yeares with the Emperour *Rodulphus*, he now bent all his forces againſt his Rebels in Aſia, and the Sophie of Perſia, where hee had no good ſucceſſe this yeare. For the Perſians hauing formerly extended their monarchie farre into the Turkiſh Empire, and defeated *Cicala Baſſa* and others in diuers battels; now they entered into the Prouince of Babylon, with a deſigne to joyne it to Perſia. *Achmat* to ſtay the courſe of their proſperitie, ſends a mightie armie thither, vnder the command of *Naſſut Baſſa*: but his fortune was no better than thoſe that went before him. The Perſians came to meet him, gaue him battell, defeated him, and ſlew 20000 of his men. Theſe mournfull newes comming to Court, did much diſtemper the Sultans minde; he could not endure it ſhould be ſaid, that the Perſian had defeated his mighty armies thrice in open battel; and much leſſe that it ſhould be ſo, and that hee ſhould ſeiſe vpon his countries: wherefore to repaire this loſſe, hee leuies new forces to be commanded by *Gambolat Baſſa* of Aleppo, who had beene the moſt powerful Rebell in Aſia, and was newly reconciled and brought into fauour with the graund Seignior. This man came to the Port to receiue the Sultans commandements, and to paſſe his armie into Aſia: but whether hauing ſome ſuſpition, that hee had intelligence with the Perſians, or that ſuch as enuied his greatneſſe, had giuen ſome bad impreſſion of his loyaltie to the Sultan; within ſome few daies after his arriuall, *Achmat* cauſed him to be ſlaine by his Capigi. Whereby wee may well obſerue, that hee that is a Rebell to his Prince, which hath ſo violently oppreſt his ſubiects, and ſet his countries on fire by ſedition, the which he hath been forced to quench with the bloud of innocents, cannot but end his daies violently and miſerably, ſeeing that God reuengeth the bloud of innocents vpon the guiltie.

The Perſians enter into the Prouince of Babylon.

The Turkes defeated.

The Turke makes Gambolat Generall of his armie.

Hee commands him to be ſlaine.

The Perſian ſeeing what aduantage hee had gotten of the Turke, laboured by the bruit of his victories, to draw the Chriſtian Princes vnto his partie, and with them wholly to ruine the *Othomans*; the which he had ſo happily begun. For the effecting whereof, he ſent his Embaſſadors to the Emperor being at Prague, to perſuade him to breake the peace with the Turke, and to joyne with him. The Embaſſadors arriued at Prague this yeare with rich and rare Preſents: firſt a croſſe of gold inricht with many precious ſtones; amongſt which there was one piece of amber, whereon was ſeene the figure of the Virgin *Marie*, holding her young Babe in her armes; the which was ſo artificially grauen, as it might be thought the worke of nature: a Topas of exceeding greatneſſe, giuen to the king of Perſia by an Indian king: two kniues of damaske, with hafts of jaſper, and their ſheaths couered with diamonds: a certaine kind of Indian wood of moſt excellent vertue, moſt ſoueraigne to cure the paines of the breſt, and to purge the ſtomacke: the gall of a pellican excellent to cure the pleuriſie, appoplexie, and feuer: two topazes the one white, and the other violet; this laſt was ſo big, as it was capable to make a cup: an Amathiſt as big as a hens egge; a Perſian bow inlaid with the veines of a cammell, and a rough diamond exceeding great; a white ſtone of the colour of water, which was a preſeruatiue againſt plague, beeing hung about ones necke; three orientall pearles exceeding big; three rich eſcarbuncles, and three marueilous faire diamonds; and withall this a ſerpents horne, much eſteemed for the rare vertues. All theſe Preſents were very wel accepted, and the embaſſadors much honored. But what apparance was there for the Emperor, who had ſo great differences with his brother *Matthias* king of Hungarie, who ſaw the greateſt part of his ſubiects rebelled againſt him, his Prouinces in diuiſion, Tranſyluania in combuſtion by the conſpiracie which had bin diſcouered againſt *Battori*, and finally a generall diſorder ouer all, to breake the peace with the Turk, (who was at his dore, retained only with this bar) and to allie himſelfe with the Perſian ſo far from his countries, from whom he could draw no ſuccors, but

Embaſſadors come from the Perſian to the Emperour.

Preſents ſent to the Emperor

His affairs wil not ſuffer him to ioyne with the Perſian onely that he might keep the *Othoman* buſie in Aſia: Thus the Embaſſadors returned, carying G home nothing but good words.

The proceedings of Leopold in Bohemia.

Since the troubles which happened in Bohemia, made him ſee of what importance it was to entertaine peace with the Turke: for if he had broken it by the Perſians perſuaſion, he had giuen his enemy an aſſured means to ruine him: for the Archduke *Leopold* entred into Bohemia with an armie of 9000 foot, and 3000 horſe; he ſurpriſed pettie Prague, attempted the old towne, and ſeeking to force it, he ſlew many which made reſiſtance. *Matthias* king of Hungarie aduertiſed of this diſorder, parts from Auſtria with a powerful army, & aduanceth ſpeedily towards Bohemia. It was to be feared, that if *Matthias* army & *Leopolds* had met neere vnto Prague, it had been the loſſe and ouerthrow of the one, and the deſolation and ruine of the country. The Emperour foreſeeing this danger, cauſed 300000 florens to be deliuered to *Romeo,* H *Leopolds* Lieutenant, for the paiment of his army, and ſo ſent him out of Bohemia. This diuiſion betwixt the Princes of the houſe of Auſtria, grew by the practiſes of ſome of the Emperors Counſel, who being delegated judges to compound the differences of the Bohemians of diuers religions, in ſtead of labouring to reconcile and vnite thoſe people, for the good of the publique, they made themſelues partiſans to the one to oppreſſe the other, and thereby they drew the Princes into a dangerous diuiſion, for the ſupport of parties. And moreouer, the Archdukes *Ferdinand* and *Leopold*, practiſed to depriue *Matthias* king of Hungarie of the ſucceſſion which he pretended of Bohemia; leſt that being maſter, hee ſhould take reuenge vpon their partiſans for the troubles wherewith they had formerly afflicted the countrey. Such was the eſtate of affaires in Germanie, giuing the Turke a faire opportunitie, if he could haue embraced ſo rich an occaſion, to make his profit of their combuſtions. But the confirmation of the I truce, and the affaires of his houſe, kept him in Thrace.

Cauſes of the troubles of Bohemia.

The gallions of Malta defeated by the Turkes.

Let vs ſee how the Turke ſpeedes at ſea; where he hath the knights of Malta, the Sicilians, and Neapolitanes, and the Florentines, vigilant and valiant enemies to annoy him, and croſſe his deſignes. The laſt yeare, which was 1609, the Chriſtians had no good ſucceſſe, loſſe fell particularly vpon the knights of Malta: for he that fights often, can hardly vanquiſh alwaies: The gallion of the Order, commanded by *Chiualier Guidoti*, an Italian, had made two voyages to ſea very fortunatly, and brought to Malta 300 Turkiſh ſlaues. The encouragement of this good ſucceſſe engaged many knights to diuers enterpriſes. They armed certaine gallions, and made a fleet of ten good ſhips of war, as vnfortunat in their courſes as the gallion of the Order K had beene before ſucceſſefull: for meeting with the Turkes fleet in the ſeas of Cyprus, they were ſet vpon, and moſt of them ſlaine or made ſlaues. The knight *Freſſinei* was ſlaine, and the red gallion wherein he commanded taken by the Turks; but it was after a whole daies fight. *Ambuſon* otherwiſe called *Fueillade* another knight, was made a ſlaue, and his gallion taken: the knight *Ouges* ran the ſame fortune, with the loſſe of a gallion. *Freſſinet* hauing brought a pinnace with him to attend his ſhip, after ſome fight neere vnto the gallion, it eſcaped by night. In this voiage vnfortunat for them of Malta, the gallion of the Order would needs ſeek ſome better aduenture: the knights of *Baillou*, and Rhodes did accompanie him either of them with a ſmall gallion. He ſet vpon the carauan of the Turks fleet, neere the Iſland of Rhodes; his ſucceſſeful beginning of this combat made him hope for victory, and the number of the enemies L veſſels for a rich bootie: for there were among the reſt 2 great gallions of the Sultans; theſe are ſhips which belong to the great Seigiors women, loaden commonly with great riches: but 20 gallies of Rhodes ſeeing this fight, came out of their port to ſuccor them, and by the fauor of a faire wind, drew them into ſafetie.

The gallion of the Order ſets vpon the Turks Carauan.

At Malta the bruit was, That the Turkes armie conſiſting of fourſcore gallies, ſhould goe and beſiege the Iſle of Goza, whereas a Knight called *Saint-Liger* commanded. Whereupon the Great Maſter had reſolued to fortifie the Caſtle of the Iſland, with a good counterſcarfe, which hee cauſed to bee made, ſending thither two hundred ſouldiers, and thirtie Knights for ſupplie, all braue ſouldiers, who might haue made a great reſiſtance, if the Turkes had attempted it: but the enemies fleete paſſed on, and gaue them time M to reſt.

But this yeare 1610, *Vignancourt* the Great Maſter of Malta, ſent the fiue Gallies of the Order into Barbarie, towards the Port Farino, memorable, for that it was the hauen where Saint *Lewis* the French King ended the nauigation of his dayes,

and

The gallies of Malta goe to ſurpriſe them of Biſerta.

and at his returne from Hieruſalem and Paleſtina, went to receiue in Heauen the glorious palmes of his holy actions. The gallies of Biſerta had beene accuſtomed to fetch palmes there in that ſeaſon (which was in the Spring time) whom the gallies of Malta had a deſigne to ſurpriſe. But the contrarie winds, and the tempeſtuous ſeas ouerthrew that enterpriſe, yet their voyage was not altogether vnprofitable; for returning towards Malta, beeing within the channell, which diuides the Iſland from that of Sicilie, they encountered with a great gallion of Tunes, armed by a Turke called *Carouſinan*, beeing in view of the gallies of Malta: The Rayſe (who commanded) aſſured his companie, and (ſmiling) promiſed to free them from their enemies. Being ſo tranſported with vanitie, as he ſpake confidently, that he would not feare twentie of the gallies of Malta: but this his pride was ſoone abated with his ruine; for the fiue gallies came cloſe vnder him, and plied him ſo furiouſly with their cannon, as they ſunke him. The gallie wherein *Verdelli* an Italian Knight commanded, had like to haue been loſt, for beeing grapled with the gallion, if the diligence of *Verdelli* had not ſpeedily retired it. The Turks after the loſſe of their veſſell, began to ſwim away, but they were all made ſlaues to ſerue in the gallies of Malta, who this yeare had no other fruits of their generous enterpriſes.

They ſink a gallion of Tunes.

The courſes of the Duke of Tuſcanie his gallies

They take a Turkiſh ſhip.

The gallies of *Coſmo de Medicis* great Duke of Tuskanie, parted from Ligorne, vnder the conduct of the Commander, and Admirall *Inghirami*, and running alongſt the coaſt of Barbarie, they tooke a Turkiſh ſhip in the ſight of Algier, loaden with merchandiſe, armes, and munition of warre, freeing many Chriſtian ſlaues which were in it. This happie beginning promiſed them better fortune. They paſſe on, and ſome twentie fiue leagues beyond Algiers they goe to ſurpriſe the towne of Biſquerre, a ſmall towne in circuit, but ſtrong and well walled. *Inghirami* drawing neere vnto the coaſt, tooke downe his maſts, leſt they ſhould diſcouer his comming. In the meane time he ſent two long boats to finde ſome place fit for their landing; the which being carefully obſerued, Colonell *Bindy* landed his men, and about eleuen a clocke at night marched in good order towards the towne, and forced it. The darkneſſe of the night kept them from ſpoyling it; beeing content onely to ſet their guards and Sentinels in the moſt important places of the wall: but day beeing come, the ſouldiers made themſelues maiſters of the towne, which they ſacked and ſpoyled. Certaine Moores and Turkes, during the obſcuritie of the night, had retired themſelues into a Moſque which they fortified: They were ſummoned to yeeld; but the feare of beeing ſlaues, (which they could not auoid) made them reſolue to die in their owne defence; ſo as the Florentines hauing forced the place, put them all to the ſword; and then embarqued their troupes, hauing filled Biſquerre with fire and bloud. The night following, beeing in the Gulph called the Bad woman, they met with a pinnace loaden with corne, the which they tooke, and ſent to Ligorne, and then they paſt on to encreaſe their conqueſt. Beeing vpon the coaſt of Sardinia, two Galliots of Biſerta did furniſh them with a faire occaſion. *Inghirami* ſendeth his gallies to purſue them, who hauing had them in chaſe threeſcore leagues, tooke the one, wherein they had one hundred and twentie ſlaues, and freed many poore Chriſtians from the chaine, who ſuffered the tyrannie of the Turkiſh ſeruitude. They alſo tooke a Turkiſh Gallie within halfe a league of Algier, and ſpoyled it. And thus triumphing ouer their enemies, they tooke their courſe towards Ligorne, hauing taken foure Turkiſh veſſels, ſpoyled the towne of Biſquerre, and twice braued that of Algier.

Biſquerre taken by the Florentines.

They take diuers Turkiſh Veſſels.

The Moriſques or new Chriſtians chaſed out of Spaine.

This yeare was fatall for the Moriſques or new Chriſtians in Spaine, who being in number nine hundred thouſand perſons, as the originall writes, and had continued there from father to ſonne, for the ſpace of almoſt nine hundred yeares, were now in an inſtant baniſhed, and made vagabonds with the blaſt of the Kings mouth: Men diſcourſed diuerſly heereof. Some ſaid, that the King had reaſon to do it, for that they had ſecret practiſes and intelligence with the Turke his capitall enemie. Others affirmed, that he did wiſely to preuent their attempts againſt his Eſtate, which were to bee feared conſidering their numbers were ſo great. And ſome ſaid plainely, that it was to haue their lands and inheritances, which had continued ſo long in their races. But the King declared his owne intent by his Edict, the which he publiſhed in theſe termes.

The King of Spaines Edict.

The King: For that reaſon doth in conſcience binde a good and Chriſtian gouernment, to G expell out of all Realmes and Common-weales thoſe things which breed ſcandall, and bring hurt to our good ſubiects, & danger to the Eſtate, but eſpecially which are offenſiue to God, and preiudiciall ro his ſeruice: for this cauſe experience hauing taught vs, That the reſidence of the new Chriſtian Moriſques, and their abode in the Realmes of Granado, Murcia, and Andeloſia, hath beene the cauſe of all theſe inconueniences: For that beſides the manner of their proceeding, which joyned in the rebellion of Granado, the which began by cruell murthers of all the Prieſts and old Chriſtians which liued amongſt them, calling the Turke in to their aid; yet hauing drawne them out of the ſaid Countrey, and ſuffered them to liue in our other Prouinces, ſo as they would repent them of their faults, and liue faithfully and Chriſtian like, according to the precepts and iuſt ordinances which H were giuen them: They haue not obſerued and kept them according to the ſtrict and direct rules of our Holy Faith: but haue alwayes made ſhew to contemne it, and to haue no feare to offend God; as hath beene ſeene by the great numbers which haue beene puniſhed by the Inquiſition: and beſides, they haue committed many thefts and murthers againſt the old Chriſtians. And not content herewith, they haue conſpired againſt my Royall Crowne and Realmes, ſeeking aid and ſuccours from the Turke, certaine interpoſed perſons beeing ſent to that effect, and doing the like with other Princes, promiſing vnto themſelues ayde and aſſiſtance, offering vnto them their perſons and meanes. And ſeeing that during ſo many yeares, in which they haue practiſed theſe treaſons and conſpiracies, not any one hath come to reueale them, but they haue alwayes couered, concealed, and denied them; I it is a moſt apparant ſigne, that they haue all beene of one minde and will, againſt the ſeruice of God and of mee, and againſt the good of this Realme; yet they might haue imitated many Knights of theirs, of generous extraction, who haue done ſeruice to God, to the Kings our progenitours, and to vs, like good Chriſtians, and moſt loyall vaſſals.

Wherefore conſidering all this, and how much I am bound to ſet downe ſome good order, and to procure the preſeruation and increaſe of my Realmes and ſubiects, and deſiring to prouide for all; I haue decreed, with the aduice and counſell of many iudicious learned men, and others, that are verie religious, wiſe, and jealous of Gods ſeruice and mine, to chaſe out of the ſayd Realmes of Granado, Murcia, and Andeloſia, and out of K the Towne of Hernache (although it bee not within the limits of the ſaid Realmes) all the new Chriſtians Moriſques, both men, women, and children. For when as a great or deteſtable crime is committed in any Colledge or Communaltie, it is fit that Colledge or Communaltie ſhould be ruined, and that the leſſe for the greater, and one with another, ſhould bee puniſhed: And that ſuch as peruert the good and ſincere life of Common-weales, and of their Townes and Cities, ſhould be baniſhed from other inhabitants, leſt their contagion infect them.

For this cauſe, by vertue of theſe preſents, wee ordaine and commaund, That all the new Chriſtians Moriſques, without any exception of age or ſexe, of thoſe that liue and reſide in the ſaid Realmes, and in the Towne of Hernache, except ſuch as be ſlaues, ſhall L within the ſpace of thirtie dayes after the publication heereof, depart out of all our Realmes, and Dominions of Spaine, with their wiues, children, ſeruants, and others of their Nation: and that they ſhall not preſume to returne nor to make any reſidence in them, in any ſort whatſoeuer, And wee forbid them to depart by the realmes of Valencia, or Aragon, nor to enter into them, nor to ſtay in any of our Realmes or Countries after the time prefixed, vpon paine of death, and confiſcation of all their goods. And wee command, that no perſon within our realmes and Seigniories, of what eſtate, qualities, or condition ſoeuer, ſhall preſume to receiue, conceale, or defend publiquely nor ſecretly any Moriſque man or woman, after the ſaid tearme, vpon paine to loſe all their goods, vaſſals, forts, and lands; and moreouer to loſe all the graces, and benefits which they haue from mee, to be M applied to my Exchequer.

And though I may juſtly confiſcate all the goods moueable and vnmoueable of the ſaid Moriſques, as belonging to traitours, and guiltie of high treaſon; yet vſing clemencie, I am content, that during the ſaid terme of thirtie daies, they may diſpoſe of their moueable goods, and carrie them away, not in gold, ſiluer, iewels, nor letters of exchange, but in merchandiſe, which is not prohibited, bought of the naturall ſubiects of this realme, and not of others: or in the commodities of the ſaid countrey. And to the end they may during the time of thirtie dayes diſpoſe thereof, and of their mooueable goods, and employ it in merchandiſe, or in the commodities of the countrey, and tranſport what they ſhall buy (for as for their lands, that muſt be annexed to my reuenues, to be employed in the ſeruice of God and the common weale, as I ſhall thinke moſt fit) I declare by theſe Preſents, that I take them into my royall protection, and aſſure them and their goods, That during the ſaid time they may goe and come, to ſell, exchange, and alienate all their mooueable goods, and to employ their money, gold, ſiluer, and iewels, in merchandiſe not prohibited, or in the commodities of the Countrey, and to tranſport the ſame freely, without any let or interruption, by land or by ſea, paying vſuall cuſtomes; ſo as they carrie no gold or ſiluer coyned, or to coyne, nor any other thing prohibited by the lawes of my realme. Yet we are content, they ſhall carrie ſo much money as ſhall be needfull for their paſſage by land, and embarking by ſea: commanding all our officers and louing ſubiects to ſee this preſent Edict duely obſerued, &c. Signed, I *the King*.

After the publication of this Edict, the tearme of thirtie dayes was reſtrained to twentie, ſo as the Moriſques were haſtened to depart: and the ſhips and veſſels of what countrey ſoeuer, were ſtayed in all the ports of Spaine, to tranſport them whither they would goe. Many paſſed from Spaine into Barbarie: but during this yeare there came aboue 150000 of theſe Moriſques into France; the King ſending Commiſſaries, to ſee them well vſed, and orderly tranſported away.

Warre in Barbarie.

There was a warre fallen out in Barbarie betwixt *Muley Xequy*, King of Fez, and *Muley Sidan* his younger brother, both Mahometanes; in which warre the younger forced the elder to flie his Countrey, and to come and craue ayd from *Philip* King of Spaine: But the vnfortunate loſſe of *Don Sebaſtian* King of Portugall, was a good preſident for the Spaniard not to truſt in barbarous Kings, without good aſſurance: Hee treated with the Barbarian, and promiſed him ſuccours, with an hundred thouſand Duckats to returne to Alarache, (a place which held for him) where by money or other practiſes, hee ſhould draw vnto him as many ſouldiers as hee could: And that for the ſafetie of the ſuccours that hee ſhould giue him, hee ſhould put Alarache or Arrache into his handes. This Arrache is a ſtrong Towne in the Realme of Fez, in the Prouince of Algar, ſeated vpon the Ocean, at the mouth of the Riuer of Lucus, whereon part of it is built, and the other part vpon the Ocean: It hath a goodly Port, and hard to take for that it is defended by a Fort, in the which the Kings of Fez doe vſually entertaine a garriſon of three hundred light horſe, and three hundred harquebuſiers: for that the Portugalls and Caſtilians, hold in a manner all the Sea Townes of the Prouinces of Habat, and Erif, where they haue great Garriſons. This Prouince is from the Riuer of Nocor along the Mediterranean Sea, vnto the ſtraight of Gibralter, the other is vpon the Ocean from the ſaid ſtraight vnto the riuer Lucus, in the which the King of Spaine holdeth at this day the ſtrong Townes of Tanger, Arzilla, and others. According to the former accord, the Barbarian returned to Arrache, with his money in one of the King of Spaine his ſhips; to whome in a ſhort time repayred many of his friends and ſeruants. The Spaniard in the meane time hauing prepared a fleet of a great number of gallies and ſhips, and embarqued ten thouſand ſouldiers therein, he gaue the command thereof vnto the Marqueſſe of Saint *Germaine*, who arriued on the twentieth of Nouember in the euening at the Port of Arrache, and there rode at anchor all the night. The next day in the mornining, the Marqueſſe calling all the Captaines to a Counſell, imparting vnto them his deſigne for to force Arrache, in caſe that the Mooriſh King did not keepe his promiſe; they gaue him aſſurance, that they would carrie themſelues like vnto braue and valiant ſouldiers. But ſee what happened: The King of Fez hauing no meanes to goe from his word, ſeeing the Spaniard ſo ſtrong as hee might well force it, many of his followers and people, fearing to fall vnder the power of Spaine, they would haue abandoned him: but hauing the Gouernour of the caſtle at his deuotion, hee thruſt out

Deſcription of the towne of Arrache or Allarache.

Arrache in Barbarie taken by the Spaniards.

the garriſon,and deliuered the keies himſelſe vnto the Marqueſſe of S. *Germanie*. Vpon the firſt bruit that the Spaniards were entered into the caſtle,all the inhabitants ran to armes, and thinking G to reſiſt them, after that many of them had ended their daies valiantly,during 3 houres combat,they were forced to yeeld vnto the Marqueſſe, who preſently planted the croſſe and armes of Caſtile vpon all the Towers and Steeples. Thus this ſtrong towne which the Caſtilians and Portugals had ſo long deſired, and whereas the inhabitants receiued a great ruine, is in the end falne vnder the domination of their king. The newes of this exploit being brought into Spaine, pleaſed the King much,and the people made bone-fires for joy: theſe are the alterations of times. The Moores in old time were woont to ouerrun Spaine,and now the Spaniards take their pleaſures in Mauritania.

A great battell in Tartarie.

About the end of this yeare newes came to Conſtantinople, of the great warres which had been between the Vncle and the Nephew,by the death of the great Cham of the Tartars: the H ſonne,who during his fathers life time,had continued at Conſtantinople as an hoſtage,and was now ſent backe into his countrie by the Sultan *Achmat*,thinking to enioy his fathers eſtate;his vncle,brother to the deceaſed Cham, practiſed to ſeize vpon the crowne: but either of them hauing drawne an armie of 60000 men together,in the end,they ioyned battell,whereas after the ſlaughter of 40000 men vpon the place,the ſonne had the victorie,and by that meanes obtained the Crowne of Tartaria.

I will conclude this yeare 1610, with the relation of a particular buſineſſe, to ſhew the greedie deſire of the Turkes to get by any vniuſt meanes whatſoeuer, and their infidelitie and falſhood to ſay and ſweare any thing for bribes. Some yeares before,one Maſter *Willoughbie* an Engliſh Gentleman, hauing rigged vp a ſhip for war into the Leuant, hee came into Algier in I Barbarie to ſell his prize, where at that time one *Solyman Catania* was Baſſa. This ſhip,was ſuddenly ſeiſed on,and rifled by the command of this Baſſa,vpon no other ſubiect,but that the Baſſa pretended this ſhip had burnt a Caramouſall of his, which in truth the Baſſa himſelfe had cauſed to be ſet on fire,that vnder colour thereof he might ſeiſe vpon the ſhip and goods. Maſter *Willoughby* went to Conſtantinople, and there made his complaint to Sir *Henrie Lilloe*, then Embaſſadour for the Engliſh, but yet could get no ſatisfaction: whereupon he returned into England,and obtained letters from his Majeſtie to the Grand Seignior,and to *Sir Thomas Glouer*,then Embaſſador,reſiding at Conſtantinople; which hauing receiued, he went preſenly to the Chimacham (who was Lieutenant to *Murath Baſſa* the grand Viſier, hee beeing then K imploied in the warres againſt the Perſian.) The Chimacham hauing read theſe letters,would not ſuffer them to be deliuered to the Grand Seignior; promiſing to doe juſtice vpon *Solyman Catania*, whom he diſcharged from his place,and ſent for him to Conſtantinople; who beeing come, and called in queſtion, he denied the fact: Maſter *Willoughbie* (hauing no certaine proofe of his loſſe) ſuborned one *Oſiſh Baſſa* a Turke, who had beene at Mecha, and was therefore held a verie holy man, who ſet a brother of his to procure falſe witneſſes, vpon promiſe to haue the tenth part of what ſhould be recouered: The witneſſes being readie to ſweare to his aſſertion, *Solyman Catania* hearing their Oath, compounded with Maſter *Willoughbie*, and gaue him foure or fiue thouſand Dollars; ſo the buſineſſe ended. Which ſhewes the corruption of the Turks,and that the holieſt of them for mony will not ſticke to beare falſe witneſſe, L and take falſe Oathes.

A great plague in Conſtantinople.

200000 perſons died of the plague.

This yeare 1611 the citie of Conſtantinople was wonderfully afflicted with the Plague, the which diſperſed it ſelfe ouer all, and crept into the Grand Seigniours Seraglio, whereas one of his ſonnes died of that infection: whereupon the Grand Seigniour was forced to retire for his ſafetie, and to paſſe the remainder of the Summer in his pallace or Seraglio of *Darut Baſſa*, about a league and a halfe diſtant from the citie, this violent contagion did ſo rage in Conſtantinople for the ſpace of fiue moneths,as there were numbred two hundred thouſand perſons dead within the time, and they did commonly carrie euerie day twelue or fifteene hundred bodies to be buried. The greatneſſe of this mortalitie is not to be imputed ſo much to the corruption of the aire,as to the wilfull negligence of the Turks, who would not vouchſafe M to turne away from a bodie dead of this diſeaſe, when it goes to buriall, nor to forbeare to viſite their friends beeing infected.

The Turkes obſtinate beliefe touching predeſtination.

The obſtinate beliefe they haue of Predeſtination maketh them bruitiſhly contemne all ſorts of dangers: For ſay they, as ſoone as man comes out of his mothers wombe to inioy the light of the world, God writes in his forehead al the good or euill ſhall happen vnto him, and particularly of what death he ſhall die, the neceſſity whereof no humane power can auoid. All is gouerned (ſay they) by Deſtinie, and therefore they regard not any infection, but contrariwiſe when any one is dead, another takes his cloathes and weares them: which is the cauſe that Conſtantinople and the grand Caire are ſeldome free; and when as the aire is any thing diſpoſed to contagion, there dies ſuch multitudes of people, as they do not number them but by hundred thouſands.

Death of the French embaſſador at Conſtantinople.

Before the beginning of this plague, the Baron of Salignac Embaſſadour for the French King at Conſtantinople, ended his embaſſage with his life. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſtie ſent the Baron of Mole, eldeſt ſonne to the Baron of Sanſie, to ſupplie his place. Hee arriued at Pera this yeare in the beginning of September, and about the end of October the Sultan being returned to Conſtantinople, after that hee had viſited the Muphti, (who is the chiefe of their Law) the Graund Viſier, the Deftorda, (who is the Sultans high Treaſurer) the Boſtangi Baſſa his chiefe Gardiner, with other Great men of the Port which were highly in fauour; in the end he was admitted to audience, and to kiſſe the Sultans hand. A ceremonie which in mine opinion I owe vnto the Hiſtorie, to ſhew that the Majeſtie of the Turkiſh Emperours is ſo great, as to approch neere vnto them, the Embaſſadours of forreine Princes are forced to diſguiſe themſelues, and leauing the habits of their nation, to attyre themſelues and their Traine after the Turkiſh manner. Thus the Embaſſadour of France parted from his Lodging at Pera, wearing vpon his French apparell a long Turkiſh Robe of cloath of gold curled, furred with Sables: his Gentlemen and Secretaries to the number of ſixteene had the like Robes, but of meaner ſtuffe, wearing caps of blacke Veluet: hee had twentie Seruants in long caſſockes of skarlet, called in Turkiſh, Ferrages, and vpon them long Robes of the ſame ſtuffe, with caps of Taffata; the foure Dragomans or the Kings Interpreters, the Captaines, Maſters of Ships, and other Frenchmen attyred all in long Robes, accompanied the Traine. Hee paſt the channell which doth ſeparate Pera from Conſtantinople: being come to the other ſide, he found many goodly horſes for him and his Traine, which ſome Turkes that were friends to France, had ſent him to conduct him to the Citie; at the gate whereof many Chiaus and Ianizaries attended him to conduct him to the Seraglio: two Chiaus Baſſa's went of either ſide him, accompanying him thither, the reſt of the Turks going before. His arriual was no leſſe honorable at the Palace Royal, than his comming to the towne: Two Capigi Baſſa's, or chiefe of the Porters, receiued him at the entrie of a great Court, and conducted him to the Graund Viſier, who attended him at dinner in the hall, where he was feaſted, being accompanied onely with one Dragoman or Interpreter: the reſt of his Traine were conducted into a low gallerie, whereas dinner was prepared for them after the Turkiſh manner: That is to ſay, a great Tapeſtrie vpon the ground without cloath or napkins, and ſome diſhes thinne ſet. The meat was water-gruel with ſugar, and ſome pottage with pullets: there were two men either of them holding a certaine inſtrument of ſodden leather, in which there was a beuerage which they call Cerbet, made of the juice of Lymmons, water, and ſugar, and withall they held a cup of blancht copper, giuing to euery one drinke, and going among the diſhes to ſerue them more commodiouſly. From this feaſt, diſtaſtefull to them that had liued after the French faſhion, they paſt into another gallerie, whereas the Embaſſador and ſixteene of his companie receiued each of them a robe of Tinſell, the which hauing put on vpon their other, they were conducted thorow a little court paued with marble, towards the Grand Seigniors chamber, which was enricht on the out ſide with many pillars of marble, & ſquare ſtones of the ſame ſtuffe, and beautified with two little fountaines of either ſide: The Chamber within was about ten paces ſquare, the planchard was gilt, the walls enamelled with flowers after the Turkiſh manner, and the floore couered with Tapeſtrie of gold and ſilke. At the entrie of this Imperial chamber ſtood ſix Capigi or Porters, whereof two of them tooke the Embaſſador vnder the armes, and led him to kiſſe the Sultans hand, or rather his Robe; for hauing ſaluted him from the greateſt of Chriſtian Kings, he kiſt but his Robe, and then was led on the one ſide, going backewards, to the end he ſhould not turne his backe to the Emperor. The French gentlemen were conducted after the like manner to kiſſe his robe. But they could hardly ſee the Sultan, for his face was turned towards a window that was grated, before the which, during the ceremonie there paſt 30 Capigi, euery one carrying a piece of the Preſents which the Embaſſadour had brought: during the which, the Frenchmen could

The Ceremonie of Embaſſadors at their firſt audience.

The Turkes feaſt the French.

The Sultans Chamber.

not ſee him but on the other ſide. This ſalutation being ended, the Embaſſador made a ſhort
ſpeech, and preſented vnto the Sultan the principal letter of his embaſſage, written in the Tur- G
kiſh tongue.

Troubles in Tranſyluania.

The Valachian expelled his Countrey by Battori.

Battori defeated by the Valachian.

This paſt at Conſtantinople, whereas the Sultan did willingly ſee an Embaſſador his Allye,
whom he honored aboue all others. But in Tranſyluania the affaires went after another ſtrain;
the combuſtions which ſeemed inſeparable to this miſerable Prouince, made it ſtill the thea-
ter of all diſorders. *Gabriel Battori*, who gouerned it ſince the ceſſion of *Ragotzi*, had put him-
ſelfe into the Turks protection, againſt King *Matthias*, who pretended a title, by reaſon of the
ceſſion made by Prince *Sigiſmund* vnto the Emperour, as King of Hungarie, and had recoue-
red Hermſtad, and chaſed *Raduille* Vayuod of Valachia out of his Countrey; where hauing
ſettled a new Gouernour, and filled the garriſons with Haiduckes, he returned toward Tran- H
ſyluania, to oppoſe himſelfe againſt *Fortgatſie* King *Matthias* his Lieutenant, who came
with Troupes out of high Hungarie, and paſt the riuer of Tibiſce. The Vayuod *Raduille* had
retyred himſelfe into Moldauia to Prince *Conſtantine*, whom he gaue to vnderſtand, That
Battori had an intent to ſeiſe vpon his Country, and to make but one Monarchie of their three
Prouinces; whereupon they joyned their forces together, and in the end of Iune entered into
Valachia, from whence they expelled *Battori* his Lieutenant with all the garriſons. This ex-
ploit made them to hope of a continuance in the proſperitie of their armes; they entered into
Tranſyluania, whereas they purſued *Battori* with ſuch diligence, as they forced him to come
to a battell neere vnto Cromſtat, the which he loſt with part of his troupes, being conſtrained
to ſaue himſelfe with his horſemen in Hermſtad, whereas ſome of the chiefe inhabitants ſee- I
ing him receiue this diſgrace, attempted to ſubmit themſelues vnder the obedience of king
Matthias: but the practiſe being diſcouered by him, he did ſuch execution, as he purchaſed
to himſelfe the name of Cruell.

Fortgatſie lieutenant to King Matthias, enters Tranſiluania.

Battori his practiſes.

Fortgatſie expelled Tranſiluania by Battori.

In the meane time *Fortgatſie* Lieutenant to King *Matthias*, maketh vſe of this defeat to
ſeiſe vpon Tranſyluania; hee made an Accord with *Andrew Nage* (who had drawne
high Hungarie into rebellion, and cauſed the Haiduckes to reuolt) ſo as being freed from
that feare, he entereth into Tranſyluania; where hauing taken ſome Townes and Caſtles, he
layed ſiege to Clauſenburg, the which he battered ſo furiouſly, as the garriſon and inhabitants
ſeeing themſelues readie to be forced, yeelded, and tooke the Oath of allegeance to King
Matthias the fiue and twentieth of Iuly. But as theſe proſperities of *Fortgatſie* were hu- K
mane, ſo did they not long continue. *Battori* being ſhut vp in Hermſtad, conjures all his friends
to come vnto him, and entreated the Baſſa's of Buda and Temeſware to ſuccour him, accor-
ding to the commandement which they had receiued from the Grand Seigniour: he practiſed
with *Nage* (a man which did ſwimme continually in the floats of inconſtancie) and makes him
to reuolt againe in high Hungarie, vpon a ſurmiſe, That *Fortgatſie* had not kept promiſe with
him; ſo as *Nage* tooke armes againe, ſeiſed vpon the Fort of Bayens, and filled all high Hun-
garie with combuſtions; ſo as *Fortgatſie* could expect no ſuccours at his need from thence:
then hauing receiued ſome forces from the Turkes and Tartarians, he went to field, purſuing
Fortgatſie with ſuch heat and furie, as he forced him to abandon all that he had taken in Tran-
ſyluania, and to retyre into Valachia. What deſolations did this warre bring vnto theſe Pro- L
uinces by ſo many priſes and repriſes? *Battori* going with a thouſand horſe to ſurpriſe Tocai,
vpon the frontiers of Valachia, whereas they then held a great faire, he found the garriſon ſo
watchfull vpon their guard, as hauing loſt part of his horſemen, he was forced to returne into
Tranſyluania.

Fortgatſie his miſerable retreat.

On the other ſide, *Fortgatſie* with his Hungarians, thinking from Valachia to recouer high
Hungarie by the Countrey of the Zeclerians, could not effect his deſigne: for *Battori* being
aduertiſed thereof, ſtopped his paſſage; and in like manner the Earles of Bucheime and Dam-
pier had paſſed the riuer of Tibiſce to meet him: ſo as *Battori* ſet ſuch guards in all the paſſa-
ges and ſtreights, that *Fortgatſie* was forced to retyre towards Polonia by the ſteep mountains,
and deſart places, whereas his armie was ſo oppreſt with famin and all other neceſſities, as they M
periſhed miſerably, there remaining few aliue; with the which he ended his paſſage into Po-
lonia, and from thence ſoone after he returned into Hungarie, but with a verie poore equi-
page.

Thus the ſtorme ceaſing in Tranſyluania by the reſtraint of *Fortgatſie*, a more violent
tempeſt

Troubles in Moldauia.

Three Princes pretending to Moldauia.

The negotiation of the embaſſador of England, for one of the Princes of Moldauia.

tempeſt riſeth in Moldauia, to the end that theſe vnfortunate Regions ſhould neuer be without ſome touch of miſerie: For the Turke hauing vnderſtood, That *Conſtantine* Prince of that countrey had relieued the Valachian againſt *Battori* his allye, or rather his Tributarie, he ſends a new Prince into Moldauia, the ſuppoſed ſonne of one *Thomas*, or *Aaron* as ſome write, who had in former time commanded there, and with him fifteene hundred ſouldiers, with Letters of command to the Turkes and Tartarians thereabouts, to aſſiſt him with their Forces. This new Prince was ſometime in France, and afterwards detained priſoner in the Fort of *Iaques* in Spaine, within the Pyrenean mountaines. Thus two Princes contend for Moldauia, the one ſupported by the Polonian, and the other by the Turke. But behold, a third Prince commeth in and pretends a title, being ſonne to one *Ianicolo* who had commanded there. This man had beene a priſoner in the blacke Tower at Conſtantinople, to which he was committed by the Sultan *Amurath*, for that hee had loſt a battell in the yeare 1601, againſt *Michael*, who then poſſeſt Moldauia; who eſcaping from thence, wandred through diuers countries, and at laſt comming into England, his Maieſtie of Great Britaine pittying his miſerable eſtate, recommended him by his Letters to Sir *Thomas Glouer* his Maieſties Embaſſador, then reſiding at Conſtantinople, with commandement to aſſiſt him, and to ſolicite his reſtitution with the Grand Seigniour. Vpon the receit of which Letters, he retyred this wandering Prince into his houſe at Pera, where he entertained him, with many of his friends and followers which repaired vnto him, for a long time; and in the meane time hee ſolicited the Grand Seigniour for his reſtitution, hauing good acceſſe vnto him, by reaſon that hee ſpake the Turkiſh tongue perfectly, and needed no Dragoman or Interpreter. To whom the Sultan ſtill gaue good anſwers, but with delayes, that it was not yet time; but hee ſhould haue ſatiſfaction. His Competitor (who was in poſſeſſion of Moldauia) hearing of this practiſe, made friends at the Great Turks Court, and corrupted ſome of the Baſſa's by bribes, (they beeing all by nature verie couetous) to the end he might croſſe his deſigne, and make him away if it were poſſible: and among the reſt he had woon *Murath Baſſa* the grand Viſier, a man of great power and authoritie, who practiſed many meanes to get the Moldauian into his hands. Firſt, he ſent word vnto the Embaſſador, That the Sultan hauing a meaning to reſtore him, deſired to ſee the man, if he were capable of the place or no: but being aduertiſed of their intent, and well acquainted with their practiſes, hee refuſed to ſend him. After which, he wrot vnto him, That it was the Graund Seigniours pleaſure hee ſhould ſend the Moldauian vnto him, that hee might confer with him. To whom the Embaſſador made anſwer, That vnleſſe he might ſee a Warrant vnder the Grand Seigniours owne hand, he would not deliuer him. *Murath Baſſa* ſeeing that none of theſe practiſes could preuaile, reſolued to fetch him out by force. For the effecting whereof he drew together two thouſand Ianizaries. The Embaſſador hearing of his intent, fortified his houſe, and armed his people with the Moldauians which were with their Prince, meaning to ſtand vpon his defence. *Murath Baſſa* deſirous to know what the Embaſſadour did in his Lodging, diſguiſed a Ianizarie like vnto a Greekiſh Sheepheard; who entering into the Embaſſadours houſe, found them all in armes: then returning vnto the Baſſa, hee told him that he had to do with a mad man, and if he proceeded in his enterpriſe, hee would hazard the loſſe of many Ianizaries: whereupon hee gaue it ouer. After which, the Embaſſadour being called home into England, the Moldauian deſpairing of reſtitution from the Turkiſh Sultan, he turned Turke; and being preſented to the Grand Seigniour, was made Bey of Burſia in Aſia: the which he enioyed not long; for *Naſſuf* comming from the Perſian warres, diſcharged him. Thus Moldauia hauing many pretending Soueraignes, ſuffered many miſeries, and was a prey to Turke, Tartarians, and Polonians, all partiſans to theſe Soueraignes.

The voyage of the Gallions of Florence against the Turkes.

Theſe were the troubles which the Turkes cauſed at land for the ruine of the Chriſtians. But behold what hee ſuffered at ſea by the Gallies of Florence, Malta, and Naples; the Florentines made their enterpriſe apart. The Great Duke of Tuſcanie being aduertiſed, That the Carauan which tranſported the Tribute of Ægypt to Conſtantinople, prepared to put to ſea, he reſolued to diuert this tribute, and by the valour of his armes to bring it to Ligorne: and for the effecting hereof, hee ſpeedily armed foure Gallions, vnder the command of *Beauregard* a Frenchman, who was Admiral. The firſt was called the new Gallion, in which the ſaid Admiral went: the ſecond, the great Ligorne, commanded by *Brandequedor*,

dor, Generall at land, and allied to the Duke; and the other two were commanded by two G French Captaines. *Beauregard* hauing receiued commandement, to paſſe with this fleet into the Leuant, to meet with the Carauan, hee bent his courſe towards Candie, a fertile Iſland inhabited by the Græcians: Beeing arriued in the port of Caliſmene to water, he continued there ſix daies. Leauing this Iſland, he ſailed towards Cyprus, which is held by the Turks, and ſo coaſting Siria, they learned of a ſhip of Marſeilles, that the Carauan was yet in the port of Alexandria, where they prepared for their voyage to Conſtantinople. To attend them, the Admirall *Beauregard*, went and caſt anchor at the fort of Sidon, called Sarepta, gouerned by *Emir*, or *Armil Facardin*, a Rebell to the Turke, and a great friend to the Florentines, where hee ſtayed twelue dayes, to take in Bisket, fleſh, and other neceſſarie refreſhings. And hauing made a more ſtrickt league of friendſhip with *Facardin*, hee honoured him with a coffer full of armes, whereby the Florentines ſhips came as freely into thoſe parts, as into their owne H countrey.

The enterpriſe to take the carauan of Ægypt.

Beauregard hauing well victualled and munitioned his gallions, hee returned towards the Iſle of Cyprus, whereas he found a Chriſtians ſhip called the flying Dragon, which came from Damietta, by whom he was aſſured that the Turks army, conſiſting of a great number of gallies, was gone out of the port of Rhodes, and had taken a Flemiſh ſhip. Theſe newes made him thinke that hee ſhould meet the fleet, and that he muſt of force defend himſelfe. Wherefore he made all things readie, and preſcribed the order which his Captaines ſhould hold during the fight; cauſing his ordnance to be mounted as if they were to ioyne. He had foure as good gallions, and as well furniſhed, as any were in the Leuant ſeas, either of them beeing armed I with 40 pieces of ordnance, and 400 good ſouldiers. Betwixt the Iſland of Cyprus and Caramania they encountered this Turkiſh fleet, conſiſting of fortie gallies and two galliaſſes, vnder the command of Baſſa *Muſtapha Grego*, who was Generall of this fleet, which was in ſight of the Florentines ſhips: the galliaſſes aduance to take view of them, and to find how far their cannon would reach; and in the meane time the gallies put themſelues into the forme of a Croiſſant, readie for the combat. *Beauregard* an old ſea Captaine, and well practiſed in ſea fights, would not make a ſhot againſt the gallies, but attended vntill the whole fleet came cloſe vp to him; which being neere, he ſaluted them ſo furiouſly with his cannon, giuing them the broad ſides, as the Turks (who expected no ſuch reception) were all amazed; and making a ſtand, would proceed no further. Their Generall hauing well obſerued the reſolute counte- K nance of the Florentines, diuided his gallies into two ſquadrons; giuing charge to the one to giue an aſſault to the Florentines gallions; and in the mean time the reſt ſhould prepare themſelues to fight.

The Florentines meet with the Turkes fleet.

The Turks aſſaile the gallions of Florence.

Being thus diuided, they came one after another to the aſſault, the which continued for the ſpace of ſix houres, and yet could not boord them. *Muſtapha* ſeeing fiue of his gallies ſunke by the enemies cannon, with the loſſe of all the men that were within them; but ſuddenly the wind changed, and proued fauorable to the Florentines, who embraced this aduantage, giuing chaſe to the Turks gallies, forcing them to ſeeke their ſafetie in the hauen of Famaguſta, the chiefe fort of Cyprus; ſo of aſſailants (being beaten) they became run-awaies: ſo inconſtant are the accidents of war; and eſpecially at ſea, whereas the good or bad ſucceſſe many times L dependeth of a little winde.

Fiue Turkiſh gallies ſunke.

The Turks put to flight.

This Turkiſh fleet, hauing loſt fiue gallies, and recouered a port in Cyprus, the Admirall *Beauregard* ſeeing his deſigne againſt the Carauan diſappointed, he reſolued to return towards Ligorne with his gallions: being at ſea, he encountred a Turkiſh veſſell called a Caramouſall, which came from Rhodes, to go vnto Cyprus: they chaſed it, & in the end ouertook it; which they preſt ſo with their ordnance, as they ſlew 130 Turkes, and tooke 300 ſlaues. The bootie was verie rich, being valued at 140000 crownes. After this prize, their victuals beginning to faile, hauing beene ſo long at ſea, they bent their courſe for Ligorne: but the winde falling contrary, they were forced to ſtay eight dayes in the Iſland of Scarpante, paſt the bar of Meſſina, and hauing giuen chaſe to certaine gallies of Tunes, they arriued at Ligorne the fifteenth M of Iune, where there was great ioy for their returne, and the prize which they had brought, the which according to the cuſtome was to be diuided; one third to the ſouldiers and mariners, and the other two parts imploied for the entertainment of the ſhips, and the paiment of the captaines.

The Florentines take a rich ſhip of the Turkes.

This Carauan which goes from Ægypt to Conſtantinople, is euerie yeare attended for, not onely by the gallions and gallies of Florence, but by thoſe of Malta and Naples, and by all the Pyrats of the Mediterranean ſea: like vnto the Engliſh and Hollanders, who yearely lay in wait for the Indian fleet before the concluſion of the peace and truce with the Spaniard. And although their principal deſigne was to take ſome part of the Carauan, yet they had other enterpriſes vpon the Turkes Countrey, beſides the ſpoile of merchants which they met by chance, which many times payed the charge of their voyage; and ſometimes, they that thought to take, were taken, and loſt both their ſhips and liues.

The exploits of the Galleyes of Malta and Naples.

The gallies of Malta, commanded by the Bailife of Venouge, and thoſe of Naples by the Marquis of S. *Croix*, joyned together ſoone after, with a deſigne to ſet vpon the Carauan which carried the reuenue and tribute of Ægypt to Conſtantinople, or els to put in execution the enterpriſe which they had long before projected, vpon certaine places of Albania, or to ſurpriſe or ſpoile ſome Iſland in the Archipelague which might pay their charges. But the firſt failing, they met with a Venetian ſhip laden with merchandiſe, to the value of 100000 crownes. The Spaniards who commanded in the gallies of Naples ſeiſed vpon this ſhip, but the General of Malta would by no meanes conſent vnto it, nor ſuffer any of the merchandiſe to be put into his gallies, for that he would not vniuſtly violate the friendſhip which was betwixt his Order and the State of Venice. This example did touch the Spaniards conſciences, ſo as within few dayes they ſent away the Venetian ſhip, but in curteſie they had vnloden all the merchandiſe.

A Venetian ſhip taken.

The Chriſtians Galleyes go to the Iſland of Lango.

After this prey of a Chriſtian ſhip, the fleet diſcouered two ſailes at ſea, ſending preſently after them, they were two Barks, the one comming from Candie loaden with wood, and the other from Scarpante charged with wine, the which being brought vnto the Generals, gaue them to vnderſtand, that the Carauan of Ægypt was not yet paſt, being aduertiſed that fiftie Chriſtians gallies attended them in their paſſage. Vpon this aduice, the Chriſtian Generals being out of hope to ſurpriſe the Carauan, preſently reſolued to vndertake a more great and glorious enterpriſe, and to ſurpriſe the Iſland and caſtle of Lango in the Archipelague, vpon the coaſt of Natolia; and about ſeuen of the clocke at night they ſet ſaile with a good winde, but being changed in the morning, they were forced te returne to the Iſland of Porcherne: from whence they parted againe at eight of the clocke at night, and continuing their courſe, in the morning they diſcouered three Florentine ſhips, who told them, that they had entred into the Iſle of Nigropont with ſeuen gallies; but hauing been diſcouered, they could not effect any thing; and that their gallies were ſeparated from them in the chace of foure galliots. The Chriſtian fleet continuing their courſe, they arriued about eleuen of the clocke in the morning at S. *Iean de Seruaë*, where hauing caſt anchor, there was a Councel called in the Admiral: where they reſolued to petard the caſtle of Lango, toward the ſea: for the execution whereof they ſhould land 200 men; *viz.* thirtie Knights and fiftie ſouldiers out of the gallies of Malta, and 120 Spaniards out of the gallies of Naples; and that they ſhould carrie two petards with them, the one giuen in charge to Captain *Beaulaigue* in the troupe of them of Malta, and the other was conducted by the Spaniards; the reſt of their men which they ſhould land, ſhould go and aſſault the towne of Lango. With this reſolution they parted from S. *Iean de Seruaë*, with a good winde, and arriued at the Iſland of Lango on the ſixt of Iune, an houre after midnight, whereas they landed three miles from the towne: they that were appointed for the enterpriſe, marcht on with their petards, according to direction; but the night being very darke, the troupe of Malta ſtrayed from their guide, but their valour brought them directly to the walls of the Towne; where after many turnings and windings to finde a fit place to plant the Petard, (notwithſtanding that they were diſcouered and much ſhot at) *Beaulaigue* ſet it to a Port next the ſea, well flanckt with the Caſtle, the which he forced, and his men entering with furie, went from ſtreet to ſtreet, and put all to the ſword that made reſiſtance. The Spaniards on the other ſide made another breach with their Petarde, and entered the Towne; notwithſtanding that at their firſt approach, the Turkes (hauing diſcouered them) played vpon them with their great ordnance and ſmall ſhot. The Troupes being joyned together, hauing cut all the Turkes in pieces they met with, they came to the place before the Caſtle, which they thought to ſurpriſe: but the bridge was drawne, and they lay open at the mercie of their ſhot, ſo as there were fifteene Knights of Malta hurt, one ſlaine, with a Spaniſh

Lango forced by the Chriſtians.

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The Carauan of Ægypt arriues at Conſtantinople.

The Baſſa's recompence that brought it.

The Carauan of Ægypt was ſtill in the port of Alexandria attending a paſſage, and to be freed from ſo many Chriſtian gallies which lay in weight for it; and it ſtayed the longer by reaſon of the great plague, wherwith Conſtantinople was afflicted. But in the end of October, *Mechmet* Baſſa of Caire (who would conduct it in perſon) hauing a conuoy of fiftie gallies wel armed, put to ſea, and arriued at Conſtantinople without any encounter. At his landing, this Baſſa cauſed to march before him 60 mules, euerie one laden with 20000 Sequins in kind, being a whole yeares tribute of the kingdome of Ægypt, the which he cauſed to be carried to the Sultans Serail. This money was welcome to the Port: for the former wars both in Hungarie, Tranſyluania, in Aſia againſt the Rebels, and in Perſia, had ſo waſted the Emperors treaſure, as it would hardly entertaine one of his armies. The Baſſa who had gathered this tribute together faithfully and with great diligence, was at his comming to the Sultans Port honored with the charge of Baſſa of the ſea, (he who had it before, being aduanced to the dignitie of Viſier) and moreouer the Sultan promiſed him his daughter in marriage, being but three yeres old.

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Newes came to the Port, that certaine ſhips, gallies, and galliaſſes of the Chriſtians, to the number of fiftie, came neere vnto the Helleſpont; which put the Turkes in great feare: and complaints being brought vnto the Grand Seignior, That certain Caramouſals had been taken by the Chriſtian gallies; he ſent preſently for the Captain Baſſa or Admiral of the ſea, demanding of him, Whether the report of theſe loſſes were true or no? To whom he anſwered yes. Why are not you then at ſea, ſaith he? He anſwered, For that I can get neither men nor money. Whereupon the Deftardar or Treaſurer was ſent for, who had loſt his head, had not the Aga of the Grand Seigniors women entreated for him.

Graſſehoppers at Conſtantinople ſpoyle the Countrie.

Violent raine in the Citie.

This Summer Conſtantinople and the Countrey thereabouts was ſo plagued with ſuch clouds of graſſehoppers, as they did ſhadow the verie Sunne beames, and fell vpon the Citie and countrey round about. The Turkes conſulted with their Wiſemen, what it might portend: Who anſwered, That they did foreſhew great plentie to follow. But indeed they left not a greene hearbe nor a leafe in all the Countrey adjoyning, nor in the citie, where they entered into their verie chambers, and annoyed them much, being almoſt as bigge as dormice, with red wings. And ſoone after there fell ſuch extraordinarie great haile in Conſtantinople and Gallata, with ſuch aboundance of raine, as the violence of the water did ſuddenly ſhut vp one of the gates of the citie, and ſo rebounding filled their ſhops and houſes, that verie manie were in great danger of drowning. Some houſes fell downe, and ſome people were ſlaine; the pauements of the ſtreets were torne vp, and the ſtones carried together into great heapes.

We haue formerly made relation of the Perſians victories, and of the defeat and death of *Cicala* General of the Turkes armie, in the yeare 1605. And that the yeare following, the Sophy hauing recouered whatſoeuer the Turkes had taken from his Predeceſſors, had extended the bounds of his Empire vnto the blacke ſea, from whence he ſent an Embaſſadour vnto the Grand Seignior, to let him vnderſtand, that hauing recouered what had beene vnjuſtly vſurped from him, he would proceed no further, but deſired to liue in peace; the which might now be the better aſſured, the one holding nothing from the other. Moreouer, this Perſian Embaſſadour hauing remained ſeuen moneths at the Sultans Port, was in the end forced to retire into Perſia without audience. And laſtly, That *Amurath Serder* the Grand Viſier, was afterwards forced to conuert his armes againſt *Gambolat* and the Rebels of Aſia, and to neglect the war of Perſia.

1611

A Perſian Embaſſador comes to Cōſtantinople

Notwithſtanding the Perſian war, there arriued this yeare at Conſtantinople an Embaſſadour from Perſia, who according to the Turkes manner, was attended on by a great troupe of Chaoux on horſebacke, Capigi's, Ianizaries, and other Captaines, ſent by the Sultan to conduct him to his lodging. Within few dayes after his arriuall, there was a great ſhow made in Conſtantinople, by the ſeuerall trades of the citie, euerie one marching by themſelues before the Grand Seigniors Serrail, and repreſenting vnto him their manner of marching in the wars, and the order of their prouiſion; ſome carrying on their ſhoulders ſheepe, others lambs, calues, beefe, &c. All which was done of policie to daunt and diſhearten the Perſian Embaſſador, and to encourage their owne people; and withall to let him know, that there ſhould be as great plentie in their campes, as he ſaw at that preſent. And to abuſe him ſtill with the imagination of their great preparation, the Chimacham or Viſiers Lieutenant, ſent the next day for this Perſian Embaſſador, and during their conference had taken order, That the Emperor of Tartaria's brother (who was then in the Sultans court) ſhould come in: at whoſe entrance the Chimacham aroſe from his place; *Oh* (ſaith he) *I know for what you come, It is for money for your ſouldiers: you ſhall receiue it at ſuch a place.* Which words were heard by a Dragoman to the Engliſh Embaſſador, being then preſent: the which was done to terrifie the Perſian Embaſſador: and at the ſame time and to the ſame end they ſent ouer diuers troupes of ſouldiers to Scudaret, as if they had been ready to march with an armie.

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The death of Amurath Serder.

Alſo in the yeare 1609 and 1610, the Turke had not attempted any thing againſt the Perſian, who ſtill ſolicited him for peace. The greatneſſe of the *Othoman* Empire could not reſolue to make a peace, hauing receiued ſo great defeats; they would giue it but as victors, not as vanquiſhed. But this yere *Achmat* reſolued to ſend a puiſſant armie of aboue 150000 men, againſt this antient enemie of his houſe, vnder the command of *Amurath Serder* his Grand Viſier: But before the armie entered into Perſia, it was without a commander, by the death of *Serder*, in the end of Iuly; ſo as they were forced to ſtay and attend the Sultans pleaſure from Conſtantinople.

It was ſuſpected that hee had beene poyſoned by *Naſſuf Baſſa*, one that ſtood out in rebellion againſt the Graund Seigniour, and yet hee had many friendes in the Turkes armie: Wherefore to preuent all mutinies, and conſequently, the ouerthrowe of the whole armie, *Amurath Baſſa* in his ſickeneſſe aduiſed the Graund Seigniour (by letters which hee ſent vnto him) to make *Naſſuf* Generall of the whole armie, and ſo by faire meanes to drawe him home, and then to diſpoſe of him at his pleaſure. The Sultan with his Baſſaes approoued well of this aduice, and choſe him Graund Viſier, and Generall of the armie; who hauing receiued the Seale and Authoritie, did forthwith put many of *Amurath* his friends to death, and with their money payed all the ſouldiers, which had wanted pay, whereof ſome had beene without fiue yeares before: hee alſo ſent vnto the Graund Seigniour threeſcore and ten Mules loaden with money of *Amuraths* treaſure, and threeſcore with goods; all which the Sultan gaue to *Amurath* his wife and children.

Seueritie of the Sultan.

It is ſtrange to read, how the Grand Seigniour doth tyranniſe ouer his ſubiects, and how ſeuerely he doth puniſh the leaſt omiſſion in any of his officers: for I find it obſerued, that the ſeuenth of Ianuary in the end of this yere 1611, the grand Seignior being abroad in the ſnow, and not well prouided for of fuell, he cauſed *Stambol Aga* who had that charge to be ſtript naked, and ſet in the ſnow foure or fiue houres. Indeed this Winter was very rigorous, and there fell aboundance of ſnow throughout all Turkie, with great ſtormes, manie houſes were beaten downe; and amongſt other the French Conſull at Aleppo was ſlaine with the fall of his owne houſe.

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The death of Amurath Serder.

Alſo in the yeare 1609 and 1610, the Turke had not attempted any thing againſt the Perſian, who ſtill ſolicited him for peace. The greatneſſe of the *Othoman* Empire could not reſolue to make a peace, hauing receiued ſo great defeats; they would giue it but as victors, not as vanquiſhed. But this yere *Achmat* reſolued to ſend a puiſſant armie of aboue 150000 men, D againſt this antient enemie of his houſe, vnder the command of *Amurath Serder* his Grand Viſier: But before the armie entered into Perſia, it was without a commander, by the death of *Serder*, in the end of Iuly; ſo as they were forced to ſtay and attend the Sultans pleaſure from Conſtantinople.

It was ſuſpected that hee had beene poyſoned by *Naſſuf Baſſa*, one that ſtood out in rebellion againſt the Graund Seigniour, and yet hee had many friendes in the Turkes armie: Wherefore to preuent all mutinies, and conſequently, the ouerthrowe of the whole armie, *Amurath Baſſa* in his ſickeneſſe aduiſed the Graund Seigniour (by letters which hee ſent vnto him) to make *Naſſuf* Generall of the whole armie, and ſo by faire meanes to drawe him home, and then to diſpoſe of him at his pleaſure. The Sultan E with his Baſſaes approoued well of this aduice, and choſe him Graund Viſier, and Generall of the armie; who hauing receiued the Seale and Authoritie, did forthwith put many of *Amurath* his friends to death, and with their money payed all the ſouldiers, which had wanted pay, whereof ſome had beene without fiue yeares before: hee alſo ſent vnto the Graund Seigniour threeſcore and ten Mules loaden with money of *Amuraths* treaſure, and threeſcore with goods; all which the Sultan gaue to *Amurath* his wife and children.

Seueritie of the Sultan.

It is ſtrange to read, how the Grand Seigniour doth tyranniſe ouer his ſubiects, and how ſeuerely he doth puniſh the leaſt omiſſion in any of his officers: for I find it obſerued, that the ſeuenth of Ianuary in the end of this yere 1611, the grand Seignior being abroad in the ſnow, F and not well prouided for of fuell, he cauſed *Stambol Aga* who had that charge to be ſtript naked, and ſet in the ſnow foure or fiue houres. Indeed this Winter was very rigorous, and there fell aboundance of ſnow throughout all Turkie, with great ſtormes, manie houſes were beaten downe; and amongſt other the French Conſull at Aleppo was ſlaine with the fall of his owne houſe.

The Perſian offers conditions of Peace, and a tribute.

Naſſuf parted from Aſia, and marched with his armie vnto the frontiers of Perſia, where he committed ſuch ſpoiles, as the Sophie was conſtrained to draw all his forces together, to preuent the ruine of his countrey, beeing then about the midſt of Auguſt. But when they were come to a battell, the Perſian finding the partie vnequall for him, and dangerous, offered conditions of peace, and promiſed to giue the Turke a quantitie of ſilke which ſhould make the charge of 200 cammels, for a yearely tribute, in acknowledgement of ſome countries which he had conquered from the *Othomans*. Theſe offers were accepted at Conſtantinople, but there was added, that the Perſians ſonne ſhould bee called Baſſa of Tauris, and that the magiſtrat and Iudge of that citie, called the Cady, ſhould be ſent from Conſtantinople. We ſhall ſee in the following yeare the effects of theſe propoſitions, by the Embaſſadour of Perſia, whome *Naſſuf* ſhall bring to Conſtantinople; in the meane time let vs returne to the Mediterranean ſea, to take a ſuruey of the valiant exploits of the Knights of Malta againſt the Turkes.

The falſhood of a Turke puniſhed by the Iuſtice of God.

On the 26 of Aprill, a Turke hauing lent a good ſum of money to a Chriſtian, to be paid at a certaine day; he came before the appointed day with another Turke, and willed the Chriſtian to pay the mony to that other Turke when the day came; which the Chriſtian promiſed to do, and performed it accordingly: but the Turke denied the receit thereof: whereupon he to whom the mony was properly due, came and demanded it: to whom the Chriſtian anſwered, that hee had paied it to that partie to whom he had aſſigned it: whereunto the Turke replied, that if it were ſo, he was ſatisfied: but yet the other Turke denied it: wherupon the matter was brought before the Iudge, and the Turke who had receiued the money, taking an oath to the contrary; the Chriſtian according to the Turkiſh iuſtice, was enforced to pay the mony again: the which he did, but withall he praied God to ſhew ſome publique ſigne which of them had done the wrong. And thereupon the Turke going forth to repaire home to his houſe, fell downe dead in the ſtreet.

Corinth taken and ſpoiled by the knights of Malta.

The Great Maſter *Vignancourt* continuing his generous deſignes to ruine the Turke, had an enterpriſe againſt Nauarrin, a place importing this common enemy of Chriſtians: for the execution whereof, he ſent the fiue gallies of his Order, vnder the charge of *Vaqueras*, great commander of the order, and chiefe of the nation of Prouence. They came within ſome miles of the ſhore, but found their landing very difficult, for that they had bin diſcouered by one of the caſtles of Nauarrin, which had giuen the alarme vnto the whole countrey, ſo as they were forced to paſſe on to ſome more eaſie conqueſt, to the end their voyage might not proue vnprofitable: wherefore they ſailed into the Archipelague, and came neere to the coaſt of Morea, ten leagues from Corinth, where in the night they landed 800 men vnder the conduct of the commander of *Cremeaux*, generall at land; this troupe marched towards Corinth, and an houre before day were at the town gates to force them. Some Turks tooke armes, but their weake reſiſtance could not ſtay the knights from entring with their troupes; they ſackt the towne, and hauing taken what ſpoile was portable, they carried away with them 500 ſlaues. After this triumph, the Chriſtians made a happie retreat, & in good order, notwithſtanding all the attempts of the Turks horſe and foot, who were drawne together in great numbers, making 10000 ſoldiers, for the country is very populous; in view of whom they imbarked their ſpoile and ſlaues. Hereby it appeares, that this was one of the moſt deſperat enterpriſes that hath been of long time ſeene. For to attempt a place ſo far from their retreat, in ſo populous a countrey, which vpon the leſt alarme, may draw together ten or twelue thouſand Turkes, and to make their retreat with ſo ſmall a number, againſt ſuch great troupes which purſued them: doubtleſſe we muſt confeſſe, that as they ſhewed great valor, and had good fortune, ſo they vndertooke a very dangerous enterpriſe. Thus the knights of Malta vanquiſhed, whom we might terme the maſters of the Mediterranean ſea, if the reuenues of their Order would ſuffer them to ſet forth ſhipping and forces equall to their valour.

But to follow the variable courſe of the Hiſtorie, let vs obſerue the different occupations of Chriſtians. At Prague the Germanes entertained themſelues, with the conſideration of a Crowne which appeared in the Firmament, ouer that Citie about the middeſt of October, giuing a verie great light, and about it armies of men fighting who ſhould haue it. At that time the Emperour *Rodulphus* was vpon the Weſt, or declining of his dayes, and *Matthias* who ſucceeded him in the Empire, then King of Hungarie, was vp-

A on the ſunne-riſing of his triumphes. Many expounded this heauenly apparition, as a preſage of happineſſe and good fortune to *Matthias*: hee enioyed the Crowne of Hungarie alreadie, and by deſignation that of Bohemia, and now they did prognoſticate vnto him that of the Romanes. Doubtleſſe men which aſpire after great fortunes, doe rather adorne the Sunriſing, than the ſetting; and mans life when it declines, taſtes of the lees. The flouriſhing glorie of *Matthias*, his age, and his actions in the warres, did adde nothing to the authoritie of other men in the countrie, but did mightily ſettle his owne. Three Sunnes which were ſeene in the firmament ouer Vienna, the chiefe citie of Auſtria, confirmed the Germanes more in this their hope, that he ſhould haue the third crowne of the Romans. This laſt apparition happened the yeare following.

B About the end of the yeare, ſome of the Engliſh Embaſſadors men entering into quarrell with certaine Iamoglans of the next Serail: from words they fel to blowes; during which tumult one of the Embaſſadors men threw a ſtone, and ſmote a Iamoglan on the forehead, whereof he died within few houres after. The Aga of the ſeraill complained hereof to the grand Viſier, who preſently ſent the Subbaſſa of Galata, to make inquirie of the fact: the Embaſſadour went himſelfe to the Seraill, and ſent for his men which had been in the quarrell, willing the Turks to deſigne the partie which had thrown the ſtone: who all with one ſhout ran vpon one *Simon Dibbins*, a man that was newly come from Candie, where hee had ſerued in the Venetian garriſons, and was now entertained into the Embaſſadors ſeruice. This *Simon* was not hee that threw the ſtone: notwithſtanding the Turkes would none but him; on him they laied C hands, and dragged him away. The Embaſſador interpoſing himſelfe, and offring to pledge for him, was thruſt away by them, his men beaten, and one of his pages wounded: whereupon he complained to the grand Viſier, but preuailed little; for to priſon they dragged this *Simon*, and there kept him a whole month; neither could he be releaſed, albeit the Engliſh nation offered great ſums to ranſome his life: for the Turks would needs haue bloud for bloud. The day of execution being appointed, the Embaſſador ſent his chaplaine to the priſon where this *Simon* was, to prepare him for death: vnto whom (examining him how he had formerly liued) hee confeſſed, that in England ſome few yeres before he had killed a man, for which fact he fled thence into Candie: from whence he came to Conſtantinople, where he was to ſuffer for that which he did not: the juſt judgement of God purſuing him to the ſhedding of his bloud in D Conſtantinople among Turkes vndeſeruedly, for the bloud which hee ſhed in England wilfully. He was hanged at the Embaſſadors gates, his head and heeles the next night were ſtollen away by the Turks, as it was thought, to vſe in ſome kind of Sorcerie; the other parts of his bodie they had leaue to take downe and burie.

This yeare 1612 they did celebrate at Conſtantinople a double nuptiall feaſt; for the marriages of Baſſa *Mehemet* ſonne to the deceaſed *Cicala*, with the Sultans ſiſter; and of Baſſa *Mechmet*, Admirall at ſea, hee whom we haue ſeene lately returne from Ægypt, and bring to Conſtantinople the reuenues of that rich kingdome, with the eldeſt daughter of his Emperour. For the feaſts of yong *Cicala*, the Spahi made courſes on horſebacke with battleaxes and barres, in the open place neere vnto the Seraill, where they made diuers fire-workes of verie great E charge, but of ſmall inuention; and they gaue Preſents to aboue 20000 perſons, beſides the charge of the banqueting ſtuffe which amounted to aboue 20000 crownes. The pompe was double; for the Sultans women did celebrat that day with the greateſt ladies of the Port, and the men ſeparated in other places did ſolemniſe it in like manner. But the magnificence of the marriage of the Baſſa Admirall at ſea with *Achmats* eldeſt daughter, had far more luſtre at the Port. The ceremony was performed on the 30 of Iune, 20 daies after the other; and the order of this pompe, as well as ſome other which we haue deſcribed in this Hiſtorie, requires a particular relation.

1612

The ceremonies at the daughters marriage.

The day before the conſummation of the marriage, they ſent the brides moueables and jewels, from the Seraill to the bridegroomes lodging, with this order and ſtate that followeth: F Firſt there marched 500 Ianizaries on foot, being followed with the grand Prouoſt of Conſtantinople, and the generall Surueiour, both on horſebacke and attired in cloth of gold: the Aga or Colonell of the Ianizaries verie proudly adorned, and enuironed with ſome Ianizaries, marched alone on horſebacke: after theſe, two hundred men of qualitie well mounted, and richly attired, followed with a ſlow pace. The laſt which marcht in this pompe or ceremonie,

The order of the brides truſſe or moueables.

monie,where the Taliſmans,Centons,Emirs,,and other Miniſters of *Mahomets* Clergie. And G preſently followed after the Baſſa *Achmat*, Deſtarda, or high Treaſurer, who conducted the moueables,as choſen by the Sultan to be Godfather or Sagois to the bride, being enuironed with twelue footmen attired in long robes of gold. After him followed the moueables, apparell,and jewels,which made the brides truſſe, hauing in the head excellent muſicke after the Turkiſh manner, of Hoboyes and Kettledrums on horſebacke,

wherein the brides moueables conſiſted.

Theſe moueables,or this truſſe,conſiſted of 27 Preſents.The firſt was a little hat all of gold, couered with precious ſtones, and with pantofles or womens ſhoes after the Turkiſh faſhion of pure gold,enricht with Turquoiſes, and rubies: A booke of *Mahomets* Law, the couering whereof was of Maſſie gold all ſet with diamonds,many bracelets,and other rare deuiſes for women,of pure gold,with many precious ſtones:a little coffer a cubit long,and halfe as broad, H all of chriſtall of the rocke,hauing the corners of gold, in the which were to be ſeene great diamonds and huge pearles, to the value of 80000 pounds ſterling: After this precious coffer, were carried many ſmockes embroidered with gold and pearle,and head-bands for the forehead,with many robes of cloath of gold. All this was diſtributed into 27 Preſents as we haue ſaid, and carried with great pompe by 27 men on foot.

The brides ſlaues.

After theſe Preſents followed 11 caroches full of yong maidens,ſlaues to ſerue the bride: theſe caroches were couered and ſhut, and either of them attended by two eunuchs Moores; after theſe followed 28 virgins ſlaues, attired in cloth of gold,and accompanied by 28 blacke eunuches all on horſebacke,and richly clad. After which were ſeene 240 mules,loaden, with tents of tapeſtrie,cloath of gold, ſattin, veluet, with the ground of gold, with many cuſhions, I which are the chaires the ladies of Turkie vſe; with many other rich and ſumptuous mooueables.Such was the Truſſe which this yong Princeſſe brought to her ſpouſes houſe.Doubtleſſe this equipage was ſtately, and did well become the pompe and greatneſſe of the *Othomans* houſe, from whence ſhee had iſſued, the mightieſt and richeſt of all the royall houſes in Europe,yea I dare boldly ſay of all the World.

The order of the brides conducting to her husband.

Emirs & their priuiledges.

The marriage day being come,the bride was conducted to her husbands lodging with no leſſe pompe and State than her moueables. The Ianizaries marched firſt as they had formerly done,being followed by the grand Prouoſt,the Surueior their Aga,and many other officers of the Port. The Emirs (who are deſcended from *Mahomet*,and alone carrie greene turbants) marched after to the number of 80:this name of Emir is as much to ſay as lord. They which K weare them anſwer not,and obey none but their chiefe, called Mirabachi,and their voice in judgement ſtands for two: they were followed by the Taliſmans or Prieſts of *Mahomets* law, and by a great number which ſtudie it, and which aſpire to the offices of Cadi's or Iudges, of Cadileſquiers or Mufti. The Viſiers or ſupreme Iudges of the Turks eſtate, who judge of all affaires in counſell,came after with the grand Viſier,who is Lieutenant Generall to the Turkiſh Emperor throughout his whole Empire,and keeps the ſeales of his Empire.He had on his left hand (which is the moſt honourable ranke in Turkie) the grand Mufti, or ſupreme Biſhop of their Law. The muſicke followed after on horſebacke conſiſting of thirtie men with drums and Hoboies, beeing followed by eight Ægyptians, which carried Biſcaine tabors,and did a thouſand apiſh trickes. Theſe were followed by 40 muſitians,marching two and two, ſome L playing of citerns, others of harps,and ſome of lutes after the Turkiſh manner. A foole (held for a Saint amongſt them) being mufled with a cap and a cloke couered with mutton bones, danced and ſung with theſe inſtruments: 50 of the chiefe officers of the Arſenall marcht after them,and 30 men with hammers & other iron inſtruments,to breake down whatſoeuer aduanced too far in the ſtreets,and might hinder the free paſſage of 2 trees of an immenſe height, laden with diuers ſorts of fruits all of wax,carried by many men,& ſupported from the top and the midſt with ropes. After theſe trees came 20 officers belonging to *Achmat Baſſa* the high Treaſurer,Godfather to the bride. And he himſelf alone richly attired, & proudly mounted: after whom came 2 great torches light,caried by many ſlaues, & then a third torch of a wonderfull bigneſſe,all couered with plats of gold,& ſhining more with precious ſtones than the M flame which burnt.The *Raiſſer Aga* with 50 of the princeſſes officers,followed theſe lights,& after them was carried a great canopie of crimſon veluet, and after it another greater,couered with plates of gold,whoſe curtaines being ſhut on all ſides, hung downe to the ground. Vnder this canopie was the princes on horſebacke,with ſome of her black eunuches,her caroch followed couered with cloth of gold, and drawne by foure great white horſes, wonderfull beautiful. Then followed eight other caroches, in which were a great number of the brides maids, with many Negroes gelt; and finally, 25 virgin ſlaues, choſen amongſt the faireſt, all on horſbacke, hauing their haire confuſedly hanging vpon their ſhoulders. Such was the pompe of this marriage: but many times the nuptiall feaſt is intermixt with funerall mourning. For not many daies after, the Sultans ſecond daughter, promiſed to *Naſſuf Baſſa*, was carried to her graue without any pompe or honour: for the Turks make no great eſteeme of women.

The death of the Sultans daughter.

The day after the marriage, the Grand Seignior did cruelly beat his Sultana, the mother of this daughter, whom he had married to the Captaine Baſſa; he ſtabbed her with his handjarre or dagger thorow the cheeke, and trod her vnder his feet. The reaſon was, becauſe ſhee had ſtrangled a fauorit of his, which was one of his ſiſters ſlaues, whom the grand Seignior hauing ſeene, and being enamoured with her, ſent for her. The Sultana hearing thereof, cauſed her to bee brought to her lodging, where ſhee ſtript her of her apparell, ſtrangled her, and put her clothes vpon one of her owne ſlaues, whom ſhe ſent to the Sultan inſtead of the other, and at her returne ſtrangled her alſo; as ſhe had done many others when they once appeared to bee with childe by the Grand Seignior.

The grand Seignior beats his Sultana.

The plague beginning furiouſly to ſpoile the city of Conſtantinople, the Sultan was forced to returne to his countrey pallace, called the Serail of *Darut Baſſa*, to auoid the danger of this violent contagion: the which makes mee thinke, that the Turkiſh Emperours for their owne profit diſpenſe with ſome articles of their faith; for as we haue ſaid before, The Turkes are ſo obſtinatly tied to the beleefe of Predeſtination, as they will not vouchſafe to turne from a peſtiferous bodie, when it is carried to the graue, and much leſſe forbeare to viſit his friends being ſicke of the plague, for that (ſay they) if we muſt needs die of this contagion, it is in vaine to flie it, for it will find vs whereſoeuer; if not, our health ſhall neuer be empaired, although wee conuerſe with thoſe that are ſicke of this diſeaſe. But their Sultans know well how to flie the danger; yea and to cauſe them to be led vnder the arms that come to kiſſe his hand, leſt they ſhould offer him ſome violence. Thus we ſee the defect of falſe religions, when as we ſee this marke of vniuerſalitie in the faith taken away; for there euery man beleeues according to his priuat intereſt, as well as among many others which haue ſeparated themſelues from the truth, to canton themſelues in their errors, where we doe often trie the diuerſitie of their beliefe.

A great plague at Conſtantinople.

Sultan *Achmat* being in his palace of *Darut Baſſa*, and going to viſit a ſtately Moſque which he cauſed to be built there, a Deruis or religious Turke thruſt on by ſome deuilliſh fury, caſt a great ſtone at him to beat him downe; but the blow of this deteſtable traitor, fell vpon his ſhoulder, and hurt him but lightly. *Achmat* commanded they ſhould draw from this wretch the confeſſion of his confederats: but the officers of the port cauſed him to be executed the next day, ſomewhat too ſuddenly, and by a death too honourable, for a crime ſo ful of abomination, for they cauſed his head to be cut off. A Deruis of the ſame order had in former times ſought to murther the Emperor *Mahomet* the ſecond.

A Deruis ſeeketh to kill the Emperour.

On the 14 of April, the ladie *Anne Gloner*, wife to ſir *Thomas Glouer*, Embaſſador reſiding at Conſtantinople for the Engliſh, was buried with very great ſolemnitie, the like had not beene ſeene in that countrey, ſince the Turks conquered Conſtantinople. There were preſent at this funeral of moſt nations in the world; the ſermon was preached in a large garden vnder a Cypres tree: and although but few of thoſe preſent did vnderſtand it, yet it wrought this effect, that whereas the Ieſuits and Friers had formerly poſſeſt both Turks, Iewes, and other people, that the Engliſh nation ſince the change of their Religion, had neither churches, nor any forme of diuine ſeruice; hereby they perceiued, that they had both, and ſerued God far more decently and deuoutly than they themſelues; inſomuch that the Ieſuits being aſhamed of their impoſtures, and ſlanderous vntruth, durſt not for a while after walke the ſtreets; for feare of the Turks, who threatned them for ſo much belying the Engliſh. The Sermon being ended, the bodie was caried from Pera vnto the Engliſh graues, which were almoſt a mile from the place; it was cloſed in lead, and layed in a Caroch couered ouer with blacke veluet, and the horſes with blacke cloth. The Dutch Embaſſador, the Hungarian Agent, the French Colonell, with a great number of all nations both men and women followed her to her graue. The tombe was of faire marble built foure ſquare almoſt the height of a man, hauing an Epitaph engrauen thereon.

The funerall of the lady Glouer the Embaſſadors wife.

The caſtle of Lango taken by the Florentines

Wee haue ſeene the yeare before, the Iſland and towne of Lango ſpoiled by the gallies of G Malta and Naples, but the caſtle was ſaued from ruine, by the reſiſtance it made againſt the Chriſtians attempts: but this yeare in Iune the great Duke of Tuſcans gallies running ouer the Archepelague, aſſailed it ſo furiouſly, as they forced and ſpoiled it, carrying away twelue hundred priſoners. *Mechmet Baſſa* Admirall at ſea, whom we ſaw euen now buſied at his nuptiall pompe, with the Emperours eldeſt daughter, beeing aduertiſed of theſe ſpoyles of the Florentines, by the dayly complaints of the Turks which loſt their ſhipping, and of many other enterpriſes attempted vpon his maſters countries lying neere the ſea ſhore; hee departed from Conſtantinople in Auguſt with three and thirtie great gallies, hauing commanded all the Beyes of the Iſlands and townes in the Archipelague, to joyne with him, with as many gallies as they could make, to ſtop the Chriſtians courſes in the Weſt. But whileſt that he is bu- H ſied in thoſe ſeas, the Pirats of Ruſcia deſcending into the Euxine ſea, by the mouthes of thoſe riuers which diſcharge their waters into the ſea, ouerran and ſpoiled the Turks coaſts in thoſe parts.

Courſes of the Ruſſians and Tartars vpon the Turkes.

At the firme land *Conſtantine* one of the pretending Princes in Moldauia, annoyed all that had any dependance vpon the Turke. A part of that great army of the king of Polands, which had mutined for their pay, ſpoyled Podolia; and a Prince of the Tartarians diſcontent for that *Achmat* had preferred a couſin of his before him in the inueſtiture of the realme of the Tartars Precopians, with 5000 ſouldiers ſpoiled the riuers of Moldauia vnder the Turks dominion, and he did the like in the gulph of Nicopolis.

Troubles in Moldauia.

This was at ſuch time when as miſerable Moldauia was the theatre whereas the Turks, Tar- I tars, and Moldauians acted a bloudie tragedie, at the coſts and charges of the poore countreymen. For *Tomſho* hauing been choſen Vayuod or Prince of that Prouince by the Turke, *Conſtantine* who could not endure that he ſhould raigne, armed the countrey, ouerran it, ſpoiled it, and made hauocke of all, detaining two Capigi priſoners, whom the Sultan had ſent vnto him, with commandement to obey his will, and a prohibition not to trouble *Tomſho* in the poſſeſſion of his Prouince. But this was a meſſage of hard diſgeſtion to *Conſtantine*; he could not with patience yeeld to this ceſſion of Moldauia: and inſtead of ſending theſe meſſengers backe to the Turke with an anſwer, hee carried them with him into Polonia, whither he went to demand ſuccors, and cauſed them to be guarded as priſoners. In the meane time by the ſupport and aid of *Potoſly* Gouernor of Velin his brother in law, he obtained from the king of Poland, K that he ſhould be ſupported againſt Prince *Tomſho* his competitor, whom the Turke had aduanced; and to make his entrie into Moldauia more eaſie, they reſolued to ſend an Embaſſador vnto Conſtantinople, to entreat *Achmat* to call backe *Tomſho* to his Port, that *Conſtantine* might quietly enjoy Moldauia, and to acquaint him with the right and intereſt the Polonians had by their capitulations with the Turkes, to name a Vayuod or Prince in that Prouince, to the end no wrong might be done vnto them.

A Polonian embaſſador arreſted at Conſtantinople.

This Polonian Embaſſador being arriued at Conſtantinople (thinking to be preſently diſpatched, either by a grant or deniall of his demand, and not to ſtay aboue fifteene or twentie daies) beeing viſited at his arriuall by all the Embaſſadours of Chriſtian Kings and Princes which remained there: but in ſtead of audience, after ſix weekes attendance, hee was arreſted L and detained priſoner: vnderſtanding from the Turkes, that he ſhould haue no libertie vntill that the two Capigi, whome prince *Conſtantine* carried into Poland were releaſed.

The troubles and diuiſions among Chriſtians, neighbours to the Turke, haue alwaies ſerued as a bridge for this Infidell to inuade them, and by this aduantage to vſurpe ſuch townes and countries as lie fit for him. Now that Valachia, Moldauia, yea and Tranſyluania, are toſt and turmoild with continuall diſorders and combuſtions; the Sultan ſeemes to embrace this occaſion, to make himſelfe Soueraigne of theſe prouinces, and to get poſſeſſion of all that lies betwixt the riuer of Danow, the mountaines of Sarmatia, the riuer of Tibiſcus, and the Euxine ſea. Hee emploies all his thoughts and inuentions vpon this ſubiect, to bring his deſignes to effect. Hee armes and drawes forces about Belgrade, vnder the conduct of *Baſſa Ma- M homet Belzergi*: Hee commaunds the Tartarians to enter into Moldauia, and hee ſent a nauall armie towards the mouth of the riuer Dannow, which made the frigots of Ruſſia to diſlodge, the which had continually made inrodes and ſpoiles vpon his lands. *Battori* Prince of Tranſyluania was at that time before the Towne of Cromſtad, which hee had beſieged,

The Turk armes to inuade Moldauia.

Cromſtad beſieged by Battori.

A beſieged, but the tediouſneſſe of this ſiege made him reſolue to ſend an Embaſſador to Conſtantinople, to demand ſuccors from the Grand Seignior, to the end he might be able to continue this ſiege and to take the towne: he gaue this charge to *Andrew Giezy*, and ſent him to the Sultans Port: but in ſtead of ſeruing his maſter faithfully, he practiſed a deteſtable treaſon againſt him, to put the Turke in full poſſeſſion of Tranſyluania, and to make him abſolute Soueraigne. The practiſe was concluded after this manner, That the Baſſa *Mahomet Belzergi* ſhould enter the Prouince with his armie, and that *Giezy* ſhould joyne with him with certaine troupes, and ſhould deliuer vnto him Veradin, Lippa, and ſome other ſtrong and important places; and for recompence he ſhould inueſt him in the Principalitie of Tranſyluania, in the place of *Battori*, and vnder the authoritie of *Achmat*.

He demands ſuccours from the Turke, and is betrayed.

B This treaſon might haue drawne this miſerable Prouince into ruine, and it may be the reſt neere adjacent, if it had taken the effect which the trecherie of *Giezy* had promiſed vnto himſelfe. But the Baſſa of Buda vnderſtanding that *Battori* had ſome vent of the practiſe at the Port, and that being now in great feare and perturbation, he had raiſed the ſiege from before Cromſtad, and was readie to caſt himſelfe into the armes of the Palatine of Hungarie, and to craue reliefe from him; the craftie Baſſa knowing that this courſe would be preiudiciall for the Sultan, and finding that the depoſing of *Battori* would be more difficult than they expected, hee diuerted *Mahomet Baſſa* from attempting any thing againſt *Battori* or Tranſyluania. This act ſhewes ſufficiently, that Chriſtian Princes which thinke to ſhelter themſelues vnder the ſhadow of the Turkiſh Creſcent, are verie ill aſſured: for hee neuer failes to ſtirre vp enemies C againſt them, to make them ſue for ſuccours, and himſelfe neceſſarie: Then in the end he expels them, and becomes abſolute maſter of their countries. It was alſo ſaid, That the Baſſa *Mahomet* would not attempt any thing in Tranſyluania, by reaſon of the election of the Emperour *Matthias*, whereof the Baſſa of Buda was aſſured by the Embaſſadour which the ſaid Emperour ſent to Conſtantinople, to carrie the preſents vnto the Sultan; which Embaſſadour was honourably entertained at Buda by the ſaid Baſſa, and from thence conducted ſafely to Conſtantinople.

But not to keepe theſe Turkiſh troupes idle, *Mahomet Baſſa* beeing aduertiſed that *Conſtantine* the pretending prince in Moldauia, had bin in Poland to craue ſome aſſiſtance from thence, he reſolued to employ his forces that way, to diſpoſſeſſe him and to ſettle another.

D But the better to vnderſtand the beginning and ſucceſſe of theſe Moldauian warres, wee muſt make a repitition of that which paſt ſome yeares before. In the yeare 1608, *Ieremie Mobyla* Prince or Vayuod of Moldauia, died; committing the gouernement to his brother *Simion*, during the minoritie of his three ſonnes, *Conſtantine*, *Alexander*, and *Bougdan*, the eldeſt beeing but eight yeares old. Hee left three daughters married to three generous Princes of Polonia, *Potoſky*, *Viſinouſky*, and *Correſky*. Prince *Simeon* continued in the gouernement vntill the yeare 1611; after whoſe deceaſe the young Prince *Conſtantine* by the perſuaſion of his mother, that he might ſafely take vpon him the gouernment of Moldauia, and not attend any confirmation from the Sultan, for that Prince *Simeon* who had beene confirmed by the Turke which then raigned, was but Tutor to his Nephew; entered the gouernement. E At this time there remained at Conſtantinople, one *Stephano* or *Tomſho*, who had of a long time practiſed the fauour of one of the Viſiers called *Mehemet*, an Eunuch of Georgia (who was then Chimacham, or Lieutenant to the Grand Viſier) and of ſome other Baſſaes, as well by money as by other practiſes, ſuggeſting falſly that he was ſonne to Prince *Aaron*, who had been Vayuod of Moldauia before the deceaſed *Ieremies* and he preuailed ſo by his practiſes and corruption (whereunto the Turkes are more ſubiect than any Nation in the World) as he was admitted to the Principalitie by the Grand Seignior, and hauing giuen him to vnderſtand by the Viſier, that *Conſtantine* had thruſt himſelfe raſhly into the gouernment, and that hee would not acknowledge him for his Lord and Soueraigne, nor pay the yearely tribute, which was 40000 chequines, hee ſent *Fouſſeyen Aga* with 20000 Turkes and Tartarians to F ſettle *Stephen* or *Tomſho* in Moldauia, and to expell Prince *Conſtantine*. Which armie marched ſo ſecretly, as they had in a manner ſurpriſed him; yet drawing together a head of 10000 men, hee reſolued to attend the euent. The Aga ſent to accquaint him with his commiſſion, and among other things threatened him, that if he would not ſuffer him to proclaime *Stephen* Vayuod of Moldauia, and yeeld him the Citie of Yas free, he would cut him in pieces. Where-

Conſtantine ſon of Ieremie enters the gouernement.

Stephen made Vayuod of Moldauia by the Turke.

Conſtantines anſwer to the Turks Aga.

Conſtantine & Potosky taken priſoners.

Stephen proclaimed prince of Moldauia.

Whereunto *Conſtantine* made anſwer, by the aduice of the Prince *Potosky* his brother in law, That the Grand Seignior had been abuſed: for if hee had vnderſtood, that his predeceſſor had granted vnto the deceaſed Prince *Ieremy* his father, and to Prince *Simeon* his vncle, That he ſhould ſucceed his ſaid father in the gouernment: it was not credible that he would ſeeke to diſpoſſeſſe him by force, without hearing, and inſtall in his place an vnknowne perſon, who had falſely ſuppoſed himſelfe to bee the ſonne of a Prince of Moldauia: neither ſhould they finde, that he had refuſed to acknowledge the Sultan for his Soueraigne Prince, or denied to continue the ſame tribute which his father and vncle had paid: but if the Aga would proceed without any reſpect of his offers, he did hope that the true God of battell would maintain him in his juſt defence, and would not ſuffer an vſurper to preuaile ouer a lawfull Prince. *Fouſſeyen Aga*, who had no will to capitulat with Prince *Conſtantine*, being corrupted by *Stephen* with Preſents and promiſes, aduanced with his army, ſo as the next day they joyned battell; but the Moldauians oppreſt with multitudes of Turks, Tartarians, and Valachians, could not make it good. Wherefore *Potosky* entreated Prince *Conſtantine* to ſaue himſelfe, and to ſuffer him to finiſh the battell: but hee could by no meanes perſuade him, ſtill reſoluing to attend the euent. Whereupon they went both againe to the charge with ſuch troupes as they had left, and defeated many of the Turks forces; but being oppreſſed with a new ſupply of 2000 horſe which the *Aga* ſent by *Stephen*, they were conſtrained to yeeld themſelues to the mercy of their enemies. Prince *Conſtantine* fell to the Tartarians ſhare, either for that he had been taken priſoner by ſome of them, or elſe was giuen them by *Fouſſeyen Aga*, to draw a ranſome from him, and be in ſtead of their pay. But they made no great vſe of him; for as they led him away, paſſing the riuer of Nieſtre, hee leapt into it, thinking either to ſaue himſelfe by ſwimming, or vnwilling to ſuruiue his diſgrace. And as for Prince *Potosky*, he was carried to Conſtantinople, and was put into the blacke tower, which is a priſon appointed by men of qualitie, where he continued vntill the yeare 1616. The loſſe of this battell by *Conſtantine*, gaue an eaſie enterance to *Stephen* into Moldauia, no man daring oppoſe himſelfe againſt the Turks forces: ſo as *Fouſſeyen Aga* cauſed *Stephen* to be proclaimed Prince of Moldauia in the citie of Yas, and then diſmiſſed his armie, and returned to Conſtantinople. Such was the fortune of the Prince of Moldauia, ruined by the Turks, and ſuch was the diſorder and confuſion of his miſerable countrey.

Conſtantinople afflicted with graſhoppers.

This Summer Conſtantinople and the countrey round about, was annoyed with aboundance of Graſhoppers, as it had beene in the former yeare: but to free themſelues from this deuouring vermine, about the middeſt of Iuly, the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and Alexandria, with diuers other Biſhops, and Calloires attired in their copes and other ornaments, went forth in ſolemne manner at the gate of Andrianople, being the North gate of the citie. Whereupon (ſaid the Greekes) they all periſhed: and indeed about this time infinit heaps of them were found dead; but not by reaſon of their curſe, for moſt were dead before they curſed them, and were to be ſeene dead vpon euerie buſh and twigge of a tree before their curſe, and many liued after their curſe, and continued vntill the next ſummer. The cold deawes which fell this Summer (beeing extraordinarie) were thought to bee the naturall cauſe thereof; God cauſing thoſe deawes to fall, to free the countrey from theſe deuouring creatures.

The troubles of Tranſyluania.

Let vs now deſcribe the miſeries of the Tranſyluanian, and of his Prouince, a table ſo often repreſented in this Hiſtorie. *Gabriel Battori* who gouerned Tranſyluania, as lawfully deſcended from the Soueraigne Princes thereof, hauing made himſelfe a tributarie vnto the Turke, and by his impious actions mingled *Mahomets* impietie with the Chriſtian Religion; and moreouer, exceeding in his crueltie, became a memorable example to all poſteritie, that Princes which carrie the glorious name of Chriſtians, when they haue once layed aſide all feare of the Soueraigne of Princes, cannot attend, but a miſerable end in their raigne, conformable to the courſe of their enormities. So *Gabriel Battori* holding it a Law of State, to ſettle his affaires with the ruine of Religion, allyes himſelfe with the Turke, and with him afflicts the Chriſtian Prouinces. But ſeeing many factions made againſt him, as well by the deſcendents of *Botſcay*, as by *Giezi*, *Bethlem Gabor*, and ſome other, hee ſupports himſelfe with the forces of *Andrew Nage*, the head of the Rebels in high Hungarie, who came vnto him to the ſiege before Cromſtad to aſſiſt him in his affaires. *Battori* entertained him with all ſhewes of courteſie, inuited him to dinner in his Tent; and for a greater demonſtration of friendſhip, after dinner they two went to take the aire on horſebacke. *Nage* had drunke after the Hungarian manner; *Battori* entreated him to runne his horſe a careere, and he refuſed it; the which *Battori* taking for an offence, ſpake many words of contempt vnto him, and hee anſwered him in the ſame manner, being more inflamed with wine, than gouerned by reaſon. *Battori* being wonderfully offended, that a man of no ſort, being but a poore ſouldier of fortune, crept vp to ſome authoritie among the ſoldiers but by degrees of rebellion, ſhould giue him ſuch words of indignitie, gaue him three blowes on the head with a battle-axe which hee held in his hand, and ſlew him. Thus *Nage* ſwims juſtly in his owne bloud, hauing wickedly and to the ruine of his Country, floted in the wayes of inconſtancie, and popular tumults; and ſo he died as he had liued.

Battori kills Nage.

But *Battori* found himſelfe dayly oppreſt with many affaires, which draue him inſenſibly to his ruine. *Peter Decaci* Kinſeman to the deceaſed *Botſcay* annoyed him on the one ſide with troupes of ſouldiers. *Andrew Giezi* (who had betrayed him in his embaſſie to Conſtantinople) leuied Forces to proſecute him; and *Bethlehem Gabor* a Nobleman of Tranſyluania, and aſſiſted by the Turke, tooke many places from him, after that *Giezi* had forced him to raiſe his ſiege at Cromſtad, and generally all Tranſyluania reuolted againſt this Prince. To ſee more plainely in the obſcuritie of theſe confuſed diſorders, you muſt vnderſtand that this Prouince is peopled by three ſeueral Nations, the Sicules, Saxons, and Hungarians. The Sicules (diſcended from the Scythians) came with *Attila* King of the Hunnes, in Pannonia, now called Hungarie, and taking their way towards their Countrey, they inhabited that part of Tranſyluania which lies next to Moldauia, and diuiding themſelues into ſeuen Coloneys, they built the townes of Kiſdi, Orbai, Scipſi, Cykuduarheh, Aranios, and Maros. The Saxons (mutinying againſt the gouernment of the Emperour *Charlemaigne* King of France) for certaine impoſitions wherewith hee had charged them) retyred into Tranſyluania, and by force ſeiſed on that part of the countrey which confineth vpon Valachia, where they built the townes of Hermenſtad, (otherwiſe called Cibin) Cromſtad, Nezen (or Biſtric) Meduviſch, Scieſpourg, Clauſenbourg, and Alba-Iulia. The Hungarians inhabited this prouince from the time of Saint *Stephen* King of Hungarie; and hauing maſtered the other Nations, they obtained ſuch preheminence among them, as ſince their ſucceſſours haue cauſed themſelues to be called Nobles of Tranſyluania, and the Vayuods or Princes of the Countrey haue beene taken from among them. The Townes of Varradin, Deuer, Zilahi, Gela, and ſome others, owe their beginnings vnto them. The greateſt part of theſe three Nations which inhabit Tranſyluania, were reuolted againſt *Battori*: but particularly the Saxons had taken armes againſt him, his great crueltie hauing forced them to this extreame remedie.

Parties againſt Battori.

Diuiſion of the people of Tranſyluania.

All the three nations againſt Battori.

Battori being thus abandoned by his ſubjects, proſecuted by his Nobilitie, and forſaken of all the world, knowing not whither to flie for ſuccour, and not daring to truſt vnto the Turke, who openly fauoured *Gabor*; he reſolued to trie if he could by preſents draw the Emperour *Matthias* to giue him any aſſiſtance. Wherefore he ſent Embaſſadors vnto him, to promiſe all ſubjection and obedience; and he ſent for Preſents, a long robe or ſacerdotal cloake of gold, ſet with Pearle and pretious ſtones, certaine plumes of blacke Herons, adorned with pretious ſtones, a Turkiſh ſword, the ſcabberd being of ſiluer richly ſet with jewels, tenne blacke horſes with rich furniture embroidered with gold and ſiluer, and a Turkiſh horſe, hauing halfe the bodie and legges of the colour of gold, with his furniture of crimſon richly embroidered. He laboured to haue the Emperor giue notice to the Baſſa of Buda, That this attempt of the Turks againſt Tranſyluania, was againſt the Articles of peace: but the Baſſa made anſwer, That his Emperour was not to be blamed if he ſeiſed vpon that prouince, which did immediately belong vnto him, and kept it quiet from the practiſes of others. But *Battori* relying not wholly vpon this ſupport; but deſiring to haue more ſtrings to his bow, ſent Embaſſadours to the Sultan, with rare and rich Preſents, who had ſecret treaties and Councels with the Baſſa's: the which *Negronius* the Emperours Embaſſadour reſiding at Conſtantinople diſcouering, he ſent word vnto the Emperour, that he entertained a monſter among men.

Battori ſends an Embaſſador to the Emperor Matthias.

About the ſame time there came Embaſſadours from the Saxon Townes of Tranſyluania, *Crueltie of Battori.*

vania, complaining much of the crueltie and tyrannie of *Battori*. The Saxons (ſaid they) liuing many yeares in Tranſyluania, had beautified the Prouinces with townes, villages, and Markets, and had by their vertue obtained many priuiledges from former Emperors: but *Battori*, againſt his promiſed faith, and the oath which he had taken, had depriued them of their priuiledges, and afflicted them in ſuch ſort, as they were in a manner ruined: that from his firſt enterance he had ſought to root out the antient familie of the Saxons: that he had afflicted them with impriſonments & miſerable ſeruitude, & had detained *Iohn Benner* 3 yeres in priſon for no other cauſe, but for that he knew he had brought a great eſtate out of Germanie: hee had depriued honeſt widowes of their eſtates, and had oppreſt others with vnjuſt exactions: hee had ſurpriſed Hermſtad the chiefe citie of the Saxons, and ſuffered the Haiducks to ſpoile it, and to commit all ſorts of inſolencies. That he had expelled the Magiſtrate, baniſhed honeſt Citiſens, rauiſhed women, ſlaine the parents, to depriue the children of their inheritance, and committed all the barbarous cruelties that could be deuiſed. That he had ſent three hundred captiues to the Sultan for a Preſent; many he cut into ſmall pieces, ſome he had throwne downe from the tops of mountaines and towers; ſome he had hung vp by the feet, others hee had drawne in pieces with horſes and trees, and to conclude, hee had practiſed all kindes of barbarous cruelties. That hauing expelled Religious Princes out of Moldauia and Valachia, hee had made them ſubject to the Turke, for no other end, but getting an occaſion to circumuent the Chriſtians, hee might waſte all with fire and ſword, hauing multitudes of Barbarians to ſecond him; and for a concluſion of his notable crueltie, hauing freed the towne of Gaudin, he made choice of twentie of the principal inhabitants, and deliuering to euerie one of them a pike, he forced them in his preſence to kill one another in the midſt of the market place.

Gabor and the Turke preſſe Battori.

The miſeries and diſpaire of Battori.

Battori ſlaine by his owne ſouldiers.

But God reuengeth his exceſſe by his ruine, whereinto we ſhall preſently ſee him run headlong miſerably: for, *Bethlem Gabor* his capital enemie hauing joyned his forces with thoſe of Baſſa *Serder*, they both entered together into Tranſyluania, forced Lugaſti, take Deue, and ſtrike a great terror into the whole countrey. *Ogli Baſſa* on the other ſide ſurmounts the difficultie of the wayes, and lodgeth with his troupes in the ſuburbs of Cromſtad, and from thence went and camped ouer all the tract of Barry or Barſac. Thus *Battori* ſees himſelfe oppreſt by an enemie from whom he can expect nothing but his miſerie and ruine: he attended ſuccours from the Emperor, vnder the conduct of the Palatine of Hungarie and *Fortgatſie*: they came, but not ſuch as were able to reſiſt the Turke. This made him write to *Trinau* for the leuying of ſoldiers; but the hatred they bare him generally, deceiued his hopes, no man would march vnder his enſignes. This refuſal makes him diſtruſtfull, he dares not confer with any man touching the affaires of the war. A treatie of peace ſeemes more fit for his affaires; hee makes an ouerture to his moſt familiar friends, and tels them that he holds it neceſſarie to purchaſe his peace with *Serder Baſſa* at what price ſoeuer; yea, were it in deliuering into his hands the places of greateſt importance. But he receiues no other anſwers from them, but that they had rather die than aduiſe him to it. Thus he ſees himſelfe void of all hope of ſafetie in his affaires: he wanted money, his ſubiects, yea euen his ſouldiers hated him, as a Prince abandoned to all crueltie; and for his laſt remedie, and the moſt ordinarie in baſe and cowardly mindes, hee fel into diſpaire, intreating one of his ſeruants to kil him; but the other refuſed him that honor, ſuffering him to draw on his miſerable life, till that within ſome few dayes after, going forth to view where his troupes were lodged, being in an open chariot, accompanied onely with two gentlemen, fiftie of his ſoldiers (which attended him in an ambuſh) ſhot at him, ſlew him, and hurt thoſe that did accompanie him. It is true, this accident hapned in the yeare 1613, when as this vnfortunate *Battori* went to giue an account vnto God of the bad gouernment of his eſtate.

Bethlem Gabor made Prince of Trãſyluania by the Turke.

Some few dayes after, *Bethlem Gabor* was declared Prince of Tranſyluania by Baſſa *Serder*, who gaue him this aduiſement at his introduction; *Battori ſhall ſerue for an example to bad Princes; I do not thinke that you will follow his ſteps. Beware you attempt not any thing without the priuitie of my Maſter: Maintaine peace with your Neighbours, and make men of experience and honeſtie of your Councell.* Tranſyluania did yet feare the continuance of a ſtorme of a fatall warre, when as in leſſe than fortie dayes it ſaw it ſelfe ſettled in the calme of ſweet peace, by the acknowledgement which all the Townes made vnto *Bethlem Gabor*, and the

A the oath of fidelitie which they tooke vnto him, as to their elected Prince; notwithſtanding
that the Emperour employed all his credit to hinder it. But the deſire of peace, and the feare
of the Turkes armies, drew all the Gouernors of townes to acknowledge *Gabor*: ſuch were
the affaires of Tranſyluania, diſordered by the Turke. Let vs now make an end of the remainder
of the yeare 1612, the which we haue deferred, for that we would not interrupt the relation
of the affaires of this Prouince.

A Perſian Embaſſador comes to Conſtantinople.

We haue ſaid elſewhere, That the King of Perſia had offered conditions of peace to Sultan
Achmat, much to his aduantage, ſeeing that he yeelded himſelfe the Turks tributarie, in regard
of certaine lands which he had conquered from them. Now the Viſier *Naſſuf* General of the
armie againſt the Perſian, brings his Embaſſador to Conſtantinople, to conclude this peace.
B *Naſſuf* arriued with his armie and the Perſian Embaſſador at Scudaret, right ouer againſt Conſtantinople,
whither moſt of the Baſſas of the Port went to ſalute him, and then returned. But
the grand Viſier ſtayd there two days; on the third he paſt ouer to Conſtantinople, where he
was entertained at the water ſide by all the Baſſa's which accompanied him; an infinit number
of Ianizaries going before with their Pieces, and ſome of them in armour, after
whome followed their Aga on horſebacke; then came a great number of Iamoglans, and
the Emirs or kindred of *Mahomet* with their greene Turbants, with many blinde men
ſhouting aloud: theſe holy men carried the banner (as they ſay) of *Mahomet*, and the people
ſtanding by, kiſſed it with great deuotion as they paſt: after them came the Chaoux on
horſebacke, the Baſſa's, then the chiefe Muphti, and laſt of all *Naſſuf Baſſa* himſelfe: after
C whom followed the Treaſure which hee brought with him for the Emperour, being two
hundred thirtie foure Moyles loden with gold and ſiluer. The Viſier as he paſt by the Sultans
window, bowed himſelfe verie low vnto him, from whom he had a nod with his head, and
ſo ſet ſpurres to his horſe and rode away faſt, as the manner of the Turkes is when they ſalute
a greater man than themſelues, preſently to runne or ride away apace. The Viſier being come
to the Seraill, went in to the Sultan to kiſſe his hand, where he continued a whole houre, the
reſt of the Baſſa's attending without. There were preſent at this dayes pompe the Emperors
Embaſſadour, the French, the Engliſh, Polonian, Low-Countries, and Venetian; the Perſian
remaining ſtill at Scudaret. The Graund Viſier as hee paſt by the Emperours Embaſſadour,
put off his hat and ſaluted him, but not the reſt. The ſame day *Tomſho*, who had beene
D lately made Prince of Moldauia by the Graund Seigniour, ſent many Polonians to Conſtantinople,
whom he had taken in the wars. All which (notwithſtanding they threw downe
their caps and offered to turne Turkes) were put to death. And within few dayes after, the
Viſier *Naſſuf* ſitting in the publique Diuano, had three robes ſent him from the Grand Seignior
to grace him.

The Sultan enters in ſtate into Conſtantinople.

The order how his Houſehold marched.

Achmat hauing a will to let the Perſian ſee the magnificence of his Court, went out of
Conſtantinople; and vnder a pretext to go take the aire at his Countrie pallace called *Darut
Baſſa*, hee takes occaſion at his returne to make a ſtately entrie at his Imperial Citie. The
general Surueyour being aduertiſed of his will, cauſed the wayes from his pallace of *Darut*
vnto the Citie, to be couered with ſand; the which containes two French Leagues, or foure
E Engliſh miles. This done, the Emperour parted for his retinue, and entered in pompe into
Conſtantinople. The order of this enterie was in this manner: A great number of men at
armes marched firſt on horſebacke, and after them ſome troupes of foot, the Cadis of Conſtantinople,
or men of juſtice, and all the Taliſmans, or thoſe of *Mahomets* Law, in very great
numbers followed after, and after theſe marcht the Viſiers and Baſſa's in great pompe: after
whom followed the Sultans houſhold, that is to ſay, tenne men leading in their hands tenne
goodly horſes richly capariſoned, the laſt of which had the bridle and ſaddle all couered
with pretious ſtones; the Sultans Targuet was made faſt vnto the ſaddle, and vpon it did
hang euen to the ground a great taſſel of pearles; and ouer all this, a long horſe-cloath or
F couering for a horſe, the which was embroidered ſo thicke with pearle, as the ground could
not be diſcerned: after which followed the reſt of the Emperors houſehold in diuers troups:
firſt, fiftie Ianizaries on foot, euerie one leading dogges in leaſhes, Maſtiffes, or Iriſh Greyhounds,
the goodlieſt of all were thoſe which the French Embaſſadour had preſented vnto
the Sultan. Secondly, the Graund Seigniours footmen called Peiks, Perſians by Nation, all
well attyred, wearing on their heads bonnets of ſiluer and gilt, in forme of pots. Thirdly,

threeſcore Archers on foot, in the middeſt of which the Sultan came, attyred in a rich robe of G cloath of gold imbrodered with Pearles and Diamonds, his ſlaues were enricht after the ſame manner; his Turbant couered with fiue plumes of blacke Herons feathers enricht with great Diamonds, and a chaine of the ſame ſtones about the lower part of his Turbant: vpon his little finger he had a Diamond of a large bigneſſe and eſtimable price, the which gaue a maruelous great light; he was proudly mounted vpon a goodly horſe richly capariſoned Emperour like, the ſaddle was embroidered with gold, pearle, and Diamonds, the ſtirrops, of pure gold ſet with many Diamonds, and from the horſe necke did hang a great taſſel of pearle, the which were ſo great, as they were eſteemed verie rich and pretious. 4. After the Graund Seigniour followed three men on horſebacke, carrying in their hands, the one his Armes, the other his cloake, and the third his Imperial Turbant, and theſe were attended on by certaine Eſquires H and Gentlemen all on horſebacke. 5. Then came the Muſicke after the Turkiſh manner, conſiſting of threeſcore men on horſebacke, which played vpon Phifes, Clerons, and trumpets. 6. There followed an hundred Pages of the Sultans, brauely mounted, and followed by manie Eunuchs, fiftie of which Pages caried euerie one a Faulcon vpon his fiſt, hauing their heads enricht with Diamonds, and theſe were followed by thirtie guards of the Port. 7. Fiftie Faulconers and Huntſmen richly attired and wel mounted; foure whereof had either of them before him vpon his ſaddle bow a Leopard couered with cloath of gold. 8. A great number of other pages, fairer than the pictures of *Adonis* or Loue, choſen amongſt the infants of the Tribute, and vnfortunately appointed for the filthie and vnnatural pleaſures of their Maſter, whoſe garments after the Turkiſh manner were pretious, and made of rich cloath of gold I curled. They were followed by a great troupe of young men plainely attyred in cloath, hauing vpon their heads yellow caps pointed in forme of a ſugar loafe, and theſe were ordained to ſerue the Sultans Pages.

Pages choſen amongſt the faireſt for the Sultans pleaſure.

There were moreouer attending the Sultan in this pompe diuers Beglerbegs, as of Boſna, Buda, Romania, Natolia, and others; euerie companie going diſtinct, both of horſe and foot, with the Baſſa's ſeruants all gallantly attired and wel mounted: and after them followed *Naſſufs* attendants, being fiue hundred in number richly armed: there were alſo the Kings Firemen, Calkers, Azappes, the Rices or officers of gallies with ſpeares in their hands; all that belonged to the Arcenal, the Carters which gouerned the carts going to war, and their Captaines; then the ſhot-men with their banner, and the Armourers all in armour, with their banner. K There were alſo the banners of the Grand Seignior *Mahomet*, and of the Grand Viſier, euerie one in his order before the Grand Seignior: and after all followed the Capigie's and Officers of his Kitchen. The number of all ſorts of attendants in this pompe was ſo great, as it was eſteemed to amount to the number of fortie thouſand perſons.

A Larges of the Perſian embaſſador when as the Sultan paſt

The Perſian Embaſſador, for whoſe ſake the Emperor *Achmat* had made this ſtately ſhew, to the end he might carrie backe into his countrey a patterne of the *Othoman* ſtate and greatneſſe, cauſed to be caſt out before his lodging when as the Sultan paſſed by, 100 pieces of ſilke, the which were gathered vp by the Archers of his guard, whereof they made good purchaſe. All theſe magnificencies, added to thoſe which we haue formerly related at the marriages of the Sultans ſiſter and daughter, with other pompe celebrated in France, Spaine, Naples, and L Germanie, for the marriages of *Lewis* the thirteenth, King of France, with *Anne* of Auſtria, Infant of Spaine; and of the Prince of Spaine with the Ladie *Elizabeth* of Bourbon the Kings eldeſt ſiſter; and for the coronation of the Empreſſe, and the Emperours entrie into Nuremberg, may giue vnto this yeare 1612 the title of magnique or ſtately.

The Perſians Preſents to the Turke.

Foure dayes after Sultan *Achmats* enterie into his Imperial citie, the Perſian Embaſſadour had audience, and was receiued to kiſſe his hands: hee preſented vnto his Majeſtie in the behalfe of the King of Perſia his Maſter, foure hundred balls of ſilke, a Beſonard ſtone as big as a mans fiſt, with ſome others that were leſſe; nine bagges of leather full of Turquoiſes, the which were a foot and an halfe long, and aboue foure fingers broad, a great number of Tapeſtries of wooll, ſilke, cloath of gold and ſiluer, with many other things of great price, and very M rare. The complements being ended, they began to treat ſeriouſly of a peace betwixt two great and antient enemies, the Turke and the Perſian; the which after ſome difficulties was concluded vpon theſe conditions: That the Perſian king ſhould pay yearely vnto the Turkiſh Emperor by way of tribute, a quantity of ſilke to the burthen of two hundred camels: that the King

of

A of Perſia his ſonne ſhould be called Baſſa of Tauris, and that the Cadi or Soueraigne Iudge of that towne ſhould be ſent from Conſtantinople. This peace thus concluded to the Turks aduantage, the Perſian Embaſſador returned vnto his maſter, hauing left moſt of his traine dead of the Plague at Conſtantinople. Being arriued at Tauris, the king of Perſia ſeeing this peace to be ſo diſhonourable, and burthenſome for him, he cauſed his Embaſſadours head to be cut off; and ſent backe the Chiaux, who was come from Conſtantinople to ſee him ſweare the peace. Some write that hee did him ſome indignities, which made theſe two great Monarchs returne againe to armes.

The Chimacham put from his place.

The Grand Viſier *Naſſuf*, after his returne to Conſtantinople, to ſhew his great power and authoritie, procured meanes to haue the Chimacham (who had formerly ſupplied the place B of the Graund Viſier in the abſence of *Amurath Baſſa*, and vntill the returne of *Naſſuf*) to be depriued of his Baſſaes place, and ſent preſently ouer vnto Scudaret, vnder pretence of preferring him to a gouernment neere vnto Trebizond in the confines of Turkie, but with an intent to depriue him of his head. The friends of this Chimacham, (who were many and great in Court) ſeeing him ſo diſgracefully ſent away, and doubting *Naſſuf* his purpoſe, procured leaue from the Graund Seigniour to haue him ſent for backe againe, for that hee was an old man, and might from thenceforth liue at home in quiet; and for his former ſeruices a thouſand aſpers a day allowed him for his entertainement: which *Naſſuf* tooke verie diſcontentedly.

The Emperour Matthias ſends an embaſſador to Cõſtantinople

During the Perſian Embaſſadours abode at Conſtantinople, the Emperour *Matthias* C (ſucceſſour to ***Rodulphus*** his brother) ſent an Embaſſadour to the Sultan, to complaine of the enterpriſes which were made dayly vpon Tranſyluania, a Prouince which he ſaid belonged vnto him, as a dependance of his Realme of Hungarie. This Embaſſadour called *Negroni* was receiued at the Court, and admitted to kiſſe the Sultans hand: but his Preſents were little eſteemed, for that they were of leſſe value than thoſe which they had lately receiued from the Perſian. His demaunds to haue the Prouince of Tranſyluania, were grounded vpon an article inſerted among thoſe of the peace betwixt the Emperour and *Botskay*, at that time choſen Prince of Tranſyluania; that is to ſay, *That* Botskay *dying without iſſue male, Tranſyluania ſhould remaine at the diſpoſition of his Imperiall Maieſtie.* This article beeing read by *Negroni* in the Turkes Counſell, whither hee had beene admitted; the Muphti or ſoueraige D prieſt of *Mahomets* law, anſwered, That it was contrarie to his law: ſo the demands of this Embaſſadour touching Tranſyluania were reiected, ſeeing that *Botskay* had no power from the Sultan (ſaid the Graund Viſier) to treat with the Emperour, and to giue him Tranſyluania after his death. *Negroni* grounded this gift of *Botskay* (mentioned in the ſaid article) vpon the eighth article of the peace betwixt the Turke and the Emperour, concluded in the Iſle of Dannow, by *Amurath* Viſier, and the Deputies of his Imperiall Maieſtie, in theſe words; *That all which had beene granted in the treatie of peace made at Vienna, to* Botskay, *ſhould be duely and faithfully obſerued.* *Naſſuf* the Grand Viſier replied, That the Baſſa *Amurath* being then Viſier, might erre in ſigning theſe articles of the peace vpon the Dannow: and at the ſame inſtant he ſhewed forth ſome other articles, whereas that was not inſerted; ſaying, That the Sul-E tan would faithfully performe thoſe and no others, preſſing the Embaſſadour *Negroni* to ſigne them; the which he refuſed to doe: ſo as *Naſſuf* vſed ſome threats to terrifie him; but *Negroni* replied, That hee was in their power, and that in this caſe he had rather loſe his life, and die glorioully for the good of his maſters affaires, than to haue it taken from him at his returne to Vienna, with ſhame and infamie, hauing ſigned thoſe articles. Finally he promiſed to aduertiſe his Imperiall Maieſtie, and to certifie them of his pleaſure: which promiſe for this time ended the contention.

The malice and falſhood of the Turks.

In the beginning of this yeare, Sultan *Achmat*, after the reception of the Perſian Embaſſadour, and the ſtately entrie hee made into Conſtantinople, went to lie at Adrianople, where his Ianizaries and Spahies beganne to mutinie, ſpurning at their bread and rice F which was giuen them for their dayly entertainement: and beeing demaundeded the reaſon of this their inſolencie, they anſwered, that no Emperour before him had ſo carried out his men in the depth of Winter: which anſwere did much incenſe *Naſſuf Baſſa.* This Viſier was in ſuch credit with the Graund Seigniour, as during his abode at

Adrianople, hee came three times in perſon priuately to viſite him, who grew ſo powerfull ouer his maſters affections, as hee obtayned a priuiledge, That it might not bee lawfull for any man to ſpeake with the Graund Seigniour priuately, but himſelfe. Being returned to Conſtantinople, there happened a great fire, in which there were fiue hundred houſes burnt. The Viſier *Naſſuf* comming to ſee it quenched, and finding ſome Ianizaries more carefull to breake open lockes, and rifle ſhoppes, than to doe any good ſeruice, hee ſtrucke out the braines of one of them with his mace, and brake the arme of another.

It had beene an antient cuſtome in Conſtantinople, that the owner of the houſe with all his familie where the fire beganne, ſhould be put to death for their negligence: but it happening that the Emperours owne Seraill, in the time of *Mahomet* father to *Achmat*, being ſet on fire, *Cicala Baſſa* preſented a petition vnto him, that this cuſtome might be aboliſhed, holding it vnjuſt that other men ſhould be put to death, and the ſame let paſſe in the Emperors owne houſe: whereunto hee yeelded, holding it reaſonable. And ſoone after there happened another great fire, at which the Viſier cauſed many of the Ianizaries to bee hanged; finding them too buſie in rifling houſes; and he went vp and downe the ſtreets with his ſcimitar in one hand, and a Ianizaries head in the other, which he had cut off. The Grand Seignior ſent Holy Water vnto the Viſier, wherein he had dipt a piece of *Mahomets* garment, the which beeing poured into the fire, the Turkes ſaid, it ceaſed preſently; yet by the report of viſible witneſſes, it burned foure houres after. The Grand Viſier *Naſſuf* was a cruell enemie to the Ianizaries, of whom he ſent ſixteene thouſand away into Aſia, and would not ſuffer any moe to be made, but onely Spahies: and ouer ſuch Ianizaries as remained he made his owne ſeruants to bee Churbagies, and Agaes or Captaines ouer fifties and hundreds; fortyfing himſelfe by all the meanes hee could deuiſe, againſt the future time, to preuent his ſudden ruine; but all this could not preſerue him from a ſhamefull fall, as you ſhall hereafter heare.

Troubles in the realme of Fez and Moroco.

The beginning of the Xerifs of Fez & Moroco

In the meane time let vs paſſe vnto Affricke, to obſerue the troubles which fell in the Realmes of Fez and Moroco; the quarrels betwixt Prince *Xerif Muley Cidan*, and the *Xerif Muley Achmet, Ben-Abdalla* his nephew, and the victories of *Cidan* againſt *Abdalla*. The Family of the *Xerifs* Princes of Fez and Moroco, tooke its beginning ſome hundred and foure yeares ſince, from *Mahomet Xerif*, borne at Tigumedet in Dara, at this preſent one of the Prouinces of Moroco: hee was Alfaqui or preacher of *Mahomets* Law, who ſeeing the diuiſions betwixt the Soueraigne princes of thoſe Realmes, and that the Portugalls had ſeiſed of the chiefe Forts of Moroco, he began with three of his ſonnes, *Abdalla*, *Hamet*, and *Mahomet*, to lay the foundation of a new monarchie, ſupported by three pillars. That is to ſay, by a counterfeit pietie and diſguiſed Religion; vpon a godly pretext to make warre againſt the Portugals Chriſtians which were in Affricke; and vpon a paſſionate deſire to retire the Mahometane Moores which were in their pay, to the end they might by that meanes weaken them, and chaſe them with more eaſe out of the territories of Moroco. The King who at that time held the Scepter of Fez (ſeeing nothing but the outſide of the *Xerifs* deſignes) ſuffered his three ſonnes to diſplay their ſtandard againſt the Chriſtian Portugals in the Realme of Moroco: Innouations and nouelties are commonly pleaſing to the common people. At this beginning, theſe three leaders were followed by a great number of ſouldiers; they vanquiſhed in many encounters, and the bruit of their new victories flying into the Realme of Moroco, retired the Moores from the Portugals ſeruice, whome they defeated ſoone after, with their Commaunder *Lopes Bariga*. True it is, that it was to their loſſe; for *Abdalla* the eldeſt of theſe three brethren loſt his life in this combat. But they ſeiſed vpon the great towne of Taradente in the prouince of Sus, and of the prouinces of Herra, Ideuaca, Vbideuaca, Cus, Guzule, and in a manner of the whole country betwixt Moroco and mount Atlas, ſettling their principalitie in Taradente, whereas the *Xerif* their father carried the name of the Gouernour of the prouince of Sus.

The children of the Xerif grow potent.

They kill the king of Moroco

The King of Moroco fearing the greatneſſe of theſe new Conquerours, diſſembled the deſire he had to bring them vnder, aſſuring himſelfe that time would preſent him ſome good occaſion: ſo ſuffering them to enter into Moroco: but they preuented him, they tooke

A away his life by poyſon, and ſeiſed vpon his Realme. The King of Fez, who had by an indiſcreet
ſimplicitie ſuffered them to take armes, and by that means to open the way to a great fortune,
he ſaw a far off the tempeſt of theſe vniuſt ſpoilers to fall vpon Moroco and other places.
The feare of the like calamitie did much afflict his minde: but the *Xeriſs* entertained this
idle Prince with faire ſhewes; they abuſed his bountie, and with the fourth part of the rich
ſpoiles which they had taken in ſo many townes and prouinces, they lull his diſtruſt aſleepe:
moreouer, they ſend him the tribute due for the realme of Moroco. ***Hamet*** takes vpon him the
name of King of Moroco; ***Mahomet*** that of king of Sus, in the towne of Taradente; and by a
good intelligence betwixt them, they make themſelues fearefull to all thoſe countries; ſo as
they haue nothing more to feare, than the threats and vengeance of heauen. They then began
B to contemne the king of Fez, and plainly to denie the tribute of Moroco; pretending for their
reaſon, that they were iſſued from the line of ***Mahomet***. This contempt made the king of Fez to
open his eyes; he finds the faults paſt, by the intereſt of the preſent: he ſees the *Xeriſs* had abuſed
the libertie which hee had giuen them: whereupon hee went to field with an armie of
18000 men, and planted his ſiege before Moroco; but as his enemies partie was ſtronger than
his, ſo he was chaſed away, and his army defeated at the paſſage of a riuer. Thus the *Xeriſs* became
peaceable poſſeſſours of Moroco. The peace of the countrey made theſe men idle, and
idleneſſe drew the two brethren into quarrell; they muſtred vp their forces and came to fight,
where after two bloudie battels, ***Mahomet*** being victor, he tooke his eldeſt brother ***Hamet***, depriued
him of his realme and libertie, and made him end his daies miſerably in priſon. Thus
C God doth puniſh the vnjuſt ſpoiler of another mans good: we ſhall ſee in their poſteritie the
continuance of the ſame quarrell.

The king of Fez begins to feare them.

The King of Fez beſiegeth Moroco, and is defeated.

Quarrels betwixt the Xeriſs, and the eldeſt taken by his brother.

Mahomet ſettled ſoueraigne in Moroco by bloud and fratricide, as monſtrous in ambition
as in crueltie, hee turned the ſame armes wherewith hee had beaten and vanquiſhed his eldeſt
brother, againſt the King of Fez (whoſe improuidence had ſuffered ***Mahomet*** and his brethren
to take armes, vnder the deceitfull title and pretence of making warre againſt the Chriſtian
Portugals) he aſſaulted him with great forces, vanquiſhed him, tooke him priſoner, and depriued
him both of Realme and life. Thus the *Xeriſs* in the perſon of this ***Mahomet*** became Soueraigne
princes of Fez and Moroco. The victory ſo happily gotten of ſo many nations, made
him fearefull; but by his crueltie hee drew vpon his deſcendents the juſt judgement of him
D who puniſheth the exceſſe and enormitie of crimes vnto the fourth generation. His poſteritie
was miſerable, the vnjuſt deſire of raigne (one ruining another) entertained the brethren in perpetuall
diſcord. For ***Cidan*** now king of Fez and Moroco, was lately expelled by his brother
Kequi; but afterwards Fortune changing her inconſtant fauour, ***Kequi*** was purſued by ***Cidan***,
defeated, and forced in the yeare 1610 to ſaue his life in Algarbe in Portugall. ***Abdalla*** the
ſonne of ***Kequi*** ſeeing his fathers affaires thus deſolate, retires himſelfe towards the mountaines
in the prouince of Sus: where finding opportunitie to annoy his vncle ***Cidan***, he made
daily incurſions vpon his territories, with ſome troups of Arabians who had ioined with him
being 200 horſe and 200 foot. But finding this to be a long courſe to attain vnto the conqueſt
of the realme from whence he had been expelled, he bethought himſelfe that ſome certaine
E counterfeit fictions in Religion, had in former times brought in his grandfather, and made him
abſolute lord of a great countrey; wherefore he made vſe of a propheſie forged in his ambitious
ſpirit: and to worke an impreſſion in the peoples minds (eaſie to be moued with a paſſion
of religion) he ſent certaine religious Mahometans throught the country, with a ſhew of
holy ſimplicitie, who went preaching from place to place, That one ***Falquere*** a man of holy
life, had giuen vnto a ſonne of his a Drumme of an admirable power and vertue, commanding
him expreſſely, to keepe it carefully, vntill that a prince called ***Abdalla*** ſhould
come into Moroco, beeing expelled by the injuſtice of his owne bloud: and that then hee
ſhould beat this Drumme, and that the people at the ſound thereof might go to the war with
all ſafetie; that it ſhould be helpfull to them, giue peace vnto the Realme, and ſettle all the cuſtomes
F and antient lawes to their common content. Thus they preached this propheſie, the
which they ſaid was now accompliſhed, ſeeing that this propheticall Drum had been found,
that ***Abdalla*** the eldeſt prince of the houſe of the *Xeriſs* had cauſed it to be beaten, exhorting
all men to follow the war for the common good of the countrey.

The Xerif aſſaults the king of Fez.

Cidan and Kequi brethren expell one another.

A propheſie inuented by Kequi, and preached by religious Turkes.

These vanities being preached by theſe ignorant and malicious religious Turkes, increaſed the number of *Abdallaes* partie: whereof *Cydan* beeing aduertiſed, hee ſent a great armie againſt him into the prouince of Sus, vnder the command of *Alcas Elmye*, to hinder the progreſſe of his deſignes: But *Abdalla* finding theſe forces to approch, retired himſelfe towards the mountaines, from whence he might charge the enemies armie; the which he did ſo happily, as within few daies he cut off fiue thouſand of his men. This ſucceſſe did ſo aduance his affaires, as his troupes encreaſed daily, ſo as *Cydan* was forced to go with new forces to fight with him, the which was the cauſe of his ruine: for at this time hee was inueſted, and notwithſtanding the good ſucceſſe of his falſe propheſies, lightly grounded vpon the ſound of a Drumme, hee was defeated and ſlaine in this yeare one thouſand ſix hundred and twelue.

Abdalla defeated and ſlaine notwithſtanding his falſe propheſies.

The miraculous king of Mauritania.

Gotardus, diſcourſing of this miraculous King of Mauritania, whome hee calles *Muley Hamet*, writeth that he was charmed with deuiliſh incantations, and freed from all outward force, carrying himſelfe for a Diuine Prophet: That with one hundred and eightie horſe, and two hundred foot, hee went to make head againſt *Cydan* King of Moroco, hauing fortie thouſand men: That his ſouldiers (who were ſo few in number) beeing readie to flie, hee perſuaded them with a cunning ſpeech to prepare to fight: That comming neere to *Cydans* campe, they might ſee a great armie of enemies fighting againſt them, in which there were fiue thouſand of *Cydans* armie ouerthrowne, and the reſt put to flight, and yet *Hamet* had not aduanced with his troupes: That within few dayes after, comming with his troupes tyred to a riuer ſide, hee commanded them not to drinke nor waſh in that riuer, which if they did they would die: but ſome neglecting his command, thinking to quench their thirſt, dyed ſuddenly. Hee tooke many places in thoſe mountainous Regions, which no man had formerly ſubdued; his forces encreaſing dayly, hauing fiue and twenty thouſand men, and vowing to go againſt the Chriſtians, more came vnto him: ſo as he went againſt *Cydan* with a good armie, who likewiſe attended him. *Hamet* perſuaded his ſouldiers that no ſhot could hurt them; ſo as they aſſaulted *Cydans* campe with ſuch furie, as within leſſe than an houres ſpace they had ſlaine aboue ſix thouſand men, and put the reſt to flight. They write that *Hamet* loſt not aboue foure or fiue, and that ſuch as were ſtrucke with any bullet, ſhewed markes but no wounds; and that the great ordnance either ſhot ouer them, or the pouder vented out at the touch-hole, and wrought no effect. *Cydan* hauing loſt his brother in the fight, fled with all his treaſure, to recouer new forces, and in the meane time *Hamet* made himſelfe maſter of the whole countrey. There were certaine Hollanders admitted vnto him, whome they found ſitting vpon a carpet made of the barke of trees, hauing a white ſhirt, and a long garment vpon it, a red cap on his head, bare thighs, and red ſhooes, a bag about his necke, and in it hee hid his Alcaron, a ſhort crooked ſword and a dagger hanging by him. Beeing ſaluted by the Hollanders, hee willed them to ſit downe by him, telling them that hee was ſent from heauen, to purge the World from euill, and to prepare the Law of God; to expell *Cydan* out of his Kingdome, and to reſtore peace vnto the World: wherefore hee aduiſed them not to haue any commerce with *Cydan*, nor to aſſiſt him in any ſort. They obſerued many markes vpon his bodie, hee had one blew tooth, all the reſt beeing white, haire vpon either ſhoulder, a red circle in the palme of his right hand, and the proportion of a ſpurre vpon his right foot. Hauing gotten ſome victories againſt *Cydan*, and taken the towne of Moroco, in the end his deuilliſh art failing him, hee was ſlaine as you haue heard. Such were the affaires of Affricke, in the Realmes of Fez and Moroco.

Cydan king of Fez ouerthrowne.

A great drought & ſterility at Algier

But in Algier a wonderfull drought had cauſed cruell combuſtions; it had ſo deuoured the fruits of the earth before their maturitie, as there followed a wonderfull famine throughout the whole land. The Turkes attributed the cauſe of their miſerie ſometimes to their ſins; then to the comming of the Moores, who had beene expelled out of Spaine, as a pernicious vermine; and ſometimes to the licentiouſneſſe of Chriſtians, which liued in thoſe places. Wherefore in the beginning of May this yeare, the Iudge of the towne ordained, That all the Turkes ſhould make their deuout prayers to *Mahomet* their Prophet to obtaine raine, ſo neceſſarie in that countrey; that the Moores ſhould depart the towne within three daies vpon paine of death; and that all the Chriſtians,as wel free as bond-ſlaues,ſhould cauſe their heads and their beards to bee ſhauen, this was ſpeedily executed; for the Turks decrees require a prompt obedience. But the miſerable Moores which could not get out of Algier within their three dayes prefixed, detained either by ſickneſſe,or ſome other impediment,were all cut in pieces. For thirteene daies, there was nothing ſeene within the towne but proceſſions of Turkes without Turbants, crying and howling after their manner to obtaine raine from their falſe Prophet: but he which commands Soueraigntie ouer times, from whoſe hand proceed faire weather and raine,and which makes the earth fruitfull,held the pipes of heauen yet ſtopped, to open them at more religious and holy vowes than the ſuperſtitious clamours of theſe Infidels. For *Bernard Murroy*, of the Order of the Redemption of captiues, hearing that the Turkes meant to reuenge their miſeries vpon them, and to ruine a little Chappell which the Chriſtian ſlaues had in the priſon, for the pious exerciſes of their Religion, obtained (by the meanes of *Bius* Conſull of the French in Algier) permiſſion from the Douan,or Turkiſh Iudge, to make proceſſions, and to pray vnto God to ſend them the deaw of Heauen,which was ſo neceſſarie for them. All the Chriſtian ſlaues which were priſoners,continued their deuotions for the ſpace of fiue dayes: but on the fourth day beeing the eighth of May, there fell ſuch aboundance of raine vpon Algier,as theſe poore Chriſtians ſeeing their praiers heard in the middeſt of the enemies of their faith, gaue infinit thanks vnto God for his great mercie and grace.

Proceſſions of the Turkes.

The deuout praiers of the Chriſtians obtaine raine.

Theſe miſerable Chriſtian ſlaues were ſtill detayned in yrons and cruell ſeruitude, by this accident. This *Murroy* of the Order of the Redemption of captiues, accompanied with two others of the ſame Order, had redeemed to the number of one hundred thirtie and ſix: but when hee was readie to embarque them, their euill fortune would haue it, that the gallies of Genoa running along that coaſt, landed ſome men neere vnto Algier, where they tooke the Baſſaes ſonne of that Towne, with many other Turkes, and amongſt this number a virgine of Algier, of a verie noble Familie, and of as rare a beautie, for the miſerie of theſe ſlaues: for that when as the Baſſaes ſonne and the others were redeemed by a Frigot which the father had ſent, the faire Algerian virgine was ſtill detayned by a Captaine of the Genowayes, who had retyred to Caluy an Iſland adioyning, there to ſatisfie his deſires with more eaſe,vpn the fraile and fading perfection of this faire ſlaue,which had depriued him of his libertie. In the meane time the Baſſa of Algier ſeeing his ſonne returned with the other Turkes, and not the Algerian virgine, commanded that the hundred thirtie an dſix ſlaues ſhould be put againe into yrons, with the three religious men which had redeemed them. Thus this feminine beautie, or rather the paſſion of this Genoways,who holds the poſſeſſion ſo deare, makes a great number of Chriſtian ſoules to ſuffer by inſupportable ſeruitude, howſoeuer they of his Nation (flattering his diſordered luſt) ſay that his deſire to win her to God, and to make her a Chriſtian, cauſed him to keepe her ſo carefully.

Theſe ſuffered in Algier the loſſe of their libertie: But a Capuchen Frier,a Florentine by Nation, endured at Tunes the loſſe of his life, by the crueltie of the Moores chaſed out of Spaine, and retyred into thoſe Countries. This religious man beeing a ſlaue among the Turkes, attended daily from Florence, or from ſome other place, money to redeeme his libertie: but it happened one day diſputing in a Barbers houſe with a Moriſque, concerning Chriſtian Religion; the zeale of his faith tranſported him ſo farre, as to ſay among diuers Turkes, That his religion was better than that of *Mahomets*. Theſe wordes tooke crimonouſly in that place, were reported by the Moriſques to the Cadi or Iudge of the towne, whome they preſt with ſuch horrible clamors and cries, as he pronounced ſentence of death againſt this Capuchen. Hee was deliuered vnto them, and they ſtripped him naked, leading him with infamie through Tunes; ſome ſpitting in his face, others caſting durt at him, and ſo they led him out of the Towne, where they tyed him vnto a poſt, and they beeing cruelly incenſed by a ſpeech which a Morrabour or religious Turke ſaid vnto them, *That he among them that gaue him not one blow with a ſtone, ſhould be no good Turke*; they ſtoned him to death, where afterwards they burnt his bodie, and threw the aſhes into the winde.

A Capuchen of Florence in captiuitie at Tunes.

He dies gloriouſly for the faith.

An enterpriſe of foure ſlaues.

They are diſcouered.

They defend themſelues, and kill many.

The captaine cruelly executed.

The martyrdome of this Capuchen, was followed by the conſtant confeſſion (amidſt the violence of torments) of a penitent Renegado, a Florentine by nation, and captaine of the chiefe gallie of Chio; foure Frenchmen beeing ſlaues in the Iſland of Chio, in the patron or chiefe gallie, belonging to the Bey or Gouernour of the Iſland, they reſolued to recouer their libertie with the hazard of their liues, to returne into France, and carrie into ſome port of Chriſtendome that gallie, being the beſt appointed in the whole hauen. They drew vnto their partie the Captaine which commanded, beeing a Florentine Renegado. Their enterpriſe ſhould haue beene executed when as they ſhould goe to land to cut wood. But whether that the ſcribe were trecherous to his companions, or tranſported with ſome raſh indiſcretion; beeing on land, hee ſpake theſe words aloud, the which ouerthrew both the deſigne, and them that proiected it; *Hoe, we ſhall returne into Chriſtendome.* A Turke which was neere, taking hold of theſe words, reported them vnto the Patron; who preſently layed hold vpon the Scribe, and drew from him the confeſſion of all the enterpriſe. Hee preſently ſends an hundred men towards the gallie, to ſeiſe vpon the foure French ſlaues and the Captaine. But theſe fiue made ſuch a generous reſiſtance, as if the other ſlaues, who were for the moſt part Moldauians, or of the Prouinces which border vpon the blacke ſea, had had the courage to fight for their libertie, without doubt the Frenchmens enterpriſe had ſucceeded happily. But what could fiue men do againſt an hundred? yet they ſlew fifteene, and wounded many: the foure Frenchmen were all ſlaine, and the Florentine Captaine was taken aliue, and reſerued to the rigour of a cruell death. For they continued him ſix houres together in moſt violent torments, hee ſtill calling vpon the holy and ſacred name of *Ieſus Chriſt*, euen to the laſt gaſpe, and deteſting the errours and falſhood of the law of *Mahomet*. This happened in October this yeare.

The Vnited Eſtates ſend an Embaſſador to Conſtantinople.

A little before, the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, and Count *Maurice* ſeeing the loſſes which the ſhips of Holland ſuffered in the Mediterranean ſea, many of them beeing taken by the Turkiſh gallies, and a great number of their men made ſlaues: to the end they might be freed from that danger, and haue a ſafe paſſage for their ſhips, and procure libertie for their captiues, they reſolued to make a league with the Turke. Wherefore they ſent *Cornelius Hage* to Conſtantinople: who not onely willingly accepted of that Embaſſie, but performed it with ſuch diſcretion, as hee purchaſed great credit and commendation to himſelfe, and much profit to the Prouinces. He had reſolued at firſt to paſſe through Hungary; but he found ſo many croſſes and obſtacles, by ſome that were Creatures to the Pope and Spaniard, as hee was forced to turne out of the way, and fetch a great circuit. Firſt of all, he fell into the hands of the Archduke *Ferdinand*, who cauſed him to be examined, and admoniſhed to deſiſt from his purpoſe: After which hee was toſt at ſea, and in the end hauing ſurmounted all dangers, hee recouered Conſtantinople, the firſt of May. Hee had expreſſe charge from the Vnited Eſtates to labour for three things. The firſt was, to treat of the deliuerance of the Hollanders that were ſlaues. The ſecond, to make a league with the Turke. And the third, to obtaine from him a free nauigation for the Hollanders, throughout all the ſeas and ports of his Empire.

Preſents ſent from the Vnited Eſtates to the Turke.

This Embaſſadour was brought to kiſſe the Sultans hands, and was fauorably receiued: he preſented vnto his Maieſtie in the name of the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, his letters of Embaſſie, with the Preſents which follow: Three birds of Paradiſe of rare and precious plumes, wonderful goodly to behold, and valued at eight hundred pound ſterling: two veſſels of Chriſtall wonderfull rich and beautifull: foure other veſſels made of fiſhes bones, whereas the art ſeemed miraculous in the grauing: fortie pieces of cloth of gold of diuers colours: fiue pieces of ſilke, fiue of damaske, fiue of ſilke watered, and fiue plaine: A ſtaffe of an Elephants tooth grauen with admirable induſtry. A Parrat ſhut in a cage of Chriſtall, ſo artificially done, as no man could diſcerne the entrie: and many faire and rich table-clothes of Holland cloth, moſt part powdred with flowers to the life, and wrought in their liuely colours. The which the Sultan did accept with admiration. All theſe things ſhew ſufficiently, That the Eſtates from the beginning or ſoone after haue raiſed handy-workes as well as traffique and nauigation to the higheſt point of perfection.

The ſixth of Iuly following, the league was ſworne betwixt the *Othoman* Emperour, and

A the vnited Prouinces of the Low-Countries, by the which *Achmat* promiſed to cauſe to be ſet at libertie, all the Hollanders that were detayned ſlaues within his Empire: That the traffique ſhould bee free for the Hollanders ſhippes throughout all his ſeas and hauens: and moreouer he granted, That the Eſtates ſhould haue an Embaſſadour reſiding at his port. This alliance with the Turke, for the which they haue ſo often, and with little reaſon blamed the French, hath beene affected and ſought by the Engliſh and Spaniards, as wee haue ſaid elſewhere; and now by the Hollanders, whoſe Eſtates proceed in all their affaires with ſuch weight and meaſure, as it ſeemes they doe nothing but with great reaſon, and to good purpoſe.

A league betwixt the Turke and the Hollanders.

About the end of this yeare, the Iewes whoſe long ſlauerie throughout the World reprocheth B their wretched and miſerable obſtinacie, receiued at Pera neere Conſtantinople the weight of a furious tempeſt which fell vpon them, ſtirred vp againſt them by the malice of the Moriſques Granadines chaſed out of Spaine, and retired into the Leuant. Theſe hauing by Preſents wonne the fauour of the Cadi, or Iudge of the place, who was a Negro newly ſetled in that charge by the Graund Viſier *Naſſuf*; they obtayned power from him to thruſt all the Iewes out of Pera, and to ruine their Synagogues. This power they executed with all violence: And yet theſe miſerable Iewes durſt not make their complaints vnto *the* Magiſtrate, except one of their ſect which dwelt in the Iſle of Chio, who being then at Conſtantinople, and ſuppoſing hee had more credit than the reſt, went to complaine to this Cadi Negro, who preſently cauſed to be giuen vnto him fiue hundred blowes with a cudgell, C in ſtead of doing him juſtice; ſo dangerous a thing it is to haue to doe with ſuch vnjuſt Magiſtrates.

The Moriſques, chaſe the Iewe out of Pera.

The inſolencies of the Moriſques, tranſported them further: for after they had expelled the Iewes out of their dwellings, they threatned to doe vnto the Chriſtians at Pera, as much as had beene done vnto them in Spaine: and they bragged, That they would ſeiſe vpon their Churches, and eſpecially of that of the Franciſcan Friers, the which was reaſonable faire for the place. But the French Embaſſadour, hauing made his complaint to the chiefe Viſier, hee prohibited them to make any attempt againſt the Chriſtians, vpon paine of rigorous puniſhment. This prohibition ſtaied their furie: but they did not forbeare in all other occaſions to ſhew the cruell hatred they owe vnto Chriſtians: ſo as through all the Leuant, in all encounters D where they came, they doe a thouſand times more miſchiefe than the Turkes themſelues.

The practiſes of the Moriſques againſt the Chriſtians of Pera.

At the ſame time the Sultan *Achmat* had drawne together a mightie armie to go into Tranſyluania; hee cauſed it to campe in tents neere vnto Conſtantinople, about his pallace called Darut Baſſa, whither the people of Conſtantinople went to walke, and to ſee his forces: within few daies after, hee went to Adrianople; meaning from thence to proceed in his voyage, carrying with him all the chiefe men of his port, except the Baſſa of the ſea, or Admirall, who remained at Conſtantinople, to haue a care of the citie. And for the greater ſafety thereof, this Baſſa cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, That no man ſhould go out of his houſe, nor keepe any light in it after the ordinarie crie, which is made an houre within night, when as the Taliſ- E mans crying from the tops of their Moſques, inuite the people to make the Sala, or prayer. After the publication of this ordinance, hee ſent certaine Chaoux to entreat all the Embaſſadours reſiding at the Port, not to ſuffer their people to goe out by night, to the end that their libertie might not ſerue as a dangerous example to others. But notwithſtanding all the Baſſaes entreaties and prohibitions, three Engliſhmen of the Embaſſadors traine, went out by night into the ſtreet, where they were met by the Prouoſt of Pera, who tooke them, and preſently (without reſpect of the qualitie) cauſed either of them to haue an hundred and fiftie blows with a cudgel, and then committed them to priſon, the dores whereof are neuer opened but with a ſiluer key: ſo ſtrickly do they obſerue in Turkie the orders of the Princes Lieutenants, without exception of perſons.

The Turks armie for Tranſyluania.

F About the end of the yeare, the Patriarch of Conſtantinople (by reaſon of diuers complaints made againſt him, was depriued by the Grand Viſier, and one *Cyrillus*, Patriarch of Alexandria, (a learned and religious Biſhop) was (much againſt his will) preferred to the place. The former Patriarch hereupon excommunicated all ſuch as had wrought his ouerthrow;

A queſtion for the Patriarchſhip of Conſtantinople.

throw, but he himſelfe was baniſhed into the Iſle of Rhodes.In his paſſage, the Barke where- G
in he went was caſt vpon Mytilene, in which place he renounced all right and claime to the
Patriarchſhip before the Biſhop of that place, and reſigned it to the Biſhop of Patras : where-
upon the Biſhop came from Patras, to Conſtantinople, and laboured with the Viſier *Naſſuf*
for the place : who vpon promiſe to pay him fifteene thouſand Chequines (which is ten thou-
ſand more than they were wont to pay) made him a Grant thereof : which *Cyrillus* the late
elected Patriarch vnderſtanding, he came with all the Grecians to expoſtulate the buſineſſe
with the Grand Viſier : Who anſwered, That he was to do what he could for the Emperors
profit, and nothing againſt it ; wherefore if they would giue ſo much as the other had promi-
ſed, *Cyrillus* ſhould continue in the place. Which the people were very willing to performe;
but *Cyrillus* refuſed it, and ſo the other was made Patriarch : who preſently ſent for the old H
Patriarch to come from Rhodes to make peace with him, for that they held not his excom-
munication juſt, being not depriued by a Councell, but onely by the King. About the ſame
time, *Naſſuf* the Grand Viſier ſent for the foure Embaſſadors, of England, France, Venice,
and the States of the Low-Countries ; and the reaſon why he ſent for them was, to raiſe their
cuſtome one in the hundred more than the Merchants had formerly payd.

The enterpriſe of the Great Duke of Tuſcanie vpon Agliman.

Whileſt that the Sultan *Achmats* armie drew neere to Tranſyluania, and fortified the pla-
ces which he held in thoſe Countries, *Coſmo de Medicis* Great Duke of Tuſcanie bent his
generous deſignes againſt the Fort of Agliman in Caramania, in old time called Cilicia, a
Prouince which in the writings of Antients hath beene honoured with two famous Cities,
that is to ſay, Tharſis the countrey of Saint *Paul*, and Seleucia, the Fort and Port whereof is
called Agliman, a hauen which in old time hath contained within it's boſome the fearful for- I
ces of the Pyrats of thoſe dayes : from thence in former times hath come forth a powerfull
armie of pyrats with a thouſand ſaile, ſo proudly rigged, as many of them had their ſailes of
purple, the tackling of gold thred, and the oares garniſhed with ſiluer, markes of the ſpoiles of
aboue foure hundred cities ruined by thoſe pyrats, who ſtroke a terror euen to the Romans,
and forced them, to auoid their furie, to ſet to ſea that great fleet whereof *Pompey* the Great
was General.

1613.

The number of the dukes gallies, & the commanders.

They land at Ieronda.

The ſtate of the Fort of Agliman.

The trophie erected vpon the walls of Agliman, of the heads of fortie Florentines, loſt in
a Ship called the Proſper, by the ignorance of the Captaine which commanded in it, made
the Great Duke to ſtudie to haue his reuenge for this affront, and his deſire to abate the pride K
of the common Enemie, eleuated his minde to generous enterpriſes. In the end of March
this preſent yeare 1613, hee armed ſix Gallies vnder the command of the Admiral *Inghira-
mi*, the which he manned with ſix companies of foot commanded by *Iulio de Conty*, called
Montano, General at land, beſides fortie Knights of the Order of S. *Stephen*, and a good num-
ber of gentlemen aduenturers, among the which was *Don Petro de Medicis*. This fleet parted
from Ligorne, and came to Ciuita Vecchia : in the beginning of Aprill they tooke in many
Noblemen and Gentlemen of France, which attended them, and would be partakers in the
enterpriſe ; the which were, the Earle of Candale, eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of Eſpernon,
Cipierre, *Themines*, *De Vic*, *Monterrault*, *De la Tour*, and his brother *Boiſſiere*, *Villandre*, *Ver-
negue*, *Du Pleſſis*, *De la Motte magnus*, *Auenes*, *Del Tour*, *Sainct Cyre*, *Monplaiſir*, and *Loyres*. L
About mid Aprill the gallies landed in the night neere vnto a little towne in Aſia the Leſſe,
called Ieronda, held for that Geronda of the Antients : but their diſcent was fruitleſſe, they
found it deſart by the flight of the Inhabitants, who had preuented all ſurpriſes. They retur-
ned again to their gallies, and ſailing towards the Eaſt, they encountred three Veſſels like vnto
their Caramouſſals, the which they ſet vpon and tooke : and about the fifteenth of May, ha-
uing ſcoured the Leuant ſeas, they reſolued to attempt Agliman. Vpon the way they tooke a
Veſſel called Grippe, which inſtructed them of the eſtate of the Fortreſſe : They vnder-
ſtood there were two Gallies of Cyprus in the Port, that the place was well furniſhed with
all things neceſſarie, and guarded without by a good number of horſemen, and that within
few dayes after, one of the ſaid gallies ſhould come out of the port of Agliman, and go to the M
Iſland of Pappadula, to fetch a new maſt. *Inghirami* thought to preuent it, carrying his
whole fleet thither, the which he layd cloſe in the Iſland to ſurpriſe the Turkiſh Galley, but
it hauing diſcouered his fleet, put out to ſea, and with ſpeed returned to the Port of Agliman,

A to giue the alarme vnto the Countrey. Notwithſtanding the Chriſtians reſolued to aſſault
it, they went with their fleet to the port Caualier, twelue miles from Agliman, from
whence they ſent a long boat to diſcouer: the which brings them word that the whole countrey
was in armes. Theſe newes might well haue daunted the courages of ſome that had been
leſſe generous; yet they paſſe on and about three of the clocke in the morning they came
neere the ſhore, being couered with the ſilence of the night, ſo as before ſix of the clock they
had made their landing about a mile and a halfe from the port. The Seignior of *Montano* and
the Earle of Candale with ſome few choiſe men landed firſt, to diſcouer: a mile from the ſhore
they encountered the Turkiſh horſemen, yet notwithſtanding *Montano* commanded they
ſhould finiſh their landing, leauing twentie men for the guard of euery gallie.

The Chriſtians land at Agliman.

The deſcription of Agliman.

B This fort of Agliman is ſeated vpon a little pleaſant hill, which lookes towards the South:
It extends from the hill vnto the ſea ſhore: the forme is ovall; that part which is next to the
Sea is altogether Meridionall, and the other which riſeth vpon the top of the hill, lookes towards
the North. The wals are built of good ſtone and lime, the which are fiue faddome
high, and one broad. Within there was a wall drawne from the Eaſt to the Weſt, which diuides
it into two vnequall parts, the which they enter by a port ſet in the midſt. The circuite
of the wall is fortified with eight towers, whereof fiue be whole, and three are but halfe
towers: thoſe which be whole are of a ſquare forme, and haue fiue faddome in breadth
on either ſide: the halfe towers haue the ſame greatneſſe on the one ſide, and halfe as much
on the other; their heigth exceedes not the wall, vnleſſe it bee that which is built on the
C top of the hill, which is raiſed about eight foot aboue the wall. Within the place were aboue
three hundred fighting men; with ſtore of victuals, munitions for warre, and many pieces of
ordnance: without, there were an hundred horſe ſcouring vp and downe for the guard of the
place: and within the port there were two gallies, a Caramouſall, and a Greeke Brigandine,
with ſome hundred and fiftie fighting men. The order of the combat was diuided after this
manner, by the Seignior *Montano* Generall at land: for the principall port, and that of the retreat,
he ſent two companies of foot, which were thoſe of the Admirals gallie, of the captains
gallie, and of S. *Stephen*, with the petards, all vnder the charge of the Earle of Candale, who leading
this forward, diſcouered a *Corps de gard* of Turkes, horſe and foot together: whereof hee
preſently aduertiſed the Generall, ſending him word that hee would march on towards the
D fort, and if the Turks came to charge him, he would cut them all in pieces. Many aduiſed him
to returne to the gallies: but *Montano* allowed the reſolution of the Earle of Candale, who
paſt on without charge vntill hee came within 120 paces of the wall, where hee was charged
before by the muſket ſhot of the fort, behind by the gallies, and in flanke by them of the
mountaine, with ſuch horrible howling and crying out, as the mariners which carried the Petards
being wonderfully amazed and terrified, let them fall to the ground, and fled away. The
Baron of *Mont terault*, and *Tiel*, a ſouldier of *Langueza* tooke them vp. They continued their
way vntill they came within fifteene paces of the walls, when as twentie Turks ſallied forth
with a ſhew to make head againſt the Earle of Candales troupes: but ſeeing themſelues too
weake, they fled preſently againe backe to the towne. The Earle aduanced to enter with
E them, but the port was ſo ſoone ſhut as they were in: wherefore they muſt of force ſet the
Petard to worke. But whileſt they were making it faſt vnto the gate, there fell a ſhowre of
great ſtones vpon the troupe, wherewith *Don Pedro de Medicis* (who would needs be preſent)
was ouerthrowne and halfe ſlaine; *Callonge*, *Mont-terault*, *La Tour*, *Dauanes*, and *Deltour*
had taken vpon them the charge of the Petard, euerie one carrying a part, to put it ſpeedily in
execution.

The fortification of the place.

The order giuen to aſſault the fort.

The Turks come from their gallies to charge the Chriſtians.

Whileſt they were thus buſied to force the Port, the Sergeant Maior came vnto the Earle
of Candale and told him, that there was a troupe of three hundred muſkitiers come to charge
him: theſe were two Beyes which came out of the gallies with their troups, by reaſon of the
bad guard which the two companies that *Montano* had left to hinder their landing, had
F kept. The Earle of Candale had left part of his troupe with the Petard, and turned head with
the reſt againſt theſe Beyes to charge them: but they had no meaning to fight, but onely to
make a ſhew, and ſeeing they ſhould be forced if they ſtaied longer, they tooke their way
towards the mountaine, and in their retreat made many ſhot. The Chriſtians purſued them

not, holding it fitter to returne to the Petard, the which plaied ſo happily, as it made a breach capable for three men to enter in front.

The Turkes retire to their towers and wals.

The cōmiſſary of the Knights of S.Stephen ſlaine.

The ſquadron of the knights of S.*Stephen*, commanded by the Commiſſarie *Lenzoni*, and the companie of the gallies of S. *Mary Magdalen*, with two ladders were to aſſault the high tower. The companie of the Admirall gallie with one ladder, had charge to force the port of the retreat; and the companie of the gally of S.*Iean* was to fight with the gallies and veſſels in the hauen: all theſe troupes (being led by the Generall *Montano*, and by Captaine *Alexander* of Tarentum, Sargeant Major) marched in order towards the fort. But the Petard hauing effected as we haue ſaid, the Earle of Candale entered firſt with all his troup, and ſuddenly ran vnto the port of the retreat, there to apply a petard, the which alſo very fortunatly made a breach. The Turkes amazed at the noiſe and forcing of their gates, fled vnto their walls; ſome retiring into their towers, and others into the barricadoes which they had made in the ſtreet. At the ſame inſtant they planted two ladders on the lower part of the towne ſomewhat neere adjoyning to the ſea, whereof one was broken with the loſſe of them that were vpon it: by the other (notwithſtanding that the Turks horſemen charged them behind) a good number of Chriſtians got vp to the wals, making their way by their armes, whileſt that the reſt put the Turks to rout: hauing taken their Cornet, they forced the reſt for to flie vnto the mountaines. The ſquadron of Knights with the companie of the gallie of Saint *Marie*, hauing had a longer way to march, came not to the tower vpon the hill, vntill that after the petards had wrought their effects: ſo as the Turkes being retired thither, they found very great reſiſtance, beſides the attempts of the enemies horſe which charged them behind; thrice they planted their ladders againſt the wall, and could not make them hold. Wherefore the Commiſſarie *Lanzoni*, hauing performed as much as a braue and reſolute man could doe in that extremitie, reſolued to leaue that place, and go vnto ſome other where he might be more neceſſarie: but being the laſt to make the retreat, he was ſhot through with two musket bullets, and ſuddenly ſlaine. The companie of the gallie of S.*Iohn*, vanquiſhed the two gallies in the port, whereof *Ingbirami* the Admirall at ſea went to take poſſeſſion as ſoone as they had giuen him a ſigne, hauing the other two veſſels at libertie.

A bloudy combat within the fort.

The Chriſtians get the victory

Agliman ruined.

Within the fort in the towers, and at the barricadoes, the combat was hot and dangerous, the Turkes had deſpaire and the aduantage of the place on their ſides. The Chriſtians thruſt on by their valour and conſtant reſolution, preſt them on all ſides; there was nothing to be ſeene but bloud, wounded or dead men; but much more of the Turks ſide than of the Chriſtians. In the end, after a combat of foure houres, the Turks fainted, ſome were taken, many were ſlaine, and the Chriſtians obtained an abſolute victorie: But as it could not be made without loſſe of their enemies, who made great reſiſtance: ſo there were fiue and fiftie Chriſtians wounded, of which number *De Vic* a French Gentleman was one, who had a musket ſhot through his thigh, going to charge a troupe of Turks which were retired into a tower: and ſome Gentlemen were ſlain; among the which was yong *Boiſſierre*, a French man, whoſe valour in this action made them that ſaw him fight ſo generouſly, conceiue a certaine hope, that hee would haue prooued a valiant captaine, if heauen had lent him longer life. The ſorrow for his death was generall; as well among the Italian troups, as among thoſe of his owne Nation. *Vernegue* and *Villandre*, two other braue French Gentlemen were alſo ſlaine. The dead and the wounded were carried vnto their gallies: they emptied the Fort of all the artillerie, munition for warre, and victuals; the trophie of fortie Florentines heads was beaten downe, and all the houſes ſet on fire. Agliman beeing thus ruined, they ſhipped their bootie, with three hundred and fiftie Turkiſh ſlaues, hauing freed about two hundred and fortie Chriſtians which were in yrons. The two Turkiſh gallies were drawne out of the Port, and carried away with eight other veſſels. In this triumph as the Admirall *Ingbirami* bent his courſe towards Ligorne; vpon the way a Turkiſh Caramouſall came into the middeſt of the fleet, as into a toyle: It prepared to defend it ſelfe, the patrons gallie inueſted it, but not without loſſe; for the Turkes made ſo great reſiſtance, as there were aboue fourescore Chriſtians hurt or ſlaine; the Earle of Candale fighting alone at the prow of the gallie, by the permiſſion of the Generall. But this Caromouſall beeing taken, and the Florentine marriners entered, it ſplit and ſunke ſuddenly. The great Dukes gallies encountered ſome other

A ſmaller veſſels, the which they tooke, and afterwards arriued happily at their port.

The twelfth of Auguſt following, *Octauio* of Arragon Generall of the gallies of Sicilie, by the commandement of the Duke of Oſſunna, Viceroy in that Realme, parted from the hauen of Palermo, with eight gallies well armed and manned, to ſayle into the Leuant. His firſt touch was vpon the Iſland of Cerigo, where he vnderſtood that the Admirall Baſſa of the ſea was gone from Conſtantinople with thirtie gallies, bending his courſe to the Iſland of Negropont, whereas ſixtie others attended him in the hauen; and moreouer, that the gallies of Rhodes prepared to goe and ioyne with him, all which Nauall fleet was to fall vpon Soria, againſt the Turks Rebels.

The Voyage the gallies of Sicilie in the Leuant.

Notwithſtanding theſe news, *Octauio* continues his courſe vnto the Iſland of Nicaria, where B he vnderſtood by a Greeke veſſell, that the Turkiſh admirall meant to ſend twelue gallies to Rhodes, to guard certaine veſſels of the fleet, which came from Alexandria by the Channell of Samos. True it is, that of twelue which were together when they parted, two were ſent by the Bey or Captaine which commanded them, into the Iſland of Chio, ſo as there remained but ten together. *Octauio* reſolued to charge theſe 10, cauſing his fleet to row that day, and almoſt a whole night as ſecretly as they could, along the ſhore of the firme land of Natolia, and at the breake of day he arriued at the cape of Coruo, twentie miles from Chio; from whence he ſent his long boat to diſcouer. But in the meane time hee himſelfe eſpied the ten Turkiſh gallies not far from him; at ſight whereof he ordred his gallies for battell, with ſuch diligence, as at Sun riſing he was about the enemies gallies, and had inueſted them. At his firſt C approch he diſcharged all his ordnance, and then with his Admirall gallie he ioyned with the Turkes gallie which carried the ſtandard; the Spaniards entered, ſlew and maſſacred all that made reſiſtance: the combat began at the prow, from whence they went to the poope, whereas the Bey or Commander of the ten gallies ſtood, whom they forced to yeeld. In the meane time the other gallies of Sicilie charged the Turkes ſo furiouſly, as they tooke fiue, all great veſſels carrying lanthornes; two fled towards the land, hoping to ſaue themſelues, but the Turkes had ſcarce leaſure to leape to land, and to flie into the countrey, abandoning their veſſels to the Spaniards, who purſued them; the other three gallies hauing gotten ſome aduantage eſcaped by flight: ſo ſeuen onely came into the Spaniards power, in the which they had a verie rich bootie, freeing aboue a thouſand Chriſtian ſlaues, which were at the chaine, and D by a ſtrange change of fortune, putting into their places the Turks which had inchained them. Among the moſt remarkable of the priſoners, were the commander of the 10 gallies called *Sinan* Bey of Grigna in the Iſland of Cyprus; the Bey of Alexandria (ſon to *Pial Baſſa*, who was defeated in the battell of Lepanto, by *Don Iohn* of Auſtria) and ſome Raiſe or Captaines, and Patrons of gallies.

They ſet vpon ten Turkiſh gallies.

This Summer the Emperour *Matthias* being gone to an aſſembly of the States at Presburg in Hungarie, in the meane time *Sigiſmund Battori*, who had beene prince of Tranſyluania, and ſo great a terror & ſcourge vnto the Turks, as he made *Sinan Baſſa*, hauing an armie of one hundred and fiftie thouſand men, to flie thrice within ten daies from before him, and would neuer endure the ſight of him, hee hauing but fortie thouſand men in his armie. But afterwards beE ing the author of his owne misfortunes and miſeries, by his inconſtant humours, he came and liued a priuate life at Prague, and there died of an Apoplexie. At the Eſtates of Presburg they conſulted of the fortifying of their Frontier townes, and manning them with good garriſons, knowing the infidelitie of the Turks, and doubting they would not obſerue the truce. But there was ſome queſtion in the aſſembly, touching the admiſſions of Germans into their garriſons: for that the Hungarians maintained they had a decree to the contrarie; and yet they could not defend themſelues without the aſſiſtance of Germanes: but in the end it was concluded, that the Germanes ſhould bee admitted equally with the Hungarians into their garriſons, but all other ſtrange ſouldiers ſhould bee excluded. The Turkes in the meane time had burnt and ſpoyled many villages in Hungarie and Tranſyluania, carried away maF ny Chriſtians captiue, and committed many other actes of hoſtilitie, ſo as all men feared a new warre in Hungarie, but by the prouidence of God it was diuerted. For Sultan *Achmat* marching toward Tranſyluania with a mightie armie, hearing vpon the way that *Bethlem Gabor* was acknowledged prince, vnder his protection, hee turned head toward Conſtantinople

Sigiſmūd Battori prince of Tranſyluania dies at Prague.

The Turks threaten war in Hungarie.

nople. But rather for the affaires of Aſia, whereas the Rebels of Natolia had ſpoiled and burnt many places; and a certaine Arabian had reuolted againſt him, and vſurped the title of G King, hauing drawne vnto his partie fiftie thouſand Rebels, the which did ouerrun and ſpoile the countrey which yeelded obedience vnto him, threatening his dominions with a greater ruine. Moreouer the Portugals and Spaniards had made many incurſions vpon his places joyning to the Red ſea, and had taken and ſpoyled Aden, a place of importance: ſo as all theſe diſorders haſtened his returne into Thrace, to ſend forces againſt his Turkiſh Rebels, and his Spaniſh enemies. But approching neere vnto the Imperiall Citie of Conſtantinople, the Plague was ſo violent, as hee ſtayed at Adrianople vntill the end of this yeare, when as that horrible contagion ceaſed. He then came vnto the city, wheras he made a verie ſtately entrie; before him there marched his ordinarie guard of fiue and twentie or thirtie thouſand H Ianizaries, all the Baſſaes of the Court followed him in verie great pompe, and before him there marched on horſebacke two of his ſonnes, the pillars and hope of his affaires, the eldeſt beeing about ſeuen or eight yeares old. Paſſing before the Moſques, the Taliſmans or Prieſts of his law, made ſacrifices in his preſence for his proſperitie, they ſlew ſheepe and oxen vpon altars erected for that purpoſe, then they cut them in pieces, and gaue them vnto the people.

A great plague at Conſtantinople.

The Graund Seigniour beeing returned to Conſtantinople after the great Plague, notwithſtanding the Turkes hold a firme opinion of Predeſtination, and that they ſhall not die before their appointed time, and that the time of their death is written in their foreheads; yet apprehending the infection, by the aduice of ſome about him, hee commanded I all the dogges in the Citie of Conſtantinople, to bee tranſported vnto Scutarie in Aſia (a towne antiently called Chriſopolis) and for the due execution thereof, euerie houſholder was to bring in his dogge firſt to the Cadi (which is the Iudge of the place) and to receiue from him a Tuſcarie or ticket for his paſſage, or elſe hee was to pay foure Chequines; by which meanes there were tranſported to the number of fiftie thouſand dogges. The reaſon of his ſending them away, was, for that reading the Acts of his father, hee found that thirtie yeares before, he had ſent away all the dogges for feare of the infection. The Sultan commanded allowance of bread and fleſh to bee carried euerie day to ſuſtaine them, which not ſufficing, the inhabitants were much oppreſſed, and readie to fall into mutinie; but by the aduice of his Muphti, they were at length tranſported from thence to an Iſland that was not inhabited, K ſome ſixteene miles from Conſtantinople, where they all periſhed. Before their ſending away, the Grand Seigniour had propounded to his Muphti, to haue them all ſlaine: who made anſwere, That euerie dogge had a ſoule, and therefore it was not fit to kill them.

All the dogs ſent out of Conſtantinople.

The Turkes are wonderfull glad when they winne any one to their Religion, and ſeeke by all meanes to ſeduce men either by force or by faire perſuaſion; whereof you may ſee an aſſured proofe, by a Iew, who beeing turned Turke, ſoone after buying of grapes of another Turke, fell at variance with him about the weighing of his grapes: from words they fell to blowes, and the Iew-Turke beat the other, which he endured verie patiently to encourage him as it ſeemed in his new Religion. Soone after, another Iew came to the Turke who had L beene beaten, and demanded of him why he had ſuffered himſelfe to be ſo abuſed? Who anſwered, You ſhall beat me as much if you will turne Muſulman, ſo zealous they are to winne Proſolites.

The care of the Turks to win men to their Religion.

This yeare in October, the Turkes obſeruing their feaſts of Bairan (which is our Eaſter) the which they obſerue twiſe a yeare; a Turke hauing drunke wine too freely (the drinking whereof is forbidden amongſt them, although they loue it well, and drinke in priuate) was apprehended, and carried before the Grand Viſier: who ſeeing the fact verified, inflicted this puniſhment vpon him, to haue boiſing lead powred into his mouth and eares, the which was ſpeedily executed.

A ſeuere puniſhment of a drunkard.

Bethlem Gabor as you haue heard was ſeated quietly in the Principalitie of Tranſyl- M uania, the Sultan ſupported him, and had ſent *Sarder Baſſa* with an armie againſt *Gabriel Battori* who was then in poſſeſſion, but weake both of men, money, and friends, hee was not able to make head againſt them; ſo as beeing abandoned of his friends, and hated of his ſubjects for his tyrannie, he grew into deſpaire and was ſlain by his owne ſouldiers. Whereupon the country yeelding obedience to *Gabor*, *Sarder Baſſa* retired out of Tranſyluania with his Turkes. Yet afterwards, ſome neerely allied to *Battori* (deſiring to reuenge his death) cauſed ſome alterations; and others ſeeking to get the Prouince from the Emperour, had ſurpriſed Huſt and other places in his name. The Sultan hearing this, wrote his letters to the noblemen and States of the Prouince. They were not ignorant he ſaid, that ſince the time that Tranſyluania yeelded obedience to his predeceſſors, and him, they had alwaies liued in peace vnder his protection, and had often deſired and obtained ſuccour againſt their enemies: That when as *Botſcay* had been annoied by the Germans, aſſiſting him with great forces, he had ſhaked off the yoke: That when as *Battori* his ſucceſſour had liued after his owne will, they ſent *Bethlehem Gabor* with complaints to his court by their generall conſent, and did eaſily obtain forces to free the Prouince from tyrannie. He being taken away, now a wiſhed day began to ſhine, the clouds of tribulation beeing all diſperſed: That he had held *Bethlem* worthy to ſucceed *Battori*, and to enioy that Prouince. Wherefore he had commanded all the noblemen to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, and to enjoy a wiſhed peace: That *Bethlem* had ſent to aduertiſe him of the new practiſes of the Germans; wherefore he had giuen charge to the Baſſaes of Temeſwar and Agria, and to the Prince of Valachia to be watchfull to repell all theſe injuries; admoniſhing the noblemen to yeeld ſpeedie obedience to *Bethlem*: to which end hee had ſent them thoſe letters, that vpon the ſight thereof they might be admoniſhed of their duties; and if the Germans ſhould attempt any thing, they ſhould make reſiſtance vntill the comming of his forces: and following *Bethlem* in all things, they ſhould acknowledge him for their true and lawfull Prince, and continue conſtant in their fidelitie, leſt they ſhould prouoke his wrath againſt them, and draw vpon themſelues ſome great miſerie: writing much more to the like effect; concluding, That hee had fully purpoſed and reſolued, not to ſpoyle any one village or any fort in Tranſyluania, nor to doe any wrong to any man, nor ſuffer it to be done by any other, but would defend that Prouince from all oppreſſion. Wherefore he would haue the Emperour aduertiſed, that if he meant to haue the peace inuiolably kept, he ſhould cauſe the ſaid places of Tranſyluania to be preſently reſtored vnto the Prince, or ſignifie his minde vnto him by letters.

The Sultan admoniſheth the Tranſiluanians to obey Bethlem

Of theſe Rebels of Aſia, whereof wee haue made mention, the Gouernour of Sarepta or Sidon in Syria, called *Armill* or *Emir Facardin*, he who gaue enterance into his Port to the Florentines, and receiued them in their courſes to the Leuant; hearing that the Baſſa of Damas, and the Baſſa of the ſea, with the gallies which he brought from Conſtantinople, and the threeſcore which he tooke at Negropont (whereof wee haue made mention) came to fall vpon him with a mightie and fearefull armie, hee left his eldeſt ſonne within Sidon with forces to command there, and in other forts about it, and flying from a furious tempeſt of enemies, he went to ſea with three ſhippes, to retire himſelfe into Europe, with his foure wiues, tenne children, ſeuentie Turkes, and foureteene thouſand pound weight in gold. Hee arriued at Ligorne, and went from thence to Florence, vnder the protection of *Coſmo de Medicis* great Duke of Tuſcanie, whoſe hands hee kiſſed, preſenting vnto him a Cuttelas verie curiouſly wrought, and enriched with ſtone, and two jewels to the great Ducheſſe, to the value of ſix thouſand crownes. This Turke though he had no faith, yet hee found faith with this Prince of Tuſcanie. *Coſmo* receiued him, defrayed him and all his traine, furniſhed him with money, whether it were by way of gratification, or that *Emir* had conſumed his owne: and by all kinde of courteſies made this Infidell ſee what difference there is to flye vnto the protection of a Chriſtian Prince, or to haue recourſe vnto a Mohometane. They ſay that *Emir* made manie goodly ouertures for the ſettling of the Chriſtians in Aſia: but to attempt it with a good and happie ſucceſſe, it ſhould be neceſſarie that moſt of the Chriſtian Princes would joyne their wils and armes together for the generall good of Chriſtendome. It is true, that the great Duke *Ferdinand* deceaſed, and *Coſmo* his ſucceſſour had made proofe of their good intentions, by many generous enterpriſes againſt the Turke. But one Prince alone cannot doe all.

Emir Facardin abandoned Sidon.

Emir retires to Florence.

The great duke receiues him courteouſly.

Theſe things paſt in the yeare 1613, the end whereof concludes with the fury of terrible tempeſts in the Mediterranean ſea. The tenth of Nouember a fearefull tempeſt full of lightening, thunder, and furious windes, was the cauſe of the loſſe of many gallies and ſhips in

A horrible tempeſt in the Mediterranean ſea the port of Genoa, with a great number of perſons which were miſerably drowned; which loſſe was valued at aboue 800000 crowns. The port of Naples was not free from this ſtorm, and the gallies of Malta, with a great number of other veſſels receiued great loſſe. G

The grand Seignior hauing this yeare and the yeare before ſuſtained great loſſe of his gallies and frigots in the Mediterranean ſea, by the gallies of Naples, Malta, and Florence; and in the blacke ſea by the Coſſackes, who had taken two gallies wel manned and richly laden, he now impoſed a great tax vpon all his Chriſtian ſubiects towards the reparation of that loſſe, ſo as hee charged the Armenians to build him nine gallies at their owne coſts, and the Grecians twentie: ſuch is the tyrannie of the Turke, as he ſuffers not the poore Chriſtians to enjoy any thing, but he findes meanes to pull it from them.

A conſpiracie againſt the Viſier Naſſuf.

H The grand Viſier *Naſſuf* held his credit with the Prince, at whoſe returne from Adrianople, many Ianizaries (to whom the Viſier was verie odious) conſpired to kill him as hee ſhould enter in at the North gate comming from Adrianople, and had placed themſelues there for the effecting of what they had entended: but comming neere vnto the gate, the Sultan (being ignorant of what was entended againſt the Viſier) called for him to ſpeake with him, keeping him by him vntill he was entred into the city, by which means he eſcaped the pretended practiſe. Soone after, *Naſſuf* inuited the Sultan to a ſumptuous feaſt, and within few daies after the Emperor feaſted the Viſier; who preſuming vpon his great credit, cauſed all the croſſes in the Church of S. *Sophia* (which is one of the goodlieſt monuments in Conſtantinople) to bee throwne downe, and all the Images to be defaced, the which had ſtood entire euer ſince the Chriſtians gouernment.

The King of Perſias crueltie againſt the Armenians.

I The yeare before, the King of Perſia had put to death 1200 Armenians vpon a falſe ſuggeſtion as if they had intended to reconcile themſelues to the Pope: that king hating the Papiſts, and yet ſuffers diuers Ieſuits to liue in his dominons. The Engliſh Embaſſadors chaplein deſirous to know the reaſon of the Perſians crueltie, conferred with the Patriarke of the Armenians which reſided at Conſtantinople (for there are two Patriarks, whereof the one is vnder the Perſian, and the other at Conſtantinople vnder the Turk) who told him that it was true he had miſerably ſlaine many of their nation by the cunning practiſes of an Armenian, who had counterfeited letters from the Patriarke of Armenia to the Pope, by which the Patriarke with his whole Church of Armenians, made offer to reconcile themſelues to the Church of Rome, and to acknowledge the Pope as their head; intreating the Pope to write to the king of Perſia to giue them leaue to doe it freely: which letters the Pope receiuing, he rewarded the meſſenger bountifully, and returned lettres by him to the King of Perſia, wherby he entreated him to ſuffer the Armenians in his countrey to vſe their conſciences freely. The king of Perſia hauing receiued theſe letters, grew into a great rage, cauſing many of them to bee put to death, ſaying, *That if they would be obedient to the Pope, he could expect no ſeruice nor obedience from them*: notwithſtanding the Papiſts ſaid that this was done directly by the Patriarke; but the Armenians affirme that it was the practiſe of a counterfeit rogue. Soone after there arriued 3 Embaſſadours at Conſtantinople; the one was a Circaſſian, the ſecond a Georgian (and this was a Biſhop) and the third a Mingrelian, all of them to complaine of the Perſians oppreſſion and crueltie, imploring ſuccours from the graund Seignior for their ſupport. Preſently after them arriued a Perſian Embaſſador, whom the Sultan would not admit to audience, vntill all controuerſies were concluded betwixt himſelfe and the Emperor, which was then in queſtion, the Sultan hauing ſent one *Gaſparo* (ſometime a ſeruant in the Engliſh Embaſſadors houſe) to treat with the Emperor, by whoſe means at length all matters were reconciled betwixt them. K L

1614

The fal of Naſſufs fortune.

The yeare 1614 began by the horror of great prodigies, which were ſeene in diuers parts of Hungarie and Sileſia. Ouer the towne of Vienna in Auſtria, the heauens grew ſo red and fearefully darkened, as they feared that either the laſt day was come, or elſe there would follow ſome horrible effuſion of bloud. But all theſe ſignes had no other effect this yeare, than the ruine of the great fortune, and prodigious authoritie of *Naſſuf Baſſa*, grand Viſier of the Turkiſh Empire, formerly one of the greateſt and moſt fearful rebels which had carried arms in Aſia againſt the ſoueraigne power of their Sultan: but to comprehend more plainely the fall and declining of his fortune, let vs behold him in his beginning and firſt riſing. Hee was the ſonne of a Greeke Prieſt, borne in a little village neere vnto Solonica, and hauing beene taken by the tribute, which the Turkes exact from Chriſtians vpon their miſerable children, M

ta-

A taking one of three; hee was carried verie young to Conſtantinople, and there ſold for three
chequines or Sultanins (euery one of which is not aboue eight ſhillings ſtarling) to an Eunuch
of the Sultans, who nouriſhed him and bred him vp till hee came to the age of twentie yeares,
and afterwards ſold him to a Steward of the Sultanaes houſe, to ſerue him in his charge: who
finding this ſlaue to haue a ſpirit capable of greater affaires than the houſhold, employed
him in the ouerſight of the building of a rich and ſtately Moſque, which the Sultana
cauſed to be erected at her charge: In this place hee gaue ſuch proofe of his wit and judge-
ment, to the Sultanaes content, that ſoone after ſhee gaue him the gouernement of her houſ-
hold.

The beginning & progreſſe of Naſſufs fortune

The Sultan had a will to employ him in his ſeruice, and retired him from the Sultanaes
B houſe into his Seraglio, where hee was honoured with the charge of the Capigi Baſſa, or
Captaine of the Porters or Vſhers of the Seraglio; from thence hee was aduanced to the
dignitie of the Baſſa of Aleppo, and ſoone after hee was made Gouernour generall of Me-
ſopotamia. The commoditie of his gouernment (frontiring vpon Perſia) ſtirred vp his am-
bitious thoughts, and his diſordinate deſire to become ſoueraigne of that Countrey, and
made him to entertaine manie practiſes with the King of Perſia, an antient enemie to his
maſter. The report of his practiſes came to Conſtantinople: the Sultan is aduertiſed, hee
knowes the ambitious and ſtirring ſpirit of this *Naſſuf*, and findes that hee is verie profita-
ble for his ſeruice, if hee can by any milde courſe withdraw him from his diſloyalties and in-
telligences with the Perſian: wherefore hee diſſembled the knowledge of his treacherous
C deſignes, and to gaine him the more powerfully, he gorged his ambitious appetite with the
greateſt dignitie of his Empire. After the death of *Murath Baſſa*, he honoured him with the
place of Graund Viſier, and gaue him all his goods, and in his place made him Generall of
the armie againſt the Perſian, with promiſe to giue him his daughter in marriage. Thus was
Naſſuf aduanced by his dexteritie, wit, diligence, and trecherie, to the greateſt charges of the
greateſt Empire of the World.

He is made gouerner of Meſopotamia.

Naſſuf made grand Viſier and Generall of the armie.

He entered into Perſia, as Lieutenant Generall of his maſters armie, with the which hee
made ſo great a ſpoyle, as hee forced *Ka Abbas* King of Perſia now raigning, to demand a
peace; and after that hee had granted him a ſurceaſe of armes, hee brought his Embaſſador
to Conſtantinople, to conclude this peace to his maſters benefit, as we haue formerly obſer-
D ued. Hee enters in pompe, preſents a million of gold vnto his Emperour, is well receiued at
the Seraglio, much made of by the Baſſaes, but more by the Sultan, who cauſed him to marry
his daughter. Fortune hauing thus aduanced him to the height of greatneſſe, not being poſſi-
ble to climbe higher, ſhee ouerthrowes him, and doth precipitate him to the loweſt degrees
of miſerie. The Sultan feares his ſpirit, too headſtrong by reaſon of his ambition; hee growes
jealous of his actions, and about the end of the yere concludes his ruine and death. The com-
mandement is giuen to Boſtangi Baſſa, that is to ſay, the Sultans chiefe gardiner, and ouerſeer
of his Seraglio, and all his houſes, one of the goodlieſt dignities of the court. *Naſſuf* was at that
time ſicke in his houſe; Boſtangi goes thither to viſit him, and to cauſe him to be ſtrangled, be-
ing accompanied onely with 7 or 8 men; for that he would not giue any ſuſpition of the com-
E mandement he had receiued from his maſter. Being come vnto his lodging, he demanded to
ſpeake with him, and *Naſſuf* excuſed himſelfe by his ſeruants, by reaſon of the diſcommoditie
of his health: but the Boſtangi (who would needs execute his commiſſion) replied, that hee
could not returne to the Sultan (who had ſent him to haue certain newes of his health) before
he had ſeen him, to be the better aſſured. At this reply *Naſſuf* grew diſtruſtful, & would with-
out all doubt haue been far from thence in ſome place of Meſopotamia; but beleeuing what-
ſoeuer happened to him was ineuitable, he commanded them to ſuffer the Boſtangi to enter;
who at his firſt approch entertained him with many complements of courteſie; and hauing
demanded ſome queſtions of him touching his health, he drew out of his pocket a command-
ment from the Sultan to *Naſſuf*, to deliuer vnto him the ſeales of the empire: the which being
F preſently don, he drew out another commandement vnto him, by the which he was *inioyned*
to ſend him his head: then *Naſſuf* cryed out aloud, and deſired to ſpeake with the Sultan;
but the Boſtangi anſwered, that he had no commiſſion to conduct him to the Seraglio, but to
cauſe his life to be taken away preſently: vpon this refuſall, he intreats him, to giue him leaue

He forceth the Perſian to a peace.

The Sultan reſolues to be rid of him, & concludes his ruin

Naſſufs throat cut.

An inſolent fauourite continues little.

The treaſures of Naſſuf.

to waſh himſelfe in the next chamber, to the end that his ſoule (ſaid he) ſhould not depart this world in the eſtate of pollution, according to the Turkes beleefe, who hold the waſhing of the bodie for a true purification. This fauour was alſo denied him; he ſaw there was no remedie in his miſerie, nor any hope of grace. Boſtangi Baſſaes followers (which were ſeuen or eight Capigies) beeing come to take away his life, and enuironing his bed, which was an vndoubted ſummons that hee muſt die; in the end he reſolues, and turning himſelfe vnto theſe executioners, hee willed them to doe their duties: whereupon they fell to worke, and caſting themſelues vpon him, they put a cord about his necke, and ſought to ſtrangle him; but ſeeing that the fatneſſe of his repleat bodie would not ſuffer them to take away his life preſently, they cut his throat with a knife. His death could not be diſpleaſing to the Chriſtians, ſeeing that all his deſignes tended to their ruine: he had perſuaded his maſter to breake the peace with the Emperour, the French King, and the Venetians, promiſing him to make him ſoueraigne Monarch of the whole world, to the end he might keep his ſpirit in action, and make himſelfe neceſſarie to his maſter, and liue more ſafely in combuſtions than in a calme; whereas the enuie and malice of his enemies gaue him a thouſand furious aſſaults. Thus *Naſſuf Baſſa* ended his dayes and fortune; before Gouernour of Meſopotamia, Generall of an Imperiall army, and Grand Viſier of the Turkiſh Empire; aduanced of theſe ſupreme dignities, by the great actions of his mind, but ouerthrown ſhamefully to his ruine by his boundleſſe ambition. Doubtleſſe it is a difficult thing for a fauorite that is inſolently audacious, to continue long in grace with his Prince; eſpecially when his vnreſtrained ambition hath once broken the bounds which reaſon preſcribeth to thoſe that Fortune aduanceth by the fauour of her blaſtes; and that hee followes obſtinately that pernicious curioſitie to know by experience how high Fortune can aduance him: for then the deſire to enjoy that which is aboue his condition, blinding the eyes of reaſon, hee doth precipitate himſelfe by his raſh and inſolent actions, to the loweſt ſteppe of ſhamefull ruine. The riches of *Naſſuf* were ſo great and proportionable to his fortune, as after his death they found about two buſhels of diamonds and pearles. Doubtleſſe this rich and ſtately ſpoile deſerued to be enioyed by ſome great Prince. So the Emperour *Achmat* ſeiſed thereon, and applyed it to his Chaſna, or Treaſurie.

Another diſcourſe of Naſſufs death.

This death of *Naſſuf* is related after another manner by one who was then preſent in Conſtantinople, the which I haue thought good to ſet downe as I haue receiued it from him. The Grand Seignior being much diſcontented with his Viſier; whither incenſed with ſuch as were neere about him, who both hated and feared *Naſſuf*, or doubting his great power; hee diſſembled his ſpleene, vntill he might finde ſome opportunitie for reuenge: yet it was not ſo ſecretly carried, but *Naſſuf* had diſcouered the Sultans diſcontent, and laboured by great gifts both to the Sultana and others to pacifie him, prouiding notwithſtanding in the meane time for his owne ſafetie, ſending horſemen dayly ouer into Aſia, meaning to paſſe himſelfe when hee had gathered together a ſufficient ſtrength. But it fell out on the ſeuenth day of October, it beeing the Turkes Sabboth, that the Moone about eight a clocke at night was much eclipſed, which made the Turkes expect ſome great accident. The Grand Seignior hauing formerly cauſed it to be bruited, That he would about that time paſſe to viſit a new Moſque which was then in building; whereupon all the ſtreets were hanged with cloth and arras, and as the cuſtome was, a crie went before, that *The King commeth*; at the noiſe whereof *Naſſuf* (beeing then in his houſe) could not but deſcend to ſalute the Sultan as he paſſed by: But it was not the Graund Seignior himſelfe, but his Boſtangi Baſſa, whom he had cauſed to be attired like himſelfe, who being come before *Naſſufs* dore, and finding him ſtanding there, he ſuddenly leapt vnto him, and told him that the Sultans pleaſure was he ſhould deliuer vp his ſeale: whereat *Naſſuf* being amazed, demanded what the Sultan meant to doe? to whome the Boſtangi Baſſa replied, That he knew not what the Princes pleaſure was, but if he would not deliuer it, hee would returne with that meſſage vnto him. Whereupon *Naſſuf* drew the ſeale out of his boſome, and deliuered it. Then the Boſtangi Baſſa ſhewed him a warrant for his head, whereunto he preſently ſubmitted himſelfe, and then two Iamoglans ſtrangled him: his head was preſently cut off, and carried to the Graund Seigniour, and his bodie throwne into the ſtreet to be trampled on.

A It was thought his death was procured by the wiſe of *Cicala*, Baſſa of Babylon, who had
beene manzoled or depoſed from his gouernment there by *Naſſuf*, and was a little before
returned to Conſtantinople, but could not bee allowed by *Naſſuf* to haue any acceſſe vnto
the Grand Seigniors preſence; whereupon hee wrote a letter vnto the Sultan, wherein hee
accuſed *Naſſuf* to haue conſpired with the Perſian to kill him, charging him with many
things that were capitall. This letter he ſent by his wife who was ſiſter to the Grand Seignior;
who comming to his ſpeech (although ſhee were watchfully obſerued by *Naſſuf* who was
then preſent) left the letter in his chamber and ſo departed. The Grand Seigniour finding
this letter, and reading it, was much incenſed againſt *Naſſuf*, and neuer quiet in minde vntill he
had his head. He writes, that there were found in *Naſſufs* houſe eightie bags of gold, each bag
B containing ten thouſand chequinos. After *Naſſufs* death *Mechmet Baſſa* Admirall at ſea (who
had married Sultan *Achmats* eldeſt daughter) was made chiefe Viſier; he was borne in Conſtantinople,
and the firſt naturall Turke that was euer Viſier ſince Conſtantinople was
wonne.

You haue heard in the laſt yeares relation, of ſome combuſtions which were growing
in Tranſyluania, and how the Sultan had written his letters of an imperious ſtile vnto the nobilitie
and States of the countrey, which letters were fixed vp in forme of a mandate throughout
all Tranſyluania, and in places that were neereſt vnto thoſe Noblemen which held the
Emperours partie againſt *Bethlem*. At the ſame time *Bethlem* defeated certaine troupes of
the garriſons at Lippa and Genoa, which ouerranne and ſpoyled the Countrey, ſo as the Gouernours
C of thoſe places were forced to ſend to Vienna, to demand ſuccours of men and money.
A Chiaus arriued at that time at Lintz, bringing letters vnto the Emperour from the
Graund Seigniour; the firſt point contained in them, was, That his Imperiall Maieſtie ſhould
haue a care, that the peace made betwixt them for twentie yeares ſhould not be violated; and
that for his part hee deſired to obſerue it faithfully. 2. That in the name of his Imperiall
Maieſtie they had ſeiſed vpon certaine places in Tranſyluania, a Prouince which had
beene alwaies vnder his protection, which receiued her Princes from his hand, and the
which he was bound to defend againſt all her enemies. 3. That the tyranny of Prince *Battori*
had conſtrained him to giue forces to *Bethlem Gabor* to diſpoſſeſſe him of the principalitie of
Tranſyluania: That after the death of the ſaid *Battori*, he had inueſted *Bethlem* to gouerne it
D in peace. 4. That ſince, he had bin aduertiſed how that ſome troups of ſouldiers in the name
of his Imperiall Maieſtie, contrary to the articles of peace, had by force ſeiſed vpon the forts
of Huſt and Viuar, and the townes of Nagipan and Tonaſe. 5. That hee had giuen expreſſe
charge to *Bethlem*, not to ſuffer any enterpriſe, no not vpon the leaſt village of his principalitie,
to the end that nothing might be ſeparated; but that he ſhould repell the iniurie of the
aggreſſor by force. 6. That he exhorted his imperiall maieſtie, if he deſired the continuance
of the peace, to command his people to make reſtitution of the places vſurped, or to ſignifie
his intention by the ſame Chiaus which he had ſent, to the end hee might be fully aſſured:
for the miſchiefe increaſing daily, the affection which hee bare to the good of peace might
grow cold.

Letters from the Sultan to the Emperor.

E The Emperour receiued the Chiaus at Lintz verie honourably, and gaue him an anſwer
to his letter wrapt in a piece of cloth of gold: the ſence whereof was, That this buſineſſe
being of great importance, his Imperiall Maieſtie deſired to confer with the princes Electors,
and States of the Empire to heare their aduice; after which hee would acquaint him with his
laſt reſolution: and finally, that he ſhould reſt aſſured, that for his part he would not attempt
any thing contrarie to the peace. In the meane time there was a pettie warre in Hungarie,
the incurſions and ſpoiles betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turkes beginning againe. The
Turkes of the garriſon of Agria going foorth, tooke a great number of cattell from the
Chriſtians; eight hundred Haiduckes aduertiſed of this ſpoyle, purſued them ſo ſpeedily
as they met them before they came within halfe a league of their retreat, when they made
F them to leaue their prize, and put them to flight. The Baſſa of Agria aduertiſed of the
defeate of his out-riders, goeth foorth with one thouſand men, to recouer the bootie
from the Haiduckes, which they had newly taken from his ſouldiers: But after a ſharpe
encounter he loſt his horſe, and two hundred of his men, beeing forced to make his retreat.

The Emperors answer to the Turke.

The Turkes courſes in Hungarie.

From thence the Haiduckes went and ſpoyled the Countrey about Solnoc; ſome others G holding the wayes of Strigonium or Gran, tooke a Turkiſh Bride with her baggage, who was going from Gran to Buda; and foure hundred Boothalers (ſome of them Haiduckes and the reſt Turkes, men which hold no partie but their owne, to rob with the more impunitie) ſeiſed vpon Balaſter, Micolut, and Felac: but at the recouerie of them, they were ſo ill intreated by the Hungarians, as moſt of them loſt their liues there, and the reſt were taken priſoners.

The Eſtates of Bohemia, Auſtria, Stiria, and others.

But the Emperour who deſired to be reſolued in the important buſineſſe of Tranſyluania, aſſembled the Eſtates of Bohemia, Auſtria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Sileſia, Luſatia, Morauia, and Hungarie, his hereditarie Countries; whom hee gaue to vnderſtand, That the peace was violated in Hungarie, by the hoſtilities of the Turkes vpon the Chriſtians; to whoſe H preiudice Sultan *Achmat* had ſubiected vnto himſelfe the Prouinces of Valachia, Moldauia, and Tranſyluania: this laſt vnder the gouernment of *Bethlem Gabor*, who had made himſelfe his vaſſale. That the Sultan had ſent word vnto his Imperiall Maieſtie, that hee ſhould not pretend any thing there, to the end this Countrey might be wholly vnited to the Turkes Empire. Whereupon hee earneſtly exhorted the aſſemblie to conſider wiſely: Firſt whether Tranſyluania ſhould be left wholly in the Turkes power: Secondly, why the Sultan would not conſent to the ratification of the Truce: Thirdly, of the meanes to make war, if the neceſſitie of his affaires ſhould force him: Fourthly, to what end the Turke would hinder his Imperiall Maieſtie, that hee ſhould pretend no right to Tranſyluania: Fiftly, that the Turke had ſent him an Embaſſadour, who contrarie to the articles of peace, had not brought I any Preſents: Sixtly, if they ſhould make a new accord with the Turke, to conſider aduiſedly, what aſſurance they might take, ſeeing that he would not conſent vnto the ſixth article of the peace.

The reſolution of the Eſtates.

The deſignes of Bethlem vpon diuers places.

Hee receiues forces from the Turke, and beſiegeth Lippa.

Their opinions were diuers vpon theſe propoſitions; but all ioyntly conſented to maintaine the authoritie of the Imperiall Maieſtie. The Hungarians onely intereſſed in their reſolutions to warre, by reaſon of the ſpoyle of their countrey, as a paſſage for all their troups, they beſought the Emperour, that if hee meant to ſend any forces into Tranſyluania, they might haue commandement to march ſome other way, and not ouer their lands. *Bethlem Gabor* in the meane time laboured to recouer thoſe places which had beene loſt. Wherefore hee prouided himſelfe to make ſome attempts vpon Lippa, and other places; as at Botene, K Genoë, and Arach. The Gouernors of theſe places gaue aduice vnto *Forgatſi* Lieutenant Generall to the Emperor in high Hungarie; repreſenting vnto him the eſtate of their garriſon, and the feare they had, that if *Bethlem* ſhould once get them into his poſſeſſion and power, hee would deliuer them ouer vnto the Turke: That if they would ſend them ſuccours, they would rather endure all extremities, than yeeld them to the enemie. Yet for all this, they make no haſte to ſend them ſuccours: and *Sander Baſſa* according to the commandement hee had receiued from the Sultan, hauing brought forces to *Bethlem*, the ſiege of Lippa was reſolued in the Eſtates of Tranſyluania. On the fiue and twentieth of October the cannon beeing drawne out of Veradin to batter the fort; *Bethlem* went to inueſt it, made his approches, and battered it ſo furiouſly, as hauing made a reaſonable breach, *it* ſerued L firſt for a paſſage for foure hundred men to eſcape, who left the Gouernour with verie ſmall meanes to defend the place, and without hope of ſuccours from Hungarie; which made him come to a parley, promiſing to yeeld the place, to haue their liues and goods ſaued. The forts of Genoë and Arach, were deliuered by the ſame capitulation. That theſe three places ſhould not be put into the Turkes hands, but ſhould remaine perpetually vnited to the principalitie of Tranſyluania: and to take all intereſt from the Turkes, the Eſtates of the Countrey ſhould pay vnto *Sander Baſſa* the charges and entertainement of his troups. Theſe places thus gotten by *Bethlem*, hee manned them with new garriſons: the *Imperials* which were within them being retired to *Forgatſi* the Emperours Lieutenant *in high* Hungarie. But the Eſtates of Tranſyluania beeing aſſembled at Veradin, diſputed diuerſly, M whether they ſhould reſigne theſe three places into the Sultans power: *ſome* repreſented the diſcontentment he would haue if they were refuſed, and the inconuenience that might enſue: others were not of opinion that the prouince ſhould be ſo diſmembred, giuing the moſt important places thereof vnto Infidels. Thus without conſenting or refuſing the deliuerie of theſe places to the Turke; the Eſtates concluded, that Prince *Bethlem* ſhould doe therein what hee held moſt neceſſarie for the tranquilitie of the countrey; beſeeching him moſt humbly, to free them from the Imperials, who had ſeiſed vpon Huſt and Viuar. Such were the affaires of Tranſyluania this yeare, a Prouince diſtracted from the Emperours power by the Turkes practiſes.

At Conſtantinople, Sultan *Achmat*, deſirous to beautifie the outward part of his Serraigle with a goodly and ſpacious place vpon the ſea ſhore, hee cauſed a platforme to be made within the ſea, being eight hundred paces long, and one hundred and twentie broad. The Prouoſt of Conſtantinople cauſed this reſolution to be proclaimed, when as preſently euerie houſe ſent forth a man, and the chiefe of Families themſelues laboured there in perſon. There might you ſee the Baſſaes ſerue as ouerſeers of the workemen, and the Ianizaries and Spahies carrying ſcuttles with a wonderfull alacritie; and at all houres of the day there was muſicke of diuers ſorts of inſtruments, to eaſe their labour, and to encourage them to continue. The Viſiers going to viſit the workemen, cauſed a largeſſe of pieces of ſiluer to be caſt amongſt them. Thus the Sultan beeing ſerued with admirable diligence in this his worke of pleaſure, hee ſaw it finiſhed in three moneths, hauing beene begun in October this yeare.

The Sultan cauſeth a platforme to be made at Conſtantinople

Whileſt that the Sultan imployed his leaſure after this manner, in the ſtructure of a platforme within the ſea of Conſtantinople, certaine religious men parting from Pera, had a deſigne to build another in the waues of Infidelitie; but more profitable for the health of ſoules. This was an imployment of Ieſuites into the countrey of Mingrelia, in old time called Cholcos: *Lewis Grangier* a Prieſt of this ſocietie, with two others of his Order, and an Armenian for their Interpreter, parted from Thrace with this godly reſolution, to preach vnto the people farre from God, the truth of his holy word, and to guide them happily in the way to heauen. Hee paſſed the Boſphorus of Thrace, and the famous caſtles of *Leander* and *Hero*, and cut through thoſe waues, whereas he that could not quench the fire of his paſſion, quenched the flame of his life: he paſſed beyond *Pompeyes* pillar, or rather that of the moſt happie *Daniel Stylita*, who erected his towards this mouth of the ſea: and about the ſixth of Iune this ſame yeare they arriued at Verna, a famous towne in Thrace, whereas a companie of French ſouldiers (whom the violence of neceſſitie had ſome yeares ſince forced to leaue the Emperours ſeruice in Hungarie) were in garriſon for the Turke, to defend his ſubiects againſt the incurſions of the Coſſackes: yet theſe Frenchmen doe ſtill obſerue the Catholique Religion inuiolably. From thence hee ſailed towards Cordula, and by the encounter of a little gallion hee entered into the Port of Trabizond. Within few dayes after hee was carried in the ſame veſſell to Eriſſa in the countrey of Laxia or Laſſia, which on the one ſide lookes towards the Countrey of the Georgians, and the other that of Trabizond. The Chriſtian Religion hath beene for a long time planted among thoſe people, but verie ill manured: for the fathers to free their miſerable children from the tribute wherewith the Turkes oppreſſe them, cauſe their children to be circumciſed after the Mahometane manner, and for the ſame conſideration they marrie their daughters vnto Ianizaries. Moreouer they abandon themſelues to the Mahometan impietie, to the end they may be deliuered from their inſupportable oppreſſions, and their Turkiſh yoke. The Ieſuites found there a good ſubiect to worke vpon for the health of ſoules: during their abode there for certaine dayes they catechiſed the men, baptiſed the children, and aduertiſed the women married vnto Turkes, what they were to doe for the maintenance of their faith: But for that their commiſſion or charge was to goe vnto Mingrelia or Cholcos, they went againe to ſea and ſailed towards Gouea, which is the furtheſt corner of the blacke ſea: this hauen beeing verie vnfit to caſt anchor in, they followed the gallies which carried a Baſſa called *Oneze* from Conſtantinople, who ſhould treat a peace on the behalfe of Sultan *Achmat*, with the Prince of the Mingrelians, and diſpoſe him to pay a tribute; with theſe veſſels they went *into a* port called Macrogalo, nine miles from that of Gouea, holding this place more ſafe than the other: but in truth there is little aſſurance whereas the waues and windes command ſoueraigntie. A Northweſt winde riſing about midnight on the fifteenth of September, draue their gallies neere vnto the ſhelfes and rockes, whereas one was broken and caſt away.

Certain Ieſuits go to Mingrelia or Cholcos.

The ſhipwracke of certaine gallies.

away. This tempeſt continued many daies, and during the violence thereof, another gallie was loſt, in the which the Ieſuites had beene, by good aduice they had retired to land during the furie of the ſea and winds. The Ieſuits imputed the cauſe of this loſſe, to the prohibition which *Oneze* the Baſſa had made vnto them, not to paſſe into Mingrelia before the peace were concluded with the Princes of that countrie; the which grew long, by reaſon of the difficulties which happened in the treatie. In the end thoſe Princes reſoluing to pay the tribute vnto the Turke, it was concluded.

A peace betwixt the Turks and the Georgians.

The ſalutation of the Georgians.

The reception of the Ieſuites by a prince of Aſia.

The libertie of trauell followes peace, ***Grangier*** and his companions proceeded in their journey; twentie dayes after their departure from Macrogalo, they arriued at Satrapella, a place of Georgia, whereas the Princes Viſier came to viſit them, and after the Georgian manner ſaluted them, bare headed, and kneeling vpon one knee. ***Gorell*** Prince of the Georgians (who was then at Barlet, whereas the court was to paſſe the feaſts of Chriſtenmas) beeing aduertiſed of the arriuall of theſe new Chriſtian and French preachers, ſent for them, receiued them fauourably, and ſaluted them bare headed and kneeling. After that he had made them to bleſſe his court, hee held many diſcourſes with them of the trueth of the Romane Church: and of the Popes power, as the father of all Chriſtendome; beeing mooued partly thereunto by a feeling of pietie to the Church, and partly from the inſtructions hee receiued from theſe Ieſuites, ſo as enlightened with a new beame of the true light, he intreated *Grangier* to craue abſolution of his ſinnes from the Pope, the which (ſaid hee) hee may giue mee by the power he hath from God; promiſing to ſend him his confeſſion in writing. But vnderſtanding that the Ieſuite had power from the Pope to abſolue him, hee purged his conſcience of all his ſinnes, by a generall confeſſion of his life. Without doubt the zeale of theſe ſoules, ſo far from ſuccor, ſhews plainly what the harueſt would be, if ſo many labourers were ſent as are neceſſarie. A Monke of Georgia, who had liued at Rome for the ſpace of twelue yeares, had in former times planted pietie there: the which they of this miſſion did now alter. This Prince ***Gorell*** entreated the Ieſuites, to ſend him ſome of their companie at their returne into Europe, promiſing to make great eſteeme of them, and to giue them a church, a houſe, and all things neceſſarie for their maintenance. The prince offered them ſiluer, which they refuſed, modeſtly excuſing themſelues vpon the rules of their inſtitution, which forbids them to receiue any temporall recompence for the adminiſtration of holy things. Thus they parted from this prince, who commended much their manner of liuing, and cauſed them to be conducted to Satrapella, to continue on their journey into Mingrelia.

The cuſtome of Mingrelians at their feaſts.

The third of Februarie in the yeare 1615, they parted from this towne with the Turkes who came to conclude the peace, and paſſing by the bankes of Faſſo (a Riuer which doth water the Countrey of Cholchos, now called Mingrelia) they arriued at Herailcaho, otherwiſe called Heraclia, and from thence to Margoula, whereas the Prince of the Mingrelians (called ***Dodran***) then remained, being buſie in the reception of ***Threbis Cham*** king of Georgia, who was come thither to viſit him, beeing expelled his Countrey by the King of Perſia. The Ieſuites were brought to kiſſe the hands of Prince ***Dodran***, and of ***Lipartia*** his Vncle, who was Regent of the Realme during his minoritie. They both promiſed them aſſiſtance in their affaires, ſending them to the towne of Macaurie, to make their abode there whileſt they were buſied in the affaires of their Countrey, the which at that time were ſomewhat confuſed. The Biſhop of that place entertained them with great demonſtration of loue, and ſoone after, making a feaſt to ***Threbis Cham***, or Prince of the Georgians, hee would needs haue the Ieſuites aſſiſt at this banquet, for a great teſtimonie of his loue. It is the manner of thoſe of Cholchos or the Mingrelians, as wel as the Georgians, to ſing at their meat. The ***Threbis Cham*** deſired, that the Ieſuites might ſing ſome note when it came to their turne, whereof they excuſed themſelues diuers times: But there was no remedie, they muſt doe as others haue done: whereupon they ſung the hymne of ***Plange lingua, &c.*** appointed for Holie Thurſday. Beeing thus fauourably entertained in Mingrelia, they make their reſidence at Mocaury, with hope to labour profitably for the health of ſoules, which erre in that countrey through the darkeneſſe of ignorance, for want of men to teach them the way of truth. They are Chriſtians of the Greeke profeſſion, vnder the commandement of diuers Princes, alwaies in warre either againſt the Turke or the Perſian: They carrie the name of Cham, which is as much to ſay, as King or ſoueraigne Prince: The Sophie had diſpoſſeſt *Threbis Cham* chiefe King of Georgia of all his countries, in the yeare 1613, who had retyred himſelfe into Mingrelia, as you haue heard.

The hiſtorie of Sultan Iacaia held by many to be Emperour Achmats brother.

Whileſt thoſe men labour to ſow the ſeeds of true doctrine of the Apoſtles in the ſoyle of Mahometiſme, a Turke paſſing out of Aſia, comes into Chriſtendome to ſeeke the light of truth, and demands fauourable aſſiſtance and ſuccours from Chriſtian Princes, to enter into the poſſeſſion of the Empire, whereunto his birth and the degrees of a lawfull ſucceſſion ſeemed to call him by a juſt title. The diſcourſe of his birth, of his fortunes, and of his pretenſions to the Turkiſh Empire, is comprehended in this following relation. Hee tearmed himſelfe the ſonne of *Mahomet* the third, father to *Achmat*, now ſitting in the Imperiall Throne at Conſtantinople; hee maintained, that his father by foure wiues or concubines had had foure ſonnes; that is to ſay, *Muſtapha* who was ſtrangled, for that he would haue diſpoſſeſſed his father of his Kingdome; *Iacaia* (which was himſelfe) *Achmat* now raigning, and *Oſman*: yet it ſeemes by the ſequell of the Hiſtorie, that he had another *Muſtapha*: that hauing beene ſent for to come out of Magneſia to Conſtantinople, his mother (who had beene a Chriſtian, and baptiſed vnder the name of *Hellen*, but was afterward ingaged in the companie of *Mahomet* the third, for the worth of her beautie, and knowne in the Turkie by the name of the Sultana *Lalpare*) could not conduct him to his father, for that he was dangerouſly ſicke of the ſmall pockes. And this Princeſſe deſired much, to finde ſome fauourable occaſion, whereby ſhee might be freed from the damnable errours of *Mahomets* law, and returne to the wholeſome way of the Chriſtian faith, and retire her ſonne *Iacaia* farre from the power of thoſe bloudie lawes, which ſprinckle the Imperiall Scepter of him that comes vnto the Crowne with the bloud of his brethren; ſhee well foreſaw that *Iacaia* beeing but the ſecond of *Mahomets* ſonnes, ſhould one day by his death ſecure the life of *Muſtapha* his elder, and that the onely means to preſerue him, was to retire him into Chriſtendome. Wherfore ſhe laboured ſeriouſly in this deſigne, and made vſe of a fauourable fiction; giuing it out, that her ſonne *Iacaia* was dead of the ſmall pockes; and hauing ſuppoſed in his place the ſon of an Eunuch dead of the ſame diſeaſe aſſiſted at his funerall, and by her conſtrained teares ſubtilly diſguiſed her deſigne. An Eunuch called *Aſtam Mehemet* was the faithfull ſecretarie of her enterpriſe; with him ſhee leaues Magneſia, a Prouince in Aſia, and vnder pretext to goe vnto certaine Bathes there by, ſhee gets her downe to the ſea ſide, paſſes into Europe, and tranſports her ſonne into Morea, ſometimes called Helleſpont, and lodgeth him (as vnknowne) in the Biſhops pallace in the towne of Miclo. *Iacaia* was aboue nine yeares old; ſhe held him not ſecure at Miclo, but tranſported him into Macedonia, vnder the habite of a Greeke Monke; and retires him into the towne of Caſſandria; where ſhee diſcouers vnto the Archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, a man learned and of a holy life, the qualitie of her ſonne, and the deſire ſhee had to make him a Chriſtian: intreating him in charitie to take them both into his protection. This Archbiſhop lodgeth the mother in the Monaſterie of religious women of our Ladie of Theſſalonica, and giues the cuſtodie of the ſonne vnto an Abbot of Saint *Michael*, a man learned in all the ſciences, vnder whome hee profited wonderfully, as well in the Greeke tongue as in many goodly arts. I doe wel know this to be true, for that I haue conuerſed with him for the ſpace of ſix months, and haue ſeene him often in the companie of learned men ſpeake the Greeke, with as great facilitie as his Turkiſh and mother tongue. Hee continued in this Monaſterie, vnder the care and gouernment of this learned Abbot, vntill the age of ſeuenteen yeares; that is to ſay, for the ſpace of eight whole yeares; during which time, his mothers teares, the holy inſtructions of the Abbot (but rather the Diuine fauour) made him to enter into the way of his ſoules health, and become a Chriſtian. The Archbiſhop of Theſſalonica cleanſed his ſoule from the pollutions of the Law of *Mahomet*, and baptiſed him in the Church of Saint *Anaſtaſius*, without the citie of Theſſalonica; yet ſecretly, for feare leaſt the Eunuch comming to diſcouer this miſterie, ſhould a bandon him, and publiſh abroad the place and eſtate of his ſolitarie aboad, and ſo be miſerably taken. Thus *Iacaia* calling himſelfe Sultan, being alreadie in ſome aſſurance of the Crowne of Heauen by the promiſes of holy baptiſme, whileſt that hee was in the beginning of his pretenſions to that of the Turkiſh Empire, he leaues the Monaſterie where he had beene inſtructed; and in the companie of the Eunuch trauels vp and

His mother was a Chriſtian.

She paſſeth out of Aſia into Europe.

She diſcouers herſelfe and him to an Archbiſhop.

Iacaia becomes a Chriſtian.

He ioines wit the Rebels of Aſia.

The Rebels defeated, and Iacaia wounded.

and downe Greece, paſſing away (in the length and varietie of his voyage) the impatiencie of
his age and deſires; and for that hee would not be knowne, hee takes vpon him the habite G
and the licenſe of a Deruis or religious Turke. But when he came to the citie of Siopia, hee
vnderſtood the newes of the death of the Emperour *Mahomet* the third, his father, and
the rejoycing for the new aduancement of Sultan *Achmat* to the Empire; learning at the
ſame inſtant, that *Muſtapha* his elder brother had beene ſtrangled by the commandement
of his father. The diſpleaſure which hee conceiued for that hee had not beene bred vp at
Conſtantinople with the reſt, to receiue ſo rich a crowne as that of the Turkiſh Empire, made
him to wauer in diuers irreſolutions; ſometimes hee would goe into Perſia to the Sophie,
to haue ſuccours from him, and with him to make warre againſt his brother: ſometimes
hee would ſerue for a ſupport and countenance to the Rebels of Aſia, and juſtifie their H
partie. After many diſcourſes with the Eunuch touching his affaires, hee ſends him vnto the
ſonne of *Peri Baſſa*, a Rebell againſt the Emperour *Achmat*; the Eunuch treats for his Maſter,
and receiues for him the Rebels oath; and returning to Tarlis, where the Sultan *Iacaia*
remained, hee conducted him to *Peri Baſſa*, to bee the head of his troupes. *Iacaia*
arriues and ſees himſelfe obeyed by an armie readie to fight: for the Deſtarden or treaſurer
being ſent againſt the Rebell *Peri* by the Grand Seignior with ſeuen thouſand horſe and three
thouſand foot, was alreadie vpon the bankes of the riuer Bardate readie to *giue him* battell.
The Baſſaes troupes (beeing leſſe in number of fighting men) went to aſſayle him. There
was a ſharpe encounter; but in the end the Deſtarden was victor, and the troupes of *Peri
Baſſa* defeated, and *Iacaia* beeing wounded in foure places of his bodie, was forced to ſaue
himſelfe on the other ſide of the riuer, where wandring vp and downe the fields, he found I
reliefe with a poore peaſant, and ſoone after with an Abbot there by, who entertained him,
and cauſed him to bee cured, holding him to be one of the Deſtardens Pages, as he himſelfe ſaid.

He ſends to Conſtantinople and corrupted the Viſier.

Iacaia in danger of his life at Craconia.

He retires to Prague to the Emperour.

His wounds beeing cured, *Iacaia* returnes againe towards Greece, where hee findes his
mother, conferres with her, and ſoone after with the Eunuch, of the eſtate of his affaires; and
concludes with both of them, to ſend to Conſtantinople, to the Viſier Deruis (who at that
time was diſcontented with the Emperour *Achmat*) to ſound his diſpoſition, and to ſee if
hee might gaine him to his partie: The Eunuch vndertakes the voyage, hee ſpeakes with
the Deruis, and findes him diſpoſed to entertaine the offers of *Iacaia*: The conſpiracie was K
concluded, and they ſweare to kill *Achmat*, and to ſettle *Iacaia* in the Imperiall throne. Hereupon
hee tranſports himſelfe to Conſtantinople in a diſguiſed habite: but when as they
were readie to execute their enterpriſe (ſay they) the Deruis dyed; bee it that the Emperour
Achmat had diſcouered their deſigne, or otherwiſe. Thus *Iacaia* beeing fruſtrate of his
hope to effect any thing by this meanes, he left the citie and fled towards the blacke ſea, and
then wandred into the countries of Valachia, and Moldauia, following the Carock of a Poland
Embaſſador on foot, vntill he came vnto the citie of Craccuia, whereas Fortune had layed a
ſnare for him, which brought him in danger of his life; for a Chiaus being come from Conſtantinople,
and knowing him, he deſired the king of Poland in his maſters name, *to ſtay him*,
aſſuring him that by this meanes, hee ſhould ſtricktly bind vnto him the affections of Sultan L
Achmat: the King refuſed his vniuſt demand, holding himſelfe much honoured to ſee his
Court the refuge of vnfortunate Princes. After this refuſall the Chiaus flies to trecherie;
hee corrupts certaine Tartarians of the Kings guard with money, who promiſed to murther
Iacaia; and doubtleſſe they had performed it, if a Flemiſh embroitherer had not aduertiſed
him, and lent him his lodging for certaine dayes to hide himſelfe; after which he freed
himſelfe from danger, and paſt to Prague towards the Emperour *Rodulphus* who was then liuing.

He comes to Florence to the great Duke of Tuſcanie.

In this Imperiall Court hee found reliefe, and meanes to eaſe his forepaſt miſeries: The
Emperour furniſhed him with all things neceſſarie: Hee ſpent a whole yeare there, and was
acknowledged during his abode, by many Turkes which came to Prague, for brother to M
their Emperour *Achmat*. There wanted nothing but ſuccours to effect his deſignes: But hee
findes nothing but faire words and good wiſhes at Prague; ſo as hee was forced to ſeeke
the effects elſewhere. Certaine Saxons that were his friends, aduiſed him to paſſe to
Florence to *Ferdinand* the great Duke of Tuſcanie: hee takes directions from that Princes

Embaſſadour

A Embaſſador reſiding at Prague, and goes on his journie: but entering into Italie, he heares that *Ferdinand* was dead; theſe mournfull newes made him to reſolue to ſeeke ſome other place, if *Coſmo* ſucceſſor to *Ferdinand*, and the great Ducheſſe his mother, had not called him backe. He came then to Florence, where he was honourably entertained, and lodged for the ſafetie of his perſon in the fort of S. *Iohn*, where he was ſupplied with all ſorts of commodities. The great Duke *Coſmo* gaue him the title of Excellencie, appointed him horſes and caroches, and ſuch companie as he delighted in, for the pleaſure of hunting. He had not ſtaid long at Florence, but he ſaw himſelfe aſſiſted with ſuch forces as he deſired. The great Duke *Coſmo* cauſed his gallions to be armed, ſending them into the Leuant, vnder the command of the knight *Beauregard*, where hee had conference with *Naſſuf Baſſa*, at that time chiefe of the Rebels of B Aſia. He offers him men, armes, and money, if he would come to land and march towards Perſia, whither many Rebels were retired. But he who commanded the Florentine gallions, had no commiſſion to leaue him in the hands of *Naſſuf*: wherefore he carried him backe to Florence to his Highneſſe.

He maketh a voyage into the Leuant in the dukes gallions.

During the time that *Iacaia* was aboord the gallions, the great Duke ſent diuers perſons into many parts of the Leuant, to informe themſelues carefully of theſe things which he had deliuered, not onely touching his owne perſon, but alſo of his mother, and they all brought backe certaine proofes of the truth of his diſcourſes. This gaue the great Duke ſubiect to impart this faire occaſion vnto Spaine, to labour for the common good of Chriſtendome: He wrote vnto the Catholique King, and enformed him of the qualitie of *Iacaia*, to the end C that contributing ſuccours to his perſonage, they might vndertake ſome happie enterpriſe againſt the Turke. The King of Spaine was content hee ſhould be ſent to Naples: commanding the Viceroy to giue him a reception fit for his qualitie. *Iacaia* went on his iourney, beeing accompanied by ſome, by the great Dukes commandement: but according to the newes which hee receiued from Naples, hee ſtayed at Auerſo, where hee was receiued by the Gouernour with much honour. The Viceroy came to viſite him, gaue him the right hand, and the title of Excellencie. But as the counſell of Spaine was tedious in their reſolutions, and delayed too long (as *Iacaia* ſuppoſed) the ſuccours which hee expected, he parted from Auerſo to goe to Millan, and from thence in a diſguiſed habit paſt againe into the Leuant, to ſound their willes that might aduance his pretentions, and bring them to D a happie end: but he preuailed as little as he had done before. Beſides all theſe voyages which we haue deſcribed, to the end he might leaue no meanes vnattempted to aduance his affaires, he went to Rome to kiſſe his Holineſſe feet. Cardinall *Belarmine* receiued him, gaue him the right hand, and the title of Excellencie: the Pope aſſured him of his affection and ſuccours; but it was neceſſarie the ſecular powers ſhould begin to leuie men, and make the firſt ouerture to warre.

Iacaia goes to Naples and Millan.

He comes to Rome.

Since, we haue ſeene him in France, and at Paris, vnder the protection of the Duke of Neuers, entertained by the bountie of this prince, and aſſiſted by his councell: and doubtleſſe if the troubleſome combuſtions of a ciuill war had not directed the armies of this duke, we had ſeene ſom happy ſucceſſe of the affaires which he treated in Loraine, Germanie, and other E places, to the ruine of the Turks, and the good of Chriſtendome. Finally, as for this Turke called *Iacaia*, terming himſelfe eldeſt brother to the Emperor *Achmat* now raigning at Conſtantinople, and for ſuch acknowledged by many: yet ſome affirme (yea ſuch as haue conuerſed in the Eaſt) that Sultan *Mahomet* had but three ſonnes, which were *Muſtapha*, *Achmat*, and *Oſman*: Notwithſtanding it is hard to diſcouer in this perſonage any ſignes of an impoſture; I haue often frequented with him, and carefully obſerued his carriage and actions: and haue alwaies noted in him a carriage and minde borne to great matters. This is all that we could learne of this man.

Stephano or *Tomſho*, of whom we haue made mention in the yere 1612, hauing ouerthrown *Conſtantine* the lawfull prince, and made himſelfe Vayuod of Moldauia by the ſupport and F tyrannie of the Turke; as he held it by vſurpation, without any juſt title, ſo he gouerned with all crueltie and inhumanitie, preferring crueltie before clemencie, and imitating that tyrant, who ſaid openly, *That he reſpected not the loue of his ſubiects, ſo as they feared him.* Euen ſo this *Stephano* at his firſt enterance plotted how hee might root out all the Noblemen in the Countrey, whom in their language they call Boyers, with all others of credit and authoritie

Tyrannies of Stephano.

in the countrey, both for that they ſupported *Conſtantine*, as for the jealouſie he had of them, being beſt able to reſiſt his tyrannous deſignes: beeing alſo the common diſpoſition of ſuch as vſurpe any eſtate by wicked practiſes, to be alwaies in feare to be diſpoſeſſed, and to be entreated according to their merits. Hee began firſt with the Lord of Botacan brother to the Princeſſe widow to *Ieremie*, whom he cauſed with two others of the chiefe noblemen to be miſerably and inhumanely empailed, as if they had been two notable theeues and murderers; and not content herewith, ſoone after, hee cauſed threeſcore and fifteene Boyers to be apprehended, cutting off all their heads, and would not pardon any one, notwithſtanding the great inſtance that was made by their kinsfolkes; charging them with the crime of treaſon, as if they had conſpired againſt his perſon, hauing no proofe at all: but theſe his cruelties did nothing daunt the Boyers, as *Stephano* had perſuaded himſelfe; but contrariwiſe they were the more incenſed, and many of them tooke armes openly, and had then ſeiſed vpon him, beene reuenged of his cruelties, and ſet their countrey at libertie (which had not beene ruined as it was afterwards) if hee had not beene aſſiſted by the citiſens of Yas; whome hee conjured to ſecond him in this occaſion, promiſing them immunites of all ſubſidies: In regard of which promiſe, theſe poore wretches preferring their priuat profit before their pulique ſafetie, employed themſelues in the ſeruice of this tyrant, and fought valiantly againſt the Boyers, who were come to aſſault him in the citie of Yas; But finding that hee was better aſſiſted than they expected, after ſome light skirmiſh they retired as well as they could, whereof many were taken priſoners, whom the tyrant cauſed to be ſlaine in cold bloud, or empailed to terrifie the reſt.

The noblemen reuolt againſt Stephano.

Prince Alexander called into Moldauia by the Boyers.

The Boyers which eſcaped from this defeat, knowing that there was no hope of mercie in *Stephano*, who was full of reuenge, nor by conſequence any ſafetie in Moldauia during his gouernment, they reſolued to haue recourſe vnto the princeſſe (widow to *Ieremie*) who had fled into Polonia when as ſhe receiued newes of the taking of her ſonne *Conſtantine*. This Princeſſe vnderſtanding from the Boyers of the tyrannous gouernement of *Stephano*, and that moſt of the Moldauians were reſolued to ſhake off the yoke of his tyrannie, and deſired to haue prince *Alexander* in his place, remembring the good vſage they had receiued from the deceaſed prince *Ieremie* his father. Theſe conſiderations, together with a deſire of command vnder her ſonne (who was then but ſixteen yeares old) were ſtrong motiues to perſuade both her and her ſonne to embrace this occaſion, the which they imparted to prince *Viſinouiskie* ſonne in law to the princeſſe; and to prince *Correskie*, who at that time aſpired to marrie her yongeſt daughter: Theſe princes not onely allowed of this deſigne, but they offered themſelues willingly to accompanie Prince *Alexander* into Moldauia, and to take the whole care of his armie. This reſolution beeing taken they preſently emploied all their credit to leuie men, and had within leſſe than two months drawn together ten or twelue thouſand foot and horſe, Polonians, Coſſacks and Tranſyluanians: whereof the Vayuod *Stephano* being aduertiſed, he preſently leuied what forces he could, of Moldauians, Tartarians and Valachians, hauing drawne together an armie of almoſt 20000 men, which hee kept about Yas, and there reſolued to attend the princes of Polonia.

The fort of Cochina yeelded vnto prince Alexander.

Prince *Alexander* beeing aduanced with his armie within two leagues of Caminithe in Podolia, hee was much troubled to paſſe the riuer of Nieſtre, which diuides that Countrey from Moldauia, fearing the fort of Cochina, in the which there was a ſtrong garriſon of Moldauians, and ſtore of munition to defend the paſſage of the ſaid riuer: but it fell out happily for Prince *Alexander*; for the Captaine which commaunded in the ſaid fort, beeing much diſcontented at the cruelties of the Vayuod *Stephano*, came voluntarily of himſelfe to offer his ſeruice to *Alexander*, and brought him the keyes of the fort, leauing all to his diſpoſition; ſo as hee paſt his armie eaſily into Moldauia, and in ſigne of joy diſcharged many vollies of his great ordnance, which made *Stephano* diſtruſt the affections of the Moldauians, and to feele a pricking in his conſcience, which doth neuer abandon tyrants and vſurpers.

1500 Tartarians defeated by the Coſſackes.

Prince *Alexander* making ſome ſtay with his armie at Cochina in the yeare 1615, aduanced towards Yas, and being come within halfe a daies journey, he ſent forth eight hundred Coſſackes (choſen out of a great number) to diſcouer the countenance of his enemies armie: but they were not farre aduanced, before they encountered 1500 Tartarians, ſent by

Stephano

A *Stephano* to giue ſome charge to the Polonians. Although the Coſſackes were fewer in number, yet finding the Tartarians in diſorder, they charged them ſo reſolutely as they defeated a great part, and put the reſt to rout. After which exploit they brought word to Prince *Alexander*, that *Stephano's* army might be about the number of fifteen thouſand men, but they were ſuch as were gathered vp in the country, and not trained vp to armes, who were rather drawne to it by conſtraint than of their free will, and therefore were not much to be feared. This happy ſucceſſe, together with the report made by the Coſſackes, did greatly encourage *Alexanders* army, being alſo much incenſed againſt *Stephano* for certaine letters which he had written to their Prince, full of threats, as if both he and they had been already at his mercie, the which did the more encourage the Polonians, and made them reſolue rather to die fighting, than to B fall into the hands of this cruell tyrant. The ſame day there came certain deputies of the Moldauians to Prince *Alexander*, without the priuitie of *Stephano*, to know what his deſigne was, and to intreat him to take pittie of Moldauia, which was threatned with a ſpeedie ruine, if the war continued any longer; to whom the Prince made anſwer, That his intent was not to oppreſſe Moldauia, but to free it from the tyrannie of *Stephano*; that he had beene inuited by a great number of the Boyers, who had come vnto him into Polonia to that end, and had giuen him aſſurance, that it was the common deſire of the Moldauians. That vpon this confidence he had marched with what forces he could draw together, and that if he did preuaile in his deſignes (as he aſſured himſelfe with their aſſiſtance) he would gouerne them with no leſſe mildneſſe than his father Prince *Iermie* had done, whoſe ſonne and lawfull ſucceſſor he was. The C deputies returned well ſatisfied with this anſwer, and hauing publiſhed it in diuers places, many Moldauians came and ioyned with the Prince his armie, and aſſiſted him faithfully in this action.

Deputies ſent from the Moldauians to Prince Alexander.

In October Prince *Alexander* aduancing about three leagues with his armie, hee made a ſtand in a faire Champian where there were good Springs to refreſh them, and in the meane time he called a Councell at warre, to reſolue what courſe he ſhould take, and when he ſhould draw the enemie to fight. In the meane time hee had ſent a troupe of Coſſackes to diſcouer the armie; who brought word that they were ranged in battell, and that they had twenty cannons readie in front, the which did not much amaze Prince *Alexander*, for that ſome dayes before, the Generall of *Stephano's* artillerie had ſent to aſſure him, that if hee gaue battell, hee D would annoy his men, as little as hee could, hauing a deſire to ſerue the Prince, and by this means be reuenged of *Stephano*, who had cauſed his brother in lawes head to be cut off, vpon a falſe ſuſpect which hee had conceiued againſt him beeing innocent. The which ſhould teach Princes, that nothing doth procure them more ſecret enemies than crueltie, and that at one time or other they in whom they moſt relie abandon them when as they leaſt expect it. The Vayuod *Stephano* meaning to make a ſecond diſcouerie of the Princes armie, ſent 1200 Tartarians, and two or three hundred Moldauians, who being ſeene a far off (for that it was in a plain champaine) the Prince ſent 500 Coſſacks with 400 Polonian lances to encounter them: The Tartarians perceiuing it, made a ſhew at the firſt as if they would retire, to draw them by little and little from their camp; and being about a league off, they made a ſtand, thinking that they E durſt not charge them: but they were ſoone deceiued, for the Polonians fell vpon the Tartarians with ſuch furie, as they ouerthrew them, and ſlew moſt of them, ſo as there eſcaped not aboue fiue or ſix hundred, who retiring to their campe cauſed a great amaſement. The Princes armie was much encouraged by this exploit, and increaſed daily in number, as it is vſuall in ciuill war to follow that partie which hath the firſt aduanced.

The Generall of Stephano's artillerie reſolues to betray him.

A ſecond defeat of Stephano's Tartarians.

Preſently after this execution, the Prince meaning to aduance his armie towards the enemies campe, his foreward was ſtayed by a battalion of one thouſand horſe, who had the night before ſeiſed vpon a narrow paſſage, betwixt a poole and a mariſh, by the which they knew the Polonian armie muſt paſſe: but this obſtacle was ſoone taken away, by the aduice which was giuen by certaine Moldauians, to ſend a companie of horſemen by a way F vnknowne to the enemie, by which meanes they might ſurpriſe them behinde, before they ſhould be diſcouered. The execution of this ſtratagem was giuen to the Coſſacks, who ſpeedily went, being guided by certaine Moldauians; who comming within 50 paces of the enemie vndiſcouered, they charged them, & were ſeconded ſo fitly by the forward, that ſtaid on

1000 of Stephano's horſes defeated.

the

the other ſide; as of one thouſand horſe there returned not aboue fiftie to their campe, to carrie newes of their bad ſucceſſe.

Prince *Alexander* hauing happily opened this paſſage, he aduanced with his armie within cannon ſhot of *Stephano's* campe. Prince *Viſnouiskie* was of opinion, that they ſhould make a kinde of incloſure with their carts, which might ſerue them as a fort, hauing no place of retreat within ten leagues; the which being diſcouered by *Stephano*, hee ſhot certaine vollies of cannon through their fort, ſo as there were ſome ſouldiers ſlaine, and ſome hurt: and the Prince anſwered him with the like, but to ſmall effect, for that night ſurpriſed them, neither had they aboue eight ſmall pieces. Prince *Viſnouiskie* ſpent the night to encourage his ſouldiers, letting them vnderſtand that they had no reaſon to be amaſed, although their enemies were more in number, for that moſt of them were peaſants, neuer trained vp in armes nor ſeene battell; whereof they had had good proofe in many encounters, where they had euer beene victors ouer their enemies, although they were inferiour in number: That they were ſo many teſtimonies and aſſurances that God did fight for them, and would vſe them to puniſh the tyrannies of *Stephano*, and his cruelties againſt Moldauia. Finally, if they were victors (whereof he doubted not, if they did their duties) there was not any one but ſhould returne loaden with rich ſpoyles and recompences from Prince *Alexander*. This did ſo encourage the ſouldiers, as they proteſted all with one voice, rather to die than to faile of their duties. Moreouer the Princes gaue the Collonels and Captaines to vnderſtand of the intelligence they had with the Generall of *Stephano's* artillerie, wherewith they were much comforted.

Prince Viſnouiskie incourageth his ſouldiers.

The diſpoſition of the two armies.

The next day beeing the eleuenth of October, they began to put their armies in battell, during the which there were diuers skirmiſhes, wherein *Alexanders* partie had ſtill the aduantage; ſo as it ſeemed they were ſo many preſages of good Fortune which ſhould befall them that day. The Princes armie was ordered by *Viſnouiskie*, to whome Prince *Alexander* had giuen the charge of Generall, as moſt capable, hauing ſundrie times giuen ſufficient proofes of his ſufficiencie and valour in other battels. This Generall ſeeing *Stephano's* horſemen diuided into three ſquadrons, and the Tartarians moſt aduanced, hee appointed the Coſſackes to encounter with them: the which was iudiciouſly and diſcreetly done, for they both goe freely to the charge, neither are they couered with any armes, but onely with the skinnes of certaine beaſtes, wherewith they make themſelues to ſeeme as fearefull as they can, obſeruing no order in their fighting, and vſing cries which are fearefull to ſuch as are not accuſtomed vnto them; and beeing once broken, they ſeldome returne againe to the charge. The Polonian Lanciers called in their language Houſſarskie, being about one thouſand and fiue hundred men well armed, made the ſecond battalion of *Alexanders* armie, led by Prince *Coreskie*, and were placed on the right hand againſt 3000 Tartarian, Valachian, and Moldauian horſemen. The Hungarian foot beeing about 3000 men were in the middeſt of prince *Alexanders* armie, with the cannon, vpon a little hill of ſome aduantage; and on the left hand was the reſt of the Chaualrie, who were led by the princes *Alexander* and *Viſnouiskie*; and the baggage was a little behinde the foot in the campe where they had lodged the night before.

The battell betwixt prince Alexander and the Vayuod Stephano.

The tyrant *Stephano* hauing diſpoſed his armie into diuers ſquadrons, began about nine of the clocke in the morning to play with his cannon vpon *Alexanders* armie, who found that the Generall of the Artillerie had kept his promiſe, for moſt of the bullets flew ouer his men and hurt them not; vpon which confidence hee commaunded the Coſſackes to charge the Tartarians which were aduanced, whom they ſoone defeated. At the ſame inſtant two thouſand light horſe gaue charge to the Hungarian footmen which guarded *Stephano's* cannon, and in an inſtant cut moſt of them in pieces, and the reſt yeelded themſelues; ſo as *Alexander* became maſter of his cannon. The tyrant ſeeing his Infanterie in danger to be defeated, and his cannon loſt, cauſed a battalion of three thouſand Valachian and Moldauian horſemen to aduance, who without doubt had recouered the cannon, but the generous Prince *Coreskie* with his Polonian Launciers charged them ſo furiouſly in the flanke, as that they ſlew almoſt the one halfe of them vpon the place, and put the reſt that remained to rout. Preſently after this followed another ſquadron, the which *Coreskie* perceiuing, A hee wiſely retired towards his campe, ſeeing his men wearied and tyred with the ſlaughter of their enemies, and not able to maintaine the fight without ſome reſt. Then came Prince *Alexander*, and *Viſnouiskie* who was his faithfull guide, with the reſt of his horſemen to encounter this laſt battalion of the enemie, whereunto they went with greater courage, for that they were aſſured the Vayuod *Stephano* was there preſent; which charge continued for the ſpace of a quarter of an houre, during which time Prince *Coreskie* had leaſure to take breath, and to gather together what poſſibly hee could of thoſe of his partie, to ſuccour them that were then in fight, who were almoſt tyred, and Prince *Alexander* farre engaged: But ſeeing theſe vnexpected ſuccours, hee and his men recouered their forces, and their enemies were ſo much amaſed at it, as that all them that remained aliue were put to rout B and fled.

Stephano's army defeated.

But *Stephano* (being naturally a coward) apprehending blowes, had retired himſelfe to the reſt of his footmen, who had not yet come to fight, making a ſhew that he would rather die with them than flie away; but ſeeing the euent of this laſt charge, and his horſemen all in rout, hee ſoone reſolued to ſaue himſelfe by flight, hauing neuer giuen one ſtroke in this battell. The footmen which remained being about foure thouſand men, ſeeing the ſucceſſe of the battell, yeelded to the mercie of the victors, and cryed out, God ſaue *Alexander* Vayuod of Moldauia. The day of the victorie Prince *Alexander* made his entrie into the citie of Yas, hauing the Princes *Coreskie* and *Viſnouiskie* on either ſide, after whome followed his whole armie. Entering into the Caſtle hee was there proclaimed Prince and C Vayuod of Moldauia by all the Nobles and Boyers of the Countrey, the which hee would neuer accept vntill that time. The next day Prince *Alexander* vnderſtanding that a great number of the chiefeſt of the enhabitants of Yas were fled into the mountaines and forreſts to attend the euents of theſe troubles, hee ſent certaine Boyers to inuite them to returne backe againe (with all aſſurance) to their houſes, cauſing part of his armie to diſlodge, and to bee quartered in the Countrey thereabouts; and there were one thouſand and fiue hundred foot, and fiue hundred horſe (vnder the leading of Prince *Coreskie*) ſent to the Citie of Vaſſelloy, for that *Stephano* had fled that way, and might returne backe againe into Moldauia. As for the Artillerie, ſome were ſent into Polonia, and ſome were put into the fort of Cochina, the which is as it were the Arſenall of Mol- D dauia.

The flight of Stephano.

Alexander proclaimed prince of Moldauia.

At the ſame time Prince *Alexander* knowing that it was no leſſe glorie to preſerue than to get, hee called the chiefe Noblemen of his Court to counſell, to reſolue what was fit to doe to maintaine him in his eſtate, which he had newly gotten by the ſword; where it was concluded among other things, that hee ſhould ſpeedily ſend an Embaſſadour to the Graund Seigniour, to let him vnderſtand that hee had neuer any intent to take armes againſt his Maieſtie, nor to withdraw Moldauia from his obedience; but that hee had been ſought vnto beeing in Polonia, and enuited by the Boyers of Moldauia, for the vnſpeakable cruelties of the Vayuod *Stephano*, who had reſolued to root out the Nobilitie of the ſaid Conntrey, hauing put many of the chiefe to death without any occaſion. They E had alſo charge to giue the Sultan to vnderſtand, That when his Maieſtie aduanced *Stephano* to be Vayuod of Moldauia, hee had falſely ſuggeſted that hee was ſonne to a prince of Moldauia; that hee was not truely aduertiſed by his Baſſaes and Counſellours, that his predeceſſour had promiſed to the deceaſed father of Prince *Alexander*, and to prince *Simeon* his vncle, that after his deceaſe his ſonnes ſhould ſucceed him in the ſaid eſtate, if they ſhewed not themſelues vnworthie, and did pay the yearely tribute of fortie thouſand Chequines, which tribute ſince the death of *Ieremie* had been offered by prince *Conſtantine* his eldeſt ſonne, to *Houſſine Aga*, when as hee was ſent to ſettle the ſaid *Stephano*: as alſo that Prince *Alexander* promiſed to pay it hereafter; and if need ſhould be, he would giue prince *Bougdan* his brother as a ſure and certaine pledge for the performance of his promiſes during F the firſt yeare.

Embaſſadours ſent by Prince Alexander to the Grand Seignior.

The Embaſſadours hauing receiued theſe inſtructions, they tooke their journey ſpeedily to Conſtantinople: But in ſtead of paſſing through Thrace which was their directeſt courſe, they were forced to goe by Tranſyluania, fearing to bee hindered by the men

Prince Alexanders Embaſſadours put to death by Stephano.

of warre which then troubled all Thrace. Comming to Buda they went to ſalute the Baſſa which commanded there, who beeing a ſpeciall friend to *Stephano*, put them in priſon, violating the law of Nations obſerued by the moſt barbarous; and afterwards he ſent them to Braille whither the tyrant *Stephano* had fled. They ſay he gaue 15000 Chequinos in recompence to the Baſſa, and to reuenge himſelfe in ſome ſort of Prince *Alexander* in the perſons of his Embaſſadours, hee cauſed their heads to be cut off one night after ſupper, and their bodies to be caſt into the Danowe. The death of theſe Embaſſadours were verie preiudiciall to prince *Alexander*, by means whereof the Grand Seignior was not truly aduertiſed of what had paſt in Moldauia, nor receiued the complements, offers, and ſubmiſſion, of prince *Alexander*, ſo as hee was wonderfully inſenced againſt him, and ſware his ruine, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

Stephano returnes into Moldauia.

Stephano hauing receiued foure thouſand men from *Michna* prince of Valachia, and gathered together the reliques of his ſcattered armie, he marched toward Valachia; whereof prince *Alexander* beeing aduertiſed, hee ſent prince *Coreskie* with ſix thouſand horſe Polonians and Coſſackes to Ticouch a ſtrong frontier Towne, to guard that paſſage: And prince *Alexander* and *Visnouiskie*, they ſtayed at Yas with the reſt of the armie to preſerue the Countrey, and to preuent all alterations in fauour of *Stephano*, who had ſome intelligencers. Within few dayes after, the prince had newes that the Inhabitants of Horreoua (a Countrey in Moldauia containing about fifteene or ſixteene French leagues *in circuit*) were in armes, and had ioyned with a great troupe of Tartarians to come and inueſt him, knowing well that prince *Coreskie* was otherwiſe employed with part of the Polonian armie. *Alrxander* ſtayed not to haue theſe Rebels come to Yas; but ſent *Viſnouiskie* his brother in law with ſuch forces as he could draw together to encounter with them. They met together within two leagues of the citie, where *Viſnouiskie* charged the Tartarians with ſuch furie, as halfe of them were ſlaine vpon the place, and the reſt of them fled: there were a great number of priſoners taken, and all the poore inhabitants of Horreoua were brought vnto Yas in token of triumph. The dead being numbred, there were found about eight *hun*dred Tartarians and others ſlaine, and of the Polonians onely fiftie, and ſome hundred hurt.

The inhabitants of Horreoua defeated, with the Tartarians.

Prince *Alexander* hauing receiued newes of this defeat, was wonderfully glad, and went preſently to horſebacke with his companie of French, which hee had onely reſerued about him, to goe and meet with *Viſnouiskie*, and to congratulate his happie victorie. This beeing done with many complements and embracings, hee caſt his eye vpon the poore inhabitants of Horreoua, whome they led like a troupe of ſheepe, and had ſuch commiſeration on them, as he preſently ſent them backe againe, hauing taken their oath of fidelitie, hoping that this his clemencie would draw the moſt factious to obedience, hauing formerly tried the oppreſſions of a moſt cruell prince. Prince *Alexander* hauing giuen thankes to God *for* this new and vnexpected victorie, hee ſent a Gentleman vnto prince *Coreskie*, to aduertiſe him thereof, who at the ſame inſtant was buſie to diſpoſe of his troupes to meet *with* *Stephano*, who returned into Moldauia. The encounter was in a plaine Champaine, hauing on the one ſide the riuer of Sirette, the which diuides Moldauia from Valachia: the skirmiſh continued from ten of the clocke vntill it was noone with like aduantage; but prince *Coreskie* beeing aduertiſed that *Stephano* was in a ſquadron of horſe which was ſome two hundred paces diſtant from him; he ioyned vnto his troupe foure hundred Gerbeys, who were well armed, and led by a verie valiant Captaine, with the which hee charged him with ſuch violence and furie as he forced them to giue backe, yet fighting in ſuch ſort, as the euent ſeemed to be doubtfull: the which beeing diſcouered by another of the princes Captaines, who led a troupe of fiue hundred light horſe: he came ſo fitly to ſuccour him, as *Stephano* and his horſemen were forced to flie, whome the prince purſued and cut in pieces. *Stephano* eſcaped with a troupe which he had reſerued rather for the guard of his perſon than to fight. Prince *Coreskie* at his returne from the chaſe of his enemies, cauſed the dead to be numbred, where he found that of *Stephano's* ſide were three thouſand and foure hundred men ſlaine vpon the place, beſides thoſe that were priſoners and wounded; and of his part onely three hundred and fiftie.

Stephano defeated the ſecond time.

A Preſently after this victorie, the ſeaſon of the yeare beeing cold (it beeing the twelfeth of Nouember) prince *Coreskie* put his troupes into garriſon, and returned with one hundred and fiftie horſe to Yas, where hee was receiued with much honour and ioy. The princeſſe mother to *Alexander*, was yet in Poland, but being aduertiſed of her ſonnes fortunat ſucceſſe, ſhe returned to Yas, and brought with her Prince *Bougdan* her youngeſt ſonne, with *Alexandrina* her daughter, who was yet to marrie. At whoſe arriuall there was great feaſting and ioy; then they began to treat of a marriage betwixt prince *Coreskie* and the princeſſe *Alexandrina*; the which had beene then conſummated, if *Bellona* had not oppoſed it, ſtirring vp new and more powerfull armies than the precedent, to exerciſe the vertues and valours of the ſaid princes, and to trie the patience of the two louers, who loued one another reciprocally from B their youth.

A falſe alarme giuen to Alexander.

To continue the deduction of new affaires which troubled the quiet of the ſaid princes more than euer, you muſt vnderſtand that about the end of Nouember this yeare 1615 they were aduertiſed that *Michna* prince of Valachia with a Baſſa called *Hebraim*, came againſt them with an armie of fortie thouſand men, Turkes, Tartarians, and Valachians, to ſuccour the Vayuod *Stephano*: and moreouer, that *Bethlem Gabor* prince of Tranſyluania, had charge from the Graund Seigniour to arme againſt them, and to aſſaile them; which in effect was a falſe alarme; for the ſaid Baſſa had beene ſent by the Graund Seigniour to bring Caphtanes (which are robes of cloth of gold which the Graund Seigniour doth vſually ſend in fauour to princes that are vnder his power) both to *Michna* and *Stephano*, who hee held C to be in peaceable poſſeſſion of Moldauia; but not with any armie, nor with an intent to make warre againſt the ſaid princes; for hee was yet ignorant what had paſſed againſt *Stephano*. Notwithſtanding the princes holding this aduertiſement to be true, aſſembled a Councell of the chiefe Noblemen in Court, where it was reſolued, That an Embaſſadour ſhould bee ſpeedily ſent to prince *Michna*, both to know his intent, and to diſcouer whether he marched toward Moldauia, and with what forces. This charge was giuen vnto a braue Gentleman of Polonia called *Boyartſtkie*, who parted preſently from Yas, and beeing entered into Valachia, hee vnderſtood that prince *Michna* was then in his towne of Bonza, ſome twentie French leagues diſtant from the frontiers of Moldauia. The Embaſſadour beeing arriued demanded audience before *Michna*, by whom he was ſent vnto the Baſſa, who at his firſt D enterance (without hearing the ſubiect of his Embaſſage) demanded, who had made his maſter *Alexander* ſo bold, as to carrie armes in the Countrey of the Grand Seigniour without his authoritie; for the which hee ſhould be puniſhed, and thoſe that did aſſiſt him: commanding the Embaſſador preſently to be put in yrons, as if he had beene a theefe or ſome miſerable caitiſe. The Embaſſadors ſeruants ſeeing how they entreated their maſter, eſcaped as they could, fearing the like; who returning to Yas, enformed prince *Alexander* what had paſſed, aſſuring him that *Michna* had no armie readie, nor any intent to enter into Moldauia at that time. The Baſſa diſdaining to ſpeake any more to the ſaid Embaſſadour, he gaue charge to ſome of his officers to examine him particularly of all matters concerning *Alexander*, and what forces hee had: And within few daies after hee returned to Conſtantinople, leading the E ſaid Embaſſadour thither with him. But as ſoone as they were arriued, they ſent the Embaſſadour vnto the Diuano, where hee was againe examined by a Viſier, and in the end hee was condemned by him to the gallies there to remaine perpetually. So little acaccompt doe theſe barbarous people make, to violate the Law of Nations, eſpecially with Chriſtians, preſuming that all the World ſhould bow vnto them, as if they were Gods vpon earth.

An embaſſador from prince Alexander to prince Michna

Alexanders embaſſador put in priſon by the Baſſa.

Prince Alexander ſends an Embaſſador to Bethlem Gabor.

There was another Embaſſadour ſent by prince *Alexander* vnto *Bethlem Gabor* who was prince of Tranſyluania, beeing at Fureuar or Alba Iulia, whome hee receiued verie courteouſly; to whome the Embaſſadour deliuered the ſubiect of his charge. That prince *Alexander* his maſter had beene aduertiſed that hee made ſome leuie of men to ioyne F with *Michna* prince of Valachia, and to make warre againſt him; the which hee could not eaſily beleeue, for that hee had made profeſſion of friendſhip to his deceaſed father, and had no cauſe now to leaue it; entreating and coniuring him, not to meddle in the affaires which hee had to decide with *Michna*; and that in requitall (if any occaſion

ſion were offered to ſerue him) hee would employ all his meanes. The Embaſſadour hauing ended his ſpeech, hee deliuered his princes letters of credit: To whome *Bethlem Gabor* made this anſwere, that hee neuer had any intent to take armes, nor to attempt any thing againſt prince *Alexander*, whoſe father was his true friend; neither would hee euer giue any cauſe to diſcontinue this loue and friendſhip betwixt them, whereof he would giue good proofe in all occaſions, eſpecially in this ſubiect now in queſtion. The Embaſſadour was much ſatisfied with this anſwere, the which was alſo confirmed by Letters; yet hee afterwards leuied forces againſt prince *Alexander*, but he would not ioyne with *Michna* his armie.

To returne to the courſe of our Hiſtorie; preſently after the Baſſa his departure from Cicouch to returne to Conſtantinople, Prince *Michna* ſent an Embaſſador to *Alexander* with letters, by the which he excuſed himſelfe for the ill vſage of his Embaſſadour by the Baſſa, proteſting, that he was much grieued, and that it was not with his conſent that he had carried him with him, promiſing him to employ his beſt meanes to mediate his deliuerie. Moreouer, that hee was not ignorant what authoritie and power the Grand Seigniour had ouer him, whome he might not reſiſt, nor by conſequence his Baſſaes; that he had no armie on foot, as he was giuen to vnderſtand, and that his deſigne was not to ſupport the cauſe of the Vayuod *Stephano*, vnleſſe hee were forced by the commandement of the Graund Seigniour. And whereas he entreated him to deliuer his enemie *Stephano* into his hands, hee could not doe it, vnleſſe hee ſhould violate the lawes of hoſpitalitie, in betraying his friend who had fled vnto him for ſuccour, and withall hee ſhould incurre the indignation of the Sultan, and bee in danger to be diſpoſſeſſed of his owne eſtate, hauing no ſufficient meanes to maintaine himſelfe againſt ſo great a power. Prince *Alexander* hauing heard this Embaſſador, and receiued an anſwer from the prince of Tranſyluania, by the aduice of his Councell, diſmiſſed all his footmen, and part of the Coſſackes, retaining onely fiue or ſixe thouſand men with him during the Winter.

Prince Viſnouiskie poyſoned by a Prieſt.

About this time there was one of the moſt curſed and impious acts committed that euer was heard of. Prince *Viſnouiskie* who was a Proteſtant of the Greeke Church, hauing prepared at Chriſtmas to receiue the Communion after their manner, the Prieſt (who had vſually ſerued him in that deuotion, beeing corrupted with money by his enemies) poyſoned the bread; which the prince hauing receiued, hee ſuddenly fell ſicke, and his torments were ſo violent, as he died the next day. This bred a ſuſpition that he had beene poyſoned; whereupon the Prieſt was apprehended, who preſently confeſſed that hee was guiltie, and had been prouoked by his enemies. As his offence was terrible, beeing committed by a man of that Coat, who had made vſe of ſo reuerent a Sacrament, to poyſon a prince beloued of all men for his rare vertues; ſo his puniſhment was verie ſeuere and long: being bound in a chaire made of copper wire, and a fire made round about him, ſo as hee was heard for twelue houres crying out fearefully for the inſupportable paines which hee endured. Whileſt that prince *Alexander* and his whole court mourned for this fatall and vnexpected accident, there arriued a ſpie which hee had ſent into Valachia, to obſerue the actions of Prince *Michna*, who gaue him to vnderſtand that there was a Baſſa arriued called *Skinder*, with a great and powerfull armie, and that *Stephano* was there in like manner, who preſſed them dayly to march into Moldauia; and to begin the warre, hee ſent foure hundred men to ſurpriſe the towne of Berlada, whereas prince *Coreskie* had left part of his men in garriſon during the Winter: who keeping bad guard, were ſurpriſed, and moſt of them cut in pieces, which ſo puffed vp *Stephano* with pride, as hee aſſured himſelfe of an eaſie victorie. But prince *Alexander* hearing of this defeat, hee ſent foure hundred Coſſackes, who made ſuch ſpeed, as within three dayes after they arriued at Berlada a towne not walled, no more than the reſt, where hauing ſet fire in many places, they forced his men to come forth, cutting them in pieces, and the reſt were burnt; ſo as there eſcaped not aboue fiue or ſix to carrie this bad newes vnto their maſter, who was much afflicted.

Skinder Baſſa comes with an armie againſt prince Alexander.

Stephano's men defeated by the Coſſackes.

A defeat of Turkes at Vaſſelloy.

At the ſame inſtant, when as the Coſſackes were ſent vpon this expedition, prince *Coretky* deſiring to be reuenged for the defeat of his men, tooke two thouſand and fiue hundred choice horſe, and put himſelfe ſpeedily into Vaſſelloy, fearing the garriſon hee had left there

A there would be in like manner ſurpriſed : whereof the Baſſa being aduertiſed, by ſome of the countreymen, he ſent his ſonne (being twelue or thirteene yeares old) and gaue him an old Turke of great experience for his conductor, with ſeuen thouſand men, holding this a good occaſion to get reputation to his ſonne. Prince *Coreskie* being aduertiſed of his march by ſome Moldauians, and that they ſhould ſurpriſe them early in the morning, knowing that they were of neceſſitie to paſſe a bridge of wood ouer a riuer that runnes by the towne, he diſpoſed his men in ſuch ſort as that the enemie could hardly diſcouer them, ſome of them were lodged within Vaſſelloy, and the reſt were couered with a little mountaine that adioyned vpon the towne : when as ſome of the Turkes had paſſed the bridge, two ſquadrons ſallied from the towne, and charged their foreward ſo furiouſly, as they were in a manner all put to the ſword, B and amongſt them the conductor of the whole troupe, the which was no difficult thing to execute ; for that the Turks who had marched in a manner all night, to arriue early in the morning, were benummed and halfe dead with cold ; the reſt of the Turkes which had not yet paſt, hearing the noyſe of this hot alarme, durſt not aduance, but retired ſpeedily, fearing perchance that the Baſſaes ſonne might be loſt as well as his conductor. Prince *Coreskie* purſued them vnto a village foure leagues diſtant from Vaſſelloy, killing and taking priſoners all hee found in the way. Among the priſoners there was one who gaue it out that he was neere kinſman vnto the Baſſa, who beeing brought to Prince *Alexander*, he receiued him verie courteouſly, and gaue him a garment fit for him, hauing beene ſtript of his owne, he alſo gaue him a horſe, and ſent him backe vnto the Baſſa with a good conuoy, to whom he ſent a letter, by the C which hee intreated him not to aduance in fauour of *Stephano*, promiſing that if the Graund Seignior would ſuffer him to enioy Moldauia quietly, he would be moſt faithfull vnto him afterwards, and pay him the yearely accuſtomed tribute : whereof the Baſſa made no great account ; for he was wonderfully incenſed, both for his ſonnes bad ſucceſſe in this enterpriſe, and for the death of his Turkiſh captaine.

The Baſſaes kinſman taken

Vpon the day of this victorie, prince *Alexander* ſent fifteene hundred horſe to fortifie prince *Coreskie*, whereof eight hundred were lodged in a certaine Borough ſix leagues from Ticouth, whereas the Baſſa and *Michna* were then with their armie ; being about fiue and twentie thouſand men. Theſe eight hundred men neglecting their guards, did nothing but drinke drunke, and moleſt their hoſtes with all kinde of inſolencies, and forcing their wiues D and daughters, which made them take a reſolution to be reuenged, and to that end they called vnto them certaine Boyers out of the countrey, who chuſing their time, cut all their throats when they were aſleepe, and moſt of them drunke.

800 of prince Alexanders men ſlaine by their hoſtes for their inſolecies

About the end of this yeare prince *Alexander* called a generall councell, whereas the princeſſe his mother, prince *Coreskie*, and all the chiefe noblemen and captaines aſſiſted, where it was reſolued that they ſhould retire to Cochina, beeing thirtie French leagues off ; for that it was the ſtrongeſt place and the beſt furniſhed of all Moldauia, and withall they ſhould be farre from their enemies, and neere vnto Polonia. According to this reſolution, prince *Alexander* parted the next day with his whole armie, and came in foure daies march to Cochina, in the extreameſt cold ſeaſon that could be ; hauing lodged his troupes, the princes E ſent diuers Gentlemen to all their friends and confederates to coniure them to come ſpeedily to ſuccour them ; and in the meane time they gaue order to make prouiſion of victuals, and of all other things neceſſarie for their armie. The Baſſa beeing aduertiſed of this retreat, hee marched with *Michna* and *Stephano* towards Yas, notwithſtanding the extremitie of the cold, which was ſo violent that many dyed vpon the way ; whereupon they ſtayed vntill the time was more milde.

Prince Alexander retires to Cochina.

In the beginning of March, the lord of *Tiſchenich* came vnto Prince *Alexander* with 3500 Coſſackes, and within few dayes after arriued the lord *Potoskie*, nephew to him who had been taken at the firſt battell, and carried priſoner to Conſtantinople, who brought with him a troupe of fifteene hundred Polonians well armed, there came alſo other ſuccors vnto him, F ſo as by the end of that moneth the princes armie was ten or twelue thouſand ſtrong foot and horſe.

Succours come to prince Alexander.

Prince *Alexander* hearing of the enemies approch, hee ſent footh 1000 horſe with his companie of French Caualliers to diſcouer the enemies armie, who ſtaying to refreſh themſelues

Some of them defeated.

ſelues within halfe a league of the towne of Eſpanocha, whereas *Michna* his Tartarians were G
lodged: they were diſcouered and preſently inueſted by them and by a great number of
Turks; and although that there were little hope to reſiſt ſo great a multitude, yet *Alexanders*
men (who had alwayes beene accuſtomed to vanquiſh) behaued themſelues verie valiantly,
deſiring rather to die, than to yeeld baſely without giuing proofes of their valour. This fight
continued from ten of the clocke in the morning, vntill night; and of the whole troupe there
eſcaped but twelue, ſeuen Polonians, and fiue French, the reſt were either ſlaine or taken pri-
ſoners, among the which was the captaine of the French companie called *Mounteſpin*, whom
they would haue ſent with the reſt vnto the Grand Seigniors gallies: But *Stephano* preſerued
him vpon promiſe that he would doe him good ſeruice. Heere Fortune (which hath hither-
to beene fauourable vnto prince *Alexander*) began to ſhew her inconſtancie, to teach princes
not to runne raſhly into dangers, although they haue had ſome aduantage ouer their H
enemies.

1616

Ieſuits at Conſtantinople accuſed.

At Conſtantinople about the end of Auguſt this yeare 1616, Enuie, the moſt furious
of all the windes that ſhake the affaires of the World, ſtirred vp a horrible tempeſt, whoſe
violent guſts fell dangerouſly vpon the Ieſuites ſettled at Pera by the Sultans permiſſion, at
the perſuaſion of *Henrie* the fourth, the French King; and labours to caſt them vpon the
rockes where them might ſuffer ſhipwrecke, ſhamefull to their order, and preiudiciall to the
Chriſtians, which liue in the middeſt or Mahometiſme. And to ruine them without all hope
of helpe or reliefe, they accuſed them before the Graund Viſier, to bee ſpies to Spaine; to
giue abſolution to renegadoes; to baptize Turkes, to conceale fugitiue ſlaues, and to ſend
them into Chriſtendome; and withall they obiected the doctrine of killing of kings, if they I
were tyrants, the which had been raſhly written by a Spaniard of their Coat: al which crimes

They are impriſoned.

are commonly puniſhed at Conſtantinople with death. They ſeiſed vpon their perſons, and
lodged them in a dungeon, they were ſix in number, that is to ſay, *Francis Bouton*, *Denis
Guilier*, *Dominick Maurice* of Chio, and *Iohn Baptiſta Iobert* their ſuperiour, all foure
Prieſts, and two aſſiſtants, and with them a Franciſcan Frier, Vicar to the Patriarke of Con-
ſtantinople. A ſuſpition of danger in an eſtate is eaſily beleeued vpon the leaſt accident.
In the meane time the Emperours Embaſſadour came to Conſtantinople, to renew the
truce; they entered with their drummes beating and their enſignes diſplayed. They which
thought to erect trophies to their glorie by their ruine of the Ieſuites, made vſe of this entrie, K
and gaue falſe aduertiſements to the Seraglio, that there were in Conſtantinople, and at
Pera many thouſands of Chriſtians diſguiſed in the habites of Greekes and Turkes, which
came with this Embaſſadour, with an intent to put that in execution which the Ieſuites had
proiected. Moreouer, they enformed the Grand Viſier, and the Muphti, that the Churches
in Pera, and the Embaſſadours houſes were full of armes; and that now when as the Turkes
eſtate, and eſpecially Conſtantinople, was vnprouided of forces, hauing employed their
armies in diuers places, and at one inſtant, as in Poland, Perſia, and both the ſeas, that they
meant to draw the Greekes into rebellion, and giue an entrie to the Coſſackes, by the blacke
ſea. The Sultan and his Baſſaes tooke an alarme, they commanded euerie man to weare the
habit of his owne Nation, with a prohibition to weare any hat except the Frankes, and they L
to weare a Grecian habit; they alſo enrolled all the Chriſtians in Conſtantinople and Pera.
But the Sultan did not thinke his Citie of Conſtantinople free from the danger of ſurpriſe
by this diligent ſearch, but hee would ſeeke his aſſurance in the bloud of Chriſtians: ſo

The Turke commands all the Chriſtians to be ſlaine.

as hee commaunded that all the Frankes ſhould bee ſlaine, without exception. But yet
this commaundement tooke no effect, by reaſon of the remonſtrances which the Graund
Viſier and the Muphti made him, repreſenting vnto him, that by this crueltie hee ſhould
draw vpon his eſtate a dangerous warre from all the Chriſtian princes in generall. But
all this freed him not from feare, hee walkes all night on horſebacke vp and downe the ci-
tie, contrarie to his cuſtome, and hee cauſeth a Friar, Vicar to the Patriarke, who had been ta-
ken with the Ieſuites, to be executed in his preſence; and he doth expreſſely forbid the paſ- M
ſage from Conſtantinople to Pera, and from Pera to Conſtantinople. During this prohibi-
tion, the French Embaſſador had paſt from Pera to the City, to ſollicite the Ieſuites libertie,
At his returne he found the paſſage ſtopt, he goes vnto the Muphti, and leaues his people in
the

A the meane time at the ſea ſide (for it is the cuſtome, to goe to the Soueraigne of *Mahomets* law with a ſmall traine) during the time of his being there, a multitude of people ran downe to the ſhore, to ſee theſe men, thinking for certaine, that they went to put them to death: They lamenting their miſerable fortune, and the Turkes charging them furiouſly with iniuries, as the men whom they thought practiſed by conſpiracie their ruine. But the grand Viſier hauing written with his owne hand, and ſent one of his people to them that kept the paſſage, the Embaſſador with his whole traine was ſuffered to paſſe to Pera, but hee found the ſtorme as raging at Pera as from whence hee came: for one night after, the people of that place fell into ſuch a furie, as it was to be feared the law of Nations would haue been violated by the inſolencie of ſome furious people, although the ſubject were of ſmall importance. B About fiue hundred paces from the French Embaſſadours quarter, there fell out a diſpute in a lodging, betwixt ſome who ſpent the night in ſome kinde of employment: the Turkes that dwelt neere, beeing awaked with this noyſe, ran to armes, and trouped together in the ſtreet, being in all 1000 men armed, crying out, that this noyſe came from the Franckes, (that is to ſay from the Chriſtians in the Weſt, as Italians, French, Spaniſh, Engliſh, and others) who meant to riſe; and they reſolued to force the Embaſſadours houſes, and to put all to fire and ſword, if ſome better aduiſed of the troupe had not perſuaded them to delay the execution vntill day, the which beeing come, the French Embaſſadour had meanes to get the Sultan to interpoſe his ſoueraigne authoritie, to bridle the inſolencie of a multitude inconſiderately incenſed. Such is the danger, in the which many times the miniſters of Chriſtian Princes find C themſelues, who for their Maſters ſeruice liue at the mercie of a Nation barbarouſly furious, as the Turkiſh:

A tumult at Pera.

The Ieſuites in the meane time continued priſoners in the dungeon, vntill that the Baron of *Sanſy* Embaſſadour for France, had let the grand Viſier ſee their innocencie, and procured their libertie, and the Sultan by his letters Patents did publiſh the falſhood of the malicious accuſations inuented againſt them: but to auoid the furie of a multitude blind in their paſſions, and dangerous in their furie, they went to ſea to returne to France: but after they had ſojourned ſometime at the Dardanels, they were againe committed to priſon, by reaſon of ſome certaine aduertiſement that was giuen to the Sultan of the ſame ſubſtance: The Sultan informed himſelfe truely of their probitie, gaue them their libertie, calling backe two to D Pera, in liue there, with the ſame priuiledges they formerly had, and ſuffered the reſt to returne into France.

The Ieſuits ſet at libertie.

Alexander prince of Moldauia hauing loſt a thouſand horſe neere vnto Cochina, the laſt yeare as you haue heard, the Baſſa and *Stephano* were puft vp with this good ſucceſſe; but *Michna* had no joy of it, who hearing that the Princes attended him at Cochina, with a reſolution to defend themſelues, remembring that a certaine Italian making a profeſſion to foretell future things, had told him, That if he euer came to fight with the Polonians, hee would be in danger of his life. Wherefore by the aduice of his Chancellor and Camp-maſter, called *Spaterlecha*, he pretended, that he had receiued news from his Lieutenant, that there was a great troupe of Tartarians entred into Valachia, and ſpoiled the countrie; vpon which pretext hee E tooke leaue of the Baſſa and returned, leauing all his ſouldiers in the armie, reſeruing onely an hundred horſe for his guard. Being in Valachia, *Stephano* wrote vnto him, that he had defeated the Polonians in battell, in the which there were ſlaine ſix thouſand men vpon the place, and had taken a great number of priſoners, which they meant to ſend to the grand Seignior: all which was but a meere inuention to mocke *Michna*, and to make him ſorrie that he was not in the action: whereupon hee was ſo much diſcontented, as he cauſed the heads of his Chancellour and Camp-maſter to be cut off, for their bad counſell, charging them that they had ſome ſecret intelligence with the Polonians.

Michna feares to fight with the Polonians.

About the end of March, the Baſſa with *Stephano*, and a Tartarian Prince called *Monoza*, reſolued to aduance with their whole armie (being twentie thouſand men) towards F Chochina, and beeing within two leagues, they made a ſtand a whole day to refreſh their men. In the meane time the princes put their armie in order of battell, in a little plain within a quarter of a league of Chochina, leauing 1000 choice horſe within the towne vnder the command of prince *Coreskie*, aſſuring themſelues that the Turks would not faile to campe betwixt the

The Baſſa and Stephano defeated at Cochina.

towne and the princes armie, that if they were defeated, they might haue no meanes to retire into the fort, which was held impregnable. The Princes drew eight pieces of cannon out of G the fort, which they planted within a trench which was couered with a wood. The Baſſa on the other ſide thought that hee had the princes at his mercie, being aduertiſed that they had not halfe ſo many men in their armie; early in the morning hee cauſed his men to march in good order, who arriued neere to Cochina by ſeuen of the clocke in the morning, where hauing made a ſtand to diſcouer the princes armie, he went and encamped betwixt them and the towne, as it had been foreſeene. His men beeing put in order, the Tartarians who had a great deſire to bee reuenged of the Coſſackes, who had defeated them in many encounters, intreated to haue the point: the which was granted, and the trumpets ſounding, they aduanced towards a battalion of Coſſackes, nothing diſtruſting the cannon which was planted on that ſide, and not ſeene. Comming within the ſhot, they preſently played vpon them, H and ouerthrew a great number of the Tartarians and terrified the reſt, the which the Coſſacks perceiuing, they charged them furiouſly, and cut the reſt in pieces, and ſo retired towards their armie, ſeeing another ſquadron of Valachians and Moldauians come to ſuccour the Tartarians. The Lord of *Tiſchenich* with his troupe of fifteene or ſixteene hundred horſe well armed, went to encounter the ſaid ſquadron, which aduanced brauely towards the princes cannon. The combate was long without any ſhew of aduantage, which made the Marſhall of the Turkes armie to ſend three thouſand Turkes to ſuccour them: and the princes cauſed a ſquadron of Coſſackes and Moldauians to aduance, who carried themſelues ſo valiantly, as they forced the Turkes to retire aboue an hundred paces. Then prince *Alexander* cried out, Now my companions, behold the enemie is in diſorder, let vs charge I them reſolutely, and the victorie is certaine. After which hee aduanced with the reſt of his armie, commanding two cannons to be ſhot off together, for a ſigne to Prince *Coreskie*, that hee might ſallie foorth, and charge the Turkes rereward, as it had beene reſolued: But hee ſtayed not for the ſignall, beeing already aduanced aboue three hundred paces, fearing that the partie would bee ended without him, or that hee ſhould fayle at need.

The Baſſa ſeeing this ſtratageme, which he feared not, and the bad ſucceſſe of his men which hee had ſent to fight, and that hee was charged both before and behinde, hee began to be amaſed, and hauing cauſed a ſquadron of two thouſand horſe, Turkes and Valachians, to K aduance, to ſecond his troupes, hee retyred apart with *Stephano* (who was no leſſe afraid than himſelfe) with the reſt of the Turkiſh Cauallarie, to attend the euent of the battell. There was neuer a more furious combate ſeene (which continued for the ſpace of two houres) full of fearefull howlings of Turks, who in the end fainted, ſeeing no ſuccours come vnto them: whereas if the Baſſa and the cowardly *Stephano* had ioined with them, they had without doubt fortified their carriages, and renued their forces, and by all apparance woon the victory, which they loſt beyond all mans expectation. When as the Baſſa and *Stephano* ſaw that their forces were in rout, and no meanes to draw them againe together, they began to make a retreat with aboue two thouſand horſe, which had not yet fought. In the meane time the princes *Tiſchewiſch* and *Coreskie* (like two thunderbolts of warre) cut all in pieces they could meet; L and fearing leſt they ſhould make a new head, the princes drew all their men together, and made a ſtand vpon the place of battell, not ſuffering their ſoldiers to goe to the ſpoile, before they were aſſured that the enemie was retired in great haſte, fearing the princes would haue purſued them, the which they would willingly haue done, if their men and horſes had not been almoſt tyred in the former battell, in which there was ſlaine aboue 12000 men beſides the wounded and priſoners.

Flight of the Baſſa and Stephano.

Prince Coresky marries with the Princeſſe Alexandrina.

Prince *Alexander* being returned to Cochina with the other Princes and noblemen, they gaue thankes to God for the victorie they had obtained againſt the Turkes and their confederates; and there was much joy with the Princeſſe and all the Ladies, who were retired into the fort, attending the euent of this fearefull battell. Prince *Coreskie* burned with deſire to M enjoy his Miſtreſſe, whome hee loued as his owne life; ſo as by a free conſent of all parties, they were married within two dayes after the victorie, to the great content of all the Court.

Whileſt

A Whileſt that the princes began to enioy the fruits of their victorie, the Baſſa and wretched *Stephano* returned to Yas, but finding no ſafetie there, they parted preſently; the Baſſa to Conſtantinople, and the tyrant into Valachia to Prince *Michna*, who was his onely ſupport, notwithſtanding that he had mocked him apparently. But before this wretch departed from Yas (hauing no hope euer to returne againe) he cauſed the towne to be ſet on fire in many places; ſo as of two and twentie thouſand houſes, there were not aboue ſix hundred vntouched. The princes hauing aduice hereof in the beginning of Aprill, they marched ſpeedily thither, where finding it ſo deſolate, they reſolued to purſue *Stephano* into Valachia, and puniſh him according to his deſeruing. The next day they marched towards Valachia, being to paſſe the riuer of Siretta, there being on the other ſide a Borough in which *Michna* had foure hundred B men in garriſon, to keepe the Frontiers. The princes arriuing at this place, the garriſon put themſelues in defence, but they were ſoone forced and cut in pieces, ſo as there eſcaped not one, and as for the enhabitants, they were well entreated, hauing made no reſiſtance, and withall they hated *Michna* for the vexations they receiued from the ſaid garriſon. The armie hauing reſted there three dayes, aduanced with all ſpeed towards the citie of Bonza, whereas *Michna* then remained with wretched *Stephano*, who had no care but to make good cheere. The armie beeing come within a league of Bonza, it was diſcouered by ſome countreymen, who ran to aduertiſe their prince, wiſhing him to ſaue himſelfe ſpeedily, for that they had diſcouered the Polonian armie neere the citie. *Michna* was readie to ſit downe to dinner, hauing inuited *Stephano* to accompanie him: but he was ſo amaſed at this C vnexpected comming of the princes, as he ranne himſelfe to his ſtable, and mounted vpon the firſt horſe hee could finde, without ſaddle, and ſo tooke his way towards Tergouiſt, beeing followed by few of his people, one of which gaue him his owne horſe, which was better furniſhed, and as for *Stephano* hauing ſadled his owne horſe, he fled all alone towards Nicopolis.

A defeat of 400 of Michna's men.

Prince Michna and Stephano fly from Bonza.

The princes beeing entered Bonza without reſiſtance, they were wonderfully grieued that they had not found *Stephano*, which was their whole deſigne, and that prince *Michna* (to whom they intended no harme) had been ſo amazed. The armie at their firſt enterance ſpoyled the citie, which the princes could not hinder, nor yet the rauiſhing of many wiues and virgines, which drew the wrath of God vpon them, and in all appearance was the true cauſe of the D miſeries which afterward befell the princes. During their abode at Bonza to refreſh their men, many Boyers or Noblemen of the countrey (deſiring to ſhake off the yoke of prince *Michna's* command, who gouerned inſolently) came vnto prince *Alexander*, beſeeching him to ſtay in Valachia, promiſing that the whole Nobilitie would willingly yeeld him all obedience and fidelitie. But the prince (hauing no intent to diſpoſſeſſe *Michna*) thanked them for their good will, the which the Boyers vnderſtanding, they told him, that they would bee glad (ſeeing he refuſed it) that prince *Cherbanne* (who had been their Vayuod before *Michna*, and had beene expelled Valachia by *Bethlem Gabor*, and forced to retire into Germanie to the Emperour) might returne and take vpon him the gouernment of Valachia, entreating him to giue him paſſage through Moldauia if hee preſented himſelfe, the which prince *Alexander* E willingly granted, deſiring much that prince *Cherbanne* were reſtored, for that *Michna* fauoured his enemie, and had himſelfe a deſigne vpon the eſtate of Moldauia, which in the end hee obtained.

Prince Alexander refuſeth the eſtate of Valachia.

Prince *Michna* beeing come to Playa, which is betwixt Bonza and Tergouiſt, hee ſtayed ſome dayes there attending his traine, during the which hee ſent ſpeedily to his wife beeing at Tergouiſt, willing her to goe with all ſpeed to Nicopolis: for that hee feared the princes would ſeiſe both vpon them and their eſtates, as they might eaſily haue done, if they had foreſeene what afterwards befell them. *Michna* beeing come to Tergouiſt, hee preſently ſent an Embaſſadour to prince *Alexander*, to know vpon what deſigne hee had entered Valachia with an armie, hauing no cauſe; but contrariwiſe, that hee had giuen good F teſtimonie that hee was his friend, for that hee would not aſſiſt the Baſſa and *Stephano*, when they purſued him to Cochina, notwithſtanding that they were much ſtronger in ſhew; That if his intent were onely to ſeiſe vpon *Stephano*, hee aſſured him that he was not with him, but was fled another way; promiſing that if hee could euer take him, he would deliuer

Michna ſends an Embaſſador to prince Alexander.

him into his hands: intreating him withall to retire out of his eſtate, not ſuffering his armie G
to ſpoyle it any more, and that they might continue good friends. Prince *Alexander* receiued
this Embaſſadour verie courteouſly, who hearing the ſubiect of his Embaſſie, made anſwere,
That he had the day before ſent vnto his maſter to informe him of his intent, which
was not to attempt any thing againſt his perſon nor eſtate, but onely to purſue *Stephano* who
had ſet fire on the citie of Yas before he parted: and to let *Michna* know, That hee meant
not to wrong him, nor to enrich himſelfe with any thing that was his, hee had ſent him backe
his plate, with all his rich mooueables. *Michna's* Embaſſadour hauing thanked Prince *Alexander*,
returned to Tergouiſta, and found all true that the Prince had ſaid; the which freed *Michna*
from further feare.

1500 Tartarians defeated by Troianoskie.

Before Prince *Alaxanders* departure from Bonza, hee ſent the Lord *Troianoskie* with two
thouſand horſe to purſue *Stephano*: but it was without effect, for hee vnderſtood that he had H
paſſed the riuer of Danow with his wife, and a ſmall traine. At the ſame time a troupe of
fifteene hundred Tartarians, being aduertiſed that the Polonians purſued *Stephano* onely with
a thouſand horſe, and that they were tyred with their long marches, aduanced to charge
them; but it was not with that ſucceſſe they expected: for *Troianoskie* diſcouering them a
farre off in a plaine champion field, had leaſure to put his men into foure ſquadrons, and
there attended them, who approching neere to diſcouer the number of the Polonians,
would gladly returne without blowes, but it was too late: for *Troianoskie* commanded two
of his ſquadrons to charge them ſuddenly, ſo as within leſſe than a quarter of an houre they
were defeated, and aboue foure hundred ſlaine vpon the place, the reſt fled the ſame way that
they came: of the Polonians there were not aboue fiue and twentie ſlaine, and about fiftie I
hurt.

The inhabitants of Horreoua reuolt the ſecond time.

The Princes had reſolued to leaue Valachia, forbidding all captaines and ſouldiers vpon
paine of death to carrie away any Valachian of either ſex with them, hearing they had ſeiſed
vpon ſome, and meant to draw a ranſome from them: after which they began to march, and
beeing vpon the way, they were aduertiſed that the inhabitants of Horreoua, were againe reuolted
and in armes, refuſing to acknowledge Prince *Alexander*, or to pay the accuſtomed tribute,
vnleſſe he would make it appeare that he was confirmed by the Grand Seignior. Prince
Coreskie was ſent thither with fiue thouſand men, whoſe comming did ſo amaze them, as they
yeelded without any reſiſtance. This Prince beeing loath to looſe any time, laid ſiege to the K
towne and fort of Bialigront, ſeated vpon the riuer of Bohou, the which was held by the Tartarians
Præcopences, in which fort there was a garriſon of Ianizaries, and many Boyers of
Moldauia, who defended themſelues valiantly, and made many ſallies, in which they ſlew aboue
three hundred of the Princes men, and he himſelfe was in danger to be taken, if hee had
not been ſpeedily deliuered by the Lord of *Tiſchewich* and his troup, who charged the Ianizaries
ſo reſolutely, as they forced them to retire, leauing many of their men dead vpon the
place. The Prince ſeeing there was no hope to take the place without cannon, raiſed his ſiege
and returned to Yas to Prince *Alexander*.

Hebraim Baſſa writes to prince Alexander.

Soone after, *Hebraim Baſſa* wrote to Prince *Alexander* (as if he had been his friend) giuing
him to vnderſtand, That from thencefoorth hee ſhould liue quietly in Moldauia, for that L
the Graund Seigniors Lieutenant Generall or chiefe Viſier (from whom *Stephano* had alwaies
drawne his chiefe ſupport) was in diſgrace, promiſing the Prince to imploy himſelfe for him
to his Maſter: the which he did either to make him careleſſe of his owne ſtrength, or to draw
ſome recompence or reward from him, if the Graund Seigniour ſhould confirme him in
Moldauia, as there was ſome likelihood, ſeeing that *Stephano* had made himſelfe altogether
vnworthie, as well by his flight, as by his wicked actions, which made him in the end ſo
odious to the Graund Seigniour, as he reſolued to ruine him. So as ſoone after they were
aduertiſed, That the Graund Seigniour had giuen commaundement vnto the ſaid Baſſa to
ſeize vpon *Stephano*, who had retired himſelfe to Brahiſe, and to bring him vnto him aliue or
dead, with whatſoeuer did belong vnto him: the which hee executed after this manner: the M

Stephano in diſgrace with the Sultan.

ſaid Baſſa marched with all diligence towards Brahile, carrying a Chiaus with him, and beeing
within foure or fiue leagues of the towne, hee ſent one of his people to aduertiſe *Stephano*
of his comming, and that he meant the next day to dine with him. *Stephano* (who diſtruſted

nothing)

A nothing) holding the Viſier to be ſtill his friend, parted early in the morning to meet him, and comming neere him he alighted from his horſe to doe him reuerence, and the Baſſa did the like, where after ſome little conference together, he drew out the commiſſion he had to ſeiſe vpon his perſon, and to carrie him to Conſtantinople: the which *Stephano* perceiuing, he turned him to his ſeruants, and willed them to ſhift for themſelues, for that he ſaw he went to his death. His men being retired, the Chiaus who had his mace in his hand, gaue him a blow betwixt the ſhoulders, and then cauſed him to be bound hand and foot, and caſt into a cart drawn by foure good horſes, and in this manner they carried him to Conſtantinople; where being arriued, to auoid the puniſhment hee had deſerued, he denied his faith, and became a renegado: and withall he became very poore and miſerable: for at the ſame inſtant that he was taken, the B Baſſa ſent to ſeiſe and carrie away whatſoeuer he had at Brahile and Nicopolis, where his wife remained, ſo as hee had nothing left him but the remorſe of conſcience that tormented him continually, for the barbarous cruelties which he had practiſed in Moldauia. Some of his men returned to Yas, and there declared what had befallen *Stephano* in their preſence, for which they generally gaue thanks vnto God, and were very ioyfull.

Stephano carried to Conſtantinople and turns Turke.

Soone after, newes came to Yas, that the Sultan had appointed prince *Michna* to ſucceed *Stephano* in the principalitie of Moldauia (which is verie much better than that of Valachia) and that he ſent *Skinder Baſſa* his Generall in Europe, with a powerfull armie to ſettle the ſaid *Michna*, and to expell *Alexander*. The which prooued ſo true, as on the 25 of Iune this yere *1616*, the ſaid Baſſa came to Tergouiſt, where prince *Michna* attended him, with great C preparatiues both to receiue him, and to refreſh his armie. The Baſſa making his entry into Tergouiſt, had amongſt other things of note thirtie or fortie muſitians on horſebacke, playing vpon certaine inſtruments almoſt like vnto gitternes, which made but ſilly muſicke; he had alſo many pages, who in ſtead of clokes, ware the skins of leopards, lions, and tygres, as if they meant to terrifie the world, and his armie conſiſted of about 20000 men, ſome Turks, ſome Tartarians, to whom *Michna* ioyned his forces, hauing 10000 horſe and foot, which he had drawne from Valachia and the neighbor countries. The Baſſa being entred the caſtle whereas prince *Michna* attended him, after many complements, they entred into a great hall well appointed, where the Baſſa preſented him his letters patents, and a robe which his maſter had ſent to *Michna*, which he cauſed to be put on in the preſence of all the noblemen of his court, D proclaiming him prince and Vayuod of Moldauia, with many ceremonies too long to relate. After which, prince *Michna* led the Baſſa into another great hall where a feaſt was prepared, as well for himſelfe, as for ſuch as hee would admit to his table, *Michna* offering to ſerue the ſaid Baſſa, but he would not ſuffer him, cauſing him to ſit downe right againſt him. On the ſecond of Iuly they parted from Tergouiſt, and marched into Moldauia, whereof the Polonian princes were aduertiſed: but the Princeſſe mother to *Alexander* maintained, that the Baſſa came onely to bring the patents to prince *Alexander* her ſon; which dangerous opinion of hers grew by reaſon of the letters which *Hebraim Baſſa* had ſent to prince *Alexander*, not remembring that it came from a Turke his ſworne enemie, and therefore not to be credited, eſpecially in a matter of that importance, ſo as ſhe was the cauſe of their vtter ruine.

Michna proclaimed prince of Moldauia.

E About this time the Generall of the king of Polonia's armie called *Zolkelchy*, enuying the honor which the Polonian Princes had gotten by ſo many victories, and withall drawn by his owne priuat intereſt, writ to prince *Michna* and the Baſſa, that if they would promiſe to procure the Sultan to aduance the eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed prince *Simeon* (who liued with him) to be prince of Valachia (whereof his father had been formerly Vayuod) he would ſo weaken princes armie, as they ſhould be forced to yeeld or flie. Whoſe demand being eaſily granted, this traitor writ to certaine captains of the Coſſacks, that they ſhould leaue the princes armie, and come with all ſpeed into Poland, to accompanie *Vladiſlaus* their kings ſon, who had been choſen Duke of Muſcouie, and meant to go thither with a great armie by reaſon of ſome croſſes, and that they ſhould be verie well paid. The Coſſacks (who depend vpon the crowne of F Poland, ſeruing thoſe that promiſe moſt) began to mutiny, ſaying plainly, That if they had not money ſpeedily, they would retire into their countrey, yet concealing that they had been called to any other ſeruice; and without any long ſtay, there parted early in a morning about 8000, carrying with them great ſtore of oxen, ſheepe, and other cattell, with all the ſpoyles hey had gotte in the precedent victories.

The treacherie of the Generall of Polonia.

The Coſſackes mutinie and leaue prince Alexander.

Bicho generall of prince Alexanders armie forſakes him trecherouſly.

After their example, *Bicho* General of prince *Alexanders* army, whether corrupted by bribes, ot for that hee had an apprehenſion of this powerfull armie which came againſt them, retired alſo ſecretly toward *Michna* and the Baſſa, being followed by 2000 horſe. This was a ſubiect of great amaſement to the princes armie; and yet as if they had been inchanted by ſome deuilliſh charmes, they could not reſolue to make a retreat, as they might eaſily haue done without danger. Many aduiſed prince *Alexander* to this courſe, euen prince *Michna* writ vnto him aduiſing him to retire into Polonia, before that his armie approched neerer to Yas; the which he did for feare of the ſucceſſe; wherof his falſe prophet had forewarned him, as we haue formerly obſerued: whereupon *Alexander* went to councel on the 25 of Iuly, but they could not reſolue; the commanders and ſouldiers beeing much diuided, moſt of them demanding their pay, elſe they would not fight; the which they tooke for a pretext of their retreat. In the mean time the Tartarians, which made the vantgard of prince *Michnas* army, approched; which made the princes to leaue Yas, and to march toward Cochina; but they could not do it ſo ſecretly but the Tartarians were aduertiſed, who paſt ſpeedily through the citie, and charged them in the reare, in which incounter *George Potoskie*, nephew to him that was taken with *Conſtantine*, hauing fought valiantly, and ſlaine many Tartarians with his own hand, was in the end ſhot thorow the bodie with an arrow, whereof he died preſently. The lord of *Tiſchewich* came ſpeedily to the charge with a troupe of Coſſacks which he had ſtaied, and charged the Tartarians ſo furiouſly, as he ſlew 800 vpon the place, and put the reſt to rout.

Prince Alexanders anſwer to Prince Michna

Alexander hauing receiued the letter aboue mentioned from prince *Michna*, he made anſwer, that (contrary to his promiſe to continue his friend, and neuer to take armes againſt him) he had craued aid from the Turke to diſpoſſeſſe him of Moldauia, to the which his predeceſſor had neuer pretended, neither could they according to the fundamental lawes of the countrie, and the conuentions accorded by the grand Seignior, when as the Moldauians ſubmitted themſelues vnder his ſoueraigntie, by the which no man could be Vayuod of Moldauia vnleſſe he were borne in the countrey. Moreouer, he ſhould remember that it was in his power to diſpoſſeſſe him of Valachia, when as he entred Bonza with his armie in purſuit of *Stephano*, the which he would not do, nor detain any of his precious moueables, which he had reſerued and ſent vnto him: that if he abuſed the power which hee then had, God would not ſuffer ſo great an ingratitude and vſurpation to remaine vnpuniſhed. And although his armie were far inferior to his, yet he would let him know, that he neither feared him nor the Baſſa, putting his chiefe confidence in the aſſiſtance of the Almightie, who had in many occaſions vſed them to abate the Turks pride, which he ſhould abhor if he were a true Chriſtian, rather than to joyne with them to ſatisfie his ambition.

Prince *Michna* hauing ſent this letter to *Skinder Baſſa* Generall of the Turks army, he was ſo incenſed, as hee preſently commanded his Lieutenant to purſue the Polonians with 12000 choice men, they being then at Cotnard, betwixt Yas and Cochina. Prince *Alexander* being aduertiſed hereof, he ſuddenly cauſed his armie to aduance towards the fort of Cochina. At the ſame time the Chancellor to prince *Cherbanne* who came with 150 horſe to prince *Alexander*, to aſſure him that his maſter was comming to his aid with fiue or ſix thouſand men, was purſued by the Turks neere vnto Yas, whereas he thought to haue found the ſaid prince, and of all his troupe onely himſelfe and one more eſcaped, ſo as the prince could haue no certaine newes of the ſaid *Cherbanne*. Prince *Coreskie* who had remained with 2500 horſe not far from Cotnard, was alſo encountred by a great troupe of Turks and Tartarians, which hee could not well diſcouer by reaſon of a little mountaine that couered them: the Prince ſeeing ſome of them appeare, charged them; but finding that as hee defeated one troupe, a freſh ſucceded in his place, he was forced to make his retreat, with this aduantage, that he had almoſt ſlain 6000 of his enemies, hauing not loſt aboue 250 of his owne men. But the prince was wounded with two arrowes, one in the thigh, and the other in the backe, which was a great diſaſter for himſelfe and for the whole armie. Hee which commanded this troupe of Turkes beeing much amaſed at this vnexpected encounter, hauing gathered his men together, and joyned them to 15000 others whom the Baſſa had ſent, hee beeing yet at Yas, he cauſed this army to approch within a quarter of a league to the Polonians, where hauing encouraged his men in what hee could, hee told them, that to ſhew his affection vnto the Sultans ſeruice in this occaſion, hee was reſolued to ſend a challenge to prince *Coreskie*, whome hee confeſt

A challenge ſent to Prince Coreskie from the Turks generall.

A to be the moſt valiant of all the Polonian armie, ſo as he preſently diſpatched one of his captaines to goe vnto the prince, and to call him in the behalfe of his Generall. The Captaine comming to *Alexanders* campe, demaunded to ſpeake with Prince *Coreskie*, who beeing brought vnto him, deliuered the charge he had from his Generall. The Prince, although hee were neither able to ſtand nor to ſit on horſebacke, by reaſon of his wounds, yet would hee needs haue accepted this challenge, if prince *Alexander*, and the chiefe noblemen of the armie had not conjured him to excuſe himſelfe by reaſon of his indiſpoſition: letting him know, that the euent of ſuch a combat did not onely import him, but all thoſe of his partie, who had their chiefe hope in him: whereunto the princeſſes added their inſtant intreaties; and among others his deare ſpouſe, who was much afflicted for his wounds. The Lord of *Tiſchevich* (a
B braue and valiant Gentleman) being then preſent, intreated prince *Alexander* to giue him leaue to accept of the challenge for prince *Coreskie* his couſin; the which was willingly granted: ſo as he ſent a Gentleman with the ſaid Turke, to know if the Generall would yeeld thereunto, which he did willingly, not beeing ignorant of the qualitie and valour of the ſaid *Tiſchevich*. It was agreed that the combate ſhould bee betwixt both armies, lying in a plaine open field, within a quarter of a league one of another, with promiſe, that neither partie ſhould be aſſiſted.

A combat betwixt Tiſchevich and the Generall of the Turks armie.

Theſe two braue warriours hauing taken leaue of their friends, came to the place appoynted, in view of both armies. The Turkes Generall being about fiftie paces from his armie, cauſed water to bee brought, with the which hee waſhed his mouth, eyes, noſe,
C eares, and priuie parts, beleeuing (according to his law) that this waſhing would ſerue as a purifying; then turning toward the Eaſt hee made his prayer: after which he went to horſebacke, beeing richly armed and furniſhed, and then marched ſoftly towards his aduerſarie, who attended him wel mounted and armed, and ſo they began their combat; their chiefe arms beeing bowes and arrowes, which they ſpent without hurting one another; till at laſt *Tiſchevich* hauing a Petronell, ſhot the Turke thorow the bodie and ouerthrew him, who ſtriuing to riſe againe, *Tiſchevich* paſſed ouer him with his horſe, and wounded him in the right arme, and at the next blow ſlew him: after which he cut off his head, and carried it to prince *Alexanders* [illegible]

The princes of Polonia enuironed by their enemies.

The Polonians were verie joyfull of the happie ſucceſſe of this famous combate, and
D the Turkes beeing much amaſed, aduertiſed the Baſſa and *Michna*, that it was neceſſarie they ſhould bring the reſt of their armie and their cannon, if they would be reuenged of the Polonians. In the meane time the traitour *Bicho*, who had abandoned Prince *Alexander*, with a troupe of two thouſand Tartarians and Moldauians, found meanes to get before the Polonian armie, and to cut off the way betwixt Cotnarde and the towne of Bothocan ſix leagues off. The Valachians and Tranſyluanians led by the Generall of *Michna's* armie, inueſted them vpon the right hand, and the bodie of the Turkes armie followed behinde: ſo as there remayned nothing but vpon the left hand a wood of timber trees which might fauour their retreat. *Skinder Baſſa* hearing the ſucceſſe of the combate, commaunded his armie to aduance preſently with ſixteene cannons. The Princes
E ſeeing themſelues enuironed by ſo many enemies, they reſolued to fortifie themſelues with their carts and carriages, and to defend themſelues: but what could fiue or ſixe thouſand men preuaile againſt two or three and twentie thouſand; for ſo many were thought to bee in the Turkes armie: True it is, they expected daily Prince *Cherbanne*, and the Lord *Boſſi*, who were within two dayes journey, and brought with them ten or twelue thouſand men. This made the Baſſa and *Michna* to aduance, to force the Polonians to yeeld, or to fight. Comming neere vnto their campe, and ſeeing them inueſted on all ſides but towards the wood, they approched their cannon, which had been able to haue ſpoyled their campe, but it was not their deſigne; they onely deſired to take the Princes and Princeſſes priſoners, with the chiefe Noblemen: Whereupon they ſent to ſum-
F mon the Polonian armie to deliuer into their hands the ſaid Princes and Lords, promiſing that the reſt of the armie ſhould depart with bag and baggage; whereunto they would not yeeld, but made an anſwere all with one conſent, That they would rather die, than commit ſuch baſeneſſe and trecherie. This being reported to the Baſſa, and prince *Michna*, they com-

The princes army ſummoned to yeeld.

A braue retreat made by Tiſcheuich.

commaunded that ſome of their cannon ſhould be charged with ſmall bullets,and diſcharged G
through the Polonian armie ; whereby there were a great number ſlaine and wounded. The
princes who had but ſome ſmall pieces,made certaine vollies,but to ſmall purpoſe ; neither
had they any more bullets left, and little pouder : for that by ill chance part had been burnt
ſome few daies before : ſo as all things ſeemed to foretell their ruine at hand. The Lord of
Tiſcheuich, hauing iudiciouſly obſerued, that remaining in that encloſure, he could not eſcape
death,or at leaſt captiuitie, reſolued with fiue hundred horſe(the moſt valiant among the Polonians)
to force through three or foure ſquadrons which were ſet in guard by the wood ſide,
to the end none might eſcape, that place being moſt ſuſpected to the Turkes : the which they
executed with ſuch furie, as they ouerthrew all they encountered ; ſhewing that it is a verie
dangerous thing to make head againſt thoſe who are reduced to that extremitie,as they muſt
either vanquiſh or die. Prince *Coreskie* would not haue failed to haue made the like retreat,and H
to haue carried prince *Alexander* with him : but he could not ſit on horſebacke by reaſon of
his wounds ; and beſides, he had rather haue died than to leaue his wife in that extremitie. His
laſt refuge was to diſguiſe himſelfe as well as he could, giuing it out, that he had eſcaped with
Tiſcheuich, to the end hee might paſſe for a common ſouldier, if the priſoners were put to ranſome.
In like manner the princeſſes diſguiſed themſelues in the beſt manner they could, for
the like intent.

The princes taken priſoners, and carried to Conſtantinople.

Prince Coresky being diſguiſed is diſcouered.

The Turkes cannon hauing ouerthrowne many of their carriages, which ſerued as a rampier,
two ſquadrons, one of Tartarians, and the other of Turkes, preſented themſelues at one
inſtant in two ſeuerall places to force the Polonians campe ; who ſeeing no meanes to make
reſiſtance, and to repell the enemie, layed downe their armes, crying out with a loud voice, I
That they yeelded : whereat their enemies were exceeding glad, deſiring nothing more than
to take theſe noble princes priſoners, and to diſpoſe of the reſt at their pleaſures. The Turks
and Tartarians hauing entered their campe, making ſpoile of all, and ſeiſing vpon what they
could lay their hands on, beginning to ſhare their priſoners, the princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan*,
with their mother were deliuered vnto *Skinder Baſſa*, who led them to Conſtantinople, whereas
ſoone after their arriuall they forſooke their God, denied their faith, and became renegadoes,
for feare of perpetuall impriſonment, where with they were threatned. For which Infidelitie
Bougdan was preſently puniſhed ; for hauing cauſed himſelfe to be circumciſed according
to the law of *Mahomet*, he died, and the princeſſe his mother was confined to the old Seraglio. K
As for prince *Coreskie* (in this generall ruine of a Chriſtian armie being forced to
yeeld and ſubmit it ſelfe to the Turkes tyrannie) hee had ſo diſguiſed himſelfe, as he paſt for
a time vnknowne, and was led to Yas among the common ſouldiers, where he was afterward
diſcouered by a ſouldier of his owne partie, who obtained his libertie by this baſe trecherie.
The Turkiſh captaine who had gotten this prince, hearing of his qualitie by the aforeſaid villaine,
he led him to *Skinder Baſſa* his General, who recompenced him well, and made both him
and the ſouldier who diſcouered him, to take ſolemne oaths not to impart it to any man : for
he had an intent to draw ſome great ranſome from this prince, and to reſtore him to his former
liberty, knowing wel that if he carried him to Conſtantinople, the grand Seignior would confine
him into his priſons, by which meanes he ſhould make no vſe nor benefit by his taking. L
But it happened, that another perfidious of the Polonian armie aduertiſed *Michna* of *Coreskies*
captiuitie, and in whoſe hands he was ; who was ſo iealous, as he croſt and ouerthrew the good
deſigne of *Skinder Baſſa*, telling him plainely in the preſence of many, that he knew for certaine,
prince *Coreskie* was among his ſlaues, and that he ſhould beware he did not eſcape, for
that the Graund Seignior would call him to account. The Generall made anſwere, that hee
would be glad it were ſo, but he had not yet any notice of him, thanking *Michna* for his good
aduice. But fearing that if hee did what he intended, ſuffering prince *Coreskie* to eſcape for a
ranſome, the Sultan comming to the knowledge thereof, would be much incenſed, and puniſh
him with diſgrace or death, the next day he told prince *Michna* plainely, that the aduice
that he had giuen him was true, and that *Coreskie* had been found diſguiſed amongſt his other M
priſoners, whom he would preſent vnto his maſter, with the princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan*,
as he did, of whoſe deliuerie you ſhall heare hereafter. The young princeſſe, wife to *Coreskie*,
hauing diſguiſed herſelfe, and diſfigured her face with her nayles, and other helpes, fell
into

A into the hands of a Tartarian captain, with many others, who carried her into Tartaria, wheras
ſhee was inhumanely intreated.

The courſes of the Florentine gallies.

In the Mediterranean ſea, *Coſmo* great Duke of Tuſcanie, continued his enterpriſes this
yeare againſt the Turkes: his gallies part from Ligorne, and run into the Leuant, in queſt of
ſome occaſions to annoy theſe Infidels. They drew neere vnto Cerigo, in old time Citharea,
the fiue and twentieth of Aprill, where meeting with certaine Chriſtian ſhips, ſome Venetians
aduertiſed them, that in the Iſland of Chio, the Turkes had prepared two gallies to paſſe
into Barbarie. *Inghirami* (Admirall to the great Duke) reſolued to ſet vpon them; being on
the way, hee turned with his fleet where they were to paſſe, and being couered by the night,
hee caſt anchor vnder caſtle Roux. But as hee attended a fauourable occaſion, the Moone
B ſhining, diſcouered him to the Turkes, and the guards hauing aduertiſed the Turkes gallies,
they preſently began to flie, the one rowing amaine towards land, and the other continued
her courſe at ſea with all ſpeed. *Inghirami* with his Admirall gallie got before that which
was going to land, inueſted it, beeing followed by the gallie called Saint *Stephen*, and three
houres within night grapled with it, and laboured to enter it: but the Turkes (who were all
good ſouldiers) defended it valiantly, ſo as they were aboue an houre faſtened together, hewing
one another furiouſly: yea the Turks (who were entered into *Inghirami* his gallie) fought
valiantly vpon the hatches; but in the end the Florentines had the victorie, and tooke this
Gallie, yet with much loſſe of Chriſtian bloud. It was the Patron gallie of that famous
Pirate *Amurath Raiſe*, which was commanunded by the ſonne of *Mammi* a Portugall,
C called *Muſtapha Celebi*, who was taken aliue, but ſore wounded. The other gallie which
had fled to ſea and was the Captaine gallie of the ſaid *Amurath Raiſe*, commanded by the
Bey of Mitilene, nephew and ſonne in law to that Pirate, called *Amurath*, who had married
his daughter, beeing his mothers ſonne, was inueſted by the gallies of Saint *Marie Magdalene*,
and the Patron Saint *Coſmo*; the combate was no leſſe furious than the other, the Turks
making a wonderfull defence: But after ſome houres fight, in which time the bloud of either
ſide was aboundantly ſpilt, the Florentines had the victorie: *Amurath* Bey of Mitilene, was
ſlaine, and *Muſtapha*, whome theſe Turkiſh gallies carried to Algier in Barbarie. They
were of fiue and twentie bankes a piece, carrying Lanthornes, and furniſhed with all things
neceſſarie, and manned with foure hundred and twentie Ianizaries, all men of action, and
D practiſed in piracies with that pyrate *Amurath Rais*. In this prize the Florentines tooke two
hundred and forty Turks, and freed foure hundred and thirty Chriſtians: among the artillerie
of theſe gallies, they recouered a cannon and two ſacres of the gallie of Saint *Iohn*, and a
ſayle belonging to the Great Dukes Captaine gallie, which the Pyrat *Amurath Rais* had
formerly ſpoyled. Theſe Turkiſh gallies were loden with great ſtore of rich commodities,
the which was valued at two hundred thouſand crownes. But this conqueſt was gotten
with the loſſe of much bloud: for the Florentines had two hundred twentie three men
wounded, and fiue and thirtie ſlaine in thoſe two combats; the which made the Admirall *Inghirami*
to reſt ſatisfied in this voyage with the taking of two gallies, after which he returned
to Ligorne.

Turkiſh gallies taken by the Florentines.

Deputies meet at Vienna to confirme the peace betwixt the emperor & the Turke.

E Wee haue formerly made mention in the Ieſuites buſineſſe, beeing preſented at Conſtantinople,
of the entrie which the Emperors Embaſſador made into that citie. And this was the
effect of his embaſſage. The peace concluded at Situa Torok, in the yeare 1606, betwixt
the Emperour and the Sultan, was ſomewhat altered by the diuers interpretations and explications,
which they made of the Articles therein contained. But this yeare 1616, in
the moneth of March, the Embaſſadours of both their Imperiall Maieſties aſſembled at Vienna
in Auſtria; that is to ſay, the Cardinall *Forgatſie* Archbiſhop of Strigonium, and Chancellour
to the Emperour, the Cardinall *Kleſſel*, Biſhop of Vienna, the Baron of *Rainek*, Count
Adolph Althen, the Earle of Solmes, the Earle of Thoron, and *Pauli Apponi Nagi*, for the Emperour:
Hali Baſſa of Buda, *Achmat Tybaia*, and *Gaſpar Gratſiani*, for the Turke: where they
F concluded theſe following Articles, to take away all pretext of controuerſie in the explication
of thoſe which were agreed vpon at Situa Torok. But it was after that Embaſſadours
had beene ſent of either ſide, as well to Conſtantinople, as to Prague, with royall and
rich Preſents.

Articles extracted out of the Letters Patents of Achmat Emperour of the Turkes. G

Articles touching the differences of the peace.

1 For as much as many things haue happened of either ſide contrarie to the peace concluded at Situa Torok, it hath beene neceſſarie to confirme it anew, and to reduce it into the right courſe. Wherefore this holy peace made and concluded at Situa Torok, ſhall bee obſerued for twentie yeares compleat, to begin at the date of theſe preſents. Giuen in the moneth of ChomaZilabil, in the yeare of the Prophet, 1024.

2 That the peace heretofore concluded at Situa Torok, ſhall remaine firme in all the articles, according to the treatie which the Emperor Rodulphus did ſend vnto vs, ſigned with his hand, and ſealed with his ſeale, H the which wee haue receiued willingly, and the ſame treatie wee alſo ſent backe confirmed backe to the Emperor of the Romans: the which he receiued in like manner. And this treaty which was ſent vnto vs, beare date the ninth of December, in the yeare 1606 of Ieſus of reuerend and happie memorie: and that which we ſent vnto the Emperor of Romans, wherewith he was ſatisfied, was dated in the yeare of the Prophet 1021.

3 Since the time that Agria, Caniſe, Alba-Regalis, Peſth, Buda, Zolnok, Hatwan, and other places haue beene taken, that the villages which were of their appurtenances, ſhall hereafter remaine annexed vnto them. But thoſe villages which ſince the peace of Situa Torok, haue beene hindered from paying of their tribute by either ſide, or haue beene held by force, contrarie to the treatie of peace, that thoſe villages ſhall be viewed by Commiſſaries appointed by vs and the Emperour of the Romanes, and preſently ſhall bee ſet at libertie, and reſtored to their Lords and right owners. I As for the Villages which pay tribute to either part, thoſe which are ſcituate vpon the frontiers of the Emperour of the Romanes, towards Nouigrade and other places, ſhall be viewed by Commiſſaries thereunto deputed, who ſhall take a Regiſter, to the end thoſe villages may not be moleſted by our neighbors. In like manner the Commiſſarie ſhall make a Regiſter of the villages which pay to both ſides, lying neere the townes of the Emperour of Romanes, of Strigonium and other places; to the end they may take notice what villages are bound, to the one or the other partie, that hereafter there might grow no controuerſie. And for that which concerned the 158 villages about Strigonium, for the which there was ſome controuerſie, the 60 lying neereſt to the ſaid towne ſhall be adiudged, as it hath beene agreed, and the Commiſſaries of either ſide ſhall take order for it. K The foreſaid villages lying neere to Strigonium, and all others of the Realme of Hungarie, which ſhal be adiudged to the one or other partie, ſhal not in any ſort be diſquieted, more than of antient cuſtome, and there ſhall be nothing exacted from them more than the tribute.

The Iudges of villages ſhall pay vnto the Lord the tributes according to the antient cuſtome; if the Iudges do not bring the tribute, the Baſſa or Beg of the place ſhall ſummon the inhabitants thrice, to the end their Iudges may come and pay the tribute, and if they doe it not after theſe ſummonings, he ſhall write vnto the next Gouernour for the Romane Emperor, that the Iudges of the villages may be ſent vnto him with the tribute: And finally, if after all theſe formalities it be not paied, the Baſſa or Beg, may vſe force to fetch in theſe inhabitants, and make them ſlaues: the which ſhall be obſerued throughout all the villages which owe vs tribute in the realme of Hungarie, L yet nothing ſhall be exacted or demanded of them, more than they haue been accuſtomed to pay in antient times. The commiſſaries deputed ſhall view and ſet downe by a ioynt conſent the limits and bounds of the lands and Seigniories, which are held by either part in the vpper or lower Hungarie, and in the realmes of Croatia and Sclauonia.

4 They that ſhall breake the peace of either part, if they cannot be conuicted and puniſhed inſtantly; we haue decreed, that there ſhall be order taken of either ſide, and iuſtice ſhall be done within three moneths. All priſoners of warre, and others which haue beene taken ſince the peace of Situa Torok, ſhall be ſet at libertie without ranſome.

5 Achmet Tahaia hath preſented vnto vs a Roule of places built and fortified ſince the peace, M for the retreat of ſouldiers. Whereupon we haue ordained, that informations ſhould be taken of all fortifications made on either ſide ſince the peace of Situa Torok; and if it be found that any fortification hath been made contrarie to the peace, it ſhall bee viſited within foure moneths by the captains on both ſides, or by a Nobleman of either partie, and the fortifications which ſhall be found to haue been thus made contrary to the peace, ſhall be demoliſhed.

A 6 *And for that ſome wicked and malicious ſpirits, haue attempted many things vniuſtly to infringe this holy peace and good amitie; we haue ordained, that if hereafter any perſons of either ſide ſhall attempt or practiſe any thing that is wicked and lewd, contrarie to the peace and mutuall coreſpondencie, wee will aduertiſe the Emperour of the Romans thereof: and in like manner the Roman Emperour, king of Hungarie and Bohemia, ſhall write vnto vs to our court, and no credit ſhall be giuen to the reports of ſuch perſons.*

7 *The Prieſts, religious men, and Ieſuites, among the people of holy* Ieſus, *which follow the Popes religion, may build Temples in our realmes, there to ſay diuine ſeruice after their manner, and read the Goſpell. Wee will yeeld them all fauour, and will not ſuffer any one to diſturbe them contrarie to law and equitie.*

B 8 *It ſhall be lawfull for the inhabitants borne in the realme of Hungarie of either part, to re-edifie the villages ruined and laied waſte, and after they are inhabited, they ſhall pay tribute to the one and the other, if they be ſuch villages as haue been accuſtomed to pay to both.*

9 *Merchants ſhall haue free leaue to traffique, paſſing from our port into thoſe countries, and the*
tranſport of merchandiſe ſhall bee free to ſuch as ſhall take letters from the Gouernours of the fron-
tiers, or from the Receiuors of the thirties; the which they ſhall repreſent in paſſing, and the Lord of
of the place or the Receiuor ſhall atteſt the ſaid letters, by his manuall ſigne or ſeale: for the which
they ſhall not take any thing of the merchant. If the merchant be to paſſe by any dangerous place, they
ſhall giue him a ſufficient conuoy to conduct him in ſafetie: and after that the merchant hath paied
of either ſide the thirtieth, which is the full due, no man ſhall moleſt him nor hinder him to goe where
C *he pleaſeth.*

10 *The merchants which would paſſe from the realms and ſeigniories of the Emperor of the Ro-*
manes and the houſe of Auſtria, into our kingdomes, with merchandiſe or money, ſhall come vnder the
enſigne of the Emperor of Romans and ſhall haue his letters patents to vs, without the which they ſhall
not be ſuffred to paſſe. And if they enter without enſigne or the ſaid patents, the Agents and Conſuls of
the Roman Emperor may ſeiſe vpon their veſſels, merchandiſe, and money, and ſhall giue aduice thereof
vnto their Emperour: wherefore all the merchants of the Emperours countries, of the houſe of Auſtria,
and of the king of Spaine, both as well thoſe of the Low Countries as his other realmes, may come with
all aſſurance into our realmes, with their ſhips, money, and merchandiſe, paying three in the hundred.
And as for the Agents and Conſuls of the Roman Emperour, they ſhall pay vnto them two Aſpers for
D *the hundred: and in doing ſo the ſaid Agents and Conſuls of the Roman Emperour, ſhall haue a care*
of the merchants affaires. If any merchant chance to die, the Emperours Agent and Conſull ſhall cauſe
his goods to be ſealed vp, and ſhall take them into their poſſeſſion, to the which our Treaſurer ſhall haue
no colour of pretenſion. And when as the merchants haue paied the cuſtome of three for the hundred in
one place, they ſhall not bee bound to pay it in another for the ſame merchandiſe. If the merchants
haue any controuerſie amongſt themſelues, or with others, the Cadi or Iudge of that place may take
knowledge of the cauſe, if it exceed not the value of 4000 *aſpers, but it ſhall be iudged by the Cadi of*
our Port.

11 *As long as this holy peace ſhal continue, the poſts which ſhall be ſent with letters by the Baſſaes,*
Begues, Lords, and Agents, or by the Viſiers on our behalfe to the Emperour of the Romans; and reſpe-
E *ctiuely from him to our Court, ſhall be honourably entertained by our officers: and if the way be dange-*
rous, they ſhall giue them aſſiſtance to conduct them into a place of ſafetie with their letters. And if the
Agent which is with vs, deſire to write any particular letter vnto the Emperour, and not ſend an ex-
preſſe meſſenger, that this letter ſhall be carried by the poſt, and deliuered ſafely where it is directed.
That the meſſengers of the Baſſaes and Begues ſhall goe no more into the villages, but the Iudges ſhall
bring the tribute and deliuer it where they ought.

An accord for the execution of the Articles touching the Villages in controuerſie, and the raiſing of fortifications.

F *To conclude all differencies touching the diuiſion of Villages, and demolition of fortifications made in preiudice of the peace of Situa Torok; Wee the commiſſaries deputed, had agreed vpon the time of foure moneths: But for that all controuerſies cannot bee decided within that time, by a common conſent wee haue concluded the time of twelue moneths, for the expedition of all that ſhall remaine* *vndecided; all things remaining in the ſame eſtate during the time. For the ending of theſe affaires* G *on the behalfe of the Maieſtie of the Roman Emperour, ſhall be ſent the noble Lord* Adolph *of Althen Earle of the ſacred Empire, with others according to his Maieſties good pleaſure. And on the behalfe of the Othoman Emperour hath beene named the noble Lord* Ali *Viſier Baſſa.*

For the greater aſſurance of theſe things, wee the ſaid Commiſſioners haue cauſed ſix copies of this treatie to be diſpatched, in the Italian, Hungarian, and Turkiſh tongues. And we the director or preſident of the priuie Councell to his Imperiall Maieſtie, and Cardinall, with other Counſellors of his priuie Councell, and Commiſſioners, hauing full power and authoritie, haue confirmed theſe preſents vnder our hands and the Seales of our armes.

As alſo we Ali *Baſſa of Buda, Viſier to the moſt powerfull Sultan* Achmat. Tyhaia Mutafaraga, *and* Gaſpar Gratiani *Embaſſadors to the Turkiſh Emperor, with the Imperiall Maieſtie of the Roman* H *Emperour, hauing full power and authoritie to conclude this treatie, haue ſigned it with our hands, and ſealed it with our ordinarie Seales: whereof there were three copies deliuered to either partie. Giuen at Vienna the firſt of March, 1616.*

This new declaration of the *Othoman* Emperour, vpon the firſt Articles concluded at Situa Torok, ſhewes plainely how much the Turkes are of late daies refined from their antient barbariſme and rudeneſſe, hauing made themſelues capable of great affaires. And theſe frequent meetings betwixt the Emperour of the Romans, and the Sultan, by their Embaſſadors, as a holy watering of the Oliue tree of peace, ſeemes to make it ſo flouriſhing, as the ſweet ſauour may pierce further, and make vs hope that God will make vſe of this peacefull vnion, to I prepare vnto himſelfe ſome meanes to a new harueſt, or a healthfull conqueſt of ſoules wandring amidſt the falſhoods of the Alchoran.

Prince Coresky his wife caried into Tartaria.

Alexandrina wife to prince *Coreskie* hauing been taken at that vnfortunat ouerthrow of the Polonian princes in Moldauia, by *Skinder Baſſa* and prince *Michna*; ſhee was carried away (as you haue formerly heard) by a Tartarian Captaine, and led captiue vnknowne to Bialigrot, where ſhee receiued many indignities, beeing with childe; yea during the time of her lying in, which was fiue or ſix moneths after her taking: all which time ſhee bethought herſelfe of a meanes to haſten her owne deliuerie, and withall to free a Polonian ſouldier called *Iaques*, who had carried armes vnder Prince *Coreskie*. This man although hee knew the Princeſſe well, and might by her diſcouerie haue purchaſed his owne libertie; yet hee K would not do it: wherefore the Princeſſe hauing tryed his fidelitie, taught him a meanes how to worke his owne libertie, and hers in the end, by his care and diligence. The Tartarian being one day abſent from his lodging, *Alexandria* tooke occaſion to talke with *Iaques* the Polonian; telling him, That hauing found him faithfull vnto her, ſhee would direct him a courſe, whereby hee might redeeme himſelfe from captiuitie; ſo as hee would principally obſerue what ſhee did preſcribe. *Iaques* hauing promiſed to execute whatſoeuer this ladie ſhould enioyne him, yea with the hazard of his life; ſhe then ſaid vnto him: You know the Tartarian whoſe captiues we are, hath an elder brother, a very rich man, who of late is become blind and deafe, by reaſon of a great cattarch and defluction which is fallen downe into his eyes and eares, wherewith his brother ſeemes to be much afflicted: I haue a jewel which my L great Lord and husband gaue me when we were made ſure, the which I haue kept carefully, hiding it ſometimes in my haire, ſometimes in my old tatterd rags which I haue worne ſince my captiuitie, the which I haue much eſteemed; for that my deare ſpouſe had aſſured mee, that the ſtone which was ſet in this jewell had many and ſingular vertues, and amongſt others, that it would reſtore the ſight, which had been loſt by defluction, and cure deafeneſſe, ſo as it were not naturall or too inueterate. I am reſolued to take out the ſtone, and deliuer it thee: after thou haſt ſounded the Tartarian, whither hee will ſet thee at libertie if thou doeſt cure his brother of his infirmities; making him ſweare ſolemnly not to retaine the ſtone, but to ſuffer thee to carrie it away, to the end thou maieſt reſtore it vnto me without his knowledge. Hauing reſolued vpon this plot, the Ladie ſaid vnto him, You muſt alſo demand of the ſicke M man a horſe and ſome money, with paſſe-ports to goe into your Countrey, to the end thou maieſt goe ſpeedily to my deare husband, whereſoeuer thou ſhalt heare of him, and to deliuer him my letters, and bring mee an anſwere if it be poſſible. The Polonian hauing ſworne to performe whatſoeuer the Ladie commanded him beeing at libertie; the princeſſe deliuered him the ſtone, he ſwearing to reſtore it vnto her againe, as ſoone as he had done his cure, if it were not taken from him by violence.

The Polonian attended with impatiencie vntill the Tartarian did talke vnto him of his brothers infirmitie: who finding him one day much afflicted, tooke occaſion to tell him, that hee knew a certaine meanes how to cure his brother, without any paine, or taking any thing inwardly: I beleeue nothing, replied the Tartarian; for all the Phyſitions in the Countrey could not doe it; but if he could effect his ſaying, hee promiſed to ſet him at libertie without ranſome, and to giue him wherewithall to conduct him into his countrie: it is the recompence, ſaid the priſoner, I meant to demand, and that you ſweare vnto me by your great God not to faile of your promiſe when I haue performed mine, and not to retaine, nor ſuffer any one to take from me the thing I ſhall vſe in the cure. The Tartarian hauing ſolemnly ſworne, and layed his right hand vpon his heart, the Polonian tooke a time to make preparation for his cure. The Tartarian although he diſtruſted his new phyſition, yet he acquainted his brother with the proiect, who beeing deſirous to recouer his ſences, intreated his brother not to neglect the offer, promiſing to ſaue him harmeleſſe, both in regard of the ranſome which hee expected from the Polonian, and for the money he ſhould giue him. The day appointed being come, the Tartarian preſt the priſoner to perform his promiſe; to whom the ſicke man alſo promiſed a horſe and fiftie chequines to returne into his countrie, taking the ſame oath which his brother had formerly done. All things being readie, he applied his phyſicall ſtone, binding it faſt to one of his eyes for the ſpace of ſeuen houres, after which being taken away he ſaw clearely, and in like manner he recouered his other eye, and afterwards his hearing by the like application: whereat the Tartarians much reioyced, giuing vnto the Polonian what they had promiſed, and procuring him paſſe-ports from the Gouernour, without which hee could hardly get out of the countrie.

Iaques ſeekes out Coreſkie.

The Polonian before his departure told the Tartarian Captaine that hee had a ſuit vnto him, that was, that the Polonian woman which was alſo his priſoner was his neere kinſwoman, entreating him that in reſpect of his good office he had done to his brother, hee would vſe her and her little infant better, and that as ſoone as he were returned into his countrey, he would take a courſe for her ranſome, and it might be would bring it himſelfe. The Polonian hauing acquainted the Ladie with what had paſt, and deliuered her iewell faithfully vnto her, hauing receiued her letters to prince *Coreſkie*, and vowed to finde him out, hee tooke his leaue. This Polonian trauelling towards his countrey, met with one of the ſame nation, who hauing beene taken priſoner with prince *Alexander*, made an eſcape: theſe two diſcourſing freely of their aduentures, *Iaques* enquired carefully what was become of the princes which had beene carried priſoners to Conſtantinople by *Skinder Baſſa*, and eſpecially of *Coreſkie*; and hearing that hee was in the priſons of the Blacke Sea, hee enquired by what meanes he might ſpeake with this prince, or at leaſt how hee might conuey ſome letters vnto him: to whome hee anſwered, that it was verie difficult, for that he was ſtraightly guarded. But hee vnderſtood that the French Embaſſadour had ſometimes leaue to ſend to viſit him, whereof he might informe himſelfe more particularly. After this, *Iaques* intreated his countryman to deliuer certaine letters which the princeſſe had written vnto her kinſfolkes, the which hee promiſed to performe faithfully, and ſo they parted. *Iaques* comming to Conſtantinople, hee grew acquainted with one of the French Embaſſadours men, who was ſometimes employed to viſit the prince, and to carrie him mony and other neceſſaries, by whoſe meanes hee got acceſſe vnto the Prince, and deliuered his letters, the which hee receiued with much joy, hearing of his wiues health. Eight daies after, the Polonian comming to viſit the Prince, he receiued from him an anſwere to his wife, and ſo tooke his leaue; who after many troubleſome encounters, returned to Bialigrot, where finding the Ladie all alone (the Tartarian and his ſeruants being gone a hunting) he gaue an account vnto her of his negotiation, and deliuered his letters, whereat ſhee was much joyed, hearing that hee was aliue, though infinitly grieued for his captiuitie, vnderſtanding that the Grand Seigniour had *refuſed* to put him to ranſome. After their diſcourſe, the princeſſe aduertiſed her faithful Agent, That ſince his departure, the Tartar had grown jealous of her qualitie, and had enquired of her what her

He returnes into Tartarie.

husband, her kinsfolkes and their eſtates were; to whome ſhe had anſwered, that her husband was a captaine who had been taken priſoner with prince *Alexander*, and carried with him into Turkie; and as for her other kinsfolkes they were all ſouldiers, which had beene ruined during the troubles of Moldauia: deſiring the Polonian to remember it well, leaſt they ſhould be found to differ when they ſhould come to treat of her ranſome. The Tartarian returning ſoone after to his houſe, he found *Iaques* the Polonian there, whom he entertained verie kindly, both in reward of the good offices he had done to his brother, and for the hope hee had of his priſoners ranſome, remembring that *Iaques* had told him that ſhe was his kinſwoman, and that it might be he would bring it. After ſome little diſcourſe, *Iaques* asked him, What ranſome hee would require for his Polonian Priſoner? to whom the Tartarian anſwered, That he would haue 6000 Chequines for her and her ſonne, vnleſſe hee would giue him the ſtone with the which he had cured his brother: to whom the Polonian replyed, That as for the ſtone it was not in his power, hauing reſtored it to a Nobleman whome hee had followed when hee was taken priſoner. And as for the ranſome which hee demaunded for his priſoner and her childe, it was more than ſhe and all her kindred were worth, ſhe beeing wife to a Captaine who had beene taken priſoner at the defeat of *Alexander*, and for want of means was ſtill detained. The Tartarian interrupted him; ſaying, That hee vnderſtood ſhee was of noble extraction, and that ſhee had rich kinsfolkes, who would not ſuffer her to ſpend her life in captiuitie. I confeſſe ſaid the Polonian, that ſhee is iſſued from Noble parents, but they are ruined during the troubles of Moldauia; adding withall, that he would not haue returned if he had thought hee would haue demaunded aboue 1000 Chequines, the which he offered him, intreating him to accept it, in regard ſhee was his kinſwoman, and for the good office he had done for his brother. You haue beene ſatisfied, replyed the Tartarian, and haue no cauſe to complaine: Notwithſtanding after ſome conteſting, by the mediation of the captaines brother, who had beene ſo well cured, the ladies ranſome was ſet at three thouſand Chequines, whereof her faithfull agent gaue preſent intelligence to prince *Charles* brother to prince *Cereskie*, who ſent this ſumme with all poſſible ſpeed; and ſo the princeſſe and her little infant were redeemed from captiuitie, and conducted into Polonia by their faithfull ſolicitor: From whence ſhee aduertiſed the prince by letters of her deliuerie. This relation was written by a Frenchman, who by his report was preſent in all the troubles of Moldauia: but as touching her deliuerie by meanes of the cure, I cannot warrant it, but leaue it to the cenſure of Phyſitions and Naturaliſts, who can beſt judge of the vertues of ſtones, hearbes, and plants; but it is certaine that ſhee was impriſoned and ranſomed as an vnknowne perſon.

Prince Coresky his wiſe redeemed from the Tartarians.

1617

A Chiaus ſent from Conſtantinople to Paris.

In the yeare 1617, there came to Paris a Chiaus, a Spaniſh Renegado, called *Solyman*, ſent from Conſtantinople with letters from the Emperor *Achmat* to the king, for the deliuerie of eight and twentie ſlaues, who had redeemed their libertie for money in diuers ports of Italie, and in their returne to Conſtantinople, had been taken by the ſhips of Marceilles: the King cauſed them to be ſet at libertie. But the Chiaus had alſo charge to intreat his Maieſtie to cauſe iuſtice to be done vnto the Moores Grannadines, expelled out of Spaine, and wronged in their goods and perſons, vpon their paſſage into France; wherein hee had what contentment he could expect of iuſtice. Notwithſtanding he did witneſſe openly his amaſement at their long delaies, in the diſpatch of ſuits; ſaying plainly, That France which had the reputation throughout the world, to maintaine euery mans right inuiolably, did no Iuſtice, but after long and tedious purſuits; and that the execution of decrees, was many times longer than the ſuit it ſelfe. Whereas the Turkes Iuſtice (ſaid hee) was ſpeedily adminiſtred to euery man; and within eight dayes they ſaw an end of the greateſt and moſt important ſuits. This Chiaus was fauourably entertained, and defraied with his traine for the ſpace of ſix or ſeuen moneths at the kings charge.

The cauſe of his voyage.

The eſtate of the Turks Empire this yeare.

As the Turkes eſtate hath not growne great but by combuſtions, ſo it is ordinarily full of troubles; whereby it ſeemes that the preſeruation thereof depends in making warre vpon others, or to ſupport it when as neighbour princes ſeeke to recouer that which they had vniuſtly wreſted from them, by the *Othoman* force. So this "great eſtate entertained this yeare foure great armies, two at land, the one againſt the Perſians his antient enemie, the other

(con-

He entertaines foure armies.

A (conſiſting in a manner all of Tartarians)againſt the king of Poland,as ſupporting the part of
the Vayuod of Moldauia againſt the Turke, who had ſetled another in that Prouince:
And two nauall armies, the one in the Blacke ſea againſt the Coſſackes or Ruſſians, who
made daily incurſions into the **Othomans** Countrey, men wholly giuen to armes, which goe
to ſea in ſmall boats, able to carrie but fiue or ſix men, made of the bodies of hollow trees;
but they are in a manner inuincible with theſe kind of boats: for when as the diſaduantage
of a combat forces them to ſound a retreat,they retire neere vnto the land, and in ſuch places
whereas the Turkiſh gallies cannot approch; and ſo they eaſily preuent a totall ouerthrow.
Finally, in caſe of neceſſitie they carrie their veſſels with them. For in the end of the
laſt yeare finding the paſſage of the Blacke ſea ſtopped at the mouth of the riuer of Danow
B by the Turkiſh gallies, they put their boats into carts,and taking the way by the mountaines,
they brought them eaſily into the ſea. The Turkes fourth armie is in the white ſea, as they
call it, employed either to conduct the Carauan, which brings the tribute from Ægypt to
Conſtantinople, or in ſearch of the gallies of Malta and Florence,which ſcoure thoſe ſeas
continually to annoy the Turke. The armie againſt the Perſian is led by ***Haly Baſſa,*** ſucceſſor
to ***Mehemet Baſſa***, hee who fled into Perſia after that hee had loſt threeſcore thouſand men in
a ſet a battell: after which beeing ſent for to come vnto Conſtantinople, fearing that the Sultan
would take reuenge of ſo great a loſſe vpon his life, hee retired to the Sophie,where he
now remaines.

The Turkes complaine to the Venetians of the Vſcoques ſpoiles.

The Turks being much annoyed both at ſea and land by the Vſcoques,made great complaint
C to the Eſtate of Venice, with whome they are in league,beeing greatly grieued at their
thefts; and complayning much that they could not paſſe by ſea without danger of ſeruitude
or death: adding withall,that theſe pyrats hauing gotten a way into Turkie by the Venetians
territories, they were by them made ſlaues and ſlaine in their owne countries; and although
they went not from their houſes, nor vndertooke any voyages, yet they were ſtill in alarme,
and ſubiect vnto ruine. That the ſmall reſiſtance which was made, gaue great cauſe of jealouſie,
that there was ſome ſecret intelligence betwixt the ſubiects of the Seigniory of Venice
and the Vſcoques, and that they diuided the ſpoile betwixt them. Finally, that in what ſort
ſoeuer the matter paſt, they held them inſupportable to all men,but eſpecially to themſelues.
The Turkes threatened to take their juſt reuenge, the which beeing impoſſible to effect in
D the countrie of the Vſcoques(for that by the letters of the commonwealth of Venice their
paſſage was ſtopped) they reſolued to be reuenged vpon their ſubiects,and recouer a part of
their goods which they had loſt. Finally,they prepared to come into the gulph of Venice
with a mightie armie, the which without doubt had brought that State into great extremities,
and been verie preiudiciall to many prouinces of Chriſtendome. But for that the inſolencies
and thefts of the Vſcoques had like to haue ingaged the Venetians in a dangerous warre
againſt the Turke with whome they were in league, it ſhall neither be vnpleaſant nor vnprofitable
to make a little digreſſion, and ſhew what theſe Vſcoques were. About the yeare
1550, there aſſembled together in certaine plaines neere the ſea belonging to the princes of
the houſe of Auſtria, people (who were cruell, violent, and infamous) from diuers parts of
E the countrey of Chimera, Dalmatia, and the other confines of Hungarie, and ſuch as had
beene baniſhed from the State of Venice; whoſe delight was onely to liue vpon ſpoyle and
bloud. All theſe theeues beeing thus gathered together (whome they called by a generall
name Vſcoques) as enemies to all art and induſtrie to liue honeſtly by their labours, retired
themſelues into a deſart countrey, receiuing no pay from the Princes of Auſtria who commaunds
there. Being thus by their naturall inclination giuen to ſpoyle, adding thereunto
the ſpurre of pouertie, nothing mooued them to ſtay in thoſe places, but all libertie was left
them to rob and ſpoyle: whereupon they applyed all their mindes and forces; ſo as hauing
made certaine light foiſts, they began to make courſes at ſea, with the moſt barbarous and
impious crueltie that euer was practiſed amongſt the Scithians,Tartarians, or any other inhumane
F Nation whatſoeuer. And for that it is an ordinarie courſe for any one that will commit
a great villanie,to ſeeke out ſome goodly pretext to couer it: ſo they concluded among
themſelues, to ſhadow their inſolencies and thefts with a colour to goe againſt the Infidels.
Wherefore in the beginning, there were no merchants were they Turkes,Iewes, or ſubiects

The beginning of the Vſcoques.

Enemies to all art and induſtrie.

They rob the Turks & Iews trafficking to Venice.

They ſpoile the Turks country and the Venetians.

to the Turke, although they were Chriſtians, but if they entred into the gulfe either to trafique or to furniſh Venice with prouiſion and merchandiſe, they were taken by them, their goods diuided amongſt them, and they forced to pay a great ranſome, or to die miſerably. All the ports of the State of Venice, both of Iſtria, Dalmatia, and the Iſlands from whence they receiued their victuals and prouiſion, were ſoone after ſhut vp by theſe pyrats; who not content to ſpoile the Turks (which trafficked no more by reaſon of their great dangers and loſſe) allured by the rich ſpoiles which they tooke, and the deſire they had to encounter them, they began to ſet vpon the Venetian ſhips, forcing the merchants whom they tooke to confeſſe by torments, that the goods belonged to Turks, although in effect their chiefe booty came from Chriſtians. Hauing drawn many vnto them of their owne humors, and thinking their ſpoyles at ſea not ſufficient to ſatisfie their couetous deſires, nor the preſents which they were to giue to others, to bee faored and ſupported in the courts of princes, they ſtaied not long before they entered with all violence into the Turkes countrey, through the Venetian territorie, to whom they were as hurtfull as to the Turks; from whence they carried away rich ſpoiles and many priſoners. There was nothing that was precious, rich, or good, but was ſubiect to the inſatiable greedineſſe of thoſe pittileſſe theeues and pyrats, if paſſing by ſea they came neere vnthe maritine coaſts. Wherupon grew the great complaint you haue heard made by the Turks, threatening to be reuenged vpon the Eſtate of Venice for the inſolencie of the Vſcoques, which afterward bred a cruell war, betwixt that State and the Archduke *Ferdinand* of Grets, now Emperour, who ſeemed to ſupport them, thereby to ingage the State in a war with the Turke. But for that the ſucceſſe thereof doth not belong to our hiſtorie, wee will leaue it to them that haue written it at large.

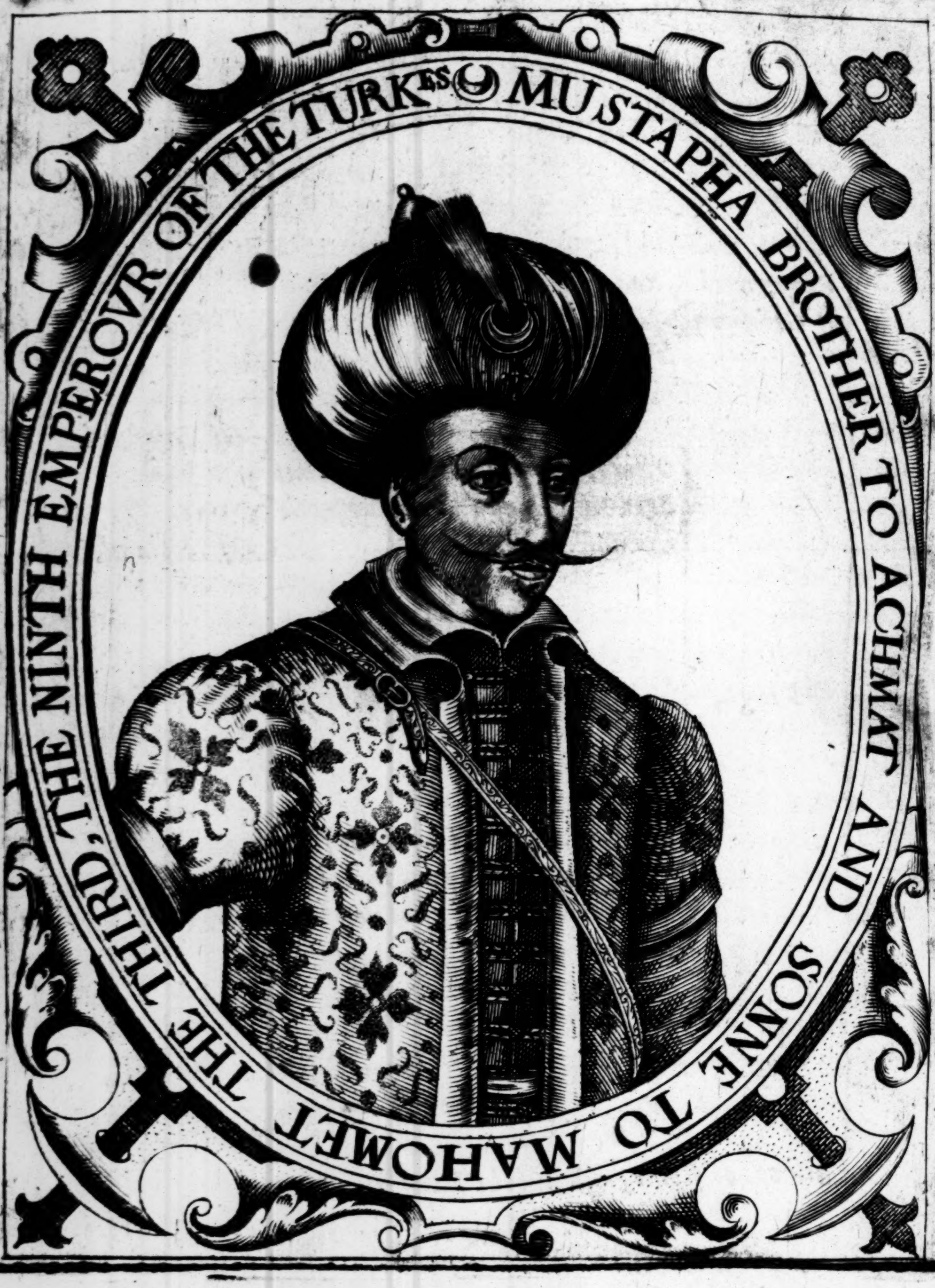
Death of Achmat.

The diſpoſition of Sultan Achmat.

On the fifteenth of Nouember this yeare, Sultan *Achmat Chan* hauing liued 30 yeares, and gouerned that great Empire of Turkie fifteene, died. When he came to the Empire he was but fifteene yeares old; hee was of a good conſtitution, well complexioned, and ſomewhat enclined to bee fat, ſtrong and actiue, which appeared by his exerciſe in caſting of a horſemans mace of nine or ten pounds weight, wherein hee exceeded any one of his Court; in memorie whereof there are two pillars ſet vp in one of the courts of the Seraglio at Conſtantinople, with an inſcription, as markes of his dexteritie. Hee was by nature ambitious and proud, which ſome hold qualities befitting his great eſtate. He was not ſo cruell as many of his predeceſſors: but he was much giuen to ſenſualitie and pleaſure; for the which hee entertained three thouſand concubines and virgines in a Seraglio; beeing the faireſt daughters of the Chriſtians. His mother was a Chriſtian of Boſna, or of Cyprus; and therefore it is thought he was ſomewhat fauorable to Chriſtians. He was much delighted in hawking and hunting; and namely for hawking he kept in Grecia and Natolia fortie thouſand faulkoners, who attended his comming, and kept his hawkes in their ſeuerall places of charge, and had good yearely penſions. Neither were his huntſmen much fewer in number, or of leſſe charge. As the Turkiſh Emperours are bound by the law of their religion once euery day to practiſe ſome manuall trade, ſo *Mahomet* his father gaue himſelfe to the making of arrowes, and *Achmat* to the faſhioning of horne rings, ſuch as the Turkes weare when they draw their bowes: This they doe in the morning, after they are readie and haue ſaid their prayers, then they call for their exerciſe, but it is only for forme, for they ſcarce make an arrow or a ring in a whole yeare.

Chriſtian Princes at the ſame time with Achmat.

- *Emperours of Germany*
  - *Rodolph the ſecond.* 1577.35.
  - *Matthias.* 1612.
- *Kings,*
  - *Of Great Britaine,*
    - *King Iames that now raigneth*
      - *Of England.* 1602.
      - *Of Scotland.* 1567.
  - *Of France,*
    - *Heurie the fourth.* 1589.
    - *Lewis the thirteenth, that now raigneth.* 1610.
- *Biſhops of Rome,*
  - *Paul the V.* 1605.


MUSTAPHA BROTHER TO ACHMAT AND SONNE TO MAHOMET THE THIRD, THE NINTH EMPEROVR OF THE TURKES

Nought but Affliction, thundring out of Heauen,
makes men of earth to any goodneſſe giuen:
Nor longer than ſhe thunders, any feare
that any Heauen holds any Thunderer:
So *Muſtapha*, while Heauen reſtrain'd his State,
and held him fettered in his brothers hate,
To vertuous actions did his ſtudies driue;
was courteous, pious, and contemplatiue:
But when his brother could no longer liue,
and Libertie did to him Power giue;
Then Pride, and Tyrannie, his horſes were,
and driue him alwaies paſt Heauens Loue or Feare.
Greatneſſe on Goodneſſe, loues to ſlide, not ſtand,
and leaues for Fortunes ice, Vertues firme land.
Honour had rather be with danger driuen,
than ſtay with Vertue on the hand of Heauen.

THE

THE RAIGNE OF MVSTAPHA,
THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, NINTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

Muſtapha aduanced to the Empire.

OSman the eldeſt ſonne of *Achmat*, beeing not aboue twelue yeares old, *Muſtapha* brother to *Achmat*, being fiue and twentie, was drawne out of a cell where hee liued as it were religiouſly and in contemplation; and proclaimed Sultan *Muſtapha Chan*. They write of him, that hee grew cruell, cauſing young *Oſman* to bee kept vnder ſure guards, putting to death his brethren: Hee alſo did many indignities vnto the Chriſtian Embaſſadours; and to confirme him in his Throne, hee gaue great ſummes of money to the Ianizaries and Spahie's; and ſent a meſſenger to Vienna to the Emperour, to aſſure him that hee would maintaine inuiolably whatſoeuer had beene concluded betwixt him and his deceaſed brother, *Achmat*. But growing odious by reaſon of his tyrannie, the Grand Viſier came out of Perſiia with an armie and depoſed him, forcing him to rerurne to his cell, ſetting prince *Oſman* at libertie, and ſeating him in the Imperiall Throne. But for that it may ſeeme ſtrange, that *Muſtapha* ſhould be preſerued aliue during the raigne of his brother *Achmat* (contrarie to the cuſtome of the *Othoman* Emperours, who doe vſually kill all their brethren at their firſt comming to the crowne, thinking thereby the better to aſſure their eſtates) it ſhal be fit to make mention thereof. *Mahomet* the third of that name, dying in the yeare 1602, and leauing *Achmat* and *Muſtapha* his ſonnes by the Sultana *Flatra* a Ladie of Cyprus, ſome ſay of Boſna, *Achmat* the eldeſt was ſent for ſpeedily out of Magneſia, by the Baſſaes, to take poſſeſſion of his fathers Crowne, beeing the firſt Emperour of that name. And for that the cuſtome of the Turkiſh Emperours was (as wee haue ſaid) to haue neither brother nor nephew aliue, vnleſſe they could ſaue themſelues by flight; yet the Viſier Baſſaes, and other officers of the court concluded in Councell, that it was not fit that *Muſtapha* brother to *Achmat* ſhould die; grounding their opinion vpon a good reaſon of State, for that their Emperour beeing but fifteene yeares old, they feared (that dying in his nonage, without children able to gouerne) the Empire might fall into combuſtion, and ruine it ſelfe by reaſon of ciuile wars. Whereupon they decreed, that *Muſtapha's* life ſhould bee preſerued; but with that caution and reſtriction, that hee ſhould remaine ſtill a priſoner in ſome chambers of the Emperours Seraglio at Conſtantinople.

Depoſed again.

During *Achmats* minoritie, and before he had children, there was no cruell decree made againſt *Muſtapha*, but hee onely continued in his contemplation without any libertie: But when as the Emperor ſaw himſelfe fortified with iſſue, and remembring the cruell cuſtome of his predeceſſours, hee many times propounded the putting of his brother to death to his Councell: the which may ſeeme verie ſtrange it tooke not effect, hauing beene often conclu-

ded. Among others, it is written that his death was concluded one euening, and that it ſhould G
haue beene put in execution the next day: But *Achmat* was ſo frighted in the night with
apparitions and fearefull dreames, as day beeing come, he ſaid, Seeing that the onely reſolution
to put his brother to death had ſo terrified him, he did beleeue that his torments would
much increaſe if he ſhould put it in execution; and therefore hee commanded his brother
ſhould liue, more in regard of the terror of his mind, than for any brotherly affection. Another
time Sultan *Achmat* being in one of the windowes of his Seraglio, he beheld his brother *Muſtapha*,
who by his permiſſion was walking in the gardens with his guard: Some one of his
Baſſaes or other officers that was neere vnto him, and willing to flatter his humour, told him
that it was a matter of dangerous conſequence to ſuffer him to haue ſo great libertie. *Achmat*
(moued with jealouſie and diſtruſt) grew into rage at his words, whereupon hee ſuddenly
tooke his bow and arrow (beeing a verie expert archer, as all the Turkiſh Nation generally H
are) and aimed at his brother to kill him; but at that verie inſtant hee felt ſo great a paine in
his arme and ſhoulder, as not able to let looſe his arrow, nor to performe what hee had intended,
hee ſaid with a loud voyce, That *Mahomet* would not haue *Muſtapha* to die. This
prince had three chambers in the Seraglio, where hee remained a priſoner fifteene yeares, and
ſpent his time in a contemplatiue kind of life, after the manner of the Muſulmans; his whole
delight was to read the Arabian bookes of their doctors in diuers ſciences. The Grand Seignior
gaue him leaue ſometimes to take the aire of his gardens with his guard, and called him
to conſult with him of affaires of eſtate, taking his aduice many times, knowing him to bee of
a ſound judgement.

After a long impriſonment, and a daily apprehenſion of death, the Emperour *Achmat* falling I
grieuouſly ſicke in Nouember, as you haue heard, his Baſſaes and other Councellours
about him (ſeeing the danger hee was in) perſuaded him to take ſome good courſe for the ſucceſſion
of his Empire. Hee had children by the Sultana, but they ſo young as they were not
capable to gouern the Empire. Moreouer, this Sultana was dead, and the children left friendleſſe,
and none to ſpeake for them. But on the other ſide the Sultana *Flatra* mother to the Emperour
Muſtapha was yet liuing, who thought that if the Baſſaes ſhould vndertake to gouerne
the State during the minoritie of the Emperors children, her honor would be much eclipſed:
wherefore ſhe fauored *Muſtapha*, & perſuaded the dying Emperor to make him his ſucceſſour.
On the 15 of Nouember *Achmat* ſeeing his end grow neere, he called for his brother, and told K
him, that ſeeing death approched, hee deſired to prouide for the preſeruation of the Empire,
and therefore had made choice of him to ſucceed him, intreating him to take the gouernment
vpon him preſently after his death. *Muſtapha* was much amaſed at his ſpeech, and anſwered
him with words full of feare and humilitie, That he might not accept of the honour which he
did him, ſeeing that the Empire did rightly belong vnto his eldeſt ſonne. *Achmat* diſabled his
ſonne for ſo great a gouernement, both for his age and capacitie; beeing neceſſarie for the
maintenance of ſo great a monarchie, that hee (who was of ripe yeares and deepe judgement)
ſhould take vpon him the mannaging thereof; recommending the Children hee had
by the Sultana, vnto him; intreating him to vſe them in the ſame manner that hee had vſed
him; leauing the other children which he had by concubines beeing his ſlaues, to his diſcretion. L
Soone after theſe words, *Achmat* dyed, and *Muſtapha* was generally acknowledged for
ſucceſſour to the Turkiſh Empire: who at the firſt was ſo amaſed as he thought he had beene
in a dreame, to ſee himſelfe aduanced to ſo great a power and ſoueraigntie, from a ſtraight
priſon and a daily apprehenſion of death. At his firſt comming to the Empire, he cauſed the
Perſian Embaſſadour to be ſet at libertie, whom his brother *Achmat* had cauſed to be reſtrained
contrarie to the publique faith; for that newes came vnto the court of ſome combuſtions
rayſed by the Perſian. After which hee ſent ſpeedily to the Baſſa of Buda in Hungarie,
commaunding him to entertaine the treatie of peace made by his predeceſſor with the
Emperour inuiolably. Yet notwithſtanding he carried himſelfe during the ſmall time of his
raigne inſolently and cruelly; for violating the Laws of Nations, he had ill intreated the baron M
of *Mole* ar *Sancie* Embaſſadour to the moſt Chriſtian King, ſetting guards vpon him as a
priſoner, hauing cauſed his people to be put in priſon, and tortured after their manner. The
reaſon of this indignitie which *Muſtapha* did vnto the French Embaſſador, and to his people,

A grew vpon an occaſion which will require an ample diſcourſe; for the better vnderſtanding
of that which hath gone before. After the ouerthrow and taking of the Princes of Moldauia,
Prince ***Coreskie***, as you haue heard, was brought by ***Skinder Baſſa*** to Conſtantinople;
whereat the Grand Seignior was wonderfully well pleaſed, for that he was held (euen by his
enemies) for one of the moſt valiant and redoubted princes of Chriſtendome; wherefore hee
was ſent away priſoner, and confined to the towers of the blacke ſea, the which are diſtant
fiue miles from Conſtantinople; a place appointed for the guard of priſoners of great
qualitie and importance, ſuch as hee was. Hee was ſhut vp with a French Captaine called
Rigaut, in a little Chamber which was on the top of one of thoſe towers, in which chamber
there was a window capable for a man to paſſe through, and yet it had no barres for that the
B height of the place freed it from all ſuſpition. This prince was much ſolicited by the Turke
to become a Renegado, as the Princes ***Alexander*** and ***Bougdan*** his brothers in law had done;
but hee reſiſted it with a generous reſolution, reſoluing rather to die in that tedious captiuity,
than to commit ſo baſe an act againſt God and his conſcience: The which beeing made
knowne vnto the King of Polonia, it mooued him to compaſſion, and made him write to
the French Embaſſadour, and to entreat him to bee a meanes that this prince might be put to
ranſome, and freed from captiuitie, at what price ſoeuer; the which the Embaſſador durſt not
vndertake, although hee deſired it much, for that hee had no charge from the King his
Maſter. The Emperours Embaſſadour did what poſſibly hee could, knowing how much
the libertie of this prince might be auaileable to Chriſtendome: For which conſiderations,
C the Turke would not yeeld in any ſort to ſuffer him to be releaſed; ſo as the friends of this
captiue prince were out of hope euer to ſee him at libertie. But moſt commonly in ſuch
extremities the Almightie workes by the ſecret inſtruments of his Diuine prouidence, and
giues aſſiſtance vnto them that feare him, when as all humane helpe and hope failes, as
you may vnderſtand in the ſequell of this hiſtorie: whence grew the Embaſſadours affront
which he receiued.

The generous reſolution of prince Coreskie

About the ſame time, there had beene a Ladie taken out of Podolia with a faire young
daughter of hers and a maid ſeruant, by the Tartarians, who ſould them vnto a Turke,
and hee brought them vnto Conſtantinople to make his profit. This Ladie who was a
Chriſtian, hearing nothing from her husband for the ſpace of nine moneths, went accompanied
D with her daughter to the French Embaſſadours houſe which was at Pera, to craue
his aid and aſſiſtance; where his Secretarie (who was called *Martine*) mooued with compaſſion
and loue, promiſed vnto them all ſeruice, and afterwards aſſured the mother, that if
ſhee would promiſe hee ſhould marrie her daughter, hee would endeauour to redeeme
them from captiuitie: whereunto the Ladies yeelded, and they paſſed their promiſe in
writing to the Secretarie; whereupon he payed two thouſand and fiue hundered crowns
for their ranſome, and ſent them home into their countrey. Being returned, the Ladie made
her husband and the reſt of her friends acquainted how they had beene freed from captiuitie;
and of the contract of marriage which was paſt betweene her daughter and the French
Embaſſadours Secretarie; but the father did altogether diſlike of this marriage, for that
E *Martine*, hee ſaid, was no Gentleman, and had not an eſtate to entertaine his daughter according
to her qualitie. The mother aduertiſed *Martine* ſoone after of the fathers refuſall;
protesting vnto him, that he alone was the hinderance: and as for the mony which hee
had disburſed for their ranſome, they would ſend it vnto him if hee pleaſed to Conſtantinople
with intereſt. ***Martine*** was much diſcontented, and diuers Letters and expoſtulations
paſt betwixt them, but he could not obtaine the execution of his deſire, and their promiſe;
whereupon he grew full of griefe and melancholie, and thereupon went to viſite prince *Coreskie*
who was in the Blacke Tower, to make his complaint vnto him, and to take his aduice
what courſe were beſt for him to follow: Hee made his excuſe that hee had been ſent by his
maſter to carrie the prince ſome money, as he had done at other times, who making the prince
F acquainted with his diſcontent (for that he knew theſe Podolians, and had formerly allowed
of the ſuit which he had made to this virgin) hee comforted him, ſaying, That if he might
by any meanes get out of priſon, hee would willingly ſupplie the defects which they obiected
againſt him, and would maintaine him againſt all that ſhould oppoſe themſelues againſt

A deuice to free prince Coreskie from priſon.

the accompliſhing of his deſires. This made *Martine* ſtudie by what meanes hee might
free the prince, to the end hee might binde him to ſuccour him when hee was at libertie; G
and loue which is many times the author of many goodly inuentions, ſuggeſted one vnto him
which was verie ſubtile and difficult to execute: which was to ſend vnto prince *Coreskie* a
bottome of packthread in a little pie, which hee ſent him with other meat, aduertiſing him
by a letter, that vpon a certaine night concluded betwixt them, he ſhould put downe the packthred
at his chamber window, whereunto a ladder of cords ſhould bee tyed, by the which
hee might deſcend from the tower: the which was afterwards punctually effected, not by
Martine himſelfe, but by a Greeke prieſt, who liued in Conſtantinople, to whome he had
imparted his enterpriſe, and had ingaged him vpon hope of great reward from the prince.
In the meane time *Martine* doubting that hee ſhould be ſuſpected to practiſe this eſcape, reſolued
to be gone, and tooke leaue of the Embaſſadour, whome hee gaue to vnderſtand H
that hee had ſome ſpeciall vrgent affaires which did preſſe his ſpeedie returne into France;
and therefore he left the execution of his deſigne to the Greeke prieſt, who failed not at the

Prince Coresky eſcapes out of priſon.

time appointed to doe as the Secretarie had directed him. The Prince hauing drawne vp
this ladder of ropes with the helpe of his packthread, and beeing come to the foot of the
tower, with his chamber fellow, hee found the Greeke prieſt attending for them, who
told him that he had charge from *Martine* to conduct them to a certaine caue, which was
in a great rocke a league from thence, where they muſt remaine all the day, and that in the
euening hee would not faile to come vnto them, and bring them habits like vnto his owne,
that beeing ſo diſguiſed, hee might conduct them to his lodging in Conſtantinople, and
there conceale them as long as they ſhould thinke fit. This deuice pleaſed them well, and ſo I
they went all three vnto the ſaid caue, whereas the two Cameradoes hid themſelues, and the
prieſt returned to his houſe.

At the breake of day, it beeing the three and twentieth of Nouember 1617, ſome of the
guards entering the priſoners chamber, ſaw that they were eſcaped, and found the ladder
of ropes which they had vſed, tied to the window; whereat they were much amaſed, knowing
well that they ſhould ſmart for it: notwithſtanding hee who had charge of the priſons,
ſent ſpeedily to Conſtantinople, to giue notice of their eſcapes. As ſoone as this was knowne
they ſent poſts ſpeedily to all parts, to make inquirie of theſe fugitiues, eſpecially at the parts,
and paſſages, giuing them ſpeciall charge to obſerue all men that paſſed, if there were not one K
who had the little finger of his right hand ſhrunke vp as prince *Coreskie* had by a wound

The Frēch embaſſadours men tortured by the Turkes.

which hee had receiued. Within few dayes after, the Turke ſeiſed vpon the ſeruants of the
Baron of *Sancie* or *Mole*, Embaſſadour for the French, torturing two of them after their manner;
which is to lay the partie vpon a table on his bellie, and to giue him three or foure hundred
blowes with a ſtaffe vpon the ſoles of their feet, the calues of their legges, and their buttockes,
yet could they not make them ſay any thing that might charge their maſter, as theſe
Turkiſh tormentors did hope. Not content heerewith, they did as much to a poore Turke,
who was a weauer by his trade, and dwelt neere vnto the Embaſſadour, thinking to force
him by this cruell torture to depoſe falſly, that hee had ſeene the Secretarie *Martine* going
and comming to his maſters lodging, vntill the time of the priſoners eſcape; but God would L
not ſuffer the weauer to depoſe any thing but the trueth, notwithſtanding all the miſerable
and cruell torments which hee had ſuffered. The which is worthie the obſeruation, for
that the Turkes doe generally hate Chriſtians mortally, and doe greatly reioyce at their diſaſters.
As for the guards of the Towers, ſome of them were empayled, and ſome were pounded
or beaten to pieces in great mortars of yron, wherein they doe vſually pound their rice to
reduce it to meale.

Three daies after, the Chiaus Baſſa had charge to ſeiſe vpon the perſon of the French Embaſſadour,
the which hee performed verie ſeuerely and vnciuilly, without any *reſpect* vnto
his qualitie. Hauing taken him, the ſaid Chiaus led him vnto the Viſiers houſe, where hauing

The French embaſſador impriſoned by the Turkes.

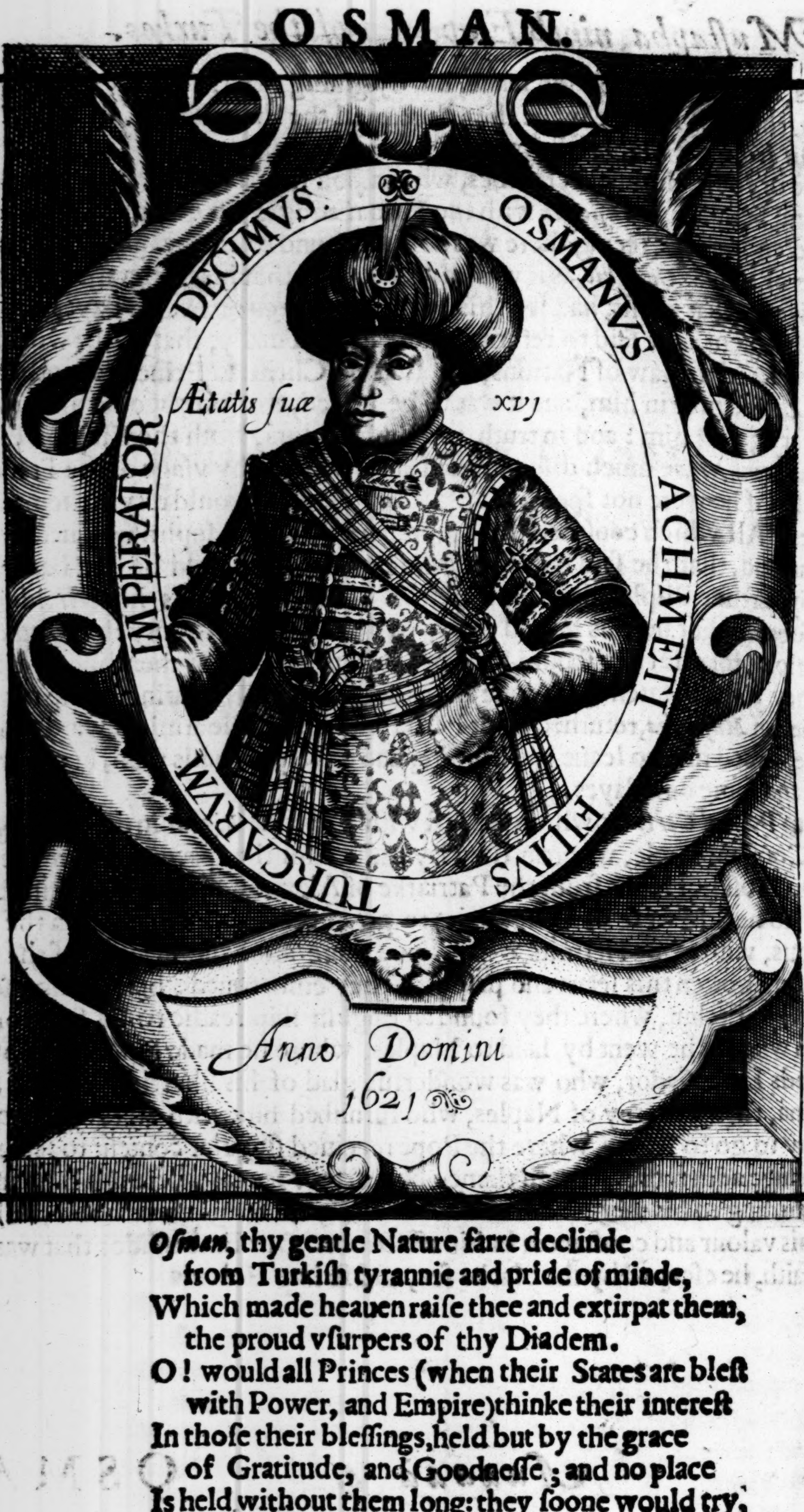
beene examined vpon many circumſtances touching the eſcape of prince *Coreskie*, M
they left him as a priſoner in the hands of the ſaid Chiaus, where hee continued for the
ſpace of three daies, during the which, the ſaid Embaſſadour deſiring to write to ſome of his
friends, and alſo to ſpeake with the Muſti which is the Turks high prieſt, to acquaint him with
his

A his juſt grieuances, he could not obtaine leaue, but by giuing two thouſand crownes vnto his Iaylor: True it is, that this Preſent made the Chiaus tell the Embaſſador, that if he would obtaine any fauour from the Muphti, he muſt procure it by money; according to which aduice he gaue three or foure thouſand crownes, whereupon the Muphti became tractable, acquainting the grand Seigniour *Muſtapha* with the Embaſſadours juſt complaints, and of what importance his detention was, ſeeing there was nothing found to charge him, That he had fauoured the eſcape of Prince *Coreskie*, as it was ſuſpected; and that his Secretarie who had practiſed it for his owne priuat profit, had left his Maſter aboue ten or twelue dayes before the ſaid eſcape, with an intent as he ſaid to returne into France. Finally, that all the world would tax him to haue violated the law of Nations, and that no Chriſtian Prince nor other would B hereafter put any confidence in him, and it was to be feared, that they would all joine together, and make war againſt him: and in truth the Embaſſadors, both the King of Englands and the Low Countries, were much diſcontented at this vnworthy vſage of the French, proteſting openly, That if he were not ſpeedily ſet at libertie, they would retyre themſelues into their Countries. All which conſiderations repreſented by the Muphti, mooued the grand Seigniour to command, that the ſaid Baron of Mole or Sancie ſhould be ſent backe to his houſe without any further diſpleaſure. But all this could not free his houſehold ſeruants from their impriſonment, but he was forced to pay two or three and twenty thouſand crowns for their redemption; for elſe they ſhould haue beene ſo tormented, as their liues had been in danger: for ſo they were threatened. Soone after, the grand Viſier hearing of the tyrannous gouernment of Sultan *Muſtapha*, returned from Perſia with his whole armie towards C Conſtantinople, where he forced him to leaue the Empire, and to retyre to his Cell, hauing raigned but two moneths and ſome odd dayes.

The Embaſſador ſet at libertie.

But to returne to Prince *Coreskie*, whom we left with Captaine *Rigaut* in the lodging of the Greeke Prieſt at Conſtantinople, whereas they lay hidden for the ſpace of two moneths, vntill that their good Hoſt got leaue from the Patriarke of Alexandria, as well for himſelfe, as for two others (who he ſaid were of his ſocietie) to go and confine themſelues in the deſarts of the Archipelagus, wito many Hermits which liued there after the manner of the antient Anchorites. Hauing gotten this leaue and paſport, they embarqued, being diſguiſed like Prieſts, and arriued at Etchut, where they found an Engliſh ſhip readie to ſet ſaile for Meſſina in Sicilie, from whence he went by land to Naples, where he made himſelfe knowne to D the King of Polands Embaſſador, who was wonderfull glad of his libertie, leading him to the Duke of Oſſuna, then Viceroy of Naples, who furniſhed him with all things neceſſarie, and a good conuoy to go to Rome, where the Pope receiued ſingular content to ſee him, and to heare of his ſtrange aduentures. From thence he paſt to Vienna, where the Emperour entertained him according to his merits. After which he retyred to his owne houſe, full of honour, gotten by his valour and conſtancie in his afflictions. Our Embaſſador that was late in Conſtantinople ſaith, he eſcaped by the blacke ſea, and ſo into Polonia.

Prince Coresky eſcapes from Conſtantinople.


OSMANVS ACHMETI FILIVS TVRCARVM IMPERATOR DECIMVS
Ætatis ſuæ xvj
Anno Domini
1621

Oſman, thy gentle Nature farre declinde
from Turkiſh tyrannie and pride of minde,
Which made heauen raiſe thee and extirpat them,
the proud vſurpers of thy Diadem.
O! would all Princes (when their States are bleſt
with Power, and Empire)thinke their intereſt
In thoſe their bleſſings,held but by the grace
of Gratitude, and Goodneſſe; and no place
Is held without them long: they ſoone would try,
that Truth preuailes paſt all Policie.

OSMAN

OSMAN THE FIRST OF that name, tenth Emperour of the Turks,

he that now ſwaieth that mightie Empire.

1618

The French king ſends to Conſtantinople.

PRince *Oſman* beeing ſet at libertie by the graund Viſier,
hee cauſed him to bee proclaimed Sultan, and ſeated in
the Imperiall throne of the *Othomans*, with the generall
C applauſe of all the Baſſaes and armie. The French
Embaſſadour beeing by the ſame meanes freed from
rhis guard, aduertiſed the King his Maſter, how barbaouſly
hee had beene entreated by *Muſtapha*, entreating
his Maieſtie to reuoke him from that charge. Whereupon
the King ſent two Gentlemen to Conſtantinople
to the new Emperor *Oſman*, to demand reparation of the
indignitie done vnto his Embaſſador and Secretarie; and
to let him vnderſtand, that hee could not ſend any other
Embaſſadour to his Court to condole the death of Sultan
D *Achmat* his father, nor congratulate his comming to the Eaſt, vntill that hee had receiued
ſatisfaction from him befitting his dignitie, and the wrongs hee had receiued in his Embaſſador.
The Grand Viſier and the Muphti hearing this Embaſſie, and conſidering of the actions
which had paſſed, aduiſed the Emperor *Oſman* to ſend an Embaſſadour to the moſt Chriſtian
King, to confirme their league, and to teſtifie both by word and letters how much he was diſpleaſed
for his diſcontent.

The Turk ſends an Embaſſador into France.

The Grand Seigniour by the aduice of his Viſier and others, ſent *Vri* Chiaus into France, to confirme the articles of peace betwixt the French and the Turks. At his firſt audience he preſented a letter vnto his Maieſtie with this ſuperſcription.

E *To the moſt glorious and puiſſant Prince of the Beliefe of Ieſus, arbitrator of all the*
differences which happen among the Chriſtian Nations, and of all the moſt noble,
and the moſt antient, the Emperour of France, to whom we wiſh the
end of his daies to be happie, and his deſires accompliſhed.

His letter to the French king.

Know, that I ſend vnto you the capitulations and treaties of peace which are betwixt our maieſties :
giuing you to vnderſtand, that there is not any thing firme or ſtable in this world, neither king nor beggar
although they liue long: that which pleaſeth God *cannot fayle. If all mens deſires ſhould ſucceed,*
without doubt all men would goe to heauen. Man whatſoeuer he doeth, or in what dignitie ſoeuer hee
be, ſhall not remaine in this fraile life; wiſe men know it, and it is apparent to the learned. By that
F *which we haue ſaid, wee deſire to let you know, that he who was in health, hath encountred death, and is*
gone to a goodlier place, to Paradiſe, my father Sultan Achmat Chan *; the God which hath no reſemblance*
haue mercy on him No man ſhal remaine in this lying world: And in Paradiſe are the approches
to God, where there is no death. Finally he is gone.

Since the beginning of the Othomans *vntil this preſent, the empire of my fathers & their countries* *from father and ſonne, from hand to hand, and from father to ſonne, the inheritance comming ſo vnto vs; our Vncle Sultan* Muſtapha Chan, *for that he was elder than our ſelfe, was preferred before vs to the throne of the* Ottomans, *and was ſome daies in peaceable poſſeßion of the Empire, yeelding iuſtice equally to all men both great and ſmall. But as he was ſhut vp many yeares in ſecret places, praying vnto God continually; ſo of himſelfe he hath relinquiſhed the dignitie of the Emperor, and contemned it. The Empire then belonging to thoſe of our high linage, and for that by right it ſhould come vnto me, the Almightie God by his infinit bountie and mercy hath reſtored it into my hands, my Viſiers, Baſſaes, Lieutenants, the Mufti, and other great perſonages, and they that are in any reſpect with me: and finally, all my ſubiects and vaſſals, by a generall conſent haue acknowledged me for Emperor, in the happy yeare* 1027. *About the firſt day of the Moone of Ianuarie, in a good houre. Wherefore I am ſeated in the great throne of the* Othomans, *like vnto that of* Salomon, *a powerful and able Emperor, and in all our countries and cities: All the Muſulmans being aſſembled together in their churches to preach, the greatneſſe of my name hath beene proclaimed, and through all the mints of mine Empire they haue grauen it in their ſtamps, to coine pieces of gold and ſiluer. Finally, whereſoeuer there are any Muſulmans, and in what places there are men, my name ſhines like gold. Heereafter iniuſtice nor impietie ſhall haue no place, but iuſtice ſhall be done equally. Now we are in ioy and for that our naturall diſpoſition is good, and the ancient freindſhip betwixt vs is perfect, I therefore thought good to aduertiſe you of all that hath paſſed here, and to ſend you our letters of Imperial alliance by* Vreiu *Chiaus who is my antient ſeruant, hauing had the managing of my treaſure, whereof hee hath giuen me good account, being arriued at your court, carrying my ſaid letter, hee deſerues to be receiued with honour: ſwearing and proteſting againe vnto you, to obſerue in all points the full capitulation made betwixt my predeceſſors, and your great grandfathers, and for our part, you may be aſſured, that the faith promiſed ſhal be maintained as it hath been heretofore by our predeceſſors. And from the day I entered into my throne, I haue made my will knowne to all my Viceroyes, and other officers which do my Iuſtice, and generally to all thoſe of my obedience; intreating you to giue the like commandement to your Gouernours of prouinces, and other officers of Iuſtice, as in like manner to all your ſubiects. And as your grandfathers haue taken the faith of our high family, ſo it may pleaſe you to continue with me, and we deſire that on both ſides it may bee good and firme. Know then that for my part it ſhall be obſerued, ſo as of your ſide, there be nothing done contrarie to the promiſed faith. And if before we came vnto the Imperiall throne, your Embaſſadour which did your affaires hath receiued any diſtaſte, and hath not receiued the honor and friendſhip accuſtomed, in my time he ſhall be the more honored and reſpected as the chiefeſt Embaſſadors haue beene: I haue commanded that he ſhall be greatly fauored, and our reſpect ſhall be vnto him as Quineo, that is to ſay, Gold, and doubt nothing of it: for I doe certifie you.*

The French king hauing receiued by this action a full ſatisfaction for the indignitie done vnto his Embaſſador: ſoon after he called the Baron of *Mole* or *Sancie* home into France, ſending the Earle of *Sezi* to ſucceed him as Embaſſador at Conſtantinople.

A battell betwixt the Turks and the Perſians.

The war continuing ſtill betwixt the Turkes and the Perſians, the grand Viſier was ſent to inuade Perſia with a great armie, where after many exploits of war, newes came to Conſtantinople, that the Viſier had gotten a great aduantage vpon the Sophy of Perſia in a battel which had beene fought, wherein there had been 100000 men ſlaine. And although the Turks loſt the greateſt number, yet they remained maſters of the fielde, and ſpoiled the Perſians campe, who was retired or fled. For that the manner of the Sophie is to fight with the Turks in retiring or giuing way a little; and with this manner of fighting they haue alwaies made head againſt the Turks. After this ouerthrow the Viſier aduanced with his armie, and entred far into Perſia, which made many doubt that his returne would proue difficult: yet ſoone after there came letters to Conſtantinople, importing that the Turkes being in Perſia in great diſtreſſe for victuals, the Sophie had ſent an Embaſſador to the Viſier to demand peace, promiſing hereafter to ſatisfie the tributes of ſilkes which he ought yerely vnto the Turke; and that the Viſier (in regard of the neceſſitie of his armie) had accepted his offer, and graunted him peace, the which Sultan *Oſman* did afterwards ratifie. After the concluſion whereof, the Sophie ſent many Cammels loaden with victuals vnto the Turkes armie, which was in great diſtreſſe and want.

A peace concluded bewixt them.

A comet ſeene ouer Conſtantinople.

During the Turkes warre in Perſia, vpon the anniuerſarie day of Sultan *Achmat*, there appeared in the night a Comet ouer the Citie of Conſtantinople; in forme like vnto a crooked

A crooked ſword, or Turks ſcimiter: and it was ſo great, as it extended from the meridian neere vnto our zenith, vnto the horizon: the point began to ſhew it ſelfe an houre after midnight, and then it appeared little and ſomewhat whitiſh, and gaue but a glimpſe, after an houre it was more apparent and of a deeper color, and the more it did riſe, the redder it was, and like vnto bloud; but at the breake of day it vaniſhed by little and little in the light: And it was ſo big when the point approched neere vnto the zenith, as the hilt was hidden vnder the horizon; the Mathematicians did obſerue, that it followed the motions of the heauens; it did alwayes riſe in one place, and the bending of the ſaid ſword was toward Crates, more Southerly than it. It did appeare directly in the Eaſt a quarter towards the South, the point comming directly towards Conſtantinople, and the blade extending it ſelfe to the ſaid Eaſt a quarter to the B South, which is juſtly the part where Perſia is ſcituated. The edge looked directly towards Conſtantinople, the which made men diſcourſe diuerſly, and many were amaſed, fearing that it did ſignifie the loſſe and defeat of their armie in Perſia, whoſe returne they feared much.

Vri or *Huſſeine* Chiaus hauing finiſhed his Embaſſie in France, came into England with the like charge, and had audience from his Maieſty at White Hall, Sir *Thomas Glouer* being Interpreter, from whom I receiued a true diſcourſe of his whole ſpeech, as followeth.

The Turkiſh Embaſſadors ſpeech to his Maieſtie.

C *Hac ſubhanehu, ve Allahuteale, Saadetlu, ve izzetlu Padiſhah hazeretlerinung vmriny ve deuletiny ziyad ve berziyad eileie, Amin yah Rabil alemin.*

Ziyade cudretlu ve ſaadetlu Sultan Ali Oſman Chan *Padiſhah Hazeretleri; ſaadetlu Padiſhah Hazeretlerine juz bin ſelamler ve doaler idub, bu namei humaiun ſaadet maakrunile, Sultanum Hazeretlerine irſal idub: vmidleri oldurchi, maabenilerinde munakid olan ſulhu ſelah, bu anedeghin, ne veczuzre chywz olundiſe, halia dachi ol vſlub vzre her daim giunden ginne artirub mucarer olmaſina murad humaiunleridur.*

Ali Oſman, *Padiſhahung dachi* Lala, *ve Baſh vezirazam Baſſa hazeretleri, ſaadetlu* D *Sultanum hazeretlerine juz bin ſelamber idub, bu mektub ſherifleri dachi haki pay ſheriflerine irſal idub doaler ider.*

Aſsitanei ſaadette dachi mutemekin olan elczighiz nam Paulo Pinder *Cullighiz haki pay ſheriflerine juz kylyndikdenſongra, mubarek aiaghyn puſſe idub, bu mektub Sultanum hazeretlerine irſal eiledy ler.*

The Interpretation hereof is thus.

That moſt true, incomprehenſible, and moſt high God, encreaſe and multiply your Maieſties yeares in E *all happineſſe and felicitie, amen oh thou Lord of the world.*

The moſt inuincible, moſt mightie, and moſt happie Sultan Oſman Chan *of the* Othoman *Empire, Monarch, ſendeth vnto your excellent Maieſtie a hundred thouſand ſalutations and greetings, euermore praying the moſt high God for your Maieſties happineſſe, ſendeth vnto your Highneſſe with all poſsible honor and renown, this his Imperiall and moſt noble Letter; and withall hopeth, that the ſacred bond of peace, which hath beene hitherto inuiolable on your maieſties parts kept and obſerued; your Maieſtie will be well pleaſed ſtill on your part, with daily encreaſe more and more of friendſhip, earneſtly to continue therein. And his Imperiall Maieſtie on his behalfe is alſo reſolued in the like manner euermore punctually to keepe and obſerue the ſame.*

Alſo the moſt mightie Emperour his Tutor, and his chiefe Viſier Baſſa, hath addreſſed to the duſt of F *of your noble feet, this his moſt honorable letter, with a thouſand commendations, praying euerlaſtingly that mightie God for your Maieſties long life and happineſſe.*

Alſo your Maieſties Embaſſadour at Conſtantinople, your ſlaue Paul Pinder, *bowing his forehead to the duſt of your Maieſties feet, and moſt humbly kiſsing your Highneſſe bleſſed feet, hath directed vnto your Maieſtie this his ſubmiſsiue Letter.*

This

This that now followeth, is the ſaid Embaſſadors ſpeech to his Maieſtie at the taking of his leaue at White Hall. G

Saadetlu Padiſhabum, Nitekim bu kullighiz haki pay ſherifl erine effendimuz olan Cudretlu ve adaletlu Ali Oſman *Padiſhah Hazeretlerinung name humaiunlerin deſtimuzile teſlin eileduk: Regia ve temenamuz budurki Sultanum hazaretcleri dachi angha giore effendimuze name ſheriflerile giouab idub bu killighize teſlim ei lemek erzany buiurila, ve herdaim ſaadette ve deulette peydar ola.*

The Interpretation *verbatim* is thus. H

Moſt happie Emperor, as I haue with mine owne hands, bowing my ſelfe to the duſt of your princely feet appreſented vnto your excellent Maieſtie the moſt mightie and high Sultan Othoman *my lord and Maſter his Imperiall Letter, ſo likewiſe I moſt humbly beſeech your Maieſtie, that you will be pleaſed in conformitie thereof, to vouchſafe your princely anſwer by your noble Letter, and to deliuer the ſame into the hands of me your ſlaue: and be euer partaker of all bleſſedneſſe and happineſſe.*

A Copie of the Letter of Sultan *Oſman* the preſent *Othoman* Emperour, written to the Kings Maieſtie, and preſented by *Huſſeine* Chiaus. I

Although in this tranſitorie world, if the king or the beggar ſhould enioy the longeſt terme of life that might be, and obtaine all that his heart could wiſh, yet it is moſt certaine, that in the end hee muſt depart and be tranſported to the world eternall; and it is well known vnto the wiſe, that it is impoſsible for man to abide for euer in this world. The occaſion of this prologue is, that the Immortall, omnipotent, and onely God hath by his Diuine will and pleaſure called vnto himſelfe our father of bleſſed memorie Sultan Achmat Chan, *who in life was happie, and in death laudable; and departing out of this momentarie world to be neerer the mercifull Creatour, being changed into perfect glorie, and eternall bliſſe, hath his habitation on high, and his reſt in Paradiſe. This paternall Empire and Monarchicall kingdome hath almoſt vntill this preſent bleſſed time, beene alwayes hereditarie, from grandfather to father, from father to ſonne, and ſo curſiuely on that manner; but hauing regard vnto the age* K *and yeares of our great and noble Vncle Sultan* Muſtapha, *hee was preferred and honored to ſit on the* Othoman *Throne, and being ſetled for ſome time, tooke care for the affaires of the Empire, and for all that might concerne the people both in generall and particular. But he hauing been many yeares retired in ſolitarineſſe, and giuen to deuotion and Diuine obedience, being alſo as it were wearied with the cares of the Empire, of his owne accord withdrew himſelfe from the gouernment; for that the Diademe and Scepter of the Empire of the ſeuen Climats, was the true right and inheritance of our moſt excellent Maieſtie, of the which (with the meeting and conſent of all the Viſiers, and other deputies of State, of the Primat of the Muſſulman Law, and of the other honourable Doctors, of the ſouldiers, and of all ſubiects both publike and priuate) the Almightie Cod hath made an high Preſent and worthy gift vnto* L *vs. And in the happie day in the beginning of the Moone Rebea-il euel of this preſent yeare 1027, in an expected time, and in an acceptable houre, was our bleſſed and happie ſitting eſtabliſhed vpon the moſt fortunat* Othoman *Throne, the ſeat and wiſedome of* Salomon. *In the pulpits of all the Moſques the congregations of the faithfull, and deuotion of the Muſſulmen) throughout all our dominions is read to our imperiall name the * Hutbeh. And in the mints (where innumerable ſummes of money are coined, as well vpon the ſiluer as the gold) our happie name and ſtampe is ſigned. And our moſt powerful commandemets are obeyed in all the parts and dominions of the world: And the brightneſſe of the light of the Sunne of Iuſtice and equitie, hath cauſed the darkneſſe of iniuries and moleſtations to vaniſh away.*

** Hutbeh is a prayer only for the proſperitie of the king.*

Now ſeeing it hath been an ancient cuſtome of our famous Predeceſſors to giue notice of the ſame vnto ſuch Princes as are in ſincere friendſhip, and do continue it with the Houſe of great Maieſtie and M *our Imperiall Court: Wee alſo haue written theſe our princely letters, and appointed for their Bearer the choice among his equals* Huſſeine *Chiaus (whoſe power is great) one of the honoured and reſpected*

ſeruants

A *ſeruants of our magnificent Port, the refuge of the World, to the end that ſuch newes might cauſe great joy of our moſt honourable aſſumption. And wee doe hope that when they ſhall come to your hands (in conformitie of the well grounded friendſhip vpon the ſure league, articles, and writings which hath been eſtabliſhed of old with our moſt royall Race, and permanent Empire) you will manifeſt infinite joy and gladneſſe, and certifie as much to the Rulers and Gouernours of the dominions and Countries vnder you, that they may know that the articles of peace and league, and the points of the oath which are firme and to be deſired on both parts, from the time of our grandfather and predeceſſour of royall ſtocke now in paradiſe (whoſe ſoules God enlighten) vndoubtedly during the time of our raigne ſhall be obſerued with all reſpect. And let there not bee the leaſt imagination of any want of due obſeruance of the ſignes of friendſhip on our part, or by any manner of meanes on your part, for the violating the foun-*
B *dation of the peace and league.*

The Copie of a Letter written by *Hallil Baſſa*, chiefe Viſier, and Generall in the expedition againſt the Perſian, at his returne from the warres, to the Citie of Senit in Aprill 1618, vnto Sir *Paul Pinder* Knight, then Embaſſadour for the Kings Majeſtie at Conſtantinople.

The humble Viſier Halil Baſſa.

To the courteous Lord of the Nation of the Meſſiah, *both great and honourable among the people of*
C Ieſus *and the true determiner of Chriſtian affaires; our good friend* Paul Pinder, *the Engliſh embaſſador whoſe latter daies be with all felicitie. To whoſe noble preſence (after our many kind ſalutations tending to all good affection and manifeſtation of joy, worthy and beſeeming our friendſhip) our louing aduice is this, That if you deſire to heare of our eſtate and being, you ſhall vnderſtand, that after wee departed from the happie port with the armie for the wars of Aſia, we arriued and wintered in Meſopotamia, and remouing thence in the Spring with all the Muſſulman hoſte (alwaies victorious) we went to Van, from which place vntill we came to Tauris, the Muſſulman armie went on alwaies ſacking and deſtroying all thoſe places and townes of the Perſians which wee met withall by the way in thoſe parts, where were burnt, pillaged, and ruined, ſome thouſands of villages, and tormenting all thoſe people that came to hand. And when wee were come neere to Tauris, the Generall of the Perſian forces (of*
D *peruerſe religion) called* Carelghai Han *(the accurſed) retired himſelfe into the ſaid Tauris, where beating vp his drummes in euerie quarter, he made a ſhew that he had a will to fight, ſo we ſent a little before vs ſome Tartars and others of our armie to hearken out and take notice of the enemie; who meeting with 7 or 8 hundred Perſians of note put them to the ſword, very few eſcaping, and that with verie great difficultie and hazard. By which the ſaid Generall finding himſelfe vnable to reſiſt the power and furie of the Muſſulman hoſt, or to ſtay any longer in the ſaid place, the verie ſame day that we arriued there, the ſaid Generall hauing ſpoiled all the Citie, fled away; ſo we tooke the place, ranſacked it, and burned all the buildings, towers, gardens, and whatſoeuer elſe we found within it: And thus the great citie Tauris by Diuine fauour and grace became ours. Then forthwith we ſent after the enemy the Tartar with ſome Beglerbegs, who ouertaking them gaue them battell; and albeit ſome of ours did fall,*
E *yet they which fell on the enemies ſide were innumerable. And ſo going forward towards Erdeuill (their obſcure reſidence) about ten daies journey of country, we went burning and ſpoyling it, and killing all the Perſians that we met; that indeed there was ſo much glorie and honor won, as that all the antient men of the country do affirme, there was neuer ſeene the like; inſomuch, that from the confines vnto Erdeuil, 20 daies journey of countrey was on that manner by vs deſtroied. Thus afterward the king cauſed to emptie the ſaid place of Erdeuill, and fled into a place called Hulchal, and cauſed his armie to goe to the top of a high mountaine, from whence hauing ſent 3 or 4 times men of qualitie vnto vs, ſeeking and entreating for peace, with promiſe to giue yearely to our Emperour 100 Somes of ſilke, and all ſuch places as are vpon the confines gotten in the time of Sultan* Solyman, *except Der Ne and Der Tink; wherewith we were contented with the peace, and his Embaſſadour is vpon the way comming toward vs.*
F *And ſo we returning the ſame way againe (alwaies ſpoyling) wee came to Erzirum. And this our preſent letter is written vnto you for the reſpect and preſeruation of our friendſhip: and euen as our amitie hath euer been hitherto ſincere and firme, ſo likewiſe by the Grace of God at our arriuall in the the happie Port, it ſhall be in like manner maintained and continued, that more cannot poſſible be. And ſo God keepe you in health.*

1619

Bethlem Gabor vndertakes to ſuccour the Bohemians with the Turks conſent.

The wars growing hot in Bohemia againſt the Proteſtants, and the Emperour raiſing what
forces hee could to ſuppreſſe them, the directors or gouernors of the country wrote their letters G
to **Bethlem Gabor** prince of Tranſyluania, to acquaint him with the eſtate of their affaires.
To whom hee made anſwer, That his countrie ſtanding euen in the very jawes of the Turkes,
whoſe councels were neuer quiet, but euer working like to the waues of the vaſt ocean, and
alwayes watchfull to embrace all occaſions vpon any diſcord of the Chriſtians, eſpecially
now when they had pacified all quarrels with the Perſian, and had no Rebels in Aſia, againſt
whom they might imploy their forces; he had propounded to himſelfe to attend the conſent
& fauor of the ***Othoman*** Emperor, wherby he might take from him al occaſion to make any irruption
into the neighbor countries, & haue the better means to imploy his beſt means to reconcile
the diſcords among the Chriſtians; wherefore hauing ſent vnto Conſtantinople to acquaint
the Graund Seigniour with his intent, and to craue his fauour, hee receiued letters from H
thence the 17 of Auguſt, whereby he was aſſured of the Grand Seigniors conſent and fauor.
whereupon he reſolued (notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the houſe of Auſtria, the Pope of
Rome, and others of that faction) to take armes in defence of the Bohemians; promiſing to be
in September following vpon the confines of Morauia, vnleſſe hee found ſome ſtay in Hungarie.
Being aduertiſed of the ſtate of Bohemia and Morauia, he leuied an army at Clauſenburg,
and entered into the vpper Hungarie, whereas moſt of the Barons ſubmitted themſelues vnto
him; onely *Humanoie* a great man in that countrey oppoſed himſelfe: but not able to make his
partie good, he fled into Polonia. After which he ſent his armie (being 18000 ſtrong) and took
Filek, Ternau, Vacci, Nouigrade, and others; after which he ſeiſed vpon Neuheuſall, the Gouernour
being deliuered bound vnto him. The Palatine of Hungary wrote letters to ***Redei*** Generall I
of the prince of Tranſyluania's armie, wiſhing him to conſider what the forces of the
kings of Spaine and France were, with the houſe of Auſtria and their allies, and that the Electors
of the Empire (ſome excepted) would ſend aid vnto the Emperor. Who anſwered, that
hee doubted not of the power of thoſe kings, and that the Electors would ſend ſupplies vnto
the Emperour; yet hee hoped that before they came, all ſhould bee ended, and their dinners
ſhould be prouided.

Bethlem Gabor takes many towns in Hungarie.

Soone after, the Prince of Tranſyluania came to Presburg with his armie, a towne of note
in Hungarie, whereas their kings are vſually crowned. The newes thereof comming to Vienna,
they ſent 3000 ſouldiers with three pieces of ordnance downe the riuer of Danow, who K
entred the ſuburbs on the 13 of October, the night was very ſtormy and rainie, and the Tranſyluanians
taking this opportunitie charged them, and ſlew the greateſt part, their Commander
flying away with ſome few. The ſuburbs being taken, ***Bethlem Gabor*** ſent to the Palatine,
to know whither he would yeeld the towne and caſtle without force, giuing him ſome time to
reſolue; who after conſultation with ſome noblemen, they reſolued to yeeld, and ſo the town
was deliuered into his hands. After which he ſent part of his army vnder good Commanders
into Auſtria, to the gates of Vienna, where they committed great ſpoile, the particular relation
whereof I leaue to the Hiſtorie of the Emperors liues, to which it doth properly belong.

Propoſitions made by the Tranſiluanians & Hungarians to the Bohemians.

In Nouember ***Bethlem Gabor*** prince of Tranſyluania, and the Eſtates of Hungarie, ſent Embaſſadors
to Prague, where they propounded diuers articles vnto the Councell, and amongſt L
others, That they ſhould joyntly ſend Embaſſadors to the Grand Seignior, & that the prince
of Tranſyluania ſhould negotiate the buſineſſe. And for that the kingdome of Hungarie was
much exhauſted, whatſoeuer ſhould be taken iu Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, ſhould be vnited
vnto it, to the end it might be the better able to reſiſt the Turke: all which tended to the
prejudice and ruine of the houſe of Auſtria. The Prince of Tranſyluania hauing taken diuers
townes in Hungarie, belonging to the Emperor as king of Hungarie, and entred Auſtria in hoſtile
manner in fauor of the Bohemians; knowing that he had thereby much incenſed the Emperor,
and the whole houſe of Auſtria, and that if he ſhould preuaile ouer the Bohemians, the
whole burthen of the warre would lie vpon him, hee therefore in the end of this yeare ſent an
Embaſſadour with preſents to Conſtantinople, to craue aſſurance of the Graund Seigniors M
aid and ſupport (vpon whoſe fauour he had alwaies depended) in caſe the Emperor ſhould
inuade Tranſyluania: where beeing countenanced by many of the chiefe Baſſaes, he had aſſurance
of Sultan *Oſmans* ſupport and protection, the which he confirmed by a ſolemne oath
vnder his hand, as foloweth:

The

G

The Great Turkes Oath to *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of Tranſyluania.

Sultan Oſman,

By the grace of God vnconquerable Turkiſh Emperour, ſweares by the Higheſt, Almightieſt, and Almightie Gods Holineſſe, by his Kingdome, by the ſubſtance of the Heauens, the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, by the earth, and by all vnder the earth, by the braines and all the harie ſcalpe of my mother, by my head and all the ſtrength of my ſoule and bodie, by the holy great Mahomet, *and by my Circumciſion, That I thee my brother and ſonne* Bethlem Gabor, *ſucceeding King of Hungarie, in no manner of way, in thy great and weightie affaires will leaue, though it be to the ouerthrow of my Kingdome,* H *to be brought to nothing, vntill there ſhall bee no more left but my ſelfe, or foure or fiue Turkes at the moſt, yet will I be ſtill obliged to defend thee, and all thoſe that doe any wayes appertaine vnto thee. And if thou ſhalt haue need of mee, I will be alwaies readie to goe with thee. And in caſe this my promiſe ſhall in any wiſe be fruſtrated, then let Gods Iuſtice fall vpon my head and deſtroy me and my poſteritie, and wipe away whatſoeuer belongeth vnto mee, and gather it together into a rocke of ſtone, or ſubſtance of earth, and that the earth may cleaue aſunder and ſwallow mee vp bodie and ſoule.*

Dated at Conſtantinople the fifth
of Ianuarie, 1619.

I

Bethlem Gabor being aſſured by this oath, of protection made by the Graund Seigniour, in the beginning of the yeare 1620, hee called an aſſemblie of the Eſtates of Hungarie at Presbourg, whither Embaſſadours were ſent from the King of Bohemia, and the States of that Countrey, which the incorporated Prouinces, where a perpetuall league was concluded betwixt them, and afterwards concluded at Prague; where among other articles, it was concluded, that foraſmuch as neceſſitie did chiefely require, that a peace ſhould bee concluded and inuiolably kept with the Turke, therefore a new Embaſſie ſhould be ſent to the Graund Seigniour from all the confederate Kingdomes and Prouinces; and that *Bethlem Gabor* ſhould K take vpon him the chiefe care of that buſineſſe; but yet in ſuch ſort, as the Bohemians and incorporated Prouinces ſhould ſend their Embaſſadours with the Hungarians, and beare their ſhares of all that ſhould bee diſburſed, as wel for the Preſents, as for the Embaſſadors charges.

1620

A league betwixt the prince of Tranſyluania, Bohemians, & Hungarians.

In Iune following, *Bethlem Gabor* went to an aſſemblie of the Eſtates of Hungarie at Neuheuſall, where he propounded diuers heads vnto the States: That hee deſired nothing more than to reſtore the Kingdome of Hungarie, ſo miſerably afflicted, to libertie; and that they might enjoy their Religion and priuiledges: That he had ſpared no coſt for the lawfull defence of the countrey; and for a teſtimonie that he deſired peace, he had refuſed the Crowne which the Eſtates offered him at Presburg: That the ground of peace was to maintaine the L league which they had begun with the Bohemians: That he had alwaies deſired peace with the helpe of other Princes, ſo as it were ſincere and without fraud or deceit, for the obtaining whereof hee had aſſiſted his confederates miſerably afflicted: That he knew for certaine the Emperor deſired not peace but war, hauing ſuffered the Coſſackes to enter into Hungarie, and to ſpoile many places with fire and ſword, and denied paſſage for the Embaſſadors of Bohemia and Auſtria; for this cauſe they were not now to treat of peace but of war, and to conſult how it might be begun and maintained: for the leuying of money which is the ſinewes of warre: for the furniſhing of their forts vpon the frontiers, and for the ſpeedie ſending of Embaſſadours to the Turkiſh Emperour, leſt beeing engaged in an inſteſtine warre, there might be ſome attempts made vpon thoſe bordering forts. Hauing deliuered his minde vnto the M Eſtates, there came diuers Embaſſadours thither from Bohemia, Auſtria, Sileſia, and Luſatia, Venice, Poland, and Turkie: The Venetian Embaſſadour was content their Commonwealth ſhould enter into the league, and the Turke made offer to conclude a perpetuall league with them.

An aſſembly of the Eſtates of Hungarie at Neuheuſall.

On

Bethlem Gabor proclaimed K. of Hungarie.

On the fiue and twentieth day of Auguſt *Bethlem Gabor* prince of Tranſyluania was proclaimed King of Hungarie by the Palatine, at the inſtance of the Turkiſh Embaſſadour, and G with the conſent and applauſe of moſt part of the Eſtates of the countrey: After which hee leuied a great armie of thirtie (ſome ſay fiftie) thouſand horſe and foot, and made many Enſignes with diuers Emblemes and deuices; which beeing knowne, the Proteſtants of Vienna, with the conſent of the Emperour, wrote vnto him, humbly entreating him to ſpare the Citie and Countrey, for their innocent wiues and childrens ſakes: but in the meane time all the citiſens were commanded to make prouiſion of victuals for ſixe moneths.

A viſion ſeene at Medina Talnabi.

There came newes to Conſtantinople of a ſtrange apparition or viſion, which was ſeene at Medina Talnabi in Arabia, whereas *Mahomet* their great Prophet was buried: to viſit H whoſe tombe the Turkes vſe to goe in pilgrimage, but they muſt firſt goe to Mecha, which is ſome few daies iourney off, and there they take a ticket from the Grand Seigniors Beglerbeg, elſe they are not allowed to goe to Medina. This viſion continued three weekes together, which terrified the whole countrey, for that no man could diſcouer the truth thereof. About the twentieth of September, there fell ſo great a tempeſt, and ſo fearefull a thunder about midnight, as the heauens were darkened, and thoſe that were awake, almoſt diſtracted; but the vapours beeing diſperſed, and the element cleare, the people might read in Arabian Characters theſe words in the firmament, *O why will you beleeue in lies!* Betweene two and three in the morning, there was ſeene a woman in white compaſſed about with the Sunne, hauing a cheerefull countenance, and holding in her hand a booke: comming from the Northweſt, oppoſite againſt her were armies of Turkes, Perſians, Arabians, and other Mahometanes, I ranged in order of battell, and readie to charge her; but ſhee kept her ſtanding, and onely opened the booke, at the ſight whereof theſe armies fled; and preſently all the lampes about *Mahomets* tombe went out; for as ſoone as euer the viſion vaniſhed (which was commonly an houre before ſunne riſing) a murmuring winde was heard, whereunto they imputed the extinguiſhing of the lampes. The antient pilgrims of *Mahomets* race, who after they haue viſited this place neuer vſe to cut their haire, were much amaſed, for that they could not conceiue the meaning of this viſion: onely one of the Deruices (which is a ſtrict religious order amongſt the Turkes, like vnto the Capuchins among the Papiſts, and liue in contemplation) ſtepped vp verie boldly, and made a ſpeech vnto the companie, which incenſed K them much againſt him, ſo as this poore prieſt for his plaine dealing loſt his life, as you ſhall heare.

A Deruice ſpeech vnto the Turkes.

The ſumme of his ſpeech was this: That the world had neuer but three true religions, euerie one of which had a Prophet; firſt God choſe the Iewes, and did wonders for them in Ægypt, and brought them forth by their Prophet *Moſes*, who preſcribed them a Law, wherein he would haue maintained them, if they had not beene obſtinat and rebellious, and fallen to Idolatrie: whereupon hee gaue them ouer, and ſcattered them vpon the face of the earth. Then preſently after he raiſed a new Prophet, who taught the Chriſtian Religion. This good man the Iewes condemned and crucified for a ſeducer of the people, not moued with the pietie of his life, his great myracles, nor his doctrine. Yet after his death, the preaching of a few L fiſhermen, did ſo moue the hearts of men, as the greateſt Monarchs of the world bowed to his verie title, and yeelded to the command of his miniſters. But it ſeemes they grew as corrupt as the Iewes, their Church being diſmembred with the diſtinction of the Eaſt and Weſt, committing Idolatrie again by ſetting vp of Images, with many other idle ceremonies, beſides the corruption of their liues, ſo as God was wearie of them too, and not onely ſent diuiſions among them, but forſooke them, diſpoſſeſſing them of their chiefeſt cities Hieruſalem and Conſtantinople: yet God is ſtill the Gouernor of the World, and prouides himſelfe of another Prophet and people, raiſing our great *Mahomet*, and giuing way to our nation, ſo as no doubt wee ſhall be happie for euer, if we can ſerue this God aright, and take example by the fall of others. But ahlas! I tremble to ſpeake it, wee haue erred in euerie point, and wilfully M broken our firſt inſtitutions, ſo as God hath manifeſted his wrath by euident ſignes and tokens, keeping our Prophet from vs, who prefixed a time to returne with all happineſſe to his people, ſo as there are now fortie yeares paſt by our account: Wherefore this ſtrange and fearefull viſion is a prediction of ſome great troubles and alterations.

A For either the opening of this booke in the womans hand, doth foretell our falling away ,,
from the firſt intent of our law, whereat theſe armed men departed as confounded with the ,,
guilt of their own conſciences; or elſe it ſignifies ſome other booke in which we haue not yet ,,
read, and againſt which no power ſhall preuaile: ſo as I feare our religion will be proued corrupt, ,,
and our Prophet an Impoſtor, and then this *Chriſt* whom they talke of, ſhall ſhine like ,,
the ſunne, and ſet vp his name euerlaſtingly. Hitherto the companie was ſilent, but hearing him ſpeake ſo boldly, they charged him with blaſphemie; & knowing their law, which makes all blaſphemie capitall, they preſently condemned him, and hauing the Beglerbegs conſent and warrant, they put him to death.

The Dernice put to death for his ſpeech.

As their rage againſt him was violent, ſo their execution was extraordinarie, for they neither B cut off his head nor ſtrangled him, as they vſually doe to malefactors, but they tortured him by degrees: for ſtripping him firſt naked, they gaue him a hundred blowes on the ſoles of his feet with a flat cudgell, vntill the bloud iſſued forth, the poore prieſt crying continually on the woman that opened the booke. After which they tooke a bulls pizzell, and beat all his bodie vntil his ſinewes crackt, and in the end they laid him vpon a wheele, and with an Indian ſword made of ſinews, they brake his bones to pieces, the poore man crying to the laſt gaſpe, *O thou woman with the booke, ſaue mee*, and ſo he died: At which time there was a fearefull tempeſt. The Beglerbeg ſent certaine Spahis to the port of Sidon to imbarke for Conſtantinople, to the end they might aduertiſe the Emperour of theſe tidings.

Sultan *Oſman* from the firſt entrance into his raigne was freed from all cares of forraine C war, or inteſtine combuſtions; for he had that happineſſe (being himelfe very yong, and not able to gouerne ſo potent an eſtate) as by the counſell and aſſiſtance of *Halil Baſſa* his grand Viſier, hee had forced the king of Perſia to demaund a peace, and to pay the tribute which had bin formerly promiſed. His rebels in Aſia were all pacified, and the truce with the Emperour (which had beene ſomewhat interrupted by miſinterpretation, or the practiſe of bad miniſters) was newly confirmed a little before his comming to the crowne, onely Moldauia had beene the theatre of war for ſome yeares, where his father had exerciſed his armes, and imployed his forces, to aduance whome he pleaſed to be Vayuod of that Countrey, againſt another partie that was ſupported by the Polonians, as you haue formerly heard. *Michna* prince of Valachia, being made Vayuod of Moldauia by *Achmat*, and the Polonian partie D wholly ouerthrowne in the yeare one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixteene, hee enioyed it not long: but whether he died of a naturall death, or fell into diſgrace with the grand Seignior, I doe not read: yet I finde that after him there was another Vayuod or prince of Moldauia, who is yet liuing, but in diſgrace with the Sultan, his name is *Caſparo Gratſiani*: and to the end you may vnderſtand, that the Turkes neuer reſpect the birth and qualitie of any man in their aduancements, I will relate what this man was, from the mouth of him that knew him verie well.

This *Caſparo* was borne at Gretz (a Towne of great ſtrength belonging vnto the Archdukes of Auſtria, by the which a branch of that houſe is diſtinguiſhed from the E reſt, and whereof the Emperour now raigning is the head) but beeing a man of ſmall fortune, and little expectance in his owne countrey, hee went to Conſtantinople, and put himſelfe in ſeruice with Sir *Thomas Glouer*, before that hee was Embaſſadour for his Maieſtie to the Grand Seignior, vnder whom he learned both to write and read the Turkiſh tongue. After which hee came with him into England, and there by his recommendation was employed to Conſtantinople for the redeeming of young Sir *Thomas Sherley*, who was then a priſoner among the Turkes. Hauing performed his charge orderly, and beeing come to Venice with the young Knight, hearing that Sir *Thomas Glouer* was ſent Embaſſadour to the Graund Seignior, he left Sir *Thomas Sherley*, and went to Conſtantinople to his old maſter, where he was emploied yerely to buy or exchange Chriſtians for Turks, carrying F the Chriſtians into Italie, and ſo returning Turkes for them. About the end of *Achmats* raigne arriuing at Conſtantinople with a ſhip full of Turkes, which he had exchanged, hee acquainted the Baſſa Viſier with the good ſeruice he had done vnto the Grand Seignior; who demanding of what countrey he was and his breeding, asked him if he would vndertake a ſeruice which ſhould be for his aduancement, which was to goe vnto the Emperour to reconcile

Gaſparo made Vayuod of Moldauia.

all difficulties concerning the peace, wherein he carried himſelfe ſo diſcreetly, as Commiſſioners were appointed, who concluded all difficulties, as you haue heard. But before his returne home, the Grand Seignor was dead; yet hee preſſed the Baſſa for the performance of his promiſe, deſiring him, that hee might bee made Vayuod of Moldauia, which the Baſſa effected: but the preſents he gaue aduanced him more than his merits. Since hee grew into ſome diſgrace; ſo as the Graund Seigniour making choice of another Vayuod, gaue charge to certaine Capigis, to go into Moldauia to ſtrangle *Gaſparo*, and that they ſhould take foure hundred Turkes vpon the frontiers to aſſiſt them: But *Gaſparo* hauing good ſpies at Conſtantinople, who aduertiſed him of their deſigne, reſolued to preuent them; wherefore taking ſome troupes with him, hee met them vpon the way, and cut them all in pieces; then returning to Yas, hee ſlew one thouſand Turkes. After which he fled into Poland with two thouſand horſe; from whence they write that he hath made diuers incurſions into Moldauia, and committed great ſpoiles vpon the Turkes, being aſſiſted by the Coſſackes, and keepes poſſeſſion of the countrie, although there bee another Vayuod made by the Turke.

He is in diſgrace and flies into Polonia.

The Turks preparation to armes.

Sultan *Oſman* ſeemes to be much incenſed againſt the Polonians, as well for this ſupport, as for former quarrells, making it his colour for the leuying of the greateſt armie that hath been ſeene ſince that *Solyman* went vnto the ſiege of Agria, conſiſting, as it is ſaid, of three hundred thouſand men, hauing drawne down all his forces out of Aſia. God knowes where he will imploy it, but it is much to be feared that he will make vſe of this diuiſion betwixt Chrſtian princes, who ſhould vnite their willes and forces, to oppoſe them againſt the common enemie of Chriſtendome, who watcheth only to get an aduantage, little regarding his word and promiſe.

Manfredonia taken by the Turks.

taken by urkes.

The Turke hauing no imployment for his forces by land, ſent three ſcore gallies to ſea, to make ſome enterpriſe vpon the Chriſtians. They came into the Mediterranean ſea, and hauing coaſted the Iſland of Sicile, they ſent twentie gallies to land in the kingdome of Naples, where they ſurpriſed the towne of Manfredonia, and ſpoiled it, carrying away foureteene or fifteene hundred captiues, and ſo retyred againe to ſea. The reſt of their fleet lay about Vellona in the gulfe, which made the Spaniards iealous that the Venetian had been acquainted with this enterpriſe. And ſince there is newes, that the Gallions and Galliots of Algiers, haue taken Iniſa, a ſmall Iſland of foure miles compaſſe, neere vnto Maiorca: It is a place of great importance, for that it hath a hauen able to containe much ſhipping; for the gard whereof the king of Spaine entertaines a great garriſon, and it did much annoy them of Algiers. They tooke the towne; but it is not yet certaine whether they haue taken the caſtle.

The greatneſſe of the Turkes Empire.

This is all I could learne of the Turkes affaires ſince the yere *1609* vntill this preſent. The reader may obſerue, that ſince the raigne of *Ottoman* their firſt Emperor, this great empire of the Turkes, is proudly built vpon the foure monarches of the world; that is to ſay, of the Aſſirian, Perſian, Greeke, and Romane. For they enioy Babylon, and all Chaldæa, with the countrie of the Medes: We haue ſeene them in Tauris the capitall citie of Perſia, Greece is ſubiect to the yoke of their command, Conſtantinople ſometimes called New Rome, by the tranſport of the Imperiall ſeat, is now made their throne, and ſo many prouinces and realmes which in former times depended vpon the Romane Empire, do now acknowledge their power; they are maſters of the realmes of Egypt and Cyprus; the Iſlands of Rhodes, Meteline, Negrepont, Chio, and many others acknowledge them, the empire of Trebiſond is theirs; the realme of Colchos, now called Mingrelia, payes them tribute: they of Tunis and Algier in Affrica obey them; Dalmatia, the Illyrians, Triballiens, the countries of Tranſiluania, Valachia, and Moldauia do them homage, and we ſee them commaund euen in the chiefe townes of the realmes of Hungarie: But all this power of the Ottomans had neuer beene ſo great nor ſo fearefull, but by the diſcord, diuiſion, and bad intelligence betwixt Chriſtian princes, as you may read in the courſe of this hiſtorie, as well in Greece, at Conſtantinople, as in other parts of Europe, whereas theſe princes contending one with anorher, haue furniſhed matter and meanes to the Turke to diſpoſſeſſe them of the chiefe pieces of their monarchies. They meaſure the continuance of their Em-

A pire by the diſcord betwixt the Princes of the beleefe of the name of Ieſus, and they confeſſe truely, that this diuiſion is the onely cauſe of their greatneſſe, the which hath made them beleeue, that among Chriſtians, there was a bad Angell enemie to peace, which they call *the ſtrong or powerfull Spirit*, which kindling the fire of reuenge and ambition in the hearts of great men, drawes from their affections the good of their beleefe, to entertaine them in perpetuall diſcord; during the which, they promiſe vnto themſelues a firme and an aſſured reigne. So the Mufti, and the Taliſmans praying on Friday in their Moſques, demand of their Prophet the circumſtance of this bad intelligence betwixt Chriſtian Princes, to the end they may inioy the empire which they haue vnjuſtly vſurped. Yet their prophecies do not promiſe them a perpetuall poſſeſſion; behold one in their own tongue, which hath alwaies made them B feare the vnion of Chriſtians.

A Turkiſh Propheſie.

Patiſſabomomos ghelur, caiferun menleker alur keuzul almai alur kapze ilerie di yladegh Giaur Keleci cſikmaſſe on ikigladegh on laron Begbhgheder. Enſi iapar, bagbi diker batheſai baglar, ogli keſi olar; onichi ylddenſora Hriſtianon-keleci cſcchar, al Turkci ghereſſine Tuſchure.

C That is to ſay;

Our Emperour ſhall come, he ſhall poſſeſſe the realme of an Infidell prince, he ſhall take the red apple, and make it ſubiect to his power: if at the ſeuenth yere of his command the Chriſtians ſword doth not aduance, he ſhall rule vnto the twelfth yeare, he ſhall build houſes, plant vines, compaſſe in gardens with hedges, and beget childrne: but after the twelfth yeare that he hath held the red apple, the Chriſtians ſword ſhall appeare and put the Turke to flight.

The expoſition of their propheſie.

By the *Infidell* prince they vnderſtand a Chriſtian Prince (for ſo they call them) and by the *Red Apple* an Imperiall towne ſtrong and important; in the which, and elſe where the Turkes D ſhall *build houſes*; that is to ſay, conuert holy temples to the vſe of the Mahometan impiety: for by this word *to build*, they that haue commented vpon this propheſie vnderſtand, vſurpation of the houſes of God: *Plant vines*, by theſe words they ſignifie the extent of the Turkiſh Empire, and the ſetling of their colonies, as we ſee in Hungarie and Tranſyluania: *Compaſſing in Gardens*, that is to ſay, they ſhall fortifie the townes which they haue taken from their enemies: *Beget Children*, extend the Mahometan religion, far in the Chriſtians countries. *But after the twelfth yeare, &c.* within a certaine time beſt knowne to God, his diuine Maieſtie, opening the eyes of his clemencie vpon the Chriſtians, will vnite the wills of their princes, kindle their affections with a holy zeale, and bleſſing their armes, wil make them victorious ouer E the Turke, whom he wil baniſh out of the Eaſt, and chaſe into Scythia, from whence they came to be a ſcourge vnto Chriſtendome. Theſe are my wiſhes, wherein I hope all good Chriſtians do concurre.

The beginning of the Turkiſh Empire.

Hauing runne ouer the occurrents which haue happened in the Turkes eſtate for the ſpace of eleuen yeares, I muſt according to maſter *Knolles* his method, conclude the worke with a deſcription of the Graund Seigniours port or Court, of his Gouernement, Officers, Riches, Force, and Religion. The Turkes (a people of Scythia) hauing like a violent deluge ouerthrowne a great part of the Eaſt, and taken diuers prouinces, beeing expelled from Hieruſalem by *Godfrey* of Bouillon, and the Chriſtians, their remainder retired to Nicea where they liued without any head or ſoueraigne commander, vntill that *Ottoman* about F the yeare of our Redeemer 1300, by practiſe, made himſelfe ſole and abſolute monarch. His ſonne conquering diuers prouinces, remoued his imperiall ſeat to Pruſia, now called *Burſia*, the chiefe abode of the Kings of Bythinia. *Amurath* the firſt (beeing drawne in by the Emperour of Conſtantinople to ſuccour him, and allured with the wealth of Europe) turned his armes againſt him, taking diuers prouinces and townes from him, amongſt others Adrianopolis, which hee made the ſeat and reſidence of the Turkiſh Emperours, in the yeare 1363. But *Mahomet* the ſecond hauing taken the citie of Conſtantinople, and expelled G the Emperour in the yeare 1453, he made it the royall ſeat of the *Othomans*, for which he had great reaſon, being one of the faireſt and ſweeteſt ſeats of the World.

Deſcription of Conſtantinople.

Attendants vpon the Grand Seigniour.

Conſtantinople hath in circuit by the opinion of ſome writers fifteene or ſixteene miles, and is called by the Turkes themſelues Stambull or Stambolda, the ſea beating vpon it vpon the North and South ſides: Towards the Eaſt it is diuided from Aſia by a large channell, which runneth from the one ſea to the other, and is about ſeuen miles in length. The Citie is built vpon the declining of a hill, in which there are many rare ſingularities which I omit, beeing deſcribed elſewhere. There are in this Citie ſeuen little hils, vpon the which are built ſeuen principall Moſques or Churches, by ſeuerall Emperours, whereof the faireſt and moſt ſtately is that of Sultan *Solyman*. Vpon the North ſide of the citie H ſtandeth the Graund Seigniours Pallace or Seraglio, commonly called by the name of the Port: The which hath on the one ſide thereof the Sea, and of the other ſide of it the hauen, the other two beeing towards the citie, beeing about three miles in compaſſe, ſome write of foure. It is walled about, and within it are many gardens, orchards, medowes, and woods. Being entred into the firſt port (which hath double gates of yron) into a large Court, on the left hand there ſtands a building like vnto a Turkiſh Moſque, which now the Graund Seigniour vſeth for a ſtore-houſe, wherein are great ſtore of armes which are for the defence of his Seraglio. And on the other ſide of this Court are ſeuerall gardens walled in, from which they paſſe to another Court with a gate like vnto the former, where are targuets and cemitars hanging, and many porters attending, as at the former. I After this, they paſſe into another large court which is planted with cypreſſe trees, and full of graſſe, where deere feed; but round about it is a cloiſter which is in length about ſix hundred and fourescore foot, and aboue fiue hundred in bredth, paued with ſtone, and couered with lead, it beeing ſupported with one hundred and fortie pillars of white and gray marble, ſtanding vpon baſſes of copper, with capitals of the ſame; vpon the North ſide whereof ſtands the Diuano, whereas the Viſier Baſſa and the other Baſſaes ſit in Councell, and heare cauſes of importance, whereof wee will ſpeake hereafter. In this Seraglio the Grand Seigniour hath many chambers which are richly appointed, wherein hee remaines, and there hee hath ſixe young men which attend his perſon and the ſeruice of his chamber, whereof two wait daily, and at K night they watch when he ſleepes, the one of them at his head, and the other at his feete, with two torches burning in their hands. In the morning (as *Sanzouino* writes) when the Graund Seigniour attires himſelfe, they put into one of his pockets a thouſand aſpers, and into the other pocket twentie duckats of gold, the which if he giue not away that day, is their fee at night, neither (as they ſay) doth hee euer put on the ſame cloathes: and whenſoeuer hee goes to hunting, or to any other exerciſe (beſides the money which he hath with him) his Caſnadar Baſſa or chiefe Treaſuror ſtill followes him with great ſtore of money to giue away. The office of theſe ſix young men (who are changed as it pleaſeth the Graund Seigniour) is diſtinct, for the one carries his ſhooes, the ſecond his bow and arrows, the third L his veſt, the fourth a veſſell with water, the fifth carries a ſeat, and the ſixth called *Oda Baſſa* is head of the chamber.

The chiefe officers of his houſe.

He hath dayly a great number of perſons reſident in his pallace, imployed in their ſeuerall charges, ſome in one place, ſome in another, vnder their ſeuerall commanders. But among all the great men in his court theſe are of chiefeſt eminencie and note.

Firſt the *Capi Aga*, that is to ſay, the mouth of the graund Seigniour, by whom the Sultan ſpeaketh to ſuch as haue any great ſuit vnto him: for no Embaſſadour is admitted vnto him, but at his firſt arriuall when he deliuers his letters of credit and his preſents, and when he hath any buſineſſe to treat of he repaires to the Viſier Baſſa or his Aga.

The ſecond is *Caſnadar Baſſa*, the chiefe Treaſurour of the houſhold, or ſuperintendent of the Treaſuror.

The third *Chilergi Baſſa*, chiefe cupbearer. M

The fourth is *Seraglio Agaſi*, ſteward or maſter of the houſhold.

The fifth is *Chiller Agaſi*, or *Saraidar Baſſa*, Ouerſeer of his Seraglio of concubines, who is alwaies a eunuch as the reſt be.

A The ſixth and laſt is *Boſtangi Baſſa*, chiefe Gardiner, and ouerſeer of all his gardens, Captaine of his Iamoglans, and ſtearer of his Barge whenſoeuer he goeth by water. Hee hath a Protogero or Lieutenant, and many Gardiners vnder him, which are called Boſtangi, who when they come out of the Seraglio, become Ianizaries, Solacchi, or Capigi, according to their qualities.

Theſe ſixe Officers of the Sultans houſe aboue mentioned haue no authoritie out of his pallace, yet the greateſt Baſſaes ſtand in awe of them, and feare them, for that they haue free acceſſe vnto the Sultan, and haue dayly opportunitie to incenſe him againſt them: for by their ſecret ſuggeſtion and falſe informations, many of the greateſt Baſſaes are manie times ſuddenly and vndeſeruedly cut off in the height of all their pompe B and glorie.

The Sultans dumbe men.

Hee hath many Mutes or dumbe men attending about him, whereof eight bee his daily companions and play-fellowes in the Seraglio, in whoſe companie hee takes great delight: beſides many others to the number of fortie, which attend vpon him as pages. They are all borne deafe and dumbe, yet by long practiſe they grow ſo perfect, as they will vnderſtand any thing that ſhall be acted vnto them by ſignes and geſtures; and will themſelues by the geſture of their eyes, bodies, hands, and feet, deliuer matters of great difficultie, to the great admiration of ſtrangers.

A Seraglio of young men.

The Graund Seigniour hath within his pallace a Seraglio, of young men to the number of fiue hundred, from eight yeares of age to twentie: theſe are the well-fauouredſt C and beſt proportioned of all the tribute children which hee draweth from Græcia and Natolia, and they are choſen out of his Seraglioes at Pera, Adrianopolis, and other places, and brought to this to bee bred vp, where they are inſtructed in diuerſe Arts, according to their diſpoſition, but eſpecially to read and write, and in the doctrine of their Law, and to ride, there beeing a great number of horſes kept within this Seraglio for their exerciſe, and for the Eunuches. They neuer goe out of the Seraglio till the Sultan thinkes them to be of fit age to vndergoe ſome charge, and then he makes them Spacoglani, or Silichtari, and to ſome hee giues greater places, according to their valour, or the fauour they haue gotten with him.

They that carry his Launce.

Hee hath in like manner about foureſcore Mutaferache, that is to ſay, Launce-bearers D to the Graund Seigniour: which carrie his Launce whenſoeuer hee goeth to field, and acknowledge no other commander, and in time by his fauour or their merites, are made Captaines.

The Sultans Eunuches.

Hee hath alwaies aboue one thouſand Eunuches entertained in ſeuerall places, whereof ſome of them are in verie great credit with him, and can preuaile much: they are called Hudurni, many of them are employed to attend his Concubines and Virgines in his Seraglio. They are not onely depriued of their genitors, but in their youth they haue their whole priuities ſmoothed off by their bellies, and in their Turbants they beare ſhort quills of ſiluer, through which they make water. This inhumane cuſtome was firſt in- E uented by Sultan *Solyman*, who ſeeing a Gelding make offer to couer a Mare, grewe ſuſpitious that they were able to doe ſome ſmall thing, notwithſtanding the loſſe of their genitors.

The Sultans Seraglio of women.

The Graund Seigniour hath a Seraglio for his women without his pallace, in the which there are alwayes foure or fiue hundred young Virgines, the faireſt of the Chriſtians children, which hee gathereth vp out of Græcia for tribute. The Sultan repaires ſometime thither to make choice of ſuch as he ſhall like beſt for his pleaſure; whereof they are aduertiſed the day before by the Eunuches, that they may prepare themſelues in their beſt habits to giue him content. Being al in a roome, and ſtanding vpon either ſide, the Sultan enters, attended by an Eunuch or two, and viewes them; to her that hee likes, he caſts a hand- F kercher, (whereof hee hath many hanging at his girdle) and in this manner it may bee hee makes choice of halfe a dozen, the which his Eunuches obſeruing, they put them preſently into a Coach, and are carried into another little Seraglio within his pallace. In this ſeraglio they haue good entertainement, and are apparelled in ſilke twice a yeare, and are taught to make diuers workes by antient matrons, and are attended on by the younger ſort.

yeare 1363. But *Mahomet* the ſecond hauing taken the citie of Conſtantinople, and expelled G the Emperour in the yeare 1453, he made it the royall ſeat of the *Othomans*, for which he had great reaſon, being one of the faireſt and ſweeteſt ſeats of the World.

Deſcription of Conſtantinople.

Conſtantinople hath in circuit by the opinion of ſome writers fifteene or ſixteene miles, and is called by the Turkes themſelues Stambull or Stambolda, the ſea beating vpon it vpon the North and South ſides: Towards the Eaſt it is diuided from Aſia by a large channell, which runneth from the one ſea to the other, and is about ſeuen miles in length. The Citie is built vpon the declining of a hill, in which there are many rare ſingularities which I omit, beeing deſcribed elſewhere. There are in this Citie ſeuen little hils, vpon the which are built ſeuen principall Moſques or Chutches, by ſeuerall Emperours, where of the faireſt and moſt ſtately is that of Sultan *Solyman*. Vpon the North ſide of the citie H ſtandeth the Graund Seigniours Pallace or Seraglio, commonly called by the name of the Port: The which hath on the one ſide thereof the Sea, and of the other ſide of it the hauen, the other two beeing towards the citie, beeing about three miles in compaſſe, ſome write of foure. It is walled about, and within it are many gardens, orchards, medowes, and woods. Being entred into the firſt port (which hath double gates of yron) into a large Court, on the left hand there ſtands a building like vnto a Turkiſh Moſque, which now the Graund Seigniour vſeth for a ſtore-houſe, wherein are great ſtore of armes which are for the defence of his Seraglio. And on the other ſide of this Court are ſeuerall gardens walled in, from which they paſſe to another Court with a gate like vnto the former, where are targuets and I cemitars hanging, and many porters attending, as at the former. After this, they paſſe into another large court which is planted with cypreſſe trees, and full of graſſe, where deere feed; but round about it is a cloiſter which is in length about ſix hundred and fourescore foot, and aboue fiue hundred in bredth, paued with ſtone, and couered with lead, it beeing ſupported with one hundred and fortie pillars of white and gray marble, ſtanding vpon baſſes of copper, with capitals of the ſame; vpon the North ſide whereof ſtands the Diuano, whereas the Viſier Baſſa and the other Baſſaes ſit in Councell, and heare cauſes of importance, whereof wee will ſpeake hereafter. In this Seraglio the Grand Seigniour hath many chambers which are richly appointed, wherein hee remaines, and there hee hath ſixe young men which attend his perſon and the ſeruice of his chamber, whereof two wait daily, and at K night they watch when he ſleepes, the one of them at his head, and the other at his feete, with two torches burning in their hands. In the morning (as *Sanzouino* writes) when the Graund Seigniour attires himſelfe, they put into one of his pockets a thouſand aſpers, and into the other pocket twentie duckats of gold, the which if he giue not away that day, is their fee at night, neither (as they ſay) doth hee euer put on the ſame cloathes: and whenſoeuer hee goes to hunting, or to any other exerciſe (beſides the money which he hath with him) his Caſnadar Baſſa or chiefe Treaſuror ſtill followes him with great ſtore of money to giue away. The office of theſe ſix young men (who are changed as it pleaſeth the Graund Seigniour) is diſtinct, for the one carries his ſhooes, the ſecond his bow and arrows, the third his veſt, the fourth a veſſell with water, the fifth carries a ſeat, and the ſixth called *Oda Baſſa* is L head of the chamber.

Attendants vpon the Grand Seigniour.

The chiefe officers of his houſe.

He hath dayly a great number of perſons reſident in his pallace, imployed in their ſeuerall charges, ſome in one place, ſome in another, vnder their ſeuerall commanders. But among all the great men in his court theſe are of chiefeſt eminencie and note.

Firſt the *Capi Aga*, that is to ſay, the mouth of the graund Seigniour, by whom the Sultan ſpeaketh to ſuch as haue any great ſuit vnto him: for no Embaſſadour is admitted vnto him, but at his firſt arriuall when he deliuers his letters of credit and his preſents, and when he hath any buſineſſe to treat of he repaires to the Viſier Baſſa or his Aga.

The ſecond is *Caſnadar Baſſa*, the chiefe Treaſurour of the houſhold, or ſuperintendent of the Treaſuror.

The third *Chilergi Baſſa*, chiefe cupbearer. M

The fourth is *Seraglio Agaſi*, ſteward or maſter of the houſhold.

The fifth is *Chiller Agaſi*, or *Saraidar Baſſa*, Ouerſeer of his Seraglio of concubines, who is alwaies a eunuch as the reſt be.

A The ſixth and laſt is *Boſtangi Baſſa*, chiefe Gardiner, and ouerſeer of all his gardens, Captaine of his Iamoglans, and ſtearer of his Barge whenſoeuer he goeth by water. Hee hath a Protogero or Lieutenant, and many Gardiners vnder him, which are called Boſtangi, who when they come out of the Seraglio, become Ianizaries, Solacchi, or Capigi, according to their qualities.

Theſe ſixe Officers of the Sultans houſe aboue mentioned haue no authoritie out of his pallace, yet the greateſt Baſſaes ſtand in awe of them, and feare them, for that they haue free acceſſe vnto the Sultan, and haue dayly opportunitie to incenſe him againſt them: for by their ſecret ſuggeſtion and falſe informations, many of the greateſt Baſſaes are manie times ſuddenly and vndeſeruedly cut off in the height of all their pompe B and glorie.

The Sultans dumbe men.

Hee hath many Mutes or dumbe men attending about him, whereof eight bee his daily companions and play-fellowes in the Seraglio, in whoſe companie hee takes great delight: beſides many others to the number of fortie, which attend vpon him as pages. They are all borne deafe and dumbe, yet by long practiſe they grow ſo perfect, as they will vnderſtand any thing that ſhall be acted vnto them by ſignes and geſtures; and will themſelues by the geſture of their eyes, bodies, hands, and feet, deliuer matters of great difficultie, to the great admiration of ſtrangers.

A Seraglio of young men.

The Graund Seigniour hath within his pallace a Seraglio, of young men to the number of fiue hundred, from eight yeares of age to twentie: theſe are the well-fauouredſt C and beſt proportioned of all the tribute children which hee draweth from Græcia and Natolia, and they are choſen out of his Seraglioes at Pera, Adrianopolis, and other places, and brought to this to bee bred vp, where they are inſtructed in diuerſe Arts, according to their diſpoſition, but eſpecially to read and write, and in the doctrine of their Law, and to ride, there beeing a great number of horſes kept within this Seraglio for their exerciſe, and for the Eunuches. They neuer goe out of the Seraglio till the Sultan thinkes them to be of fit age to vndergoe ſome charge, and then he makes them Spacoglani, or Silichtari, and to ſome hee giues greater places, according to their valour, or the fauour they haue gotten with him.

They that carry his Launce.

Hee hath in like manner about foureſcore Mutaferache, that is to ſay, Launce-bearers D to the Graund Seigniour: which carrie his Launce whenſoeuer hee goeth to field, and acknowledge no other commander, and in time by his fauour or their merites, are made Captaines.

The Sultans Eunuches.

Hee hath alwaies aboue one thouſand Eunuches entertained in ſeuerall places, whereof ſome of them are in verie great credit with him, and can preuaile much: they are called Hudurni, many of them are employed to attend his Concubines and Virgines in his Seraglio. They are not onely depriued of their genitors, but in their youth they haue their whole priuities ſmoothed off by their bellies, and in their Turbants they beare ſhort quills of ſiluer, through which they make water. This inhumane cuſtome was firſt E inuented by Sultan *Solyman*, who ſeeing a Gelding make offer to couer a Mare, grewe ſuſpitious that they were able to doe ſome ſmall thing, notwithſtanding the loſſe of their genitors.

The Sultans Seraglio of women.

The Graund Seigniour hath a Seraglio for his women without his pallace, in the which there are alwayes foure or fiue hundred young Virgines, the faireſt of the Chriſtians children, which hee gathereth vp out of Græcia for tribute. The Sultan repaires ſometime thither to make choice of ſuch as he ſhall like beſt for his pleaſure; whereof they are aduertiſed the day before by the Eunuches, that they may prepare themſelues in their beſt habits to giue him content. Being al in a roome, and ſtanding vpon either ſide, the Sultan enters, attended by an Eunuch or two, and viewes them; to her that hee likes, he caſts a F handkercher, (whereof hee hath many hanging at his girdle) and in this manner it may bee hee makes choice of halfe a dozen, the which his Eunuches obſeruing, they put them preſently into a Coach, and are carried into another little Seraglio within his pallace. In this ſeraglio they haue good entertainement, and are apparelled in ſilke twice a yeare, and are taught to make diuers workes by antient matrons, and are attended on by the younger ſort.

They haue many Eunuches with their Aga or Captaine, and they haue one hundred Capigi's and Ianizaries, which keepe their gates. When as the number of theſe virgine ſlaues decreaſeth, and they haue not wherewithall to ſupplie them with their tributarie children, they ſend to the market in Conſtantinople, where they ſay there are dayly ten thouſand ſlaues of all ages and ſexes to bee ſold: and there they buy the faireſt they can get, but they will not haue them aboue eight yeares old, leſt they ſhould bee corrupted before they come into the Turkes Seraglio.

The eſtate of his concubines.

As for the other Seraglio within the Sultans pallace, there remaines the Sultanaes with their children, and ſuch other Concubines as hee hath made choice of for his delight. He neuer marries, but when any one is brought vnto him, hee giues her an attire for her head of gold, and tenne thouſand aſpers, cauſing her to liue in a chamber apart, encreaſing her dayly maintenance. The firſt that beares him a childe, is called Sultana, and is miſtreſſe of all the reſt, and moſt fauoured by him, as the chiefeſt of all his women, the reſt as they are fauored by the Prince, are brought vnto him to haue his pleaſure, and then returned backe againe: if they chance to be with childe, they are put into the number of the Sultanaes, and are much reſpected by him. Such as the Prince hath had the vſe of, but no children by them, are giuen in marriage to his ſlaues, who are aduanced to dignities, and made Gouernours of countries.

His guard, footmen, & porters.

Hee hath three hundred Sollacchi, which march continually about his perſon, and make as it were his guard, beeing vnder the commaund of the Aga of Ianizaries; they are richly attired, hauing lawne garments hanging downe beneath their knees, and ouer it a quilted waſtcoat with halfe ſleeues of taffatie, damaske, or ſatten, and on their heads caps and feathers like vnto the Captaine of the Ianizaries, and they attend on him with bowes and arrowes. He hath alſo ſtill about him when he rides abroad fortie Peichi, that is to ſay, footmen or poſtes which runne wonderfull ſwiftly, and are ſtill at hand to attend his commandements, where hee ſhall pleaſe to employ them: they weare long coats of cloth of gold with a broad girdle of the ſame, and caps like vnto womens thimbles, with a horne of ſiluer and gilt ſtanding vp before. There are about foure thouſand Capigi's or Porters which continually attend his pallace and Seraglios, they are attired like vnto the Ianizaries, and haue ouer them thee Capigi Baſſaes. Theſe men are many times employed to execute the Grand Seigniors commandements, when he will haue any great mans head, or his throat cut, as we haue ſeene of late yeares in *Gambolat Baſſa*, and in *Naſſuf Baſſa*, who was graund Viſier to *Achmat*.

The Turks gouernment.

The Grand Seigniors gouernment is ſo abſolute, as they all tearme themſelues his ſlaues, and no man how great ſoeuer can aſſure himſelfe of his eſtate, no not of his life, but by the great Turks ſpecial fauor. He commits the managing of his eſtate to ſuch as haue abjured the Chriſtian religion, & haue bin brought by way of tything in their infancies from Greece and Natolia, and afterwards for their merits are aduanced to great dignities, as Baſſaes, Beglerbegs, and ſuch other. The Prince hath a court or Councell which they call Diuano, and this is held within the Seraglio foure dayes in the weeke; that is to ſay, Saturday, Sunday, Munday, and Tueſday, where they treat of matters of State, and afterwards of the affaires of priuate men. To this Councell are admitted the Graund Viſier, eight or nine Baſſaes who are are alſo called Viſiers, and are continually reſident at Conſtantinople, (for there are many more which are employed abroad in the conduct of armies or gouernment of Countries) the Beglerbegs and others. At the riſing of the court or councell, the Grand Viſier informes the Sultan of all the proceedings in particular; wherein he dares not diſſemble, for that the Prince hath a window joyning to the Diuano, where he may heare and ſee any thing and not be ſeene. He ſeldome impugnes what they haue reſolued, vnleſſe it be to moderate ſome rigorous ſentence, or to giue anſwer to ſome Embaſſadour, and what he himſelfe concludes is irreuokable.

The Turks iuſtice.

Their ſuits are verie ſhort, for they haue no aduocates to breed delaies, as they haue in Chriſtendome; yet commonly hee that bribes moſt ſpeeds beſt; for the Turkes are the moſt couetous and corrupt nation in the World, neither will they doe any man a kindneſſe without a fee; and yet they are not ſure to enjoy any thing they get no longer than it ſhall pleaſe

A the Prince. They puniſh crimes with great ſeueritie, and ſpeedily, the fact being prooued; which doth ſo terrifie them, as by the report of ſuch as haue conuerſed long there, you ſhall ſeldome ſee a murder or a theft committed by any Turke; and if any foule fact be committed, it is moſt commonly done by Græcians.

The Grand Viſier.

The chiefe of the Grand Seigniors Councell, is the Graund Viſier, who weares the princes ſignet, and is as it were the Lieutenant Generall of the whole monarchie: he hath authoritie ouer the other Baſſaes, and they are bound to yeeld him an account of their imployments. Hee is ſtill about the prince his perſon, and is not ſent abroad for any imploiment, vnleſſe it bee for an important warre, as they haue done of late yeares againſt the Perſian. When the Viſier is ſent abroad, he makes choice of one of the Baſſaes to be his Lieutenant and to execute his authoritie, and he is called Chimacham. *Mechmet Baſſa* is at this preſent
B chiefe Viſier.

The Beglerbegs and Sanzacks.

Next vnto the Baſſa (which is as much to ſay as great Lord) follow the Beglerbegs, and haue their places in court next vnto them. They are men of great authoritie, and haue the command of great kingdoms and armies, vnder whoſe obedience are diuers Sanzacks which are ſent as Gouernors into prouinces during the princes pleaſure. Theſe are men of great experience, and haue command ouer the Spahi, and Timariots, the Turks chiefe forces on horſebacke, whom they cal continually to exerciſe their armes. There is one Beglerbeg of Greece, which hath all the countries in Europe in the Turks dominions vnder his charge, and this is the firſt of all the Beglerbegs, who hath vnder him aboue thirtie Sanzackes. There are ſix other Beglerbegs in Aſia, whereof the firſt is he of Natolia or Aſia the leſſe. He hath the go-
C uernment of Pontus, Bythinia, and other Kingdomes, and hath vnder him twelue Sanzackes. The Beglerbeg of Caramania with ſeuen Sanzackes. The Beglerbeg of Aladuley, vnder whoſe command are ſeuen Sanzackes. The Beglerbeg of Amazia and Toccato, hauing foure Sanzackes. There is alſo one in Meſopotamia, and vnder his command twelue Sanzackes or Gouernours of prouinces. There is likewiſe a Beglerbeg of Damas, Suria, and Iudæa, who hath vnder him twelue Sanzackes. And there is one of Caire, who commands ouer ſixteene Sanzacks, his charge extends to the Arabians, but they are not ſo obedient as the Turks other countries.

The great Turks forces.

As for the Turkes forces, they conſiſt of horſemen, footmen, and fleets at ſea. His horſemen conſiſt of Spahi, Timari, Spachoglani, Silictari & Olofagi, who haue aſſignations of lands
D for the entertainment of them and their horſes. For no man can enjoy any poſſeſſions, but he is enjoyned to entertaine a certaine number of ſouldiers proportionable to the reuenues of the land: ſo as the Gouernour or Baſſa is alwaies bound to haue this number ready to march when they are called. Of theſe Timariots they are able to raiſe about an hundred and fiftie thouſand horſe alwaies readie at the firſt call, for the which the prince disburſeth not a penny; for in regard of the land which is allotted them, they are bound to maintaine themſelues, their horſe and armes in the war. Whereſoeuer the Turke conquereth any countrey, he diuides it among his ſouldiers; aſſigning 4000 aſpers yerely (which is little aboue ten pound ſterling) to euerie one for himſelfe and his horſe, and ſo proportionably if he haue more land. Theſe horſemen are much peſtered with armes when they goe to warre: for they haue a jacke, a
E ſpeare with a little white banner, a caliuer hanging vnder his left arme, a cemitar, a bow and arrows at his girdle, and a battleaxe at his ſaddle bow. And of theſe kind of horſemen they ſay there are 80000 in Greece, beſides an infinit number in his other countries. This Turkiſh Cauallerie worke two great effects, for they ſerue as a ſupport to his eſtate, to ſuppreſſe all ſeditions, and they are readie to vndertake any enterpriſe. Beſides theſe he enteraines many horſmen about his perſon, whereof ſome are Spahi, and theſe are Chriſtian ſlaues bred vp yong in the princes ſeraglio, who by their merits attain to that degree, and afterwards to greater dignities. They are alwaies attending about the princes perſon whereſoeuer he goes, beeing commonly thirteene hundred.

The Timariots.

The Spahi.

The Caripices & Spachoglani.

The *Caripices* are held for the flower of all his horſemen, beeing in number about eight
F hundred, who march ſtill about the princes perſon during the wars. The *Spachoglani* which is as much to ſay as yong men on horſebacke, are aboue three thouſand, who haue yearely penſions in money, which they are bound to receiue yearely at Conſtantinople, or elſe they are held as dead men. In the wars they march on the right hand of the Grand Seigniour, and are

knowne from the Spahis by the banners of their launces, which haue two points and of diuers G colors, the others being pointed and all white, but they are armed alike. They are men at armes of a good faſhion, and are commonly aduanced by the Sultan to higher places. They haue a Captaine or Aga of great eſteeme, with a Lieutenant, and euerie twentie haue a Boluch Baſſa.

The Salichtari.

The *Salichtari* are alſo horſemen, and lodge vpon the left hand of the Prince, being in number about 3000: Their breeding is like to the Spahi, and there is no difference betwixt them but in their march, the one hauing the right hand, and the other the left, which is the more honourable among the Turkes.

The Oloſagi.

There is yet another ſort of horſemen, which they call *Oloſagi*, being about 2000 in number, and they march on the right and left hand of the prince. Theſe ſeuerall troupes are as it were a nurſerie for all the chiefe officers of that empire; out of which they doe commonly H chuſe their great commanders. Beſides they haue their mercinarie ſouldiers called *Alcanzis*, which come to ſerue the Turke from Tartaria, Valachia, and Moldauia.

The Ianizaries and their breeding.

As for his foot forces they conſiſt chiefly in Ianizaries, into which number they haue not vſed to enroll many of Aſia, whom they haue held faint hearted, but thoſe of Europe, who haue alwaies had the reputation to be valiant. Their manner to entertaine this diſcipline, is, to ſend euerie three yeares into all the prouinces of Europe, from whence they bring 10 or 12 thouſand Chriſtian children as a tribute, making choice of ſuch as haue any ſhew of magnanimitie, agilitie, or courage, which are parts fit for a ſouldier. Theſe children being brought to Conſtantinople and viſited, ſome of them are ſent into Natolia, Caramania, and other prouinces I to dig and weed the ground, where they forget their parents, country, and faith, and learne the language and vices of them with whom they conuerſe, and ſo become Mahometans. They continue in thoſe places 3 or 4 yeares, without any charge to the prince, being entertained by them for whome they labour; after which time they are called home, and put into the Sultans Seraglios at Pera, Adrianopolis, and other places. But they that haue the beſt faces & are moſt actiue, are reſerued for their princes ſeruice.

The Aiamoglani.

Theſe children being brought into the princes Seraglio's, are of two ſorts; the one are called *Aiamoglani*, that is to ſay, ſimple Boy: they are inſtructed by ſeuere maſters in diuers manuall and painefull exerciſes, as ſhoomakers, gardiners, and ſuch like baſe trades. Their feeding and apparell is verie meane; and for the moſt part they lie in great and ſpacious rooms, K like vnto religious men, hauing a light continually burning, and guards about them. Theſe haue libertie to goe abroad, who after the age of twenty yeares, are diſmiſſed; whereof ſome are ſent into the Sultans gardens, which are many and great; others are employed as car-men to carrie wood, hay, water, and or other prouiſion for the pallace, and ſome are ſent to the kitchins and ſtables; yet when places fall they are preferred to be Ianizaries, and haue competent penſions to maintaine them during their liues. The leaſt hath fiue aſpers a day, and none aboue eight, and the Spahies ten. They are attired in long blew gownes girt with a broad girdle, and on their head they haue long yellow caps without brims, and ſharpe like vnto ſugar loues: and of theſe *Aiamoglanes* there are alwaies aboue twentie thouſand which ſerue to ſupplie his armies. L

The Ich-Oglani

The other ſort of youths, which are bred vp in the Turkes ſeraglio's or nurſeries, are called *Ich-Oglani*, that is to ſay, chamber pages, beeing the choice of all the Chriſtians children for proportion and fauour, and theſe are better bred vp then the *Aiamoglani*, and come to better preferment, of whom we haue formerly made mention; for the meaneſt places theſe yong men attain vnto at the firſt is to be Spahies, or to attend vpon the grand Seignior as his chamberlaines and pages. And many of them hauing extraordinary parts are ſuddenly aduanced to places of great dignitie. Of theſe the prince hath euer 5000, who vntill they come vnto the age of twentie yeares are neuer ſuffered to goe out of their ſeraglio, nor to ſee any perſon but ſuch as inſtruct them and attend vpon them.

The Ianizaries

The Ianizaries (who are the grand Seigniors chiefe ſtrength on foot) are raiſed out of Chri- M ſtians children, bred vp in theſe nurſeries as we haue ſaid, where they are taught to ſhoot with their bowes and arrowes, to vſe the harquebuſe, and all other weapons fit for ſeruice; and are at length inrolled among the Ianizaries, and are held the moſt valiant and reſolute ſouldiers among all the Turkes. There are commonly reſident in Conſtantinople and thereabouts

A twentie foure thouſand of theſe Ianizaries when as the Grand Seigniour is there, (for in his
whole eſtate he hath a far greater number) vnder their Aga or Captaine Generall, which is a
place of great credit, but not like vnto any of their Baſſaes; the great Turke fearing to ioyne
power and authoritie together. Being once Ianizaries, they are either ſent to the wars, or put in
garriſon, or elſe they remaine at the Sultans court (which they call port) where they haue cer-
taine ſpacious places for their dwelling, like to religious houſes, where they liue vnder their
commanders: and the younger ſerue the antient with great reſpect. All the Ianizaries of one
ſquadron eat together at one table, and ſleep in certaine long halls, and if any one chance to be
abſent all night, he ſhall (the next night) be beaten with a cudgell, which he takes ſo patiently
as he kiſſeth his hand that hath thus corrected him. They are much reſpected and feared of
B all men, and are diuerſly imploied in the citie; as to ſee the peace and good orders kept, to
looke to the prices of things, to arreſt malefactors, and to guard the gates. If they buy any
thing they will haue it at their owne rate, they cannot be iudged but by their Aga or Cap-
taine. There is ſeldome any one puniſhed with death by the courſe of iuſtice, without dan-
ger of a mutinie; and therefore they execute them very ſecretly. They haue many meanes to
get money; for ſome attend vpon Embaſſadors aud keep their houſes; others go with trauel-
lers, to guard them ſafely through the Turks Eſtate. They haue a great power in their princes
election; ſo as to winne their loues euerie new Emperor at his firſt comming to the Crowne
giues them a donatiue, and increaſeth their pay, preſuming vpon their valour and multitude.
They many times commit ſtrange inſolencies vpon any diſcontents; as in firing of houſes,
brauing the Baſſaes, and ſometimes bearding the Sultan himſelfe, as you may read in this
C Hiſtorie.

The chiefe ſtrength of the Turkes forces conſiſts in the Ianizaries; and yet there are other
ſorts of footmen, whereof ſome are called *Acouizes*, which is a forlorne hope, and receiue no
pay, but march before the armie, and haue leaue to ſpoile; ſo as they giue the fifth part of
their bootie to the prince. There is another kinde called *Azapi*: theſe are ſouldiers of ſmall
effect, and ſerue rather with the pickaxe and ſpade than with the ſword: they are fitter to tire
an enemie with their numbers, than to vanquiſh them with their valour; and they are accu-
ſtomed to fill vp ditches with their dead bodies to make a paſſage for the Ianizaraies to aſend
vnto a breach. The grand Seignior hath euer 6000 Gunners in pay whom they call *Topegi*.
And for the guard of the powder and ſhot when the armie marcheth, there are alwaies 12000
D men in pay, whom they call *Iebegi*.

Acouizes.

Azapi.

Topagi and Iebegi.

The grand ſeignior hath alſo certaine officers attending on him to the number of 3000,
whom they call *Chiaus*, which are as it were ſergeants at arms. Theſe are men well eſteemed,
and are often imployed in embaſſies to forreine princes: They alſo carrie letters and com-
mendations from the prince or his chiefe Viſier, and they apprehend offendors. Theſe ne-
uer go to the war but when as the Sultan is there in perſon. They are commanded by a Chi-
aus Baſſa, who is of ſo great credit with all men (as *Sanzouino* writes) that when he is ſent by
the grand ſeignior to any Baſſa, Sanzacke, or Cadi, with order to haue any mans head cut off,
he is obeyed, although he haue no warrant in writing, as if the prince were there himſelfe, and
commanded it.

The Chiaus.

E Thus we haue ſet downe the grand ſeigniors forces at land, whoſe numbers are ſo great,
as in ſhew they ſhould breed confuſion and ruine themſelues; but they keepe verie good or-
der and diſcipline, ſo as in that point they yeeld not to any. They liue of a little bread baked
in the aſhes, with rice and the powder of fleſh dried in the ſunne: They may drinke no wine,
and there are no women ſeene in their armies: they obſerue a wonderfull ſilence, and all the
ſouldiers are gouerned by the becke of the hand, or any ſhew of the countenance. Quarrels
and thefts are ſeuerely puniſhed. When they march they dare not enter into any corne fields
nor vines. The valiant are aſſured of preferments, and cowards of puniſhment.

The Turks diſcipline in their armies.

Hauing ſpoken ſufficiently of their land forces, let vs ſee what ſtrength he hath at ſea: they
haue great ſtore of foreſts for the building of ſhips; neither want they good ſhipwrites, for
that couetouſneſſe hath drawne many Chriſtian carpenters into the grand ſeigniors arſenal:
F And he hath great numbers of men trained vp in marine affaires, in regard of the gallies
which he hath at Mitilene, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Alexandria, and for the retreat hee
giues pyrats at Tunis, Bona, Bugia and Algiers, from whence hee drawes commaunders

and his beſt mariners, as hath beene ſeene by experience in the enterpriſes of Malta, Gulette, and elſewhere. G

The Turkes reuenues.

To maintaine theſe great forces, it is requiſite he ſhould haue the ſinews of war; yet his ordinarie reuenews (conſidering his large dominions) are not ſo great, as in reaſon they ſhould be: for ſome are of opinion, that he hath not aboue eight millions of gold for his ordinarie reuenew; for which they giue diuers reaſons: firſt, that the Turks haue no care but of armes, the which do rather ruine than inrich a countrie: ſecondly, they conſume ſo many men in their enterpriſes, as they ſcarce leaue ſufficient to manure their land, ſo as the ſubiects (deſpairing to enioy their wealth and neceſſarie commodities, which they might get by their labour and induſtrie) imploy not themſelues to worke nor trafficke, no more than neceſſitie ſhall conſtraine them: for to what purpoſe is it ſay they, to ſow that another man muſt reape? or to reape that which another will conſume? And for this reaſon you ſhall ſee in the Turkes H eſtate whole countries lie waſt, & many times great dearth, which growes by the want of men to manure their land; for that the countrie men for the moſt part either die in the voyages which they make, or in carrying victuals, and other neceſſarie things for their armies; for of 10000 which they draw from their houſes to row in their gallies, ſcarce the fourth part returns to their houſes, by reaſon of the great toyles they indure. Another reaſon why the Sultans reuenues be no greater, is, for that when he conquers any countrie, he aſſignes the lands to his Timarri, who are bound to maintaine ſo many men, and ſo many horſes, according to the proportion of land which he giues them, reſeruing no rent.

But although his ordinarie reuenues be no greater than we haue ſpoken, yet he drawes I great profit by his extraordinaries, eſpecially by confiſcations and preſents; for being all his ſlaues, no man enioyeth any thing longer than it pleaſeth him: yea the Baſſaes and greateſt officers of that crowne, which oppreſſe his ſubiects, and gather together ineſtimable wealth, in the end for the moſt part, it comes into the Turks Caſna or Treaſurie. It is not ſtrange there to ſend for any ſubiects head, vpon any ſuggeſtion whatſoeuer, which no man dare contradict: after which execution, his ſlaues and goods are ſold in the market at Conſtantinople, and the mony applyed to the princes coffers. His preſents alſo amount to great ſummes, for no Embaſſador may come before him without a preſent, neither may any man expect any office or dignitie without mony: no gouernor being returned from his prouince, dares preſent himſelfe to the Sultan emptie handed, neither are their preſents of ſmall price. The Sul- K tans exchequer is gouerned by two Treaſurers called *Deftardari*, who are more rightly gouernors of the reuenues, for that they keepe an account of the princes Caſna or treaſure, the one hath charge of the reuenues which are raiſed in Natolia, and the other in Europe. Alſo they draw great profits from their tributarie prouinces, eſpecially from Valachia, Moldauia, and Tranſyluania, where the princes maintaine themſelues by preſents and gifts; ſo as they change dayly, for that they that offer moſt are aduanced, whereby they are forced to ruine the countrie to performe what they haue promiſed.

The lawes whereby the Turks are gouerned.

But hauing ſpoken of the Turks forces and reuenues, whereby they maintain their armies to inuade their neighbors, we muſt now ſpeake ſomething of their laws whereby the ſubiects are gouerned, which are inſtitutions and anſwers of wiſe men, the which they hold as an inter- L pretation of their Alcaron, which is the ground of their law. Theſe inſtitutions are contained in 12 volumes, treating of all things belonging to ciuile conuerſation. Some prouinces of Turkie are gouerned by cuſtomes, and enioy their priuiledges, and their wiſe Iudges ſupplie many things which are not written. The Sultan makes choice of the wiſeſt and worthieſt perſon that can be found, of a ſincere life according to their law, and he is called Mufti, that is, Interpreter of their Alcaron; he is (as it were) their high prieſt, attending only matters of religion and faith: he is head of the church among the Turks, and decideth all queſtions of their law. He is of ſuch eminencie, as all the Baſſaes are ſubiect to his direction: he abaſeth not himſelfe ſo much as to ſit in the Diuano, only paſſeth through it when he is ſent for by the Sultan, who (ſo ſoone as he ſeeth him) riſeth from his ſeat as it were to honour him, and F then they both ſit downe face to face, and ſo confer together.

The Mufti.

The Cadileſquiri.

They make triall of the ſufficienteſt of their Iudges, before they chuſe any, for which there are two *Cadileſquiri Taliſmani*, that is, Doctours of the law, and Examiners at Conſtantinople, or whereſoeuer the Prince remaines; Theſe examine the Iudges or Cadi's of diuers

prouin-

A prouinces. The one hath his charge ouer Europe, and is called *Cadileſquirie Romly*, before whom (after good information of his life, and ſufficiencie) he ſweares that he will doe iuſtice to all men, and yeeld an account of his charge when he ſhall be called. The other *Cadileſquirie* is for Natolia: they are ſoueraigne judges in all cauſes, and as it were Patriarks. They are of great authoritie, and haue place in the Diuano with the Baſſa's to conſult of weighty matters.

The Mulli, Muderiſi, and Cadi.

There is a third degree of their churchmen, belonging to their law, called *Mulli*, which are biſhops and chiefe gouernors vnder the Mufti; and their office is to place and diſplace churchmen at their diſcretion. Next are the *Nuderiſi*, who are ſuffragans to the Biſhops, and their charge is to ſee the Cadies do their duties. Next come the *Cadi's* who are Iudges to puniſh offendors, of which there is one in euerie citie vnder the Seigniors command.

The Naipi.

B Vnder theſe are another kind of yong Doctors of the law called *Naipi*, who are not ſo wel read as to be abſolute Iudges, but yet ſupply their places in their abſence.

The Hogi, Calſi, and Soſti.

After theſe are the *Hogi*, who write their bookes, for that they allow no printing: and inferior vnto them are the *Calſi*, who read vnto them that write. And the yongeſt of all are called *Soſti*, who are yong ſtudents or nouices in their law.

Theſe are their ſeuerall degrees of lawyers or churchmen: for the Turks are gouerned by a kinde of Eccleſiaſticall law, according to their Alcaron. They haue colledges (called Medreſſæ) at Conſtantinople, and in other places, where they liue and ſtudie their law and diuinitie, and ſo they aſcend by degrees to the higheſt dignitie of their profeſſion.

The Turkes religion.

As for their religion, it began in the time of the Emperour *Heraclius*, when as the empire was much diſmembred by the hereſies of *Arrius* and *Neſtorius*. *Mahomet* borne in Arabia C imbraced this opportunitie, ſeeking to ouerthrow the diuinitie of *Ieſus Chriſt*, which was oppoſed by the Iewes and Arabians: he was aſſiſted by two hereticks, the one was *Iohn* a Neſtorian, and the other *Sergius* an Arrian. After which (being aſſiſted by many ſlaues, to whom hee allowed all that was pleaſing to the ſence and fleſh if they ſhould receiue this law) he obtained many victories. By *Mahomets* law they make a diſtinction of clean & vnclean meats to content the Iews, and alſo it maintains circumciſion, but not at the eight day of their birth, as the Iews vſe it, but after the eight yeare, when the infant is able to make confeſſion of his faith, where lifting vp his finger he ſpeakes theſe words, which are grauen in their temples in the Arabian tongue: *There is but one God, whoſe Prophet* Mahomet *is, one God and equall Prophets.* The circumciſion being ended, they feaſt three daies together, and then they carry the circumciſed D to a bath with great pompe; after which the gueſts conduct him to his houſe, and preſent him with gifts. The women are not circumciſed, but onely ſpeake the words. If any Chriſtian abiure his faith and indure circumciſion (as they often do by reaſon of their tributes and vexations) they are led through the towne with great honor and reioicing of the people, who do alſo giue vnto them, and they pay no tributes. *Mahomets* law denies the diuinitie of *Ieſus Chriſt*, to pleaſe the Arrians who were then powerfull: It is full of fables to pleaſe Idolaters, and it giues libertie to the fleſh, which is pleaſing to moſt men.

They confeſſe one God, and honor *Ieſus Chriſt*, not as the ſonne of God, but as a prophet borne of the Virgin *Marie*. They neither honor nor allow images. Friday is their Sabbath as Sunday is ours. They obſerue a Lent of 30 daies, which they cal Ramadan; during which they E eat nothing in the day time, but when night comes all meats are indifferent, but ſwines fleſh; yet they abſtaine from wine and women. They haue their Eaſter called Bayran, which continues three daies, in which they enioy all pleaſures: but this feaſt is not alwaies prefixed, for that they account not the day according to the courſe of the Sun, but of the Moone; and therfore they do carefully obſerue the new Moone, and ſalute it.

They haue no bels in their Moſques, neither do they ſuffer the Chriſtians which liue there to haue any. They put off their ſhooes when they go into their Moſques, and take them again at their comming forth. Whereſoeuer they ſit in their churches or houſes, they haue tapeſtrie couerlets or mats vnder them: they are not much giuen to contemplation or learning, yet the Turkiſh women being married and hauing iſſue, are carefull to breed vp their children, and to F be inſtructed; for the which there are many ſchooles, where they read their lawes, to the end they may ſerue in their Moſques, and be able to gouerne the common weale.

The Turkes by *Mahomets* law haue leaue to marrie as many wiues as they can maintaine; and a Turkiſh woman being once with childe, her husband neuer toucheth her vntill ſhee be deliuered, but lies with his ſlaues out of the houſe where his wiſe remaines. They haue a certaine kind of marriage made at pleaſure, which they call Kebin, the which is many times practiſed by ſtrangers, who being out of their countrey contract with women, whom they are to enjoy during their pleaſure, and when they caſt them off, they giue them a certaine ſumme of money, and keepe the children. The Cadis or Iudges allow not this kinde of contract, eſpecially amongſt Chriſtians, vnleſſe it be with an oath of marriage. A Turke hauing had the vſe of a Chriſtian woman, they are both condemned to die, vnleſſe ſhe will abiure her faith: the like is obſerued betwixt a Chriſtian and a Turkiſh woman, if they haue been found together. Diuorce is allowed among them in caſe of barrenneſſe and incontinencie.

There are foure orders of religious men among the Turks which differ in their liuing, habit, and ceremonies. Theſe be the *Terlaques*, *Deruis*, *Kalenders*, and *Huquiemales*, and theſe laſt are very vicious, and wicked impoſters, deceiuing of the common people. The Deruis is a ſtrict order liuing in contemplation, much like vnto the Capuchins among the Romiſh Papiſts. The Turkes forbeare to blaſpheme either God, Chriſt, or *Mahomet*, or any other Saint whatſoeuer, and they puniſh blaſphemie ſeuerely. They conuerſe with Chriſtians, and eat and traffique with them freely; yea ſometimes they marrie their daughters, and ſuffer them to liue after their owne religion. But they hate the Iewes, and deſpiſe them as the baſeſt people in the world. They haue an aſſured confidence, that he that ſhall duely obſerue the laws of *Mahomet*, ſhall haue eternall life, and a Paradiſe full of delights: and contrariwiſe they that ſhall breake the lawes of their Alcaron are threatned with hell and eternall death; yet they haue an opinion that hee that beleeues in the Alcaron when hee dies, ſhall bee vndoubtedly ſaued.

The diſpoſition of the Turkes.

To conclude this relation with ſome few lines of their humours and diſpoſitions; they write of them that they are groſſe witted, idle, and vnfit for labour. They are exceeding couetous and corrupt, aboue all other Nations; for juſtice is ſold to him that offers moſt. They are humble among themſelues, and obey their ſuperiors with great ſilence. They are proud and inſupportable to ſtrangers, thinking none fit to be compared with them. They are giuen to gluttonie and drunkenneſſe, and will ſpend whole daies together in feaſting, and will drinke with exceſſe if it be in priuate, for that it is forbidden by their law. They are vaineglorious, proud, and deceitfull, neuer keeping their words, but when it may be to their profit. They are much inclined to venerie, and are for the moſt part all Sodomites. They are very ſuperſtitious, giuing credit to dreams and diuinations; and they hold that euery mans deſtinie is written in his forehead, which cannot be altered or auoided.

Thus I haue continued this hiſtorie for eleuen yeares, hauing informed my ſelfe out of the beſt authours and intelligencers I could finde that concerne this ſubiect: I ſhould haue beene glad that ſome which haue reſided at Conſtantinople moſt part of this time, would haue aſſiſted me with their obſeruations which ſhould haue been for the generall good of our nation; but I hope notwithſtanding the reader ſhall finde content and ſatiſfaction.

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A CONTINVATION OF THE TVRKISH HISTORIE, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE YEARE OF OVR LORD, 1620. VNTILL THE ENDING OF THE YEARE OF OVR LORD 1628.

COLLECTED OVT OF THE PAPERS and Diſpatches of *Sir* THOMAS ROE, Knight, his MAIESTIES *Embaſſadour with the Grand Seigniour during that time.*

By *M. B.*

1620.

BEfore wee come to ſpeake of the great preparations made by the Grand Seigniour, in the yeare 1621, to inuade the Kingdome of Poland; and thoſe by that King to reſiſt him; I hold it ſomewhat neceſſarie, briefely to ſet downe the cauſes and reaſons of the enſuing warre.

The cauſe of the warre between the king of Poland and the grand ſeignior.

The *Chrim* Tartar, confining vpon the dukedome of Ruſſia and borders of Poland, made many incurſions, and did great ſpoile vpon the Coſſackes within the ſayd prouince of Ruſſia, and other parts belonging to the Kingdome of Poland, and carrying away people of all ages and ſexes, made ſale of them within the Turkiſh Empire. Now *Iean-beagh-Ghiray-Han* Prince of the Tartars, being wholly dependant on the *Ottoman* Emperours, his Majeſtie of Poland ſent manie ſeuerall Embaſſadors to complaine at that Port; That notwithſtanding the antient league betweene him and the *Ottoman* Family, the Tartars greatly ſpoiled his Countries; which was both vniuſt and vnreaſonable. Howſoeuer the complaints were many and great, yet the King of Polands Miniſters found no redreſſe for thoſe their alledged wrongs; but were anſwered, That the Tartars were abſolute Lords ouer themſelues, and that they pretended to haue an annuall tribute of fourtie thouſand florins from the King of Poland; which beeing denied them, they had reaſon ſo to doe: and that the Grand Seigniour could onely entreat, but not command them to ſurceaſe. The Tartars ſeeing the Polacke thus ſleighted at the Port, grew more inſolent and outragious euery day: wherewith the Turkes were well content, for the

great benefit they receiued by ſlaues which were continually brought to be ſold in their do-
minions, (as was ſayd before) finding for the moſt part, that thoſe men had able bodies, and fit G
to be applied to the oare. It is true, that the Chrim Tartars in antient time, being ſo neere
neighbours, were wont to receiue ſuch a ſumme from the Crowne of Poland, for which they
were obliged to ſerue in euery occaſion of warre. But of later times the payment diſcontinu-
ed, becauſe they rather receiued hurt, than any aſſiſtance of that vagabond and predatory
people.

When the Coſſacks ſaw that after ſo many complaints they could not liue in quiet, nor
procure reſtitution of their wrongs, nor take their reuenge vpon the Tartar (being a flitting
and fugitiue people, and had no certaine place of abode) they reſolued to fall into the domini-
ons of the Grand Seigniour, who ſeemed, if not to protect, yet to conniue at injuries they re-
ceiued from theſe their neighbours. The Coſſacks then that inhabited vpon the banks of the H
riuer Boriſthenes (which emptieth it ſelfe into the blacke ſea) were coniectured to be fitteſt
for the execution of this reuenge: and therefore they prepared a great number of well armed
Barques, and falling downe the ſaid riuer, did very great damage to the Turke, by robbing,
burning, and ſpoyling diuers Townes and Villages bordering vpon the Blacke ſea. This
newes being brought to Conſtantinople, the Graund Seigniour tooke it in great ſcorne, that
ſuch a baſe and rude people ſhould come and affront him ſo neere his dores. Therefore hee
cauſed ſome gallies to be armed forth with ſpeed to ſuppreſſe them: but his forces were foure
or fiue times valiantly repulſed, and ſtill the Coſſacke went ſafely home with his prey. Now
the tyde of affaires was turned, and this great Emperour, who was formerly petitioned by the I
Polacke, is now become a ſuitor to him himſelfe, and findes his Miniſters meaſured by the an-
ſwer the Grand Seignior had giuen concerning the wrongs done by the Tartars: That though
the Coſſackes adhere to the Crowne of Poland, yet are they a free people of themſelues; but
when the Tartar ſhall ceaſe from his hoſtilitie, it is like enough the Pole will entreat the Coſ-
ſacke to do the ſame; and that is all the authoritie he can exerciſe ouer them.

The preparation of the grand ſeignior for the war with the King of Poland.

Affaires ſtanding thus, no accommodation for wrongs on either ſide could be made; and
the Grand Seigniour, although he was but now fifteene yeares of age, yet was he ſtrong, vi-
gorous, and of a high ſpirit, and more than deſirous of a war, but eſpecially with the King of
Poland, from whom he looked for better ſatisfaction. This deſire was nouriſhed in him by the
counſels of *Ali Baſſa*, grand Vizier; notwithſtanding it was vtterly diſliked by all the reſt of K
the Miniſters of State, and Officers of warre in that Empire. A war was neuertheleſſe there-
upon proclaimed throughout all the Turks Dominions, which did in generall diſpleaſe the
common ſouldier alſo.

1621.

The Grand Seigniour the foure and twentieth of Aprill commanded payment to be made
to all the Souldierie, and the day following cauſed all his Tents and Pauilions, with thoſe of
his Viziers and other Officers, to be ſolemnely pitched without the citie, with thoſe of all
trades that were to attend his Royall campe.

The Grand Seigniour hauing now gathered of foot and horſe three hundred thouſand
(though reported to be ſix hundred thouſand) ſet forward together with his Court and traine
out of Conſtantinople the nine and twentieth of Aprill, with three hundred field pieces, be- L
ſide a hundred double cannon ſent vnto the frontiers by ſea; leauing *Achmat Baſſa* and the
Boſtangi Baſſa Gouernours of the citie till his returne.

The beginning of the warre with the king of Poland.

When he was arriued at the confines of Poland, he firſt attempted the fortreſſe of Cotyn in
the prouince of Moldauia, lately giuen by *Gaſparo Gratiani* to the Polacks. The which being
ſtrong of ſcituation, and well furniſhed for defence, the Turke finding it difficult to carrie in
few dayes, left it aſſieged; and paſſing the riuer of Boriſthine, found there the Chancellour
of Poland intrencht vpon the borders, in a ſtrong place, and of good aduantage, kept with
fourtie thouſand Polacks and Coſſacks, and eight thouſand high Dutch ſent by the Emperor
in aid of the King of Poland. The Prince was incamped at Caminitza, and ſtrongly intren-
ched with ſixtie thouſand ſouldiers; the King abiding in Cracouia with the Nobility and his M
Court. The Grand Seigniour facing the trenches vpon Boriſthine, with the multitude of his
armie incloſed them round, and ſhut vp all the paſſages; ſending preſently the prince of the
Tartars, *Iean-beagh-Ghiray-Han* with thirtie thouſand light horſe to make incurſions within
the heart of Poland: who did great ſpoyle, and brought away captiues twentie fiue thouſand

A ſoules of all ſorts; which dammage did not ſo much proceed from the will of the Prince, as from a Captaine of his, a nobleman of Tartarie called *Kante-Emir-Emirze*, in great fauour at that time with the Emperour: for it was thought that betweene the King of Poland, and the Prince of Tartarie, there was ſome ſecret intelligence by the vertue of money.

During the ſpace of foure and thirtie daies that the Grand Seignior held theſe Trenches beſieged, almoſt euerie other day hee gaue them terrible aſſaults, but was alway forced to retire with loſſe. The Polacke in brauerie making ſome ſallies and encounters, were alſo glad to recouer their ſtrength; onely once they ſo farre aduanced in the euening with their ſhot vpon the quarter of the Ianizaries, that they made a great execution, and almoſt put the whole Campe into diſorder; and as the Turkes themſelues did confeſſe, if this ſallie had beene B giuen in the night, it had hazarded the confuſion of the whole armie: All which beeing ſeene by the Graund Seigniour, and little hope of aduancing further, for diuers reaſons hee was enforced to treat a ceſſation of Armes with the Chancellour. The firſt was, That conſidering hee had ſpent ſo much time without any aduantage, and the Winter approching, whereby his armie ſuffered great extremities of cold and other miſeries, by reaſon of terrible raines which had carried away diuers tents, horſes, and other cattell, and ſome part of his cannons. Secondly, the prouiſion of fodder was become ſo deare, that diuers forſooke their horſes for want of meanes to feed them: beſides the great mortalitie of men, of fluxes, Feauers, and colds, and the horſes of Aſia not vſed to ſuch a climate, that many men of qualitie that came out with ten and twelue, were compelled to returne on foot. Thirdly, the armie either C for wearineſſe, or for diſcontent receiued from the Emperour himſelfe, for his narrowneſſe and auarice ſhewed to the ſouldier, contrarie to the glorious example of his anceſtors in like enterpriſes, not onely refuſed to fight, but were little leſſe than mutined. Fourthly, this attempt from the beginning, proceeding meerely from the obſtinacie of the Grand Seigniour, contrarie to the counſell of all his Viſiers, who deſired generally a peace: at their ſolicitation and by the mediation of *Radula* Prince of Valachia, both parts were eaſily induced to treatie, and the Chancellour was drawne to ſend a Secretarie to the Grand Seigniour; where it was agreed, as followeth.

Firſt, That the Emperour ſhould raiſe his armie, and retire from the confines of Poland; and the Tartars as the occaſioners of this warre ſhould ſend an Emirze to reſide as a pledge from enſuing D *incurſions. The Chancellour promiſing in the name of the King of Poland, to keepe another in the Court of the Prince of Tartarie, with condition to pay yearely as aforeſaid fortie thouſand florins (an antient pretenſion of the Tartars) as a donatiue from the King of Poland; promiſing moreouer, for the better confirmation of the future peace, to maintain a Reſident in the Port of the* Ottoman *Court; and vpon the arriuall of euerie ſuch Embaſſadour to ſend a preſent conformable to the Ledgiers of other Chriſtian Princes. And as the Grand Seigniour was obliged for the Tartars that they ſhould forbeare all inuaſions vpon the Polacke; ſo the Polacks ſhould binde themſelues in behalfe of the Coſſacks, that they ſhould commit no robberies in the dominion of the Grand Seignior. And further coucnanting in the name of the Poliſh merchants for the priuiledge of free traffique, to make a preſent of an hundred thouſand checquins in plate, ſables, and Bulgarie hides; alway intended with this* E *reſeruation, that this treatie ſhould not preiudice or binde, vntill the Graund Seigniour did ſend a Chiaus to the King of Poland with theſe ouertures, that he might haue time to aſſemble his Parliament, and there reſolue to ſend an Embaſſadour with ample authoritie to treat and conclude a finall peace in the Port.* Whereupon the Grand Seignior being ſatisfied with theſe conditions, did diſpatch preſently his Nuntio into Poland, and ſuddenly to the great content of all his armie, he raiſed his campe and returned to Adrianople.

The loſſes in the Turkiſh and Poliſh armies.

By relation of diuers preſent in that warre, it was reported, That there died in the Turkes campe, by the ſword, famine, ſickneſſe, and cold, about eightie thouſand men, and aboue an hundred thouſand horſe; and the remaine at their returne appearing ſo naked, ſickly, and poore, made euident demonſtration of the great loſſe and miſerie ſuſtained. The Polacks in F their trenches loſt aboue twentie thouſand by the famine ſuffered in their beſieging: ſo that if the Winter, and other wants had not conſtrained the Grand Seignior to riſe with ſome pretence of honor, and that he had ſtaied a few daies longer, they had been enforced to render or periſh; which is euident, in that they were glad and prompt to accept of any agreement, although as yet there was nothing fully concluded.

The Grand Seigniour enraged that the Emperour had ſent aids to the Pole.

The Grand Seignior being informed that the Emperour of Germany had ſent aid of eight thouſand Dutch to the King of Poland, and enraged that he had ſo little aduanced in that attempt; pretending that the Emperour by giuing ſuccours had broken the peace; to vent his choler, contrarie to the aduice of his Councell, preſently vpon his ariſing from the confines of Poland, in his campe proclaimed warre againſt Germanie for the next Spring; commanding vpon great penaltie, all his ſouldiers and ſlaues to be readie for that inuaſion. Which gaue great diſcontent to the Armie, inſomuch as they did almoſt publiquely profeſſe, they neither could nor would follow him. And conformable to this his raſh reſolution, hee gaue order to *Kante-Emir-Emirze* , a Tartarian Captaine then Baſſa of Siliſtra, to winter with twentie thouſand of his ſouldiers in the countrey. Preſently hereupon, *Cæſar Gallo* the Emperours Embaſſadour was ſtayed at Buda; the Grand Seigniour pretending, that the ſaid *Cæſar Gallo* had promiſed vpon his life, That the Emperor would giue no aid to the king of Poland. Not conſidering that hee himſelfe, contrary to the peace, the Sommer before had ſurpriſed Vatz a towne of Hungarie, and had permitted many of his ſouldiers to follow the Prince of Tranſyluania, as voluntiers againſt the Emperour.

The Graund Seignior changeth his minde of making war againſt the emperour.

The King of Poland hearing of this reſolution againſt the Emperour, called the Chiaus ſent about the Treatie, before him, and told him, That if the Grand Seigniour ſhold proceed to make war vpon the Emperour for his occaſion, that he could conclude no peace with him, being obliged to take part with the Emperour as his deere brother and confederate. Which meſſage the Chiaus ſent to the Grand Seigniour, when he was yet at Adrianople, where hee either purpoſed to Winter to affright the Emperour, or to quicken the Polacke to a concluſion of peace: cold in his ſudden pretence, by the perſuaſions of the Viſiers and Mufti, hee changed his reſolution, and tooke his way to Conſtantinople, where hee entred the laſt of December.

Now it being giuen out, that the Emir of Sidon in Siria was in rebellion, and that he had poſſeſſed himſelfe of the citie and caſtle of Tripolie, the Grand Seignior pretended to go in perſon againſt him, and gaue out 60000 Checquines to prepare his carriages and pauilions; and tooke order to prouide his pallace in Aleppo, determining to paſſe that way to amuſe and raiſe ſuſpition in the Perſian: and likewiſe commanded the armie of Aſia to be in readines by the end of the month of April; & gaue out commiſſion for victuals, munition, & other neceſſaries. The Mufti, Hoja, & other the Viziers (who knew not the miſtery) miſliking this counſell, with great inſtances & reaſons diſſuaded him, as being a courſe verie dangerous to his eſtate. Firſt, that his Maieſtie ſhould go in perſon, leauing all Greece deſolate, and commit the care & gouernment of his Imperial ſeat to a poore Chimacham or lieutenant; it not being probable that the Emir of Sidon would ſtay to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the force of his royal armie, but rather make an eſcape, and retyre himſelf to ſome part of Chriſtendom: & that a Generall by land, and the Captaine Baſſa Admirall of the ſea, with his Fleet of Gallies, would ſuffice to puuniſh and deſtroy him. Beſides, if his Maieſtie vndertooke the journey in perſon, it was neceſſarie that all his ſouldiers ſhould attend him, which were a charge ſuperfluous and aboue the enterpriſe, and almoſt impoſſible for them, hauing been ſo harraſſed and diſtreſſed in the late inuaſion of Poland (who did euen publiquely murmure that they *would not* go.) For which reaſons the King changed his reſolution, and was content to make a Generall by land with the Armie of Aſia; to which charge was named the Baſſa of Cairo. The next day after the Grand Seigniours comming to the Arſenall, he called the Vizier Baſſa, the Admirall, and the great Treaſurer before him; where it was concluded to make readie at leaſt a hundred Gallies: for the preparation whereof ſixtie thouſand Checquines were then deliuered; the Vizier promiſing to furniſh the reſt of the whole charge with expedition, of his owne purſe, and to take it vp vpon the Kings aſſignations. Whereupon the Grand Seigniour with great content did veſt them as a marke of fauour, and gaue preſent commiſſion to the Admirall to be readie and to depart by the middeſt of Aprill following; and for his better ſtrength he gaue a command to ſend for aids to Tunis and Algier: which was thought requiſite, becauſe it was reported, that the Prince *Philibert* of Sauoy, then Viceroy of Sicilie, had in readineſſe ſixtie Gallies and ſix Gallions at Meſſina, which force was doubted would be employed to giue ſuccour to the Emir of Sidon, or to reuenge the attempt and late ſacke of Manfredonia; ſo that they were with all expedition rigging and preparing the Armado in the Arſenall;

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nall: and for prouiſion and preuention of the worſt, there was ordained twelue ſmall gallies and the ordinarie fleet of Frigots to keepe the blacke Sea from the incurſion of the Coſſacks. And though it was giuen out that this army was onely prepared againſt the Emir, yet many that vnderſtood the ſecrets of that empire, knowing it to be too great, did beleeue it ſhould be ſent to preuent a generall reuolt which was then murmured and ſuſpected in Aſia.

The Grand Seigniour married.

About this time, contrarie to the Counſell and will of all his miniſters, the Grand Seigniour married the Grand childe of a Sultana, wife to *Pertau Baſſa* onely for her beautie, without any pompe, which was ill interpreted in that Court; his anceſtours of late yeares not vſually taking wiues, eſpecially of a Turkiſh race, for reſpect of kindred. This and other inconſtancies, with extreame auarice, made him odious with the ſouldier; and his daily haunting the ſtreets on foot, ſometimes diſguiſed with a Page or two, prying into houſes and Tauerns like a pettie officer, encreaſed his contempt euen in the Citie.

Secret order to make war vpon the emperor.

Secret order was giuen about the ſame time to *Diac-Mahomet* the Baſſa of Caniſia, and to *Gelut-Emirze* a Tartarian, to vnite themſelues with *Bethlem Gabor* againſt the Emperour of Germanie: But the Baſſa of Buda did aduertiſe the Graund Seigniour, that *Gabor* had concluded peace with the Emperour; which newes did greatly diſpleaſe him, being ardent in the deſire of warre.

His Maieſty of great Britains embaſſador arriued at the Port.

The peace betweene the Graund Seigniour and the King of Poland, was not yet fully concluded; but Embaſſadours weekely expected at the Port from Poland and other places, to haſten a full conſummation thereof. Amongſt which, Sir *Thomas Roe* Knight Embaſſadour in ordinarie from his Maieſtie of Great Britaine to the Grand Seigniour, arriued there the firſt of Ianuarie, and had his firſt audience of him ſpeedily, when he made this ſpeech vnto him in Engliſh, which immediatly hereafter followeth.

Moſt high and mightie Emperour, his ſacred Maieſtie the King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, my moſt gracious Lord and Soueraigne, according to the antient league of friendſhip and amitie, of long time begun and continued betweene the moſt noble Anceſtours of your Maieſties, and in his Royall perſon confirmed by his ſundrie Embaſſadours and Letters, both to your renowned father, and your Imperiall Maieſtie; being fully determined on his part, to maintaine, and inuiolably to hold, a faire and good peace and correſpondencie with your Maieſtie: hath commanded and ſent mee with his Letters of credence and friendly Preſent, to reſide as his Embaſſadour in your Royall Court. Not doubting but your Imperiall Maieſtie will accept them, and receiue mee, his vnworthie ſeruant with your woonted honour and fauour; and that you will giue credit vnto mee in diuers matters of importance which he hath commanded me to deliuer in his name, comprehended in fiue articles written in this Memoriall: And that you will be pleaſed to do therein according to the Royall friendſhip of his Maieſtie and your princely wiſedome and Iuſtice. The particulers whereof, I deſire your Maieſtie to read and conſider at your eaſe and leiſure; and to affoord me your Royall anſwer, his Maieſtie reſting aſſured hee ſhall receiue content and ſatisfaction worthie his Royall friendſhip.

The Letter of Credence ſent by Sir *Thomas Roe*.

His Maieſties letter to the Grand Seignior.

Iames by the Grace of God King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defendour of the Chriſtian Faith, againſt all thoſe that falſly profeſſe the name of Ieſus, *&c. To the moſt high and mightie Prince, Sultan* Oſman Han, *chiefe Lord and Commander of the* Ottoman *Kingdome and Empire of the Eaſt, ſendeth health and greeting.*

We doubt not but you receiued our Letters ſent you by our ſubiect Iohn Chapman, *whereby wee ſignified vnto you our royall pleaſure to recall and diſcharge our Embaſſadour Sir* Iohn Ayre, *from his employment and reſidencie in your Court, whom we deſired you in your princely fauour to diſmiſſe for our eſpeciall ſeruice, and to receiue the bearer of our ſaid letters as Agent, to remaine in your protection; for the better ſupport and maintenance of our ſubiects, which doe trade and abide in your Dominions, and for the aduancement and continuance of the mutuall commerce and friendſhip, which hath beene a long time contracted betweene your predeceſſours and ours, vntill the arriuall of our ſeruant Sir* Thomas Roe; *of whom as then we made choice to ſend vnto your Port* as our Embaſſadour; as well to propound vnto you diuers things neceſſarie for the generall peace, as to reſide in your Court for our particular ſeruice. Notwithſtanding, leſt the ſaid letters ſhould not come ſafely to your royall hands, wee haue thought fit againe to make knowne our purpoſe of recalling our former Embaſſador Sir Iohn Ayre, and to deſire you to diſcharge and diſmiſſe him from your Port, and to receiue and admit in his roome our truſtie and welbeloued ſeruant Sir Thomas Roe one of the principall Gentlemen of our Court, and of our Priuie Chamber, whom wee haue now expreſſely ſent, and whome wee authoriſe vnder our great Seale of England as our Embaſſadour to reſide at your Port, and to negotiate in our name, and in the behalfe of our ſubiects abiding within your Kingdomes: of whoſe fidelitie and diſcretion as we are well aſſured, ſo wee doubt not but hee will giue you good content in his demeanor and negotiation with you. Wee haue alſo thought fit to put you in minde of thoſe common rouers vpon the ſeas, who are enemies to the Lawes of Nations, and ſpoylers of the quiet and peaceable Merchant, by whom amitie and friendſhip is maintained between Kings and Princes: That you would pleaſe to exerciſe your great and mightie power to chaſtiſe and deſtroy them, as traitors to you honour, and infringers of the ſacred and publique peace. In full aſſurance that you wil extend the ſame good reſpect vnto vs, as your Royall anceſtors haue done vnto our moſt renowned predeceſſors, wherby that antient league and commerce may be inuiolably maintained betweene both our Kingdomes, which on our part wee ſhall be verie loath to infringe or diſſolue. We doe by theſe our letters recommend vnto your princely fauour, this our ſaid truſtie ſeruant and Embaſſadour, to reſide and remaine in your Port, on our behalfe to treat with you in all affaires for the publique weale of our dominions, and for the generall peace of vs both, and our allies and friends, as alſo for the ſupport and aid of all our ſubiects, which doe liue and trade within your eſtates and countries; to whoſe good diſcretion we recommend their affaires, and by whoſe induſtrie and mediation we conceiue our people may be relieued in their iuſt and reaſonable demands, to the perfect maintenance and aſſurance of that mutuall commerce which hath ſo long time beene continued betweene our Royall progenitours. And as wee haue great cauſe to profeſſe our gratefull acknowledgement, for many fauours which our former Embaſſadours and all other our ſubiects, haue, and doe receiue from your Royall hands, ſo in our princely loue, we doe intreat you to take knowledge of, and to command redreſſe for diuers oppreſſions and wrongs done vnto ſome of our ſaid ſubiects perſons and goods, that liue vnder the aſſurance of your friendſhip with vs, which wee haue formerly ſignified to our Reſidents at your Port: but as wee verily beleeue, they haue neuer come vnto your eares, that are open to the iuſt complaints of all ſtrangers; whereof we haue now giuen charge to our ſeruant and Embaſſadour to acquaint you with more at large, vnto whom wee deſire you to giue protection and credit in whatſoeuer he ſhall moue and propound, for the eſtabliſhing, confirmation, and inlargement, in all occaſions, of thoſe liberties and priuiledges which our ſubiects haue antiently enioyed by the benignitie of your ſelfe, and of your Royall anceſtours. And in all other things and occaſions, wherein hee hath or ſhall receiue our commands, as if our ſelfe did communicate them with you, which wee doubt not ſhall redound to the great vtilitie and honour of both our Empires. And ſo wee wiſh you health and true felicitie. Dated at our Royall Citie of London, the ſixth day of September, Anno Dom. 1621, and of our Raigne of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, the nineteenth.

Articles propounded by the Embaſſadour to the Grand Seigniour.

I First, his ſacred Maieſtie of Great Britaine, according to the moſt noble and renowned league of amitie, betweene your Maieſties and your Crownes and Dominions, hath commanded me to renew the antient capitulations and priuiledges granted by your Imperiall Maieſtie and your Royall anceſtours, and therein to mooue your Maieſtie, that you will be pleaſed to enlarge and extend your fauour to our Nation that liue vnder your protection, and to giue remedie to diuers iniuries done vnto them by the Coſtomers of this Royall Port, Aleppo, Smirna, Scio, Petras, and other places, contrarie to the Iuſtice and honour of your Maieſtie: and that you will bee pleaſed to giue order for ſeuerall commands to theſe places, in all our iuſt occaſions: that both the fame of your iuſtice may be renowmed, and the friendſhip of your Maieſties confirmed, and the coreſpondence and commerce betweene your Dominions eſtabliſhed and encreaſed.

II Secondly, his Maieſtie hath commanded me to offer himſelfe as a mediatour of peace, to accommodate

A *commodate the late breach with the Kingdome of Poland, the King of Poland hauing ſent his Embaſſadour expreſſe into England to deſire his aid, he hath thought it more agreeable to his honour and to the antient league of friendſhip, to vſe his credit with your Maieſtie to procure the generall quiet and peace of the Princes of Chriſtendome; deſiring your Maieſtie to conſider his intereſt in the publique cauſe, and not to deſpiſe the forces of ſo many as may partake in the quarrell: which if your Maieſtie ſhall hearken vnto, the rather for his ſake, as your royall Anceſtor hath done in the like occaſion, his Maieſtie will accept it as a reſpect of your loue, which will aſſure and encreaſe the commerce and friendſhip of your Dominions; in which his Maieſtie hath giuen me more particular and full inſtructions to treat and mediate in this buſineſſe.*

III *Thirdly, his Maieſtie hath commanded me to moue your Imperiall Maieſtie for the releaſe of diuers* B *of the Poliſh Nobilitie, now your Captiues; and for one Scottiſh Gentleman, a ſubiect of his Maieſtie my Royall Maſter.*

IV *Fourthly, his Maieſtie deſires, that you will take ſome order with the Pyrats of Tunis and Algier, who ſhelter themſelues vnder your Royall protection (to the great diſhonour of your Maieſtie) and doe many robberies vpon the ſubiects of Kings and Princes in amity and league with your empire, and take euen the ſhips ſent vnto your Royall Port: admoniſhing your Maieſtie to conſider, that if they be ſuffered to continue, they will occaſion the diſſolution of all commerce and trade; being common enemies to all honeſt Merchants, by whom the friendſhip of theſe Kingdomes are maintained and increaſed. And that if your Imperiall Maieſtie pleaſe not to exerciſe your Royall power and authoritie to bridle or deſtroy them; that then you will not take it in ill part, that his Maieſtie, with other* C *Princes his Allies, ſhall make an Armie to puniſh both them and all others that receiue and cheriſh them; which hath hitherto been forborne in reſpect onely of your Maieſtie: and that the towns where they harbour themſelues are or ought to be vnder your Imperiall command.*

V *Fiftly, his Maieſtie hath commanded me to require Iuſtice and reſtitution of a great ſumme of money taken from* Arthur Garaway *here impriſoned by force and iniurie in the time of* Achmet Baſſa: *whereof his Maieſties former Embaſſadours haue complained to Sultan* Achmat, *your Maieſties renowmed father, and to* Mehemet Baſſa *Vizier, to* Huſſen Baſſa, *to the Hoja of the King, and to the Mufti; wherein your Maieſties moſt noble father gaue command for our ſatisfaction. All the ſaid great Officers hauing heard the cauſe, vpon examination giuing their teſtimonies of the great wrong done vnto him;* Mehemet Baſſa *alſo writing a letter, by the order of your Maieſties Royall* D *Father, promiſing iuſtice and reſtitution; which his Maieſtie doth yet expect, and againe demand. And hauing ſo often written in this cauſe, his Maieſtie will not beleeue, but that in juſtice and honour this Royall Court would do right; imputing the fault to his owne Miniſters and Embaſſadors, that they neuer complained to your Imperiall Maieſtie, according to his highneſſe command. Alſo his Maieſtie hath commanded me to require and deſire your Maieſtie to giue him your Royall anſwer in all theſe particulars, by your letters in writing, as ſhall be fit for your owne honour, and conformable to the antient league of amitie and friendſhip betweene your Royall Maieſties.*

His Majeſties Embaſſadour not many dayes after ſent to the Viſier, who had promiſed him an anſwer vnto theſe Articles; who returned him this that followeth.

The grand Seigniors anſwer.

E To the firſt he ſaid, That the Emperour his Maſter had giuen him order to renew the Capitulations, and to make any ſuch additions as ſhould be requiſite, agreeable to their law, and conformable to the antient League; and that therein his Majeſties Embaſſadour ſhould finde no difficultie: for they honoured his Majeſtie, and were reſolued to giue him aſſurance of their will to maintaine a true friendſhip; and therefore deſired the Embaſſadour to draw and prepare the Capitulations, and ſend them to him and the Chancellour, who would conſider them, and being ſuch as were fit to be granted, the Embaſſadour ſhould haue ſpeedie order.

To the ſecond, the Vizier anſwered with great ſubtiltie; Firſt, iuſtifying the occaſion of the warre, and imputing the fault to the Coſſacks, maintained by the Pole to rob euen at the port of Conſtantinople: therefore that the Emperour could not in honour but chaſten and deſtroy F them, hauing firſt by meſſage demanded juſtice againſt them; and now his Maſter being ingaged with great charge, and in his honour he could make no peace with them who had beguiled him: pretending that they had no other intention but the warre, becauſe hauing raiſed his campe, and diſſolued his Armie, the Polacks now ſcorned him, and kept no faith, neither ſending Embaſſadour nor meſſenger, no not any Letter ſince their returne. That therefore they could not hearken to any condition: and that his Majeſtie of Great Britaine did not value the G honour of the grand Seigniour in this motion.

To the third, the Viſier replied, That the motion for the priſoners was vnſeaſonable, becauſe in order it ſhould follow the Generall treatie, and making peace; which if finiſhed, his Maieſtie of Great Britaine ſhould finde, that for his ſake, all thoſe mentioned in the Memoriall ſhould bee free, except onely the Prince *Coreskie*, who had beene the cauſe of many troubles, and had made eſcape from priſon formerly.

To the fourth, the Viſier made proteſtation in the Grand Seigniours name againſt the Pyrats, offering that his Maieſties Embaſſadour ſhould haue what commands, what meſſage he would deſire in companie of any Engliſhman.

To the fifth the Viſier replied, It was an old obſolete quarrell, and that the Embaſſadour did him injurie to preſſe him, when in the time of three former Viſiers, his predeceſſors could obtaine no reliefe: therefore hee would not looke backe vpon the actions of other men, nor H rake among the bones of the dead: but he deſired the Embaſſadour ſhould reſt ſatisfied, that while He had the honour to gouerne, there ſhould no wrong be done vnto the Engliſh Nation, and that hee would heare all complaints, ſo as no man ſhould need to looke backe vpon his actions.

This perfunctorie anſwer, did not much ſatisfie his Maieſties Embaſſador, but that he deſired ſome other of effect, beeing loath to accept of generalities, and therefore required a direct reply for his own diſcharge: which was promiſed after much preſſing, by the Viſier who had firſt vndertaken the ſame.

1622

The Poliſh Embaſſador expected at the Port.

The long ſtay of the Duke of Sbaraskie (choſen extraordinarie Embaſſadour by the King I of Poland, to conſummate the peace betweene him and the Grand Seigniour) did much trouble the Emperours Court; and eſpecially the Viſier, who procured the ceſſation of Armes, but that a letter was writ by the King of Poland, which did a little prolong their hopes. In the meane time the Emperour divulged a pretence to viſite Mecha, the tombe of *Mahomet* his great Prophet; contrarie to the counſell and inſtance of all his Viſiers that knew not the ſecret, and euen to the hazard of a generall reuolt; for they were jealous that vnder colour of that voyage, hee had ſome other deſigne; and it was feared, the Duke would not proceed to follow him at randome, nor treat with his Deputies left at the Port: For the Polacks ſeemed in performing and aſſuring the peace, a little too glorious of their good ſucceſſe; and K the Nobilitie not ſo obedient to the King, as that he could abſolutely command; which did both trouble their Agents at the Port, and diſcontent the Turkes: ſo that a little motion of the Coſſackes or Tartars at that time (ſpoyle being both their liuelyhoods) had kindled new fires, and had diſturbed or quite broken the peace.

In the meane ſpace, the Grand Seigniour writ his letter to his Maieſtie of Great Britaine, in anſwer to his royall letter by his Embaſſadour; wherein was contained a ſatisfactorie replie to all the particulers of thoſe fiue articles deliuered vnto him. And the Grand Seigniour made ſuch demonſtration of great care to giue his Maieſtie al content and ſatisfaction, that his Letter was preſented to the Embaſſador with ceremonies of honor, requiring that it ſhould L be ſent by an expreſſe meſſenger; and gaue command for a ſafe conduct for that purpoſe. The true tranſlated coppie whereof doth immediatly follow.

Prince *Oſman* euer victorious.

The Grand Seigniors letter to his Maieſtie of great Britaine.

TO the mightie Prince, renowned among the Maieſties of the Princes of the Law of Ieſus, *obeyed of the great Potentates followers of the Meſiah; the onely director of the important affaires of the Nazeren people; Soueraigne of the limites of power and honour; Lord of aduancement and authoritie, the most glorious* IAMES, *King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland; to whoſe laſt daies* M *We wiſh all felicitie.*

THis our Imperiall arriuing you ſhall know, that your houourable and famous Embaſſadaur, Sir Thomas Roe, *is with your Royall and acceptable Letter come vnto our happie Port, the refuge of the Princes and Commanders of the World. Whereof the ſincere contents and ſubſtance was, That our antient capitulations ſhould be renewed, and diuers articles therein reformed and explained, and*

ſome

A *ſome other inſerted. And whereas certaine Cuſtomers and other officers of our Empire, haue often tranſgreſſed our Royall agreements, and done many violences and iniuries to the Merchants your ſubiects, that for the time to come they may be ſecured from all oppreſſion: and concerning the affaires of the Polacks, that the enmitie and warre lately begun betweene vs and them, might be conuerted into peace and friendſhip; and that there ſhould be eſtabliſhed a ſincere league and amitie, as in the time of our Anceſtours. And that diuers Noblemen of Poland, and one of your Maieſties Subiects now detained in our captiuitie, ſhould be ſet at libertie. Complaining alſo againſt the Inhabitants of Tunis and Algier, That they who haue violated our Imperiall Capitulations, Amitie, and League, ought to be duely puniſhed. And laſtly, That whereas one of your ſubiects named* Arthur Garraway, *from whom vpon a pretenſion there was a great fine taken, and other wrong done vnto* B *his perſon, you deſire that his cauſe may be with iuſtice reuewed: All which being made known vnto vs; with prudent and mature deliberation we haue both duely weighed, and perfectly conceiued them. Wherefore by the fauour of the great and proſperous God we do promiſe, that in all theſe matters propounded, we will employ our imperiall care and diligence: And we haue alreadie giuen our high and expreſſe command, that our antient Capitulations ſhall be renewed and confirmed. And ſuch conditions as are correſpondent to the peace, amitie, and league betweene vs, ſhall in due forme be granted. And there ſhall be ſent with all expedititon, our Royall Edicts to all our* (a) *Beglerbeghs,* (b) *Beghs,* (c) *Cadees, Gouernours, Cuſtomers, Farmours, Superintendents, and Commiſſioners of our Reuenues, that from henceforth none of them ſhall giue any moleſtation to any of your Merchants or other Subiects. And inſomuch as our happie gates are euer open to any, who with ſincerity ſeeke* C *our friendſhip, good will, and fauour; and the table of our liuely Graces is alwayes prepared for all men: Therefore whenſoeuer on the behalfe of the Polacks, an Embaſſadour ſhall arriue at our high Court, and kiſſe the hemme of our veſture, and repent them of their former errours, and preſent vnto vs a good friendſhip and ſincere league, and ſhall deſire our fauour and amitie; by the mediation of your Reſident now in our Imperiall Port, all matters ſhall be pacified and ended, and with a pen we will blot out all former differences. And the Peace being ſo eſtabliſhed, your inſtances and deſires for them ſhall haue gratefull acceptance with vs, and we will giue fit order for the priſoners.*

(a) Viceroyes.
(b) Preſidents.
(c) Iudges.

To the Beglerbeghs of Tunis and Algier, and to all other our ſlaues in thoſe parts, we will preſently ſend our expreſſe and high commaunds, and other orders, that they ſhall neuer hereafter tranſgreſſe the tenour of our Imperiall Capitulations, nor commit any iniuſtice, nor do any violence to the D *Subiects of your Maieſtie. And concerning the buſineſſe of the Merchant* Arthur Garraway, *wherein you haue informed vs, that there hath beene taken from him by oppreſſion a great eſtate and facultie, in the time of our father* Achmat Han *of happie memorie (the Vizier* Achmat Baſſa *being then Deputie here) vpon pretence that diuers Muſſulmens goods were found in his hands: which cauſe being now ouerpaſſed many yeares, you require a new hearing and inquiſition. By the grace of the great God it ſhall be reuewed and examined with all Iuſtice: in the proceſſe and iſſue whereof you ſhall be aſſured to receiue a right and fit anſwer from your Embaſſador now remaining in our Court. And in our time we ſhall neuer permit, that any the leaſt iniurie or iniuſtice ſhall be done to any. Giuing you aſſurance on our behalfe, that the foundation and nerues of peace, friendſhip, and League betweene vs, are of vs ſtraitly preſerued, continued, and encreaſed: and our amitie, correſpondence,* E *and loue, is euer reſpected, eſteemed, and pretious with vs. Therefore in the meane time, while our Capitulations are making perfect, and that the full concluſion may be certified vnto you; your embaſſadour hauing ſolicited vs for an anſwer to the Propoſitions made by you; by an expreſſe Meſſenger,* Robert Roe, *this our Imperiall letter is written and ſent vnto you. Which arriuing, we hope that as in times paſt, the antient, perfect, and acceptable courſe of friendſhip, amitie, and league, adorned with aboundant ſinceritie, reſplendant loue, and benigne correſpondencie on your part, hath beene alway obſerued and maintained; ſo it is now alſo requiſite, that you preſerue the ſame affections, with all pure, firme, and conſtant good will, grace, and goodneſſe: or rather that you aduance and encreaſe therein, as we will euer doe by all ſincere wayes of loyall friendſhip and holy peace, nouriſhing it with our perfect intention and affectionate diligence, neuer admitting any occaſion that may be thereunto* F *preiudiciall.*

Giuen in our Imperiall Citie of Conſtantinople, the firſt day of the Moneth Gemaziel Achir (or Aprill) in the yeare of the departure of our Prophet Mahomet 1031; *that is,* Anno Chriſti Dei pari, 1622.

The Grand Seigniour diſcontented ſince his diſgrace in Poland, as ſoone as he came to Conſtantinople, meditating reuenge vpon his ſouldiers, and alteration; and finding that his pretence for Mecha did not reliſh, gaue out that hee would paſſe into Aſia to ſuppreſſe the Emir of Sidon, who had taken armes, and was reported to rebell; but indeed hauing ſecret intelligence with *Oſman* and the Vizier *Delauir Baſſa*. But from which purpoſe being diſſuaded by the great inſtance of the Vizier, and that it would not ſo well ſerue his ſecret deſignes, hee returned to his firſt colour, that hee would viſite Mecha the tombe of his falſe Prophet.

The Grand Seigniour deſirous of peace with the Polake.

To make this voyage the more ſecure in apparance, hee ſeemed content to accept of any treatie with the Polacks, euen to conditions both of diſaduantage and diſhonour; for his eſtates in Hungarie, hee re-inforced the frontiers with diuers troupes; and though hee were much troubled at the league betweene the Emperour of Germanie and *Bethlem Gabor*, yet he diſſembled it ſo, as that he would not diſpleaſe the Tranſyluanian, but rather offered new ſuccours, and forbearance of his tribute. From the incurſions of the Coſſackes hee hoped to aſſure himſelfe by the treatie of the Poles; and in occaſion of breach, hee had the Tartars ready to requite them; and for more ſecuritie, hee added to the number of his gallies appointed to keep the Black ſea. The common people and Viſiers of the Port that loued reſt, and knew not the deſigne, were much troubled and diſcontent at this iourney; and made many remonſtrances to him of the inconuenience and danger, to leaue the ſeat of his Empire to the truſt of a Deputie, in a time when *Bethlem Gabor* was newly reconciled to the Germane Emperour, and therefore not to be truſted; and the Polackes newly reconciled to him, and therefore to bee miſtruſted. Diuers other reaſons were made to him, many petitions deliuered from the Church-men, Lawyers, and from all Eſtates. But melancholy reuenge had wholly poſſeſſed him, ſo that by no meanes he could be perſuaded to deſiſt. The ſouldierie paſſed ſo farre as to threaten publiquely, and to proteſt they would not follow, but rather ſet vp another King in his abſence, that ſhould ſtay among them. In concluſion, carried by his owne fate to deſtruction, hauing firſt commanded away his Armado to the *Leuant*, and thereby diſpoſed many of his ſouldiers, vpon Wedneſday the ſeuenth of May, hee began to paſſe ouer his tents and pauilions to Aſia ſide, with great quantities of treaſure. The Ianizaries and Spahies, who had alſo ſecret intelligence, vpon the King his owne words and actions betraying ſome further proiect than a Pilgrimage (for hee made preparations to carrie away all his jewels and treaſure, euen defacing his pallace, and taking from Churches, and his Ward-robes whatſoeuer could be conuerted to Bullion) ſuddenly met at the Hippodrome in the citie, vpon a word giuen; and from thence ranne to the Seraglio in tumult, but without armes, and there according to their barbarous mutinies, cryed out for the the King; (hauing firſt taken order to ſtop the paſſage of any thing vpon the water) Who appearing to them, asked, What this inſolencie meant, and what they pretended? They then, by the mouth of a multitude (for they had no head but that of the monſter) demanded firſt, That he ſhould not proceed in his purpoſe to goe to Mecha, nor into Aſia; but that he would abide in the citie. Secondly, they required to haue deliuered to their furie, the great Viſier *Delauir Baſſa*, the Hoja or Confeſſor of the King, the Caſlariaga Gouernour of the women, the Teſterdar or Treaſurer, the Cadde leſchar or chiefe Iuſtice, and ſome others, as enemies to the State, and conſenting to this voyage, which they pretended would be the ruine of the Empire. The firſt, after a little diſpute, the King granted vnto them, promiſing to giue ouer his journey; but they not content, exacted it in writing. To the ſecond hee replyed, That it was diſhonour to him to haue his ſeruants ſo vſed without order of Iuſtice: but perſuaded them to haue patience, to ſtay vntill Saturday, the next Diuan or publique Councell, where they ſhould appeare, and if they were found culpable, they ſhould receiue puniſhment; not meaning to performe any of this, but to get time, and allay their preſent furie. Theſe fellows not content with this moderat anſwer, vndertooke to know that they were guiltie, and therefore that they needed no other witneſſe, tryall, nor judge, but themſelues; and with extreame clamour called to haue them rendered. But the King refuſing to giue them any other ſatiſfaction, and they vnprepared for force, returned into the citie, which now was all in feare, euerie houſe and ſhop ſhut vp, expecting a generall ſacke. But they followed the way of their owne hatred, and firſt went into the houſe of the Hoja, which they brake and pillaged: But

not

A not finding him, they proceeded to the great Viziers, who made ſome defence, and they (being
vnarmed) beat them off; and ſo they ſeparated, being now euening, but yet kept a gard in
ſome parts of the Towne.

That night the King made an attempt to ſend ouer to Aſia ſide, but was preuented; and to
fortifie and defend the Seraglio, which was ſtrongly walled about, and had alway in it of houſhold
ſeruants about three thouſand: but it ſeemed no man would arme himſelf in his cauſe;
for the next morning the Mutiniers aſſembled againe, and taking their armes, went firſt to the
Mufti, or Archprieſt among them, and enforced him and diuers others to accompanie them
to the Court, where they anew demanded theſe men, but with more inſtance and furie. In
the meane time the Hoia, Cadeleſcher, and Tefterdar fled, and were not in long time diſcouered.
B The Vizier retyred to the King, and perſuaded him earneſtly to go ouer in perſon in
his owne boats (which from his garden he might eaſily do) to Aſia, and there to take horſe,
and he would ſecure him from all perill; but the King would not moue, bidding him ſtay
confident and aſſured that he would puniſh theſe Rebels.

The Ianizaries mutiny againſt the grand ſeigniour.

The wiſe old man ſeeing this conſtancie or obſtinacie, deſired leaue to ſhift for himſelfe;
which he tooke or obtained, and ſo got away to the hermitage of a Saint renowmed amongſt
them; who (like himſelfe) betrayed him, yet did him the fauour as not to deliuer him to the
multitude, but perſuaded and carried him backe to the Kings houſe. At this time it was diſputed
in the Seraglio about the deliuerie of thoſe Officers; the Emperour refuſing, the rebels
clamouring and threatening; inſomuch as he began to feare they would breake in, and in their
C rage do worſe than was yet pretended. Whereupon (whether by the Kings order, or by his
owne conſent, willing to be the peace offering) the braue Vizier went out to them, and with a
good aſſuredneſſe demanded what they ſought of him, and wherein he had offended. At firſt
they were amaſed; but one inſolent villaine breaking the generall modeſtie, they anſwered
him with their ſwords, and ſuddenly cut him in pieces.

The great Vizier ſlaine by the Ianizaries.

The Emperour ſeeing their furie ſo outragious, had now more cauſe to doubt, and retired
himſelfe, then too late, when he had loſt his faithfull Counſellour; and would haue fled into
Aſia, but could not, yet he conueyed himſelfe into a priuat place prepared by his Boſtangi
Baſſa, or chiefe Gardiner. The Rebels continued without in their madneſſe, asking for the
King, and for more ſacrifices. But the ſeruants proteſting they knew not where he was, they
D ſaid they muſt haue a King, and if he would not appeare they would make another: and hauing
a while attended, they reſolued to enter the Palace (but firſt tooke a generall oath not to
ſacke the Imperiall Throne, which they called their Houſe and their Honour) and there ſeeking
for the King, not able to finde him, they extorted by confeſſion the Caſſariaga, and ſlew
him; and then they demanded for *Muſtapha*, vncle to *Oſman*, by him formerly depoſed, a man
eſteemed rather holy (that is, franticke) than wiſe, and indeed fitter for a Cell than a Scepter.
The King the firſt day of this tumult had put *Muſtapha* into a vault with two Negro women,
without bread or drinke; in which eſtate theſe new Electors found him, almoſt naked, and
halfe pined. At firſt ſight he thought they had beene the meſſengers of death: but that feare
paſſed ouer, and his firſt requeſt was a cup of water. Whom they tooke vp, and inſtantly proclaimed
E him their Emperour; which he was loath to accept, in a manner aſhamed to be raiſed
to that dignitie. How vnſtable are the eſtates of the greateſt Princes! for hee that was but
euen now in the iawes of death, naked, ſtarued, and dying for thirſt, is become a great Monarch,
may drinke gold, or the innocent bloud.

The Ianizaries demand Muſtapha.

They as yet not knowing what was become of *Oſman*, and loth to truſt *Muſtapha* in the palace,
carried him in triumph to the old Seraglio, and there left him; departing to the ſacke of
the Viziers houſe, and ſo in the euening to their Rendeuous, where they kept both good gard
and good order in the citie, from fires and other inſolencies. Sultan *Oſman* amaſed with theſe
newes, ſo ſoone as they had left the Court, came out, and called to councell in the night *Huzein
Baſſa* late Vizier in the Poliſh warre, and the Aga of the Ianizaries, both faithfull to him,
F and demanded their aduice: firſt hauing ſent to the old Seraglio, to practiſe the women there
to ſtrangle *Muſtapha*; but ſome of them taking his part, a new vprore began in the houſe betweene
that Sex; and the ſouldiers that kept watch hearing the noyſe, entred in and reſcued
him, and from thence remoued him to the chambers of the Ianizaries, where they garded him
for that night in an ill lodging. All this while *Oſman* conſults what courſe to take. Theſe

two his friends, and ſome others, tell him that the caſe was deſperat, & could not be cured but G by a deſperate remedie: and therefore they agreed, that the Aga ſhould go and perſuade, with the Mufti; and that the King in the morning ſhould ſuddenly preſent himſelfe to the ſoldiers at their owne dore, and make experience what his preſence, his ſubmiſſion, and his beneuolence promiſed, could worke, to moue them to loyaltie or compaſſion. Which counſell early in the morning they put in practiſe. The King, accompanied with the Mufti (who neuer conſented to his depoſing, though he fauoured the ſouldiers againſt the Vizier) with *Huzein Baſſa,* and about twelue horſemen, went directly to the Ianizaries Colledge, where *Muſtapha* was kept, and there in teares made them an Oration; offering great recompence, repenting of his errour, and finally inuoked them by the merits of his father and all his Anceſtours, to haue ſome pitty vpon their true Maſter. The multitude (*tam prona in miſericordiam, iam quam immodica* H *ſæuitia fuerat*; ſometimes as prone to pitty as they were before to hatred) now knew not what to do; a ſilent murmure now ranne among them, and they were halfe conuerted: but the Aga of the Ianizaries thinking to merit of the King, and beginning to plead vnſeaſonably for him, with ſome harſh words of vpbraidure (*vt natura maris omni flatu venti turbida*; as the nature of the ſea is to ſwell with euery blaſt of wind) anew moued their furie, ſo that they cried out *Treaſon,* and fell vpon him and *HuZein Baſſa* and cut them into pieces, euery man taking a part of their fleſh to ſatiate their reuenge. The Mufti would ſpeake, but was withdrawne by ſome, for reſpect to his place, and with difficultie was conueyed away. Now the poore *Oſman* ſaw his friends ſlaine, and knew not which way to conuert himſelfe, but binding vp his eyes with a napkin, expected death as the laſt of their furie. But they carried him I firſt before *Muſtapha,* and accuſed him as the diſturber of the peace of the Empire, and demanded ſentence againſt him (*More vulgi ſuum quiſque flagitium alijs obiectans*) The forſaken Prince pleaded for life, and the new king knew not how to condemne, but nodded and agreed to all that was propounded. At laſt they conſulted with themſelues, and put him vpon an horſe (an inſolent Spahi changing turbants with him) and ſent him away priſoner to the ſeuen towers, vnder good gard (in his paſſage begging a draught of water at a fountaine) and then returned to their new maſter, and placed him in the Seraglio and Imperial Throne; where hee had need to haue good broaths and nouriſhment to reſtore his decayed bodie.

Daout Baſſa ſtrangleth Sultan Oſman in priſon.

** Morat now Emperour.*

The ſouldiers now thought all was done, and (onely ſacking the houſes of *Huzein Baſſa* K and ſome others their conceiued enemies) returned in quiet to their ſeuerall lodgings, and had no further malice. But the new Vizier *Daout Baſſa,* made by *Muſtapha,* knew well, if *Oſman* liued, that this ſtorme might paſſe ouer, and he would as eaſily, and by the ſame meanes returne to his eſtate, as he fell from it (*vulgus vt mos eſt cuiúſque noui motus cupidum:*) Therefore he conſulted with ſome few intereſſed in *Muſtapha's* preferment, and thereby obnoxious to *Oſman,* to ſearch how many of the Royall bloud were left aliue, and reſolued if there remained two, to make an end of *Oſman.* Two of his brothers were found, the one about twelue, * the other about ſeuen yeares of age: and thereupon the Vizier went himſelfe to the priſon with a packe of hangmen, and gaue order to ſtrangle the vnfortunate Prince: who now hauing had no reſt in two nights, and thinking himſelfe ſecure for a ſeaſon, was newly falne aſleepe: but awaked by the comming of theſe meſſengers, asked, *What newes?* ſaying hee did L not like their ſudden intruſion. They at firſt ſtood amaſed, and the king made ſhew to defend himſelfe; But a ſtrong knaue ſtrook him on the head with a battle-ax, and the reſt leaping vpon him, ſtrangled him with much ado. Thus one of the greateſt Monarchs in the world was firſt affronted by mutined troups, his owne ſlaues, almoſt vnarmed, and few in number, no man taking vp a ſword to defend him: and they who began this madneſſe, not meaning to hurt him, by the increaſe of their owne furie, which had no bounds, depoſed him againſt their owne purpoſe, and at laſt expoſed his life, againſt their will, to the counſels of other men whom they equally hated. And now they mourned for their dead King as freſhly, as they raged vnreaſonably; knowing they had ſtained their houour, being the firſt of their Emperors they euer betrayed, and that they had ſet vp another that in all likelyhood they muſt change M for diſabilitie. *Nunquam tulit documenta ſors maiora quam fragili loco ſtaréne ſuperbi.*

This was the laſt act of the life of Sultan *Oſman*; but his intents and great deſignes, which drew vpon him this fatall blow, will not be vnworthy the communication: the practiſes, reaſons, ſecrets, and counſels, of all actions, being the ſoule of Hiſtorie, and *res geſta* but the

A bare carkaſſe: and, as many ages haue not produced ſo ſtrange an example of the incertaintie
of humane greatneſſe, ſo in the diſpoſition thereof, and in the waies leading thereunto, there
was ſeene euidently the wonderfull prouidence of God, in confounding the counſels of the
worldly wiſe, who had layed a foundation of new greatneſſe, whereby this Prince aſpired
the vniuerſall Monarchie. And laſtly, the World may ſee vpon how weake foundations this
Monarchie was at firſt builded, how eaſily it was now ſhaken and corrupted; how their Kings
are ſubiect to the rage of a few ſlaues, how Anarchie hath prepared it an eaſie prey to any able
hand that would attempt it. From the inuaſion of Poland all theſe changes tooke their beginning.
Sultan *Oſman* aduanced to the Throne in his youth, full of heat and bloud, being
of a great and haughtie ſpirit, verie couragious, ſtrong of bodie, and a mortall hater of Chriſtians,
B enuious of the glorie of his anceſtors, and ambitious to raiſe his name aboue any of theirs,
had proiected in himſelfe the conqueſt of the remaines of the bordering Europe. But to ſo
great deſignes, he had one vice that reſiſted al hope of proſperity, which was, extreme auarice,
vnnaturall to youth, and a ſymptome of the decrepit age of monarchs: *Vbi viris luxu corrumpebantur,*
contra veterem diſciplinam & inſtituta maiorum apud quos virtute quàm pecunia res militaris
melius ſtetit. His firſt enterpriſe was that of Poland, moued by the incurſions of the
Coſſackes; which then he vndertooke of his owne head, without the counſell of any his
Viziers (who in a tyrannie growne to the height by eaſe, and wealth, are euer corrupt and lazie)
and againſt the liking of all the ſouldiers, who (contrarie to their inſtitution being married
and fathers of families, entered into trades, receiuing nothing in warre more than in peace,
C beſides danger and trauell) are not eaſily drawne from their owne chimneyes. This action
he thought ſo eaſie, as he had diſpoſed of his conqueſt, and diuided the liue Lyons ſkinne.
But being met vpon the borders with a poore armie in compariſon, hee was firſt arreſted at
Chotyn, a little fortreſſe, which he was faine to leaue behinde him vntaken; and then ſeeking
to aduance into the plaine Countrey, by forcing the trenches of the Chancellour of Poland
oppoſed againſt him, he could neuer procure his Ianizaries to fight, though ingaging his perſon
once or twice beyond the regard of his qualitie, and his owne troupes readie to mutine
againſt him nor to forſake him he was at laſt enforced to raiſe ſhamefully his camp, and to accept
of any treatie to ſaue his outward honor. In this attempt he loſt aboue 100000 horſes for
want of fodder, and eightie thouſand men for want of fighting: for they would rather die
D running, or pillaging, or eating, than in the face of the enemie. For this diſgrace he conceiued
ſo inward and rooted an indignation againſt the Ianizaries, and ſo iuſtly, that he often lamented
himſelfe, and complayned he was no King that was ſubiect to his owne ſlaues, vpon
whom hee ſpent great treaſures, and yet they would neither fight in warre, nor obey in
peace, without exacting new bounties and priuiledges. *Delauir Baſſa*, a man of great wit and
courage, lately called from the Eaſterne parts, where he had long gouerned with honor, who
came in, though late, yet in a verie braue and warlike equipage, aboue all other his captaines,
was ſuddenly made great Vizier, the former *Huzein Baſſa* being in the ſame diſgrace common
with the ſouldier, though not in the ſame fault. This man was neuer bred at court, but
had liued many yeares in action, and ſo had neither faction nor dependance at the Port, but
E ſtood vpon himſelfe and his owne merit: and being now vnexpectedly aduanced to this high
dignitie, he wrought vpon the Kings diſcontent, and nouriſhed it: and in concluſion brake
with him, That it was true he was no Emperour, nor could be ſafely aliue, while the Ianizaries
had the power which they lately vſurped: informing him, That they were corrupted
from their antient inſtitution, and were lazie cowards, giuen ouer to eaſe and luſt: *Et animi*
per libidines corrupti nihil honeſtum inanit. But if his Maieſtie would pull vp his ſpirits, and
follow his aduice, he would prouide him a new ſouldioury about Damaſcus, Coords, of men
euer bred in the frontier, with hardneſſe and warre, of great courage and experience; and that
of them he ſhould erect a new *Militia*, that ſhould wholly depend of him, entertaining onely
fortie thouſand in pay, which ſhould alway be his guard: and that in the diſtribution of euerie
F Prouince, he ſhould conſtitute that the Begler-begh in his gouernment ſhould traine ſome
of the inhabitants, who in all occaſions of making a great armie, ſhould be in readineſſe, and
thereby he ſhould ſpare infinite treaſures ſpent vpon theſe drones that eat vp his eſtate; and
with men of new ſpirits and hopes, he ſhould be enabled to doe greater matters than any of
his anceſtours: but withall he deſired the King to communicate this counſell to no man; nor

The Grand Seignior his deſigne to conquer Europe.

to truſt his life vpon anothers ſecrecie. *Delauir Baſſa* neuer reuealing himſelfe to any but G
the king, who extreamely pleaſed with this aduice, that flattered his owne humour, conſented,
and remitted all to the Viziers direction, who was a true ſouldier, and a verie wiſe
man, able by his credit in Aſia, to performe all he had vndertaken: for hee was exceedingly
beloued in thoſe parts, verie rich, and had kept Damaſcus, whereof he was Gouernour, for
himſelfe in a late rebellion. Vpon this concluſion betweene them, it was firſt agreed, That
the King ſhould pretend to goe in perſon either to viſite Mecha, or againſt the *Emir de Sidon*,
who was mooued to take armes really to aſſiſt in the deſigne; but they vſed it to colour the
departure of the Emperour: which when it was well weighed, was found, that then the armie
of the Ianizaries muſt be kept together, which could not agree with their ends. Heereupon
the journey of the Pilgrimage was divulged, That the King might vnder the ſhadow H
of an holy deuotion goe out with a ſmall traine, and diſperſe thoſe who were ſuſpected to
him. And for this, preparation was made, but ſomewhat to groſſely; by melting of all the
Plate, Saddles, furniture of houſe, Lampes of Churches, and whatſoeuer could more eaſily
be conueyed away in mettall, with all the jewels and treaſurie. This gaue the firſt ſuſpition,
which was confirmed by diuers vnaduiſed words let fall from the King; of diſdaine againſt
the cowardiſe of the Ianizaries, and that he would ſhortly find himſelfe ſouldiers that ſhould
whip them: and laſtly, diſmiſſing all his houſehold, except ſome few elect, the diſcontented
ſort obſerued this and betrayed him. *Delauir Baſſa* kept his owne ſecret, and in the mean time
prepared by his friends in Aſia ten thouſand men; about Damaſcus ten thouſand, from the
Coords, beſides thoſe in readineſſe of the *Emir de Sidon*; and all vpon pretence of defending I
the borders of Perſia, who might make ſome aduantage of the changes in thoſe parts: and
gaue order, That all theſe ſhould meet the King at Damaſcus, where he would preſently cut
off his guard and ſtay there, vntill he had regulated his new armie and diſcipline, and then to
returne triumphant to Conſtantinople, and vtterly root out the order of Ianizaries, Spahies,
and Timariots, and to exauctorate all their captaines and officers, to ſettle a new Gouernement,
and to change the name of the citie. And theſe things ſucceeding, he then reſolued
with his new ſouldiers to attempt the recouerie of his honor in Chriſtendome; in the meane
time to hold a diſſembled friendſhip there in all parts. Certainely this was a braue and well
grounded deſigne, and of great conſequence for renewing of that decayed Empire, languiſhing
vnder the inſolencies of lazie ſlaues, if God had not deſtroyed it: it being verie true, That K
the Turkiſh Emperour ſtands at the deuotion of his owne troupes for peace, or warre, life or
death, and is in effect nothing but the Steward or Treaſurer of the Ianizaries. If this project
had taken effect, what euents it might haue produced by a ciuill warre, is not eaſie to judge.
For doubtleſſe the Souldiorie would haue ſet vp another King, and maintained him as well
as they could; and the Europeian part had beene in danger to haue beene torne away by the
the diuiſion. Beſides, *Delauir Baſſa* hauing the King and the treaſurie in his poſſeſſion, and his
owne credit ſo great, and his inclination *velle imperare*, ſo willing to beare rule, once diſcouered,
it might well be thought that hee had ſome ends of his owne to ſhare a part of this
mightie eſtate: if on the other ſide the Viſier had proued true and faithfull, the reformation
and new erection of the diſcipline of warre, and the encreaſe of treaſure conſequent to L
the diſmiſſion of the old *Militia*, would haue been fearefull to all Chriſtendome; but *Vbi*
eſt ſapiens? vbi diſquiſitor ſæculi huius? Perdam ſapientiam ſapientum, & vanam reddam intelligentiam
intelligentium. It is a great queſtion whether then was the wiſer wiſh, That theſe
counſels had ſucceeded, or not: for either diuiſion and ſubuerſion, or a new proſperitie and
enlargement of their dominion had neceſſarily followed.

Obſeruations vpon Sultan Oſman.

Some obſeruations vpon this occaſion, will not be impertinent to thoſe that deſire
to know aſwell the diſpoſition and vſe, as the things themſelues. Firſt in the purpoſe of the
ſouldier, not at all to violate or hurt the King, much leſſe to depoſe and murder him; but
onely to take away thoſe about him whom they though aſſiſtants in this proiect: yet the furie
once on foot, they proceeded by miſſenſible ſteps, to the vttermoſt of outrage, againſt many M
innocents in that buſineſſe, though otherwiſe obnoxious, and againſt the throne and life of
their owne Emperour, *Vbi furor ingruat, innocentes ac noxios iuxta cadere*; where rage and furie
hath got the vpper hand, there the innocent and nocent fare alike. Secondly in the degrees;
that yet the King had not fallen thus low, if firſt he had not loſt that owe and reuerence which
alway

A alway attendeth vpon Maieſty, if it be kept vp, by vnſeemly offices done by him in the ſtreets and Tauernes, apprehending many ſouldiers for petty faults, like a Conſtable, making his perſon common, cheape, and deſpiſed among them; which were wont only to be ſeene and feared, as ſomewhat aboue humane greatneſſe. And this he did alſo in hatred and diſdaine of thoſe that had in the warre forſaken him. And now in this laſt act, if his owne obſtinacy had not plunged him into deſtruction, but that he had ſoftened them by a ſeaſonable yeelding to time, he had preuailed onely by time. Thirdly in the order, that theſe Mutiniers hauing no head or direction, kept that reglement, that they tooke oath in their furie, in hot bloud, in the Kings yard, not to diſhonour, ſpoile, nor ſacke the Imperiall Throne; neither committed nor ſuffered any inſolence nor violence in the citie to the Neutrals, but rather proclaimed peace B and iuſtice. Fourthly in the conſequents, that at the third dayes end all was quiet, and all men in their trade, as if no ſuch thing had happened; onely the Ianizaries ſuffered no Diuan nor Councell vntill they had receiued a donatiue as guerdon of their iniquitie. In which alſo the infinite waſte of treaſure is worthie the conſideration, which was exceedingly exhauſted by three changes in foure yeares, and by the late warres in Perſia and Poland; for euery Ianizarie in the Citie, abſent or preſent (whoſe rolle was about fourtie thouſand) receiued twentie fiue Chequines of gold; beſides the Spahies, Iamoglans, and other Orders, at euery alteration: which amounts in all neere to two millions. And now thoſe fellowes that had taſted the ſweet of proſperous mutinies *(haud ignari ſumma ſcælera incipi cum periculo peragi eum præmio)* tooke ſuch a head, as could not ſafely be ſuffered on, nor ſecurely be taken off. Fiftly, of C certain preſages that foreran: for *Oſman* dreamed in the night, *That he thought he rid a camell, and being mounted, he could not force him to go by faire means nor ſtripes: and that then hee deſcending in a rage, the bodie of the beaſt vaniſhed, and left the head in the Kings hand.* Who next day troubled at this fancie, ſent to a learned man familiar with him, for the interpretation. He excuſed himſelfe, as vnfit to giue opinion in a matter of that conſequence; but perſuaded *Oſman* to enquire of the Mufti. He alſo craued pardon; but withall ſaid, there was none ſo fit to interpret it as *Muſtapha* the Kings vncle, who was eſteemed a holy man, that had viſions and Angel-like ſpeculations (in plaine tearmes, betweene a mad man and a foole.) The King repaired to *Muſtapha,* who briefely told him, *The* Camell *ſignified his Empire: his* riding, *abuſe in gouernment: his* diſſention, *his diſpoſition: the* vaniſhing of the Bodie, *the reuolt of his* D *Subiects: the* Head remaining in his hand, *onely a bare title; and that hee ſhould ſhortly die within a few moneths, and loſe his Kingdome, but the emptie name of Emperour ſhould accompanie him to his graue.*

The Engliſh Embaſſadors aduice to Delauir Baſſa.

A ſecond of leſſe conſequence in the Vizier *Delauir Baſſa*; from whom his Maieſties Embaſſadour hauing receiued particular friendſhip, about ſix dayes before this vprore, he went to viſit; and hauing no other buſineſſe but to perſuade him to ſtay the King from this intended pilgrimage, the Embaſſadour gaue him many reaſons in the preſent eſtate of their owne affaires; eſpecially, the Treaty of Poland yet depending. To which the Baſſa replied very grauely. Then the Embaſſadour vrged the feare of ſome tumult, collected from the licentious ſpeeches rumoured in the towne: And he was bold to deale plainly, ſincerely, and E friendly, That if any ſuch thing ſhould happen, the fault would be imputed to the Baſſa, as being of authoritie to perſuade the King; whom his qualitie and youth would excuſe, but all the fury would be diſcharged vpon the greateſt Miniſter: deſiring him to conſider the euent, at leaſt to take his affection in the beſt part.

The Baſſa's replie.

The old *Reinard* ſtayed a while from reply: at laſt, ſmiling to himſelfe, that he ſhould be perſuaded againſt that which was his owne counſell, he gaue a finall anſwer, That there was no remedie, he durſt not hazard himſelfe to oppoſe the Kings reſolution: but aſſured him he would ſo order the matter, as this iourney ſhould not proceed ſo farre as was expected. The Embaſſadour concluded for himſelfe, deſiring then that he would leaue him a particular recommendation to the Chimacham or Deputie as his friend. To which he ſuddenly replied, F *Trouble not your ſelfe, nor feare; I will neuer remoue ſo farre but that I will leaue one of my legges in this citie to ſerue you.* Which the poore man fulfilled; for being murthered within few dayes after, one of his legs whole and entire was hanged in the Hippodrome, the moſt publique place of the citie.

The reading of hiſtorie, to know what is done and paſt, hauing in it no recompence but delight, vnleſſe it looke forward to vſe and action, either to correct errours, or by that light to gather aduantage in future, it will not be an vnprofitable degreſſion to obſerue what was like to ſucceed theſe monſtrous alterations. It was feared by contemplatiue men, that the ſouldiers in Aſia, who had loſt their hope, would not ſit downe with this affront, but rather attempt ſome reuenge for the death of the King, who was their martyr: or that ſome great Baſſa, farre remoued from Court, might apprehend this occaſion, not to obey an vſurper, ſet vp by treaſon; and vnder that colour to hide their owne ambition: or laſtly, that the whole State would fall into combuſtion, and inteſtine warre. This they themſelues foreſaw, and it came to paſſe, as will appeare in the ſtorie; for within few moneths *Abaſſa Baſſa* of Arſorome declared himſelfe reuenger of his Princes bloud, and troubled, and almoſt hazarded the whole Empire. The Perſian apprehended the opportunitie, and recouered the Prouince and Citie of Babylon: and the ſame Souldiers that had betrayed their Prince, were neuer quiet vntill they had made ſome ſatisfaction, by reſtoring his brother and right heire: onely it pleaſed not God to open the eys of Chriſtian Princes to ſee the inconuenience of their own vnciuill quarrels, while the diſtractions of this mightie Empire did inuite to conquer it, and to diuide it as a proſtituted prey.

A practiſe to murther the brethren of Sultan Oſman.

On Saturday euening the firſt of Iune following, the Capi-aga or Maior Domo of the Seraglio, hauing receiued a ſecret order to remoue the brethren of *Oſman* from their lodgings, and in the night to ſtrangle them; as he was performing his command, aided with a few of his carnifices to carrie away the Princes, they cried out: the Pages running to the noiſe, and incouraged by the Caſliaraga, who had ſome ſuſpition, without further examination killed the Capiaga, now almoſt euerie Order hauing riſen againſt their owne head. That night they ſent ſecretly to the Ianizaries and Spahies, to informe them what they had done; and in the morning early hanged his bodie in the Hippodrome for a publique ſpectacle. The ſouldiers returned in furie to the Court, in fauour of the Pages, and demanded iuſtice againſt thoſe that had conſented to this wicked order, which had made an end of all the *Ottoman* race; onely this *Muſtapha* being left aliue, who was ſo holy a Saint, that he would not people the world with ſinners, nor endure any woman neere him. The innocent King proteſted hee knew nothing of this purpoſe: and if ſuch command were procured, it was gotten by ſubreption; and he was eaſily beleeued. But his mother, another *Liuia*, and the new Vizier, *Daout Baſſa*, who had her daughter to wife, were vehemently ſuſpected. It was a day of Diuan or Councell; but the ſouldiers would ſuffer none, vntill they had an account of this treaſon. The Vizier denied all; the mother was a woman, and hidden in the houſe: yet it is very likely, they both were guiltie, to vphold and ſecure their owne authoritie; it being rumoured, that the Vizier determined to place ſubditiouſly in the roome of the elder Prince, his owne ſonne, and verie like him, and ſo to gouerne *Muſtapha* for a time, and by his remoue to eſtabliſh himſelfe and his race for euer. But now ſomewhat muſt be done to appeaſe the people; therefore *Daout Baſſa*, was degraded from his office, and one *Huzein Baſſa*, newly arriued from the gouernment of Cairo, aduanced to his place, with promiſe of further examination. But the furie once ouer, there was no great ſearch nor diſcouerie made, for perhaps the Sultans checquines quieted the matter. The new Vizier was a man without friends, yet verie rich, of a ſtubborne and obſtinate nature, reported iuſt in his waies, but peremptorie and vnflexible (*Audax ferox, ac prout animum intendit, prauus aut induſtrius eadem vi*) one from whome all men might expect much good, or much ill: he begun his gouernement roughly, and vndertooke to puniſh inſolencies early, and profeſſed a reformation, or to be a ſacrifice: A man fit for thoſe times that were deſperate: for the worſt was, that he muſt at laſt endure their furie. In the meane time he procured a little awe, & reſtored the face of iuſtice: yet it was thought it could not laſt long, the Ghoſt of *Oſman* would not be at reſt vntill there were ſome *parentalia* made vnto him. The nature of the Vizier was vnſupportable; but if he preuailed, and were once ſetled, hee reſolued a new to change the King, and lay an obligation vpon the brethren of *Oſman*; for he did neuer thinke himſelfe ſecure vnder a man gouerned by an inſolent woman, *dominandi auida*, deſirous to rule. And what aſſurance could he haue in that prince, in whom there was neither iudgement nor hatred, but as it was infuſed? And though the particulars could not be foreſeene, nor where the ſore would breake out, yet the whole bodie was ſicke, their

A King being *mentis inops*, an Ideot; and the next in expectation a childe vnfit for action, and all the great men and ſouldiers decayed, mutined, and corrupted.

In the meane time, the Duke of Sbarasky came neere vnto the borders of the Turkiſh Empire, and ignorant of thoſe great changes which had happened, ſent a ſeruant with a letter to the dead Vizier *Delauir Baſſa*, with whom onely the Poles had treatie. The contents were, That the king of Poland had ſent him to conclude a peace, vpon ſuch conditions as were agreed vpon by the Vizier and the Commiſſioners of Poland, ſigned on both parts; but that it was reported vpon the death of the Grand Seigniour, that the new gouernment was varied from ſome of them; that he had no other inſtructions to treat anew; but if he would giue his word to the Engliſh Embaſſadour, that there was no alteration in the intents of peace, hee B was ready to ſet forward on his journey. This letter receiued by the new Vizier, was Greeke to him, who was lately come from Cairo, and vnderſtood no article nor piece of the buſineſſe; which was ſo ſecretly carried by *Delauir Baſſa*, that Sultan *Oſman* and he being dead, there was no man had ſo much as a copie, or knew the ſubſtance of that agreement: ſo that the Vizier giuing good words, aſhamed to confeſſe his ignorance, promiſed all things, but knew not what to write in particular anſwer, and therefore was at a ſtand. The meſſenger neuertheleſſe importuned a diſpatch, the which he had in generall termes, and ſo returned againe to the Duke his Maſter vpon the confines.

Thr Poliſh Embaſſador approcheth vpon the confines and writeth to the dead Vzier.

With this Nuntio, the Duke wrot to Sir *Thomas Roe*; and being verie doubtfull to entangle himſelfe in this vnſetled gouernment, deſired him both to councell him, and to tell the C Vizier, that he would not aduance vnleſſe he might receiue ſuch aſſurance of ſafety and publique faith, as that he might engage his credit to him: hoping thereby to haue both aſſiſtance and witneſſe in all his proceeding. Which gaue the Viſier occaſion to entreat the Engliſh Embaſſadour, both to promiſe for the good vſage of the Duke, and to haſten him, and alſo to enforme himſelfe by him of the ſubſtance of the treatie of Chotyn; which being by him vndertaken, it turned to the great aduantage of both, eſpecially of the Peace it ſelfe.

The ſeuenteenth of Iune in the morning the Prince *Coreſkie*, one of the Lords of Poland, taken priſoner in the late warre, recommended by his Maieſtie of Great Britaine, who had formerly made an eſcape from the Turkes captiuitie, was ſtrangled in the priſon, after two yeares of durance. This put all into murmure, and deepe conſideration, for what politique D end this ſhould be done, euen when they themſelues deſired a peace with the Pole, and yet did that which might vtterly breake the ſame: But it ſeemed they were at that time either carried with a brutiſh furie, or that the Prince was betrayed from home, by imitation that his remuant nature would neuer ſuffer the peace long to continue betweene the Crowne of Poland and the Grand Seigniour.

The prince Coresky ſtrangled in priſon.

The Vizier (who cauſed this Polacke Prince to be ſtrangled) vpon ſome ſpleene towards the Aga or chiefe Captaine of the Ianizaries, took this occaſion to caſt the fault on him, and to caſſiere him; & ſent him to the Iſlands to be ſtrangled; & gaue order to murder ſome other Baſſaes & Officers, and that way being made to depoſe the Emperor *Muſtapha*, to ſet vp *Morat* the childe, and brother of *Oſman*, many being of his partie. Wherupon the ſoldiers, roſe all in arms E at the Seraglio, taking the alarme at the medling with the Aga, reſcued their captaine, and the reſt, and demanded the head of the Vizier: wheruponhe fled, and order was giuen to kil him where he could firſt be found. The ſouldiers alſo required the letter of *Morat*, Aga Cuſtomer, and diuers others; but for feare of other complices, they durſt ſearch no further into the conſpiracie; onely the Viziers houſe was ſacked, and infinite treaſure taken, ſo that the ſouldier was quieted for a day or two by making a new Vizier, *Muſtapha Baſſa*; who was of a ſoft nature, and ſcarce durſt doe juſtice for feare of offending any man. Now a new faction was made betweene *Muſtapha* and *Morat*; and it was expected hourely when there ſhould bee ſome great ſlaughter or maſſacre in the Citie; for of neceſſitie one ſide muſt fall.

The Vizier attempteth to ſet vp Morat the brother of Oſman, and to depoſe Muſtapha.

F There was then no ſecuritie for any man; when the King and Viziers, and all officers held their liues and dignities at the courteſie of the mutined ſouldier, who had taſted the ſweet of rebellion, and caſt off all awe and reuerence, and could not eaſily be reduced to order, without much bloud and hazard of the whole. Therefore the wiſer men retired from office and imployment, and the inſufficient did cauſe their owne daily change and ruine. The ſouldier adhered to the King of their owne creation, and hee was in effect their creature, for they did wholely gouerne him. But the Lawyers and Church-men made ſecret conuentions, and ſtill practiſed ſome great alteration; and feared not to ſay openly, that the foundation of their State was diſſolued, the King vnlawfull, and all that had adhered vnto him lapſed into hereſie, hauing diſpiſed the inſtitutions of *Mahomet*: They wrought by wiſe counſels, and held a large correſpondencie with thoſe of their owne coat, and ſpread their confederacie to all parts of the Empire to procure a faction, and kindle a greater fire than that of the ſouldiers: for at Bagdat the captaine of the Ianizaries roſe and ſlew the Baſſa, burnt the Mufti and all his kinne, and gaue his daughter in marriage to one *Aſlan Begh*, a pretender to the antient inheritance of a bordering prouince, to cautionize that part. All Aſia was in doubt whom to obey; and Cairo was eaten vp with oppreſſion; and that which was moſt dangerous, they had no ſence of the ſickneſſe in the Court, to cure it, nor any of them ſo wiſe as to diſſemble it.

The prince of Tranſyluania's Embaſſador arriueth at the Port.

The two and twentieth of Auguſt, the extraordinarie Embaſſador of *Bethlem Gabor* prince of Tranſyluania arriued at Conſtantinople; who amongſt other Inſtructions had order to excuſe his Maſter, and to declare the reaſons why he had made peace with the Emperour without the knowledge of the Port: which were, That the warre had continued three yeares in the kingdome of Hungarie, and had ſo conſumed and deſolated the countrey, that it was impoſſible for him to ſtay longer in the field, and to maintaine an armie, for the great famine and ſcarcitie of all things which the Souldierie ſuffered, and could from no place be ſupplied: ſo that if he had not accepted of peace offered, he had been enforced to quit the countrey of neceſſitie, and by his ſeeming flight haue left the enemie victor. Therefore he was conſtrained to winne time, and to returne into Tranſyluania, to refreſh his men of warre, and to re-inforce them; as alſo his owne preſſing affaires calling him backe, his brother whom hee had left Gouernour in his abſence, hauing aduiſed him, That the King of Poland, by the inſtigation of the Emperor, by intelligence with ſome of the principall Lords, did practiſe a reuolt, and promiſed aid to make a new Prince that ſhould wholly depend vpon the Empire and Poland. Laſtly, ſeeing the Grand Seigniour had ſuddenly concluded a peace with the Poles, he feared he ſhould be left alone to the burthen of the warre, in which the King of Poland, being at eaſe, might aſſiſt the Emperour, which he was not able to ſuſtaine. Therefore hee was content to take the opportunitie to accept of that, at the inſtance of the Emperour, which hee ſhould haue been forced to do by neceſſity.

Yet afterward, although he made this Apologie for his Maſter, for concluding a peace, he aſſured the Port, that his Maſter meant not long to keepe the ſame: informing them, that the Emperour had made a League (being at that time quiet in Germanie) to inuade the *Ottoman* Empire: perſuading the Port to grant a Commiſſion with ful power and authoritie to him and the Baſſa of Buda (who had been twentie yeares in that charge, and knew all the borders) if they ſaw it fit, to preuent the Enemie, and to inuade the Empire or the kingdome of Poland. This demand was made by *Gabor* to inſinuate with the State of Turkie, and to get a power dormant in his hands, to aduance into Hungarie if he ſaw aduantage, or to oblige the Emperour; and to aſſure his peace, by hauing meanes not to care if it were broken. But the Grand Seigniour finding himſelfe, by reaſon of ciuile diſtractions at home, vnfit for a warre abroad, and that they ſaw *Bethlem Gabor* had no other thing in recommendation than his owne deſignes and fortune, his Embaſſadours Propoſitions began to be altogether ſleighted and neglected.

The Poland Embaſſador arriueth at the Port.

The Duke of Sbarasky, who came to conclude the peace betweene his Maſter the King of Poland, and the Grand Seigniour, after long ſtay vpon the confines, did at length arriue at the Port; but they made him ſtay fiue weekes before he could haue audience, forcing him to giue a Preſent, contrary to his inſtructions. Notwithſtanding he could not get them to enter into a Treatie, finding nothing but falſehood and vncertaintie among them, no promiſe nor faith kept, no priſoners deliuered, nor indeed any thing at all performed: for now that they had him within their liberties, they hoped to worke their owne ends, and to wearie him out, who had twelue hundred of his ordinarie traine. They threatened to keepe him, and to denounce a warre againſt his Maſter: yet by the mediation of the Engliſh Embaſſadour, the Miniſters of the Port and he were pieced again, and the peace concluded, as ſhall be hereafter ſet downe at large.

After

A After many difficulties to obtaine admiſſion to the preſence of the Grand Seigniour, cauſed by the frowardneſſe of the old Eunuch *Georgi Mehemet Baſſa*, then great Vizier; who diſcouering that the Duke would complaine againſt *Tomſha* Vayuod of Valachia, and his Creature, endeauoured by all fraud, cunning, threatening, and faſtidious delayes, to diuert him from that purpoſe; being loath that the actions of him whom he had foſtered and maintained in many tyrannies, eſpecially in the occaſion of the laſt warre, ſhould be examined or layed open to Iuſtice. But when he ſaw that nothing could preuaile, but that he muſt hazard a direct breach by the diſcontent of the Duke; and that the people began to murmure, and the Engliſh Embaſſadour to protect him, he was admitted, and nobly receiued, according to the pompous cuſtome of that Court; and with his Letter of Credence he ſpake theſe following
B words.

The Oration of the Duke of Sbarasky to the Graund Seigniour.

SIGISMVND, *by the grace of God King of Poland, Sueden, Gothia, Vandalia, great Duke of Lituania, and of many other Prouinces Prince and Lord: To your moſt renouned Maieſtie, moſt mightie Emperour of Aſia and Europe, and King of many Kingdomes and Prouinces, euer moſt happie, wiſheth health; and by me his great Embaſſadour ſalutes you with all conuenient reuerence and*
C *honor; deſiring to your Maieſtie from the moſt high God, the fulneſſe of all proſperitie, happineſſe, long life, triumph aboue your Anceſtors, Princes worthie of all memorie.*

His high Maieſtie of Poland, conſidering the depth and height of the decrees of the great God, meruailing with all the world, and praiſing his high name; doth comfort and ioy himſelf, being more than certaine, that, that eternall power which hath preſerued your Maieſtie from all euill deſtinies of men, and from the bowels of the earth, and hath placed you in this ſhining Throne, hath not done it but for the publique good: and like a wiſe Gardiner, who hath weeded out all venomous and noyſome plants, that he hath placed your Maieſtie in their roome, as a noble and ſweet ſmelling flower, full of vertue, clemencie, and peace, deſired of all the world. His Maieſtie my Lord and Soue-
D *raigne hath alwayes wiſhed, that not onely the actions of later yeares, but of many ages paſt, might haue been forgotten; and that that friendſhip and peace begun with the renowned* Ottoman *Kings two hundred and more yeares ſince, might haue beene without interruption continued. But ſeeing that the great God hath been pleaſed to chaſtiſe the people of both parts, by the meanes of wicked men, that muſt be accepted for good which commeth from his diuine will: and therefore blotting out of mind whatſoeuer is paſt, doth now return to deſire the continuance of the firſt antient Peace, and doth offer himſelfe to your high Maieſtie to keepe it inuiolable, as it was maintained in the time of Sultan* Amurath *of happie memorie. In witneſſe of which his ſinceritie, he hath not apprehended the opportunitie of the breach begun by the Perſian, the expiration of the truce with the Emperour of Germanie, nor the many reuolts and troubles in Aſia, nor hearkened to the inſtigation of many Christi-*
E *an Princes, his friends and Allies, nor to the Tartar diſcontented; but rather hauing refuſed all other wayes, hath with the bloud of his owne ſubiects, and the charge of his purſe, regained from the Rebell Valachia, Moldauia, and a part of Tranſyluania, and rendered thoſe Prouinces into the hands of your Maieſties father, and ſuffered no man at any time to diſturbe on that ſide the friends of your empire; giuing intelligence like a good friend and a neighbour to your Anceſtours, of all your enemies deſignes and machinations, and in as much as was poſſible endeauonred to preſerue a good peace and friendſhip; which he offereth to your moſt ſerene Maieſtie, contenting himſelfe with the Capitulations treated at Chotyn, and thoſe of your moſt happie father and brother: praying your Maieſtie that they may be confirmed and maintained. And not doubting but your Maieſtie will reſtraine the Tartars, as he will do the Coſſackes; and that you will ſuffer no occaſion of kindling new fires, he beſeech-*
F *eth your Maieſtie to do what iuſtice you thinke meet vpon* Cantemir *aud* Tomſha, *who contrarie to the agreements and publique faith, haue made ſpoyle and new incurſions into Poland, euen ſince my departure from thence; and with many deceits and falſe aduices haue deſired to diſturbe the happie beginnings of accommodation. And ſeeing that by the antient capitulations made with the moſt warlike Sultan* Solyman, *and his ſucceſſours, the father and brother of your Maieſtie; the Princes of Moldania,*

dauia, the Baſſaes of Siliſtria, and the Beghes of Ackirman ought to keepe the paſſages of the Riuers to reſtraine the Tartars; and that thoſe now in poſſeſſion of thoſe Gouernments are alreadie knowne, and growne old in their rapine and ſpoile, the King my Lord deſireth your renowned Maieſtie, that they may be diſmiſſed, and their Prouinces giuen to ſome others more enclined to peace. For Cantemir, *it is a true rule obſerued, That one Tartar can hardly gouerne another, where both liue vpon ſpoyle: and how eaſily vpon any occaſion new troubles are apprehended by thoſe who are antient enemies, I leaue to your Highneſſe wiſedome; in which his Maieſtie is ſo aſſured, that he doubteth not, that for the publique good, and for the complaints, and teares of both ſubiects, you will alſo vouchſafe to accept the requeſt of your friend, and a King your neighbour. And if all the world, and the people thereof reioyce, and praiſe God of the friendſhip and peace betweene your Maieſtie and the King my Maſter begun and concluded he hopeth that the poore and miſerable priſoner ſhall participate of your clemency, that they may ioyne in the generall care to pray to the eternall God for increaſe of your greatneſſe. The King my Maſter doth therefore deſire your Maieſtie to grant liberty to thoſe who are in your captiuitie, as he bindeth himſelfe to ſet free all ſuch of your Maieſties ſubiects, as are now his priſoners; and I doe promiſe on the behalfe of my Maſter, that he ſhall bee a friend to your friends, and an enemie to your enemies. In concluſion, he deſireth all happineſſe and proſperitie to your Maieſtie from a cleere heart; in ſigne and teſtimonie whereof, and of the friendſhip begun on his part, hee honoureth you with a Preſent, which you may be pleaſed to receiue with your accuſtomed benignitie; and ſhutting your eares to ſuch enformers, enemies of peace, as are found at your Part, that you will eſteeme him for a friend, and neighbour of the moſt royall and antient kings of your moſt princely Family.*

The ſouldiers continued ſtill in their mutinous diſpoſition, euen in Conſtantinople the head citie of the Turkiſh Empire, and grew to that height of inſolencie, that going in troupes to the Court, they demanded all offices of gaine; to be Stewards to the reuenues of the Churches, which are great; to take the Farmes of cuſtomes; and there committed many other outrages which were vnſufferable. The Viſiers durſt denie them nothing; they drunke wine in the ſtreets without prohibition, contrarie to their law; and ſtood in companies in the open day exacting money of all Chriſtians to pay for their wine; and being denied it, ſtabbed and murthered without any puniſhment: and when complaint was made to the Vizier or Magiſtrat they anſwered, None durſt meddle with them, who had murthered their owne King; and the Baſſaes themſelues deſired the Complainants patience, and that they would beare a part with the generall ſufferance.

The Ianizaries aſſault the houſes of the Chriſtian Conſuls at Smirna.

About the ſame time, the Ianizaries in the gallies which rid before Smirna, commanded by the captaine *Halil Baſſa*, aſſaulted againſt his will the houſes of all the Chriſtian Conſuls there. The Engliſh with all thoſe of the Nation, were forced to runne naked from their lodgings, and to ſwimme to the Admirals galley to ſaue their liues: they ranſacked the lower parts of the houſe, and carried away to the value of two thouſand dollers; the French ſuſtained more loſſe; and the Venetians at leaſt ten thouſand, and one of the ſubiects of that State cut in pieces. The Generall had much adoe to appeaſe them by threats or perſuaſions, or to ſaue the liues of all; inſomuch as they miſcalled and threatened him, becauſe he would not conſent to their madneſſe. In concluſion, he was faine preſently to put to ſea, or elſe they had finiſhed the Trade at that place.

In Aſia there was then three open rebellions; one at Babylon, another at Arzerum vpon the borders of Perſia neere Tauris, and the third in Meſopotamia. The Viziers at the Port diſſembled all this, and durſt take no knowledge thereof, nor ſo much as to ſend a command thither, for feare of blowing the fire which would haue put all into combuſtion: whereupon they held a ſecret counſell and conſented to remooue themſelues, to proue if they could recouer the deſperate eſtate of that Empire, and tooke reſolution to make *Halil Baſſa* (the beſt ſouldier and moſt beloued) great Vizier; and in his roome *Daout Baſſa* captaine of the Sea; and the preſent Vizier, Chimachan or Lieutenant at the Port; and in the Spring following, they reſolued to ſend the Vizier into Aſia, with all the force they could make: to which end they ſent into Greece to warne all the ſouldierie to bee readie at Adrianople, not daring to make a rendeſuous at the Port, for feare of new trouble; and ſo to paſſe the Helleſpont, wide of the city, to appeaſe (if they could) thoſe reuolts, and by that way to draw the mutinies from the

A the Court into action, and to reduce them vnto obedience. And notwithſtanding that there was no other ſymptome or prediction but ſuch as threatened the ruine of that Empire, yet were they neuer prouder nor more ſeeming not to diſtruſt themſelues, their onely ſecuritie being, That they had no enemie but themſelues.

The Grand Seigniors treaſure exhauſted.

The treaſurie was farre exhauſted, the reuenue abated by the oppreſſion of euery Baſſa in his gouernment: the ſouldier increaſed both in pay and number, and ſo impatient of delay, that at euerie quarter (beſides borrowing and taking vp of the farmes of the cuſtomes beforehand) there were ſo many intollerable exactions to raiſe monies, that the apparance of domeſticke quiet could not long endure between two extreames; for means could not be found, and the Ianizaries would not be retrenched nor deferred; and this was their generall eſtate at B that time.

An Embaſſador from the great duke of Muſcouie arriued at the Port.

While the Poliſh Embaſſadour was treating the peace at the Port, whereof there was no great doubt, becauſe neither ſide was fit for warre, there arriued an Embaſſadour from the gteat Duke of Muſcouia, which gaue ſome interruption therein, preſſing the Grand Seignior to continue the warre for ſeuen yeares againſt Poland, according to the promiſe of Sultan *Oſman*; offering that his Maſter ſhould enter into Poland with an armie, and that they would diuide the country between them: but his propoſition was rejected, becauſe they had had ſufficient triall of his Maſters cunning proceedings in the laſt war. For the Muſcouite hauing made peace with Poland (before the inuaſion of *Oſman*) for fourteene yeares, and being inuited by him to breake it and to inuade that countrey, vpon promiſe that he would continue the C warre for ſeuen yeares, and make no agreement without their comprehenſion: firſt anſwered, That he could not breake the peace; thinking that the other was but a flaſh of a yong Prince: but ſo ſoone as he ſaw the Turks in the field and borders of Poland, then he began to hope he might make aduantage; and therefore promiſed Sultan *Oſman* on the conditions mentioned, to enter into the quarrell. And to that end diſpeeded an Embaſſadour to Poland with inſtructions to demand three things. Firſt, that the Prince of Poland ſhould renounce the title of *Elect Duke of Muſcouia*. The ſecond, That the Poles ſhould reſtore a territorie in the border of Lituania, taken in the late warres. Laſtly, that the peace ſhould be perpetuall; threatening that if they refuſed thoſe conditions, he would enter into the countrey with an armie, and get what he could. This Embaſſadour being arriued in the confines, heard newes that the D Poles had repulſed the Turke at Chotyn, that he was retyred, and a peace treated: whereupon he feigned himſelfe ſicke, and ſent backe a Poſt with this aduice and his old inſtructions, deſiring in this alteration ſome new order from home. The Gouernour of the towne where he lay, ſuſpecting ſomewhat, intercepted the meſſenger and his packet and ſent it preſently to the King. The man returned to his Maſter the Embaſſadour, as robbed, and was againe diſpeeded the ſecond time, and ſent backe with another ſtile, to wit with letters of congratulation, joy, and offers of all helpe and continuance of the Peace: with theſe the Embaſſadour went forward to the Court; and hauing audience, the King anſwered him, That if his meſſage were ſincere, it had been very acceptable; but he knew it to be a ſugred treaſon, and no faith intended from the Muſcouite, and therefore commanded him to depart.

E The Embaſſadour proteſted, vowed, and vſed all means to aſſure the integritie of his meſſage; vntill he was confronted by the Chancellour, with his owne letter and his Maſters Inſtructions. Hereupon was this other diſpatched to the Port to hinder the peace, and to offer all their helpe to continue an inuaſion. In the meane time the Muſcouite neglected no means to ſecure himſelfe, and by renewing two Embaſſadours, obtained a peace with Poland, which was then againe confirmed. To which the Poles were the willinger to agree, not knowing what effect the negotiations of the Duke of Sbaraſky might produce at the Port. And now the Muſcouite was forced to diſſemble againe with the Turke, and make his preparation to depart.

The great Viziar practiſeth to put Daout Baſſa to death.

The great Vizier *Georgi* enuying the authoritie of *Daout Baſſa* the beloued ſonne of F the Queene mother and brother in law to the Emperor *Muſtapha* (which had formerly beene depoſed) who had beene both the inſtrument and the counſellour to murther Sultan *Oſman*, ſcorning that he ſhould vnderhand gouerne in his raigne, eſpecially becauſe he countenanced in oppoſition the Duke of Sbaraſkies buſineſſe, he therefore practiſed to put him to death: but not daring to doe it by his owne authoritie, and in vaine to procure it from the court, hee ſtirred vp the Spahies to demand iuſtice of him for the death of the laſt King. This looked further than the firſt aſſent; for the ſubtill Vizier, who was faithfull to his true Lord, and knowing the rage of an vnguided multitude, aimed at a by-reuenge vpon others, whom hee hoped would be inuolued and accuſed of the Order: and the ſouldier ſoone raiſed and mutined in the Seraglio, they demanded him. *Daout* fled; but now that the buſineſſe was on foot, if he were not found the Vizier himſelfe was in danger: but the poore man was taken and brought to the Diuan, and there being called to publique iuſtice, he muſt excuſe himſelfe vpon ſome greater perſon: wherein the Emperour and his mother ranne a new hazard, which was the ſecret end. Therefore both of them forſooke him and left him to the law; and without any triall he was brought before the ſouldiers, ſtripped, his turbant taken off, and on his knees readie to receiue the ſtroke of death: But ſuddenly the Ianizaries came to his reſcue, and carried him away to their chambers. The Spahies who began this action, tooke it in ill part, and followed with great outcries, That they would haue him die; the others demanded that he might be heard in publique Iuſtice. Thus thoſe two mutined Factions were readie to come to blowes. *Daout Baſſa* now in ſome hope of life, bribed the Ianizaries, and that day diſtributed fourty thouſand chequines of gold, & they promiſed to protect him. Who did not now thinke but he was taken away for ſafetie? But the Spahies followed their firſt reſolution, and to appeaſe the feare of that diſſenſion, it was agreed he ſhould die. They that meant to ſaue him, could not, but preſerued him for a greater example of iuſtice. They would not now let him loſe his head in the Court, for that death was too honourable for him that had murthered his Prince. Then the Ianizaries put him ſecretly into the ſame Coach wherein he had ſent Sultan *Oſman* to execution: twice in the way being drie with ſorrow, he dranke at the ſame fountaines where his late Maſter begged drinke, and ſo was conueyed into the ſame chamber where he had murthered him. The Executioners beginning to tie him, himſelfe ſhewed the verie corner where he had committed that foule fact, and deſired that there hee might (if poſſible) expiate it: and ſo he was at laſt miſerably ſtrangled. Thus he had his reward, and God was iuſt alſo euen for the wicked.

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To this end I am come to the Port, with full power and inſtructions from his Maieſtie and the Republique of Poland, to conclude and finiſh a full and perpetuall Peace, with all ſinceritie and heartineſſe, A *neſſe, and in his Maieſties name to ſweare the ſame; offering to be friend to the friends, and enemie to the enemies of this Imperiall Port reciprocally, and to be readie to treat and accommodate all or any other circumſtances incident to a buſineſſe of ſo great conſequence.*

Since my arriuall, notwithſtanding that I haue produced both the mentioned treaty at Chotyn and letters, how little I haue aduanced in the main affaires, and the doubtfull conſequences of a long protraction. I deſire you to conſider, hauing as yet proceeded no further in ſubſtance, than the deliuerie of my letters and Preſents; and to that end that there may neuer be imputed to the King and Republique of Poland any ſlackneſſe in preſent, or any breach in future, out of a ſincere and good deſire to eſtabliſh this treatie ſure and firme, and to open a cleere and true heart, I am enforced to make this true declaration: and deſire your Excellencie to weigh maturely the motiues following:

B *I doe not repine at mine own ſtay at this Imperiall port, where I receiue all honour; I do not doubt of the ſincere and faithfull meaning of the Emperour to conclude the peace; but the deferring hereof may, againſt our wills, breed three inconueniences.*

Firſt, your Excellencie doth know, that the Coſſackes are a people not eaſily to be reſtrained, if they be once at libertie, and that they liue vpon their armes. They haue readie eight hundred boats to make an inuaſion into the Blacke Sea. In the Winter they cannot moue; they attend onely the aduice of the concluſion of peace: therefore now is the ſeaſon to finiſh and publiſh it; for if by long delaies it ſhall be deferred vnto the Spring, and that iealouſie or their owne deſire ſet them free, your Excellencie doth know in wiſedome how difficult it is, to reduce into order a people of that condition, which for our parts we are now able and readie to preuent; the State hauing ordained to ſatisfie them, and to buy their boats vpon the firſt intimation of a concluſion.

C *Secondly, it is the order of our nation euerie Spring to call a Parliament for the reglement of all publique affaires; of which aſſemblie I am a member: if I ſhall be ſtaied heere, and not able to render a reaſon thereof, it will breed great ſuſpition and diſturbance in the generall reſolution; you may conſider that in all parts, there are ſome vnaduiſed men, friends of ſedition and warre, and many that make aduantage of others troubles, who may doe ill offices, ſuch as the innocent may bee ſorrie for but cannot helpe.*

Thirdly, the eyes af all Princes are ſet vpon the honour and faith kept on both parts, in this treaty, and accordingly will gouerne their owne occaſions.

D *For theſe reaſons I doe in his Maieſties name deſire your excellencie to giue me a diſpatch, ſuch as may bring ioy and content to all, by auoiding the miſeries of warre; and in ſuch time, that the ſnows and diſcommodities of Winter ſhut me not vp; but that I may return as well to ſatisfie his maieſty and the Republique in our generall aſſembly, as to retaine thoſe, who may be cauſe of much trouble, without our conſents.*

There is no difficultie that I vnderſtand; I am content to accept the antient end honourable treaties made with the famous Emperor Solyman *and his ſucceſſours, and now laſtly at Chotyn: if there be any other difference, I haue power and am readie to accommodate it.*

My deſire then onely is, That a preſent end and concluſiou be made of a peace, firme, and perpetuall: and that the Emperour will be pleaſed according to many promiſes, to deliuer and ſet free the captiues taken in the laſt warres; as I doe in his Maieſties name giue my word that all others taken E *on our parts, ſhall haue libertie and paſport to returne. And if there haue been any difficultie made by occaſion of my preſſure for the reiection of* Tomſha, *and* Cante-Emir-Emirze, *I doe make this true proſtatetion, That as it is the requeſt of his Maieſty my king in friendſhip, ſo there is no other end nor cauſe of that deſire, but only to remoue all ccaſion of offence and breach with this Imperial Port, which thoſe ill neighbors are euer readie to miniſter: But if that be any great inconuenience to this Imperiall Port, I only then ſeeke, that better order may be taken with them for the future, that they may liue quietly with out offence of the publique peace.*

I deſire your Excellencie to weigh and conſider theſe my reaſons ond proteſtations, which proceed onely from a good and ſincere heart, to promoue and maintaine an inuiolable and good friendſhip with this Imperiall Port. F

Within two daies after, the Duke of Sbaraskie tooke his leaue of the Emperour, to the great ioy of himſelfe and his traine, who thereby ſaw themſelues deliuered out of captiuitie. The three great and noble priſoners were ſet free, and did make a publique acknowledgement ſtirred vp the Spahies to demand iuſtice of him for the death of the laſt King. This looked further than the firſt aſſent; for the ſubtill Vizier, who was faithfull to his true Lord, and knowing the rage of an vnguided multitude, aimed at a by-reuenge vpon others, whom hee hoped would be inuolued and accuſed of the Order: and the ſouldier ſoone raiſed and mutined in the Seraglio, they demanded him. *Daout* fled; but now that the buſineſſe was on foot, if he were not found the Vizier himſelfe was in danger: but the poore man was taken and brought to the Diuan, and there being called to publique iuſtice, he muſt excuſe himſelfe vpon ſome greater perſon: wherein the Emperour and his mother ranne a new hazard, which was the ſecret end. Therefore both of them forſooke him and left him to the law; and without any triall he was brought before the ſouldiers, ſtripped, his turbant taken off, and on his knees readie to receiue the ſtroke of death: But ſuddenly the Ianizaries came to his reſcue, and carried him away to their chambers. The Spahies who began this action, tooke it in ill part, and followed with great outcries, That they would haue him die; the others demanded that he might be heard in publique Iuſtice. Thus thoſe two mutined Factions were readie to come to blowes. *Daout Baſſa* now in ſome hope of life, bribed the Ianizaries, and that day diſtributed fourty thouſand chequines of gold, & they promiſed to protect him. Who did not now thinke but he was taken away for ſafetie? But the Spahies followed their firſt reſolution, and to appeaſe the feare of that diſſenſion, it was agreed he ſhould die. They that meant to ſaue him, could not, but preſerued him for a greater example of iuſtice. They would not now let him loſe his head in the Court, for that death was too honourable for him that had murthered his Prince. Then the Ianizaries put him ſecretly into the ſame Coach wherein he had ſent Sultan *Oſman* to execution: twice in the way being drie with ſorrow, he dranke at the ſame fountaines where his late Maſter begged drinke, and ſo was conueyed into the ſame chamber where he had murthered him. The Executioners beginning to tie him, himſelfe ſhewed the verie corner where he had committed that foule fact, and deſired that there hee might (if poſſible) expiate it: and ſo he was at laſt miſerably ſtrangled. Thus he had his reward, and God was iuſt alſo euen for the wicked.

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For theſe reaſons I doe in his Maieſties name deſire your excellencie to giue me a diſpatch, ſuch D *as may bring ioy and content to all, by auoiding the miſeries of warre; and in ſuch time, that the ſnows and diſcommodities of Winter ſhut me not vp; but that I may return as well to ſatisfie his maieſty and the Republique in our generall aſſembly, as to retaine thoſe, who may be cauſe of much trouble, without our conſents.*

There is no difficultie that I vnderſtand; I am content to accept the antient end honourable treaties made with the famous Emperor Solyman *and his ſucceſſours, and now laſtly at Chotyn: if there be any other difference, I haue power and am readie to accommodate it.*

My deſire then onely is, That a preſent end and concluſiou be made of a peace, firme, and perpetuall: and that the Emperour will be pleaſed according to many promiſes, to deliuer and ſet free the captiues taken in the laſt warres; as I doe in his Maieſties name giue my word that all others taken E *on our parts, ſhall haue libertie and paſport to returne. And if there haue been any difficultie made by occaſion of my preſſure for the reiection of* Tomſha, *and* Cante-Emir-Emirze, *I doe make this true proſtatetion, That as it is the requeſt of his Maieſty my king in friendſhip, ſo there is no other end nor cauſe of that deſire, but only to remoue all ccaſion of offence and breach with this Imperial Port, which thoſe ill neighbors are euer readie to miniſter: But if that be any great inconuenience to this Imperiall, Port, I only then ſeeke, that better order may be taken with them for the future, that they may liue quietly with out offence of the publique peace.*

I deſire your Excellencie to weigh and conſider theſe my reaſons ond proteſtations, which proceed onely from a good and ſincere heart, to promoue and maintaine an inuiolable F *and good friendſhip with this Imperiall Port.*

Within two daies after, the Duke of Sbaraskie tooke his leaue of the Emperour, to the great ioy of himſelfe and his traine, who thereby ſaw themſelues deliuered out of captiuitie. The three great and noble priſoners were ſet free, and did make a publique acknowledgement

ment of his Maieſtie of great Britaines fauour, to whom both the Embaſſadour and they at- G tributed the beſt part of their good ſucceſſe, and gaue particular thanks by Letter.

Articles contracted betweene the Grand Seigniour and the King of Poland.

His Maieſtie of Poland hauing ſent into our happy Port his well deſeruing and famous great Embaſſadour the moſt illuſtrious Duke of Sbarasky, to offer vs ſincere peace, loyall friendſhip, and good correſpondence, and to ſeeke that the antient Peace and friendſhip ſhould be of vs anew confirmed, and the old Capitulations renewed, and that for the H *time to come that there might be eſtabliſhed an eternall peace and friendſhip: His kingly inſtance hath beene moſt pleaſing to vs, and the peace and friendſhip of vs accepted: and we haue ordained, That all the antient treaties ſhall be renewed, and at the preſent haue giuen this our Capitulation with the following Articles.*

I. *FIrſt, That neuer vpon our part, nor of any of our Viziers, Beglerbeghs, Beghs, Cadees, Officers, nor Souldiors, any harme ſhall be done to the Prouinces, Cities, Caſtles, townes, villages, and other places pertaining to the King and State of Poland. And likewiſe vp-* I *on the part of his Maieſtie of Poland, that by his Princes, Miniſters, or Coſſacke, nor any other his ſubiects, there ſhall be no wrong done in any part of our empire, city, caſtle, towne, or village, but that both parties ſhall alwayes remaine friends to friends, and enemies to enemies.*

II. *And ſeeing that the Tartars of Dobrirza, Biaolograd, Keil, Ozu, and Siliſtra, and the people of Moldauia, do enter, inuade, and damnifie the State of Poland: We command, that for the time to come, our Beglerbeghs of Siliſtra, and all other Beglerbeghs of Bender, ſhall take care to keepe all thoſe paſſages and riuers, to the end that hereafter the ſaid Nations* K *ſhall haue no paſſage by thoſe wayes to damnifie the ſtate of Poland: and whenſoeuer it ſhall be knowne that the ſaid miniſters haue vſed negligence in keeping thoſe paſſages, according to the treatie with Sultan* Solyman, *of happy memorie, that ſuch miniſters be degraded and ſeuerely puniſhed.*

III. *The Vayuod of Moldauia likewiſe ſhall neuer grant any paſſage to the ſaid Nations: and whenſoeuer it ſhall be knowne that the ſaid Vayuod hath tranſgreſſed in this our will, hee ſhall be degraded and ſeuerely puniſhed.*

IV. *And whenſoeuer the ſaid Tartars and others, contrarie to this our will, ſhall make any* L *inuaſion or ſpoyle in the ſtate of Poland, all our miniſters and gouernors ſhall apprehend and ſeuerely puniſh them: and as it is ſet downe in the Agreements with Sultan* Solyman, *all the ſlaues and priſoners which ſhall by ſuch malefactors be brought into our dominions, ſhall be ſet at libertie, and their goods reſtored to them againe, and the malefactors puniſhed for hauing tranſgreſſed our Imperiall Capitulations.*

V. *And if any of our ſubiects ſhall buy any perſon or Poliſh goods, vniuſtly taken by ſuch malefactors, and it ſhall be made knowne vnto vs by the King of Poland; the buyers for hauing bought vnlawfull goods, their eſtate ſhall be confiſcate, and they themſelues ſeuerely* M *puniſhed.*

VI. *The Prince* Chrim *Tartar ſhall be obedient to vs, and all the Tartarian Nation vnder his command.* Kalgha *Sultan, and other Emirs and Princes of his bloud, from henceforth ſhall neuer enter into, nor inuade any part of the ſtate of Poland, nor euer do any damage,* A mage, either by the way of Moldauia, the open field or deſart, nor ſhal euer enter into or inuade any part or iuriſdiction of the ſame. And at all times that his Maieſtie of Poland ſhall notice, That the ſaid Prince or others aboue mentioned haue broken this our will and capitulations, and entered and damnified his State; for their diſobedience, the ſaid Prince giue as well as the others, ſhall be by vs puniſhed and chaſtiſed; and we command that neuer any one, in any part of our Dominion, ſhall ſel either people or goods robbed from the State of Poland; and finding that there be any one that hath dared to buy men, or goods, robbed from them, ſuch ſhall be immediately puniſhed with confiſcation. And as before mentioned, the Beglerbeghs of Siliſtria, with all diligence ſhall keepe the ſtraights of Oſue and B neuer ſuffer the ſaid people to paſſe; and if it ſhall bee knowne they haue tranſgreſſed they ſhall be puniſhed with loſſe of their charge and office.

VII. And whenſoeuer the ſaid Prince Crim Tartar, or his Kalka, Emirze, or others ſhall by our order be called and commanded in their proper perſons, to goe to any part of the war in our ſeruice, if by chance they ſhould paſſe by the confines of Poland, as it is ſet downe in the capitulations of my father of happie memorie, They ſhall enter into any village, Borough, Caſtle, or Citie of Polonia, or doe any kinde of dammage to the people thereof; and finding that they haue giuen any moleſtation or hurt, they ſhall bee corrected, as is aforeſaid.

VIII. C And in conformitie of my fathers ſaid capitulation, euerie time that his Maieſtie of Poland ſhall inuite and call the ſaid Prince Crim Tartar in his occaſion of warre whiles hee giueth him his annuall ſtipend, the ſaid Prince with all his forces and armie, ſhall go, help, and aſſiſt his maieſtie in euery ſuch occaſion, and ſhew all friendſhip and ſinceritie: to which effect we haue giuen order, that our Imperiall letters be written to the ſaid Prince, in this particular, who ſhall obſerue all according to our will and pleaſure.

IX. And for the better eſtabliſhing of this our peace and amitie according to the antient capitulations and obſeruance, his maieſtie of Poland promiſeth to ſend his great Embaſſador to the ſaid Prince of Tartars; and (beginning from this preſent, the 24 of the D moneth of Iune) to pay yearely to the ſaid Prince his accuſtomed ſtipend in this forme following. Euerie yeare his maieſtie ſhall ſend the ſaid ſtipend into the Caſtle of Chotyn in Moldauia, and the Vayuod thereof ſhall certifie the ſaid Prince Crim, who ſhall preſently ſend his Embaſſadour to receiue the ſame, by the hands of the Vayuod. The which Prince ſhall alwaies obſerue this forme, and ſhall bee alwaies obedient to this our Imperiall Will.

X. And in caſe that his Maieſtie of Poland ſhould faile any yeare to ſend the ſaid ſtipend, the Prince Tartar ſhall not ſuddenly riſe with his armie and inuade Poland; but, according E to the agreements of Sultan Solyman, continuing ſtill in his obedience, he ſhall certifie vs, and we will procure and recouer his right.

XI. His Maieſtie of Poland doth promiſe that from henceforward, the Coſſackes ſhall not enter nor come into any part of our empire by the riuers of Oſue or any other, nor make any ſpoile therein: and if the ſaid Coſſackes doe enter into any part of our Dominions and doe any hurt, we certifying his Maieſtie by our Imperiall letters, hee promiſeth to correct them ſeuerely, and to put to death the malefactors for breaking the capitulations, and violating the peace and amitie.

XII. F And all our ſubiects which ſhall be made ſlaues, and impriſoned by the ſaid Coſſackes, ſhall be immediatly ſet at libertie; and the miniſters of his Maieſtie ſhall alwaies be diligent to puniſh the tranſgreſſours, and wholly reſtore thoſe perſons and goods, which they ſhall haue taken from our ſaid ſubiects, and that neuer any ſubiect of the King of Poland *ſhall buy any ſtollen goods: and if any haue preſumed and bought, that he be ſeuerely puniſhed: and in generall all that which we haue promiſed concerning the Tartars and Moldauians, ſo his Maieſtie alſo doth promiſe to vs for the Coſſacks and other his ſubiects.*

XIII. *After the concluſion of this Peace, if vpon the confines or open fields, fiſhers or hunters on either part meeting together, ſhall happen to fall out or be at difference by their owne occaſion, it ſhall be no diſturbance to this our peace and amitie.*

XIIII. *Alwayes according to the antient agreements, the princes or Vayuods of Moldauia ſhall ſhew to his Maieſtie of Poland all due reuerence and reſpect, good amitie and neighbourhood: and ſeeing that the ſaid Vayuods haue euer been as it were inſtruments of preſeruation, or of the breach of the Peace; therefore we command, that for the time to come, neither the ſaid Vayuods, nor other of our Beglerbeghs or miniſters, ſhall build in thoſe Confines any new Caſtle, Fort, or bridge; and that in thoſe Caſtles or Forts of thoſe frontiers which are alreadie built, there ſhall neuer any other garriſons be kept but Moldauians: and according to the antient Capitulations, the Tartars ſhall not inhabit, dwell, or till within thoſe confines, of both nations.*

XV. *And to the end this peace and amitie may be alwayes kept betweene vs, we ſweare by the name of God, and aſſure by this our Imperiall Article, that all the Embaſſadours, great or inferiour, which ſhall be ſent from vs to his Maieſtie, or thoſe great or leſſe which ſhall bee ſent from his Maieſtie to vs, ſhall alwaies be ſafe and ſecure, as well in their comming, as their returne; and that there ſhall neuer be need of any other paſport, but that they ſhall be of vs by all wayes honored and well receiued.*

XVI. *Concerning merchants, paſſengers, and other Polacke negotiators, they ſhall alwayes come ſafely and ſecurely by ſea and land, into all the parts of our Empire; and for cuſtomes, tolles, and other duties of their merchandiſe, and in caſe of debt, credit, ſuretiſhip, and ſuch other like accidents concerning the courſe of Juſtice and Law, we command that it ſhall be alwayes obſerued according to the agreements with our father, of happy memorie, Sultan* Achmat. *Which Articles we at this preſent accept and confirme, ratifie, and command that they be of all our ſubiects for euer punctually obeyed and obſerued.*

XVII. *Furthermore we promiſe, and in the name of God ſweare, to obſerue and maintaine for euer all thoſe couenants and Articles agreed vpon and written in our Capitulations, by our great grandfather, grandfather, and father, and neuer to diſanull any of them.*

XVIII. *And whereas to ſhew greater deſire of ſinceritie concerning this Peace, his Maieſtie of Poland hath ſought of vs by his ſaid great Embaſſadour, that the ſubiects of Poland may ſafely and ſecurely come by the riuer of Turla with diuers merchandiſe, and ſell, buy, and traffique in Ackirman, which traffique being vſed will be of great benefit to both Eſtates; We ordaine and command from henceforward, that the ſaid Nation may come and negotiate ſafely and ſecurely in the ſaid Ackirman. And to the end that this buſineſſe be eſtabliſhed and concluded in a good manner, we will giue order to our Embaſſadour, whom we intend to ſend ſhortly to his Maieſtie for the ratification thereof.*

XIX. *Which preſent Articles, Capitulations, Peace, Amitie, League, and Correſpondence, by the grace of God we promiſe vndoubtedly to maintaine ſo long as we liue in this world: and do hereby conclude betweene vs and our poſteritie, and the Kings and State of Polonia, an euerlaſting Peace; Sealing it and confirming it with theſe words,* Friends to Friends, and Enemies to Enemies.

Notwithſtanding all this, after the Duke was departed one dayes journy, where he ſtayed

A to receiue the treatie ſigned,they altered ſome of the articles to their own aduantage,without his knowledge. Which when he heard,he complained anew by his letters to the Port of the abuſe offered vnto him,and made haſte rather to eſcape than returne. But the Coſſackes at the ſame time being ſtirring about the Blacke ſea, the Vizier and State (hauing nothing more in care than to ſhut vp that backe port, whereby they ſuffered much loſſe and diſhonour, and could not reuenge it vpon a fugitiue people; which diuided their nauall armie,being forced to ſend a portion of gallies to defend the trade,the beſt part of reliefe of the citie of Conſtantinople comming from thoſe coaſts) reſolued to giue content to the Poles,and to aſſure the Peace; that they might with more ſecuritie attend their affaires in Aſia and Hungarie; which action was fauoured vehemently by the preſent Vizier. To which end, he ſent anſwer into B Poland,with promiſes of faith,and reparation for the iniuries committed by the Tartars; laying the fault of miſwriting the treatie vpon the Chancellour, which though they amended not,yet they did explain and interpret: and for better eſtabliſhment and ſecuritie on their behalfes of the peace,they reſolued to depoſe *Iehan-Begh* Prince of Tartaria,and ſent *Mechmet Gheray* his couſin german and firſt of the bloud,late priſoner in the Rhodes,to take poſſeſſion of his dominion; who vndertooke to quiet and reſtraine that people: which he cauſed to be ſignified to Poland,that the King might ſee,theſe alterations were onely for the full ſecurity of the peace on their ſide,that the Pole might take the like courſe with the Coſſackes,who were not as yet reclaimed.

Some of the capitulations of peace altered by the Turks.

The ſouldiers continued ſtill in their height of furie and madneſſe, and thoſe that were to C goe vpon the gallies for the defence of the blacke ſea, and other deſignes, being ready to depart, robbed, ſlew, brake houſes in the face of the Magiſtrate in the open day: What was it not lawfull for them to doe, that had ſlaine their King,and made and deſtroied the great Miniſters at their will and pleaſure,as their Stewards and ſeruants: and God did ſo blinde them, that they ſhould not ſee, that they digged vp their owne roots, and were made by God the blind inſtruments of their owne ruine. The mint alſo was remoued into the Seraglio, where was brought forth all the ſaddles,bridles,ſtirrops, that had any gold or ſiluer vpon them, with all old plate,to make money to patch vp a quiet, and to ſatisfie and content the ſouldiers,and all little enough for the preſent, to ſaue the citie from a totall ſacke.

1623. *The ſouldiers ſtill continue in their furie.*

The Embaſſadours of the Prince of Tranſyluania, hauing changed their ſtile of excuſing a D firme peace with the Emperour by the change of the Vizier,and finding the opportunitie of a friend now in place to aid their Prince,they negotiated new matter,aſſuring the Port, that by the troubles of Germanie, a faire occaſion was giuen to recouer Hungarie, and to ſet the Crowne vpon their Maſters head; and that therefore if the Grand Seignior would be pleaſed to grant vnto their Prince the aid of the Græcian armie,that he would make another attempt to weaken the greateſt enemie of that Empire; which they eaſily obtaining (the ignorance and auarice of the Turke opening a way to credulitie which was the conſtant aduantage of *Gabor*, who could concord both their vnderſtandings and forces to his own ends) being in al fully ſatisfyed, they departed the twentieth of Aprill. Which reſolution of the Port was much wondred at by all wiſe men, who knew how vnfit the Turke was at that preſent for E a warre. The Prince was then at Caſſouia, expecting the iſſue of his Embaſſage,and in hope of Turkiſh aid; which being granted and gathered vpon his frontier, and ioyned at laſt with his owne forces, his whole armie was not very great, nor had he any cannon to march withall to beſiege any place: his chiefeſt truſt conſiſting in his intelligence in Hungarie,where hee expected a generall reuolt, and that all the garriſons would open to him,or at leaſt ſome diuerſitie in Sileſia(which he was promiſed) facilitate his wars; and he was not in deſpaire,that vpon the firſt appearance of an armie, Morauia, by the fauour of the Countie of Tourne and his friends,would follow the ſame example; and this was the deſigne which his Embaſſadors had ſo long ſolicited at the Port, and diſſembled at their firſt comming. Now there was nothing expected but a warre: but not long after, there arriued a new Embaſſadour from the F Prince, without any mention of the affaires of thoſe parts; which made all men inquiſitiue, thinking hee was either come to haſten the ſuccours, or to change ſomething in the manner and other circumſtances depending thereon: but it was found that the States of Tranſyluania had aſſembled at Alba-Iulia, and were verie loath to entertaine a warre, or to breake with the Emperour; and therefore diſpeeded two Commiſſioners towards him, who were well

The Embaſſadours of the prince of Tranſyluania departed from the Port.

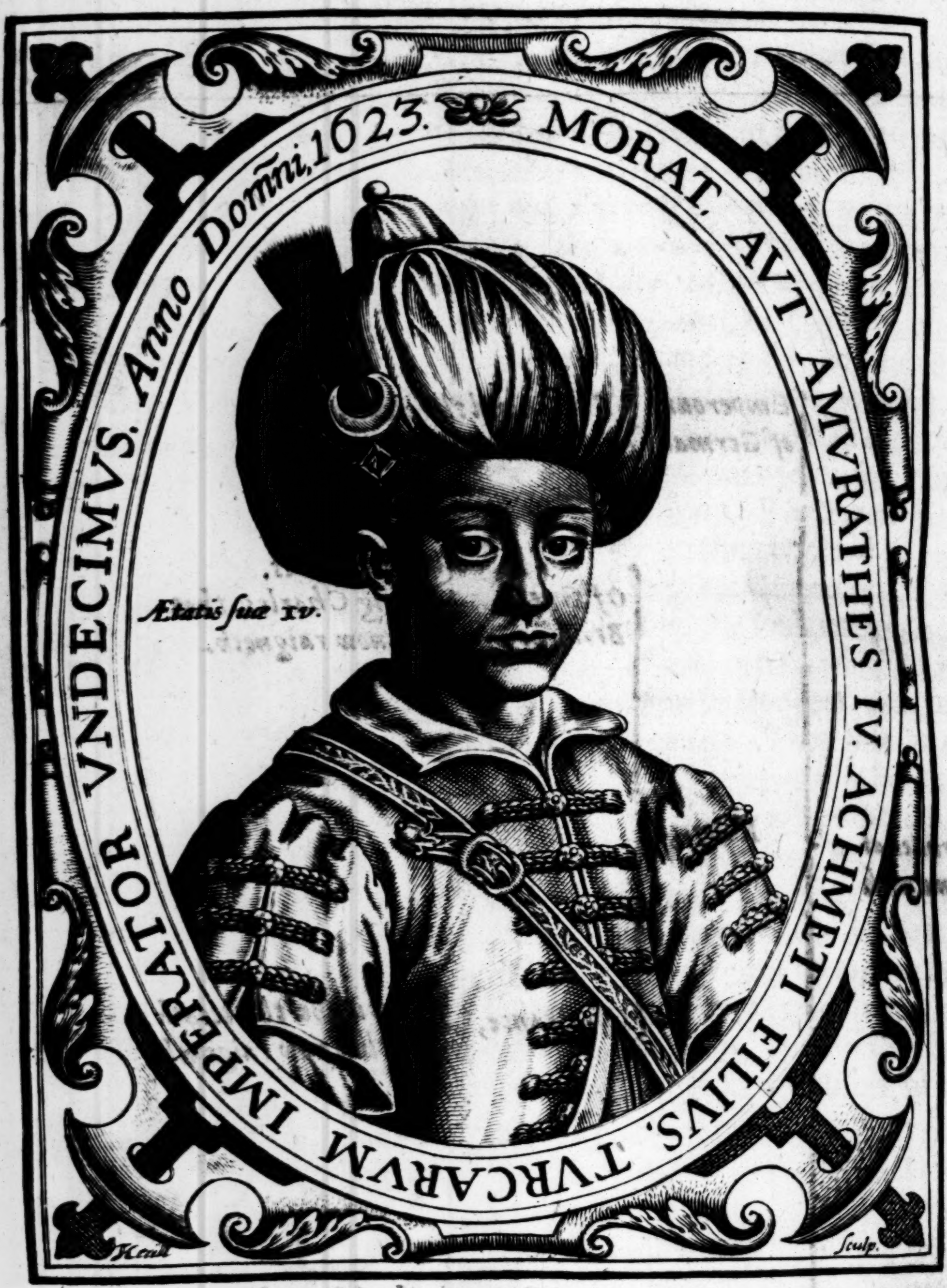
receiued and treated at Vienna: and from the Emperour was ſent to Tranſyluania the Biſhop G of Nitria. Whereupon a new peace was treated, and this Embaſſadour ſent to procure the recall of the former commands, giuen to the Baſſaes to moue with their armies. Whereby it was ſuſpected he neuer had any purpoſe to make a warre, but onely to ballance by the continuance thereof his feares and laſt agreements with the Emperour.

The Baſſa of Arzirum in rebellion.

All men prophecied (by reaſon of daily diſorders) the fall of the *Ottoman* Empire. But now the Baſſa of Arzirum who was ioyned with diuers others, and had made a great armie, was in his march towards Angria, the direct way to Conſtantinople (Babylon yet reſting in rebellion) with a pretence of reformation; who tooke nothing by force, but the treaſure of the Empire. He held a generall Counſell in his campe, and ſent to the Port to require the preſence of the Mufti, Cadees, Baſſaes, and antient Beghs, to take knowledge and to puniſh the traitors H that murthered the late King, and to ſettle a new one lawfully, that ſhould be able to gouerne; to reduce the mutined citie-ſouldier to obedience and diſcipline, and to place about the Emperour ſome great Vizier, choſen by the State, able to direct and apply remedies to the diſeaſes then growne to a Chryſis: complaining, that euery three or foure moneths, by the change of the Vizier, the prouinces were deſtroyed (for they placed and diſplaced the gouernors according to their own factions) and ſo contrarie orders were ſent abroad dayly, inſomuch as no man knew who was King or Vizier, nor whom they ſhould obey. Theſe were his pretences, and if the preſent State would not conſent to this aſſembly, he then reſolued to come to the Port, and ſettle all things at his pleaſure by the ſword. The great Officers in poſſeſſion of the Emperor and gouernment, loath to be called to an account by the ſouldier, tooke a worſe I reſolution, To make a war; and made choice of *Cigala Baſſa* for General: which he refuſed vpon the ſame pretence, that in his abſence alterations would be ſo frequent; and that he ſhould not pleaſe, or at leaſt vncertainly, and according to interpretation. Therefore he would haue an abſolute Dictatorſhip for the time, equall to that of a great Vizier, or elſe he would not ſtir. This was granted him, and mony giuen out, and order to paſſe the water ſpeedily; enrolling for his armie fifteene thouſand Ianizaries and thirty thouſand Spahies. But thoſe *did demur*, and alledged it was a war againſt their owne brethren, and ſought any excuſes rather than to come to blowes. But the ſecret was, it was then *Ramazan*, or their holy Lent, at the end of which they were to receiue their pay; and therefore they would not moue, but pretended religion. Next day after their feaſt, when they ſhould march, they ſhewed themſelues careleſſe K (hauing firſt held many conſultations) and would not march at all, vnleſſe the Emperour or great Vizier would go in perſon. So euery day brought forth new ſubiect of trouble, and the Empire to a great deale of hazard and danger.

Chriſtian Princes at the ſame time with Morat.

- Emperours of Germany,
  - Ferdinand the eleuenth, that now raigneth.
- Kings,
  - Of Great Britaine,
    - King Iames.
    - King Charles, that now raigneth.
  - Of France,
    - Lewis the thirteenth, that now raigneth.
- Biſhops of Rome,
  - Gregorie the fifteenth.
  - Vrban the eighth, that now ſitteth in the Chaire.


MORAT, AVT AMVRATHES IV. ACHMETI FILIVS, TVRCARVM IMPERATOR VNDECIMVS. Anno Domini, 1623.
Ætatis ſuæ xv.
Sculp.

Morat in tender age the Throne aſcends,
for wanton luſt more apt, than princely ends:
Sporting he lies in a luxurious bed,
whileſt Bagdat is by Perſia conquered;
A greater loſſe than this, who can deuine
vnleſſe to loſe the ſeat of *Conſtantine*.
His other Acts, and how he ſtill proceeds
ſhall here enſue in ſtorie of his deeds.

THE RAIGNE OF MORAT, OR AMVRATH, THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, ELEVENTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES; HE THAT NOW SVAYETH THAT MIGHTIE MONARCHIE.

Sultan Muſtapha depoſed, & Sultan Morat placed in his Throne.

VPon the laſt day of Auguſt, Sultan *Muſtapha*, brother of *Achmat*, C who had beene twice Emperour, was depoſed; and Sultan *Morat*, ſonne to *Achmat*, and brother to *Oſman* murthered, the yere before placed in the Throne. But it will not be vntimely nor vnprofitable, to diſcourſe of the cauſes and reaſons of thoſe great mutations, which are the intrinſique part and ſoule of Action.

That State for fifteene moneths after the death of *Oſman*, was a ſtage of varietie, the Souldierie vſurping all gouernment, placing and diſplacing as the winde of fauour or diſfauour moued them. In that time there were three Emperours, ſeuen great Viziers, two Captaine Baſſa's, fiue Aga's of the Ianizaries, three Treaſurers, ſix Baſſa's of Cairo, and in proportion as many changes of Gouernors in all the Prouinces; D euery new Vizier making vſe of his time, diſplacing thoſe in poſſeſſion, and ſelling their fauour to others: ſo as the whole empire was in a manner fined foure or fiue times; ſuch was the eating for a welcome of euery Baſſa to their gouernment. ***Huzein Baſſa*** the laſt Vizier of them (a tyrant hated of all men) conſumed the publique treaſure ſo faſt, and exacted money from priuat men ſo violently, to maintaine his faction with the Ianizaries, that euen the Receiuers were affraid, and weary, and the wiſeſt of them foreſaw their owne ruine in the generall conſumption: when there was any murmure againſt him, he preſently ſilenced it either by gifts or bloud. As ſoone as hee had diſpatched away the Generall *Cigala Baſſa* with the armie for the ſuppreſſion of the great rebellion in Aſia (which vpon the depoſition of *Georgi*, and the making of him Vizier, was E content to march: which he did rather to diſburthen himſelfe of feares, by ſending out of the way the Spahies, who were his oppoſites, than for any loue to the State: which Armie, what inſolencies they committed for thirtie dayes before their paſſing the water, euen in the face of Iuſtice, was as incredible as impoſſible to relate) he ſent priuatly to ſtrangle *Halil Baſſa, Georgi*, and *Muſtapha*, late Viziers; hoping thereby he had remoued all concurrents. Whether this gaue the occaſion, or that his ſinne was ripe for reuenge, the Spahies ſuddenly gathered head, and the old Wolfe fled to his truſtie gard the Ianizaries. The citie was almoſt diuided; but the Spahies ſent their reſolution plainly, being the weaker in number, That they deſired not to come to blowes with their Brethren; but if the Ianizaries would protect *him*, that they ſhould keep him, Conſtantinople, & Greece: but they themſelues would depart and F diſpoſe of Aſia. Which was a bold profeſſion, but eaſie, the forces of the Rebels being of their ſocietie. The wiſeſt foreſaw the perill, and they all agreed to change him; and ſo the Seale was giuen to *Aly Baſſa*, a man reputed honeſt, but melancholie and vntried *for* ſo great a charge. Euery one ſaw thoſe outward wheeles of motion, but the ſpring within that moued them was not ſo ſoon diſcouered: The armie mentioned for Aſia, arriuing at Nicomedia, fiue

dayes iourney from Conſtantinople, ſhewed little obedience; many diſbanded, and the reſt G
hauing no deſire to fight with thoſe of the ſame profeſſion both in Religion and in humour.
The newes came dayly to the Port, of the taking of Forts by *Abaſſa Baſſa* the head of the rebels,
& of other defections and combuſtions in thoſe parts; and that that quarrel was taken vp
againſt the Ianizaries and the preſent gouernment, of whom he ſlew all that fell in his power,
as guiltie of the bloud of *Oſman*. This ſuddenly wakened and ripened the proiect of thoſe
who had plotted ſecretly this alteration. Hereupon the new Vizier *Aly*, with the counſell
of the Mufti and ſome Captaines of the ſouldiers of both Orders, layed their foundation:
They ſhewed the imminent perill and difficultie to reſiſt or preuent it by armes: the Ianizaries
ſaw that they alone muſt (as the marke of enuy) beare the whole burthen; and therefore
all reſolued, that the eaſieſt and ſafeſt way to appeaſe their troubles, was to reſtore the H
true heire, the preſent Emperour; hoping that thoſe who pretended their riſing for the loue
of his brother, and in reuenge of his cauſe, would obey that Prince and quiet themſelues. Vpon
this reſolution they aſſembled at the Seraglio without any tumult, and deſired to haue Sultan
Muſtapha come forth and ſpeake to the ſouldiers, and to anſwer to ſome queſtions: which
he refuſing (as truly vnable) they tooke out Sultan *Morat* and declared him King, with vniuerſall
ioy and acclamation: inſomuch as the Ianizaries (but the day before his oppoſites) being
ſhewed the want of treaſure and the neceſſitie of the State, were content to remit their donatiue
and encreaſe of pay, vſuall at euery change: a wonder that was not like to laſt long, for
many of them did afterwards repent, and demanded it freſhly.

The new Emperour the next day made his ſolemne entry into the city, a youth of fourteene I
yeares of age, fat, and of a liuely countenance, and good ſtature, a Prince of too faire
hopes for ſuch a people; whoſe actions afterward (though vnder gouernment) ſhewed that
he would ſoone know himſelfe, and proue of a ſtirring nature. At the returne of the gallies
from the Blacke ſea, who brought ſome Coſſackes priſoners aliue, and ſome heads of the
dead, he would ſee them all brought before him, a cuſtome vnuſual. This deſire, and ſome anſwers
he gaue, made all men iudge he would be actiue. All ſeemed then ſerene and quiet, and
neuer appeared ſo great a change, euen in affections. The moſt diſordered did then aſſume a
face of obedience (which was once thought to be baniſhed that citie) and choſe rather ſubmiſſion
to Lawes, than threatened deſtruction. The calme was as violent as the ſtorme: The
firſt actions ſhewed peace, but ſo, as to prepare for neceſſitie of war. They ſought out, and K
dayly found the treaſure, plate, and iewels giuen and conueyed away by *Huzcin Baſſa*, which
returned apace, and many voluntarily rendred them. The laſt Aga of the Ianizaries, who
was but three moneths before Caia or Lieutenant (afterward Baſſa of Cairo) did for his part
receiue, and reſtore, eight hundred thouſand dollars, to buy his place and peace: ſo that euery
day made new diſcoueries; onely he that had been the authour of all this was fled away, and
could then by no means be found: whoſe apprehenſion would haue aſſured many, and haue
brought backe a great treaſure.

Aſia in that ſearch for money, and new ſettlement of affaires, was almoſt quite forgotten;
ſo that the armie was ſtayed from proceeding; for it was beleeued, *Abaſſa Baſſa* depended L
vpon the new Emperour for his ſubmiſſion. But they had aduanced too far to truſt to any ſafe
retreat, euen although they were the indirect occaſion of the raiſing of the new Emperor. Yet
the way was not warrantable in the rule of Monarchie, nor perhaps ſincere in the intent; for
kings ſeldom pardon thoſe that are able to be traitors, & haue ſhewed but a wil to reuolt; and
that power is neuer ſecure which is too much. Sometimes they make vſe of traitors as a ſafegard
for the preſent, and for the future a ſubiect of their reuenge. And this Maxime *Haly*
Baſſa in the former great Aſian defection approued with the price of his life, being taken into
the fauour of Sultan *Achmat* in all priuacie, made Baſſa of Buda, and within foure moneths
ſtrangled, vnder colour of putting on a Veſt of honour. Therefore it was doubted, that they
who had diſcouered ſo high thoughts, and exaſperated the Ianizaries, would not ſo eaſily M
depoſe armes, by which onely they might be ſafe; and it was then feared they had intelligence
with Perſia. There reſted one great difficultie, to introduce that awe of maieſty which
had been trampled vnder foot; and it was a great one, when a people, like the ſea, had made
a breach into ancient reuerence, and proſpered; the taſte of wickedneſſe was not ſo eaſily loſt.
It was imagined that theſe changes would worke great effects vpon the bordering parts of
Chriſten-

A Chriſtendome intereſſed,for they intended peace vniuerſally,to recouer mony and a habit of obedience,and ciuil gouernment. To which purpoſe a letter was written to the Baſſa of Buda, to leaue it to his diſcretion in the mouing of armes againſt the Emperor(being lately excited thereto by the prince of Tranſyluania)as a man experienced on the Border to do what ſhould moſt conduce to the ſafetie and profit of the State : for|as they durſt not abſolutely prohibit them,& recal the former licence,fot feare of diſpleaſing *Gabor* & the Baſſa,who were vnited; ſo they would inſinuate their deſires & fears,by way of counſell,now only tending to peace.

In the midſt of this appearing calme,the Ianizaries,ſome repenting (as was ſaid before)and ſome denying their conſent to remit their donatiue and increaſe of pay, did anew ſharpely demand it,with threats of innouation: ſo as they were forced to content them;& euery order of B men and officers,that were not of the ſword,were compelled to contribute to it. The Vizier ſent ſolemnly to the 4 reſident Embaſſadors,to borrow 30000 checquines,as the friends and allies of the Port,to whom in confidence they durſt open their ſecrets. Many old officers,experienced,miſliked this betraying their own wants,as diſhonorable, and vnlike to take effect: which indeed it did not;for mony was ſo abaſed,& trades ſo poore,as the ſtranger had no full purſe. The new emperor to ſerue this turn,gaue out 400000 drams of gold,being his beſt veſſell,to make coine,which was ſtamped baſe, to meet with the inſolencie of the ſoldier, who would take no ſiluer as falſe mony,except in this ſearch the State and citie appeared to be at ſome quietneſſe;only the Baſſa of Cairo(Buſtangi Baſſa to *Oſman*, newly made Baſſa of Buda) ambitiouſly ſeeking the dignitie of grand Vizier by the gift of 100000 checquines,his offer C was ſeemingly accepted,part of the mony paid,& he ſent for priuatly into the Seraglio,as to receiue the ſeale. But the Emperors beſt Counſel within, ſaw how dangerous it was to giue way to ſuch innouations(beſides a priuat grudge,this man being the inſtrument to ſtrangle the queen-mothers eldeſt ſon,when Sultan *Oſman* went to the Poliſh war) where in ſtead of aduancement a hangman took off his head,& his houſe & goods(being very rich)ſeiſed vpon.

The vizier ſent to the foure Chriſtian Embaſſadours reſident at the Port,to borrow 30000 Checquines.

Cantemir-Mirze Baſſa of Siliſtria,was all this time in diſobedience;whom the late Vizier attempted to diſplace,& gaue order to the Chrim Tartar to remoue him by force : But it was thought fit,not to thruſt him further out,& to make him a dangerous enemy: wherfore a confirmation of his gouernment was ſent him,a ſword & a Veſt in all honor ; the Poles diſliking therof,he being their mortal enemy,& remoued at their inſtance in their late treatie of peace.

D At the change of the Emperor, all men hoped for peace with *Abaſſa Baſſa*, the great rebel of Aſia: but he ſhewed he had further intents than to ſet vp the brethren of *Oſman*;when pretending obedience,he ſuddenly aſſaulted,& took the caſtle of Tocat,which is in the Mint of Aſia,7 Beglerbegs and 16 Sanzacks being ioined with him : all that part of Aſia obeyed him ; for he oppreſſed none,only executing his wrath on the Ianizaries. This aduice being brought by a captain of that Order,made much rumor at the Port ; the ſouldiers raiſing a tumult in the ſeraglio,demanded to be led out to the fight,& to haue thoſe of Aſia declared rebels: a councel to this end was held, where they receiued ſo cold an anſwer, that they grew into ſome rage;accuſing two Baſſa's by name,*Halil* & *Georgi*,to haue correſpondence with them;& ſeeming to doubt that the whole ſtate did conniue with this action,to proſecute the firſt deſigne E of *Oſman*, To root out that corrupted Order which did diſorder all gouernment : inſomuch as they openly profeſſed,*If we be true Muſſulmen & the Emperors ſlaues,let vs go out & fight with his enemies & ours;if not,and that you maintain them againſt vs,we are reſolued to die together,and not to be waſted by peeces*. There was much likelyhood of this,but that *Abaſſa Baſſa* had proceeded too far: therfore to ſatisfie the ſoldier,the Banner was ſet out at the gate of the court,and that of the Aga of the Ianizaries at their gate,& war proclaimed, That all the force of the Empire ſhould be ready to march within foure days. When they ſaw this reſolution in the great ones(whether diſſembled,or in good earneſt)that day,being the 18 of October,1623,the Ianizaries and Spahies held a counſel, and changed their mindes ; alleadging,that winter approF ching,and no prouiſion made, that they would not moue. The Viziers were glad,reſpecting their own eaſe;and ſo all Aſia was left to the courteſie of the Rebel and Winter,to giue other friends leiſure to declare;of which the Perſian was moſt doubted. In the meane time *Abaſſa Baſſa* aduanced and tooke the citie of Angria,which was ſurrendered vnto him as ſoone as he came before it,but the caſtle held againſt him;and it was reported,he wept at the gates therof, publiſhing the cauſe of his taking vp arms,which he ſaid was only in reuenge of the bloud of

Abaſſa Baſſa aſſaulted and tooke the caſtle of Tocat.

Oſman; deſiring ſuch as fauoured him, to come on his ſide (diuiding the people) the reſt to depart in peace, euerie man to his own houſe. He did no harm, nor took the value of a pennie: his army was very great, and euery Ianizarie that he could catch, he ſacrificed to the ghoſt of the dead Emperor. Men report, he was firſt aduertiſed by a dream to reuenge: after that, that *Oſman* appeared vnto him, and laſtly *Mahomet*. He called himſelfe the poore *Mechmet* deputed to reform the world, from the great God. The Aſtrologers publikely augured his proſperity; and euery mans diſcourſe was ful of fabulous feares & propheſies. It was ſaid he would come to the Port, and demand audience by Iuſtice, and haue the cauſe betwixt him and the murtherers of their Prince tried by law; and that if he were condemned as a Rebel, he would lay down his head; if they, he would execute the reuenge. And it was generally thought out of the coldnes both of the Emperor & all the Viziers, that he was ſecretly maintained by them, and came to fulfill the deſigne of *Oſman*, to wreſt the gouernment from the mutined ſouldier, and to root out their Order. For al the Lawyers and churchmen ſmiled, and rather reioyced than feared. The Ianizaries openly murmured that they were betraied, and accuſed many, yet they eſcaped, and now few ſpoke againſt him as againſt a Rebel. Yet the firſt of Nouember, whether for colour or earneſt, the great Viziers tents were paſſed ouer the water in haſt, with thoſe of the Aga of the Ianizaries, and all the force which could be then made at the Port, to winter on the other ſide in Bruſcia, to amuſe the rebels & ſtay them til the ſpring: perhaps being willing the blow ſhould be taken on the other ſide, to ſaue the citie from a generall ſacke.

Nouemb. 15. The grand ſeignior ſendeth Abaſſa Baſſa a veſt, a ſword, and a letter.

It was afterwards conſidered, that to preuaile againſt *Abaſſa Baſſa* with armes, was a doubtfull matter, and therefore the Sultan ſent vnto him a Capigi Baſſa, with a Veſt, Sword, and a Letter; giuing him thankes for the loue ſhewed to his brother, and his bloud; but that now the reuenge belonged to himſelfe, of which he would take care; and therefore deſired him, if he were a true ſubiect, to returne to his gouernment of Arzirum, and to diſſolue his armie, and there to reſt vntil further occaſion of ſeruice. Vpon this order from the Emperor, he excuſed himſelfe, That the incommoditie of Winter would not ſuffer him to retire, but promiſed to liue in peace vntill the Spring, and then he would returne in obedience to his gouernment.

The Emir of Sidon takes the citie and caſtle of Damaſcus.

In the interim, the Emir of Sidon poſſeſſed himſelfe of the citie and caſtle of Damaſcus, with ſome other places and forts, as it were in an inſtant, threatening Hieruſalem; hauing demanded ſupplies, or at leaſt neutralitie from the Baſſa of Aleppo. This defection was of greateſt conſequence; becauſe he was a Prince of deſcent, and a pretender in right to thoſe countries; who had foure or fiue good ports to let in Chriſtian ſuccours, with whom it was thought he had intelligence, hauing in the time of *Achmat* retyred to Florence and Rome; and that he was in ſome meaſure able to ſubſiſt of himſelfe, hauing thirtie thouſand ſouldiers in his armie, and a good foundation and eſtate of his owne to maintaine them: And yet his actions were onely lamented at the Port, and no order taken to ſtop or reduce him, excepting ſome letters and promiſes, the ordinarie remedie that was then applied to thoſe manifold troubles. For that State was now in a kind of Lethurgie, hauing no ſence nor wil to make ſhew to feele the inward diſeaſes conſuming it; either becauſe they were vnable for want of money (the treaſure being much exhauſted) or that they were in miſtruſt of their owne ſoldiers, euery day apter to mutine than to fight; or that the neighbourhood of *Abaſſa Baſſa* did amuſe and confound them: and ſo, many circumſtances croſſed one another as the ſymptomes of confuſion, all things being equally feared, and nothing thorowly vndertaken: yet a little more ſenſible they were of *Abaſſa*, the enemie that was neereſt, whoſe followers tooke a paſſage and bridge about foure dayes iourney from Conſtantinople, as if he meant either to poſſeſſe himſelfe thereof for his owne meanes to aduance with his armie; or to keepe it that none ſuddenly from the other ſide might aſſaile him: but howſoeuer, it manifeſted that he was not yet quiet, nor reſolued to obey as he had promiſed. This new attempt of his was very hotly taken at the Port, and many Counſels held: but (as all things do there) the furie once paſt, the warmth cooled by degrees in 3 or 4 days; ſo that only a few more Ianizaries were ſent away to make garriſon, & to defend the paſſages; with whom were employed the *Falſe French Regiment* * and their Colonell, all the force they could then well ſpare. No Spahies entred into that quarrell, as if theſe were purpoſely expoſed to be cut in pieces; which many beleeued, by the faintnes and diſunited manner of their proceedings; or elſe that they went out of themſelues, knowing the danger to be moſt imminent vpon them, and that the Emperour and his

** Enquire of this.*

A Councell did ſtill conniue with the actions of that Baſſa.

Bechir-Subbaſſi ſends his ſon to Sha-Abbas the King of Perſia for ſuccours.

Bechir-Subbaſſi, who had reuolted in Babylon, and held that caſtle againſt the Emperour all the laſt Summer, hauing beene ſtreightly beſieged by *Haſis Achmat Baſſa*, and in danger to be forced, ſent his ſonne to *Sha-Abas* the King of Perſia, for ſuccours: whereupon hee obtained ſome Perſian horſe; vpon the diſcouerie of which, the Baſſa, fearing he ſhould be compelled to raiſe his ſiege, betooke himſelfe to diſſimulation, as if he had ſuch authoritie from the Grand Seigniour; he made a compoſition, and not onely pardoned *Bechir*, and all offences paſt, but conferred the gouernment of that citie and prouince vpon him as Baſſa, and ſo retyred his Armie. Yet although *Bechir-Subbaſſi* was content to free himſelfe from the preſent neceſſity by treaty, yet really he held the place of the Perſian, and to his vſe; whoſe Agent at B the Port demanded both that and Ahiska, as the antient patrimonie of his Anceſtors.

The Prince of Tranſyluania ſummoneth the towne of Tyrnauia.

Bethlem Gabor hauing with great expedition marched ouer Hungarie, and reduced moſt part thereof to his obedience, except the townes of Presburgh, Rab, Romaſa, and ſome few other forts, his armie conſiſting of thirty three thouſand Tranſyluanians and Hungarians, and almoſt as many Turks and Tartars voluntarily following for bootie; met with no ſhew of reſiſtance vntill he approched Tyrnauia, within foure dayes march of the borders of Auſtria: whither ſending before ſome regiments of his horſe, to the number of foure thouſand, to ſummon the towne, they diſcouered ſome Imperiall troupes ſent to make garriſon therein, being two thouſand three hundred foot, and two hundred horſe, and arriued within halfe an Engliſh mile; betweene whom and the citie they thruſt themſelues. Theſe troupes perceiuing they C were ſuddenly preuented, and not knowing how farre the Princes whole armie was behinde, tooke downe a ſmall brooke to a village, and fortified themſelues in a Church and Church-yard walled. The Commander of the Hungars diſpatched away a Currier to *Bethlem Gabor*, with aduiſe that he ſhould ſend him ſome foot with expedition, relating the manner how hee had encloſed this garriſon. In the meane time he ſummoned the Imperialiſts, and told them that he had taken poſſeſſion of Tyrnauia for his Maſter; and at the ſame time ſummoned the towne, and told them, That their ſuccors ſent had yeelded vnto him, keeping all intelligence from one another, and both from attempting any thing. The next day, the Prince with his Vantguard arriued in ſight, and then this Collonell ſent ſome troupes to make guard before one of the Ports very neere the wall. Thoſe Germanes ſhut vp in the Church-yard, ſeeing D the enemies horſe vnder the command of the towne, and no ſhot made at them, beleeued that it was true that the place was rendered: ſo before the foot came vp to force them, they yeelded themſelues, and tooke pay of the Prince, all except ſix and thirty of the principall that had licence to depart. Thoſe being then woon, the citiſens the next day opened their gates, and receiued *Bethlem Gabor* for their Lord, and thus theſe were gained without any ſtroke. From thence he marched directly towards Morauia, and ſent before him a daies iourney eight thouſand horſe to diſcouer and ſpoile. The Emperour finding theſe beginnings vrgent, ordered the brother of the Prince of Licheſtein to draw downe his garriſons from Bohemia and Morauia to the frontire, and ſent the Marqueſſe of Montenegro, with *Colalto*, *Don Balthesar de Marades*, the Count *Sticke-Walſtein*, *Tiffenbacke*, Count *Torquato* kinſman to the Pope, *Sampach*, E and all his principall Captaines to meet them, and to forme an armie for defence. There was gathered together fifteene thouſand beſides the baggage; who being lodged at the foot of an hill in the borders of Morauia, and many of their ſouldiers ſtragling to gather grapes, were by the auantcurriers of *Bethlem Gabor* diſcouered, and preſently beſet, who tooke and ſlew ſeuen hundred. Some eſcaped and gaue the alarme, or elſe the whole Imperiall campe had beene ſurpriſed without ſentinell or guard, they hauing proued as ſeruiceable as the geeſe in the Capitoll. The Hungars hauing gotten the top of the hill, and ſeeing the Bohemian and German armie ſo neere in the bottome, and in ſome confuſion, reſolued to make triall how they were prouided, and made ſhew of a charge; but finding them in better order to receiue them, they retired; one captaine onely aduenturing too neere, was taken priſoner and carried to the F Imperiall quarter; who being examined, told them, That the Prince with a mightie army, would the next night be in ſight, and therefore he aduiſed them to prepare for their ſafetie; for that he came with reſolution to fight, and ouermatching them with number, there was no poſſibilitie of other than death or captiuitie. The Imperials rather ſcorned, than beleeued theſe threatnings: but the captaine aſſuring them it was no time to ieſt with his own life and theirs, they

remoued the next morning,and marched towards a towne called Ghoding vpon the riuer of G
Moran that diuides Hungarie from Morania, about which was a ſmall trench,and within it a
caſtle of ſome defence. The horſe of *Bethlem Gabor* ſeeing them mooue towards that place,
preſſed in a gallop before them,and ſet all the houſes on fire, which burned a day and a night,
vntill the whole was conſumed. In the mean time *Bethlem Gabor* arriued with his armie; and
the Imperialiſts ſtood in battalion to expect their fortune: but the fire being ended,gaue them
leaue to enter among the ruines and aſhes, and to make the beſt of neceſſitie, where they fortified
themſelues,hauing no ſtore of prouiſion. In this eſtate being cloſed about thirteen daies,
it was diſcouered by a priſoner, that they were in great want,and that the ſouldiers began to
mutine; demanding of their captaines either to lead them out to fight,and die like men, or to
make ſuch a partie for them,as their preſent condition would admit. *Don Balthaſar* Generall H
of the horſe, in the name of all the Commanders, gathered the armie together, and acknowledging
to them, firſt the great vertue they had ſhewed to abide at once the aſſaults of perill
and famine,for their honour; and proteſting that their caſe and their Generals,was all one for
matter of allowance, intreated them to ſtrengthen themſelues with hope and conſtancie, and
required of them an vniuerſall promiſe, that they would abide with patience,vntill the end
of October then at hand: if in that time, neither God nor the Emperour ſent them ſuccours,
he would make ſome compoſition for them; not doubting to finde *Bethlem Gabor* a Chriſtian
and a ſouldier, though an enemie; and to this propoſition they all gaue their words and faith.
The reaſon of this ſhort obtained time, proceeded not from any thought of ſupplie from the
Emperour, but from an opinion and cuſtome,that the Turkes would breake vp their campe I
vpon Saint *Demetrius* day the ſix and twentieth of the month of October; neuer vſing to ſtay
longer in the field for the incommodities of Winter; and that now they ſerued in the nature
of voluntaries,and had gotten their prey, it was likely nothing could hold them from riſing:
but if that hope failed them, they then reſolued to giue the ſoldiers leaue to make quarter for
themſelues;the Generals and commanders purpoſing to retire into the caſtle with ſome competent
numbers,which they doubted not to keepe vntill ſupplies or weather ſhould force the
enemie to diſlodge.The Prince of Tranſyluania knowing likewiſe that at that time he ſhould
haue trouble enough to ſtay his ſuccours, and if they ſtaied,he feared they would proue ill
Winter gueſts, and diſcredit him with his Hungars,whom they indifferently ſpoiled, tooke
counſell either to force the enemie by that day,or to winne them by policie; but the later K
was the ſafer way: for it ſeemed he had no deſire to put ſo many perſons of qualitie into the
power of the Turkes, whoſe priſoners by agreement they muſt remaine; and hauing alſo intelligence,
vpon what hopes the Imperialiſts held our, he counterwrought with the Turkes,
to giue him a promiſe to abide with him fifteene daies after Saint *Demetrius*; in which time
hee pretended to deliuer the fort and all into their hands; conjecturing as it ſeemed, that before
that day the Germanes would make ſome ouerture, out of which hee might worke his
owne aduantage, and obtaine his owne ends, and they would admire and feare his power and
credit in the Turkiſh armie: for doubtleſſe he might haue forced them if he had pleaſed,but
then hee had made his eſtate deſperate of any reconciliation with the Emperour,and muſt reſolue
to continue the warre; vncertaine of the conſtancie of the Turkes, aſſured, they beeing L
once retired,would verie late draw againe into the field; and perhaps he doubted the various
ſucceſſe of warre, and of the ſetling of the State of the Grand Seigniour in *Aſia*, where all
things were in diſtemper; and was ſomewhat carefull of his reputation in Chriſtendome,
which he knew was farre aduentured in this action: for which aboue twentie thouſand poore
ſoules loſt their libertie,and indangered their faith. Therfore he made vſe of his time and his
wit,and the Imperials finding themſelues deceiued in the hope of breaking vp of the campe,
now no longer able to ſuſtaine their wants,ſent commiſſioners to him in the Emperors name,
to treat ſome agreement. He ſeeing his fifteene dayes weare out a pace, and the Turkes beginning
to diſlodge,accepted the offer;and that very day,to giue ſatisfaction to the *Port* diſpeeded
one of his chamber in poſt to make known vnto the Vizier(a man not vneaſie to abuſe) M
that he had done his vtmoſt, to detaine the Turkes to Winter in Hungarie; but being not able
longer to hold them together, he was forced to come to a treatie: for to venture to aſſault
the trenches,was full of perill; to riſe without ſome concluſion,were to quit the place,to honour
the enemie, and to weaken his owne reputation: to continue the ſiege after the depar-

A ture of his ſuccours, would hazard his owne armie into mutinie: therefore he was reſolued
to make a truce for eight moneths; that ſeeing the Grand Seigniour had conſented to receiue
the Emperours Embaſſadour, time might be allowed for treatie and finall concluſion. He gaue
him inſtruction to ſay, That as then he had not fully agreed, but that it was reſolued on to
be done, onely with a formall reſeruation of the approuement of the Viziers, without which
it ſhould be held as not don: That he ſhould require the finall reſolution of the Port, whether
the Grand Seigniour would continue conſtant, and maintaine him in the warre, or not: if they
reſolued vpon warre, then to demand prouiſion of munition, money, ſouldiers, and all other
neceſſaries in ſeaſon, and in a meaſure, in thoſe times impoſſible: If they deſired peace, that
they ſhould giue a draught of what conditions they affected. But withall, an abſolute power
B to himſelfe to mitigate them, and to make ſuch other at his diſcretion, as the neceſſitie of the
affaires and time required for the profit of his Empire. The Prince at the firſt arriuall of the
Commiſſioners at his quarter, diſcouered ſome jealouſie and diſcontent in ſome of his followers,
Bohemians, and Germanes: whereupon he called before him moſt of his Commanders,
and deſired them not to miſtruſt him; he ſhewed ſome reaſons why he might be inforced
to make a truce; but proteſted he would neuer depoſe Armes, nor conclude a finall peace
with the Emperor, except he would alſo diſarm, and leaue thoſe Prouinces and the Empire in
quiet. For though it were a hard choice for him to be bitten by a Wolfe, or by a dog (which
were his owne words) yet ſeeing he could better truſt the one, than the other, he would make
vſe of one to curbe the other. This gaue not full ſatisfaction; but the words of a Prince muſt
C be currant payment, becauſe they beare his ſtampe; for his meaning, or what he treated, hee
truſted none withall but his owne breſt. The meſſenger hee ſent vnto the Port, played his
part ſo well and ſecretly, as he gaue ſatisfaction to that State, readie enough to beleeue well,
and procured a ratification of the truce ſuppoſed then to be made; and for inſtructions in the
intended treatie, he propounded in his Maſters name, three articles, and one commiſſion. Firſt,
That the Emperor ſhould diſclaim all right and title to Hungarie, and ſhould leaue the people
free, and the Prince of Tranſyluania to gouerne them. Secondly, That the Princes, and all the
Prouinces that had ſent their embaſſadors and Preſents to the Port, and had made league with
him, and had taken the Imperiall protection, ſhould bee reſtored to their priſtine libertie and
eſtates. Thirdly, That the Emperour ſhould pay a tribute of fortie thouſand dollars for Auſtria,
D pretended to be granted in the daies of Sultan *Solyman*. But the Commiſſion was the key
of the worke, whereby the Prince, with the counſell of the Baſſa of Buda, obtained full power
at his owne diſcretion, if he found peace conuenient, to make and conclude it; this laſt being,
(as was ſuppoſed) the end and ſcope of *Bethlem Gabors* deſires; the other propoſitions onely
a garniſhing, to make the Turkes beleeue that he was carefull of their ſeruice; and the Emperour,
that he was verie powerfull, and much eſteemed at the Port. Which all men imagined
would produce an end of thoſe wars: For the Prince of Tranſyluania confeſſed, that he drew
not in the Turkes for any need he had of their ſuccours, nor for any benefit intended to them,
but to make a glorious ſhew to the Emperour, of his credit with the Grand Seigniour, thereby
to facilitate his ends.

A truce betweene the Emperour and the Prince of Tranſiluania

E After ſome time ſpent in treatie with the Commiſſioners of the army, a truce was taken betweene
the Prince of Tranſyluania and the Marqueſſe *De Monte Negro*, Generall for his Imperiall
Maieſtie, before the town of Ghoding on the frontier of Morauia, where the Germans
were beſieged; and letters preſently written thereof by the Prince to the great Vizier, which
were dated the tenth of Nouember. The mediatour betweene them was the Palatine *Staniſlaus
Turzow* an Hungarian. The articles of greateſt importance, or that were then publiſhed
to the world, were foure:

The articles of the truce.

I. *That on both parts Armes ſhould be depoſed for ten moneths (ending the ſixth of September
F 1624) and all other acts of hoſtilitie giuen ouer. That there ſhould of neither ſide any
attempt be made, nor by force nor fraud to take any Caſtles, Forts, Cities, or places of defence
during this time; and that both Germanes, Hungars, and Turkes, ſhould be alike
comprehended.*

II. *That if the Emperour were deſirous to treat and conclude a finall peace with the Grand*

Seigniour, he ſhould vſe Bethlem Gabor *as the mediatour, and doe nothing therein without his priuitie.*

III. *That all the places and fortes, taken in by the Prince of Tranſyluania in his late expedition, ſhould reſt quiet in his poſſeſſion vntill the time expired: And that all Cities and caſtles now in the poſſeſſion of either, ſhould ſo remaine without any alteration.*

IIII. *That all paſſages ſhould be open for free trade, and ſecure entercourſe of marchants, and all other the ſubiects and friends of either ſide.*

This done, the Prince of Tranſyluania made a ſhew of redeeming all the poore captiues, taken by the Turks at his own charge, with ſome help from the Imperials, vpon whom he laid H the blame, as hauing failed to meet him vpon a paſſage of water, where he entertained the Turkiſh army: but they not comming, hee pretended the Turkes roſe in the night, and carried them all away to the number of twentie thouſand.

The Hungars ſet vpon the Turkes in their retreat.

The Prince warned the Turkes to keepe in order, and not to ſtraggle in their retrait, nor to commit any inſolencie and ſpoile, the countrey being all in armes and alreadie enraged: but they followed not his councell, which cauſed ſome two thouſand Hungarian horſe to ſet vpon them as they were diuided, and ſlew fiue or ſix hundred of them, and recouered ſome priſoners, whereupon the Turks vnited and returned, and killed as many of the Hungars, tooke one man of quallitie, and many other ſlaues.

The King of Perſia inuades the Prouince of Babylon.

I Vpon aduice from *Haſis Baſſa* General of the Prouince of Babylon, That the King of Perſia with a powerfull armie, had entered thoſe quarters, and that both the citie and that countrey would be loſt, if aides did not arriue verie ſpeedily; and the Rebels in Aſia continuing their inſolencie, a warre was ſuddenly proclaimed at the Port, in ſuch termes as neuer had beene heard of in former times; to ſay, That whoſoeuer tooke pay of the Grand Seigniour in any kinde as a ſouldier, if hee came not to the Rendeuous appointed with his armes, ſhould bee confiſcated, eſteemed as a Rebell, and his wife and children ſold for ſlaues. This was ſent into Greece, Natolia, Trabizond, and all the vtmoſt confines of the Turkiſh Empire. Hereupon the Grand Seigniour and the wiſeſt of the Baſſaes, inclined to buy *Abaſſa Baſſa*, and to ſend him a generall pardon and grant of all his demands, vpon condition, that he would preſently march and turne his army againſt the common enemie; K fearing either the doubtfulneſſe of a battell with deſperate men, or to force him to retire and joyne with the Perſian, where he might be well receiued. And as the preſent condition of the State then ſtood, the councell was good; but the Ianizaries would not conſent nor hearken to any reconcilement with their profeſſed enemie; but required to be led out againſt *Abaſſa Baſſa* firſt, and ſo to proceed in the warre: and becauſe their owne Aga (brother in law to the Empetour) did not concurre with them in opinion, they mutined againſt him, who wiſely gaue way to the ſtorme, and ſurrendered his charge; to which a Page of the Court was preſently aduanced. Thus, while it was vnreſolued how to proceed againſt the Perſian and *Abaſſa Baſſa* ioyntly, who continued to ſpoile and put to ranſom all Aſia the leſſe, and could not be reconciled for the Ianizaries, nor ſafely attempted for the Spahies (betweenwhich two Orders) there was as yet bad intelligence L and emulation: the King of Perſia conquered the prouince and Citie of Babylon, put to flight *Haſis Achmet Baſſa* the Generall of that defenſiue warre, and tooke priſoner *Chur Haſſen Baſſa* a renowned old Souldier, cut in pieces all that oppoſed him, poſſeſſed himſelfe of * Moſul, and Leska on the Perſian Sea, and diuiding his armie, ſent part towards Van and Diarbeck, and the other towards Mecha, as if he had hope and deſigne to ſhare all the Eaſterne part of the Turkiſh Empire.

**Nininie.*

Touching the affaires of Tunes and Algier.

His Maieſtie the King of Great Britaine, hauing by his firſt letters in 1621, complained to the Grand Seigniour, and commanded his Embaſſadour to ſeeke redreſſe againſt the Piracies and inſolencies of the inhabitants of Algier and Tunes, who in the two former yeares, had taken M aboue a hundred ſhips and veſſels of all ſorts, and had made ſlaues of aboue twelue hundred of his Maieſties ſubiects: and had then vpon their wharfs, a thouſand pieces of yron ordnance, beſides thoſe in their ſhipping, taken from the Engliſh and Dutch: The Embaſſadour preſſing to obtain juſtice againſt them, or that they might be abandoned and left to the

A Iuſtice of his Maieſtie, without offence of the Port; the great Vizier offered to giue what Commands ſhould be required. But He knowing how weake effect thoſe Letters of courſe had produced in other occaſions, and how little obedience and reſpect thoſe common theeues did beare vnto the Port (the Baſſa's themſelues conniuing, and nouriſhing thereby their own gain) eſpecially conſidering, that what face ſoeuer, and ſeeming diſlike was ſhewed & pretended, yet inwardly the Turks did take pleaſure and glory, that the Chriſtian was robbed weakened and ſpoyled, vnder the ſhadow of peace; did vtterly refuſe to accept of ſuch feigned remedies, but inſiſted vpon two points, whereby only there might be ſome hope of redreſſe in that affaire:

Firſt, That the Grand Seigniour would ſend an expreſſe Chiaus to Algier and Tunes, to B call to the Port ſome of the principall inhabitants and aduenturers, of all the Orders of thoſe cities, ſuch as ſent and armed out the ſhips of courſe; that being conuented face to face, and accuſed and conuinced of matter of the fact, the State might be truly informed of the conſequence of their outragious theeuerie, and prouide ſuch remedie as ſhould be requiſite and ſufficient in the future, to ſecure the commerce and free nauigation in thoſe ſeas.

Secondly, That the Baſſa's who were ſent from the Port rather for cuſtome and pretence of dominion, than for any great fruit or hope of obedience (yet becauſe they returned at the end of their gouernment, they might be reſponſible for matters concerning themſelues) might receiue ſtrict and abſolute order, not to take any tenths of the prizes, becauſe being diſintereſſed, and ſharing no profit, there might be more hope, by their authoritie, of execu- C tion of the Grand Seigniours pleaſure in reſtraint of their robberies.

Theſe Propoſitions found at firſt much oppoſition; but the Embaſſador refuſing all other ordinarie and vneffectiue means, required either this forme of proceeding; or, that the grand Seignior would declare them out of his protection, and ſtanding neutrall leaue them to their owne defence: proteſting, That this courſe was taken for good reſpect to the Port; yet if really ſome order were not eſtabliſhed, that there was no remedie but to redreſſe theſe iniuries by the ſword, and to puniſh thoſe Barbarians as *Inimici humani generis*, publike enemies of mankind. Deſiring the Viziers to take it to ſerious conſideration, that ſeeing amitie and correſpondence betweene the Kingdome of England and the Turkiſh Empire, did principally and almoſt integrally depend vpon commerce and traffique, the whole foundation was ſhaken D and made vſeleſſe to both, by the interruption of thoſe theeues. Theſe reaſons concurring with the diſtemper of thoſe times, and their owne feares, ſo farre preuailed, that by a generall conſultation it was concluded, to ſatisfie the Embaſſadour in his owne wayes: and accordingly a meſſenger was diſpatched from the Port to call to Iuſtice ſome of all the Orders, to anſwer as Deputies for the Cities, before the Vizier and Diuan, in ſuch accuſations as ſhould be obiected againſt them.

This negotiation was begun and finiſhed, as much as concerned the authoritie of the Grand Seigniour, in the yeare 1622; but being not perfected and tranſacted vntill the next, and that time full of various mutations, we haue thought fit to continue the thred of the former E hiſtorie, and not to mingle and confound it with relations of ſeuerall and vnlike ſubiects and natures: and though this part be found a little out of his owne time, yet both will be the cleerer by the diſſeueration.

The Baſſa and inhabitants of Algier hauing receiued letters by *Mehemet Aga*, both reprehending them for inſolencies committed vpon the Engliſh nation, and commanding them to keepe the peace of the Empire, and to bring with him ſome of the principall of that gouernment; did elect foure and twentie Commiſſioners (amongſt whom, the Mufti was both the head and aduocate) and gaue them inſtructions and order to recriminate and accuſe the Engliſh of many depredations and iniuries: hoping thereby, either to extenuate their owne offence, or by pretending iuſt cauſe, to leaue themſelues at libertie to continue their piracies. And F the Baſſa and Citie of Tunes hauing receiued by the ſaid Meſſenger reprehenſions and commands to the like effect, they reſolued in their paſſage to Conſtantinople to conſult with their fellowes of Tunes, who ioyned to them two of their Councell, and gaue them inſtructions to be aſſiſtant: but with this caution, that they ſhould not declare themſelues openly, but to obſerue the proceedings of thoſe of Algier, and to conforme with them, that if they were enforced to make peace, they ſhould concurre and be comprehended; but if it were poſſible for both to eſcape, that they ſhould leaue the breach open, and themſelues at liberty. G

They arriued together at Conſtantinople in the moneth of Nouember, in that yeare in the raigne of *Muſtapha*, and made their firſt addreſſes priuatly to the Engliſh Embaſſadour; ſubtilly pretending to end all differences ſecretly with him, becauſe they were vnwilling to anſwer and diſcouer to Iuſtice what infinite ſpoiles they had gotten; and that if they could accommodate with him, and treat without the authoritie of the Port, they reſolued to promiſe any thing, which they meant not to obſerue, and ſo eſcaping for the preſent, they hoped to do more miſchiefe, by the aduantage of the ſecuritie of the Engliſh, and their owne breach of faith. But the Embaſſadour refuſed to treat with them, as being ſubiects, and not *ſui iuris*, and to giue them any hearing, but in the preſence and by the mediation of the great Vizier. H Whereupon they applied themſelues and returned to their reſolution of complaint: And the Embaſſadour proſecuting their accuſation, after many meetings and diſputes, by the interpoſition of *Halil Baſſa* there was an *Amneſtia* accepted on both parts, and a peace concluded on the Articles and conditions enſuing. Which were ratified by the proper ſignature of the grand Seignior *Muſtapha*, and reconfirmed by Sultan *Morat*, proclaimed in Tunes and Algier, and recommended by ſeuerall letters from the Vizier and Captaine Baſſa, to the Baſſa's, Caddees, * and Councell of both Cities.

* *Iudges.*

Imperiall Commands ſent by the Grand Seigniour to the Baſſa's of Tunes and Algier, Caddees, Aga of the Ianizaries, Dyes, Captaines, Antients, and other Gouernors.

I

OVr high and Imperiall Firm° being come vnto you; Know, That from the time of our great Grandfather, Grandfather, and Father of happy memorie, the Kings of England haue alwayes been firme and conſtant with all ſinceritie, in friendſhip, league, and correſpondencie with the Imperiall Port, our glorious Progenitors, and with our Maieſtie. And in conformitie of the Imperiall Capitulations, league, and Peace heretofore agreed on betweene both parties, and alwayes vntill now obſerued of Vs; K Foraſmuch as the Engliſh Nation, their Merchants and ſubiects, with their merchandiſe, ſhips, and goods, are free to come and go, traffique and negotiate ſafe and ſecure in all the parts of our Empire; it hauing neuer beene our Imperiall will and permiſſion, that by any of our ſubiects or ſlaues they ſhould at any time be troubled, ſpoyled, or damnified. Which Nation while (vnder the ſhadow of our iuſtice and protection) they paſſe through the ſeas with their ſhips and goods for traffique and negotiation, diuers of you my ſlaues of Algier and Tunes, without conſideration or reſpect of the friendſhip, peace, and league betweene vs and the ſaid King, whereſoeuer you meet with the ſhips of the ſaid Nation, either at ſea, or in any port or hauen, you take the ſaid ſhips, ſpoyling them of their goods and merchandiſes, making ſlaues and killing the men which you find in their ſhips, a thing not onely vniuſt, but alſo contrarie to our Imperiall Capitulations. Wherefore, L that for the time to come the ſaid nation ſhould not be ſo vniuſtly ſpoyled and indamaged, there haue been ſent to you diuers times our Imperiall and expreſſe commands: But you ſhewing your ſelues arrogant and diſobedient (as we vnderſtand) do ſtill continue to rob and ſpoile the ſaid Engliſh, contrarie to our ſaid Capitulations, intention and will. The concourſe of Merchants and traffique being the nutriment and ſplendor of Kingdomes; you ſhall vnderſtand, that it is by no meanes our Imperiall will, that the ſaid Nation, now in league and friendſhip with vs, be any more in like ſort, contrarie to our capitulation, will, and promiſe, ſpoyled and moleſted. Which iniuries and other wrongs done vnto them, being a great diſhonour to our State and Imperiall Maieſtie, all you haue not only deſeruedly fallen into our diſpleaſure, but alſo are worthy of all diſgrace, ſhame, and puniſhment. And to the end hereafter all things may be performed by you according to the tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations, M and that all ſuch as haue committed ſuch inſolencies and ſpoyles, be apprehended and worthily puniſhed, we haue at this preſent vnder our Imperiall hand affirmed and commanded, and haue ſent you this our Imperiall Commandement by this bringer our ſeruant Mehemet Aga, *who as ſoone as he ſhall be there arriued, we command you that you call together all, great and ſmall, noble and meane, which dwell in the ſaid place of Tunes, and publiquely in the preſence of them all, with a loud*

voyce

A *voice you ſhall reade this our Imperiall commandement. And after that, with the aſſiſtance and*
aid of this our Meſſenger, you haue deliuered into the hands of the Engliſh men, there appointed
for the ſame, without further excuſe and delay, all ſuch Engliſhmen, their goods and merchandiſes
and ſhips, which haue been taken, contrarie to our Imperiall capitulations, from the ſaid Nation;
all thoſe tranſgreſſors and malefactors, whoſoeuer they be, who haue committed theſe outrages,
and cauſed ſuch diſturbance to the peace, league, and friendſhip, you ſhall without any fauour chaſtiſe
and puniſh according to their deſerts. And afterward ye ſhall haue care, that the Nation, Merchants
and ſubiects of England be not ſo vniuſtly ſpoyled, hurt, or moleſted, contrary to our Imperiall promiſe
and will. Therefore you ſhall publiquely proteſt and declare vnto all, That hereafter no man do
trouble or moleſt them, but rather meeting them in any place whatſoeuer by ſea or land, to helpe and
B *ſuccour them, obſeruing the termes of true peace and friendſhip, according to the tenor of our Imperiall*
Capitulations; and that euery one take heed and beware, that he doe, or permit nothing to be
done contrarie to our will, peace, and Imperiall Capitulation. And eſpecially you ſhall looke and procure
all things to be obſerued, conformable to this our Imperiall will. And if, according to the antient
cuſtome, the King of England will eſtabliſh there any Conſul, we command, that the ſaid Conſul,
as alſo the Merchants and other ſubiects, be accepted, aſſiſted, and protected at all times, according
to the intention of our Imperiall Capitulation. And all of you, with all your care, endeauour,
and diligence, ſhall alwaies prouide that the ſaid Nation may paſſe free and ſecure vnder our Imperiall
protection and ſhadow, and traffique and negotiate, buy and ſell through all the parts of our dominions,
to their content and full ſatisfaction. And if after the date of this our Imperiall Commandement,
C *we ſhall vnderſtand that the ſaid Nation be againe robbed and ſpoyled by you; be you hereof*
aſſured, that our true ſlaues and ſubiects are thoſe which do obey our Lawes and commands, and obſerue
our will, as alſo it is written in our Alcoran, Obey God, the Prophet, and your ſoueraigne
Lord: *But thoſe that do not obey nor obſerue our Lawes and commandements, are not our*
ſlaues nor ſubiects, but rather by their diſobedience do fall into our diſpleaſure, diſgrace, and malediction.
For which, our Imperiall commands ſhall be ſent throughout all the parts of our Empire,
eſpecially to Tunes and Algier, and to all the Ports of Natolia and Grecia, and to what places ſoeuer
elſe they ſhall come, to be alwayes driuen from thence, abandoned, and puniſhed, and by all our Officers
and gouernors perſecuted. Therefore take you heed, that you ſay not hereafter you were not warned
hereof before hand, but giue notice publiquely vnto all men, of the effect of this our command,
D *and look that you cauſe euery man to be obedient thereunto. By which doing, you ſhall be bleſſed of God,*
and obtaine our fauour: for if the ſaid Engliſh nation be againe troubled and moleſted, and the king
of England do ſend any forces againſt thoſe tranſgreſſors, to chaſtiſe and puniſh them, do you conſider,
that it ſhall diſpleaſe vs, that ye are the cauſe to diſturbe the peace and friendſhip betweene vs.
Therefore take heed and beware of all ſuch actions as may any way tend to the diſturbance and violating
of our ſaid peace and friendſhip. And it being our chiefeſt deſire, that this buſineſſe be duly fulfilled
and effected when this our Imperiall commandement ſhall come vnto you, and that you haue performed
our will therein, and ſhall haue deliuered into the hands of the Engliſhmen, all ſuch men,
ſhips, and goods as haue been taken from them, you ſhall aduiſe vs particularly and punctually thereof,
and in what maner you haue ſatiſfied and contented them, and ſend the ſame to our Imperial Port.
E *And all this let be knowne vnto you, giuing alwayes credit and obedience to our Imperiall Firmo.*

Written the laſt of the Moone *Gemaziel Ahir*, from the departure of the Prophet 1031. Giuen at Our Imperiall
Citie of Conſtantinople.

The great Viziers Letters to the Baſſa's of Algier and Tunes.

F

TO *the high and honourable Baſſa: To whoſe noble preſence ſendeth infinite ſalutations tending vnto all loue: And to the honoured among the Iudges, and Fountaine of wiſedome and eloquence, the* Caddee *of Algier, whoſe wiſedome be encreaſed: and to the renowned among the great*

and honourable men, the Aga of the Ianizaries of Algier, whoſe dignitie be augmented; and to G
the famous amongſt their equals the Dye and Captains of ſquadrons and companies, and other chieftaines
and antients, whoſe dignitie be aduanced.

AFter our louing ſalutations ſent vnto you, our aduice is this: Whereas of a long time the Kings
of England, with all ſinceritie and good correſpondencie, haue alwaies beene true, firme, and conſtant
friends to this Imperiall Port and our Emperour, Soueraigne of the whole earth, whoſe Empire
the mercifull God protect vntill the day of Iudgement; and according to the ſaid friendſhip, league,
and Imperiall capitulations agreed on betweene both parties, It was alwaies the minde and intention
of our Emperor, That the Nation, Marchants, and ſubiects of England, might with their ſhips
and merchandiſes, goe and come, negotiate and traffique, ſafe and ſecure through all the parts of our H
Empire, and that they ſhould by no man be troubled, moleſted, or hindered. Notwithſtanding, diuers
of the ſlaues of Algier, without reſpect or regard of the ſaid friendſhip and amitie, and contrarie to the
Capitulations, minde and will of our Emperour; whereſoeuer either at ſea, or in any Port they meet
with any the ſaid Engliſh ſhips, they rob and ſpoile them, and take away their goods, and the men they
kill and make ſlaues: which wrongs and grieuous offences, that they might be remedied and amended,
diuers times many expreſſe orders, proteſts, and other commands haue beene ſent to you. But becauſe
the ſaid ſlaues of Algier could not be quieted, but rather do continue to commit the ſame inſolencies
(whereof his Maieſtie hath beene againe amply enformed) to wit of their diſobedience againſt the
will of his Imperiall Maieſtie, and of the loſſes and wrongs continually done to the ſaid Nation; he
hath now vnder his Imperiall hand affirmed and commanded and ſent you his Imperiall commandement, I
to the end the ſaid malefactors may be apprehended and duly puniſhed: for which end we haue
alſo thought it neceſſarie to ſend you this our preſent letter, which when you ſhall receiue, it behoueth
eſpecially that you vſe all your diligence and care, about this particular buſineſſe: and cauſe that
in the publique aſſemblie and preſence of all, great and ſmall, noble and meane, ſouldiers, Gouernours
and others, the ſaid Imperiall command bee read; and that all ſuch perſons as haue committed ſuch
diſobedience and ſpoiles, be apprehended, and with the aſſiſtance and aid of the bringer hereof, and the
ſaid commandements, let all ſuch ſhips, goods, and men, be taken and recouered from them, which they
haue taken from the Engliſh, and all entirely without any contradiction bee deliuered and giuen into
the hands of the Engliſhmen there appointed to receiue the ſame; puniſhing ſeuerely all ſuch whoſoeuer
they be, which haue committed ſuch ſpoiles and robberies, as diſturbers of the peace & amitie; K
and yet ſhall cauſe, that in time to come no hurt or violence be done to the ſaid Engliſh Nation, their
goods, ſhips, or men, by any perſon whatſoeuer. And if (according to the Imperiall Capitulation and
antient cuſtome) the King of England will eſtabliſh there any Conſull, you ſhall receiue him with
all courteſie, and protect him in all occaſions. And to conclude, you ſhall be carefull to fulfill and obſerue
all ſuch orders as are written in the Imperiall commandement, foraſmuch as the will of the
Emperour is, That the ſaid Nation may be in peace and quiet eſtate. And if after the date hereof
we ſhall heare, that the ſaid Nation be againe ſo damnified and ſpoiled, your diſobedience thereby will
euidently appeare, and that all is done with your knowledge and approbation. Wherefore know yee
for certaine, that our Emperour will inflict the ſame puniſhment vpon you, which is due to ſuch offendors. L
Therefore with all your diligence and care you ſhall prouide, that none be permitted at any time
to commit the like ſpoiles, nor to fauour any ſuch whomſoeuer: but you ſhall alwaies obſerue and fulfill
the will and command of his Maieſtie, and not ſuffer any fact to be done by any man, preiudiciall
thereunto.

A Letter from the Captaine Baſſa to *Iſuph Dye*, in Tunes.

M

TO the eſteemed among his equals **Iſuph Baſſa**, whoſe dignitie be euer augmented. After our
reſpectiue ſalutations, we let you know, That whereas for many yeares paſt, vntill this preſent,
the Kings of England haue euer beene ſincere friends to this Imperiall Port, diuers of the ſouldiers
and other officers of Tunes and Algier, without regard and reſpect to the peace and Imperiall Capitulations,
meeting either at Sea or in any harbor the Engliſh ſhips, they do take and ſpoile them and iniuſtly

A iuſtly rob them of all their lading and facultie, impriſoning and killing the ſubiects and people of
the ſaid King of England. Wherefore to the end that hereafter, contrarie to the antient League,
Peace, and Imperiall Capitulations, the ſaid Engliſh may no more be moleſted and ſpoyled, and that
ſuch tranſgreſſors of the Imperiall will, command, and Capitulation, may by all means be found and
duely puniſhed: by this preſent bearer here is ſent an expreſſe Imperiall command; in conformitie
whereof this our letter is written particularly to you. Which arriuing, it is conuenient, and it behoo-
ueth you, that you eſpecially vſe all your diligence and care, that from henceforth the ſaid Engliſh
nation may no more, contrarie to the will, minde, and Imperiall Capitulations, bee ſo vniuſtly
damnified; but that you liue with them in all good peace and friendſhip; and that all ſuch which
ſhall tranſgreſſe, and commit any act contrarie to the Imperiall will and capitulations, may be puniſhed
B by Iuſtice, the which with all your power and diligence you ſhall attend to fulfill and obſerue.

A Letter from the Captaine Baſſa, to the Baſſa Caddee, and other the Officers of Algier.

TO the great and illuſtrous Baſſa, and to the fountaine of wiſedome, my Lord the Caddee; and to
the great and courteous Lord the Ianizari-Aga of Algier in Affrica, whoſe degrees be alwaies
C augmented; and to the eſteemed among their equalls, the worthy Dyes and Captaines of the
footmen, Leaders of Companies and ſquadrons, and other gouernors; and to all Commanders of ſhips,
and other the Antients of the Countrey, whoſe dignitie be alwaies encreaſed. To whoſe preſence
hauing ſent infinite ſalutation, our louing and faithfull aduice is this; Whereas from antient times
vntill this day, the Kings of England haue euer remained firme and perfect friends with the Imperiall
and high Port, and the will of his Maieſtie hath euer beene, that according to the peace, league,
friendſhip, and capitulations long ſince contracted on both parts, the ſubiects of England might at
all times ſafely and ſecurely go traffique and negotiate in all parts of the Imperiall dominion; and
that no iniurie or moleſtation ſhould be done vnto them by any perſon whatſoeuer. In conformitie
whereof, while the ſaid Nation vnder the ſhadow of the Imperiall protection doe paſſe in the ſeas in
D their affaires of merchandiſe and buſineſſe, diuers of the ſouldiors and other Officers of Algier,
without reſpect or conſideration that the ſaid Nation are in league and peace with our Emperor, meeting
them in the ſea, or in harbour, they do take the ſaid ſhips, and doe carrie away their goods and
merchandiſe, impriſoning or killing the men found therein. And whereas in times paſt, that the Imperiall
Capitulations might haue bin obeyed and obſerued, and the ſaid Nation no more in ſuch manner
iniuried and damnified, there haue been diuers expreſſe Imperiall commands ſent vnto you. But
now of new, his Maieſtie hauing beene fully informed of your diſobedience continued againſt his
Imperiall will, and of the iniuries and outrages committed vpon the ſaid Nation; and conſidering,
that commerce and traffike of Merchants are both the nutriment and ſplendor of kingdomes, and that
a nation now in league and peace with the Imperiall Maieſtie, ſhould be ſo vniuſtly, contrarie to the
E Imperiall Capitulations, wronged and moleſted, to the great indignitie of the Empire, and diſhonour
to the fame of his Maieſtie. To the end that from henceforth the antient league and peace may be
truly obſerued, and the Imperiall Capitulations duely obeyed, and that all ſuch tranſgreſſors and malefactors
may be ſpeedily taken and ſeuerely puniſhed, his Maieſtie hath now vnder his Imperiall
hand affirmed and commanded, with which we alſo ſend you our preſent letter: Which arriuing, we
do hope that all you will be obedient, and euer obſerue the tenour of the ſaid Imperiall Commands:
and that all ſuch that ſhall hereafter tranſgreſſe the will, command, and Imperiall Capitulations of
his Maieſtie, and ſhall commit any act contrary thereto, be duely puniſhed according to Iuſtice. And
that you will take care to liue quietly and in peace, and with all your diligence that you follow and
obey the will of his Maieſtie.

F

The Capitulations or agreement of the Peace made with Tunes and Algier.

Let infinite laud and praiſe be alway giuen to the moſt omnipotent God, *who of his great mercie and grace hath bleſſed this world with peace and tranquilitie, for the ſafetie and repoſe of his people: In conformitie to whoſe diuine will and pleaſure, the moſt inuincible and mighty Emperour hath alway entertained peace and amitie with all thoſe who haue deſired his friendſhip, that both rich and poore, and all ſorts of people might lie at their eaſe and content, to giue thankes, and ſerue the diuine Maieſtie. Which moſt bleſſed peace and correſpondence hath euer beene obſerued by all the* Ottoman *Emperours. Therefore whereas heretofore in the happy time, of famous memorie, of* Sultan Morat Han *now tranſlated into Paradiſe (vpon whoſe ſoule let the diuine mercies be multiplied) the kings of England, according to that truth and integritie infuſed into them, hauing alwaies made demonſtration of their loue and ſinceritie to this happy Port, then on both ſides there was concluded and eſtabliſhed a true peace and amitie, ana from that time to this preſent haue maintained their Embaſſadours here: And whereas there was then granted and giuen to the Engliſh nation an Imperiall Capitulation and priuiledge (To ſay) That the ſubiects and merchants of England, with their ſhips and faculties might freely and ſecurely nauigate in our ſeas, and traffique and negotiate at their owne pleaſure and content, in any part of the Imperiall dominion: Notwithſtanding, ſome yeares paſt there haue happened ſome diſcontents and quarrels betweene the ſaid Engliſh nation and the Souldierie of Tunes and Algier; and thereupon haue ſucceeded diuers acts of hoſtilitie, and mutuall damages, contrarie to the honour of the ſaid Imperiall Capitulation: for which cauſe, the mightie and famous Prince, among the Princes of the faith of Jeſus, obeyed of the greateſt followers of the Meſſiah, onely Gouernor of the important affaires of the Nazaren nation, Soueraigne of the limits of honour and power, Lord of greatneſſe and authoritie, the benigne and ſincere friend, the glorious* IAMES *King of England, to whoſe affaires we wiſh all proſperitie, and whoſe laſt dayes may be filled with honour and felicitie, hath ſent to this happy and high Port his elect, eſteemed, and prudent Embaſſadour Sir* Thomas Roe, *Knight, with his Royall Letters; complaining vehemently againſt the ſaid Souldierie of Algier and Tunes. The ſubſtance of which letters being ſignified to the Imperiall maieſtie our Emperor, he with his own proper hand and Imperial ſeale hath expreſſly commanded, and giuen his Imperiall order, that the people of Algier and Tunes for the future ſhould alway be obedient and obſeruant, according to the Imperiall Capitulations, and ſhould neuer commit nor make ſhew of any act contrarie thereunto. Which Imperiall command and Edict wee hauing ſent to thoſe cities by one* Mutafaraca *of the high court, and our eſteemed Capigi Baſſa* Mahomet Aga; *who ariuing there, and cauſing the Imperiall commands to be read with a loud voyce, in publique Conncell, and in preſence of the Beglerbegh and the whole Souldierie of the countries, euery one of them with all readineſſe and ſubmiſſion did ſhew themſelues obedient to the ſaid Orders and Edicts of his Imperiall Maieſtie. But withall replied, That while we did remaine conſtant and firme in the peace with the Engliſh nation, ſome of their ſhips, contrary to the capitulation, league, and friendſhip long ſince contracted on both parts, haue done diuers damages and iniuries vnto vs. And whereas from vs there ſhould neuer any action proceed contrary to the ſaid Imperiall Capitulations, the*

ſaid

A ſaid Engliſh Nation oftentimes made warre vpon vs; for which cauſe we haue alſo beene inforced to reuenge our ſelues: but now our deſire is, That his Imperiall Maieſtie may bee truely informed of our State and cauſe in this buſineſſe, and accordingly let his Maieſtie diſpoſe and order vs at his owne will and pleaſure: for we will alwaies remaine, and be obſeruant and obedient. To which purpoſe they haue iointly and with one conſent, choſen the wiſe and honorable Lord, reuerend among the prudent, the prouinciall Mufti called Seich Seidi, and the honourable and diſcreet, the Mufti of the Citie, Seich Salmi, and the two Caddees, Iudges of the Prouinces, two that haue been Gouernors, two Colonels of the army, B two Captaines of foot, aſſiſted with other Antients both Burgeſſes and ſouldiers, whom they haue with one conſent created and eſtabliſhed as their Generall Procurators and Commiſſioners; and in companie of the ſaid Mahomet Aga, ſent to this happie Port: who beeing here arriued, and made knowne their petition to his Imperiall Maieſtie, hee and his abſolute miniſter the grand Vizier, haue expreſſely commanded vs, That we ſhould call before vs the Engliſh Embaſſadour and the ſaid Commiſſioners, and with all ſinceritie and iuſtice that we ſhould heare their differences, and make a finall and good concluſion between them; to wipe out all diſtaſte and rancor, and for the time to come, to conuert, and in place thereof C to plant a firme and holy peace and amitie. In obedience to which order, we haue ſent for the Engliſh Embaſſadour and the ſaid Deputies; betweene both whom, after long and litigious diſcourſes, we, according to the expreſſe command of his Imperiall Maieſtie, haue declared and commanded in the name of his Imperiall Maieſtie, to the ſaid Commiſſioners of Algier and Tunes, That for the times to come they ought to obey and obſerue the tenour of the Imperiall capitulations, and in this particular to conforme themſelues to this Imperiall order and ſubſequent Articles: viz,

I. That for euer hereafter, the hoſtilitie and enmitie betweene them and the Engliſh ſhould be annulled and blotted out of memorie, and conuerted into a good peace and commerce. And D after the date of this preſent writing, That the Engliſh ſhips ſmall and great, merchants, and all other ſubiects of England, freely and ſecurely, at their owne will and content, ſhall and may paſſe in the ſeas and come not onely to this our capitall Citie, but alſo ſafely goe to any part of our dominion, without any oppoſition or hinderance, according to the antient vſage, and Imperiall capitulations granted in behalfe of both parties.

II. And that his Maieſtie the King of England, hereupon may giue order through all the cities and ports of his kingdomes, to publiſh, That from henceforth euerie traueller or paſſenger ſhall ſecurely goe in his buſineſſe peaceably: and that they ſhall receiue neither in their E wayes outward or returning, any moleſtation, trouble, or impediment; but that the ſubiects on both parts, ſhal alway obſerue, and be obedient, conformable to the tenor of the Imperiall capitulations made from the beginning of the peace, vnto this day; and that for the time to come, there may in Algier be eſtabliſhed an Engliſh Conſul, prouided he be a man of qualitie and credit: to which Conſull and his merchants, & to all his Nation and their goods, neither from thoſe of Algier, nor from any other ſubiects of the Imperiall Port, ſhall be offered or ſuffered to be done, any wrong or iniuſtice whatſoeuer; but arriuing at the Port, the Officers of Algier (as it behoooueth all ſtrangers ſhould bee protected and cheriſhed) ſhall F receiue them with all manner of courteſie and honour. And for the time to come, in caſe any of the Engliſh Nation ſhould commit any act contrarie to the peace, amitie, and Imperiall capitulations, for ſuch offence the publike peace ſhall not be broken, but the Officers of Algier ſhall certifie the ſame to the Conſull, who (if it lie in his power) ſhall puniſh any ſuch

offendour; if not, he ſhall then certifie the cauſe to his Maieſtie of England, or elſe to his G
Embaſſadour reſident in our happie Port, to the end, that the diſturbers of the publike peace,
may be duely puniſhed. In conformitie whereof, if for the time to come any of the inhabitants
of Algier and Tunes, ſhall haue committed any action contrarie to the Imperiall capitulations,
by continuing to trouble or quarrell with the ſaid Engliſh Nation, the ſaid Conſull
ſhall make certificate and complaint to the Beglerbegh and Commanders of the armie, who
ſhall alwayes ſeuerely puniſh all ſuch malefactors, to the end that thoſe of Algier may be
carefull, neuer to do any act preiudiciall to this Peace and amitie.

III. *All thoſe Engliſh ſlaues which ſhall be found now in Algier ſhall be ſet free, who with a*
note or liſt of their names ſhall be deliuered to the ſaid Conſul at his arriuall; in exchange H
whereof there ſhall be another liſt giuen vnto the ſaid Conſul, of the names of diuers Muſſulmen
taken not long ſince by their Engliſh ſhips and made ſlaues: which liſt the ſaid Conſul
ſhall ſend to his Maieſtie of England to procure their libertie; and in this particular, of
either ſide there ſhall be vſed no fraud or deceit.

IIII. *For the time to come, all the Merchants and other Engliſh which ſhall arriue at Algier*
or Tunes, ſhall be receiued, cheriſhed, and protected from all wrong and iniury; and as in
all other parts of the Empire they doe ſafely and ſecurely traffique and trade, ſo alſo they
ſhall peaceably, quietly, and ſafely go, come, and negotiate in theſe cities, without any moleſtation, I
and alway they ſhall liue according to the antient Capitulations.

V. *That the ſhips of Algier and Tunes, ſmall and great, meeting with any Engliſh ſhips vpon*
the ſea, or in any port, or ſeale, or otherwhere, ſhall alway ſalute one another; and the
Engliſh ſhewing their Colours, that they are Engliſh and friends, there ſhall be no diſturbance
or quarrell betweene them, but all mutuall courteſie ſhall be ſhewed; and they ſhall
do one to the other all ſuch offices of friendſhip as may encreaſe and fortifie this good amity
and correſpondence: and there ſhall neuer be done any wrong or outrage one to the other;
prouided that the Engliſh Shippes ſhall not take part nor aſſiſt the enemies of the Imperial K
Port, nor tranſport in their veſſels the armes or faculties of our foes, nor protect nor defend
them. And if it ſhall happen after this concluſion, that it ſhall be found that any Engliſh
Ship ſhall ſo carry or protect the goods of our enemies, they ſhall ſtand to their perill,
and receiue puniſhment; and yet this our accord Pand eace ſhall remaine ſafe and
vnbroken vntill the day of Iudgement: And that alway on both parts, with all care and
reſpect the antient and Imperiall Capitulations and commaunds ſhall be preſerued and
obeyed.

Which Commiſſioners, (to ſay) the two Mufties, Caddees, and other aboue mentioned, L
in our preſence made anſwer, That, We all in the name and behalfe of our city of Algier,
and as the generall Procurators thereof, are content, and do accept of this
accord and agreement, and wee doe all ſweare and promiſe to obſerue the ſame;
and that for the time to come, on our parts, nor on the behalfe of our ſucceſſors
and poſteritie, there ſhall neuer any act be committed nor ſuffered in preiudice
or diſturbance of this Peace and agreement. *All which foreſaid Commiſſioners hauing*
before vs confeſſed, promiſed, and ſworne; the ſaid Engliſh Embaſſador did alſo ſay,
I in the name of my Lord and King, and as his full Procurator, do accept and re- M
ceiue theſe Conditions; and do promiſe, That the Subiects of his Maieſtie my
Lord and Maſter, ſhall alway maintaine with the Subiects of his Imperiall Maieſtie,

A ſtie, peace, acording to the antient Capitulations; and that neuer on our parts ſhall be done any act of wrong, iniurie, or hoſtilitie: and at all times, when of either ſide there ſhal ariſe any controuerſie, or be done any iniuſtice, that this peace ſhall not therefore be broken, but that the malefactours ſhall be ſought out and duely puniſhed.

Which declaration made on both parts, it was by vs regiſtred and publiſhed, and this our preſent aſſurance and writing B *giuen the firſt of the moneth* Gemaziel, *in the yeare of* Mahomet, 1032, *being the middle of March,* 1622.

The Captaine Baſſaes Letter to his Maieſtie of Great Britaine, concerning the Peace with Tunes and Algier.

TO *the mightie and renowned Prince, chiefe among the Maieſties of the Princes of the Faith* C *of Ieſus: obeyed of the greateſt Potentates, followers of Meſſiah; onely Director of the important affaires of the Nazeren Nation: Lord of the limits of Honour and Power; Protector of greatneſſe and authoritie; ſincere friend to our moſt high and dreadfull Emperour: The moſt glorious* IAMES, *King of England, whoſe euerie affaires God accompliſh with all felicitie; to whoſe laſt dayes we propheſie happineſſe and proſperitie, that the Diuine fauour may be propitious in all his wayes. To whoſe Royall preſence when with due reſpect and honor, Our humble ſalutations and wiſhes of pure health, and this our Letter full of ſincere loue, ſhall be preſented to the benigne and magnificent mind of your moſt excellent Maieſtie with al reuerence we giue you to vnderſtand:*

THat on your Royall Letter not long ſince arriuing at this happie Port, the ſincere and D friendly tenour whereof was to this purpoſe, That your Maieſtie had now for many yeres maintained peace and friendſhip with the *Ottoman* Empire, and from the daies of Sultan *Morat Han*, of famous memorie, with whom the league and correſpondence between your kingdomes was firſt mutually contracted, vntill this time on your Maieſties part there hath beene no defailance, nor act committed in prejudice or diſturbance of the ſaid friendſhip. Notwithſtanding for ſome yeares paſt, that many your Maieſties ſubiects haue receiued great dammages and ſpoiles by the inhabitants of Tunes and Algier, the ſlaues of the Imperiall Maieſtie of my Emperour. Your Maieſtie therefore deſiring, that conformably to the league and amitie, the ſaid Imperiall Maieſtie ſhould puniſh thoſe people, and for the time to come prohibit ſuch courſes: your Maieſtie further ſignifying your conſtant reſolution to continue in peace E and correſpondence with his Imperiall Maieſtie my Maſter. His Imperiall Maieſtie with his owne proper hand and Seale, did inſtantly ordaine and command, That thoſe of Tunes and Algier ſhould anſwer; and for the future, ſhould deſiſt from all the like depredations, contrarie to the peace and friendly Capitulations: which ſaid order and Imperiall command; was with all expedition diſpeeded, with diuers other our vehement letters, by one of our Capigi Baſſaes, named *Mahomet Aga*; who arriuing at thoſe Ports, the officers, ſouldiers, and other Muſſulmen of both cities being aſſembled, and the ſaid Imperial Orders & Commands publiquely read, with one conſent they anſwered, *It is verie true, wee are ſlaues and faithfull ſubiects of the Emperour, and alwaies with our heads bowed to the ground, obedient to his lawes and commandements, and from vs ſhall neuer proceed any act contrarie to the will of his Imperiall Maieſtie.* F *And although the originall cauſe of theſe differences, and diſturbance of the antient peace, both begun from the Engliſh and they, and not we, made the firſt breaches: notwithſtanding we will goe to the feet of our Emperour, and informe him of our owne ſtate and cauſe, and then let his Imperiall Maieſtie doe what he ſhall pleaſe; for we will euer be obedient and obſeruant to his Imperial will and command.* To which purpoſe they haue amongſt themſelues, choſen certaine Commiſ-

ſioners and Procurators whoſe names are theſe. The elect and wiſe Lord the ſole Mufti of G
that Kingdome, called the Lord *Seich Seidi*, and the Lord *Seich Salmi* Mufti of the citie, and
the two Iudges of the countrey, two that haue beene Gouernours of the citie, two Colonels
of the armie, two Captaines of foot, and two of the Antients of their Diuan, or Councel-hall,
with ſome other aſſiſtants, perſons diſcreet and worthie of ſuch imploiment, whom they haue
ſent with their petition to this Imperiall Port; whoſe arriuall being made knowne vnto his
Imperiall Maieſtie, with the differences and contracts, which for ſome few yeres haue hapned
between the ſubiects of your Maieſtie & them. His Imperiall Maieſtie my Lord, did inſtantly
& expreſſely command, That for the time to come between thoſe of Tunes & Algier and the
Engliſh Nation, there ſhould not be nor remaine, any further quarrell or diſpute, nor word or
act iniurious, one to the other; but that according to the antient peace and friendſhip long
ſince contracted on both parts, all tearmes of friendſhip ſhould be eſtabliſhed and obſerued H
betweene them: giuing expreſſe commiſſion by mee his abſolute miniſter the grand Vizier,
That the reaſons and pretences on both parts ſhould bee heard before vs, and there decided
and concluded, and their differences conuented into a good and holy peace and amitie. In
obedience to which order, wee hauing called before vs all the ſaid Procurators of Algier in
preſence of the famous, & prudent, the illuſtrious Embaſſador Sir *Thomas Roe*, reſident in this
happie Port, of whom hauing demanded for what cauſe they had done ſpoiles and wrongs to
the Engliſh Nation; they gaue anſwer, That antiently betweene the Engliſh and vs, there
was held a ſtrict peace, friendſhip, and commerce; and that our ſhips and theirs meeting in the
ſeas, did ſhew one to the other kindneſſe and amitie; and that neither from their parts nor I
ours, was any offence, ſo that this loue among vs did daily encreaſe and augment; That the
Engliſh Nation did maintaine a Conſul in Algier, a man of qualitie and credit: and whileſt we
day and night did ſtudie to aduance the ſaid friendſhip between vs, an Engliſh ſhip in the Port
of Alexandria, did take in diuers our Pilgrimes, and other our Muſſelmen paſſengers, with
promiſe to tranſport them to Algier, of whome ſome they after ſet on ſhoare vpon a deſart
Iſland, where they periſhed with cold and hunger; and the reſt being the greater part, they carried
and ſold to Malta; which pilgrimes Mahometanes being borne in Algier, their parents
and kindred made often and earneſt exclamations in our publique Councell. After this, another
Engliſh ſhip being come to our Port of Algier, and anchored certaine daies, according to
cuſtome, the Engliſh Conſull going aboord with one of our captaines of foot to make ſearch, K
they threw ouer and drowned our officer, the Conſull making eſcape with the ſhip, who preſently
departing for another of our Ports called Bigia, our people there eſteeming and truſting
the Engliſh, as our friends, vnder colour thereof, hauing enticed aboord the Captaine
of the caſtle and two of his ſonnes with diuers other Muſſelmen, they carried them away by
force, and ſold them in the State of the Duke of Florence: another of their ſhips being arriued
at Algier, hauing taken in diuers Muſſelmen paſſengers to tranſport them to Tituan, they carried
them and ſold them in Spaine. Since, the ſaid Engliſh being vnited with the King of Spain
our capitall enemie, with their ſhips haue often made warre vpon vs, and ſhot with their ordinance
into the caſtle of Algier, and attempted to burne our fleet in our Port (though therein
failing) which alliance with our enemies and act of hoſtility, hath made a iuſt breach of peace L
and friendſhip betweene vs: now there being in being a league and Capitulation between the
Maieſtie of England and our Emperor, by what reaſon ſhould the ſaid Nation load their ſhips
with the goods, faculties, and perſons of our enemies the Spaniards, colouring them as their
owne, and tranſporting them often into the Imperiall Dominions, and meeting with our ſhips
they hide and denie ſuch goods and men, protecting, aſſiſting, and aiding againſt vs thoſe our
mortall foes, affronting and outraging vs many and many waies: for which cauſe we alſo haue
beene inforced to reuenge our ſelues, and theſe differences betweene vs haue ſucceeded. But
if the Engliſh Nation had remained conſtant with vs in peace and commerce, according to the
Capitulations betweene ours and their Lord, certainely we had neuer done, or ſuffered to be
done any act or violence contrarie to the league and peace; as alſo for the time to come, there M
ſhall no diſobedience ſtaine vs againſt the commands and pleaſure of our Lord and Emperor.
The Embaſſadour of your Maieſtie hauing heard this complaint, replied, *That neuer on the*
behalfe or with the conſent of the King my Maſter, can there bee prooued any act contrarie or
preiudiciall to the antient Peace and League, betweene his Maieſtie and this Port, much leſſe

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A *can be ſaid, that any Engliſhman or ſubiect of my king, as in obedience, hath done any of theſe things,*
wherewith you calumniate vs: But if any fugitiue Rebell or Pirat, vnder the Colours and name of
an Engliſhman, whom you haue nouriſhed and receiued into your Port, haue committed any ſuch
facts, we cannot preuent it, you haue beene in the faults. And doubtleſſe the King my Maſter, if
vpon any complaint he had knowne who were the offendors, and that they had returned into England,
he would haue ſeuerely puniſhed ſuch faith-breakers, as in his iuſtice he hath often done to pyrats.
But you and all your Citie of Algier, how often, and how infinite damages, ſpoyles, and iniuries
haue you vniuſtly done and vſed towards the ſubiects of the King my maſter? which you can
neither deny nor defend. Which your Embaſſador hauing with many reaſons anſwered them,
and particularly ſhewed the great iniuries done by them; we conſidering, that if wee ſhould
B ſuffer both parts to reply to euery particular, it would draw the buſineſſe to length of diſpute,
and perhaps ſtirre vp ſo much eagerneſſe, as it would be more difficult to accommodate and
appeaſe the ſharpeneſſe and differences between them; we did thus interpoſe, What is done,
is done: Now the command and expreſſe will of our Emperour to you of Algier, is, and in
the name of our Emperour I commaund you, That there be no more remembrance of the
enmitie paſt, but that between you and the Engliſh nation peace and friendſhip may be renewed
and eſtabliſhed, conformable to the antient league and amitie continued to this day betweene
our Emperour and his Maieſtie of England, and that in the time to come you ſhew
your ſelues obedient and obſeruant thereunto. Which reſolution being publiſhed, they anſwered,
That they were readie to obey, and to conforme themſelues to the will and command
C of their Lord. And ſo we haue from this time forward re-integrated and eſtabliſhed a
Peace and League with the Engliſh nation, and do promiſe to maintain and obſerue it friendly
on theſe following Conditions: That we do promiſe to ſet free all the Engliſh ſlaues
which ſhall be found in our territorie of Algier; ſo that the Engliſh wil procure the libertie
of thoſe Muſſulmen ſlaues taken by their ſhips: and that a man diſcreet, wiſe, and of good
qualitie, may be ſent to reſide Conſull in our city, to whom wee promiſe all faire reception,
honour, and courteſie; and that in any occaſion, from the part of the Engliſh any indignity or
inſolencie ſhall be offered, that the ſaid Conſul ſhall reſiſt and hinder it, to auoid ſcandall, and
ſhall aduiſe his Maieſtie of England, or his Embaſſadour reſiding in the Imperiall Port, and
procure by all iuſt meanes, that ſuch malefactors ſhall be duely puniſhed. And if in any occaſion,
D on our parts any offence or act of inſolence ſhall be committed, the ſaid Conſul ſhall
make it knowne, and demand Iuſtice; we do promiſe ſeuerely to puniſh ſuch tranſgreſſors and
delinquents; and for euer we will obſerue with all dutie, according to the command of our
Emperour, this peace and amitie. To which Conſul and Nation there ſhall neuer be done
any outrage or wrong, but rather with all courteſie and honour (as it becomes vs that all
ſtrangers ſhould be protected) they ſhall be receiued, cheriſhed, and eſteemed, and there ſhall
neuer to them, nor to any of their goods and faculties, by any way, by any violence, iniuſtice
or iniurie offered. And that our ſhips encountring with any of theirs in the ſea, they ſhall ſalute
the one the other, and ſhall ſhew all manner of courteſie and loue; and the Engliſh ſhewing
their Colors that they are Engliſh, they ſhall do one to the other all friendly and acceptable
E offices. And we do promiſe on our behalfes, that there ſhall neuer be done any act contrarie
and preiudicial to this Peace and Faith giuen. Further, we on our owne part, and in
the name of all the Souldierie and other Muſſulmen of Algier (whom God proſper) and in
our owne name, as their principall Commiſſioners, do ſweare and promiſe, and do accept of
theſe Articles, agreements, and contracts of friendſhip, and that our poſteritie ſhall alſo accept
thereof, and that vntill the day of generall Iudgement it ſhall be thus faithfully obſerued:
That both the people and ſubiects on both ſides ſhall be free and ſecure one with the
other; and that the Engliſh Merchants and their Ships, at their owne pleaſure may trauell *in*
all parts; and as they ſafely and ſecurely go and come into euerie port or dominion of *the*
Muſſulman Empire, ſo they ſhall now in all friendſhip come hither, and friendly and *peaceably*
F be welcome. This their promiſe and proteſtation wee haue cauſed to be *written* and
publiſhed. Which your Maieſties Embaſſadour accepting, and reſting therewith *contented*,
did promiſe in your Maieſties name for the time to come, That your ſubiects *ſhould* obſerue
the peace, and conforme themſelues to the antient Imperiall Capitulations, Articles, and
termes of Amitie, maintained till this day betweene your Maieſtie and our Emperour. Who

hath of vs deſired that the ſaid articles ſhould bee regiſtred, and that wee ſhould aduiſe the
whole proceedings to your Maieſtie. For which cauſe we haue written this our moſt reſpectfull G
letter, to giue you knowledge that this buſineſſe (by the fauour of the propitious God) is
concluded with all circumſtances, ſuch as were requiſite to the antient friendſhip and faith,
continued betweene your Maieſtie and our Emperour. Therefore being confident in your ſinceritie,
we hope and pray your Maieſtie to be contented with the concluſion, and that by your
Order you will cauſe it to be publiſhed throughout all your cities, ports, and harbours, and to
euerie one of your Kingdome; that after the date of this our letter it may be knowne to all
men, that this peace is renewed and ratified in behalfe of thoſe of Algier & Tunes in the ſame
forme, as with all other the ſubiects and ſlaues of our Emperour; to ſay, That from henceforth
there ſhall neuer be offered to the Merchants or ſubiects of your Maieſtie, either by
that people or by any other Muſſelman any the leaſt trouble or iniurie: and our hope is ſuch, H
that this concluſion and confirmation of peace, ſhall continue and abide firme for many and
many yeares without any breach. In correſpondence whereof, there is giuen order and expreſſe
Imperiall command, That all our ſubiects ſhall for euer hereafter reſpect and honor the
friendſhip and amitie betweene your Maieſtie and our Emperour. And thus much wee haue
thought good to ſignifie to your Maieſty: To whom from the omnipotent God, we do augure
and wiſh all true felicitie, both preſent and future, both in this and the other World.

The leaſt and humble ſeruant,
Generall of the Sea, Halil.

March the fifteenth, 1622. Gemaziell- I
euell. *the middle* Mahomet, 1032.

The Captaine Baſſaes Letter to the Baſſa Aga of the Ianizaries, Collonels, Captaines, and others of Tunes, concerning the Peace.

TO the illuſtrious, and magnificent the Lord Baſſa, and to the eſteemed among his equals K
the Ianizar-Aga of Tunes, and to all the illuſtrious Collonels of the Armie, Captains of
Squadrons, and Antients of the Militia, and to all the ſouldiers of Tunes, our beloued ſonnes;
To whoſe preſence hauing ſent infinite and ſincere ſalutations, our faithfull aduice is this:
Not long ſince his Maieſtie the King of England, our moſt honoured friend, hauing on purpoſe
ſent his Embaſſadour with his Royall Letter to the moſt potent Emperour, giuing notice
thereby of his conſtancie paſt, and firme reſolution in time to come, to maintain the peace
and league with this Imperiall Port, did therewithall complaine, That for ſome yeares ſince,
betweene the ſouldierie of Tunes and Algier and the ſubiects and Merchants of England,
there haue happened many loſſes and diſcontents, requiring therefore that his Maieſtie, our L
Emperour, ſhould giue remedie to ſuch inconueniences. His Imperiall Maieſtie inſtantly
with his owne gracious Affirmo did commaund and order, and gaue diuers his Imperiall
commands, which were ſent vnto you by our Capigi Baſſa, Mehemet *Aga; which being publiquely*
read, you all vnitely gaue anſwer, That you were readie and diſpoſed to obey and obſerue
the will and command of our Lord, and that you would neuer hereafter vſe, or ſhew
any enmitie, or make any quarrell with the ſaid Engliſh Nation; yet notwithſtanding, ſince,
you haue ſent two of your citie in companie with thoſe ſent from Algier with order to attend
our aduiſe and reſolution. For which your promptneſſe and obedience ſhewed, we pray Almightie M
God alwaies to keepe you in his protection, and to giue you honour and victorie;
and his Imperiall Maieſtie doth bleſſe you, as we alſo doe ſend you our benediction. Therefore
now my beloued ſonnes, know yee, That this buſineſſe by the order of his Maieſtie was

by

A *by vs treated and concluded; and the abſolute will and command of our Emperour, is, That as well you of Tunes, as thoſe of Algier, all whoſoeuer for the time to come ſhall liue in quiet with the Engliſh Nation, and ſhall keepe with them a ſincere peace and amitie, and their ſhips either comming to any Port of our Dominion, or going to any other Port, their merchants, faculties, and goods, ſhall paſſe quietly without any moleſtation, dammage, or iniurie done by you; and that you for euer keepe with them a true peace and correſpondencie, it being a matter ſo cleere, that your are many waies obliged to obey the will and order of your Lord, eſpecially ſeeing it is not onely the will and pleaſure of his Maieſtie, but of the whole* B *Empire, Gouernors and Miniſters with vs. It therefore behooueth you hereafter to liue in peace and friendſhip with the ſaid Engliſh Nation, as you haue done in times paſt, and ſo to proceed in all occaſions with them, that neither from you nor them there may be giuen any the leaſt cauſe of diſtaſte. But rather that you vſe all courteſie towards them, and to all their ſhips which ſhall come vnto the* Ottoman *Empire. Further, what Engliſh Slaues ſoeuer are found in your Iuriſdiction, you ſhall giue them libertie, and deale with them in ſuch manner in all things, as there may be no more occaſion to write you new Commands. Moreouer, we vnderſtand, that ſince the receit of the mentioned Imperiall Letters and* C *Commands, and after you had promiſed obedience, and made an Order, That from that time you would not do any act contrary thereunto; notwithſtanding, our Captain* Sampſon, *not far from Modon meeting with an Engliſh ſhip, did take and make her prize: But our Capigi Baſſa* Mahomet Aga *returning that way, cauſed him to reſtore the ſaid ſhip: but the ſaid* Sampſon *tooke ſeuen or eight Engliſh men, and carried them away, with promiſe to ſet them free at Tunes. Which action after the peace was concluded (or whether afore or after) at the arriuall of this our letter, you ſhall reſtore to libertie all the ſaid Engliſh men. And further know yee, that I haue written my Letter to his Maieſtie the King of England, aduiſing him of the Accord, Articles, and concluſion of amitie made and confirmed by* D *vs, and haue giuen his Maieſtie our aſſurance for you, of a ſincere peace and friendſhip. Therefore, my Sonnes, take heed to the obſeruation of this Concluſion and Accord made, that it may abide conſtant and inuiolate. And ſo wee reſt praying.*

Generall of the Sea, *Halil.*
Gemaziel euel. Mah. 1032. *March,* 1622.

E

The Captaine Baſſa's Letter to the Dye of Tunes, in behalfe of the Peace, &c.

To the Magnificent, famous, renowned, and eſteemed Iſuph Dye, *whoſe honour the Lord encreaſe. Hauing ſent you infinite ſalutations, you ſhall know, That by the fauour of God wee are in health, and that we hope not to be forgotten in your prayers. Not long ſince wee hauing ſent vnto you our beloued* Mahomet Aga *our Capigi Baſſa, with diuers Imperiall and expreſſe Commands, in the which it was ordered, That for the time to come you ſhould remaine and liue with the* F *Engliſh Nation in peace and amitie; it hath beene made knowne vnto vs, that you haue obeyed and accepted the ſaid Imperiall commands, and haue concluded, eſtabliſhed, and confirmed a Peace and League with the ſaid Nation: for which your readineſſe and affection, and loyall proceeding demonſtrated in this affaire, and in all other occaſions, the Lord the Embaſſadour of England, reſident in this happie Port, hath oftentimes before vs declared the great ſatiſfaction and content receiued from* you in that your ſincere dealing : and it being that now lately we haue confirmed and ratified the ſaid G Peace and amitie, and raſed out all the paſt differences and contracts betweene vs and the ſaid Engliſh nation; we haue thought fit to write you this our preſent letter : And our truſt is in you, that for the time to come you will take order, that this our Concluſion and accord ſhall be duely maintained and obſerued, and that from you and none of yours ſhall euer be done any wrong or violence whatſoeuer vnto the ſaid Engliſh Nation, their Merchants, ſhips, or faculties, but that for euer you will reſt and keepe with them a good and fitme peace and friendſhip; and to this end we doe eſpecially recommend to your care, That to the Engliſh there may neuer be done iniurie nor iniuſtie. Wee haue beene further aduiſed that ſince the arriuall of the ſaid Imperiall commands, you hauing concluded and promiſed peace, one Captaine Sampſon neere Modon, hath taken an Engliſh ſhip and carried away ſome of the Engliſh priſoners. Therefore we aduiſe you, that without delay or any excuſe, you H cauſe them to be ſet at libertie, and that for the time to come, you take care, to honor protect and defend the ſaid Nation in your liberties : Not other occurring, we reſt,

Generall of the Sea, *Halil.*

Gemaziell-euel. Mahomet, 1032. *March* 1622.

The Captaine Baſſaes Letter to the Baſſa of Algier, to the Ianizar-Aga, and the chieſe of the Armie. I

To the magnificent and illuſtrious Lord the Baſſa, to whoſe noble preſence infinite ſalutations, and to the renowned and famous among his equals the Ianizar-Aga of Algier, to the Collonels of foot, Captaines of ſquadrons, and Antients of the Armie; and in generall to all the well deſeruing our companions, and other ſouldiers, whoſe proſperitie we wiſh. After our ſalutations we giue you to vnderſtand, That whereas the King of England, hath of long time beene a ſincere obſeruer of the peace and amitie with this Imperiall Port, and that of late yeres betweene the ſouldierie of Algier and Tunes and his ſubiects, there haue happened many deſſentions, troubles, and loſſes, his Maieſtie of England hath ſent his Embaſſadour with his Royall Letter to this Imperiall Port, complaining of K *the depredations, iniuries, and ſpoyles, done to his people by you the ſouldiers of Algier; and hath deſired that his highnes our Emperor, ſhould command, that you ſhould deſiſt to commit the like outrages, that the peace might be renued and confirmeda on both parts: In conformitie wherof, his Imperial Maieſtie our Lord, with his owne Royall Signature hath giuen diuers Imperiall commands, which not long ſince were ſent vnto you by the eſteemed Capigi Baſſi* Mahomet Aga, *which order being read in the publique councell, and the will and pleaſure of our emperor fully conceiued, you haue ſeemed to ſhew all obedience and reuerence to the Imperiall commands, but withall haue anſwered, That we hauing receiued and ſuffered many and great loſſes and wrongs from the Engliſh Nation, doe deſire to informe his Imperiall Maieſtie of euery particular, which being heard in all dutie we will conforme* L *our ſelues to his good pleaſure and command. For which end, you haue among your ſelues elected the wiſe and eſteemed lord the prouincial Mufti named* Seich Seidi, *and the prudent the Mufti of your Citie,* Seich Salim, *and the two Caddees Iudges of the Court; and two lately Gouernours among you; two Collonels of foot, two Captaines of ſquadrons, and two, of the Antients of your armie, aſſiſted with other perſons graue and diſcreet; whom together with the ſaid* Mahomet *you haue ſent to this high Port, whoſe arriuall being made knowne vnto his Maieſtie our Emperour, and relation made how by the aſſiſtance of God, after a combate of three daies, you haue taken from the enemies of our Law, a ſhip of ſeuen deckes, in greatneſſe like vnto a mountaine; in which veſſell you haue found two Gentlemen, young and worthie to ſerue in this Imperiall Court, whom you haue preſented hither : and that day and night with all your induſtrie you doe indeauour the honour and exaltation* M *of the Imperiall Maieſtie; the ſaid Muſſulmen your brethren by you deputed, haue beene receiued with honour to haue touched with their eyes the euer victorious ſtirrop of his Imperiall Maieſtie: in regard whereof, his Highneſſe (whom God alwaies proſper) hath ſent you his benediction, and wee alſo doe pray, that in this and in the next World, you be full of honour, and that our Prophet may grant you glorie, and victorie ouer all the enemies of our faith; and be aſſured, That in the light and darkneſſe*

A *darkeneſſe, we will not ceaſe to beſeech the diuine Maieſtie, to exalt the glory of our Muſſulman law, and to giue it triumph and encreaſe. Which ceremonies paſſed, the differences alſo betweene you and the Engliſh Nation, haue been certified to his Imperiall Maieſtie; who, together with his abſolute Miniſter, the grand Vizier, haue commanded vs, and ordained that this cauſe ſhould before vs be diſcuſſed, and by vs compounded and decided. To which end we haue deſired the preſence of the Embaſſador of England, reſident in this happy Port, and called before vs the aboue mentioned Mufties, and the others your Procurators: of whom we hauing firſt demanded (his Maieſtie of England being in peace and amitie with this happy Port) what hath beene the cauſe of ſo many iniuries and wrongs done from you; they anſwered, That,* Whereas for ſome yeares ſince wee haue liued in good friendſhip with the Engliſh nation, and their Merchants did come and traffique freely B in our Ports, and from vs they neuer receiued the leaſt wrong, an Engliſh Ship in Alexandria did take in diuers Muſſulmen Pilgrims, deceiuing them with faire promiſes to tranſport them to Algier; of whom ſome they landed vpon a deſart Iſland, where they periſhed with cold and hunger, and the reſt they carried and ſold in Malta, and in other places. After this, another of their Ships riding in the Port at Algier, and we ſending aboord one of the Captaines of our Bands, in companie of the Engliſh Conſul, to make ſearch according to vſance, they threw the officer ouer boord (the Conſul making eſcape:) and ſetting ſaile for another of our Ports called Bigia, did take priſoner the Captaine of the caſtle, two of his ſonnes, and diuers other Muſſulmen, and made them ſlaues, and after ſold them to the Spaniards or Florentines. Since againe a third Engliſh Ship anchoring in our Port, tooke aboord diuers our paſſengers C to tranſport them to Tituan, whom they betrayed and ſold in our enemies countries. In ſum, we perceiuing the Engliſh had broken the peace with vs many wayes, and that dayly we ſuffered many loſſes and iniuries by them, and that they apprehended all opportunitie to do damage to the Muſſulman Empire, declaring themſelues our foes, and hauing recalled their commerce and Conſul from vs, we were enforced to maintaine the honour of the Muſſulman law, and to reuenge our ſelues. *Hauing heard this their anſwer, we then demanded of the Embaſſador,* My Lord, ſeeing his Maieſtie of England hath euer been a friend of this Empire, how comes it to paſſe that the Engliſh ſubiects haue done ſo many ſpoyles and wrongs to the inhabitants of Algier, the ſlaues of our Emperour. *Who replied*; Our intent and purpoſe with the Imperiall Port hath neuer been otherwiſe than peace and commerce; but the great iniuries, rob- D beries, and murthers committed by you of Algier, vpon the ſubiects, merchants, and fiſhermen of the King my maſter, are both innumerable and inſupportable: How many and many of our ſhips haue you vniuſtly betrayed? how many of our nation haue you vpon aduantage killed and inchained? For theſe calumnies which you haue mentioned, That we by deceit haue taken your Pilgrims and ſold them; you ſhall know, that all thoſe that take the Engliſh Colours are not Engliſh men, but mingled of all nations; nor were they ſubiects of my king, but theeues and villaines, fugitiue people, nouriſhed vp by you, which vnder the Croſſe of England, for credit perhaps, haue done ſuch iniuries, certainely without the conſent and knowledge of vs: and if they had returned, and had beene accuſed, the iuſtice of his Maieſtie would haue ſeuerely puniſhed them. Mention not therefore Pirats, but name mee E one man a Merchant, or ſubiect dwelling in his Maieſties obedience, that hath done you any wrong. But you your ſelues with your owne ſhips now riding in your Port, what thefts and ſpoyles haue you not committed vpon our barques, goods, and men, whereſoeuer you haue met them? How can you anſwer this? *Your Commiſſioners replied*; Your ſhips and veſſels dayly lade the goods and faculties of the Spaniards, enemies of vs and our Law; protecting and defending both them and their lading from vs: which is ſufficient cauſe for vs to make prize of thoſe that aſſiſt our aduerſaries. *But we ſeeing this diſcourſe to grow into heate and length, did interpoſe*; The will and abſolute command of our Emperour is, That whatſoeuer is paſt ſhall be forgotten, and that peace and friendſhip ſhall be renewed and eſtabliſhed. *And ſo we giue you to vnderſtand by this our preſent letter, That we haue concluded the Peace and* F *amitie in this forme: To ſay, That from henceforward, conformable to the times paſt, the friendſhip and commerce betweene the Engliſh nation and you of Algier and Tunes ſhall be renewed, and that neuer from you of thoſe ports, ſhall be done any violence or wrong to the Engliſh nation: And as at this preſent the Engliſh, their Merchants, and others, do ſafely aud ſecurely go and come through all the parts of this Muſſulman Empire, in like manner they ſhall come and go into all the territorie*

of Algier and Tunes, without any moleſtation, oppreſſion, or violence whatſoeuer : And that for the
time to come, the Engliſh Nation may ſend a Conſul to Algier, a perſon diſcreet, prudent, and of G
eſteeme, whom you ſhall receiue with all courteſie ; and that happening any action contrary or preiudiciall
to this Peace, you ſhall aduiſe the ſaid Conſul, who ſhall doe his endeauour to preuent all offence,
or at leaſt ſhall certifie his Maieſtie of England, or his Embaſſadour reſident at this happy
Port; to the end that in all occaſions future miſchiefes may be auoided. To which Conſull you ſhall
conſigne all the ſlaues of the Engliſh Nation, which ſhall be found in Algier and Tunes, with a liſt
of their names : And likewiſe you ſhall make a liſt of the names of all the Muſſulmen ſlaues taken
by the Engliſh ſhips, and ſhall giue the ſame vnto the Conſull, who ſhall ſend it to his Maieſtie of
England, that he may procure their libertie. And for the time to come, the ſhips of both ſides great
and ſmall, meeting in the ſeas, ſhall ſalute one the other ; and the Engliſh ſhewing the Colours of Engliſh
men, and making the ſigne of friendſhip, you ſhall ſhew mutually all courteſie, and performe all H
good offices which may encreaſe this good Peace and correſpondence, without offering any the leaſt
iniurie one to the other : And that hereafter there ſhall neuer be any thing done contrarie to the Imperiall
Capitulations ; but that you ſhall on your parts day and night endeauour the augmentation of
this good friendſhip. And the Engliſh ſhips ſhall not lade the armes and faculties of our enemies,
nor in the time to come defend nor protect them. And if any ſhall do the contrary, ſuch perſons ſhall
be out of protection, and ſubiect to puniſhment, without preiudice to this Peace and friendſhip, which
ſhall abide firme and ſtable. And if any quarrell ſhall happen contrarie to this agreement made, that
in like manner the peace ſhall not be broken, but the authors of ſuch diſturbance ſhall be duely puniſhed:
And if ſuch offence or iniurie ſhall proceed from any of the ſubiects of Algier, that you the officers I
ſhall immediately giue ſeuere puniſhment : And if the offence ſhall be committed by any of the
ſubiects of England, it ſhall preſently be certified to the Engliſh Conſul, that he may do or procure the
like iuſtice. And that after the regiſtring of this renouation and confirmation of treatie, there ſhall
be a man ſent to his Maieſtie of England with our letters, to the end that his Maieſtie may command
and publiſh through all the ports and harbours of his Kingdomes, That this Peace is firmely publiſhed
and aſſured; That as both his Merchants and all other paſſengers for the time to come may ſafely
and freely traffique and trauell throughout all the ports of the Muſſulman territorie; ſo they may
come and go at their pleaſure to the Ports of Algier and Tunes, and in their way they ſhall neuer be
moleſted or troubled. And being now that we haue concluded this buſineſſe vpon theſe conditions
and Articles, which are accepted, and promiſed to be obſerued on both parts ; it ſeemed neceſſarie to K
vs, and we haue written and aduiſed you of all circumſtances by this our preſent and friendly letter ;
to the end you, the Beglerbegh, Ianizari-Aga, and all the Colonels, Captaines, and Antients of the
Armie, our beloued Sonnes, might know that this affaire hath beene diſtinctly made knowne to his
Maieſtie our Emperour : As alſo, that when Bachi Baſſa was at Algier, diuers Engliſh Ships
with ſome Spaniards came before your port, and attempted to burne your Fleet. Of this and of euery
particular his Maieſty hath bin fully informed: But now ſeeing the Engliſh hath ſhewed all promptneſſe
on their part to maintaine with you the like peace and amitie as they do with all the ſubiects of
the Muſſulman Empire ; it behoooueth that you cancell all that is paſt, and according as his Maieſtie
our Emperour hath expreſſely commanded, That the generall Peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed and confirmed
according to the antient cuſtome betweene you and the Engliſh Nation ; I ſay, my deere ſonnes, L
and you are bound, conformable to the will and pleaſure of our Lord, to vſe all courteſie and kindneſſe
to the ſaid Engliſh, and neuer to offer any the leaſt wrong to their Ships or Merchants, but to obſerue
firmely this Peace and amitie, that it may neuer be diſturbed or broken. And ſeeing it is knowne
to all, that the Engliſh Nation is ſincere friend to this Imperiall Port, it is your dutie, and reaſon requireth,
that all the Slaues and ſubiects of this Empire ſhould be their friends. Inſomuch that this
our Letter arriuing, take you heed that you ſhew no contrarietie or backwardneſſe, but according to
the tenour written, that you reſt in quiet, and vſe all your diligence and care to preuent euery occaſion
and action inconuenient and preiudiciall. And let it be knowne vnto you of certaintie, That it is the
will of the Emperour and of vs : and we do deſire, that hereafter there may be no contraſt or diſcord
with the Engliſh Nation, but that you alway obſerue according to this our Treatie now written to M
you, and that you giue no more occaſion to write you new Commands. Therefore receiue our benediction;
that is, The iuſt and great God keepe you in the Imperiall protection, and grant you victorie
ouer all our enemies, and giue you conſtancie and ſinceritie towards our friends ; of which, ſeeing the
Engliſh Nation hath alway made demonſtration, certainly it is inconuenient to repay them with iniuſtice.

A iuſtice. Briefely, we recommend vnto you, That you vſe all diligence and endeauour, not to tranſgreſſe
this Order: for we hauing made promiſe for you, ſhall receiue great ſhame and diſhonour, And
hauing been both mediator and concluder of this buſineſſe, it behooueth you to obey and obſerue, according
to the true and ſincere Tenour.

Generall of the Sea, Halil.

Gemaziel-euell. Mah. 1032. March, 1622.

B

The Engliſh Embaſſadours Letter to the Dye of Tunes.

TO the renowned and famous Iſuph Dye, Captaine Generall of all the ſouldiers of Tunes, health
and friendly ſalutations. We haue found by good experience, that the honour and fame we
haue heard reported of you, hath beene grounded vpon your merits and worthineſſe; and wee are
hereof extreamely gled, that a buſineſſe of ſo great conſequence as the Peace betweene mighty Princes,
is committed to a ſouldier, a man that regards his honour and word. Which vertues we hauing experienced
in you, we cannot chuſe but acknowledge; and do promiſe, that both here, and in all parts
C of the world we will publiſh your name and renowne, as worthy of true honour. Firſt, wee giue you
thankes for the courteſie ſhewed to a young man ſent by vs with the Imperiall commands; and for
the friendſhip you ſhewed to our Nation, in giuing libertie to ſome poore men, which his Maieſtie
my Maſter doth take in good part, and as a ſigne of your loue. We alſo acknowledge your readineſſe
to procure the ſealing of the Peace, made here at the Imperiall Port: But withall we deſire you not to
ſeeke a quarrell by pretending to ſearch our Ships: You are a Souldier, and know the termes of honour;
you know alſo that our Nation are ſouldiers, and valiant men, who will not be ſubiect to any
ſuch diſgrace. This point hath largely beene diſputed at the Port, and reaſon on both ſides urged;
wherein it is made manifeſt, that the Captaine of the ſea of this Empire challengeth no ſuch priuiledge,
nor can we ſuffer ſo great indignitie. If therefore you intend to keepe peace with vs (of which
D we doubt not) we deſire you in all friendly manner to accept of the ſame Articles which are agreed
with the Commiſsioners of Algier, ſigned by your friend the moſt noble Halil Baſſa, Generall of
the ſea, and ſent as ſecuritie for you to his Royall Maieſtie my Maſter; the Copies of all which we
haue ſent you: deſiring you to confirme them, and to conſigne them to William Cooke our Deputie
Conſul, vntill we haue further aduice out of England; from whence we doe promiſe you to ſend
graue and diſcreet men to liue among you, and to bring you the trade and commodities of our Countrey,
whereby you and your citie ſhall haue more profit than by a warre with vs. We therefore truſt
and hope in your worth, that you will cauſe this Peace to be publiſhed, which is made by generall conſent
of the grand Seigniour and all his Miniſters; and that there may be no occaſion giuen by your
Souldiers to ſeeke a quarrell with vs, which in the end will cauſe an vtter breach betweene his Maieſtie
E my Lord, and this Imperiall Port; which you in your wiſedome will auoid: and be aſſured, that
on our parts all ſinceritie ſhall be vſed; nor ſhall you haue any doubt, that we will any way, by any aſſiſtance
with your enemies, breake the antient Capitulations. Wee are bound to giue you further
thankes for the great iuſtice done by you, in giuing order to recouer ſome part of the goods of a deceaſed
Engliſh Merchant in your City, and that you haue cauſed neere fifteene hundred Checquines
to be repayed to William Cooke. Not doubting but you will continue the like fauour; and be pleaſed
to heare the further reaſons of the ſaid William Cooke, and to take order that the reſt may alſo
be recouered; it being apparant and true, that there yet is wanting two thouſand Checquines, which
the Deceaſed had in money and goods. This worke is acceptable to God, and honourable to you, and it
will encourage our Merchants to liue vnder your protection, to encreaſe the friendſhip made betweene
F vs.

Our laſt requeſt is, That you will ſet at libertie, for my ſake, our poore Countreymen, according
to promiſe made by you and the Miniſters of the Grand Seigniour. Thoſe ſlaues will honour you
abroad, and pray for you when you are at home, their parents, wiues, children, and friends. Wherein
we will endeauour to procure the libertie of any of yours, to our vttermoſt power. And that you will

warne an enemie to the peace, one Sampſon, *to deliuer backe the goods and men lately taken at Modon, ſince the Peace concluded: which if he refuſe to do, I ſhall finde means to reuenge it vpon him.* G *In concluſion, I deſire you to accept of this young man, onely ſent to deliuer you our Letters, and to carry newes to England of your friendſhip; deſiring you to diſpeed him away in two dayes, that hee may the ſooner procure from England ſome ſhipping to come in trade to your Port. And ſo I commit you to the protection of the Almightie God, wiſhing to the honourable Gouernor and Captaine* Iſuph Dye, *all true happineſſe.*

From your friend, The Embaſſadour
of England.

H

The Commands ſent to Algier and Tunes by a *Capigi* of the Grand Seigniour, in companie of *Iſerug* the new Baſſa of Algier.

[Written by the Grand Segniors owne hand:]

In conformitie hereof let it be obeyed of all my Subiects. I

To the Diuan of Algier.

THe Imperiall Command; To the Caddee of Algier, to all the Doctors and Churchmen, to all the Captaines of Iſuph; *to all the Commanders, Elders, and Officers; to all the Heads and Antients, and to all the Souldierie of Algier, and my ſlaues there inhabiting: At the arriuall of the high and Imperiall* Affirmo, *you ſhall know; That whereas from the times of happie memorie of my Grandfathers and Fathers (entred into mercie, whoſe Sepulchres let God glorifie) vnto this* K *day, alwayes the Kings of England haue with all ſinceritie beene in good peace and friendſhip with this high Port and all my Anceſtors; and therfore the Imperiall mind & will always hath bin, That according to the Imperiall Capitulations contracted at the firſt Treaty betweene both parties, That the ſubiects and Engliſh Merchants might freely and ſecurely go and come into all parts of this well gouerned Empire; and that they ſhould neuer be troubled, hindered, nor damnified by any man, and that the ſaid Engliſh with all their Ships ſhould haue ſafe and ſecure paſſage in the ſea, vnder the Imperiall protection, and to their hearts content and quietneſſe they ſhould follow their trades and merchandiſe; and whereas in all times paſt there was neuer done vnto them any wrong or dammage by any of our ſubiects: you my ſlaues of Algier, or ſome of you, not reſpecting the friendſhip of* L *thoſe with whom the high Port hath peace and correſpondence, do whereſoeuer you meet their Ships, either in the ſea, or iny port or harbour, take them and all their goods, doing them many iniuries and violences; and contrarie alſo to the Imperiall Capitulations, do make them ſlaues, and many others you kill: for which your actions ſo iniuſt, contrary to the Imperiall will and Capitulations not long ſince in the time of our brother Sultan* Oſman Han *(now in mercie placed in Paradiſe) his Maieſty the King of England hauing ſent his expreſſe Embaſſadour, and his Royall Letter, aduiſing him of the wrongs and ſpoyles (ſo contrarie to the League and Peace contracted, and the Imperiall will) committed by you: to the end that all you ſhould obey, and with all diligence, care, and reſpect, ſhould maintaine and obſerue the peace and friendſhip with all the friends of the high Port; that all thoſe who had committed ſuch actions, ſo contrary to the Imperiall will and Capitulations, ſhould be puniſhed;* M *the ſaid our brother did then ſend you his expreſſe Imperiall Commands, ſigned with his hand; which was deliuered vnto you by one* Mutafaraga *of the high Port, called* Mahomet, *whoſe dignitie God encreaſe. Which Commands being read in the preſence of you all, euery man did anſwer, ſaying, You were ready to obey the Order and Commands of your Lord; but that you had ſome particulars requiſite to be preſented to the Imperiall ſtirrop, and therefore that you did elect certaine of the principall*

A cipall of your Countrey, and ſent them hither to him as your Procurators: who being arriued in the
time of the regiment of my honourable Vncle, and hauing made knowne at the foot of the Throne of
his Maieſtie, all thoſe your reaſons which you had giuen in inſtruction; He gaue command, that thoſe
ſaid Commiſsioners, come hither in your behalfe, with the Embaſſadour of England reſident in our
happy Port, ſhould haue a conference in the preſence of my late Vizier Halil, then Captaine Baſſa;
and that all things there ſhould be accommodated and appeaſed. Which conference being made in the
preſcribed forme, there all your grieuances were largely repeated to the end, that by reaſon of the
aboue mentioned inconueniences, there ſhould not happen any breach of the antient Peace and friend-
ſhip, all matters were then anew pacified, and by writing and new treaty accorded, That according
to the antient cuſtome there ſhould be ſent an Engliſh Conſul to Algier and Tunes, and that their
B Merchants ſhould ſafely and friendly go thither, and into all other parts of this well gouerned Em-
pire, and traffique in all ports thereof, and that they ſhould neuer hereafter be any way hindered, of-
fended, or moleſted by any of you; and for more caution and aſſurance, there being written an authen-
ticall Letter, ſent vnto the King of England, he gaue order and hath appointed a Conſul with many
rich merchandiſes arriued in thoſe ports. Which my ſaid Vncle did alſo then ſend you his expreſſe
Command, That you ſhould obſerue all the ſaid Agreement. But now being newly aduertiſed, That
you my ſlaues of Algier, who wholly contrary to the laſt promiſe, contract, and faith giuen, doe get,
take, and ſpoyle all the Engliſh Ships that you meet on the ſea, robbing them of their goods, and ma-
king ſlaues of their men, doing them all wrong and damage; and conſidering the King of England
is conſtant and ſincere in his Peace and League with vs, and that the protection and cheriſhing of his
C ſubiects is neceſſarie vnto vs; and that for you of Algier, or other of my Beghs whoſoeuer, to take
veſſels, goods, or men from the ſaid Engliſh Nation, ſo contrarie to the laſt Agreement made,
and faith giuen, is a thing much againſt our will and the Imperiall Capitulations by vs granted; and
alſo it being our will, that betweene you and them there ſhould be a good peace and correſpondence, and
that the ſaid Engliſh Nation may ſafely and ſecurely traffique in all parts of this our well gouerned
Empire, and that no man preſume to do them any damage or iniurie, and that for the time to come
the tenour of our Imperiall Capitulations in their Land may be duely obſerued, We haue ſent you this
our Imperiall Command, and We do command you,

That euery one of you, of what condition ſoeuer, do obey according to the tenour of this my Impe-
riall Command, ſent you on purpoſe for this onely reaſon; That whether by ſea, or in any other place
D where you ſhall meet any Ship of the Engliſh, their people or goods, you do vnto them no violence or
wrong whatſoeuer; but alway according to the Capitulations giuen them, and the laſt treaty and
agreement made with you, that you hold and keepe a true peace and friendſhip with them; and alſo
that you obey according to the commandements formerly ſent to you in this buſineſſe; and that you ne-
uer do nor ſuffer to be done any act contrarie vnto them, but that you with all diligence obſerue and
obey this my Command ſent you: in doing whereof you ſhall obtaine our fauor and benediction. And
ſeeing according to the agreement made betweene you, there were diuers ſlaues ſet free and ſent vnto
you from England, you alſo ſhall ſet free all thoſe Engliſh ſlaues that ſhall be found in your hands,
and ſhall conſigne them to the Engliſh Conſul. And that whereas the Ship of England which was
ſent vnto you with diuers Engliſh goods, hauing been diſcharged, and receiuing your ſafe conduct,
E and returning to their Countrey, being met by ſome of Algier, who had no reſpect to the accord and
faith giuen, they did take both the Ship and goods, and make the men ſlaues: therefore that act be-
ing very contrarie to our louing peace and friendſhip, you ſhall deliuer the ſaid ſhip and goods and
men to the Engliſh Conſul; and take heed you do not herein ſhew diſobedience to our command, and
that thoſe whoſoeuer, who haue been ſo bold to commit ſuch an offence ſo contrary to the Peace and
faith giuen, you ſhall cauſe to be ſeuerely puniſhed. In concluſion, know you, that in no caſe it is our
Imperiall will, that the ſaid Engliſh Nation hereafter ſhall be any way troubled or damnified, ſo
contrarie to our Imperiall Capitulation. Therefore let euery one of you be admoniſhed, That accor-
ding as it is written in our Law, ſaying, Obey the Lord God, the Prophet, and the Emperor;
that thereby obeying you ſhall obtaine my bleſsing; you ſhall neuer conſent nor permit that any thing
F be done contrarie to my Imperiall will: for if hereafter it ſhall be made knowne vnto vs, that the
ſaid Engliſh Nation ſhall be againe outraged and iniuried by you, be aſſured that euery one of you
ſhall fall into my indignation and diſgrace, and you ſhall be puniſhed with all ſeueritie. Therefore
be you aduertiſed, that the obeying of my Imperiall Command ſhall be vnto you an aſſurance and or-
nament both of glorie and felicitie; and hauing my benediction, euery one of you vndoubtedly ſhall

obtaine happineſſe in this world, and glory in the world to come, and you ſhall enioy all your deſires. Then you my ſlaues of Algier, according to the tenor of this my Command ſent you, be you friends with the Engliſh ſincerely and perfectly, and do you entirely obſerue the Peace and League, and vſe kindely the Engliſh Conſul among you; and protect and defend their Merchants, and whether by ſea or in port you ſhall meet any of their Ships, ſhew vnto them all friendſhip, and omit no occaſion to aid, defend, and to ſhew loue vnto them: and this our Imperial Command, both of the arriual, and in what ſort you haue accepted and obeyed it, and in what forme you haue eſtabliſhed the Peace, and reſented my will and Command, you ſhall aduiſe the whole by your anſwer vnto our high Port. And thus let it be knowne vnto you, giuing alway credit vnto our Imperiall Signature.

To the Baſſa of Algier.

THe high and Jmperiall Affirmo being arriued, you ſhall know, Whereas in times paſt the Gouernours in that Prouince before you, by receiuing the fifts and tenths of the ſhips, goods, and men, which the Souldierie of Algier did take and rob from the Engliſh Nation, and by giuing them leaue and authority to do ſuch depredations & acts, ſo contrary to the Jmperiall Capitulations, the ſaid ſouldiers haue taken ſo much boldneſſe and daring, that they continue to do innumerable ſpoyles and violences vnto the ſayd Engliſh Nation: which their inſolent actions being made knowne vnto the high Port, and there was inſtantly written and ſent vnto them expreſſe and Imperiall Commands, That in no way, nor by no meanes it was not the will nor Imperiall minde, that the Gouernours ſhould in ſuch ſort conniue, and ſo euidently (contrarie to the Imperiall Capitulations) ſhould take any fifts or tenths, nor giue nor permit any licence vnto the ſaid ſoldiers, to do ſo iniuſt things; but that in this particular they ſhould do all their diligence and loue, and that they ſhould neuer take any fifts or tenths of the goods of the ſaid Engliſh, ſtollen by the ſaid ſoldiers, nor that they ſhould permit vpon no pretence, that the Engliſh ſhips, goods, and men, ſo contrarie to the Imperiall Capitulations, ſhould be neither by them nor any other, outraged, moleſted, or damnified; and that if hereafter it ſhould be knowne, that the ſaid Gouernours ſhould notwithſtanding anew haue taken & accepted the fifts & tenths of the ſhips, goods, or Engliſhmen, robbed and taken by the ſaid Souldierie, and becauſe they haue conſented and ſuffered the Souldierie to do ſuch depredations, wrong, and ſpoyles, and for hauing alſo beene the cauſe to violate the Peace, League, and friendſhip betweene vs and the King of England; that as faulty guilty men they ſhould be condignely puniſhed. Now being that we are anew confirmed, if that the Souldiers do not obey the ſaid Commands and Orders ſent by vs, and that by you the Gouernors there is leaue giuen them to continue in their iniuſt courſe of robberie and oppreſſion, and that ſtill you do take the ſaid fifts and tenths, and that you proceed in violating of the Jmperiall Capitulations; Know you, That you are fallen into our diſgrace, being it is in no ſort our Imperiall will, that the ſaid Engliſh Nation ſhould be ſo damnified and outraged. And to the end that all the Commands giuen and ſent into thoſe parts for this buſines, may be obſerued and obeyed, and that herafter by no means there may neuer be giuen nor permitted any libertie to the ſaid Soldiers to do the like depredations vpon the ſaid Nation, and that neuer you nor any after you, do neuer take any fift nor tenth, nor any part, but that alway the ſaid Nation ſhould be protected and defended, We haue giuen this our Imperiall Commandement, and we do command,

That when this ſhall be arriued, you ſhall obſerue and do according to this our high and

A *Imperiall Command; onely giuen for this reaſon, and alſo in conformitie of the former Commands ſent in this buſineſſe: which you ſhall obey with all diligence and care; and that you ſhall neuer take nor accept any fift nor other ſhare, of the ſhips, goods, or men, that the Souldiers of Algier ſhall ſo vniustly take (contrarie to our Imperiall Capitulations) from the ſaid Engliſh Nation: nor neuer hereafter ſhall giue leaue, nor ſuffer, that the Souldiers, ſo contrarie to my will and Imperiall Capitulations, ſhall do ſuch ſpoyles and depredations to the ſaid Engliſh Nation; and that in no caſe you ſhall neuer permit that Engliſhmen ſhall be there ſold, but you ſhall alway protect and defend them. And know of certaintie,* B *That if after the arriuall of this our Command, we ſhall vnderstand, that the ſaid Nation ſhall be anew outraged and iniuried, no excuſe from you ſhall be accepted nor heard; and not onely you ſhall be depriued of your gouernment, but you ſhall be ſeuerely puniſhed. Therefore be aduiſed, and take heed that you commit no act that ſhall be contrary to my will and Imperiall Capitulations giuen to the ſaid Nation. And in concluſion, take you order that all my ſlaues of Algier may keepe peace and friendſhip with the ſaid Engliſh; becauſe it is my Imperiall deſire, that the ſaid Nation and their Merchants may come, go, and traffique in all parts of our Empire. Therefore do you do all your diligence and endeauour, and to ſee that the Peace be ſetled with the ſaid Engliſh, and take heed that you commit no negligence* C *nor errour whatſoeuer. And thus be it knowne vnto you, giuing alway faith to our Imperiall Signature.*

The like three ſeuerall Commands, onely ſome circumſtances altered, according to the requiſites of the place, were written and ſent to the Dye, and Baſſa, and Diuan of Tunes.

This Peace thus concluded and promulged, was well and exactly obſerued for fiue yeres, and not one Engliſh ſhip aſſayled or taken, and at leaſt ſix hundred Mariners, ſubiects of his Maieſtie, releaſed from a miſerable ſeruitude and captiuitie: vntill a ſmall offence was done to them, which they eaſily apprehended, to renew their deſire of ſpoyle, by which only they D liue, as being a people without induſtrie or traffique; there being but one way to maintaine a Peace with them who are glad of any occaſion of warre, not to begin, not to vnbinde their hands; for the ſoule of Wiſedome is Preuention. And ſo wee proceed to our generall Storie.

1624.

Ali Baſſa the great Vizier beheaded.

On the foure and twentieth of March *Ali Baſſa* the great Vizier was ſent for into the Seraglio; where being queſtioned by the young Emperour about the affaires of the Perſian inuaſion, he was condemned inſtantly to loſe his head, which was executed in the place, and his body throwne out naked into the ſtreets. The occaſion of his ſudden death was attributed to his diſſimulation with the Grand Seigniour in the loſſe of Babylon, and that he had ſuborned E falſe aduice that there was no ſuch matter; either for ſloath, or feare to take vpon him the charge of the war, with an army that would not obey in the Citie: and the baſe mony which he had cauſed to be coyned, being but one fift ſiluer, with which hee made a whole payment to the Souldierie, putting the good dollars into his owne purſe. But indeed the true cauſe was his owne ſordid couetouſneſſe, who in ſix moneths had heaped vp an infinite treaſure, by ſale of all Iuſtice and Offices; which in the end weighed him downe to the ground, and ſupplied (like a large ſpunge) their preſent wants for the intended warre in Aſia. To this dignitie was aduanced *Cerques Mechemet Baſſa*, an antient Vizier, a man of an honeſt and ſincere nature, and one too good for thoſe times; who after he had enioyed his place but a ſhort while, laboured to ſurrender it, as vnable to ſupport or content the inſolencie of the *Spahies* F in their vnreaſonable demands of impoſſible benefits. In the meane time the preparation for the war in Aſia was aduanced, though the reſolution to ſet forward was deferred, vpon hope that by the authoritie of *Cherques Mehemet Baſſa* and other new Miniſters, *Abaſſa Baſſa* might be reduced to obedience, and that great feare and impediment remoued, they hauing vndertaken to endeauour it: though it appeared very difficult, being that he yet continued the ſiege

of Angria; and that his ſcattered armie that wintered abroad begun to returne to him from
all parts, he would be loth (although the Grand Seignior had ſent him another) to truſt his G
life vpon a pardon.

The Emperour prepares for a war in Hungarie.

While the Grand Seigniour was thus threatened in Aſia with the King of Perſia and his
owne Rebell *Abaſſa Baſſa*, the Emperour of Germanie made great preparations for Hungarie,
to the number of fiftie thouſand men, which bred great iealouſie at the Port: but his Embaſſadour
the Baron of Carey, lately arriued, to preuent a generall breach, and the expiration
of the laſt Treaty made for twentie yeares at Zilwar, in the yeare 1606, diſſembling all
the aids giuen to *Gabor*, gaue the Grand Seignior full aſſurance, that his Maſter had no intent
of breach with him; but openly diſauowed the Truce with the Prince of Tranſyluania, made
at Goding: and that *Cæſar* would make warre vpon him, vnleſſe he might haue all the places H
in Hungary, in his poſſeſſion, reſtored; deſiring onely a neutralitie from the Port, according
to the antient Treatie. The Prince of Tranſyluania, who now repented that hee had giuen
away the vſe of his late victory, which he might haue enjoied, and foreſeeing the ſtorme that
was like to fall vpon him, ſent to the Port for ſuccours; who with much ado obtained ſome
Tartars, and Commands to the Baſſa's of Boſnia, Buda, Caniza, Agria, and Temizuar, to be
in readineſſe with all their frontier garriſons to defend and aſſiſt him in any motion of the
Emperor, or elſe not to ſtirre: being vnwilling to abandon him, who was then their chiefeſt
bulwarke toward that part of Chriſtendome, whileſt moſt of their forces ſhould be employed
againſt the Perſian in Aſia; who had then entred Diarbech (the antient Meſopotamia) and
taken Misbin and Merdin, two principal places, and all that Prouince, except Hamit the chiefe I
citie, wherein was a Baſſa, who defended the ſame with great valour and reputation: and it
was then not knowne where the Perſian would limit his ambition, many other parts fearing
him for that which he had alreadie done; for he had ſeparated the Arabia's, and all to the Eaſt
of the Perſian ſea, from the Turkiſh Empire; as hauing conquered from Balſara Northward
almoſt all to his owne Derbent vpon the Caſpian ſea.

Vpon the eighteenth of Aprill the Victuallers for the Aſian armie paſſed ouer the water,
but the diſpatch of the Vizier and the armie was ſtill delayed, and little ſpeech when they
ſhould depart. In the meane time the Perſian preuailed, without any oppoſition of conſequence;
and no man could diſcerne the inward cauſe of this ſlowneſſe, onely the outward appearance
was, A ſuſpition and complaint from the Blacke-Sea; the Citie of Caffa hauing K
ſent their Mufti and other Commiſſioners to informe the Grand Seigniour, That foure hundred
boats of Coſſackes were abroad; That they had done great ſpoyles in the coaſt of Tartaria
and of the Turkiſh Empire, and taken many ſhippes laden with prouiſion for the
Port, and forty thouſand more armed and horſed readie for ſome land attempt; which put
all thoſe parts into great feare: of which they deſired that preſent care and prouiſion might be
taken and ordered for their defence. Whereupon there was held a new Councell, and *Ibrahim
Baſſa* diſpatched with thirteene gallies to make gard vntil more aids could be prepared;
intending not long after to ſend a land armie, and the Captaine Baſſa with their whole Fleet.

Abaſſa Baſſa reconciled to the Grand Seignior.

Abaſſa Baſſa (the ſuppoſed Rebel of Aſia) hauing collected his armie together, ſuddenly
roſe from Angria, and departed Eaſtward, hauing done no ſpoyle to the city nor inhabitants, L
but left behinde him a better fame than any gouernor ſent from the Port; he now had accepted
the Grand Seigniors pardon, and in obedience to his command, and ſhew of ſubmiſſion,
marched directly towards Diarbecher, to vnite himſelfe with *Haſis Achmet Baſſa*, as was
ſuppoſed for the defence of that Countrey, who onely made ſome head againſt the Perſian.
This reſolution of his departure did much ſeruice to that ſtate; for thereby the Ianizaries and
Spahies were accorded, and encouraged to go to the warre, who before could not be drawne
out, ſuſpecting one another, and fearing Him more than the forreine Enemie: For it was euident;
if he had ſtayed in the way, either the ſouldiers would neuer haue gone out, or beene
ſubiect to delay, mutinies, and diſſentions, by reaſon of their factions. But now vpon this
good fortune to that State, the great Vizier, Treaſurer, Aga of the Ianizaries, and all the officers M
and armie was paſſed ouer to Scutari, and muſtered the tenth of May, being ordained to
march the twentieth: which was expected with great longing, in reſpect of the Souldierie,
who as yet behaued themſelues ſoberly, and made ſhew of reformation and obedience to
Lawes. They were in all about thirtie thouſand Ianizaries, and fourtie thouſand Spahies,

A many being gone before to make the Armie compleat, and the place of their Rendeuous
about Bruſſia.

In the meane time a report was ſpread, that the King of Perſia was dead: but that fame gai-
ned little credit with the Turkes, who knew it to be an vſuall policie of that King, in hope
thereby to ſlacken the haſt of their forces ſent againſt him; but it did rather quicken them,
inſomuch as they ſaid he had been often dead, but ſtill reuiued to ſome greater miſchiefe.

Biram Baſſa was diſpatched Generall of the frontier of Poland and Bugdania, with foure
thouſand ſoldiers, and order to draw together and command all the Beghs and garriſons, and
to raiſe new forces on that Quarter, in preuention of ſome attempt feared from the Coſſacks;
who were in arms vpon the border, and had put all into diſtraction. To the thirteen gallies be-
B fore mentioned to make a gard in the Blacke-Sea, were added ten more; who firſt tranſpor-
ted *Iean Gheray Han*, to re-eſtabliſh him Prince of the Tartars, and depoſe *Mechmet*, aduan-
ced the yeare before. That reſolution was carried very ſecretly, and though there was ſome
whiſper, yet he was not declared vntill the day he kiſſed the Grand Seigniors Veſt, tooke his
leaue, mouuted his galley, and departed. The cauſe of this ſudden mutation was pretended,
That *Mechmet* was accuſed by the Poles to haue broken the Peace, and ſo they would paci-
fie the Coſſacks on better hopes: but the truth was, he was ſuſpected, becauſe he had excu-
ſed to ſend aid to the Aſian warre, being thereto required, as fearing the entry of the Coſ-
ſackes into his Countrey: and the rather, becauſe his brother *Shachin Gheray*, who fled
twelue yeares before to the Perſian, being in diſgrace with Sultan *Achmat*, was now retur-
C ned into Tartaria, at the inſtant when the Perſian did inuade the Turkiſh dominions, as if there
had been ſome confederacie betweene them, both thoſe brethren being braue ſouldiers: and
therefore it was feared that a dangerous reuolt or warre would breake out in thoſe parts. For
if *Mechmet* were not ſuddenly ſurpriſed, it was thought he would defend himſelfe and his
Poſſeſſion. When the gallies had performed their ſeruice to the new Prince, they were ap-
pointed to ioyne with the others, and to diſcharge *Ibrahim Baſſa*; one *Huzein Baſſa* a Vizier
of the Bench being ſent to that command: *Biram Baſſa* hauing likewiſe order to haue an eye
vpon the Tartars, as well as on the Poles. At the firſt departure of the firſt gallies, as ſoone
as they came into the Blacke-Sea, they met with a ſmall Carmiſall, who reporting that on-
ly forty boats of the Coſſackes were before them, the Ianizaries mutined, and forced their
D General to retyre into the Channel, and demanded more ſtrength; who were checqued, ſup-
plied with more men, and ſo proceeded.

Biram Baſſa diſpatched Generall againſt the Coſſackes.

Amongſt other diſtractions and reuolts of the ſubiects of that Empire, the Pirats of Al-
gier and Tunes caſt off all obedience not onely vpon the ſea, where they were maſters, but
preſuming to doe many inſolencies euen vpon the land, and in the beſt ports of the Grand
Seigniour. They began at Rhodes, where the Caſtle ſhot at them. Afterward, a fleet of ſix
Pirats of Tunes met with a Flemiſh ſhip called the Moon, laden at Alexandreta; with whom
notwithſtanding their Peace, they fought, and fired her, not ſauing any thing but ſome of the
men, whom they made ſlaues: & after, comming into the port of Salines at Ciprus, they found
two Flemings more, and two Venetians, able to fight with two ſuch Fleets. As ſoon as they
E came into the Road they now claimed peace of the Flemings, ſeeing themſelues too weake
to ſet vpon all foure; proteſting, That if they would aſſiſt their enemies, the breach was on
their parts: who thereupon (vnworthily) promiſed a neutralitie. Then they ſet vpon the Ve-
netians, the Captaines whereof went aſhore to craue protection of the Caſtle in the Grand
Seigniours port; for which the Begh demanded fifty thouſand dollars, or elſe they ſhould
take their fortune: which they refuſed, and ſo were expoſed to their owne defence; and the
Pirats beginning with the ſmaller ſhip, ſhe made a good reſiſtance, but hauing no helpe, ſhe
was thrice fired, and at laſt burnt to the water: The Captaine of the Dolphin (the greater
ſhip) not ſhooting a ſhot, with his men ſtole aſhore, and fired her, being a veſſell of eight hun-
dred tunnes, and armed with forty eight Pieces of braſſe. The ladings of theſe two were
F valued at three hundred thouſand dollars, of which the Pirats ſaued nothing: and in ill
euils it was a bleſſing, that ſuch a ſhip fell not into their hands, ſeeing the cowards were not
able to hold ſuch a ſtrong Fort. From thence they ſailed to Scandaron, where finding ano-
ther Fleming, and a Polacra, they ſurpriſed both, and then prepared to land: The Aga of
the Scale and all the inhabitants fled, and they ſacked the towne, and robbed all warehouſes;
and

The Pirats of Tunes and Algier in rebellion.

and not therewith content, they ſet it on fire, ſo that nothing remained but ſtone walls that G
would not burne. The greateſt loſſe to ſtrangers fell vpon the Dutch and Engliſh; for the for-
mer loſt about thirty thouſand, and the later about ten thouſand dollars; and ſo they raigned
in the port eight days, and departed. An inſolencie vnſufferable, if that State had any ſence of
honour or profit: for by this example there was no Scale of the Grand Seigniour ſecure, and
all trade muſt be giuen ouer, if no preſent courſe were taken for a full redreſſe.

Troubles in Tartarie.

Vpon the laſt of May, after long expectation, the great Vizier *Cerques Mehmet Baſſa* and
the Armie for Aſia began to march; and *Abaſſa Baſſa* had made ſo many halts on the way,
that he was greatly ſuſpected of the Ianizaries, that he lingered vpon purpoſe for them; and at
the beſt it was feared, he would onely returne to Arzirum, and keepe the ſame. The Perſi-
ans death was no more ſpoken of, but was rather doubted he would be found aliue ſuddenly H
neere Aleppo: and the Emir of Sidon did once more threaten Damaſcus and Ieruſalem. Thus
the miſchiefs and feares of that State followed one another like claps of thunder: For *Mech-
met Gheray*, made Tartar Han the yeare before, being encouraged by his brother *Shachim*,
newly come from his baniſhment in Perſia, would not ſubmit to the Grand Seigniours Or-
der, and reſigne his principalitie to his Couſine *Iean Gheray* (not long after ſent and made
Prince) and therefore he was againe recalled, fearing to put that Countrey to trouble. But
before that Order could ouertake him, he was landed, and *Mechmet Gheray* come down with
a great Army to reſiſt him; and the Generall of the gallies in the Blacke-Sea was forced to
land both his Ianizaries and artillerie for his defence, and with ſuch power as they could
make (not exceeding foure thouſand) to entrench them vnder the countenance of their ord- I
eance, where there paſſed ſharpe blowes in three skirmiſhes, and on both ſides about two
thouſand ſlaine; the Generall diſpatching one galley to the Port with aduice, and requiring
preſent ſuccours. Whereupon the eleuenth of Iune a peremptorie Order came from the
Grand Seigniour, That ſeeing his honour was now ingaged, he would maintaine *Iean Ghe-
ray*, and giue him ſpeedy aids. To which end a Councell was held the ſame day, and reſolu-
tion taken to ſend ſupplies, either the Captain Baſſa, who was then ready for the Mediterran,
or by order to the Princes of Bugdania and Wallachia. And thoſe brothers, then in poſſeſſi-
on, had no retreit, but muſt maintaine their diſobedience by the ſword, which was a matter
of as much danger as euer befell the Turkiſh Empire. Hereupon the Captaine Baſſa with ſix-
teene gallies went into the Blacke-Sea in aid of *Iean Gheray*, made Prince of the Tartars, K
whom *Mechmet Gheray* had beaten off the land, and forced him to retyre to the Grand Seig-
niors gallies that carried him thither. The Emperour being ſtill reſolued to giue thoſe peo-
ple a Prince, ordered all the frontier ſuccours to meet him to place them by force; which
was, in the opinion of many that knew the countrey, held a matter of great difficultie, all the
Tartars taking part with *Mechmet*, who had in his Army neere threeſcore and ten thouſand
horſe.

In the meane time the great Vizier *Cerques Mehmet Baſſa* marched towards Dierbecker;
from whence there was newes, That the Arabs, ioyned with ſome of the Grand Seigniours
forces, had giuen a Checque to the Perſian: which did encourage their owne Army, who
were not yet out of feare of *Abaſſa Baſſa* and his troupes (that ſtayed about Keſarie) earneſtly L
expecting what part he would take. Yet the ſeaſon being hot, the Perſian aduanced little, but
onely forraged the countrey.

The Coſſackes enter the Boſphorus,

Vpon the ninth of Iuly, betweene ſeuentie and foureſcore boats of the Coſſackes, with
fifty men apeece (rowers and ſouldiers) watching the opportunitie of the Captaine Baſſa's
being ingaged in Tartarie, entered the Boſphorus about breake of the day; where diuiding
themſelues, they ſackt and burnt almoſt all the villages and houſes of pleaſure on both ſides
the Riuer, as farre as the Caſtles, and within foure miles of Conſtantinople. The principall
places were Bainkdery and Ienicoie, on the Grecian; and Stenia on the Aſiaticke ſhore: where
hauing made great and rich booty, they ſtayed vntill nine of the clocke in the forenoone; and
then all the city and ſubiects hauing taken the alarme, the Grand Seignior came downe to the M
water ſide, the Chimacham to the water-port: *Halil Baſſa* made himſelfe Generall in this tu-
mult, and hauing not one galley ready for defence, he cauſed to be manned and armed all the
ſhip-boats, barges, and other ſmall wherries, to the number of foure or fiue hundred; with
ſuch people as they could either get to row, or hope to fight; and diſpatched all the horſe
and

A and foot in the city, to the number of ten thouſand, to defend the caſtle from further ſpoyle. Neuer was there ſeene a greater feare and confuſion for the time: yet they expected that thoſe poore Theeues would vpon their preparation preſently retyre. But they ſeeing the Turks boats make towards them, drew themſelues together into the middeſt of the channell, not farre aboue the Caſtles, and ſtayed firme vpon their oares in battalion (in forme of a Creſcent) expecting the aſſault, the wind and current being againſt them. *Halil Baſſa* cauſed ſome ſhot to be made a farre off, but they anſwered not with one musket, but houered from one ſhore to another, without any ſhew of retreit. Hereupon, the Generall ſeeing their forme and reſolution, thought it not fit to aſſaile them with ſuch boats as hee had, but eſteemed it wiſedome enough to keepe them from further attempts; fearing if they had broken his fleet B of boats, which was eaſily done, that they would venture downe to Conſtantinople, which was now emptie of all defence. And thus theſe few boats hauing firſt made great ſpoile, lay the whole day, vntill the Sunne ſet, facing and brauing that great and fearefull citie of the world, and all the force it could make, and departed with their booty, with their Colours ſpred, vnfought with, or almoſt reſiſted.

This ſmall action and bold attempt, to affront ſo great an Empire, made a ſtrange diſcouerie, how much vnder the reputation, the terrour and ſtrength of that State was then, how weake and vnprouided they were. But as the Oracle commanded them, Firſt to ſeat ouer againſt blinde men, it hath beene their fortune euer to haue blinde enemies. *Philip* of Macedon had neuer proiected, nor his ſonne *Alexander* neuer aduentured with ſo ſmall forces, the C huge enterpriſe of ſubduing the Eaſterne Empire, if they had not diſcouered the effeminate and faint courage of the Aſiatiques, by the admirable retreit of *Xenophon*, and ſwift incurſion of *Ageſilaus* great armies, not daring to oppoſe the vertue of their ſmall numbers. So wee ſee, of ſmall beginnings oftentimes great matters do ariſe; for by this attempt of the Coſſacks the Poles had abſolutely broken the Peace with that Empire.

Huzein Baſſa ſtrangled in the Court.

Huzein Baſſa that was great Vizier, and vpon the tumult of the Souldierie made eſcape the yeare before (a man turbulent and hated of all men) being at laſt taken and carried into the Seraglio, after he had (by many faire promiſes) confeſſed and reſtored much of the treaſure carried away by him, and giuen to the officers of the Ianizaries to maintaine him, was ſtrangled in the Court, and had the iuſt reward of his tyrannie. And the preſent great Vizier, ſent D to make head againſt the Perſian, did yet ſtay at Iconium, expecting the Souldierie, who did ſlowly draw to him: ſo that it was thought he would Winter in Aleppo, being not able to proceed in the warre that Sommer.

The Captaine Baſſa, ſent into the Blacke-Sea to eſtabliſh *Iean Gheray* Prince of the Tartars, was forced to retyre to Caffa, being repulſed from the land; the people maintaining *Mechmet* in poſſeſſion. Whereupon, to cure the wound with as little skarre as was poſſible, he in the Grand Seigniours name was conſtrained to confirme the other, and to be content to accept a courteſie, for which he gaue ſmall thankes. And *Cante-Emir-Emirze* hauing againe entred Poland, and done ſome ſpoile by the cutting downe of ſome woods, was intercepted in his retreit, and routed with the loſſe of two thirds of his Armie; and the Poles with a very E great campe intrenched very neere Chotyn (the fort beſieged by Sultan *Oſman* in the late warre, and ſurrendered vpon the Peace) expecting the euent of the great troubles on that ſide.

The Coſſackes returne to the Boſphorus.

The Coſſackes after their firſt retreit, returned againe to the mouth of the Boſphorus, with double the number of their firſt fleet, being an huudred and fifty boats at the leaſt; the ſupply hauing lurked behinde, either for ſuccour in caſe of need, or for ſome other aduantage. They ſtayed off and on vpon the coaſt three dayes more, burnt the Pharos and ſome two or three villages. They threatened to come to the Arſenall, putting all the city in great confuſion. Gards were continued and re-inforced in all parts vpon the land; and at laſt, two Gallies (filled with porters and laboring men taken vp in the ſtreets) and about 20 boats were ſent F out to keepe watch, where they remained at the entrance of the channell. But the Coſſacks with their great booty, and two or three Carmiſals taken, retyred; and ſo the feare was paſt for that time. But ſome of the poore Coſſacks being taken ſtragling too farre vpon the land, confeſſed vpon examination, That *Mechmet* Prince of the Tartars was confederate with them to this attempt, in reuenge of the offer made to diſplace him. And this confeſſion haſtned the death of *HuZein Baſſa,* who in the time of his gouernment, of a priſoner made *Mechmet* a Prince, and gaue libertie to the Lords of Poland that were priſoners at the Port (of whom mention hath been made before) and diſpeeded ſuddenly the Duke of Sbarasky, who if they had then been there, without doubt they had been kept hoſtages; for in this tumult the Agent of Poland ranne ſome hazard, if by the wiſedome of the * Chimacham it had not been preuented.

** Lieutenant to the great Vizier.*

About the foure and twentieth of Iuly the Prince of Tranſyluania made an abſolute Peace with the Emperour, without the knowledge or warrant of the Port: which cauſed great ſuſpition amongſt them; but they bare it both ſilently and patiently, in regard of their owne troubles then in Aſia and other places. Therefore the Prince kept the conditions more ſecret: howſoeuer, it was knowne that he ſurrendred and diſclaimed all title to Hungarie, and conſented that the Emperours ſonne ſhould be preſently choſen King thereof, and keepe his Court in Presburg: That all the Eſtates of Hungarie ſhould receiue him, and the Prince of Tranſyluania aſſiſt and ſerue him in all his occaſions: That *Bethlem Gabor* ſhould remain quietly Prince of Tranſyluania, and Earle of Siculi: That he ſhould hold Caſſouia and two or three other Seigniories which he formerly poſſeſſed, during life; and after, that they ſhould returne abſolutely as members to the Crowne of Hungarie. And this Article did trouble the Grand Seigniour, That the Prince at all had mentioned Tranſyluania without any relation to him; as if that Prouince had depended of the Empire. Some other Articles there were concerning the eſtates of priuat men, and mutuall pardons; this which hath been ſet downe was the ſubſtance of the Treaty.

In the meane time a Chiaus (ſent by the Grand Seigniour to the Emperour, with the news of his inauguration, and to offer the continuance of the antient Leagues and Treaties between them) returned to the Port with the Emperors Letter of acceptance, and confirmation of the Treaty made at Zitwa, which was the laſt: Wherein it was agreed, That what either ſide poſſeſſed at that time, ſhould remaine as it was; and if any road ſhould be made, and priſoners taken, or place ſurpriſed (during the Truce) on either part, that reſtitution and full ſatisfaction ſhould be giuen by him that innouated. *Ali Baſſa* the Vizier before, and *Cerques Baſſa* at that preſent, did both of them conſent to the renewing of this Treaty, which was often broken; ignorant vtterly of the affaires of thoſe parts, and of the diſaduantage to the Prince of Tranſyluania and their owne State: for hereby the Truce being againe in vigour, the Grand Seigniour was bound to ſurrender Vatz, and many other places of importance that had been ſurpriſed in a time when there was neither abſolute peace nor warre betweene them, and was obliged to make many other reſtitutions of damage. But the Imperial partie did not preſſe thoſe ſmaller matters; onely demanding Vatz and all the countrey depending, held themſelues (for their limits) ſtrictly to that Treatie, which was then againe confirmed on both ſides. This concluſion diſcontented many, who laid the blame on the information of the Baſſa of Buda, a ſuſpected pentioner of the Emperour: but it was the Grand Seigniours troubles in Aſia that made him ſilent, and ſuffer both that loſſe and many affronts from Tartarie and the Coſſackes.

Newes of the Turks Army ouerthrowne by the Tartars.

There arriued in the meane time from the Blacke-Sea two gallies, which brought the bodies of two Viziers, and certaine newes of the ouerthrow of the Armie ſent vnder command of the Captaine Baſſa, to plant the new Prince of the Tartars; who hauing landed his forces and artillerie, was routed and beaten, himſelfe wounded, twenty eight pieces of ordnance loſt, two Viziers of the Bench and about fiue thouſand ſouldiers ſlaine and taken, the reſt ſaued by flight vpon the gallies; onely the Captaine Baſſa with his fleet ſtayed about Varna to receiue new Order. There had not happened to that Empire in many ages a loſſe of more importance, in reſpect of the conſequences; an Imperiall Armie beaten, and thereby Tartaria ſeparated from obedience to the Turkiſh Empire, and that people taught to know, That they were able to make and maintaine their owne Prince. But this was no time to take too much knowledge of that diſgrace, Policie teaching them, rather to cure than to make the breach greater. For the Grand Seignior after that diſpatched a galley to the Prince of the Tartars, with a Veſt and a Sword to his ſonne, and a confirmation to him of his place; caſting all the faults vpon the Captain Baſſa, and diſauowing his attempts; though he was ſent with Commiſſion to do it. Which (to make the diſſimulation good) was like to coſt him his head, being ſent for in to anſwer the ſame. The ſudden yeelding on the Grand Seigniors part ſhewed a great weakneſſe and feare, to flatter a victorious enemie; and it was doubted how the Tartarian would accept a Gift which he had gotten by his owne ſtrength: for if he ſtood out he would proue a dangerous neighbour, the city of Conſtantinople alwaies being open to him; for Adrianople and the borders did then feare him, and euen ſome Coſſacks did ioyne with him, although before they had been mortall enemies. Yet to make ſome compenſation of this defection, *Abaſſa Baſſa* the ſtrong Rebell had made his peace with the great Vizier in Aſia; and to ſeale the credit of his faith by another treacherie, ſent in the heads and eſtates of three of his chiefe followers, to redeeme his owne. Which much raiſed the dull countenance of that Court; for although the pardon was diſhonourable, yet it was ſeaſonable. But they durſt not ioyne their Armies for feare of new ſtirres, for he went toward his owne gouernment of Arzirum, with promiſe to keepe it ſafe; and the Vizier marched ſlowly towards Babylon, as then held by the Perſian.

A peace concluded betweene the great Vizier and Abaſſa Baſſa the rebell.

About the twentieth of September the great Vizier *Cerques Baſſa* abiding in Iconium, and *Abaſſa Baſſa* in Kaiſerie (neere thereunto) he was earneſtly prouokad by the Ianizaries to ſet vpon him. But the Vizier hauing expreſſe order, not to make the breach greater with the Rebell, but to vſe all meanes to appeaſe him, and to reconcile him to them, would not be drawne to conſent thereunto: for which cauſe, and ſome other their ſmall diſcontents, they twice ſtoned the tents of the Vizier, and wounded him in the head. Whereupon he aſſembled the Commanders of the Spahies, declaring vnto them the great truſt the Grand Seigniour had in them; and ſhewing them an abſolute Order giuen him, to keepe good termes with *Abaſſa*, and neuer to fall to blowes with him, he deſired them to finde ſome way of pacification betweene him and the Ianizaries: who inſtantly promiſed their obedience and aid to execute all his commands. Then the Vizier called together ſome of the Captaines of the Ianizaries, and perſuaded them ſo to worke with their companions, that a Peace might be concluded betweene them and *Abaſſa Baſſa*. Who finding their fellowes very vnwilling, had much difficultie to perſuade them: In the end it was agreed, that the Vizier ſhould treat and accommodate all differences. Who preſently ſent to conferre with *Abaſſa*; but hee by no meanes would truſt himſelfe, or giue a meeting; and anſwered, That he would neuer depart from his followers and Armie; but if that he deſired to ſpeake with him in priuat, that hee ſhould firſt ſend his brother the Beglerbegh of Caramania, and *Elias* Baſſa of Natolia, in hoſtages, and then he would come vnto him. Which diffidence of his much diſpleaſed, and the Vizier was conſtrained to treat the Peace by mediation: which hauing brought to effect, hee tooke his oath three times vpon the Alcaron, To hold him as a friend, and neuer to doe him any violence. The Ianizaries alſo gaue their conſent in publique, promiſing to maintaine the word of the Vizier: And the Articles of their reconciliation being drawne in writing, were ſent to *Abaſſa*; who reciprocally made the like Oath, and accepted the Peace vpon the conditions following, ſigned by the Vizier: *That he ſhould be confirmed Baſſa of Arzirum; his Son Beglerbegh of Orfa, and his Lieutenant of Maras (all on the borders of Perſia) and that he ſhould depart with all his Armie to the defence and cuſtodie of that Prouince, and wait vpon the aduantages of the Enemie.*

Abaſſa Baſſa killeth Colophon Baſſa with his owne hands.

While *Abaſſa Baſſa* did treat this accommodation, *Colophon Muſtapha Baſſa* (the principall of his Colleagues in all his rebellion) made ſome ſhew of retyredneſſe from him, and vnderhand to parle with the Vizier apart; and in concluſion wrote vnto him, and promiſed to deliuer or to kill *Abaſſa Baſſa*. Which Letters of his being either intercepted or ſent him, and ſeeing that *Colophon* had reſolued to ſell him treacherouſly, he called him into his Tent, and asked him plainly, Why he went about to betray him; and withall ſhewing him his owne hand, he drew his ſword and claue his head, deliuering all his goods vnto ſome ſeruants of the Vizier, to conſigne to their Maſter. Then it was anew moued to *Abaſſa*, That he ſhould aduance with his forces preſently towards Babylon, againſt the Perſian, who had retyred his maine armie to oppoſe the Princes of Vſbecke that had made ſome incurſion; leauing fiue thouſand garriſon ſouldiers in the Citie. But *Abaſſa* refuſed to go; vrging, That he was only bound by the Treaty, to returne and make gard in his gouernment of Arzirum. Whereupon the Vizier, forced to riſe and aduance, hee arriued at a caſtle called Nigda (neere Aleppo) wherein were diuers chiefe followers of *Abaſſa Baſſa*; who hauing vnderſtood of the Pacification made, came out with preſents and victuals to meet the Vizier and his Armie, and were of him well receiued: but the Ianizaries enuying to ſee them ſo well vſed and honored, in a fury fell vpon them and killed them all (vſing the opportunitie) and entering the caſtle, put to execution their wiues and children, and euery perſon found therein, and all others that could be diſcouered in the bordering villages appertaining to him, to the great diſcontent of the Vizier. Which being knowne to *Abaſſa*, and ſeeing they had broken their oath and faith, he roſe with his Armie, and marched right to the Imperiall Campe; where arriuing, one of his Captaines with foure hundred horſe began the dance, and without delay fell into the Quarter of the Ianizaries, doing ſome execution for an houre and a halfe: in which skirmiſh there fell on both ſides two or three thouſand. The Vizier ſeeing this beginning, partly forced by the Ianizaries, and partly for his honor, drew vp his whole army to come to a battel in their defence. Which *Abaſſa Baſſa* perceiuing, and that which hee expected not (who hoped that the Vizier and Spahi's would haue giuen him leaue to reuenge many inſolencies vpon the other) vnwilling to fight with the Grand Seigniours Generall, ſounded a retreit, and got himſelfe and his armie a mile or two off diſtance. The Vizier to ſhew himſelfe faithfull to the Ianizaries, and to keepe in grace with them, ſent foure Beglerbeghs with their Regiments in purſuit of him: who finding *Abaſſa* and his Armie in good order, and firme, made ſome ſhew of skirmiſh, to little purpoſe. But they returned to the campe, and told the Vizier, that they had found him in battalion with forty thouſand men, and that they were not able to deale with him. The next day *Abaſſa* with many great threatnings marched away directly for Arzirum; and the Vizier to Diarbecher, for his hybernation; in great diſpleaſure of the Ianizaries, and the rather, for that he was beloued and protected by the Spahies.

The Tartars make an incurſion into Poland.

The brother of *Mechmet Gheray* in the mean time broke through the Prouince of Bugdania (*Radula* the Vayuod hauing made eſcape) & entred into Poland, firſt ſpoiling the country, and driuing away all the cattell; and afterward entered Wallachia, and beſieged his ſonne, Prince of that Countrey, in his caſtle of Tergouiſta, notwithſtanding they were ſubiects of the Grand Seigniour. And in ſtead of ſending backe the artillery loſt in the laſt defeat (which was expected) hee entered the Caſtle of Caffa, the chiefe Port of the Negropont, and carried away from thence all the canon and munition, which he tooke vp into the land to his towne of Bagchaiſeray, as if he meant to fortifie himſelfe (a practiſe at that time vnknowne to the Tartars:) which were ill ſignes of ſubmiſſion, and yet the name of Muſſulmen, at any time when they come to blowes doth eaſily accommodate all quarrels.

Tartar Han ſends an embaſſadour to the Port.

About the twelfth of March following, the Tartar *Han* ſent an Embaſſadour to the Port, with an offer of his Maſters ſeruice (which was receiued with great ioy) excuſing the enterie of the Tartars into the frontier of the Turkiſh Empire, as being done in ſeruice of the Grand Seigniour, onely to fetch *Cante-Emir-Emirze* and his followers out of Siliſtria, and to compell them to retyre, to auoyd and take away all occaſion from the Poles, to lament the iniuries done by them; that thereby they alſo might take the like order for their Coſſackes, and ſo the Peace might be duly obſerued on both ſides. Whereupon a Poſt was diſpatched into Poland, aduiſing what was done, and requiring that on both parts the like correſpondencie might be obſerued; or elſe that the Grand Seigniour would vnderſtand, if the Coſſackes made any new attempt, that the Peace was broken on that ſide, being they could haue no excuſe to lay the fault vpon the Tartars. This vſe was made of the Embaſſage; yet the Vizier was not without iealouſie of the ſinceritie of the Meſſenger, but thought he was ſent for exploration, to diſcouer the force, preparation, and reſolution of that State: and therefore they made all ſhew of good prouiſions; Armes being giuen out to the Buſtangies, and a great fleet dreſſing for the Blacke-Sea; wherein the Coſſackes had been alreadie ſeene, and rumor made them to exceed three hundred boats: inſomuch that all the inhabitants of the Boſphorus did daily retyre to Conſtantinople. The feare was generall, which was ſufficient argument of weakeneſſe; and the yeare before had ſhewed what might be done with a ſmall and reſolute Force.

1625. Now that the ſeaſon ſerued, the Perſian prepared to continue the inuaſion, and the Vizier to oppoſe him. All the Souldierie departed towards the Campe, though they intended not to meet, but to make warre by diuerſion. *Abaſſa* got ſome credit at the Court, and they eaſily

A apprehended all occaſion to beleeue his reconciliation. One of the chiefe Commanders in
the Perſian Armie ſent to *Abaſſa Baſſa* to perſuade him to deliuer Arzirum (his gouernment)
to the Shaugh: which he ſeemingly accepted, and trained him on with eight thouſand men
to take the poſſeſſion; when in the meane time he drew together his troupes, and ſuddenly
ſent them vnder the conduct of a Prince of Georgia, and ſet vpon them that ſuſpected no
treaſon, routed them, and ſlew a thouſand, whoſe heads he diuided, and ſent them for Pre-
ſents to the Port and the Campe. Vpon which action, by the multitude he was proclaimed
to be the beſt Subiect of the Grand Seigniour, and named to be Vizier. But ſome thought it
not ſo great an aſſurance of his fidelitie, becauſe he went not in perſon, nor would come out
of his ſtrength, though commanded to draw into the field to aſſiſt in the generall ſeruice; ex-
B cuſing himſelfe vpon the neceſſitie of defending the Frontier. Neither could he refuſe to
ſend ſome of his followers to this exploit (being vrged thereto by ſome of his Captains) with-
out diſcouering himſelfe too ſoone: his reſolution vndoubtedly being, That while thoſe
two great Oppoſites ſtroue for the whole, he would keepe a part of Aſia, and his owne head;
knowing that he could make his peace with the ſurrender to the Conquerour, at pleaſure.

From theſe parts were not the greateſt nor neereſt fears; for the Prince of the Tartars (ha-
uing made peace with the Poles, and taken the Coſſacks into his fellowſhip) made ſhew of
ſome deſigne againſt the Turkiſh Empire, and the people were very indifferent, many incli-
ning to him. The Coſſacks with three hundred Frigots croſſed the Blacke-Sea, ſacked and
burnt the ſuburbs of Trapezond and all the adioyning coaſt; and retyring, were receiued
C into the port of Ghioſleue, belonging to the Tartars; which augmented the iealouſie, that
they would vnite.

The Coſſackes ſacke the ſuburbs of Trapezond.

At the ſame time there appeared a little Rebell in Natolia, one *Ianet Ogli*, a ſimple Spahi
not aboue twenty foure yeares of age, dwelling in the plaines of Tirria; who vnder the colour
of reformation of the Commonwealth, came downe to Smyrna with ten thouſand follow-
ers. The Citie amaſed, ſent to Conſtantinople for ſuccours, but receiued an anſwer as cold
as their means to helpe them: The Chriſtians fled to their ſhips, by chance in the port; the
Gouernor to the Caſtle: But it ſeemed he had priuate quarrels with ſome great men in the
Towne; whoſe faction ſent out foure thouſand ſhot to keepe a paſſage; which being beaten,
he came before the citie, and executed his will, beheaded two Caddees, puniſhed diuers in-
D ſolent ſouldiers, placed and diſplaced the Officers, and proclaiming peace in the Grand Seig-
niours name, offended no priuate man, nor did any ſpoyle; but giuing a particular protection
to the Conſuls, and promiſing them in their quarrell, if they were oppreſſed, to returne with
his rod of correction, he departed to his owne home without any further trouble. The ope-
ration of that medicine proued wholeſome, though it appeared dangerous; and he pretended
to haue had order from the State, a diſorderly way: but it was likely they did rather con-
niue at, than approue of that rude execution of Iuſtice. Howſoeuer, not long after hee had
diſturbed Smyrna, he tooke vp armes againe with a greater power, which followed the im-
punitie or proſperitie of his former attempt; for he marched toward Burſia in Natolia: and
the State was forced then to take his actions into conſideration, which they would haue ouer-
E ſeene. There was two Councels held about him, and a reſolution taken, while his forces
were but new and wauering, to reſiſt the beginnings, and to ſend out ſome ſtrength to ſup-
preſſe him: but who ſhould command, who would obey, or whom to truſt, could hardly be
agreed. He ſtill vſed the name of the Grand Seigniour, and the common blinde of rebelli-
on, Reformation: but what he would haue, or whither his deſignes drew him, was the more
dangerous for the vncertaintie.

Ianet Ogli a Spahi commeth in a rebellious manner to Smyrna.

The Armado ſent into the Blacke-Sea for ſuppreſſing the Coſſackes arriuing at Varna, a
garriſon towne kept by Gebegies (an inferiour Order of ſouldiers) there fell out a quarrel be-
tweene them and the Ianizaries. Theſe (after the ſway of their inſolence) would take from
the other their Ouens in their owne Towne: which being not endured, a priuate fray was be-
F gun betwixt them; which breaking out into a faction, the fellowes of both Orders became
intereſſed and ingaged, and they fought a ſharpe battell; many of both ſides fell, to the num-
ber of a thouſand. The Captaine Baſſa, who could not preuent this quarrell, ſought to ap-
peaſe it, by doing ſome iuſtice againſt the Gebegies; but it ſeemed it was enough to enrage
them againſt him as partiall; and too little to ſatisfie the Ianizaries, who thereupon forſooke

the gallies, and kept the land, leauing the Armado without ſouldiers to gard it, in danger of the Tartars and Coſſacks.

The Great Vizier in Aſia gaue command, That no ſouldier ſhould retyre to Winter garriſon, but ſtay with the Armie about Babylon, the fitteſt ſeaſon being then to make the war: diſpoſing himſelfe in the meane time to take in places of leſſe import. *Abaſſa Baſſa* moued not, and promiſed obedience in all things; but to go out of his Hold of Arzirum he did peremptorily refuſe.

Strange predictions of a great plague which enſued.

The yeare and ſeaſon was full of contagion, which was obſerued by ſome forewarnings, and ſome extraordinarie diſpoſition of the aire and accidents: For, on the eighth of May at midnight there was a great and fearefull earthquake at Conſtantinople, which endured about ſix minutes; and croſſing the ſea, was felt in Greece, Aſia, and the Iſlands. And on Munday the twenty ninth of Iune, at night there began a moſt terrible tempeſt, with ſo violent and continuall thunder and lightening, that all the city of Conſtantinople ſhewed as if it had been on fire; at the end whereof fell a ſtorme of haile that brake tiles and glaſſes, ſo that ſtones by report were taken vp of a hundred and fifty drammes; but from credible witnes that weighed diuers of them, the next morning there were found of ſixty and ſeuenty drammes apiece, (which is about ſeuen or eight ounces) wherewith many were wounded. On Sunday the third of Iuly, another tempeſt of thunder and lightning began at *Conſtantinople*, which burned a woman and her children in their bed, and ſlew much cattell in the field. *And the fifth* of Iuly the ſickeneſſe was growne to that heigth, that the Turkes proclaimed their publique proceſſion and prayers; which is performed with great ſolemnitie by the Mufti and all the Mullaes, accompanied with the Viziers and the chiefe of the city, attended by the people at a little Moſchie on the edge of the plain of Achmadan, ouer the water on Grecia ſide: which ceremonie is neuer vſed vntill the mortalitie exceed a thouſand a day; which was eaſily knowne by the burials, that were all made without the walls, and account of them were kept at euery port: and that day was numbered onely to go out of the gate of *Adrianople* nine hundred and ſeuenteene. On the eighth following there died a 1034: by *computation* of the whole (being many ports of buriall) there could not die leſſe than two or three thouſand a day, beſides Galata, Pera, and Scutari, the infection being ſpred almoſt into all the villages. The ſame day, proclamation was made in the Citie, That no Butcher ſhould kill mutton; a murrion or plague (whither was vncertaine) hauing taken that ſort of cattel ſo violently, that they died in multitudes with ſores in the fields; and it was not knowne what they ſhould eat, nor where ſafely to prouide it.

The Perſian feignedly deſires peace, and the Georgians ſend their Embaſſadors,

Vpon the approch of the great Vizier toward the Prouince of Babylon, there was a motion made on the part of the King of Perſia, of peace; but it was vnderſtood by the Vizier to be but an artifice to delay his Armie. There came Embaſſadours from the Princes of Georgia, who hauing formerly depended vpon the Perſian, were about nine yeares before betrayed and tyranniſed by him: in reuenge whereof they hauing taken protection of the Grand Seigniour, and the laſt ouerthrow giuen to the Perſian (though attributed to *Abaſſa*) being executed by a Nobleman of that Nation, they then ſent to offer themſelues in a *confederacie* of that warre. The meſſage was acceptable, and the Archbiſhop of Calcedon their *countryman* appointed to receiue, entertaine, and returne with them as Embaſſadour *from that* Port, to confirme and diſpoſe the whole Nation (who were gouerned by three Princes) to enter into this League, and to make warre vpon the King of Perſia. The race of thoſe three Families had long ruled that Countrey, whereof one was accounted the chiefeſt (though the others had ſeuerall iuriſdictions) of which the maſculine line was then failed, except *onely* one, who being made Turke young, was a Baſſa neere the Red-Sea. The State ſent vnto *him*, and made meanes to the Vizier, that he might returne and be their Prince; but on *condition* that he ſhould become a Christian: but that being denied them, they elected the *daughter* of their laſt Prince, notwithſtanding their antient Law, that excludes the *ſucceſſion and* rule of women; and hauing procured therein a diſpenſation from the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, thoſe Embaſſadors had alſo order for formes ſake, to procure the *confirmation* from the Grand Seigniour; which was granted them.

The Ianizaries mutined in the Blacke-Sea being againe appeaſed, the Captaine Baſſa ſent out *Sackſachi Baſſa*, hauing made a fleet of an hundred and foureſcore frigots, and armed

A them to keepe the riuers about Oſu, by which the Coſſackes deſcended. *Sackſachi* arriuing at Oſu, and finding all quiet, on the Biram day went aſhore; and being at dinner, was ſurpriſed by the Coſſacks, and hardly eſcaping, loſt all his fleet, and many of his men. The Captaine Baſſa hauing aduice of his ouerthrow, made all haſt to Oſu, and finding no ſhew of enemie, reſolued to go on towards Caffa; but that night the Coſſackes deſcending with their boats by many out-lets, the Baſſa of Oſu ſent to him to returne ſpeedily and make haſte towards Conſtantinople, for that the Enemie, growne proud with their late victorie, ſuppoſing no other force abroad, were directly gon for the Boſphorus, and were reſolued to aſſault the Imperiall city, or at leaſt (as they boaſted) to burne the Arſinall. Vpon this aduice, the Captaine Baſſa ſet ſaile, and the next morning by breake of day, and in a fog fell in with the fleet B of the Coſſackes (conſiſting of three hundred and fifty frigots, that carried from forty to foureſcore muſketiers apiece) and was ſo mingled with them, that he could neither vſe his ordnance for the danger of his owne gallies, nor auoid them without fight. Thus engaged, the Coſſackes furiouſly began the aſſault, and being three or foure boats to one gally, boorded them: twice they entred to the maine maſt of the Admirall galley of the Turkes, killed three at the helme, and broke the rudder off; which being againe faſtened by foure Chriſtian ſlaues, and the Sunne breaking out, ſo as the gallies could vſe their great ſhot, and the wind riſing, the Coſſackes were forced to leaue their fight, and betake them to their oares; where in parting, with the ordnance (as was reported) thirty boats were ſunke, and ſix or ſeuen hundred men taken vp. The conflict was bloudy on both ſides, being come to hand blowes, and C the Ianizaries almoſt conſumed. The Captain Baſſa ſent to the Port for ſupplies of men, and all that tooke pay of the Grand Seignior, euen to the old ſoldiers which were put to penſion, were ſent away, ſome to make gard at Chananchy by land, on the mouth of the Boſphorus; other by water to re-enforce the Armado, and all was filled with trouble and terrour. The feare of the Tartars likewiſe was not ſo extinguiſhed that there was not cauſe to expect ſome attempt by land, *Shachi Gheray* being in armes; and thoſe motions, if not ſuddenly appeaſed, would occaſion another breach with Poland.

The Coſſacks returne to the Boſphorus.

The Plague at that time raged as if it would haue diſpeopled the city of Conſtantinople and the villages adiacent, and the Francke Nations did all feele it; but the Turkes and Iewes by Armies, as if they went to conquer hell, if there were no league and confederacie be-D tweene them. On the three and twentieth of Iuly there was Corban or ſacrifice made at the gate of the Seraglio, two Beeues and a hundred Sheepe: at euery other port of the citie two Beeues and ſome Sheepe for the contagion and warre.

Ianet Ogli returned againe towards Smyrna, and the Chaya or Lieutenant of the Bey of the city, raiſing three thouſand ſouldiers, went out againſt him, hoping to draw more to follow him: They met at a plaine, and fought valiantly, *Ianet Ogli* remaining victor, with the death of the Chaia and two thouſand of his men: and he was dayly expected at Smyrna, hauing ſent before to aſſure the people that he would do no violence to any Trader or inhabitant, but onely renew the Oath of obedience to him, and puniſh ſome that were authors of this enterpriſe againſt him. The Merchant-ſtrangers were ſo confident in him, as they purpoſed not to ſtirre, but to receiue him as their Protector; and thought the Rebell an hone-E ſter man than any Iuſtice of their Towne. The myſterie of this ſtrange courſe could ſcarce be penetrated, for he ſtil reported he had authoritie from the Grand Seignior; though it was denied at the Port, for they were glad to know how to quiet him.

Yet not many dayes after, he fought a battell which he loſt, and was taken, being betrayed by his owne followers; and it was deſired that he might be brought aliue to be ſeene at the Port; but the Ianizaries crucified him, and ſent his and his mothers and his brethrens heads together, ſo that the tumor was ſuddenly allayed.

Ianet Ogli taken and ſlaine.

About the foure and twentieth of September the gallies returned from the Blacke-Sea, with the loſſe onely of foure by a great ſtorme. The Captaine Baſſa brought in triumph two F hundred & ſeuentie poore Coſſacks, & was receiued as if *Pompey* had againe finiſhed the Piratique war, that almoſt famiſhed Rome: But they did not triumph at the victorie, but ouer the conquered people; and they eſteemed this ſea fight next to that of Lepanto; but the nobler for the eſcape: for doubtleſſe if the winde had not riſen too great for the *frigots*, which were in number aboue foure hundred, the whole fleet had bin in danger to haue bin towed Northwards G euen into the iawes of the Enemie.

The great Defterdar ſtreled & throwne into the ſtreets.

About the ſame time, the great Deſterdar, Treaſurer of that Empire, was ſent for into the Kings gardens, and there by the Buſtangi Baſſa ſtrangled and flung out in his ſhirt into the ſtreets; an vſuall end of riches and greatneſſe in that Court. Otherwiſe, the State of that empire did then produce no remarkeable alteration: for the iealouſie of the Tartars was ſomewhat appeaſed; but the Termes with Poland were vncertaine, while the Coſſackes were yet vnreſtrained. The Grand Seigniour vſed all flatterie to the Tartar *Han*, to enter Poland in reuenge: Which he promiſed, and rode as farre as Akyrman; but from thence excuſed his not proceeding, vpon the waters: which was doubtfully interpreted, That hee had no will. In the meane time the King of Poland ſent an Armie againſt the Coſſackes, to ſhew his ſinceritie H to the Peace; which was very well taken of the Turks.

The Perſians ouerthrown by the Georgians, and the Biſhop of Calcedon ſent Embaſſador to them.

The Georgians in the meane time gaue a blow ro the Perſian, and ſent many of their heads to the Port by a Nuntio; who was preſently diſpatched away with the Biſhop of Calcedon, as Embaſſadour of the Grand Seignior, to enter league with thoſe Princes, to make ſome diuerſion. *Abaſſa* the old Rebell would not yet truſt himſelfe with the Vizier, but pretended he would vnite himſelfe with the Georgians in the ſeruice of that State; although he fortified himſelfe ſtrongly, and diſcharged himſelfe of his Ianizaries. The Grand Seignior to aſſure him, or to preuent that hee ſhould not reuolt, ſent him the *dignitie of a Vizier*, a Sword and a Veſt, and authoritie to make warre in companie of the Georgians, in qualitie of a Generall (ſo well a ſtrong Theefe proſpered there:) and he arriued not long after with his I Army at * Moſul, a place recouered from the Perſians in the way to Babylon: who vnderſtanding of ſupply of eight thouſand, ſent thither by the Perſian to re-inforce the garriſon, ſent out a party of Courds, that encountred and broke them, obtaining a full victorie with the fall of two thouſand, and the General and two young Sultans taken priſoners; who were ſent to the Port, with the heads of their followers. The newes of which ouerthrow was receiued with much ioy and content in the Court. The Vizier demanded a million and two *hundred* thouſand Checquines to be ſent beforehand for foure moneths pay of the Army; giuing this reaſon, That foreſeeing he muſt Winter in thoſe parts, and that Babylon would be defended, it was neceſſarie to haue money to hold his ſouldiers together; for if hee ſhould diuide them to their Hybernation, it would be Auguſt before they could be drawne into the K field, and the Spring loſt: and to hold them that were alreadie almoſt in mutinie, were impoſſible, vpon credit. To this end all wayes were vſed to raiſe money; a third of which ſum was ſent from the Port, but the reſt was hardly found (for the ordinarie charge far exceeded the reuenue) and fell very heauie vpon ſuch as were forced to contribute.

*Niniue.

The Perſian King, reported to be taken in his limbes at the ſame time (which did commonly forerunne ſome ſudden enterpriſe) lay with his Armie about Tauris, indifferently to ſuccour Babylon, and to attend the Circaſſians, or to make ſome diuerſion when hee ſhould ſee the Viziers Armie ſetled and ingaged in a ſiege: Which was not long deferred; for hee beſieged Babylon, wherein were eight thouſand Perſians in defence. His regular army (conſiſting of Ianizaries and Spahies, directly payed from the Grand Seigniour) were lodged on L the one ſide; and the Beghs (which were thirteene) with the Timariots and *Souldiers* repartited on their gouernments on the other. As they began their approches, in a morning twentie thouſand Perſian horſe fell into the Quarter of the Vizier, and did a great execution: but the alarme taken by the Beghs, they came to his reſcue, and the Perſians retyred. In that faction there fell fiue or ſix thouſand Turkes. Whereupon afterward there was made a generall muſter, and not found aboue foure thouſand Ianizaries, of twelue thouſand; nor ten thouſand Spahies, of thirty thouſand that were written for the warre: ſo that all the ſtrength did reſt in the Beghs, who were well followed, and little care or obedience in the other *Orders*. There were ſeuen Princes of the Arabs, who were ſubiects to the Grand Seignior, and ought to ſerue and aid him when they were commanded; but being ſummoned, they *raiſed* their M forces by common conſent, and ſtayed vpon their owne borders; anſwering, *They durſt not* diſpleaſe the poſſeſſor of Babylon; but if the victorie did returne, they *would* yeeld their antient obedience vnto the Grand Seignior: and if the Perſian did hold his *recouered right*,

they

A they alſo would not longer acknowledge any ſuperiour, being (as they pretended) borne of free Anceſtors.

1626.

About the fiue and twentieth of March there fell a great ſtorme vpon the Bailo of Venice, for an accidentall fight by a Venetian Veſſell with a Bey of Andry: Many of the Turks were ſlaine, and the Captaine Baſſa pretended great damages; auerring, That their galley was rich and rifled. He anſwered wiſely and ſtoutly, That it was a chance; and would vnderſtand of no compoſition, but only write to the Senate to examine the cauſe by iuſtice. But the Turks ſought to draw an inference, That he, as Procurator of the Republique, was bound to ſtand in Law before the Iudges of the Port (where he was like enough to be heard and condemned B together) and then to remaine as a Pledge for ſatisfaction. But he would not yeeld ſo much aduantage; inſiſting, That he was an Embaſſadour, to expound the ſence of his Prince, and to maintaine the Amitie: and ſo by his ſtanding mute the buſineſſe reſted in diſcontent.

The Ianizaries mutine againſt the Boſtangi Baſſa.

The gouernment of the Turkiſh Empire dayly declined, and (as a great and ſtrong Bodie) had violent luctations before it yeelded and waſted. The Ianizaries about the laſt of March mutined againſt the Boſtangi Baſſa, for beating one of their Order (for diſorder in the night) by the Grand Seigniours command, and before his window. By their Canon, they ought to be deliuered to their owne Capes to be iudged and puniſhed; yet, though the Emperours word ſhould be aboue the Law of his Slaues, and though he auowed the fact, ſent and wrote vnto them, nothing would appeaſe them; onely his life they pardoned, exacting his diſpla- C cing, with ſentence of incapabilitie euer to beare office. He had been a good ſeruant to his Maſter, carefull of the publique Honour, ſeuere againſt the licentiouſneſſe of the times, and therefore vnfit for them. Afterward (following the example) they began to quarrell with the Vizier, who had fauoured the Boſtangi; and with much labour they were ſilenced for a time, but not quieted. This was their eſtate: What could then ſtrangers expect, when the Emperor ſuffered iniuries of his owne bondmen?

At the ſame time, an open rupture betweene the Grand Seigniour and the King of Poland was like to ſucceed an inuaſion made a little before into Podolia by the Tartar *Han*; who returning from thence with a great prey, was met, and loſt with a part of it, the greateſt part of his Army. Whoſe brother *Iean Geray* refuſing to accompanie the action, as contrarie to D the Peace and his Oath, ſent the Generall *Coneſpoloky* the copy of the Order from the Port; which being diſcouered there, they hearkened after any ouerture or meanes to make vp the breach, and to procure a new reconciliation. But the ouerthrow giuen to the Tartars encouraged the Poles to declare their reuenge, and to auow the attempts of the Coſſacks, who were then ready with ſeuen hundred frigots, to fall vpon ſome part neere Conſtantinople, munition being allowed them, and a Poliſh Captaine to euery boat. They threatened to fight with the Grand Seigniours Armado, and made a vow to inueſt and carry away the Admirall Galley. All the villages on the Boſphorus to the gates of Conſtantinople trembled, and the city it ſelfe was not without feare; ſoftened by certaine prophecies and Aſtrologians, who foretold a great blow from a Northerne people. Twentie gallies kept the mouth of the chan- E nell, and the Captaine Baſſa was to depart within ten dayes with forty more; almoſt alreadie conquered with his owne and the common feares.

The Grand Seigniours Army beſieged before Babylon.

Certaine newes was brought from Babylon, That the King of Perſia had beſieged the Viziers campe, and that he was lodged vpon his Trenches, and had cut off all acceſſe of prouiſion: ſo that the Grand Seigniours care was then greater to ſaue his Armie, than to recouer the Citie. Yet his Miniſters did abate little of their pride, but were more readie to doe a wrong or any inſolencie than euer; inſenſible of their owne eſtate, or diſſembling it a peruerſe way.

The King of Poland being yet very loth to breake the Peace with the Grand Seigniour, which had been concluded betweene them chiefely at the inſtance and mediation of his Ma- F ieſtie of Great Britain; although the Tartars had entred his countries, and done great ſpoile, he cauſed his Miniſter to write to his Maieſties Embaſſadour at the Port, to lay downe their iuſt complaint: which the Embaſſadour did, in confidence of his friendſhip with the Chimacham; to whom he went directly, preſſing him as well to a conſideration of his Maſters and his owne eſtate, as of that of the King of Poland; ſaying, That all the burthen and blame would finally light vpon him; it being the vſuall way of great Princes, to diſcharge their failings G and errours vpon their Miniſters. This admonition moued the Chimacham much, and this was the ſubſtance of his anſwer:

* *Lent.*

* *Chancellor.*

In all Lawes and Religions (ſaid he) *there is nothing more odious than to be eſteemed a Lyer; becauſe Law and Religion preſuppoſe truth, eſpecially in great Miniſters, vpon whoſe faith much of the publique quiet depended: but moſt eſpecially at ſuch a time* (for then it was * Ramazan) *ſeparate to deuotion, that it was moſt abhominable to God to ſweare a lye, by whome hee ſwore, and by the life of the King, all whoſe benefits might be poyſon to him in his heart, if euer either he or his Maſter gaue any order or intimation to the Tartar Han to enter Poland, or to do any act contrarie to the Peace: which if he had done he might iuſtifie, ſeeing the Coſſackes the yere before did make the firſt breach, and gaue the occaſion.* To witneſſe this aſſertion he called the * Reitzkatab, who made H no ſcruple, *iurare in verba Magiſtri*, to ſweare to what his Maſter had ſaid: onely he confeſſed there were Commands written to *Mehemet Gheray*, by intelligence and conſent of the Poliſh Generall, to enter the countrey of the Coſſacks on both ſides, to reduce them to obedience; with reſtriction of any damage to be done to thoſe comprehended in the Peace: and that whatſoeuer the Tartar Han had done more, was and ſhould be diſauowed, as beyond his Commiſſion. Many other matters he repeated, as the remoue of *Cante-Emir*, and the death of *Hagi Key*, onely to auoid any occaſion of their parts. And in concluſion, all his diſcourſe tended to an expreſſion of deſire to maintaine a good and perfect Peace. His Maieſties Embaſſadour asked the Chimacham, what he was willing he ſhould write in anſwer to the King of Polands Miniſters? Who briefely anſwered, That they had no other intent but to keepe I the late Treaty; and that if vpon the Poles part (as they had begun) the Coſſackes ſhould be reſtrained, they would take abſolute order with the Tartars; who had no other pretence of quarrell, but a claime of a certaine penſion (mentioned in the Treaty) vſually giuen them; which if his Maieſty of Poland would eſtabliſh, there ſhould neuer be more occaſion of thoſe mutuall laments: That it were a diſhonour to the Grand Seigniour, to ſeeke and entreat the comming of an Embaſſadour to ſettle thoſe late diſorders; but if the King of Poland pleaſed to ſend one, he ſhould be receiued with all rites and reſpects. To this the Engliſh Embaſſadour replied, That he doubted ſome ill example of the vſage and detention of others, would make the Polacke warie, and difficult to engage any perſon of Qualitie. To which hee gaue all ſuch aſſurance of good and free acceptation as words could expreſſe. All which, the Embaſſadour K returned in writing to the Miniſters of Poland; entreating both parties to conniue at what was paſt, and endeauour by all means afterward to reſtraine thoſe mutuall incurſions, which were begun anew by the Coſſackes, the noyſe of whom had ſtrooke the Imperiall citie with great feare.

The Spahies cauſe the Chimacham to be ſtrangled.

* *Maſter of the Horſe.*

Vpon the third of Iuly the Spahies aſſembled in the Hippodrome; diſcontent with the gouernment of the old Chimacham *Georgi Mehemet Baſſa* (the ableſt and wiſeſt man in that State, but to Chriſtians malicious, and of the Poles a continuall perſecuter) who had the authoritie of the great Vizier in his abſence at the war; and in great furie ran to the houſe of the Mufti, and demanded of him to pronounce a ſentence of death againſt him, and that he would L riſe and informe the Grand Seigniour of their will; which if hee refuſed, they threatened a generall reuolt, and to do their owne iuſtice. There was no remedie; the Emperour being enformed, was pleaſed inſtantly to diſplace him, and to giue the office to *Regeb* Captaine Baſſa, and his to * *Imbraher Baſſa*; hoping thus to quiet all matters. But this gaue them no ſatisfaction, they demanded in greater furie his life. The poore old man was retyred into the Grand Seigniours protection, who vſed all meanes to appeaſe them, offering to baniſh or confine him: but nothing would content and ſeparat them vntil he had deliuered him vp; who the next day was ſtrangled and throwne into the ſtreets, where the Barbarians vented their ſpleene vpon his dead body, cutting off his eares and noſe, and carrying them in triumph to their fellowes. Preſently they demand the life of ſome others, principally of *Morat Chiaus* M the Cuſtomer (odious to all men) whom when they could not finde they ſacked his houſe. Within a day or two after, they began to be quiet, vpon promiſe, That if he could be found he ſhould be rendred to them, and others to be brought in Iuſtice: but all feared that that Peſtilence and Deſtruction of the city would eſcape by force of his money, hauing three times before been in the like danger. That great Miniſter the Chimacham was ninetie

ſix

A ſix yeares old, had been forty fiue yeares Vizier, and thrice Chimacham. The great ſeruices he had done, euen to the preſeruation of the Empire, nor any other reſpect could protect him from this rage. The occaſion then taken againſt him, was, That he did conceale the ill eſtate of the Army in Babylon, flattering the Grand Seignior while their fellowes periſhed; and certaine Letters written in bloud, as from the Campe, produced to accuſe him; which afterward were diſcouered to be written in Conſtantinople. When the ſentence was deliuered to the Boſtangi Baſſa, he came to the lodging of the Chimacham in the Kings Garden, where he thought himſelfe in ſanctuarie, and for reuerence to his age and place, held it (being written) in his hand, rather to intimate, than to be the meſſenger. The poore old man perceiuing it, deſired an houre to pray; and coniured him to warne the Grand Seigniour, B hereafter not to be ſo eaſie to conſent to ſhed innocent bloud, which within few dayes hee would repent: and laſtly he entreated, that he might not die by the foule hands of the Hangman: which coſt him deare; for the Boſtangies executioners, either for reſpect, or for want of skill, could not finiſh his life (ſo great was his old heart) in one houre: hee was buried by a few Raſcals, his owne ſeruants hid, and no man daring to accompany him to his laſt Bed.

The immediate foregoing diſcourſe was filled with the iniuſtice and inſolencie of man; but this bringeth with it examples of the iuſtice of God, who reuengeth the bloud of his enemies and wicked men, vniuſtly ſpilt, to preſerue his image euen amongſt them that ſtudie to deſtroy it. To this may be fitly applied that boldneſſe, *Non eſſe curæ Deis ſecuritatem eorum etiam vltionem*: C The Ianizaries either enuious that they had no part in the laſt ſedition, or being innocent, vnwilling to participate in the infamie, or rather it was their turne to doe ſomewhat; forced the boats of the gallies which lay aboue Conſtantinople in the channell, and came downe to a garden houſe vpon the ſea in the night, where the Emperour priuately repoſed, and began to exclaim againſt the death of the Innocent; proteſting they had no ſhare therein, but as obedient ſlaues they deſired the peace of the State, and that Iuſtice and quietneſſe might returne to the City; and requiring reuenge vpon diuers whom they accuſed as the authors of thoſe tumults, they named their owne * *Segmen Baſſa* as the principall, and eighteene of their owne officers, and diuers others of the chiefe Spahies, who held councels together, and were become heads of Factions; which vntill they were all cut off, there was D no hope of good gouernment and peace. The Grand Seigniour gaue them milde words, and promiſed to do iuſtice, and to puniſh all ſuch as ſhould be found guilty: but nothing being don to ſatisfie them, and it being beleeued that the new Chimacham conniued, and had bin a partie to al their counſels, at leaſt his preferment made him obnoxious to that ſuſpition; and it was moſt true, that the *Segmen Baſſa* & his followers & faction were the contriuers of the fal and murther of *Georgi Mehemet Baſſa*, and very probable that he was fauoured if not practiſed by the new Miniſter; the Ianizaries roſe againe, and by force brought downe the gallies neere the city, and landed and held a Councell very ſecret in their chambers. This bred much ſuſpition and feare; but the day of publique audience being come, according to the cuſtome, they repaired all to the Seraglio, and waited in their order: their *Segmen Baſſa* only E did not appeare; and it was thought he abſented purpoſely by agreement with the Chimacham, leſt there ſhould be ſome occaſion to examine the paſt buſineſſe, which would not endure the light. The * Diuan being finiſhed, and the Viziers and * Caddee-Leſchers comming toward the gate, they were ſtopped by the Ianizaries, and told plainely they would ſpeake with the King. Such perſuaſions as were requiſite were vſed; but there was no remedie, they would deliuer their owne meſſage. The young Emperour at firſt was afraid, and retyred; but to auoid greater inconueniences, reſolued to come out to them. Order was inſtantly giuen to ſend for the Mufti and the Antients of the Law, and many Santons, for the *Segmen Baſſa*, and others of qualitie to be preſent at this action. In the meane time a Throne was brought out, and placed in the great Court, and the Grand Seigniour came forth F and ſate in his Maieſtie, attended and aſſiſted by all the great Miniſters and officers of his empire, to ſtrike a reuerence and feare into the ſouldiers, whoſe purpoſes were not yet diſcouered. Contrarie to all expectation, an Electo ſpake for them: *In all humble manner profeſſing their obedience, and lamenting the ſickeneſſe of the State, and thoſe dayly inſolencies; and declaring, as they were not guilty of this laſt mutinie, ſo they were readie to ſpend their bloud in defence of their*

The Ianizaries petition againſt their fellow-mutiniers.

* *Lieutenant to the Aga.*

* *Publique Councell.*

* *Chiefe Iuſtices.*

Prince, and for the reformation of thoſe diſorders, to which there could be applied no remedie but by G
the ſword of Iuſtice to cut off all thoſe heads which held Conuenticles, and plotted dayly alterations,
onely to gouerne the whole Empire at their will. They deſired their Petition might be accepted, and
thoſe diſturbers of the peace ſought out and executed, in which they would aſſiſt : and that new names
and titles might be forbidden, which many had taken vp as Heads of Factions ; and the Souldierie
reduced to their antient diſcipline : Which if his Maieſtie would grant, and ſpeedily put in practiſe,
they were ready to die in his ſeruice ; otherwiſe, as there was no hope of quietneſſe, ſo they did fore-
ſee greater miſchiefes dayly contemplated, which they would oppoſe as well as they were able. At
the end of this Oration (which might haue become a *Cato*) they deliuered a briefe petition
in writing, wherein they modeſtly accuſed the new Chimacham of confederacie and conni-
nence with their *Segmen Baſſa*, whom they anew appealed, and gaue vp the names of thoſe
their owne Officers, and Spahies, vpon whom they layd all the burthen of the dayly tumults. H
The Emperour gaue them a ſhort but ſatisfactorie anſwer ; yeelding to their requeſt, yet
mingled with ſome admonition ſuch as became a Prince : and ſo they departed euery man to
their owne reſt. But the *Segmen Baſſa* hauing ſome intimation that his name was renewed in
that liſt of death, tooke the firſt opportunitie, fled, and hid himſelfe ; and diuers others, con-
ſcious of their owne merits, retyred, and thereby condemned themſelues : not one roaring
Spahi to be ſeene in the city ; all things were ſo calme as if *Aſtræa* were deſcended. There
was no diſtemper but in the heart of the Chimachim, who was afraid to bring his compli-
ces into triall, and yet was ſure if they were not taken, their eſcape would be his ruine : for
the Ianizaries exacted of him an account of the execution. With much diligence the *Seg-*
men Baſſa was apprehended and brought to the Court. He was firſt examined, rather to find I
his owne treaſure which was infinite (for he had the ſpoyle of Greece in the laſt gathering of
tribute-children ; and of the Seraglio at the death of Sultan *Oſman*) than to diſcouer other
men. The Grand Seigniour ſent for him, and after few words, gaue ſentence to haue his
head ſtrucken off ; which was inſtantly performed before the dore. Afterwards diuers of
both Orders were taken (as was reported, to the number of twenty two) priuately ſtrangled
and throwne into the ſea ; and ſome (principally branded) were hidden and fled. This trou-
ble turned the Grand Seigniour to account many wayes ; for by confiſcations he aduanced a
million and two hundred and fiftie thouſand dollars of the *Segmen Baſſa* ; by the Scriuano as
much ; by others, very great ſummes ; and, as if peace had riſen out of the graue of the old K
Chimacham, there was heard no more noyſe : the Spahies ſhrunke, and the Ianizaries as their
glory tooke vpon them an auſtere reformation. But there were many inward ſores and diſcon-
tents, which notwithſtanding all this cleere aire, were like to breake out, and one day could
not be ſufficient to cure or purge the corruptions of that State.

The Grand Seigniours Army in diſtreſſe.

While the Grand Seigniour was thus troubled with appeaſing his diſordered and muti-
nous Miniſters and Slaues at home, newes was brought from Babylon, That his campe there
was in great extremitie, beſieged without by the Perſian, Maſter of the field, and conſequent-
ly of their prouiſions ; nakedneſſe, famine, and diſeaſes, within, were more terrible than the
Enemy ; and the ſupplies ſent, ſtayed at Dierbeker, not daring to proceed without better
gards : inſomuch as if ſpeedy ſuccours were not giuen them, the army muſt diſhonourably L
and dangerouſly breake and ſteale away. But hereupon there was a publique Councel held,
in which all Orders as well ciuile as militarie aſſiſted ; and a preſent ſupply collected, and a
Generall choſen to conduct them.

The Grand Seigniour, becauſe the greateſt part of his land forces were thus buſied and
employed againſt the Perſian in Aſia, ſent his Letters (at the inſtance of the Prince of Tran-
ſyluania) to diuers Kings and Princes vnited for the liberty of Germany, to encourage them
to perſeuerance and conſtancie in ſuch deſignes as were fit for that purpoſe. But this was an
art of *Gabor*, to inſinuate (by this ſhew) into the Grand Seignior an opinion of great confede-
racie with thoſe Princes, to make himſelfe more valued and conſiderable at the *Port* ; and
on the other ſide to improue his authoritie in Chriſtendome, by the pretence of *ſo much* cre- M
dit, and ſo great aids ready for his ſeruice. The copy whereof doth here immediately fol-
low.

A

Prince *Morat* euer Victorious;

TO the moſt glorious amongſt the great Lords of Ieſus, and chiefe amongſt the higheſt of the
people of Meſsiah, Directors of all the affaires of Chriſtians, Princes of the limits of power
and honour, Lords who direct to greatneſſe and glorie, and Kings ouer many Nations, who antiently
haue declared themſelues to beare true loue and affection to our high Port: and to all Kings
and Princes, glorious Potentates, and other Gouernours of the people of Ieſus, whoſe laſt dayes wee
pray God may euer be happy: but eſpecially to thoſe who haue at the preſent deſired the friendſhip
B of our moſt happy Port, the ſanctuarie and refuge of the Cæſars and Princes of our age. To them
let it be knowne, vpon the ſight of our moſt high and Imperiall Signature, That there is arriued at
our happy Port, a meſſenger with a Letter from the moſt glorious amongſt the followers of Ieſus,
and the moſt reſpected and honoured amongſt the people of the Meſsiah, Director of the affaires of
the Nazaren people, Patron of the limits of honour and power, and Lord of greatneſſe and glory,
Bethlem Gabor, Gouernor of Tranſyluania, and King of Hungarie, whoſe laſt dayes be propitious;
beeing a true ſeruant and an vndoubted friend to our high Port, by the great mercie of the moſt
high God euer preſerued; and by the wonderfull protection of the chiefe of Prophets our Prophet Mahomet
Muſtapha (whom God bleſſe) kept ſafe, with a moſt noble, high, and continued off-ſpring:
which did ſignifie, That ſome of you who in thoſe parts be Kings and great Gouernours, and chiefeſt
C and moſt glorious of the honoured and famous amongſt the Lords that are obedient to the Meſsiah,
haue antiently ſhewed your ſelues conſtant and firme in your affection and ſincere goodwil to our high
Port; and that ſome others of you, being Lords of great Countries, do now deſire frienſhip and acquaintance
with our Imperiall Maieſtie; and that the Gouernor of Tranſyluania and King of Hungarie,
holdeth at the preſent good friendſhip and correſpondence with you, and that you haue united
your ſelues with him for good and honorable ends: who letteth vs vnderſtand, That you haue ſent
Meſſengers and Letters to him; certifying him, That although ſome of you were antient and vndoubted
friends long before of our high Port; yet others of you who haue beene more remote, doe now
deſire to approch our familiaritie; and that he ſhould be the guide and preſenter of the ſincere Faith
and good affection which you pretend to haue with vs. And the ſaid Bethlem Gabor King of Hungarie,
D in obſeruance of the perfect obedience and loue to our happy Port, hath enformed vs of the
truth of your ſtate, and your offered friendſhip. Which his Letter, with all the particulars therein
contained, we haue cauſed to be tranſlated by our Viziers, and preſented to our Imperiall view; ſo
that nothing therein hath been hidden or vnknown to vs from the beginning to the end: the particulars
whereof hath pleaſed our happy eyes, and the friendſhip which you haue deſired to make with our
high Port, hath been accepted of our Imperiall Maieſtie: and all thoſe things he certified there are
moſt acceptable to our ſincere minde; aſſuring you, That our high Port hath and ſhall be at all times
open to the whole world, but eſpecially to thoſe who by a freſh and new friendſhip ſeeke to enter in and
receiue it. And as all our Progenitors, and we our Selfe, to all the Friends of our houſe haue beene
euer benigne and courteous, ſo to you ſhall be ſhewed all honour from our Imperiall Dignitie, and more
E fauour than to others who are your equals. And in token that you may know we do accept of your loue
and friendſhip offered, we giue you ſafe conduct to ſend your Embaſſadours into our high Court; writing
this our Letter vnto you, full of all affection and integrity. At the arriuall whereof it is
meet, that in conformity of the good affection and ſincere frienſhip which you haue promiſed and expreſſed
to our high Port, you vſe all diligence and care to fulfill and proſecute this worthy and good
buſineſſe which you haue begun, hauing your mindes attentiue and ſetled vpon the ſame, in ſuch ſort
as they be ſtable and ſure, according to antient cuſtome in like caſes. And to other Kings, friends
of this Port, you ſhall ſend your Embaſſadours of Honour, that the meanes of loue and friendſhip may
encreaſe euery day; and the good effects vpon our part ſhall be dayly augmented, and the houres of
our affection ſhall go forward and continue: and by the grace of the high God, your Embaſſadours or
F other Miniſters comming to our happy Port, ſhall haue aſsigned them euery one apart their houſes;
and according to the forme and manner of our Imperiall Maieſtie ſhall be entertained and protected;
and when it ſhall be fit for them to returne to you againe, we will take order that they ſhall haue commodious
and ſafe paſſage. Therefore reſt ſatisfied in minde, and giue good credit to theſe our happy
lines ſet downe concerning this affaire: and be you alſo firme and conſtant in your friendſhip, corre-

ſpondence and confederacie. And we haue ſent to Muhemet Baſſa *our Vizier, &c. (whoſe glorie* G *God continue) who at the preſent is Gouernour of Buda, our expreſſe Commands, and giuen order, That all the Armies belonging to him, of Buda, Boſnia, Temeſuar, Caniſia, and Agria, and other places adioyning thereunto and beſides them, to the moſt eminent Beglerbeghs of the Prouince of Greece (whoſe Armies belong vnto him) the moſt valiant Captaines of all our Empire; and to other perſonages of eminent ranke, who haue vnder their command many thouſands of men; That they repaire to our ſaid Vizier and Generall, (whoſe glory God encreaſe) and being all gathered together, that they make their Muſters and Campe at the confines neere Buda, in ſuch a place and part as ſhall be fit for that purpoſe. And on the other ſide alſo, That* Bethlem Gabor *(Gouernour of Tranſyluania, and King of Hungarie, ſhall leuie a good Armie, and keepe good correſpondence with our ſaid Vizier, that they may be in a readineſſe and prepared, in caſe that any Enemy inuade the* H *ſaid King of Hungarie, or the Prouince of Tranſyluania; that then they vſe all their diligence and readineſſe to repell them, and fulfill all theſe duties which concerne the honour of our State, and are beſeeming the reputation of our Religion. And by the grace of God, after that your Embaſſadours (honourable and fit perſonages) ſhall come here with your Letters, and eſtabliſh a good Peace and friendſhip, there ſhall be no doubt but you and your Countries and Allyes ſhall be protected by vs, and hereafter comprehended in all our Treaties of Peace which we ſhall conclude and eſtabliſh. In concluſion, All that which our noble minde can expreſſe or promiſe, ſhall be effected: whereof we haue giuen notice at large to all our Miniſters. Of euery other particular the Gouernour of Tranſyluania and King of Hungarie will write to you more amply; to whom I deſire you to giue faith and credit; and to obſerue good correſpondence, both with him and our ſaid Vizier* Muhemet *Baſſa of Buda:* I *and you ſhall write vnto vs (when this our Imperiall Letter ſhall come to your hands) of what other thing ſhall happen, by your Embaſſadours; which by the grace of God you ſhall ſend to our high Port: and you ſhall be very carefull alwaies to fulfill the beginnings of this our friendſhip and Amitie.*

Written in the middle of the moneth of Iuly,
1626. in Conſtantinople.

About this time there arriued a Letter from the King of Great Britaine to the Grand Seigniour, concerning the Treaty of Algier and Tunes; and complaining of diuers iniuries done K vnto his ſubiects, and requiring Iuſtice and redreſſe: which being reſpectiuely anſwered, are worthy of publique communication.

His Maieſties Letter to the Grand Seigniour.

CHARLES *by the grace of the moſt high God, King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Chriſtian Faith, &c. To the high and mightie Emperor Sultan* Morat Han, *chiefe Lord and Commander of the Muſſulman Kingdome, ſole* L *and ſupreme Monarch of the Eaſterne Empire, ſendeth greeting.*

WE haue vnderſtood by our Embaſſadour reſident with you, with how much honour and reſpect the death of our deere Lord and Father of euer glorious memorie was condoled at your Imperiall Port; And if the ſignification thereof, and of our peaceable ſucceſſion to theſe Crownes, haue not in all this time come vnto you immediately from our Selfe, it hath not been through any default of our affection, or reſpect to you, but many important affaires vpon our firſt acceſſe, and the dangerous infection wherewith our Royal M *city of London, and many other principall parts of our Kingdome haue been viſited, haue diuerted vs, and forced vs to defer theſe offices longer than we intended or deſired. And as we hope you will for theſe important reaſons, readily & freely excuſe thoſe omiſſions which*

A in ſo weighty occaſions may well be diſpenſed withall; ſo we pray you to be aſſured, That
we are deſirous that the Amity which hath of long time been held betweene our Predeceſſors,
may be renewed, continued, and confirmed; and the entercourſe of Trade betweene
our ſubiects and yours be maintained and preſerued, for the good of both our kingdomes and
people. And to giue you the better proofe of our reall and ſincere intentions therein, we haue
ratified and do ratifie the Treaty made by our Embaſſadour Sir Thomas Roe in that your
Imperiall Port, with your Subiects of Algier and Tunes; and we cannot doubt, but that
you for your part will keepe a conſtancie in the exact performance thereof, and to that end
B will lay your Royall command vpon thoſe your Vaſſals of Algier and Tunes, duly to obſerue
the Articles of that Treaty in all reſpects towards our Subiects. We do likewiſe recommend
vnto you, and pray you, in conformitie to our deſire of friendſhip and good correſpondencie,
to confirme and ratifie thoſe priuiledges which haue been formerly granted by your Predeceſſors,
to our Merchants, and to enlarge the ſame according to preſent occaſions, and as
ſhall be moſt conuenient for the good of both our Kingdomes: which as we will ſtudy by
all good meanes to keepe vp in full force, and moſt aduantageous execution; ſo we may not
omit to repreſent vnto you the grieuances of our Subiects, when they are vniuſtly wronged,
contrarie to the Capitulations betweene vs, and we preſume without your knowledge
C or conſent. That which we haue now to deſire your Iuſtice in, is, Firſt, Extreame iniuries
done by inferior Officers, and ſpecially by one Morat Chaus a Cuſtomer of that Port,
who hath not onely broken, but alſo ſcorned and contemned the Articles of the Capitulation,
and that in the publique Diuan, to your diſhonour, and to the great preiudice of our
Merchants. Secondly, an open iniuſtice done to our ſubiects in Algier, where the Engliſh
Conſul and the reſt of the Nation were reſtrained of their libertie, their goods ſeiſed vpon,
and forced to pay great ſummes of money, contrarie to Iuſtice and the direct termes of the
Treaty. But if while we on our behalfe do obſerue the Capitulation and all good termes of
D friendſhip, ſuch meane perſons as Cuſtomers and other Officers be ſuffered, and borne out
in theſe iniuſt inſolencies and oppreſſions vpon our ſubiects, in a manifeſt breach of the Capitulations;
we cannot ſhut our eares againſt the Petitions of our ſubiects, but muſt according
to their humble ſuit, giue order to withdraw their perſons and eſtates from ſuch dangers,
wrongs, and iniuſtice; vnleſſe vpon this our inſtance we finde a ſpeedie redreſſe, and
exemplarie puniſhment inflicted vpon ſuch as haue or ſhall tranſgreſſe the rules of Iuſtice,
and the amity and Contract betweene vs, which we recommend to your iudgment and care
as a matter wherein the welfare of our and your people and countries is intereſſed. We do
E further particularly pray you to giue expreſſe order for the vpholding and maintaining that
Article of priuiledge for the paying but only of one Cuſtome within all the Ports vnder your
Iuriſdiction, with free libertie to export any commoditie, hauing once payd cuſtome, without
further charge; and that our ſubiects be not exacted vpon contrary to that priuiledge.
The further particulars of our ſubiects grieuances, and what elſe we deſire to be negotiated
with you, we haue giuen in charge to our Embaſſador Sir Thomas Roe, to whom we pray
you to giue credit, and to returne vs full anſwers to the ſeuerall points of this our Letter.
Wherein if you ſhall giue reliefe to our ſubiects, and puniſh thoſe that violate the Capitulation,
F we ſhall receiue it as a ſingular teſtimony of your iuſtice, your good intentions towards
vs, your conſtancie in your Contracts, and your iudgement in what hath relation to the good
of your owne Dominions, and we ſhall be readie to anſwer that reality of yours, in whatſoeuer
may reſt on our part to performe. Dated the firſt of March, 1625.

The

The Grand Seigniours Anſwer to his Maieſties Letter of Great Britaine.

Prince Morat, euer ſucceſſefull;

TO the mighty Prince, reuerend among the Maieſties of the Princes of the Law of Jeſus, obeyed of the great Potentates followers of the Meſsia, the onely director of the important affaires of the Nazaren People, Soueraigne of the limits of Honour and Power, the moſt glorious CHARLES, King of Great Britaine: To whoſe laſt dayes we wiſh all felicity.

TO the ſublime and happy Throne of our high Port, the Seat of the perpetuall Vicariat, the which by the mercy of the Diuine Maieſtie of the mighty God, and by the grace of the Lord was the Seale of the Prophets, vpon whom be continuall bleſsing, and the refuge of the Princes vpon the face of the earth, and the Sanctuarie of the Potentates of the world; your Letter with accuſtomed ſinceritie is arriued, by the hands of your Embaſſador, the elect among the Nation of Meſſiah, Sir Thomas Roe, reſident in our happy Port, to whoſe end we wiſh bleſſedneſſe. The which, according to the antient Ottoman cuſtome, and the vſed Imperiall forme, was by our ſupreme Vizier and glorious Vicegerent tranſlated and expounded, and being preſented before our State of moſt ample honour and felicitie, and ſeene by our Imperiall eyes, and conſidered in our benigne ſight, from the beginning to the end, our noble vnderſtanding hath entirely conceiued the inſerted buſineſſe, and all particulars thereof; and our diſcreet aſpection, from the leaſt to the greateſt, hath comprehended all your propoſed affaires, all which conduce to loue. The principall whereof is (beſides that you haue fully mentioned, and declared the ſtate of the Amitie that betweene both Dominions hath beene preſerued by your Fathers and Anceſtors) That now your Maieſtie, after your Father of glorious memorie, being by iuſt inheritance aſcended to the Regalitie of thoſe Crownes, doth aduiſe vs, That you alſo, more than your Father, are ſtable and firme in the ſame way of friendſhip, and moſt conſtant toward vs, in preſeruation of the Peace and good correſpondence, and daily attentiue to endeauor the ſtrengthening of the Peace and Amitie with our Port, and reſolued to accompliſh the ſame, and not to faile in any part of louing correſpondence. With which your friendly aduice, with moſt ſincere words expreſſed, and to vs moſt gratefull; That you in a bleſſed houre, and a happy time, haue poſſeſſed, and begun to raigne in the Kingdomes of your Father; the ſecret of our pureſt heart was greatly reioyced, and did conceiue aboundance of contentment, and our Imperiall Maieſty alſo hath therefore obtained, and together expreſſed all manner of gladneſſe and loue toward your Maieſty, indiuining you all happineſſe.

You haue alſo aduiſed vs, That your aboue named Embaſſador, yet abiding in our bleſſed Port, hauing formerly treated with thoſe of Tunes and Algier, and contracted concerning your Merchants, and their free traffique and commerce in thoſe parts, and conformably with them agreed, concluded, and confirmed the Peace; the which being very profitable and commodious to both our Kingdomes, that you haue alſo ratified, and in the whole condiſcended thereunto; deſiring, That on our behalfe alſo the ſame ſhould be obſerued: and to the end that for euer hereafter there may be no deuiation from the ſame Accord, and that to the Merchants, according to the antient cuſtome, going and comming to thoſe parts to traffique and negotiate contrarie to the Imperiall Capitulation, no iniurie may be by them done, That we ſhould ſend to our Vice-Kings our expreſſe Commands. Therefore you ſhall know, That we haue alreadie ſent to our ſaid Vice-Royes, with expreſſe order, our moſt efficacious and Imperiall Commandements, and ſtrictly charged them, Neuer to tranſgreſſe the ſame contracted Agreement; and that they take heed, Not to do any wrong or violence to any of your Merchants (contrary to our Imperiall Capitulations) trading and vſing thoſe parts.

And furthermore, hauing ſignified vnto vs, That certaine Magiſtrates and Cuſtomers of ſome Scales of our well defended Empire, contrarie to the Articles and Couenants written in the Imperiall Capitulations, do make diuers demands of grieuances and impoſitions of your Merchants, and

under

A vnder the name of Meſteria,* and ſuch like, do pretend and exact money from them: and hauing alſo aduiſed vs, That conformable to the Imperiall Capitulation, your Merchants hauing payd their due cuſtome; and tranſporting their goods to other Scales, that they alſo demand of them a new Cuſtome: Therefore it being in no wiſe our Imperiall will that in our proſperous dayes, and iuſt and peacefull raigne, contrary to our Imperiall Capitulation, that wrong ſhould be done to any man; We haue giuen vpon this particular, our requiſite and ſufficient Imperiall Command, and ſtraitly commanded and ordained, That they ſhall neuer tranſgreſſe our Imperiall Capitulation; and that the Nation of your Merchants, in what place or Scale ſoeuer they ſhall go, That the Magiſtrats and Cuſtomers do all diligence, that the ſaid Merchants may liue quietly, contentedly, and ſecurely; and hauing payed in one Scale the cuſtome of any merchandiſe, which being not ſold, and that they B ſhall tranſport it to any other Scale, that they take great heed, not to demand nor take of them any new cuſtome, nor euer, contrary to the Canon, to exact of them any new impoſition or other grieuance.

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You haue alſo further aduiſed vs, That the late Huſſreph Baſſa, while he remained in the charge of Vice-King of Algier, did vniuſtly take your Conſul, reſident in Algier, with the Merchants which liued with him, and hauing impriſoned them contrary to the Law, Iuſtice, and the friendſhip betweene vs, did take from them certaine thouſands of dollars, and had done to them other great wrong and damage: Therefore, ſeeing it is more cleere than the Sunne-ſhine day, that it is not in any ſort by our conſent, that ſuch iniuſtice and inſolent actions ſhould be committed, and there being then preſent in our happy Port ſome of the principall perſons of the garriſon of that place of Algier, who did C know the whole proceeding, and wee hauing commanded they ſhould bee examined of that buſineſſe, they were preſently brought to Iuſtice, and being all of them variouſly reprehended and affrighted, they did anſwer, confeſſing and obliging themſelues, That all the money taken they would repay from the reuenue of the Cuſtome, and Fiſts collected; and as ſoone as they ſhould arriue in Algier, they would take order that the Conſul and all the Merchants ſhould be ſet free. In conformitie whereof, we alſo haue written our moſt effectuall and noble Command, reprehenſiue and threatning, directed to the Vize-Re of Algier, & commanded him, That in this buſines he vſe no negligence, but that without further delay he ſet at libertie the ſaid Conſul and Merchants, and reſtore vnto them entirely all their goods taken from them, and that he know, that hereafter no ſuch action ſhall be pardoned; and that your Conſul ſent into thoſe parts, according to antient cuſtome, ſhall be entertained D and honoured, and that he do punctually obſerue and execute the due termes of friendſhip.

And in the concluſion, concerning all the included particulars of your letter; in due forme, and befitting our Maieſty the Fountaine of Iuſtice, and conformable to the Tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations, there haue been written diuers our noble Commandements, and conſigned to the hands of your ſaid Embaſſadour; and for the time to come, in all things which ſhall lead to the encreaſe of our friendſhip, and thoſe offices, commodious and profitable to the Merchants of both our dominions, our Imperiall ſtudy and attention ſhall not be ſpared: and be you aſſured, that the termes of our Amitie and good correſpondence which to this day hath beene continued, ſhall be of vs with excellent endeauour maintained.

But being informed from our honorable Gouernor, wiſe Councellor, & Vizier, Haydar Baſſa (whoſe E ſplendor God preſerue) whom we haue aſſigned and ſent to the cuſtodie of the boundleſſe Ayman, that there is come a petition, with a repreſentation and atteſtation of the principall of that Kingdome, to our happy Port, declaring, That in times paſt, in the gouernment of our Fezeli Baſſa, Vizier, now dead, being that certaine men of warre appertaining to your Kingdomes, had contrary to the Capitulations, aſſailed the Merchants which with their goods returned from India, and fought and taken their ſhips, and it being made knowne to the ſaid Fezeli Baſſa, that our Merchants had been damaged to the value of ſix hundred thouſand Dollars: which action being it was contrary to Law, iuſtice, and our Imperiall Capitulation, and that it was requiſite that the ſpoylers ſhould be condemned, the ſaid Fezeli Baſſa did collect from the Maſters of the ſaid Men of warre, for the ſaid goods taken from our Merchants, an hundred thouſand dollars, and did conſigne it to the true owners: and F whereas there was yet remaining to them fiue hundred thouſand dollars, the which to this day is not ſatisfied, the ſaid men of warre not containing themſelues in due forme, haue armed a new 7 ſhips from your Country, and haue come and aſſailed 14 ſhips of our Merchants, which from India were ſailing to the Scale of Ayman, and hauing taken the Maſters priſoners, haue made ſpoyle and depredation of all their facultie; and that now the Dutch Nation and your Men of warre ride at an-

chor

The Grand Seigniours Anſwer to his Maieſties Letter of Great Britaine.

Prince *Morat*, euer ſucceſſefull;

TO the mighty Prince, reuerend among the Maieſties of the Princes of the Law of Jeſus, obeyed of the great Potentates followers of the Meſsia, the onely director of the important affaires of the Nazaren People, Soueraigne of the limits of Honour and Power, the moſt glorious CHARLES, *King of Great Britaine: To whoſe laſt dayes we wiſh all felicity.*

TO the ſublime and happy Throne of our high Port, the Seat of the perpetuall Vicariat, *the which by the mercy of the Diuine Maieſtie of the mighty God, and by the grace of the Lord was the Seale of the Prophets, vpon whom be continuall bleſsing, and the refuge of the Princes vpon the face of the earth, and the Sanctuarie of the Potentates of the world; your Letter with accuſtomed ſinceritie is arriued, by the hands of your Embaſſador, the elect among the Nation of Meſſiah, Sir* Thomas Roe, *reſident in our happy Port, to whoſe end we wiſh bleſſedneſſe. The which, according to the antient* Ottoman *cuſtome, and the vſed Imperiall forme, was by our ſupreme Vizier and glorious Vicegerent tranſlated and expounded, and being preſented before our State of moſt ample honour and felicitie, and ſeene by our Imperiall eyes, and conſidered in our benigne ſight, from the beginning to the end, our noble vnderſtanding hath entirely conceiued the inſerted buſineſſe, and all particulars thereof; and our diſcreet aſpection, from the leaſt to the greateſt, hath comprehended all your propoſed affaires, all which conduce to loue. The principall whereof is (beſides that you haue fully mentioned, and declared the ſtate of the Amitie that betweene both Dominions hath beene preſerued by your Fathers and Anceſtors) That now your Maieſtie, after your Father of glorious memorie, being by iuſt inheritance aſcended to the Regalitie of thoſe Crownes, doth aduiſe vs, That you alſo, more than your Father, are ſtable and firme in the ſame way of friendſhip, and moſt conſtant toward vs, in preſeruation of the Peace and good correſpondence, and daily attentiue to endeauor the ſtrengthening of the Peace and Amitie with our Port, and reſolued to accompliſh the ſame, and not to faile in any part of louing correſpondence. With which your friendly aduice, with moſt ſincere words expreſſed, and to vs moſt gratefull; That you in a bleſſed houre, and a happy time, haue poſſeſſed, and begun to raigne in the Kingdomes of your Father; the ſecret of our pureſt heart was greatly reioyced, and did conceiue aboundance of contentment, and our Imperiall Maieſty alſo hath therefore obtained, and together expreſſed all manner of gladneſſe and loue toward your Maieſty, indiuining you all happineſſe.*

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And furthermore, hauing ſignified vnto vs, That certaine Magiſtrates and Cuſtomers of ſome Scales of our well defended Empire, contrarie to the Articles and Couenants written in the Imperiall Capitulations, do make diuers demands of grieuances and impoſitions of your Merchants, and

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And in the concluſion, concerning all the included particulars of your letter; in due forme, and befitting our Maieſty the Fountaine of Iuſtice, and conformable to the Tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations, there haue been written diuers our noble Commandements, and conſigned to the hands of your ſaid Embaſſadour; and for the time to come, in all things which ſhall lead to the encreaſe of our friendſhip, and thoſe offices, commodious and profitable to the Merchants of both our dominions, our Imperiall ſtudy and attention ſhall not be ſpared: and be you aſſured, that the termes of our Amitie and good correſpondence which to this day hath beene continued, ſhall be of vs with excellent endeauour maintained.

But being informed from our honorable Gouernor, wiſe Councellor, & Vizier, Haydar Baſſa (whoſe E ſplendor God preſerue) whom we haue aſſigned and ſent to the cuſtodie of the boundleſſe Ayman, that there is come a petition, with a repreſentation and atteſtation of the principall of that Kingdome, to our happy Port, declaring, That in times paſt, in the gouernment of our Fezeli Baſſa, Vizier, now dead, being that certaine men of warre appertaining to your Kingdomes, had contrary to the Capitulations, aſſailed the Merchants which with their goods returned from India, and fought and taken their ſhips, and it being made knowne to the ſaid Fezeli Baſſa, that our Merchants had been damaged to the value of ſix hundred thouſand Dollars: which action being it was contrary to Law, iuſtice, and our Imperiall Capitulation, and that it was requiſite that the ſpoylers ſhould be condemned, the ſaid Fezeli Baſſa did collect from the Maſters of the ſaid Men of warre, for the ſaid goods taken from our Merchants, an hundred thouſand dollars, and did conſigne it to the true owners: and F whereas there was yet remaining to them fiue hundred thouſand dollars, the which to this day is not ſatisfied, the ſaid men of warre not containing themſelues in due forme, haue armed a new 7 ſhips from your Country, and haue come and aſſailed 14 ſhips of our Merchants, which from India were ſailing to the Scale of Ayman, and hauing taken the Maſters priſoners, haue made ſpoyle and depredation of all their facultie; and that now the Dutch Nation and your Men of warre ride at anchor

chor in the port of Mecha, and do pretend the return of the hundred thouſand Dollars taken by Fezeli Baſſa. *Which brute and ſcandalous wickedneſſe, in affront of our Imperiall power, to dare to perſeuer, and to ſpoyle and ranſacke thoſe parts, being ſignified to the feet of our Imperiall Throne, the Ocean of Iuſtiſe, and that thoſe robbed Merchants are ſubiects of our well defenced Dominion: Being in no manner our Imperiall will, that there ſhould be loſt one of the ſaid Veſſels, nor any the leaſt part of their goods detained; and being that ſuch an action is very ingratefull, and oppugnant to the Peace and friendſhip betweene vs contracted, to the end that all the ſaid Merchants may be ſet free, and that their goods and faculties taken, may be entirely reſtored to the true owners; which your Maieſtie cauſing to be done, you ſhall accompliſh the requiſite termes of true Amitie, and ſhall fulfill the offices of our ſincere Correſpondence, and ſhall ſtrengthen the foundation of our good and mutuall fidelitie and League, wee haue written you this our preſent Letter, full of all effectuall loue.*

At the arriuall whereof it is conuenient, that in conformitie of the great, perfect, and ſpotleſſe Amitie betweene your Anceſtors and our happy Port, and the Imperiall Houſe of eternall glorie, and the antient good Concord, Vnion and Correſpondence, that alſo your Maieſty ſhould be firme and ſtable in all wayes, with iuſt proceedings to preſerue and maintaine the meanes and Orders of friendſhip deſcended from your Fathers and Anceſtors. And if your Maieſtie deſire and will, That the termes of Amitie, and our good Correſpondence ſhall be perfectly obſerued and kept, you will then beſtow your good diligence and care, that the aboue mentioned happened action, ſo diſcrepant from our Imperiall minde and will, that is, as is aboue written, That the fourteene ſhips of our Merchants which came from India to our well defenced Dominion, and Scale of Ayman, and were taken and ſurpriſed by the Engliſh Men of warre, and the Merchants which were found in them all made ſlaues, and all their goods and faculties made prize; that they may be all ſet free, and all the goods taken from the ſaid Merchants, may be entirely reſtored to the true owners; and ſo your Maieſtie ſhall haue conſerued our moſt happy minde and affection, and protected our moſt honorable and noble deſires: the performing of which your friendly office, vndoubtedly will produce to your kingdomes many beneficiall and profitable effects; and certainly you ſhall finde, that it will redound to the great honour and fame of your Maieſtie. And by the grace of God, after that this our happy and moſt louing Letter ſhall arriue, by ſome honourable perſon, and to you faithfull; be you pleaſed to ſend aduice to our excelſe Port, of the manner of your vſed diligence and affection in this buſineſſe, and of the effect of the libertie of our ſhips and Merchants, and of the full reſtitution of all the goods taken, to their right owners; and with what readineſſe you haue expreſſed your ſinceritie and affection to our Imperiall Maieſtie. Which buſineſſe we haue alſo earneſtly recommended to your aboue named Embaſſadour, that when he ſhall more largely haue enformed you, that you be pleaſed to giue him credit, and that in the time to come you will attend to apprehend all thoſe meanes worthy the conſeruance of our Friendſhip, Peace, and Correſpondence.

Written in the fifteenth of the Moone *Gemaziel-euell*, in the yeare of the departure of the Prophet, vpon whom be eternall bleſſing, 1036.

Giuen in our well defenced Citie of Conſtantinople.

Which is the twentieth of Ianuarie, *1626*.

Vpon the opportunitie of the foreſaid troubles within the Turkiſh Empire, and either to giue reputation to the Armes of the Houſe of Auſtria in Germanie, or to affright *Gabor*, and diſſolue the correſpondence which he had practiſed with ſome Allyes, or perhaps hoping really to obtaine a Peace, and by the eaſe both of expence, and vſe of ſo many ſouldiers on the frontier of ſo great an Enemie as the Grand Seigniour, to effect with more expedition their vniuerſe ends; there was in the month of Iune, in the yeare 1625, a Gentleman diſpatched from the Vice-Re of Naples, in a Frigot of the Spaniſh King, accompanied with ſix or ſeuen ſeruants, with Commiſſion to go to Conſtantinople; and being there arriued, to deliuer certaine Letters of ouerture of a Peace betweene the Grand Seigniour and the King of Spaine. To aſſiſt him in his negotiation, there was ſent by ſeuerall wayes a Benedict Frier called

A called *Padre Berill*,& a Greek brought vp in the colledge at Rome,called *Cannachi Roſſi*,both
practiſed in the ways of that court,& formerly imployd in other ſeruices of intelligence and
exploration. Their Inſtructions were forked ; theſe to practiſe on the Greeke church,to ſupplant
the Patriark:and if both the treaty & their machinations ſhould faile,to attempt to raiſe
the Coſſacks, by promiſe of a ſum of mony, to trouble the grand Seignior, & to diuert his
forces & reſolution from aſſiſting the Prince of Tranſyluania in Hungarie, as ſhal be at large
mentioned in a ſubſequent diſcourſe. The gentleman was born a Bologneſe,& had ſerued *Gaſparo
Gratiani*,late Prince of Walachia,and by that means had ſome experience and acquaintance
at the Port. On the way he gaue himſelfe out for an Embaſſadour, which raiſed more
rumour, and gaue warning to thoſe who were diſaffected to the ſucceſſe of his vndertakings.
B But before we relate how he proceeded,it wil giue ſome light to later negotiations,to looke
a little higher, vpon what ground and occaſion this enterpriſe was aduanced.

The State of Spaine hauing often (but eſpecially when it was preſſed with any neceſſitie)
practiſed to make a Peace with the Turkiſh Empire; particularly by the mediation of a Iew
taking the name of *Gabriel de Buona Ventura*,who was ſent with Letters and Inſtructions from
Chriſtophero de Mora and *Catagneo* the Secretary in the time of *Rodulphus* the ſecond, who
had then warre with Sultan *Morat*: whoſe enterpriſe being diſcouered at Vienna, was by
that Emperour interrupted. In the yeare 1619, the Baron *Molart* being then Embaſſadour
from the Emperour *Ferdinand*, he diſpatched firſt a Captaine called *Franciſco*, and after him
Padre Antonio Berill, with Inſtructions of one tenour, vnto the Duke of Oſſuna then Vice-
C King of Naples. The ſubſtance was, that he found the opportunitie faire, and the Turkes
well inclined to make a generall Peace with the Houſe of Auſtria; that therefore this ſeaſon
was not to be omitted,but that the duke ſhould preſently diſpeed to him ſome man of quality
and wit to aſſiſt, and fit to mannage ſo great a buſineſſe : That this man ſo choſen, ſhould not
take on him as directly ſent from Spaine; becauſe it would then be expected,that hee ſhould
appeare as an Embaſſadour: which would require great expence in preſents and traine, and
waſte much time in ceremonie. Thus the Negotiation would be moſt properly and expeditely
perfected by him and the Embaſſadour of *Cæſar*, becauſe in the Capitulation of 1606, betweene
the Emperour and the Grand Seigniour, it was expreſſely cautioned, That it might
be lawfull for the King of Spaine to enter into that Treaty, or to be compriſed, if it pleaſed
D him. To theſe Inſtructions were added diuers reaſons and examples; and diuers accuſations
againſt the Venetians and Hollanders; but the cardinall argument was, That by obtaining
this Peace the King of Spaine might with ſecuritie ſubdue his Rebels, and finiſh his conqueſts,
and defend his Indies from the feare of inuaſion, threatened after the expiration of
the Truce in Holland. Some other ouertures were made in theſe Inſtructions, and reaſons
to enforce them, which the modeſtie of Hiſtorie ought to omit. But this negotiation, being
inuolued in that of the Emperour, and depending of it, which ſucceeded not according to
their expectation, fell before it was ripe. Yet the reaſon continuing, to ſhut that backe-port,
when their armes were buſied with other deſignes, the ſame practiſe was renewed, by the
mediation of another Portugal Iew called *Cormaro*; who went into Spaine in the yere 1624,
E and was thence returned to Naples, and from him and his offers occaſion was taken to ſend
this Bologneſe to the Port. Who being now arriued at Conſtantinople,tooke firſt ſanctuarie
in the houſe of the Agent of the Emperour : where meeting with *Berill* and *Roſſi*, and conſulting
which way to lay or begin their buſineſſe,they at laſt reſolued to worke by the Agent,to
whom they were addreſſed, and not to diſcouer themſelues vntill they ſaw how the generall
propoſition was taſted. Their Inſtructions were framed of fiue Articles : To moue a perpetuall 1
Peace betweene the King of Spaine and the *Ottoman* Empire. To induce the acceptance 2
whereof, to offer to ſet free all the Turkiſh ſlaues, to the number of foure hundred, which
were then in the Spaniſh captiuitie. To vndertake and promiſe to ſecure the ſubiects of the 3
Grand Seigniour from all loſſe or ſpoyle in the Mediterran ſea, and to keepe the coaſts and
F ſhores from all inuaſion. To vndertake by the Red-Sea to ſerue all the Empire with the riches 4
and commodities of Eaſt-India, at better rates than they did buy of the *Engliſh* and
Hollander, and in them to aduance the Cuſtomes eighty thouſand dollars yearely. Laſtly,
That the King of Spaine ſhould oblige himſelfe to procure the King of *Poland* to reſtraine 5
the Coſſackes from their vſuall excurſions in the Euxine ſea. Theſe were amplified with

many reaſons, arguments, and accuſations; but in the concluſion reſtrained, That if they ſaw G no probabilitie to obtaine and aſſure the Peace, that then *Berill* ſhould proceed to prouoke the Coſſackes, and this Gentleman ſhould not appeare in the Negotiation, but reſide in the houſe of the Emperours Agent, vnder the name of his Secretarie, vntill further direction.

When theſe Propoſitions were firſt moued, the ſpacious ſhew made them acceptable; but when the particulars were weighed, eſpecially that offer, To keepe the ſea and coaſts of the Mediterran free from any ſpoyle or inuaſion; the Vizier moued a queſtion, Whether the King of Spaine were ſoueraigne Lord of the Duke of Florence and the Grand Maſter of Malta? and if not, How he could command them, or reſtraine the Knights of Saint *Stephano* and Malta, who were Religious Orders, and ſworne enemies to the Port? To this obiection receiuing no cleere and ſatisfactorie anſwer, the Vizier began to miſtruſt, and to demurre. But H delayes (which are vſuall in that Court) nor ſuting with the account which this Bologneſe was bound to render to the Duke of Oſſuna, of his ſucceſſe, Either to aſſure a Peace, or not to loſe the opportunitie of a diuerſion by the Coſſackes; cauſed him to attempt both at once, and to employ *Padre Berill* to execute his part: Who being taken in Siliſtra on ſuſpition, by the Baſſa *Diach-Mehemet*, and his Letters opened, the Spaniſh friendſhip was diſcouered; and the Bologneſe ſtole himſelfe out of the Countrey, and as it was reported, was at his returne impriſoned, for the vanitie of entituling himſelfe as a publique Miniſter, and venting his Maſters name in ſo great a Theatre. And the Agent of *Cæſar* aſſiſted to accuſe him; who not able to containe him within the limits of his Commiſſion, but that he would breake out, and diſpute that he ought perſonally, in the name of the Vice-Re to treat with the I Vizier; threatening to cauſe his penſion from Spaine to be retrenched, as cold in the ſeruice of that Crowne; the ciuile ſtrife proceeded from heat to blowes: and it was beleeued, That the Agent vnder-hand both haſtened his flight, and procured his puniſhment.

The ill and diſgracefull ſucceſſe of this attempt, and the diſſention betweene Miniſters ſo ſtrictly obliged by common ends, made many men beleeue, that the wiſe ſtate of Spain would not againe raſhly and ſuddenly engage their reputation to a ſecond ſcorne. But Feare and Neceſſitie, that obey no rules, enforced as it ſeemes the Vice-King of Naples (for all theſe practiſes were maſqued vnder his name) to doe a ſeruice that would be moſt acceptable when it was done. For the rumour, That the Prince of Tranſyluania did prepare an armie, and that the Grand Seigniour had giuen order to the frontier Baſſa's to aſſiſt him; and that the K Count of Mansfelt, and Duke *Weymar* were expected with their troupes to ioyne with him; this collegation appeared terrible, and to threaten Vienna it ſelfe: and therefore it was iudged the beſt counſell, openly to offer a Peace, to amuſe or ſeparate the Force of the Turke, or vnder the ſhadow of a Treaty, to ſteale away the firſt opportunitie of action. So that contra-1626. rie to all expectation, ſuddenly in Aprill of this yere, it was aduiſed from Raguſa, That there was there arriued in a Galliot of Naples, another *Mercury*, a Spaniſh Gentleman, that openly auowed himſelfe to be directly ſent from the Vice-Re, to offer a Peace to the Grand Seigniour, and to prepare the acceptance of Embaſſadours or Commiſſioners fit to treat it. Hee was well attended, and furniſhed with exchange, and earneſtly recommended from the Vice-King to the Senate of that City. At his firſt landing he made grauitie, and expected ſome L ceremonies and reception: but thoſe ſmall States, who are like a graine betweene two milſtones, thinking their greateſt ſafety conſiſted in taking no notice, and in being on both ſides diſintereſſed, would not vnderſtand him; and he finding himſelfe deceiued, was carried in a cloſe chaire to the Monaſterie of the Friar-Minors, and kept himſelfe priuate; onely ſending another Letter (which was written to a Vizier at the Port) to thoſe Magiſtrates, deſiring them to diſpeed it by Poſt to Conſtantinople, and to prouide him guides for his journey thither: both which were done, and two Turkes appointed to conduct him. Before his departure, he diſpatched another Currier to Belgrade to a Correſpondent there. It was likewiſe aduiſed from Raguſa, That he was laden with Preſents, and had order to ſpend freely: which was dangerous in a Court where all things were vendible: and thoſe that fauoured the de- M ſigne, triumphed, and accounted the prize alreadie wonne, nothing being more diſcourſed than the Peace betweene Spaine and Turky. As a forerunner of this negotiation, to ſmooth the wayes, there was ſpred ſome weekes before this newes, a Letter printed in Spaine, *Cum Licentia*, as written from the Grand Seigniour to the Catholique King; offering Peace, and

A promiſing to ſeparate from all his Enemies, and to leaue them to iuſt puniſhment, and neuer to aſſiſt or ſupport them; with a Catalogue ioyned, of an infinite Preſent that ſhould be ſent by the Turke, to procure the acceptance of this Amitie. At the firſt ſight this Letter was deſpiſed as a fiction; onely ſome contemplatiue men did make conſtruction, That it was ſpread to encourage the people of Hungarie, and to remoue the feares of the Turke, or to raiſe a jealouſie in *Gabor* and his Friends; eſpecially being ſeconded with a concurrent rumour, That a Miniſter really was ſent to treat Peace, and an Embaſſadour expected to follow him, that at leaſt he ſhould be receiued to gaine time. But theſe were poore ſhifts for for ſo great and wiſe a State: yet whatſoeuer the purpoſe was, whether it was a counterfeit, or directed to ſome end, it was taken vp and vſed as an inſtrument to reiect the Embaſſage, and to prohibit B the Bearer to approch the Court: For whether it fell into the hand of a Moore-Franke expelled Spain, or were made vſe of by any that deſired to croſſe the concluſion of ſuch a Peace, in ſuch a coniuncture, ſo dangerous to many Princes and States, it was ſhewed the great Vizier, and Mufti, commented vpon, and vrged as a great affront to the Grand Seigniour. At which they tooke ſo high and ſudden diſdaine, that they gaue inſtant Commands, and ſent horſemen to beat the wayes, with Commiſſion to all the Beghs and Caddees to aſſiſt them, That whereſoeuer they did meet or finde this Gentleman, that they ſhould carry him directly backe to the ſea ſide, and ſee him ſhipt; with admonition, Not to preſume to land on penaltie of death. And others to checke the Senate of Raguſa, for receiuing any Miniſter of their enemie, without asking leaue or conſulting the State.

C The Gentleman was by this time aduanced foure dayes iourney toward the Port, where he fell and brake his leg, and was carried backe in miſerable paine to Raguſa, and returned to his old lodging. Where the horſemen found him, and deliuering their Letters to the Senat, demanded to haue him giuen vp into their hands. But they refuſed to breake their Sanctuarie, and only promiſed to obey the effect of the Grand Seigniors Command, ciuilly to ſhip him, and to ſend him backe to Naples. Which was done in the preſence of thoſe Turks, and letters written by the Senat, both to the Vice-King & the Vizier, to excuſe themſelues, That they durſt diſpleaſe neither party, but deſired to liue in the grace of both Princes.

D

The Grand Seigniours Command to all the Sanzackes and Caddees of Greece, to returne the Spaniſh Gentleman ſent from the Vice-Re of Naples.

VPon the ſight of this our Imperiall Signature, you ſhall take notice, That the Spaniards (being alwayes antient Enemies of our happy Port, the Fountaine of Felicity) haue of late ſought to aduantage themſelues of ſome Princes which keepe good E *friendſhip and correſpondence with vs: To which end the Vice-Roy of Naples did ſend the laſt yeare a Meſſenger to our Imperiall Port; intimating, That the King of Spaine was deſirous of a Peace with vs: But in regard they haue euer beene our Enemies, and that the Peace which they did then offer was fraudulent, and onely to ſerue their owne ends; wee did not vouchſafe to giue him audience, but rather reiected both himſelfe and his meſſage. And now againe we haue notice giuen vs, That there are others come to Raguſa, from the ſaid King of Spaine, about the ſame buſineſſe, with intent to come forward to our happie Port: Therefore we haue ſent* Muſtapha *our Capigi with our Imperiall Command, That* F *if any ſuch like perſons ſhall come within any of your ſeuerall Iuriſdictions, That you ſtay them, and without one houre or moment of delay deliuer them to him, to be carried forth of our Dominions, and made returne to their owne Countrey. This is a buſineſſe of very great importance, and therefore we command you to be very warie and circumſpect in ſearching* *out for ſuch perſons, and that you vſe no negligence or delay therein, but ſpeedily obey and put in execution this our Imperiall Command, not ſuffering any one whatſoeuer, comming either from the Vice-King of Naples, or the King of Spaine, to proceed forward toward our happy Port. And you ſhall certifie vs in writing, by the ſaid Capigi, how and in what manner you haue executed our Command. And if any ſuch perſons comming from the Vice-King of Naples, or King of Spaine, haue any Letters or writings, you ſhall take them from them, and ſend them to our happy Port. And after you ſhall haue ſeene and vnderſtood this our Command, you ſhall giue faith and credit to it, and reſtore it againe to our Slaue* Muſtapha Capigi.

Giuen at Conſtantinople, in the middle of the Moone of Saban, in the yeare 1035.

Which is in the middle of May, 1626.

Another of the ſame Tenour was ſent by the ſame Meſſenger to the Commonwealth of Raguſa.

The Princeſſe of Tranſyluania elected to ſucceed the Prince in that Prouince.

About the ſixth of September, the Prince of Tranſyluania ſent a Poſt in great expedition to the Port, with Letters and Inſtructions to his Agent there; the ſubſtance whereof was reduced to two heads; Firſt, to declare to the Grand Seignior, That his Eſtates in their Dyet, by his conſent, had elected his Lady to the ſucceſſion of that Principalitie: and to require the confirmation, according to the antient Rites and Capitulations betweene them. For his ſudden reſolution, without conſulting the Grand Seigniour, and in excuſe of the ſex, he propoſed many reaſons, all directed to one ſcope: That the encreaſe of the Houſe of Auſtria was ſo dangerous to all Germany, that it was requiſite to prouide for Tranſyluania, to preuent the corruptions of an *Inter Regnum*, wherein the Imperials might worke diſtemper and diuiſion: and therefore it was neceſſarie that a Succeſſour ſhould be declared, and in poſſeſſion; and one well allyed and ſtrengthened by the Princes oppoſite to the Auſtrians; which conditions meeting in his wife, made her without all exception. That this election was paſſed with the conſent and in contemplation of his Allyes and friends of the Port, and vnder their aſſurance of protection. And that therefore he ſhould vrge the Grand Seignior to concurre and to approue his care, employed onely to preuent and humble the Common Enemie. Secondly, That whereas then ſix yeares paſt, when he liued in peace, without offence of the Emperour, he had beene commanded by the Grand Seignior to moue his Armes, and to prouoke an Enemie, now become irreconcileable: Which Councell had been continued vntill that time, by the moſt experienced Miniſters of the Turkiſh Empire; and Letters ſent him the yeare before of the ſame tenour; and that he had lately required a plaine approbation of his proſecution of thoſe deſignes, which being formerly indifferent, were now become neceſſary: And to perſuade them, not to loſe this opportunitie of confining the Emperour for euer within Germany, and ſetling an aſſured peace and ſafety to the Turkiſh frontier; that was by his conqueſt of Hungary. That if he found any difficultie in either of theſe, That the ſucceſſion were refuſed to his Lady, or ſuccours to him to proſecute the war; that he ſhould vnmaske, and plainely proteſt, That he had been engaged firſt by the Grand Seigniour, and made confederation with many friends, with his conſent and approbation, too late to be reuoked, and his owne honour ſo farre thereby expoſed, that he could not retire, but would prouide for his owne ſafety. Therefore, as he would pay his tribute, and continue his faith; ſo, if they would leaue him to himſelfe, they muſt not diſdaine the like meaſure in their occaſions, from him and his Friends.

His Letters and meſſages were roundly deliuered to the Miniſters of the Grand Seignior; and a generall anſwer giuen, That for the ſucceſſion they would conſult and reſolue to his fit ſatisfaction; and that a Letter ſhould be preſently written to approue the antient Councels. The Agent not content with that coldneſſe, nor well diſcerning the times, preſſed the Vizier to a more direct and particular anſwer.

But in the inſtant there arriued newes from Babylon, That the Campe was riſen and fled, by

A by the fauour of the night, forced to burne their Tents and prouiſions, and to breake their great Artillerie, and caſt it into the Euphrates; That the miſeries in the Army had been ſuch as men in the field neuer ſuffered (conſumed by famin, and ſuffocated by heat: by this, twelue thouſand died in one day; the other might be iudged by the price of a buſhell of barly; ſold for thirty eight checquines of gold.) That the Great Vizier had beheaded three of the moſt valiant Baſſa's, hoping thereby to caſt the enuy of his ſhame vpon them: and, That retyring to * Moſul, the Perſian vſed his victorie, and following a flying Army, did continuall execution for ten dayes vpon the Reare. So great a blow the Turkiſh Empire neuer receiued; the newes whereof was taken with ſo much ſadneſſe, that it was no ſeaſon to treat of making new warres. The Emperours Agent made vſe of this deiection, and oppoſed all the B Tranſyluanian negotiations diametrally, and promiſed the preſent comming of a great Embaſſadour to ratifie the Peace betweene the Grand Seigniour and his Maſter. And the Turks knew not whom to beleeue, weakened in ſpirit by their ſucceſſe and the preſent conſtitution; *Futuri ambiguus, & magis quid vitaret quàm cui fideret certus*; doubtfull of the future, and rather certaine what to auoyd, than whom to truſt. Wherefore the Prince of Tranſyluania's Agent reſolued, not to prouoke by an importune preſſure, a diſpairefull anſwer; but to giue them time to recollect ad gather heart, and to accept of their generall Letters, with a promiſe from the Chimacham annexed, That as ſoone as a few days of conſultation and prouiſion for their affaires in Aſia were paſt, that he would enter into a particular conſideration of his Maſter, and giue him ample content in them; and that in the mean time he might proceed cheerefully.

The Grand Seigniors armie flies from Babylon.

** Niniue.*

C The Baſſa of Buda in the meane time ſent a Poſt to the Port, with certaine newes of the arriuall of the Duke of Weymar and Count *Manſfelt* in Sileſia; and that the Prince of Tranſyluania was riſen to ioyne with them, hauing mutually exchanged and ſent ſome Troupes one to the other; and that himſelfe was marched neere Vatz, to conferre with the Prince in his paſſage, to reſolue together of the proſecution of their deſignes. Whereupon the Emperours Agent at the Port made violent exclamations; proteſted the breach of Peace, and vſed ſome ſcandalous arguments againſt the Friends of the Prince, begged, threatened, and enforced all his powers to diuert or affright the Chimacham; who knew no more than was infuſed into him, and for the moſt part beleeued the laſt man, or as his feares guided him. D This cauſed ſome ſtop of the diſpatch of the inueſtiture of the Princeſſe of Tranſyluania, and other negotiations of the Prince: And the Agent had procured a Letter from the Grand Seigniour to his Maſter the Emperour, of excuſe; yet referring all concluſion, if they ſought Peace, to a treaty with the Prince of Tranſyluania and *Morteſa* Baſſa of Buda. Other Letters were diſpatched to the Baſſa, to beware of impertinent actions, to occaſion an vnſeaſonable rupture: yet ſo mingled and qualified, as that they intimated, any thing would be accepted that was throughly done. Againſt the inueſtiture the Emperours Agent ſhewed all his wit and ſtrength; obiecting, That ſhe was a woman, a ſtranger, and a German. By this only he hoped to begin a diſcontent betweene the Grand Seigniour and the Prince of Tranſyluania; knowing, that the election once paſſed, would not be recalled, and that if it were not confir- E med at the Port, the Prince and Eſtates of Tranſyluania would find themſelues wronged, and their libertie encroached vpon, and perhaps ſeeke other refuge: for the Emperor would willingly haue accepted any returne or aſpect towards him. But the art, to ſow a diſſention, or to entice the Prince to depend vpon the Emperour, and to take of him that which he could not obtaine at the Port, being at large opened to the great Miniſters of the Grand Seigniour, it was againe reſolued to diſpatch the Grant, and to ſend the Embaſſadour with vſuall ceremonies: who was to depart within ſix dayes.

The Duke of Weymar and Count Manſfelt arriue in Sileſia with an army.

The Prince of Tranſyluania being vnited with *Morteſa* Baſſa of Buda, diſpatched from his Campe at Zetzen aboue Nouegrade, a Currier to the Grand Seigniour; aduiſing, That *Walſtain*, and *Iſterhas* Palatine of Hungarie, were drawne vp with their Army to oppoſe his F proceedings, and to keepe him from ioyning with Count *Manſfelt*. Who ſent to him a gentleman to know the cauſe of his entring the Imperiall Dominions; and profeſſing they came as friends, and offering many conditions, deſired that order might be giuen to both their Armies to retyre a dayes iourney, and betweene them a place aſſigned for Commiſſioners to meet and conſider of ſome accommodation. To whom the Prince anſwered, He had no purpoſe to vſurpe any thing in Hungary, but onely to deliuer them from the tyranny of the Germans, and to relieue his Allyes oppreſſed, whom he could not betray; nor had hee any power to treat with them. The Armies being neere, and parties abroad, did occaſion ſome blowes, and great skirmiſhes for two dayes; wherein on both ſides ſome bloud was ſpilt, the Prince taking himſelfe to haue the better, hauing gotten twenty ſix German Launciers priſoners, and ſome light Hungarian horſemen; and that *Walſtein* the third day retyred fiue Dutch miles, and fortified himſelfe at Wiuar. This faction was begun upon the fifth of October. Vpon the Enemies remoue, Meſſengers did mutually paſſe betweene the Prince and Count *Mansfelt*, and appointment made for their ſecure meeting the third day after: Vpon which, *Gabor* promiſed to follow the Imperials, and to attempt them. *Morteſa Baſſa* made an offer to ſet downe before Nouegrade; but was withdrawne by the prince, not to ſpend time before a town, & loth to giue it to the Turks. He wrot, That Count *Mansfelt* had made agreement with the cities of Sileſia, all ports being open to him; & that he paſſed without any offence, and had brought with him ſome Deputies from Breſlaw and the Nobilitie of that prouince. That all the ſtrong places of Hungarie had ſent to him, That they would not aid the Emperour againſt him, if he committed no ſpoyle; and were ready to receiue and obey him, if he were Maſter of the field, and able to protect them: And therefore he had now deſired a Command from the Grand Seigniour to the Baſſa of Buda, that hee might not retyre (according to the Turks vſe) but winter with him; leſt his Allyes thereby diſcouraged, the opportunitie of his part ſhould be loſt, and a faire entrance opened to the Emperour to follow a reuenge. The Grand Seigniour, who formerly was ſo wary and backeward to conſent to any breach, being now vnawares engaged, *Lupum auribus tenens*, holding the Wolfe by the eares, without ſcruple granted his deſire, and the Orders were ſent away; That what was done being paſt recall, *Morteſa* ſhould Winter with the prince of Tranſyluania, and not retyre without his conſent, but in all things follow his direction: yet limited according to their neceſſities and the nature of feare, full of caution, not to aduenture vpon vncertaine grounds, with power & inſinuation to make a Peace, if profitable and ſafe Conditions ſhould be propounded.

The army of the Imperials defeated by the Prince of Tranſiluania's Troupes.

At length Count *Mansfelt* ioyned with the prince of Tranſyluania and *Morteſa Baſſa*, hauing vnder his command ſouldiers, but miſerably worne out with a long march (and diuided with the Duke of Weymar, who ſtayed in Sileſia) without any munition or fit Armes: which diſcouraged *Gabor*, who expected ſuccours, but found (as he pretended) a charge: yet as they were they reſolued to ſet vpon the Army of *Walſtein* neere the riuer Gran the ſixteenth of October; which retyring continually vpon the paſſage of the water, they fell on, and made a great diſorder, and tooke many priſoners, whoſe heads they afterwards cut off. *Walſtein* being not able to ſuſtaine their fury, after this loſſe plainely fled. Whereupon the Vantgard of the prince of Tranſyluania followed him, and had ſlaughter of his Reare all the way betweene Gran and Vaghe; which riuer the Enemy paſſing vpon two bridges of boats, there was a new fight begun, and many of the Imperials cut off: his Troupes entering the bridges peſle meſle with them, got the paſſage, and hauing ſlaine a great many, put all the Army into greater feare: ſo that now they were reſolued to follow them euen to the gates of Presburg and Vienna, as they wrote to the Port.

Notwithſtanding this good ſucceſſe of the prince againſt the Imperialiſts, hee in the beginning of Ianuarie (by reaſon of the hardneſſe of the Winter, and that he receiued not ſuch ſupplies of contribution from his Allyes as he expected, and the Turkes verie deſirous of a peace with the Emperour, by reaſon of their warres in Aſia againſt the Perſian) ſent a Meſſenger to the Emperour, excuſing his taking vp of Armes, vpon the vnperformance of ſome Articles in his late Treaty, and the not ſending an Embaſſadour to the Port; aſſuming the neceſſitie of obedience, and offering to make a Truce for three moneths, and to diſpatch Commiſſioners to the Emperour, to mediate the concluſion of peace with the Grand Seigniour. To which he receiued anſwer, That if firſt he did not diſmiſſe the Turkes, and ſeparate himſelfe from Count *Mansfelt* and his Troupes (with whom hee would admit no parle, nor make any accommodation) hee would giue no audience to any that came from him. Vpon which anſwer the prince returned to Caſſouia, and *Morteſa Baſſa* to Peſth.

Count *Mansfelt* alſo returning toward the State of Venice, in his way thither died at

Boſna-

The death of Count Manſfelt and duke Erneſt.

A Boſna-Seray neere Spalato in Dalmatia: the newes whereof comming to Duke *Iohn Erneſtus*, already weakened with a Feuer fourteene dayes, he alſo fell into an Apoplexy, and died at Turocz in the North part of Hungarie, where he was quartered for the Winter. His body was opened, and not one drop of bloud found, but his heart withered to the ſmalneſſe of a Nut.

The Prince of Tranſyluania's excuſe for making a Truce with the Emperour.

The Agent of the prince of Tranſyluania, in excuſe of his Maſter for this ſudden defection, had order to declare vnto the Embaſſadours of his friends and Allyes at the Port, That the Truce with the Emperor was not made by his Maſter alone, but by a conſultation, where were preſent a Commiſſioner of the King of Denmarke, Duke *Iohn Erneſt*, Count *Manſfelt*, and diuers Deputies of the prouinces of Morauia and Sileſia; and the generall conſent of the B Councell of War induced thereunto for theſe reaſons: Firſt, Becauſe the Baſſa of Buda was expreſſely commanded to retyre; who muſt obey, vntill he could better informe the Grand Seigniour, and if poſſible, incline him to the warre. Secondly, Being to enter into conſideration, if the Turkes by no meanes could be induced to continue their Aids, that time might be gained to acquaint the Confederates with their eſtate, and to conſult with them, of means to proſecute the Enemie with their owne Forces: and to that purpoſe, that Count *Manſfelt* had taken his voyage toward Venice. Laſtly, the neceſſitie of drawing to garriſon, beeing a Truce in effect, they thought it no preiudice to aduantage themſelues by one in words. That vpon the eighth day of Decmber the Embaſſadour of the King of Denmarke returned to his Countrie, fully ſatisfied and informed of all their proceedings and Councels; in which C it was concluded to re-inforce their troupes in the Spring, by the aſſiſtance of the Barons of Morauia and Sileſia, whoſe Deputies were ſent purpoſely to enter into the Confederacie, promiſing to ioyne their Forces with them: and that in Iune following the Prince would draw into the field, and march directly into Auſtria, to make that prouince the ſeat of the warre; where it was promiſed that the King of Denmarke ſhould meet him, and vnite their Armies, by which meanes onely they hoped to finiſh the miſeries of Chriſtendome.

The Miniſters of the Grand Seigniour hauing made a great complaint vnto his Maieſties Embaſſadour reſident at the Port, That ſome of his Maieſties ſubiects had robbed ſome of the Grand Seigniours in the Red. Sea, for which they required reſtitution according to the Capitulations of peace. Whereupon his Maieſties Embaſſadour writ this Letter to them as D followeth:

To all Admirals, Captaines, and other Commanders of Engliſh Ships, Subiects of his moſt ſacred Maieſtie, trading or nauigating in the Red-Seas.

AFter my hearty commendations and greetings; Theſe are to let you know, That Haydar *Baſſa of Ayman hath giuen information to the Grand Seignior, That ſome Engliſh Ships in com-* E *pany with Hollanders, haue ſurpriſed diuers Indian Ships, wherein (as they pretend) were many Merchants and Subiects of the Grand Seigniour; and haue taken their goods, contrarie to the Peace and Amitie betweene his Maieſtie and the Grand Seigniour. Which Information (we being aſſured of your diſcretion, and well knowing you haue no ſuch authoritie from his Maieſtie, nor any other deriued from his Royall power) although we hope it is falſe, and that you no way haue exceeded your commiſſions & inſtructions, yet the lament of thoſe parts being vehement & many (wherin the grand Seignior hath complained by his letters to his Maieſty purpoſely written, demanding iuſtice of ſuch actions) and to preuent the proſecution of ſuch courſes, contrarie to the Peace, and being thereunto ſolicited by the Chimacham, as a meanes to auoid all occaſion of breach betweene both Nations, I haue thought fit to ſend you theſe our Letters of Aduice, to put you in minde, exhort, and require* F *you, That you be very heedfull, not to giue iuſt occaſion of offence and ſcandall, nor that you take or make prize of any ſhips or goods belonging to any ſubiect of the Grand Seigniour, contrarie to the Peace, Amitie, and Capitulations of his Maieſtie for free commerce. Wherein you are wiſely to conſider the conſequences of this buſineſſe, and of our trade in the Grand Seigniors Dominion; and that his Maieſtie will do iuſtice vpon all ſuch as interrupt the publique Peace. We further deſire you to* *examine the truth of ſuch accuſation, and to make certificate to me, of all the late proceedings of our Ships in thoſe parts, that I may be able to giue a reaſon, and to anſwer for you, according to my dutie; that all our trouble here (which may be of great conſequence) may be auoided: And for the future, exhorting you to do no action or violence to any of the Subiects of the Grand Seigniour, contrarie to the Peace, for that ſuch is his Maieſties will and pleaſure. And ſo I bid you heartily farewell.*

Giuen in Conſtantinople the nineteenth day of Ianuarie, 1626.

Although the Prince of Tranſyluania kept his Army in their Hybernation, and that the Grand Seigniour had giuen order (at the inſtance of ſome of his Miniſters, fauorers of peace) to recall *Morteſa* Baſſa of Buda from his gouernment; yet it was moſt cleere, euident, and vndiſputable, that the Prince did with all ſinceritie endeauour to continue the warre, notwithſtanding his Treaty, made for neceſſitie, and referred for ratification to the Grand Seignior. His priuate negotiatiation with the Capi-Aga and Caſlar-Aga, not communicated to any, and the good effect it wrought, was ſufficient teſtimonie of his conſtancie and inward purpoſes: and vpon the death of Duke *Iohn Erneſtus*, that Army being in want and almoſt in mutinie, he releiued them, and gaue them two moneths pay, one in meale, butter, honey, cheeſe, barley, and other victuals, and the other in mony; aſſuring them that they ſhould uot want, vntill both meanes and orders came from the Princes, to whom the Count of *Mansfelt* was diſpatched. This the Prince writ to the Port, as a greater argument (becauſe chargeable) of his deſire to oblige them; which if he meant peace, had been caſt away. But after the death of the old Chimacham (protector of him and all his actions) the Emperours friends wrought vpon the pretended patriots, and conuerted their feare into a ſeeming ſinceritie and care of auoiding an engagement in a double war: who finding the State entangled in the troubles of Aſia, made that the foundation, not only to diſpute againſt any other, but to threaten the contradictors of their opinion. Theſe for the moſt part were men popular, but vtterly ignorant of the preſent conditiõ & affairs of Hungary; yet they ſo far preuailed (*quod in ſeditionibus accedit vnde pulres erant omnes fuere*, which hapneth in tumults where many are, al men run) that the Vizier, to ſatisfie them, was enforced to command the retreit of *Morteſa*. Theſe things hapning in the inſtant when they concluded to diſpatch a new Vizier, & to raiſe the ſoldierie to follow him, there was no time to ſpeake of another enemie, and thoſe wiſe men could do but one thing at once. But the zeale of this Councell laſting no longer than while it was blowne by *Cæſars* Miniſters, and that the ſupply of Aſia was reſolued, and the Grand Seigniour being fully informed by *Gabors* laſt Letters, which threatened as much on the other ſide, That if that opportunitie were loſt, and that the Houſe of Auſtria ſhould poſſeſſe Germany; or at the beſt, the Princes colleagued take the example and make peace, hee muſt expect a ſharpe inuaſion and reuenge, then when he ſhould haue no friends, and their Army buſied in Aſia: vrging the neere allyance of the Emperor with the King of Poland, the inſtigation of the Pope, and whatſoeuer might beget a feare that they ſhould be incloſed with enemies. This admonition taught them the wiſedome to be content to keepe their Oppoſite exerciſed at anothers charge; and though as yet they durſt not, or would not ſo openly declare, as to pull the war vpon themſelues, yet they found it neceſſarie to be contiuued, and therefore they reſolued to temporiſe, and to auoid a preſent extremitie, by the colour of the Truce. In the meane time to leaue *Bethlem Gabor* at his libertie, and to obſerue how the Princes proceeded to maintaine and ſupply their Troupes; meaning to ſtep in when they ſhould ſee their Armie in the field. To this purpoſe *Morteſa Baſſa* was re-eſtabliſhed in his gouernment, and the buſineſſe ſo carried with him, that he ſhould make no ſhew of mouing, vntill the time fit to take horſe; and that then he ſhould haue leaue and command to correſpond with *Gabor* according to the occaſion.

1627.

A Dutch Gentleman diſpeeded to the port by the Emperor, diſguiſed in French attyre.

The Emperour hauing had notice of theſe counſels and deſignes, diſpaiched a Dutch gentleman toward the Port, with Letters and Inſtructions to his Agent and Friends there; and commanded him to make his iourney by the way of Raguſa, giuing it out that he was a French man, leſt he ſhould be diſcouered in the ſhorter way by Buda, and ſtopped, and his papers and Inſtructions ſearched. Notwithſtanding all this diſguiſe, notice came to the Port

before-

A beforehand of the comming of this Meſſenger; and the Miniſters of the Grand Seigniour
cauſed him at his arriuall to be confined, not ſuffering him to deliuer any Letters: the Vizier
forcing him to decipher his Letter to the Emperours Agent in his preſence, not truſting
him with his owne ſecret. The ſubſtance whereof was vehement complaint againſt the
Prince of Tranſyluania; accuſing him to be the author of all the troubles and diſcontents of
the frontier. That ſince his aduancement it was not poſſible to maintaine the Peace, nor that
Amity which was contracted betweene their kingdoms; intimating a deſire to haue him depoſed,
as a perturber of the world. Expoſtulating the mouing of thoſe new Armes and the
preparations of the Baſſa of Buda. He had Letters likewiſe to the Grand Seignior, but was
not ſuffered to deliuer them: but they reſolued to ſend him backe to Buda, there to open his
B meſſage, and if it ſhould ſeeme fit to *Bethlem Gabor* and the Baſſa to treat peace, that then an
Embaſſadour from the Emperour ſhould be accepted, but no inferiour perſon, nor querelous
Letters. Thus it was plotted to the aduice of *Gabor*; who gaue this counſell, that he might
in all occaſion both know the ſecret, and direct the anſwer, and by making himſelfe ſeeme
neceſſarie to the Turkes, he guided all their reſolutions to his owne ends. On the other ſide,
Morteſa Baſſa hauing had notice, that a meſſenger was ſtollen by, and arriued & heard at the
Port, ſent a Poſt with Letters, complaining, That he ſhould haue any entertainment there, or
was admitted any audience: That if the Grand Seigniour had with confidence really referred
the concluſion of peace or warre to *Bethlem Gabor* and himſelfe, all other Treaty was impertinent
and hurtfull, and might produce vncertaintie or contrarietie in the reſolution; deſiring
C that he might be diſmiſſed inſtantly and ſent to him, becauſe one of the Imperial commiſſioners
being arriued at Comara, had aduertiſed, That they could not enter into conference
vntill the returne of this Meſſenger. Whereupon the Vizier diſpeeded him without
any anſwer to the Emperour, or Treaty, or other reſolution than that which was formerly
mentioned; rather taking from him, than receiuing his Letters; only a *Fede* for his diſcharge
was giuen him, that he had brought and preſented them, but comming from the country of
an Enemie, they could not be accepted. Thus he was ſent to *Morteſa* by a Chaus, and with
him an anſwer to the Baſſa, That his negotiation was wholly referred to him and the prince
of Tranſyluania; with this caution, That he ſhould protract, and beware to be raſhly ingaged
in an open warre.

D About the one and twentieth of Aprill newes came to the Port from Cairo, ſignifying
the reuolt of Gemen in Arabia, vnder a pretending prince whom they call an Ayman or
Prieſt: That he had ouerrunne the Countrey, and beſieged the Baſſa in the principall Citie.
To whoſe reliefe the Baſſa of Cairo had ſent by Suachim in the Red-Sea three thouſand ſoldiers;
but it was aduiſed, That if more ſuccours were not ſupplied, that the Holy Countrey
would be loſt. This cauſed frequent Councels, and did much trouble the State; eſpecially
the feare of Mecha, Medina, and the deuotions of their Prophet. The great Vizier arriued
at Aleppo, but complained for men, munition, and money: to raiſe the firſt, the Viziers of
the Bench were ſent abroad; one to Greece, another to Natolia, a third to Tartarie, others
to other places; inſomuch as the City was left deſolate. Munition was aduentured by ſea to
E Scanderone; and mony extorted from the poorer *(per fas & nefas)* or drawne from rich ſubiects
(precario) to concurre to aſſiſt in the publique want.

A dead ſilence now poſſeſſed all things; and there was little newes from the Prince of
Tranſyluania, how he proceeded, nor what he purpoſed: only the tripartite Commiſſioners
were met at Comaran, where they treated; and the generall inclination of the Miniſters
at the Port being wholly bent to peace, they aduiſed *Morteſa* ſecretly, and excuſed themſelues
to *Gabor* vpon the Mufti; whoſe feares the Imperials had made the ground of their
hopes, and that Councel. But it ſeemes it was reſolued at leaſt, not to breake; the Emperors
Commiſſioners preſſing a reſolution on the one ſide, and *Gabor* on the other raiſing new difficulties,
and endeauouring to diſſolue the Treaty, and to leaue the occaſion of the war open
F to time and opportunitie. The Turkes being driuen vp in a ſtreight how to pleaſe both, fell
at laſt vpon the Prince, accuſing him, That he had in December before treated apart, and
made his owne peace with the Emperour, vpon conditions to his owne aduantage, without
conſulting the Port: which was true; for vpon the retreit of his Army, and the diſpaire of
the forces of Count *Mansfelt*, (which hee found weakened by a long march) and the diſ-

union of the Generals, he had treated and ſigned Articles; but as he pretended, they were G concluded in a Councell, with the conſent of his Friends or their miniſters: which as hee could not directly deny, ſo he did not abſolutely confeſſe; tempering what he had done, with diuers conditions; of the declaration, of the conſent of his Allyes, and the ratification of the Grand Seigniour. This Treaty was noyſed and bruted from Vienna, and the copy ſent to Conſtantinople purpoſely to diſcredit him: ſo that it was no more a ſecret; and thereupon the Prince diſpatched a Poſt to his Embaſſadour, to ſatisfie thoſe who might except againſt him: profeſſing not onely what he had done apart by neceſſitie, and for want of ſupplies, but that he would proceed in the generall Treaty: becauſe there was no other way to vnblinde the Miniſters of the Grand Seigniour; who ſo much affected the aſſurance of the Border, that they would not beleeue any arguments, as ſauoring of other intereſts, but that he would H at the conuention raiſe ſo many rocks and impoſſibilities, as that the breach of the conference ſhould be the beginning of the warre, and a bond of neceſſitie in the Turkes to partake in it. The Emperour remaining ſtill iealous of delayes, ſent another meſſenger to the Port, with a ſecond complaint againſt *Bethlem Gabor* and *Morteſa Baſſa*, as the diſturbers of the antient Truce; and an expreſſion of his feruent deſire to maintaine a good peace with the *Ottoman* Empire, which he ſaid could neuer be ſecured, vnleſſe the Grand Seigniour ſhould place ſuch Miniſters in the frontier gouernments, as were louers of the publique quiet. For the eſtabliſhing whereof he had ſent his Deputies to meet thoſe of the Port, who hauing agreed (as he pretended) vpon Articles, and reconciled all differences, that he was ready to ſend a great Embaſſadour thither, to confirme whatſoeuer ſhould there be concluded. This was done I onely to get an acceptance of ſome perſon of Qualitie to be preſent at the Port; which *Gabor* and *Morteſa Baſſa* hindred, to keepe that State without any light but ſuch as they pleaſed to giue them. But it being obiected to the Meſſenger by the Vizier, That the Emperor had made a Peace apart with the Prince, and that therefore he had obtained his ends without the communication of the Grand Seigniour, which gaue much ſuſpition of ſiniſter purpoſes, the Emperours Meſſenger did not deny but that there was ſome ſuch thing done; but that his Maſter did not truſt in it, nor could euer reſt ſecure in the word of that Prince, vnleſſe the authoritie of the Port did ſtrengthen it. In concluſion, feare on the one part to loſe an opportunitie of peace; the death of *Mansfelt*, ſome diſaſters of the Friends of the Prince in Germanie, and the failing of aids expected, all concurring on the other part, made both ſoften and K decline, and reſolue to take care onely of their owne affaires, and to leaue the World at libertie.

The Captaine Baſſa diſpatched with an Armado into the Black-ſea.

The Captaine Baſſa was ſent vp to the Euxine ſea with a gallant fleet for flagges and ſtreamers, reſolute to attempt the ſhutting in of the Coſſacks by building two Forts on the outlets of the Boriſthenes: who prepared to reſiſt him, and were intrenched neere his expected deſcent. The Poles made ſome braues, That they would aſſiſt them, and maintaine their Frontier, as Lords of that ground: but it was not beleeued they would hazard their peace with the Grand Seigniour, by fighting with his Generall, but rather conniue till he ſhould be returned, and then to raze and ouerthrow what was raiſed, and excuſe it vpon their outlaws. This enterpriſe was like to coſt ſome knockes; but as matters then ſtood, the Poles were not L in ſtate to make any great progreſſe, the King of Sweden hauing diuerted them to their owne defence in Pruſſia: yet howſoeuer they reſolued in this particular, they muſt keepe an Army on foot, leſt they tempted the Enemie to vſe the occaſion.

While all the ſea forces were imployed in this deſigne, the Arches were left vngarded, and 6 gallies of the great duke of Tuſcany came to the mouth of the Helleſpont, & took one Gallion and many leſſer ſhips of the Cairo fleet; the booty whereof by report amounted to ſome millions of dollars. This ſudden alarme cauſed the Grand Seigniour to ſend into the Blacke-Sea to recall ſome forces, and inſtantly from the Armado twelue gallies were ſpared, and diſpatched to ſeeke the Chriſtians, who were departed with their riches.

An Embaſſadour from Perſia arriueth at Aleppo.

There arriued at the ſame time a Perſian Embaſſador at Aleppo with ouertures of peace: M vpon whom the Grand Vizier put gards, neither accepting nor refuſing his meſſage; and ſent to the Port to declare, that the State muſt either furniſh him with a million and halfe of gold, and ſtore of munition, or elſe grant him a Commiſſion to entertaine that opportunitie and motion of Treaty; for with leſſe ſupplies he could not proceed. The firſt was impoſſible, A and the later much againſt the ſtomach; but a freſh aduice bringing the report of a great Embaſſadour following the former with rich Preſents, and faire offers, made many beleeue or hope a happy concluſion; though men of beſt iudgements eſteemed it very difficult, vnleſſe Babylon ſhould be ſurrendred. All men made this concluſion, That if peace could be ſetled on that ſide, the Turkes had yet ſpleene enough to reuenge the braues they had endured from the Imperials; who though they ſought a Truce, proſecuted it inſolently, threatening fire and ſword if they obtained not their deſires. And thus the Treaty at Comaran had ebbs and flouds, heats and colds, as the feare or hope of the affaires of Aſia did temper it.

The Perſian Embaſſador arriueth at the Port.

This expected Perſian Embaſſadour not long after arriued at the Port, with little hope to buy peace at a cheaper rate than the ſurrender of Babylon. And the gallies of the Grand B Seigniour ſent in purſuit of the Florentines, by great diligence ouertooke them in a port of Morea, and recouered all the prizes, [So their great wealth was like a dreame, when they awaked it vaniſhed:] And vpon the ſixteenth of Iune they returned and entered in triumph, towing in all the repriſed booty. It ſeemes they were become too rich to fight, and the Turkes, though ſuperiour in ſtrength and number, were content with the gaine, and glad not to force men alreadie ſpoyled, into diſpaire.

About the firſt of Iuly the Baſſa of Buda ſent poſt to the port, with aduice, that the emperors commiſſioners at Comaran had preſented certain articles, containing accounts & reſtitutions: which being ſent to him, he had receiued, but could not allow them; anſwering, That the Grand Seigniour did not treat with Merchants; Which had like to haue bred confuſion: but C that they were ſince entered into new conference, and had concluded in the generall, a reſolution to peace; with conſent that both parties ſhould haue time to ſend to their Maſters for freſh inſtructions in particulars. Whereupon he had diſpatched that meſſenger to the Port, to vnderſtand the ſence, & to receiue abſolute directions from thence. By him *Bethlem Gabor* did write a ſharpe Letter; confeſſing plainly (ſeeing he could not longer conceale it) that hee had made peace for himſelfe; but accuſed the negligence of thoſe Miniſters as the cauſe thereof: Firſt, That they would neuer conſtantly truſt his aduices of the opportunitie of the warre; but their Mufti and Booke-men, who were fitter to interpret their Law, than to iudge of the Word and matters of State. That he would be true to the Grand Seigniour, but yet not neglect himſelfe, when he ſaw how little care, avthority, and credit was giuen to him: D That the Letters written to him from the Vizier were ambiguous and irreſolute, but that diuers others had threatened him not to be the occaſion of a warre. And therefore, to proue himſelfe faithfull and true to his owne firſt counſels, he offered, That if the Grand Seignior would breake off the Treaty, and reſolue to vſe the time, that he was readie to march in ſix dayes warning. He amplified the proſperitie of the remaines of *Manſfelts* Army in Sileſia, the occaſion, and all other fit arguments to moue them to a change of thoſe degenerate councels of peace. But this was an art, to caſt the fault on others, for the concluſion of that which he had ſuffered to proceed, and beyond his power to remedie. Yet it much perplexed the Vizier, who excuſed himſelfe, and returned all the blame vpon the Lawyers, as men ignorant, by whom he had been ouerborne; and that he neuer conſented to peace or Treatie in E his owne iudgement, but had proceeded ſincerely according to his engagement, as far as he durſt, and, that ſo much his continuall Letters witneſſed for him; promiſing, that hee would cauſe a Conſultation to anſwer theſe aduices, and that he would not agree to any concluſion without the ſatisfaction of the prince and all others that were friends to the Port, and the reſtitution of the oppreſſed libertie. Which ſolemnly handled in a full Councell, and Orders diſpatched away as the finall reſolution of that State, to leaue the power of making peace, or breaking the Treaty, to the iudgement of *Gabor* and the Baſſa of Buda, wholly and without reſtriction.

What effects this would worke was ſomewhat vncertaine; but ſuch appeared the *inclination* of thoſe into whoſe hands the Treaty was now referred, that there was a ſtrong *opinion*, F the Emperour ſhould faile of the ſecuritie expected: Eſpecially becauſe the *ouertures* of peace which the Perſian made by his Embaſſador there ariued, together with *their* neceſſitie, had raiſed ſome ſhew of inclination to hearken to accommodation in thoſe *parts*. But it came aduiſed from the Treaty, That the Commiſſioners being met the ſecond time, the Imperials inſiſted vpon high termes, demanding a ratification of the old Peace of Zitwa, then expired,

without any addition or diminution; and by vertue thereof, reſtitution of Vatz, ſtollen during
that time: declaring they had no authoritie to proceed to any new negotiation. To G
which the Turkes replied, That ſo much ceremonie needed not, to appoint a ſolemne meeting
to confirme that which two Letters onely from their Princes might haue done: That
that truce being run out, was no longer in vigor nor in being. If they would treat a new peace,
that they were ready; but to expect any reſtitution, or reuiuing of the old, it was in vaine,
and their meeting fruitleſſe. And the Germanes as ſtiffely preſſing their owne propoſitions,
the Conference was for a while interrupted, and a current rumour ſpread, The Conuention
was diſſolued. But *Morteſa Baſſa* diſcouering by diſcourſe, That the Imperials ſtood vpon ſo
peremptorie points, as ſuppoſing that all the Forces were drawne into Aſia, and that the
Grand Seignior could not ſhew an Army on that ſide; ſuddenly gaue order to all the troups
that were ready about Buda, and in the frontier, to march to Peſth, and to ſhew themſelues H
in the field. Whereupon the Germans began to mollifie, and were content to renew the
Treaty. At a third ſeſſion they reſolued to employ the force of gold, and to winne *Morteſa*
by corruption; to whom they preſented from the Emperour ſix thouſand Dollars, with promiſe
of a greater reward. This Caſt changed all the Game; and he vndertooke both to diſcouer
the deſignes of *Bethlem Gabor*, and to croſſe him in his Maſters Court.

The Miniſters of the Grand Seigniour hauing exhibited a ſecond complaint to his Maieſties Embaſſadour, for ſome wrongs done vnto his ſubiects in the Gulph of Perſia, he ſent vnto them this enſuing Command, to obſerue the antient Capitulations.

I

To all Gouernors, Admirals, Commanders of Ships,

Or other his Maieſties Subiects trading in the Kingdome or Gulfe of Perſia.

After our louing commendations:

The Engliſh Embaſſadours Letter to his Maieſties ſubiects trading in the Perſian Gulfe.

WHereas Aly *Baſſa, Baſſa of Balſara, hath ſent his Letters to this high Port by the hands of*
two of his ſeruants inhabiting in thoſe parts; by them informing the Grand Seigniour, K
That the Engliſh nation trading in the Perſian Gulfe, in Ormus, Iaſques, Mumbrun, and other parts
of the kingdome of Perſia, do make prize & take the Veſſels and Frigots of the ſubiects of the Grand
Seigniour dwelling in Balſara, Laſha, and the coaſts of Arabia, trading to Meſchit, India, Goa, and
Calicut; and that they make Slaues of all the paſſengers, Merchants or other, that they finde vpon
the ſaid Veſſels, being ſubiects of this Empire. Further, That they do vnite themſelues with the
Perſian (now in warre with the Grand Seigniour) aſſiſting him not onely with munition, but Veſſels
& frigots; and that they help and teach the Perſians (enemies of this Port) to build Gallies, Galliots,
and other Veſſels of warre, to arme in thoſe ſeas; prouiding them of Shipwrights and all other
neceſſaries for the fitting of an Armado, thereby to inuade or beſiege the Port of Balſara, or Laſha, or
to make incurſions vpon the territories of this Empire. Which actions being alledged to be contrary L
to the Capitulations of his moſt ſacred Maieſtie, and to the publique Peace and commerce betweene
theſe Kingdomes, I haue beene called before the Chimacham, Deputie to the Great Vizier, to make
anſwer to theſe obiections, and to prouide ſome timely remedie, before thoſe proceedings ſhall giue further
occaſion of diſcontent. To which accuſations I being able, concerning the fact, to ſay nothing;
but that knowing ſuch actions to be vniuſt aud vnlawfull, and contrary to the will of his ſacred Maieſtie,
and your Commiſſions and Inſtructions from the Companie and your Principals, for whome you
ſerue: I do hope that herein you haue not offended, nor giuen any iuſt occaſion of lament, vnleſſe you
haue beene thereunto by like acts of hoſtilitie prouoked. Notwithſtanding being vrged by the great
Miniſters of this Port, and that it will require ſo much time to enforme his Maieſtie, and to ſeeke redreſſe
by ſo long a courſe, (to whom neuertheleſſe the Grand Seigniour will write his Letters of complaint, M
to require Iuſtice in ſuch caſe) and for the preuention of future euills of very great importance
to the ſubiects of his Maieſtie (which you may eaſily conceiue) and for the declaration of his
Maieſties ſincere and conſtant purpoſe to maintaine a good and iuſt Peace with the Grand Seigniour
& all his dominions, which I know to be his Maieſties royal wil: and that I make no doubt of your obedience

A *dience to all his Orders and purpoſes, like good ſubiects that muſt anſwer your actions at the tribunall*
of his high Iuſtice; I haue thought fit and very requiſite to ſend you this our Declaration, and
in the name of his Maieſtie to admoniſh and require you, That you preſume not to take or make prize
of any of the Veſſels or Subiects of the Grand Seignior, trading in the ſea whereſoeuer; nor to make
any ſpoyle of their goods, or hurt or detaine their perſons: nor that you intermeddle not in any inuaſion
or attempt of the King of Perſia, to aßiſt him or his Armes againſt the ſubiects or Dominions
of the Grand Seigniour, neither by ſea nor land, nor by prouiding them of munition, Shipwrights,
or other Artſmen, to teach them the vſe of Gallies, thereby to inuade the territories or ſubiects of
this Empire; but that therein you carry your ſelues neutrally and indifferently, betweene two Princes
both in peace and amitie with his Maieſtie. Wiſhing you well to conſider, the inconuenience
B *which may ariſe to others, and the damage in time to your ſelues, by teaching a powerfull Nation to*
vſe their ſtrength in ſea-cauſes, of which they are now vtterly ignorant, and of which practiſe wee
haue a lamentable example in theſe ſeas. And no way doubting, That like good ſubiects, you will
conforme your actions and proceedings in thoſe Seas to the rules of his Maieſtie (for that ſuch is his
will and pleaſure, In declaration whereof I haue affixed his Royall Seale) yet I am enforced to proteſt,
That the contrarie will giue occaſion of much trouble and danger to your ſelues, and in the end
loſſe and damage to your Principals.

Giuen in Conſtantinople the third of September, in the yeare of Grace 1627.

C

Halil Baſſa Great Vizier, ſent to the warre in the end of the laſt yeare, being arriued at Dierbecher,
reſolued to enter Perſia (notwithſtanding that the King had an Embaſſadour at the
Port treating of peace) and gaue order to certaine Beglerbeghs to make another inuaſion by
Van; and did endeauour to draw *Abaſſa Baſſa*, with his Forces ioyned with the Georgians, to
do the like on his frontier: who gaue good words, and hopes of due obedience. Whileſt
theſe deſignes were in preparation, the Perſian by his Generall beſieged Achiska, a Citie of
great importance neere Arzirum: Whereupon *Halil* ſent *Diſlenk* Baſſa of Natolia, with ſix
other Baſſa's, to *Abaſſa*, to perſuade him preſently to performe his word, and to riſe and vnite
his ſtrength with them. With theſe he ſent three thouſand Ianizaries vnder twelue Captains,
D with his owne Letters; who being arriued neere the City, he appointed them to incampe,
and ſent them prouiſion for a day or two, vntill he could put his affaires for his departure in
order. Theſe reſting ſecure, in the night he ſet vpon them and cut them in pieces, ſome few
eſcaping to the Port. *Diſlenk* and another, *Muchmet Baſſa*, were ſlaine; the Captaines that he
tooke aliue, or came to him to treat, he ſent to the Perſian: whereby Achiska being in great
diſtreſſe, and vnſuccoured, was preſently ſurrendred to the Enemie. This newes being
brought to the great Vizier, the next morning he roſe with all his whole Army, laying aſide
all deſigne againſt Perſia, and marched right to Arzirum; vowing to puniſh the Rebell, or
there to end his life: who was ſtrong, fortified, victualled, prouided, and reſolute.

The Perſian beſiegeth Achiſca.

Notwithſtanding all the colours, proteſtations, and perturbations of the Prince of Tranſyluania,
E That he would finde occaſion and quarrell to diſſolue the Treaty of Comaran, or
that he would ſeparate himſelfe from the Turkes; yet at laſt he ſent his Embaſſadour *Francis*
Micoſcrentz to the Grand Seigniour, about the later end of October, to acquaint him that the
peace was concluded. And within a few dayes after, the Internuntio of the Emperor arriued
with a branch of oliues at the Port: And this Embaſſadour and two Agents of *Gabor* went to
the Chimacham with a Letter from their Maſter, vnder the Seale of great ſecrecie; of freſh
aduice, That the King of Denmarke was vtterly broken and fled into certaine Iſlands, all his
Countrey, and Germany proſtrate at the mercy of the Emperour (which newes the Imperials
had formerly ſpread) counſelling the Chimacham to make an end of their peace with the
Emperour, and to diſpatch and accept of any Conditions, and to ſend the Internuntio away
F with ſpeed and content; leſt the Auſtrians puffed vp with thoſe victories, ſhould take the aduantage
of their delay, and preſent them worſe termes, or refuſe it abſolutely. Whereupon
the Miniſters of the Port reſolued eaſily to peace; changing former Ænigmaticall Letters
they had written, and huddled vp a haſty Concluſion. They added further, That the Princes
of Germanie treated a Pacification, which was like alſo to take effect; and either way, that
the

Bethlem Gabor certifieth the Port, of peace betweene him and the Emperour.

the Emperour would be at liberty to make warre vpon him. Whether they feigned the firſt G part, to accelerate the ratification; or feared the later, and that their Maſter ſhould therein deſeruedly be left out, was hard to iudge: but they onely by this office (which the Turke did beleeue was ſincere) merited of the Emperour the conſummation of what was done; and thereupon they Both made their attonement with the Emperour, according to their ſeuerall Capitulations.

What was the ſecret cauſe and reaſon of this ſudden alteration, *Gabor* hauing made all demonſtration, that he would continue the war; hauing proceeded euen to threats and proteſts againſt the Miniſters of the Port; and being irritated anew after the concluſion of his owne Treaty, by the complaints and practiſes of the Emperours Agents, to bring him into diſgrace or ruine; ſo that hee could repoſe no truſt in an enemie newly reconciled, H and ſo often prouoked; did breed much inquiſition, and many doubted ſome great miſtery, either of his reuolt wholly to the Imperiall part, or that he had ſome other high deſigne in Poland. But thoſe who were leſſe ſpeculatiue and curions, and looked onely vpon euident matter, concluded, That finding himſelfe betrayed and forſaken by *Morteſa Baſſa*, and that he could no longer diſguiſe his owne ends, which were, To oblige the Emperour to him for the Peace, if it were made; and to blinde the Turkes, to conuert their force and authoritie to better his conditions in the Peace; and that hee foreſaw ſo much renitencie and inconſtancie in them, to proſecute the warre, the vigour whereof depended vpon contingencies and the ſucceſſe of the Vizier in Aſia; that he reſolued to preuent, being preuented & diſcouered. For certainly if he had not roundly ſhut vp the occaſion, I by being the firſt that ſeemed to merit of both parts, in reconciling the difficultie he himſelfe had raiſed, he had been ſtript naked, and left in the ſtate of the Conſtable Count of S. *Pol*, betweene *Lewis* the 11 of France, and the Duke of Bourgundie. This onely was obſerued by all, That whatſoeuer the ends of *Gabor* and *Morteſa* were while they were vnited in counſels, they did ſuffer the Grand Seigniour to know no more than conduced to thoſe ends, and that they had power to change the reſolutions of the Port, with euery winde of rumor they pleaſed to obtrude; and that if *Gabor* had beene countenanced and nouriſhed in his hopes, to weare the Crowne of Hungarie (which was the ſcope of all his intentions) that he had credit and wit enough to haue moulded the Turkes (who ſaw the affaires of Chriſtendome onely through the glaſſe of his relations) to his owne deſignes; and that he would haue continued K the warre at his pleaſure; and they at whoſe coſt it had beene made, ſhould haue beene the leaſt and laſt, to know the internall motiue. For ſo it often happens, That great Princes and States haue beene inuolued in troubles, and ſhut vp with Peaces, vnder the ſpecious name of The Publique good, by the paſſions, deſignes, or ambitions of their Allyes or Miniſters, the cauſe and pretext being ſeldome rightly diſtinguiſhed.

It hath beene formerly intimated, That *Gabor* had ſecretly treated apart; and now the generall Peace being concluded, the Articles themſelues will moſt cleerely diſcouer, either to what ſtreights the Prince was driuen, or what were his intentions; the order of Time giuing place to that of Story, we haue choſen this period to publiſh them. L

Articles of Peace concluded betweene the Emperour of Germany, *Ferdinand*, and *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of Tranſyluania, in the moneth of December, 1626.

I. *THe Prince of Tranſyluania doth promiſe, by the Faith of a Chriſtian, neuer to moue Armes or vſe any hoſtilitie againſt the Maieſtie of the Emperour, or the Houſe of* M *Auſtria, or their Succeſſours; much leſſe to enter into their Dominions with an Armie: Not to aid his Enemies, nor to keepe correſpondence with them: Not to plot any innouation in the Kingdome of Hungarie or other Chriſtian Countries; neither to ſtirre vp*

and

A and prouoke the Turks or Tartars, or others, to inuade them: Not to entertaine nor aſſiſt
in any euill Counſell againſt his Maieſtie, nor to giue eare to the requeſts and deſires of his
Enemies; but rather to reueale all their conſpiracies and wickedneſſes which ſhall be made
made knowne vnto him: and by all meanes to demonſtrate and ſhew a ſincere minde truly
deſirous of Peace, and ſolicitous of the Common good.

That the Prince ſhall inſtantly depart with his whole Army out of the territories and cities II.
of the Emperour; and that he ſhall reſtore as well all goods belonging to the Imperial
Treaſure, as thoſe of his faithfull ſubiects.

That he ſhall remoue from him the Rebell Mansfelt, and all other his Followers and adherents III.
B deſirous to inuade the Dominions of the Emperour. And that he ſhall not ayd any
Stranger whatſoeuer, who at his inſtance hath entered into the territories of his Maieſtie
with Count Mansfelt; to whom Letters of publique ſafety ſhall be giuen, that they may
returne by twenty or thirty in a Troupe; with condition, That in no place of their retreit
they ſhall ioyne with the enemies of the Emperour.

That ſeeing it is fit for the eſtabliſhing of the Peace, that the inhabitants of Countries IV.
and Cities belonging to the Prince, by the conſent of the Emperour, ſhould remaine during
his life, in obedience and fidelitie to him; and that thoſe Inhabitants ſhould do homage to
C the Emperour (ſauing their corporall Oath to the Prince) to keepe inuiolate theſe Articles:
That they ſhould haue leaue by Letters of full authoritie and power granted them by the
Prince in their firſt aſſemblies and Conuentions, to make ſuch oath of Homage.

That at the ſame time of the performing of the Homage and Oath, beſides the Oath before V.
the laſt warre, they ſhall take a new, according to the agreement betweene the Prince
and the Commiſſioners of the Emperour.

The Prince ſhall procure, that all places vpon the confines which were taken by the VI.
Turkes in the laſt warre, ſhall be reſtored: and that all Captiues on both ſides ſhall be ſet at
D libertie: and that the Prince ſhall procure the freedome of all ſuch the Emperours ſubiects
as ſhall be in the Turkiſh captiuitie.

That all the ſubiects of the Emperour, lately inticed and drawne to the ſeruice of the VII.
Prince, ſhall be free from their Oath: and if the Prince haue any of their Letters of obligation
in his hands, that he ſhall reſtore them: And that theſe conditions confirmed, all other
things formerly treated, ſhall remaine in their former ſtate and vigour.

That if any other difficulties ariſe, they ſhall be accommodated with fidelitie and quietneſſe, VIII.
by Commiſſioners on both parts: And that all thoſe who in the laſt commotion haue
ſerued the Prince, ſhall be abſolued, according to the Treaty and agreement at Vienna.

E That all Inhabitants of Counties and Cities which haue ſerued the Prince, ſhall be abſolued; IX.
onely thoſe excepted who haue voluntarily taken vp armes againſt the Emperour,
for whom he ſhall onely intercede: excuſing alwayes priuate men which haue done priuate
wrongs, for they ſhall according to Law and cuſtome, ſeeke their reſtitution by Ciuile
Action.

That all other Articles of peace concluded at Nichilsburg and Vienna, ſhall remaine in X.
their former vigour and force: except vpon the behalfe of the Emperour, the payment of
thirty thouſand Dollars, and the care of the confines granted vnto the Prince. And that
F all goods of the Emperours Clergy, poſſeſſed by the Prince, ſhall be reſtored, from the yeare
1619, till this preſent day: Except the Abbyes of Replana, belonging to the Seminarie of
Strigonium; for which the Prince ſhall pay to the Emperor yearely fiue hundred Florens.

At the arriual of the Meſſenger ſent from the commiſſioners of the Emperor, to the Port, G
with the newes of the concluſion of the Treaty, and the ratification on the part of *Ceſar*, he
preſented this Letter.

The Emperours Letter to the Grand Seigniour, a little before the ratification of the Peace.

Ferdinand *the ſecond, by the grace of God Emperour of Germanie, &c. We giue notice* H
hereby to your Maieſtie, That by the diligence and wiſedome of our Commiſſioners on
both parts, all controuerſies which haue heretofore happened are well accommodated;
and all iniuries and hoſtilities of the future preuented. Now for the better and more exact
obſeruance of this our ſaid Treaty, we haue ſent vnto your Maieſtie our Internuntio Ste-
phano Baloc, *Captaine of Tata, to giue you notice of the Agreement betweene our ſayd*
Commiſſioners, and to preſent you with the Capitulations, ſeuerally ſigned and ſealed by
them. Which we pray your Maieſtie to accept word for word; and hauing ſigned them
with your Imperiall hand, that you will ſend them backe vnto vs with all expedition:
Not doubting but your Maieſty out of your benignitie and greatneſſe, will obſerue and keep I
the ſame, as we vpon our part do promiſe euer to do.

*September. Giuen in Prague the one and twentieth of * Zilbege, in the yeare of the Meſſia 1627.

Ferdinando.

Count Colalto *Councellor.* K

Sberinger *Secretary.*

Articles of Peace agreed vpon betweene *Ferdinand* Emperour of Germany, and the Grand Seigniour Sultan *Morat*, in Comaran, in the moneth of September, 1627.

I *Sultan* Morat, *King of Kings, &c. To thee* Ferdinand, *honoured King of the Ro-* L
mans, Almaines, Bohemians, Hungars, Croats, Auſtrians, Emperour of Germany, and
moſt glorious Prince amongſt Chriſtians; whoſe laſt dayes be euer happy.

By *vertue of our Imperiall Commiſſion granted to* Morteſa Baſſa, *our magnificent Vi-*
zier, vpon the frontiers of Buda; to the Beglerbegh of Agria, Mehemet; *to the*
Mufti of Buda, Iſſa; *to the Sanzacke of Strigonium,* Achmet; *to the Bey of Son-*
luc, Muharem; *to the Aga of Aſſapi,* Ghian; *and to* Michael Todolaghi *Embaſſador*
of Bethlem Gabor, *on our behalfe: And the Illuſtrious Palatine of Hungary, and the* M
Chancellour Stephano, *and others on the part of the Emperour. Which Commiſſioners be-*
ing met in the field of Sona, and hauing found the Peace which had formerly been conclu-
ded at Zitwa, Vienna, Comar, and Chiarman, to be diſturbed by diuers inſolencies and out-
rages

A *rages done vpon the ſubiects of both Parties. Whereupon the ſaid Commiſſioners in the aforeſaid place did treat and conclude a good Peace for the ſpace of twenty fiue yeares, in the current yere of our great Prophet* Mahomet Muſtapha *the Meſſenger of God,* 1037, *and of the Venerable Chriſt,* 1627, *as appeareth by a ſealed Capitulation containing eleuen articles. And you alſo deſiring and accepting the good Peace for ſo long time, hauing ſent the ſacred Capitulation to our happy Port, by your eſteemed and honoured amongſt Chriſtians,* Stephano Baloco, *Captaine of Tata; deſiring in your Letter, that it may be obſerued word for word. And although we haue declared heretofore vpon our Imperiall part, that we would haue made new Capitulations; yet ſince it hath euer beene our Regall* B *cuſtome, affectionately to correſpond with the intentions of thoſe great Princes which profeſſe amitie, deuotion, and friendſhip to our high Port (by the immence fauour of God, the ſtay and refuge of great Lords and Princes;) We declare and demonſtrate our ſingular greatneſſe and magnificence, and approue ſufficiently, and hold lawfull the confirmation of the Peace for the ſpace of twenty fiue yeares, according to the ſaid Letter, beginning from the yeare* 1627. *Whereupon our high Order is giuen out in writing, for ratifying and confirming of theſe our new Imperiall Capitulations.*

C Thus much is the Preface, according to the ſtile of that Court; That which followeth is the Capitulation, as it was accepted and ſent by the Grand Seigniour; tranſlated out of Turkiſh word for word, without any alteration.

That ſeeing the Peace eſtabliſhed formerly at Zitwa, Vienna, Comar, and Chiarman, hath remained in the ſame ſtate, and in the ſame articles, without any alteration, it ſhall not be violated by any new occaſion of contention. I.

D *That the difference of Vatz, whereof is made mention at the preſent, ſhall reſt in the ſame ſtate that the Commiſſioners on both ſides ſhall agree.* II.

That the new Forts built vpon the confines of Croatia, contrary to the Peace, ſhall be demoliſhed. To which purpoſe our ſaid Deputie Mehemet, *and our Vizier* Morteſa Baſſa *ſhall meet vpon the frontiers of Buda with your Deputies, at the time appointed by the Treaty, and there vpon the places on both ſides ſhall cauſe to be demoliſhed the Forts built contrary to the Peace: wherein if they finde any impediment, they ſhall chuſe able and valiant men to performe and execute the ſaid ſeruice.* III.

That after the approbation of this happy Peace, your great Embaſſadour ſhall come to E *Comar, and ours ſhall repaire with our Imperiall Letters to Strigonium: and there one of them aduiſing the other, yours ſhall ſet forward to our happy Port, and ours ſhall aduance to you. For ſo it is agreed by our Imperiall Order, both carrying with them the new Imperiall Capitulations.* IV.

That all complaints of Villages ſubiect to both parts, ſhall be layed aſide, and no violences, taxes, or contribution, contrarie to our former Conuention, ſhall be exacted: and all Forts built in the common confines ſhall be raſed: and reciprocally it ſhall be made knowne, according to the antient Treaty, what great men do dwell amongſt our Tributaries. F *And for the execution of the ſixteenth and ſeuenteenth articles of the Peace of Zitwa, the tenth of Vienna, and the fourth of Comar and Chiarman (for ſuch was then the agreement) two Capigi Baſſa's of our high Port ſhall be deputed and diſpeeded, the one to this ſide, and the other to that ſide of the Danuby; and vpon your part you ſhall ſend two* VI *ſuch like qualified perſons to the ſame places: who being met together with the Deputies of* Morteſa Baſſa *and the Palatine of Hungary, ſhall rectifie all diſorders, and ſee that good iuſtice be done on both parties; for ſo it is our moſt high pleaſure.* G

VI. *That the Slaues which haue beene taken during this our Treaty ſhall be freed and ſet at libertie without paying any ranſome: and that thoſe who were taken before the ſaid Treatie ſhall be exchanged or redeemed, according to their qualities and eſtates; by the interpoſition of* Morteſa Baſſa *and the Palatine of Hungarie deputed for that purpoſe.*

VII. *For the good of poore people on both ſides, the Commiſsioners haue thought it fit to conclude this renewed Peace for twenty fiue yeares, from* 1627. *whereunto we haue giuen our Imperiall aſſent.* H

VIII. *That all Merchants and others our ſubiects on both parts, ſhall haue ſafe paſſage and conduct through both our dominions: and we haue giuen command to our Baſſa's, Beglerbegs, Generals, Beyes, and Captaines vpon our Confines, to apprehend, bring into iuſtice, and puniſh all ſuch as ſhall any way diſturbe or moleſt them contrary to the Peace. As likewiſe the Palatine of Hungary and other your Miniſters ſhall do on your part, if they finde any ſuch offendors.*

IX. *That our Beglerbeghs, Sanzackes, Captaines, and Gouernours; and your Generals, Commanders, and Captaines, ſhall vpon occaſion employ all ſuch Perſonages as are louers of the Peace and common good.* I

X. *That there ſhall be no damage or hurt done to any of our ſubiects in any of your Kingdomes or Dominions, neither by ſea nor land; as there ſhall none be done to yours in our Dominions.*

XI. *That all by-paſt wrongs, enmities, and vnkindeneſſes on both parts ſhall be forgotten and layed aſleepe: and that this happy Peace ſhall be ſincerely and firmely continued and kept inuiolate.* K

Vpon condition that the Emperour performe and obſerue all the aforeſaid Articles, and that there follow no action from any Miniſters, contrary to the ſaid Peace; Wee promiſe and ſweare by God our Creatour, who made the whole world of nothing; and by the honour which we beare to our moſt high Prophet Mahomet Muſtapha, *That there ſhall not be done during the whole terme of the ſaid Peace, the leaſt hurt or damage to the Subiects, Countries, Kingdomes, Caſtles, or Forts of the ſaid Emperour, by any of our Miniſters or Armies, nor to any Chriſtian ſlaues ſubiect to our happy Port.* L

I haue choſen the Capitulations as they were ſigned by the Grand Seigniour; which though the Articles are very generall, and matters of the greateſt moment either referred, or not fully eſtabliſhed; yet being therefore aduantageous for the Turke, who would not deſcend into particular definition, becauſe by the vertue of former Treaties, all places ſurpriſed ought to be reſtored, and depredations ſatisfied, he would neither breake, nor yet oblige himſelfe to reparation: and indeed the difficulties were inſeparable by Turkiſh Law; for no place can be ſurrendred to the Chriſtian, where a Moſche hath beene erected; which was the caſe of Vatz: And the Emperour could not conſent to abandon his claime with charitie grounded on the Articles of Zitwa; ſo that both ſides were contented to be vnited, rather than pacified for the time, and both did thinke that they had the aduantage: The Emperor, In preſeruing his Title; The Turke, In not declaring. So the one part accepting the ſignature of the other, without diſpute, the bodies of the Treaties being very different, if not contrarie; yet ſo deſirous they were of peace, that they did wittingly ouerſee, one the arts of the other: and in effect, there was no firme Peace eſtabliſhed, but that either ſide might find firſt M

matter

A matter, and ground it on the Capitulation it ſelfe, when occaſion ſhall inuite them to breake. Therefore I obſerue, that it is not the letter, but the minde that makes a true Peace: and I am perſuaded, that the mindes of theſe Princes, howſoeuer neceſſitie hath reſtrained them, are ſo diſcrepant, that the firſt opportunitie will diſcouer them in their owne colours and nature. And this ſort of concluſion was moſt fit for *Gabor* (not to haue matters ſoundly examined and healed) who was principally ſafe by an ill intelligence, and maintaining of iealouſie and ſubiect of new diſcord betweene thoſe Empires.

Halil Baſſa riſeth from the ſiege of Arzirum.

Halil Baſſa Generall of the Army in Aſia, was forced in the meane time to riſe from the ſiege of Arzirum; and retyring, *Abaſſa Baſſa* followed him ſeuen dayes, and cut off all his Reare, and tooke his Treaſure, Cannon, and baggage, to the great diſcouragement of the B Turkiſh State. The Army afterward fell into mutinie, and ſought to ſtone their Generall. Whereupon he wrote to the Grand-Seigniour, That there was no more hope of obedience, vnleſſe the reuerence of his owne perſon did reuiue it. Yet he reſted at Tocat, and the ſouldiers disbanded and returned naked to the Port, as from an ouerthrow: and it was threatned, That thoſe which did ſtay with the Vizier, would bring him to Conſtantinople perforce; ſo that in the enſuing Spring, much trouble, if not a great deſolation, was preſaged. Yet it was reſolued to proſecute the warre: for though the renitencie of the Souldier, and many other impediments did perſuade againſt it, yet not to haue moued at all, was thought too plaine a diſcouerie of their owne infirmitie, and would too much encourage the Enemie; eſpeciall *Abaſſa Baſſa*, who had practiſed both the Tartars, Poles, and Coſſackes. Where- C upon *Huſſeruph Baſſa* a Vizier, and late Aga of the Ianizaries, was choſen conductor of the *Militia*, and ſent ouer the water to Aſia ſide with all prouiſion; much new ordnance was caſt, which the Grand Seigniour went in perſon to ſee in the Founders office; and from thence to the Arſenal, to giue order for the gallies. And it was concluded, That the new General ſhould march directly to Diarbecher to oppoſe the Perſian, and there remaine as Baſſa of the Prouince, with one diuiſion of the Army. But ſecretly he was made great Vizier, and the Seale appointed to be giuen him when he ſhould be on the way. This was done partly to ſaue charges, becauſe to that eminent degree appertained great expence in ſetting out; and partly for reſpect of *Halil Baſſa* in Tocat, that he might not ſeeme to be diſplaced in diſgrace, but that he ſhould ſurrender to the other, and retyre to the Port, *ſaluo Honore*. And when *Huſſe-* D *ruph* ſhould be declared prime Vizier, he had alſo order to change his wayes, but whither was not divulged: howſoeuer, it was iudged they could not attempt much that yeare, but onely make ſhew to keepe the field and the reputation of an army.

1628.

Huſſeruph Baſſa declared Vizier.

About the fifth of April *Huſſeruph Baſſa* was declared Vizier: who intended to march directly towards Babylon; for of *Abaſſa* they had enough the laſt yeare: Who had written a Letter to the Grand Seigniour, That he was his ſeruant and ſlaue, and would hold the Prouince for him; but if he ſought to force more, plainly that he would deliuer the poſſeſſion to the Perſian; againſt whom, as the great Enemy, if they would proſecute the warre, that he would do all ſeruice he could with his ſafety. And this was accepted as a full ſubmiſſion.

E Whileſt the Grand Seignior was thus buſied to ſettle the affaires of Aſia, and to reduce *Abaſſa Baſſa* to obedience; the Tartar *Han* was openly declared a Rebell, and Enemy to the Turkiſh Empire; and his brother *Shachin Gheray* hauing exacted a tribute of the Princes of Bugdania and Valachia, had receiued an ouerthrow of *Cante-Emir* a Tartar, his Æmulous, but obedient to the Grand Seigniour. Whereupon it was ſuddenly reſolued, to take *Ghian Gheray* (formerly depoſed) out of the Rhodes, and to ſend the Captain Baſſa with the whole Armado to eſtabliſh him Prince, and to diſplace the other. So that for that yere the Mediterranian was like to be free, & the Turkiſh Empire ingaged in ſo many troubles, that euery thing ſeemed to worke toward their ſubuerſion. But great Bodies haue ſtrong luctations, and die not with one fit, or by one blow; and ſuch was the miſerie and iniquitie of the Times, that F while Chriſtian princes contended for ambitious and enuious, rather than for iuſt quarrels; that none of them had leiſure to helpe to puſh forward that Enemy, which tottered by his owne weight; nor to vindicate the Chriſtian Honour; nor the Holy-Land, *oppreſſed* and poſſeſſed by a Tyrant, that onely ſubſiſted by their diſſentions: and I feare, *the loſſe* of the opportunitie hath loſt the Grace that gaue it; and that a common repentance wil requite a common ſinne and folly.

Hauing drawne out Hiſtorie for matters concerning the Temporall eſtate, and the reuolutions therein, vnto a period; it will not be impertinent nor vnprofitable, to make ſome relation of the Greeke Church, and the affaires thereof: which ſuffered many perturbations and aſſaults during theſe times, as if one Influence had diſpoſed all things to vniuerſall trouble: but the cauſes were farre differing. There are yet remaining vnder the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, Metropolitans and Biſhops, who liue with freedome of conſcience and Religion vnder the Grand Seigniour, and gouerne the Chriſtian Flocke, vnder their ſeuerall Iuriſdictions; and haue their antient churches, with ſome competent reuenue in their own poſſeſſion, teaching, preaching, and adminiſtring the holy Sacraments according to their owne Rites, without any moleſtation for matters of Religion. The preſent Patriarch is called *Cyrillus,* formerly gouerning the See of Alexandria, a reuerend and learned man, who hath deſired to reforme many errours, and enlighten much of the blindeneſſe of his Church; inſenſibly preuailing, for want of Lectures, Shooles, and Bookes, and by the mixture of Barbariſme. His reuenue, (though very good) and that of his Biſhops, not ariſing out of viſible lands and rents, but by ſecret contribution, and other duties; and the ſimplicitie of their life and habit, without ſhew or pompe, giuing no occaſion formerly to the Turkes to expect any profit by vexing them, as is vſually practiſed vpon other lay Chriſtians. They liued in great peace and tranquilitie; vntill of late yeares the Church of Rome, hoping either by the pouertie of the one, and the greatneſſe of the other, to force the Greekes to a ſubmiſſion, or perhaps, enuious of their quiet, to weary them by trouble, or to ſubuert them. To this end a Greeke Colledge was by the laſt *Gregory* erected in Rome, to breed vp the Youth of that nation; where they had liberty of all their owne Rites, onely acknowledging the ſupremacie of the Pope, which they muſt do: and that ground being layd, for poynt of doctrine it matters not; there is enough gained to make him that had ſworne obedience, to accept of all the reſt. By this foundation the Pope hoped to breed Proſelites enow in time to poſſeſſe all the Biſhoprickes, and to ſubdue the whole Church. For theſe Students returned admired men for their education and knowledge, and wanted not meanes to promoue their preferment; which was a great aduantage ouer the ignorant breeding and diſcipline of the meere Greeke. But by the foreſight and wiſedome of *Cyrillus* this plot taking little effect, as it did irritate the Pope and Cardinals againſt his perſon, ſo it did incite them to ſeeke other more powerfull meanes of corruption, or to ruine him. And both were put in practiſe. To this end a Congregation was erected to take care of the Eaſterne Church, and to direct the practiſes vpon it; whereof a principall Cardinall was made Protector: and many Conſiſtories were held, by which way to reduce the Greeke Church to obedience, or to root out all thoſe that oppoſed it. It was reſolued to make titular Biſhops of almoſt all the Sees (eſpecially in the Iſlands) where any Greeke Biſhop had reſidence; ſo that there were many Paſtors without a flocke. But theſe Emiſſaries being diſcouered to be ſupplanters and diſturbers of the poore Church, were alſo reſiſted, and ſome caſt into priſon; and ſome aſhamed of their empty honour, voluntarily returned. But all theſe deuices failing, they fell at laſt vpon the round and moſt aſſured way of force, to worke their ends by the Embaſſadours of Chriſtian princes of the Romiſh Religion reſiding at Conſtantinople, and the moſt potent of briberie and corruption: making vſe of the impotencie of the Turkiſh Miniſters, who they knew would ſell *Mahomet* himſelfe for gold: *Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos Acheronta mouebo.* From this reſolution did all the danger and miſchiefe ſpring: and certainly the zeale of their Church is cloathed with ſo much honour and ſolicitouſneſſe, that in that onely it prouoked enuy. But whether they haue in this purſuit and cauſe proceeded with the rules of Chriſtian charitie, in that place among Falſe-Beleeuers, where euery ſcandall did concerne the honour of Chriſt himſelfe; or not, I leaue to the iudgement of euery ingenious man. And becauſe this Part, *of* the quarrels betweene the Roman and Greeke Church, though acted in ſeuerall yeares, hath beene related entirely by a ſincere Pen, in a Letter directed to a noble Senatour of Venice, whereby the paſſages will be more cleere and continuous, than if they had beene mingled and interrupted with other affaires; I haue rather choſen my owne eaſe and the Readers

A profit, by tranſlating that Letter, to ſerue it in all at once, than by pieces and fragments. The
occaſion whereof ariſing (as I am informed) from the varietie of reports and printed pamphlets,
of the laſt Act concerning the baniſhment of the Ieſuites, and a rumour ſpred, that
they were reſtored: the truth whereof it ſeemes that Senator did deſire to know, and therefore
prouoked ſome Friend to ſatisfie him. And ſo without other preiudice, I referre you
to the Text it ſelfe following.

B
The Copy of a Letter written to a Senator of Venice, concerning the contentions betweene the Roman and Greeke Churches in Conſtantinople.

My Lord,

C *YOur Letter hath layed vpon me a charge, that (if I were able to performe) is ſo full of enuy,
and ſubiect to diuers cenſures, according to the preparations of the Hearers of a matter of that
nature, that I would haue choſen to haue obeyed you in any other way, rather than in that of a
Relator. For I perceiue by you, ſome preiudice is already gone out, and hath taken poſſeßion of a part
of the world, harder to remoue than to teach a new hereſie. But hoping that you ſeeke the ſatisfaction
of your owne curioſitie, and that you purpoſe not to controuert, I will not refuſe, againſt my
owne reaſon, and little leiſure, to returne you aſſurance, how farre you haue power ouer them and me.*

IT is now ten moneths ſince this conflict betweene the Greeke Church and the Ieſuits here
fell out, but not the firſt time they haue been in trouble, impriſonment, and ablegation.
They were ſettled in Galata by the Grand Seigniours Licence, vnder the French protection,
D about twenty fiue yeares ſince; in which time they had gotten a good Seat, builded much,
gathered together a faire Librarie, and wonne greatly vpon the weaker Sect, and aged women
and children. I ſpeake of the Greeks; for with the Romaniſts they had leaſt credit, who
adhered to their antient Orders of Saint *Francis* and *Dominicke*; and were affraid that this
new Societie would be too buſie, and caſt them into danger of their old priuiledges: for the
Turkes are plaine, and yet raſh, and eaſily apprehend euery innouation.

The pretence of this Colledge was, To teach children for nothing, or charitie, Grammar,
the Arts, and Tongues. And there being no open Schoole in thoſe parts, and few books
for want of printing, the Greekes (who loue learning beſt, when it is beſt cheape) were
content their children ſhould gleane tares in any field, to ſaue their purſes: and their wiues
E were wonne by eloquence & affabilitie, to open their ſins to them, who had more witty penances
than Greekiſh ſhrift, Faſting, which did decay their beauty, and deiect their countenances.
But the wiſer ſort, eſpecially the Patriarch *Cyrillus*, and his Biſhops, diſcouered *Anguem
in herba*; and did foreſee, That by this ſeeming benefit, the Youth of their Nation
might be corrupted (*Seruabit odorem teſta diu*) and their owne boſomes tempted by the
Daughters of *Eue*. And they likewiſe did feare, That vpon this foundation might be nouriſhed
Proſelites to Rome, that in time would vndermine the whole Church. And therefore
did as modeſtly as they could (to preuent an open diſſention) ſeeke to withdraw both from
this bait of ſeducement. *Hinc illæ lachrimæ*: For when the Ieſuits did diſcouer they were
diſcouered, they began to practiſe that by force which they had long deſigned. The firſt
F open war brake out in Februarie, 1622; when theſe Fathers (protected by the French Embaſſadour)
attempted to depoſe the Patriarch, and to place another Greeke in his Chayre,
who had ſecretly ſubmitted to the Pope, and promiſed to render new obedience to the See
of Rome.

Whereupon *Cyrillus* conſulted his friends, how to auoyd their enuy. He reſolued to proceed with mildeneſſe and charitie; and firſt to deale with the ſeduced Biſhop, as one of his owne Flocke: And the Sunday following hee preached and publiſhed the Counſels held G againſt him, and the danger of his Church; not naming the Ieſuites, otherwiſe than by admonition, to beware of certaine fierie Organs and Inſtruments, againſt whom hee ſhould be enforced to proceed with more ſeueritie, if they deſiſted not. And then being aſſiſted with foure Archbiſhops, and the Clergy preſent, he excommunicated that Greeke ioyned with his Enemies: hoping by this gentle Exhortation to the one, and Example on the other, to obtaine the bleſſing of Peace, left by Chriſt to his Church. The pretence of this quarrell and preſent diſdaine was publiſhed by the French Party, to haue root, becauſe that the Patriarch kept company with Lutherans and Heretiques, and therefore muſt needs ſauour of the ſame Leauen. This modeſt courſe did but exaſperate; for the Ieſuites hauing a Vizier fit for them, in Aprill following, by ſubornation of others, did accuſe *Cyrillus* H of a practiſe to betray an Iſland in the * Arches, to the Florentines; and by the promiſe of twenty thouſand Dollars for the eſtabliſhment of the excommunicate Biſhop, they preuailed to haue the Patriarch apprehended, depoſed, and ſent priſoner to Rhodes, where he ſuffered many miſeries and outrages, and their Friend to be placed in his Seat. But the Greeke Church, though they durſt not oppoſe the preſent furie, yet they would neither acknowledge *Paſtorem qui non intrauit per Portam*, nor reſort to the Cathedrall, nor contribute any mony to pay the fine due to the Grand Seignior vpon remoue. Vpon which the French relyed: for though they had promiſe from Rome of aid, yet it was not leuied. Whereby finding themſelues in a ſtreight, they made meanes to a ſilly Archbiſhop of Adrianople, who was I rich, to take the charge; the other willingly reſigning vnto him: who accepting the offer, aduanced part of the Symonie, and leuied the reſt by force of Turkiſh Commands vpon the poore Greekes; and ſo he was in appearance effectually ſeated. Their purpoſe was not long to ſuffer this man to continue, but onely to hold the See full vntill ſupply came from the Pope, and then to depoſe him, and place one fitted for their deſignes. By this mutation they hoped to recouer all the Greekes to the Catholique Cauſe, and Spaine. And in theſe changes the Patriarchie was robbed of moſt of the antient Manuſcripts and other Ornaments of the Church.

* Mare Ægeum.

In September following, *Cyrillus* by helpe of friends, and force of money, was reſtored to liberty, and returned to Conſtantinople. Where being arriued, all the Greekes flocked to K him: Which the Archbiſhop of Adrianople obſeruing, and knowing himſelfe an Intruder, (the true Patriarch neither reſigning, nor being Canonically depriued) ſecretly and voluntarily came and ſubmitted, and offered to ſurrender the charge to him. But *Cyrillus* not daring to accept it, vntill meanes were made to the State, or that he were recalled by a Synod, was content the Church ſhould be vacant, to ſee what would of it ſelfe emerge. The French Embaſſadour hearing of this ſudden defection from him, by the counſell of his Ieſuites fetched their Archbiſhop into his houſe, and encouraged him to reſume his place; promiſing him protection from the Pope, from the King his Maſter, and to ſpend fortie thouſand dollars for his ſuſtentation. And thus, partly by faire words abuſing the impotencie, and partly by force compelling him, they wonne the weake man to yeeld: and then the French Em- L baſſadour ſent his Interpreters and Ianizaries to re-ſeat him in the Cathedrall, and in *Galata* proclaimed him Patriarch, and threatened all thoſe that would not obey and acknowledge him. An inſolence full of proportion to the deſigne, to maintaine an ill cauſe by worſe means.

But the Clergie and people knowing the vnlawfulneſſe of this intruſion, and the vndue conſecration, and foreſeeing the ruine to come, if ſo pernitious example ſhould preuaile, did ſtill adhere to their old Paſtor. Which the new better weighing in his owne retyredneſſe, than in the French Houſe, where his ambition was fomented; and fearing that if *Cyrillus* ſhould recouer his iuſt right by the ſame way he had done his libertie, ſome greater diſgrace or puniſhment might fall vpon him; without further conſulting his high Protectour, in the night quitted the See, and came to his Patriach and caſt himſelfe into his mercy, asking ab- M ſolution; and vtterly renouncing French, Spaniſh, or Roman Factions, freely reſigned. Herewith *Cyrillus* encouraged, by the ſtrength of mony and friends was againe with the Letters of the Grand Seigniour reſtored, in deſpight of the Enemie, who now found himſelfe ouermatched. But this ſtrife did coſt the Greekes threeſcore thouſand Dollars, taken at Intereſt, A almoſt to the deſtruction of the Church, eſpecially to haue diſcouered to the Turkes a way to extort great ſummes by changes, from them, who formerly were eſteemed poore Monks: which will neuer be forgotten, and finally ruine the See. This was the effect of pretended zeale to Religion, and a Romiſh charitie.

Now all men hoped for peace; but there brake out another ſtorme. In Ianuarie following, a Coloyre was ſent from Rome, called *Archemandrita*, and was receiued by the French into his houſe; who brought a promiſe from the Congregation *de propaganda Fide*, That notwithſtanding the firſt faile for want of money, that now twenty thouſand Dollars ſhould be ready and returned thither; if they could make ſure the depoſition of *Cyrillus*, and place an obedient Sonne in his roome. To this end it was promiſed, that ten thouſand Dollars, B giuen by a widow in France to charitable vſes, ſhould by the Popes authoritie be conuerted. And thus new practiſes and new accuſations were aduanced; but being timely diſcouered, they were preuented: yet againe it coſt the poore Church a round ſumme of money.

The next yeare the perſecution was calmed in outward appearance, but more ſubtile and cloſe machinations ſupplied it: For it was then reſolued in Rome, to corrupt *Cyrillus*, and ſo to winne him: then to diſcredit him with his friends, and to lay him open and vndo him. To this purpoſe were ſent from Rome about Februarie 1624, two ſeuerall Agents, one called *Padre Berillus*, to ingage the Patriarch in a practiſe with the Coſſackes, which was treaſon: and a Ieſuited Greeke bred in the Colledge at Rome, named *Cannachi Roſſi*. To whom were giuen inſtructions vnder the hand and ſeale of Cardinall *Bandini*, to make ouerture C to *Cyrillus* of reconciliation, with great conditionall promiſes of ſupplies and this Comhelpe. But S^r^. becauſe you will beſt iudge of the ſcope of this negotiation, by the copy of miſſion, and from whence his hatred tooke root; I, that haue onely taken vpon me the part of a Relator, haue made it here a Parentheſis, and leaue your iudgement to collect your owne ſence.

Inſtruttioni per Canacchio Roſſi.

D

1 *NOn vi eſſendo lettere ne del Patriarcha, ne de' Prelati non le ſi può riſpondere ſe non in voce conformandoſi alla relatione del meſſo.*

2 *La chieſa Romana ha ſempre deſiderata l'unione & pace con tutte le Chieſe, ſpetialmente con l'Orientali, tanto per altri tempi bene merita della Chieſa Catolica, e non ſolo ne' tempi antichi mà ultimamente ancôra, nel tempo de Patriarcha* Hieremia *ha fatto quel che ha potuto per aiutarla, e reuniſela, non perdonando in ciò ne à ſpeſe, ne à fatiche, Anzi per queſto ſteſſo fine hà fondato, & mantiene il Collegio de giouani Greci con liſui* E *renditi, acciò quella natione ſi nobile & ingegnioſa ritorni a fiorire in pietà & in lettere, come altre volte ha fiorito.*

3 *Nel particolar propoſto del Patriarcha preſente: Noſtro Seigniore (tanto grand fautore, & Padre della Natione Greca in particolare, come voi ſteſſo ſapete, & hauete veduto congli occhi) volentaria mente ſpenderebbe ogni gran ſumma di denaro per riunir ſi nobile membro alla Chieſa, & aiutare in particolare quella ſedia dalla quale dipende il rimamente del'Oriente; ma ſuppoſte le relationi, che di Conſtantinopoli ſono venute, & vengono continoùamente del Patriarcha, non vede in che maniera ſi poſſa fare.*

F 4 *Di lui ſiamo auiſati, che nega l'Jnuocatione de Santi, il colto & veneratione dell'Imagini, & Reliquie de Santi, la Preſenza reale de Chriſto nell' Eucbariſtia, la Liberta del Arbitrio, l'Autorita de ſacri Concilij, le Traditioni, l'Autorità de Santi Padri, la neceſſità della Confeſſione auriculare, & lo ſpiegare in eſſa li Peccati della mente, & che in loco di*

lei haueſſa introdotto vna certa Confeſſione fatta a Dio publicamente con parole generali, che manda li giouani a ſtudiare nell' Vniuerſità d' Inghilterra, & di Germania, doue s'inſegna queſta dottrina; per poter poi per mezzo di loro diſſeminarla per il Leuante. Che a queſto fine ha fatto ſtampare, & egli ſteſſo diſſemina, dandoli alli Veſcoui, come Chatecheſi, pieni di queſti, & ſimili errori condannati già, tanti anni fa, non ſolo dalla fede Apoſtolica & dal Concilio Tridentino, ma dalli ſuoi Predeceſſori anchora, come egli ſteſſo teſtifica nella profeſſione della fede laſciata tanti anni fa in mano del Arciueſcouo di Leopoli riconoſcendo queſta, & ſimili altre dottrine per hereſie & dicendo che perqueſto era impoſſibile, che la chieſa Greca s'uniſſe mai con li Proteſtanti; che a contemplatione delli Ambaſciatori Hugonotti (con li quali liberamente communica) ha tolto via il Sinodico, & ha laſciato di far riuerenza alla ſantiſſima Euchariſtia. G H

5 *Che deſiderarebbe ſua Santita che tutte queſte coſe foſſero falſe & che lui come Capo de ſi nobile natione foſſe tale quale rechiedono li biſogni preſenti, e ſpirituali, & temporali de' ſuoi ſubditi per poter con bona faccia, & conſcienza, mettere mano ad auitarlo.*

6 *Che ſi queſte ſono calumnie, & le pare di poter far conſtare a ſua Santita la ſua innocenza, ne faccia Capace l'Ambaſciatore di Francia, ó dell' Imperatore, che alla relatione loro per eſſere perſone di tanta autorita & virtu, ſi preſtera ogni fede, & per mezzo loro mandi á N. S. la confeſſione della ſua fede, nella quale accetti il Concilio Fiorentino, & danni li errori de' Caluiniſti & Luterani, dannati prima da ſuoi Anteceſſori, che non manchera la ſeda Apoſtolica d'ogni aiuto & fauore per aiutare & rimettere in piedi la Chieſa di Conſtantinopoli & tutte l'altre dependenti da lei.* I

7 *Che non e per richieder S. Santita ne da lui, ne da gli altri Prelati Greci, altre conditioni, ſe non quelle che ſi ſono conchiuſe & ſtabilite nel ſacro Concilio Fiorentino, per che come fin hora ha fatta la Chieſa Greca, condanni & anathematizi le biaſtemie delli heretici Settentrionali, cioè Luterani, Caluiniſti, & ſimili. Roma xxj. Febraro, 1625.*

K

Il Cardinale Bandini.

Locus Sigilli.

Inſtructions giuen to *Cannachi Roſi.* L

1 *Hauing neither brought me Letters from the Patriarch, nor from any other Prelate, we cannot giue an anſwer other than by word of mouth, conforming to the relation you haue deliuered.*

2 *The Church of Rome hath alwayes deſired an vnion and peace with all other Churches, but eſpecially with thoſe of the Eaſt, (who haue heretofore ſo well merited of the Catholique Church) and not onely in antient times, but euen lately in the life of the Patriarch* Hieromie, *ſhe hath done what ſhe could poſſible, to aſſiſt and vnite the Greeke Church vnto her: not ſparing therein either coſt or labour: yea, to effect the ſame, ſhe hath founded, and doth yet maintaine a Colledge of yong Greekes with her owne reuenue, to the end that, that noble and ingenious Nation ſhould flouriſh in godlineſſe and learning, as in former ages it hath done.* M

3 *Concerning the propoſition of the preſent Patriarch, our Lord and Maſter the Pope (a Fauourer and Father of the Greeke Nation, as particularly your ſelfe haue knowne and ſeene) would disburſe a round ſumme of money to re-unite ſo noble a Member to the Church of Rome, and aſſiſt in*

A *in particular that See, vpon which the reſt of the Eaſterne Churches do depend. But conſidering the reports which haue been ſpread, and continually do come from Conſtantinople, of the Patriarch, wee do not ſee in what manner it can poſſibly be effected.*

4 *Concerning him, we are aduiſed, That he denieth the Inuocation of Saints, the Reall preſence of Chriſt in the Euchariſt, Free-will, the authority of Sacred Councels, Traditions, the authority of holy Fathers, the neceſſitie of Auricular Confeſſion, and in it, the reuealing of ſecret ſinnes: In ſtead of which he hath introduced a publique Confeſſion made to God in generall words. That he ſends yong men to ſtudy in the Engliſh and Germane Academies, where this Doctrine is taught and profeſſed: that by their meanes he may ſpread it in the Leuant. And to this end, That hee hath cauſed to bee printed, and that he himſelfe hath diſperſed and giuen to ſome Biſhops, certaine Catechiſmes full of* B *this and other like erroneous Doctrine, condemned long ago, not onely by the Apoſtolique See, and the Councell of Trent, but euen of his owne Predeceſſours, as he himſelfe hath teſtified in that Confeſſion of Faith which he left many yeares ſince in the hands of the Archbiſhop of Leopoli, acknowledging this and the like doctrine for hereſie; and therefore concluding, That it was impoſſible, that the Greeke Church ſhould euer vnite it ſelfe with the Proteſtants. And that in contemplation of the Hugonot Embaſſadours (with whom he doth freely conuerſe) he hath taken away the * Sinodicon, and hath layed aſide the reuerence due to the moſt holy Euchariſt.*

* It ſignifieth an Aſſembly: I take it to bee the power of Excommunication. But enquire how it is vſed by the Romiſh Church.

5 *His Holineſſe doth deſire, That all theſe reports were falſe; and that he being the Head of ſo noble a Nation, ſhould be ſuch a one as the preſent condition, both in matters ſpirituall and temporall of the Flocke vnder his Iuriſdiction doth require; that he might with a cheerefull countenance and ſafe conſcience extend his liberalitie and aid vnto him.*

C 6 *If theſe ſhall proue calumnies, and that the Patriarch doth thinke he can make his innocence appeare before his Holineſſe, let him iuſtifie himſelfe to the French or the Emperours Embaſſador: to whoſe relation (being perſons of great vertue and authoritie) credit and faith will be giuen: and by their meanes let him ſend to his Sanctitie the confeſſion of his Faith, in which he doth accept the Councell of Florence, and condemne the errours of* Caluin *and* Luther, *condemned alreadie by his Predeceſſours: And the Apoſtolique See will not be wanting in all fauour and aſſiſtance, to raiſe vp the Church of Conſtantinople, and all others on it depending.*

7 *That his Holineſſe will not require either of him or the other Prelates of Greece, any conditions but ſuch as were concluded and eſtabliſhed in the ſacred Florentine Councell; ſo that (according as the Grecian Church hath alway done) he condemne and anathematiſe the blaſphemies of the* D *Septentrionall Heretiques; to ſay, of Caluiniſts, Lutherans, and ſuch like. Rome, the xxj. of Februarie, 1625.*

Cardinall *Bandini.*

The place of his Seale.

E

This *Cannachi Roſſi* became an vndertaker of his owne accord to merit of the Church of Rome, to conuert the Patriarch: who was amaſed at the boldneſſe, and feared both wayes; either to anſwer, and ſo to bee ingaged in pen-warre; or bee ſilent, and condemned as ſtanding mute. But at laſt he reſolued, That ſeeing the Cardinall vouchſafed not to write directly to him, to take no notice, but to ſee how patience would deliuer him out of this ſnare. But the Ieſuites content with no temper but preſent ſubſcription, ſtirred vp ſome Biſhops now made of their faction, anew to depoſe him; and there was offered twenty thouſand *dol*lars to eſtabliſh one of them. This Tempeſt forced *Cyrillus* to retyre and hide, vntill his Friends had reuealed to the State the miſterie of this forced practiſe, and opened the treche-F ry of both of theſe Miniſters, emploied only to introduce a change aduantagious *to the* Pope, and dangerous to the Grand Seigniour. Yet ſuch is the cuſtome of this Court, *that* his peace was againe bought at the expence of ten thouſand dollars.

Once more the Patriarch expected peace & ſecuritie; but the Congregation at Rome fel vpon a new counſel: Firſt, better to fortifie themſelues before they attempted their Enemies.

And to this end, vpon diuers pretences, it was reſolued to ſend hither an Anti-Patriarch from the Pope, qualified with abſolute authoritie, but vnder the Title of *Suffraganeo Apoſtolico*, and with him a Treaſurer for the Church (for Saint *Peter* durſt not truſt the French Embaſſadour with money) yet with theſe to ioyne him for his zeale, and countenance, and the Ieſuites for their counſell. To this Triumvirate was giuen all power to plant, diſplant, to ſow, and root out, and finally to do all things that might aduance the Roman Cauſe. For their better ſtrength and abetting, it was alſo decreed to create new Romiſh Biſhops in Smyrna, Naxia, and many Iſlands (a ſhift learned at Trent) to oppoſe the Greekes, and by aduantage of learning to ſupplant them. Of this miſſion there was great expectation.

About December, *1626*, the Suffraganeo arriued at Naxia, whither the French Embaſſadour ſent the Biſhop of that place his Chapleine, and two Ieſuites to receiue him: who conducted him as farre as Scio, where hee was accepted with great ceremonie. But beginning his office too roughly and too ſoone (for he ſhould not haue declared himſelfe vntill he had crept hither vnder the French wings, and had been ſettled by degrees) many tooke offence at this noueltie. The Lay-men feared ſome preiudice in their right of patronage ouer the Churches: the wiſeſt foreſaw the danger of Chriſtian libertie, and that by their practiſes this innouation would inuolue all others into a ſuſpition of ſome conſpiracie: and if any ſcandall ſhould from hence ariſe, the Turkes would not diſtinguiſh betweene the guilty and the innocent, being in one liuerie by the name of Franke. Yea, the Friers could not endure a power ſo neere, aboue them, but refuſed him lodging in their Conuents. The Greeke Clergie began euidently to diſcouer the ſubuerſion of their authoritie, and antient Faith. Onely the Ieſuits triumphed, and thought the prize now their owne. But deſperation forced ſome, and charitie others to defend their poſſeſſions. Thus encouraged by ſtrong friends to oppoſe this fatall blow, all the plot was opened to the Vizier, and their deſigne quietly and without ſcandall fruſtrated. The Suffraganeo retyred without noiſe; their new Biſhops made by ſubreptitious Licences were impriſoned, their Letters of Priuiledge taken from them, to the extreame anguiſh and diſgrace of their Protector. This laſt repulſe made them furious; but *Infeſtis animis deerat occaſio.*

In Iune, *1627*, here arriued vpon an Engliſh Ship one *Nicodemo Mataxa*, a Coloyre borne in Cephalonia: he brought with him the Greeke ſtampe made at his expence, and diuers bookes printed in London, as he pretended for the benefit of his Nation, drowned almoſt in inuincible ignorance, eſpecially for want of meanes to learne and ſtudy. As ſoone as hee came aſhore, and had ſpoken with the Patriarch, and made knowne his zeale to that Church, he was from him by the Archbiſhop of Corinth recommended to the Engliſh Embaſſadour, to aſſiſt this pious intention, to paſſe theſe heauy commodities through the Cuſtome-houſe without ſuſpition. In which though he foreſaw ſome trouble, yet he willingly vndertooke. But firſt conſulting with *Cyrillus* of Conſtantinople, and *Gelaſius* Patriarch of Alexandria, (then for his priuate affaires at the Port) and with the Reſident of the Vnited Prouinces, he was of opinion, That in a matter of that nature, which was in it ſelfe honeſt and iuſtifiable, it was requiſite to proceed openly and with leaue: which hauing obtained of the Vizier, hee tooke vp, and brought both ſtampe and bookes to his houſe. Now ſuppoſing all the difficultie had been ouercome, and neuer ſuſpecting any ſcandall from Chriſtians, for that which he thought did not, nor ought not to offend them, he gaue countenance and helpe to *Mataxa* to put his Induſtrie in order.

The Patriarch deſired the Stampe might worke in the Engliſh Houſe; but the Embaſſadour for priuate reſpects would not conſent, but offered to take a houſe, and to giue both it and them his protection. Which he did, not farre from his owne, and neerer to the French Embaſſadours: who pretending the vnion of the two Churches, there appeared no feare of him, that he ſhould enuy a Chriſtian worke, or do any act that might ſeparate them for euer. As ſoone as *Mataxa* was ſettled, and his print in order, the French and the Ieſuites tooke offence, as ſet vp to publiſh bookes againſt the Church of Rome, or at leaſt to take away their trade of teaching, and ſeducing children by his printing of Catechiſmes, *Magna eſt* Diana *Epheſiorum*. Firſt, they attempted to draw him into their gouernment, inuiting him to their Monaſterie; intimating, That adhering to them would take off ſome ill ſuſpition raiſed on him for hauing ſtudied in England. When he could not be wonne by flatteries, they reported

A him to be an Heretique and a Lutheran, becauſe he tooke ſanctuarie from the Engliſh. Againſt the ſtampe they excepted, at the Armes of the King of Great Britaine, which they ſayd was ſcandalous, and beeing in the Frontiſpiece of euerie booke, was *malum augurium*, and did foreſhew, that within they muſt ſauor of hereſie: for, What could be expected from an hereticall Fountaine, or from the Man that conuerſed with Heretiques.

These obloquies little moued the Engliſh Embaſſadour, who knew their malice proceeded from the matter of one Authour that wrote againſt the Supremacie. But the rage extended ſo farre, that it was reuealed to *Mataxa*, That hee ſhould be murthered in his bed, or in the ſtreet, as he paſſed in the night from the Engliſh to his owne houſe. Whereupon at his great inſtance the Embaſſador was content for his perſon to giue him lodging. So in the day B he continued his worke, and at euening retyred vnder protection.

Meleſiu, Pat Alex.

As yet they found no occaſion to worke their purpoſe: but the Patriarch ſent a little Treatiſe to the Preſſe, made by himſelfe (being an expoſition of the Faith, and Tenents of the Greeke Church, without any mention of Controuerſie, or cenſuring the opinions of others; principally to ſatisfie the world in thoſe calumnies ſpred, That hee had introduced new doctrines, to the ſcandall of his owne Flocke) which he had reſolued to dedicate to the King of England; but now hauing opportunitie to print it here, he prepared an Epiſtle fit for it. This prouoked the Ieſuites, who not able to endure any application of the Eaſt Church to that Monarch, could no longer containe themſelues, but conſpired with their Embaſſadours to ouerthrow both the Authour, Worke, and Workman; and hauing gotten another Booke C written by the Patriarch, printed in England, and brought by *Mataxa* againſt the Iewes, they found ſome paſſages which did modeſtly condemne the opinions of the Turkes. When they had this ſuppoſed aduantage, they practiſed with a Buffone, but a crafty knaue, who had credit with the Vizier, and had been Vayuod of Galata, to informe him, That this *Mataxa* was a Captaine ſent hither to raiſe ſedition, and that vnder the colour of printing books for children, he diſperſed others againſt the Alcaron; That they were brought from England ſecretly, and that the Engliſh Embaſſadour protected him and his deſignes: That theſe books were written by the Patriarch, to ſtirre the Greekes, and to draw them into defection; and many of them ſent to the Coſſacks, to prouoke them to vnite vpon the occaſion of the Grand Seigniors expedition into Aſia, that was then rumored.

These Accuſations were capitall, as they concerned *Cyrillus* and *Mataxa*; and ſufficient to D impaire the credit of the Engliſh Embaſſadour, if not to ruine him in the affaires for which he did reſide.

The Vizier without further conſideration reſolued to aſſault the houſe of *Mataxa*, and ſurpriſe him in the act of ſinne of printing againſt their Law; and gaue order to a Captaine and companie of Ianizaries to execute it. Which was out of courſe, to ſet at libertie vnruly Souldiers, that ſeldome containe themſelues within their Order, or can be appeaſed without booty. The exployt ſhould haue been done on Friday the fourth of Ianuarie: but the French Embaſſadour hearing the Engliſh had inuited the Patriarch, and Venetian Baylo, to ſome entertainment on the day of Epiphany, he ſtayed it two dayes, as he ſaid, to make ſauce to their E Feaſt. On that day at high noone, a hundred and fifty Ianizaries armed beſet *Mataxa's* houſe, & garded all the paſſages to the Engliſh: all was full of feares & rumor, and no man knew the cauſe. In this tumult, the Engliſh Embaſſadors Secretarie & *Mataxa* returning from church at Galata, paſſed by; and ſome of the Coloyres Seruants that were apprehended, ſhewed their Maſter, to free themſelues: but he being in a hat, and the Secretarie anſwering hee was one of his Lords Followers, he eſcaped ſafely, and got into the Engliſh houſe. The Captaine miſſing him the Principall, bound all his Seruants, brake open his cheſts, and carried all away, ſtampe, bookes, papers, plate, money, cloathes, and whatſoeuer was portable, as the goods of a Traitor, to the value of ſeuen thouſand Dollars. And returning thus full, a French * Drogaman told them, That the Offendor was fled to the Engliſh Embaſſador: but the Turke, that F had more charitie, anſwered, he had no order to follow him thither.

* Interpreter.

Now the Engliſh Embaſſadour thought himſelfe intereſſed; yet that day not to ſeeme to be moued, made as merrie as ſuch rumours would beare; That hee had practiſed againſt the State; others, That the Stampe was to counterfeit the Grands Letters; others, To make falſe money; and other ſuch as Ignorance and Accuſation beget among the Multitude.

The next day the Bookes were examined by two Greeke Renegado's, and the Folio by
the Ieſuites noted where the blaſphemie ſhould be ; the place was interpreted before the G
Vizier and ſome * Mulla's; but there was nothing found that by Law could touch the life of
the Authour or Printer: yet the Patriarch was conuented, and many crimes obiected to him,
without proofe or probabilitie.

* Churchmen and Lawyers.

There yet reſted ſome diffidence in the Vizier, at the report that *Mataxa* was a man of
warre, and held correſpondence with the Coſſackes, and that he ſhould liue vnder the Engliſh
protection; which was nouriſhed by ſhewing the Armes of England on the Frontiſpiece
of that Booke. But when the Mufti had giuen ſentence, That euery doctrine againſt their
opinions was not blaſphemie, nor criminall; and that the Grand Seigniour giuing leaue to
Chriſtians to teach their owne Law, and to preach matters contrarie to Mahometiſme, it
could not be thought but it was dayly done in their Churches, for which they were not puniſhable; H
ſo they could not be culpable of treaſon for writing the ſame, ſo long as they did
not ſcandall their Law, but onely oppoſe it. The maine Obiection being thus fallen, it was
more eaſie to refell the acceſſaries grounded vpon it.

The third day the Engliſh Embaſſadour ſhewed himſelfe openly, and went to the Vizier,
and profeſſed that he had receiued that *Mataxa* into his houſe, to keepe him from the furie;
but that he ſhould be ready to maintaine his innocencie. He put him in mind, That this buſineſſe
and man accuſed, he himſelfe knew, that he was a gentleman a Colloyre, a ſubiect of
the Senat, and preſented vnto him by the Venice Baylo; and that he had giuen leaue to land,
and vſe the ſtampe, and that nothing was done without his communication and conſent: That
therefore he much admired that he would be ſo raſh to ſuſpect his Friends, and ſo ſcandalouſly I
to aſſault their houſes, to ſpoyle their goods at the inſtigation of thoſe whome hee had
cauſe to know for Enemies; and to be ſo farre tranſported at the winde of an occaſion, without
acquainting him, to ſend Souldiers that might haue done miſchiefe to be too late repented.

When the Vizier had called to minde the man, and all circumſtances, and remembred
whom the matter concerned, (the Engliſh Embaſſadour, with whom he had confidence) he
was aſhamed of his precipitation; and proteſted he had no doubt of him, nor purpoſe to affront
him: That he wondered at the impudence of thoſe that had ſo groſſely abuſed him;
and concluded with this profeſſion (as the Engliſh Embaſſadour for his credit did publiſh)
That if againſt his will he had done him wrong, when he ſhould ſee all the goods of *Mataxa* K
reſtored, their honour repaired, and thoſe that had procured this ſcandall, fallen into
the ſnare they had made for others, and exemplarily puniſhed, then he deſired to be acquitted
of iniuſtice, and to be eſteemed ſtill his true friend. By this office the Patriarch was
wholly cleered, and reſtored to the good opinion of the Vizier, and after of the Mufti; to
whom the Engliſh went immediately, to inſtruct him of the malice of the one part, and innocencie
of the other.

The next day after the fury, *Cannachi Roſsi* the Agent of Cardinall *Bandini*, went to the Patriarch
to braue him in aduerſitie: who mildely asking him, How long they would tempt his
patience by wicked conſpiracies? and What had driuen them to this extremitie to ſeeke his
life? he replied, That they were ſcandaliſed at him for two things; For fauouring *Mataxa*, L
and ſuffering him to preach, being an Heretique, and liuing in the houſe of an Heretique.
Secondly, That he had begun to print a booke full of hereſies, dedicated to the King of England
the Head of Heretiques. But if he would retract the one, and renounce the other, that
the French Embaſſadour ſhould procure his accommodation.

With the next Poſt after this trouble, there came from Rome a copie of a Conſiſtorie,
held in the houſe of Cardinall *Bandini*, entituled for Conſtantinople; wherein this practiſe
againſt the Patriarch was debated and reſolued: the cauſe grounded vpon his conuerſation
with Caluiniſts, and ſending of Students to be brought vp in their Schooles; that therefore
he ſhould be accuſed of contriuing an inſurrection againſt the *Ottoman* Empire: And the execution M
of this plot commended to the Embaſſadours of the Potentates reſiding in this court;
fauourers of the Catholique Cauſe. Which Councell being compared with the laſt practiſe,
it did euidently appeare, that one was dependant on the other. Which the Patriarch well
conſidering, and finding he had no more ſafetie in patience, reſolued to vſe his Friends to

ſend

A ſend them away that would not let him liue in peace. And the Engliſh Embaſſadour taking deepe offence at the inſolence of *Cannachi Roßi*, vſed to the name of his King; it is thought that they, together with the helpe of a good Friend no leſſe powerfull than either of them, vnited to baniſh the Ieſuites; and to ſhew their Protector, that they had not leſſe power to offend, becauſe they had leſſe malice and deſire to do it.

For the way they wrought (to omit other obſerueable circumſtances) it is true, the Engliſh Embaſſador was angry, and declared, and had good credit, and was ſeene often abroad; but he was not alone, for the Patriarch (that is a wiſe man) knew he ſtriued not now for victorie, but for life. The Ieſuites guilty of deſeruing a iuſt reuenge, retyred all to the French Embaſſadors houſe, where they lay hid about fourteene dayes; but in that time hearing no B noiſe, and hoping that all was ſecure, and that the Patriarch and Engliſh Embaſſador traueled onely in their defence, and to recouer their loſſes, they returned to their houſe triumphant; when ſuddenly we heard that a Meſſenger came to them, to let them know that ſome Greeke women were come to make confeſſion, and ſtayed for them in their garden. To whom two of them came downe, and were preſently arreſted by the Viziers Officers, who then entered their Lodgings, and apprehended another. This was done without any noyſe or ſcandall; and the Actors had ſuch care, that their Church was ſealed, all their Altars and plate ſaued, and whatſoeuer appertained to them inuiolated: onely their perſons and Librarie, *per Legem Talionis*, were carried to the Viziers houſe, where they were kept in irons about a moneth, and their bookes likewiſe viſited; in which were found much more aduantage C to haue drawne them within compaſſe of the Turkiſh Law, than their diſcouerie on the Patriarch. At the ſame inſtant *Cannachi Roßi* was alſo taken, and his papers in his Lodging, and carried to beare them ſad company. The French Embaſſadour deſired audience, but could not obtaine it; he viſited euery great mans port, eſpecially the Mufti, where hee had no other acceptance than admonition to carry himſelfe with more temper, and to meddle with the buſineſſe for which he was employed. He vſed all means, but could no where preuaile for reliefe; he threatened a breach of amitie, and to ſurrender his Capitulations, and interdicted the Traffique: But the Turkes were prouided with anſwers, That they would informe his Maſter the French King, and giue him ſatisfaction. In concluſion, the Ieſuites wearie, and in feare of death (for there was crime enough) they whom they ſuppoſed their D Enemies, to auoid ſcandall, and the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, interpoſed for them, and obtained their liues; and after many conſultations, it was agreed to baniſh their Order out of all the Grand Seigniours Dominions, to deliuer backe their bookes; and this grace at the interceſſion of thoſe of whom they had not merited that courteſie: that it might cleerely appeare there was no purpoſe of robberie, nor to take the goods that were innocent, and in the French Kings protection. In proſecution of which Councell, there were Commands ſent to Scio, Smyrna, Aleppo, and Cyprus, to diſcharge thoſe places from the practiſes of this Fraternitie, who had a deſigne to get the Sepulchre at Ieruſalem into their hands, and to ſupplant the Franciſcans: (which Controuerſie is well knowne at Rome, and would make a long Section in this narration) and finally they were put into a Barque, with good gard, in their E yrons, and ſent to Scio; with order to ſhip them and their fellowes vpon the next veſſel that went for Chriſtendome, and in the meane time to keepe them priſoners. When they came to the Caſtles on the Helleſpont, the French Embaſſador had procured, that the Caſtellane would not ſuffer them to paſſe for want of the Captaine Baſſa's Letter; and ſo they were returned to Conſtantinople, but ſtill kept in their gaole; and ſuddenly it was rumoured, they were reuoked, and ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed. But when the Vizier heard his authoritie was contemned, and this tricke put vpon him, he was ſo much enraged, that againe their liues were in danger. But the preſent fury appeaſed euen by their ſuppoſed Enemies, they were returned, baniſhed firſt to Scio, and ſo ſhipped for Italy. I muſt confeſſe, that I haue not obſerued any one ſorie but the French Embaſſadour, ſcarce his Houſhold; all other Catho- F liques, eſpecially the Orders of Friers, and the Franciſcans of Ieruſalem, were glad they were eaſed of their dominion, and the feares of their deſignes. And I haue heard it reported, That themſelues did ingeniouſly confeſſe an obligation to the Engliſh Embaſſadour; and in their Relations to Rome, layed all the fault vpon the precipitation of their Protector.

There was another Command ſent to Smyrna, to apprehend a couple that had crept in vnder the French Conſuls protection: who at firſt hid themſelues; but being aduiſed to giue G place, and a meanes opened to them to eſcape, fled ſecretly; there being no other purpoſe in their perſecutors, but to be rid of ſuch negotiating Fathers.

And thus Sr. you haue a true relation of what I haue obſerued, and for your ſatisfaction collected of thoſe that had better meanes to know particulars than I, who am buſie enough if I do mine owne buſineſſe. There reſts onely to tell you, That during the Engliſh Embaſſadors ſtay, which was about fiue moneths after, the French ſat downe and ſtirred not: but conſidering that his credit in France depended much from Rome, and from an opinion of his zeale to the Catholique Cauſe, and his power to ſupport it; hauing made the Colledge of Cardinals beleeue, that he would ſubdue the Greeke Church (wherein wiſe men thought he did diſſeruice both to the Cauſe and his Maſter: For the readie way to vndoe the Catholiques, H was to innouate any thing in their antient manner of life, gouernment, and priuiledges which they enioyed with their conſciences freely) he thought himſelfe vtterly loſt, if he did not do ſomewhat to recouer his reputation there, by a ſeeming reſtitution of the Ieſuites. Vpon which deliberation, hauing yet two of them refuged to his houſe, and hid there a moneth after the departure of the Engliſh Embaſſadour, he made petition to the Grand Seigniour, That his Chapleines might haue leaue to bury his dead, and doe other offices of their Function. Which being granted, it was publiſhed, That he had reſtored the Ieſuites.

And becauſe you are ſo curious to know all, and in what eſtate that reſtitution now ſtands, I will conclude with the true copy of the Command obtained; and leaue it to your iudgement, whether the breach be made vp ſo whole as is ſuppoſed. For euery plaiſter is not a I ſound cure.

The Grand Seigniours Command, directed to *Aſſan Baſſa*, Captaine of the Sea; and to the Caddee of Galata.

AT the ſight of this our high and Imperiall Signature you ſhall take notice, That the K *Embaſſadour of France (by an* Arz giuen to our happy Port) hath made vs to vnderſtand, That (their Law and Religion being not like to that of other Chriſtians which liue in our well gouerned Empire) they with our Imperiall Licence did procure to come from the Kingdome of France certaine* Religious *men called Ieſuites. Who for the ſpace of twenty fiue yeares haue had their abode in the Church of Saint* Benet *appointed to them in Galata; and lately by ſiniſter enformation made againſt them, were ſent away to their owne Countrey: from which time the ſaid Church being ſhut vp, and hauing no other Religious who could aſsiſt in the neceſſarie offices of men ready to die, or dead; hath* L *therefore petitioned for our noble Command. To which end (excepting alway the aboue named ** Religious, *ſent away, and others, of other Nations) that hee may place in the ſaid Church ſuch perſons of Religious French, and French Religion, which are found at this preſent here, elect, and appointed by him, without moleſtation or iniury to be done vnto them by any whomſoeuer. Therefore in conformity to his requeſt, this my Command is obtained; and I doe command, That at the ſight of this my Imperiall Order, it be obeyed and executed; That becauſe, as is before pretended, the French haue not thoſe** Religious *who can performe the functions neceſſary for the dead (excepting away thoſe* Religious M *already baniſhed, and all others comming from the countries of our Enemies) that they may put into the ſaid Church ſuch perſons for Religious men, as are naturall Frenchmen, and of their owne Nation, which at preſent are found in Galata, and that ſhall by them be appointed;*

* Petition.

* In the originall it ſignifies an Order.

* Or Orders.

8

A *ted ; and that ſo long as they commit no faults in their charge, and that they practiſe nothing contrary to our Imperiall will, that they be of no man moleſted.*

Vpon the obtaining this Command, the two Ieſuites in the French Houſe, were ſolemnly and with great oſtentation carried to *San Benetto's* Church, and placed there as the Embaſſadours Chapleines ; and an opinion ſpred, of an abſolute re-eſtabliſhment of their Order, and ſo it was divulged in Rome. But it was not ſuppoſed by the French, that this Copy ſhould be ſeene by any but himſelfe ; and then the Act would haue appeared as truth : but ſome critical and captious men here haue made many *Quere's* vpon this matter. Firſt they haue asked, B What then is the French Religion, if it differ from all other Chriſtians in the Grand Seigniours Dominions ; when in Galata there are fiue Romiſh Churches and Monaſteries, with French Capuchins, Dominicans, Franciſcans, and others ? Secondly they haue asked, What ceremonies are neceſſarie to a French man, in danger of death, or after it, that none of theſe Orders can aſſiſt or performe ? Againe they aske, Who are reſtored by this priuiledge, if the *Religioſi ſupra nominati*, and Strangers are excepted ? What is meant by French Religion, and the ſame Religion ? To which is anſwered, Firſt, that this new French Religion is onely Ieſuiticall, not approued by the moſt Chriſtian King, improued by the Sorbons, and reproued by all the louers of the liberty of the Gallican Church. To the ſecond, That they dying muſt be abſolued onely by a Ieſuite, or buried in his habit, or ſhut out of Paradice. C Againe they anſwer, they finde none reſtored but a new French Religion, and ſuch men as were perſonally then in Galata ; that is, two Chapleines onely to aſſiſt in caſe of death, but no Order of Ieſuites. And they finally conclude, That the French Embaſſadour hath more diſhonoured his Nation, to reſtraine their Religion to the Ieſuites ; and to the whole Clergy, to renounce all other Orders, than he hath done benefit to the Ieſuites, except he had need of ſome colour in ſtead of truth.

S^{r}. I will not comment at all ; to obey you, I haue gone thus farre extra prouinciam meam : *And now I returne home to my ſelfe, to aſſure you, that I haue beene, and will ſo die,*

D *Your true, &c.*

Galata *jx. Nouembr.* 1628.

This Trage-Comedie being ended, and a ſeeming Peace returning with the Spring : Whileſt the new Vizier marched towards Babylon, to ſettle the affaires of thoſe parts ; Sir *Thomas Roe*, then his Maieſties Embaſſadour reſident at the Port, procured His leaue to returne home, and was recalled : by whom the Grand Seignior writ this enſuing Letter to his Maieſtie of Great Britaine.

E

The Grand Seigniours Letter to his Maieſtie of Great Britaine.

TO the moſt glorious amongſt the greateſt Maieſties of the Princes of Ieſus, moſt reuerenced amongſt the People of the Meſſiah, ſole Director of the important affaires of the Nazaren Nation ; Lord of the limits of Honour and Power ; and Patron of F *Grace and Authoritie,* CHARLES, *King of Great Britaine and Ireland ; to whoſe laſt dayes we wiſh all compleat and true happineſſe.*

BE it knowne vnto your Maieſtie at the ſight of this Letter, That your Embaſſador Sir Thomas Roe, *reſpected and beloued amongſt Chriſtians, to whom we wiſh a happy*

end; (being heretofore ſent to reſide as your Embaſſadour at our happy Port, to be watchfull ouer all offices of good correſpondence betweene vs, and that all requiſite termes of ho- G
nour ſhould be fulfilled; and to renew the Mantle of our affection) hath from his firſt arriuall here, euen till this preſent, moſt perfectly attended vpon the charge impoſed vpon him; and in all his actions proceeded with extraordinarie diligence and induſtrie, for the high honour and great fame of your Maieſtie his Soueraigne. And now your Maieſty hauing ſent in his place, one of the chiefe of your moſt eſteemed, Sir Peter Wiche, *to reſide at our Imperiall Port: and that the ſaid Sir* Thomas Roe *hath taken reſolution to returne to your Maieſty, with our Imperiall conſent: We ſend him vnto you with theſe our Imperiall Letters; hoping in the moſt high God, that when he is ſafely arriued with you,* H
out of your aboundant and innate clemencie, and your ſingular and ſincere goodneſſe, in reſpect of his good and faithfull ſeruice, that you will ſee him honoured and rewarded. And to the end that the great affection and loue which we nouriſh to your Maieſtie may be daily encreaſed, we deſire you readily to imploy your benigne care in the keeping and obſeruing of our Imperiall Capitulations, with euery Article therein contained; as we on our part will likewiſe do in all things that are meet to be done concerning their perfect obſeruation; whereof you ſhall finde a good and cleere teſtimonie by the future effects.

Giuen at Conſtantinople 1628. I

Though impertinent to the Hiſtory of Turkie, yet a conflict happening betweene the ſhip which tranſported Sir *Thomas Roe* into Italy, returning from Conſtantinople, and the gallies of Malta; I haue thought it would not be an vngratefull concluſion, to obſerue and record the mighty deliuerance of thoſe whom God is pleaſed to keepe; by communicating the copie of a relation made of that fight.

On the eleuenth of Auguſt, about ten of the clocke in the forenoone, the *Sampſon* being becalmed before Malta, the ſea as ſmooth as glaſſe, not a breath of winde; wee diſcouered K
foure gallies to row from the Towne. They came vp all abreſt, right with the ſtarre-boord quarter of our Ship: which warned vs to fit ſailes and ſelues to fight, not knowing their purpoſe. When they came neere, the Admirall galley, without ſending boat, or ſpeaking with vs, made a ſhot, which fell ſhort: then rowing neerer, made another which did almoſt reach vs. And comming ſtill on, the Vice-Admirall gaue a third, all demy-cannon, that flew ouer vs betweene our maſts. Theſe we ſuppoſed they made to try the length of their ordnance, and to lie there for batterie; for they ſtopped, and piked halfe their oares. Whereupon we ſent them a culuerin ſhot, that grazed vnder the Admirals ſtarre-boord bow; and ſo we began a ſharpe fight betweene twelue and one. The Gallies were full of Cauagliero's and other men as they could ſtand: they lay on that quarter about three houres, changing L
ſhot with vs, often hitting one the other. Then Captaine *William Rainsborow* (who behaued himſelfe with braue courage and temper) finding a breath of winde to giue the Ship motion; conſidering that he was a great marke on the broad-ſide, and the gallies very narrow, keeping their prowes ſharpe toward him, and that he could beare little vpon them, trimmed his ſailes before the winde, and brought them to a ſterne-fight; where they continued their batterie two houres more; and the *Sampſon* could then beare vpon them two whole culuerin in her Sterne-chaſe, and two tranſone culuerins in the Gunne-roome, and two Sakers in the great Cabbin; and by yawing of either ſide both her quarters, and ſome pieces forward on; this gauled them, and they found it not. Their manner of fight was, when they were all laden, they rowed vp, and brought all the maſts of our ſhip together, and then gaue all their M
gunnes; hauing fired, they fell aſterne; and this in order, *alternis vicibus*: but yet we reached them. The Admirall of the gallies gaue eight pieces at once, ſo that ſhe appeared all fire; one demi-cannon of twenty fiue pound bullet, two demi-culuerin, fiue Saker and Minion. All the reſt were alike armed, and they plyed their ordnance very hard, and often dangerouſly.

Being

A Being aſterne at firſt, they ſhot at the maſts and yards of our Ship, and maimed them almoſt
all in a line; hoping to ſee ſome fall, and then they had layn by vs. But it was ſo calme, that
the maſts ſtrained not, though they were almoſt ſpoiled. The gallies helpt a man on the end
of their after-maſt vane to obſerue where their ſhot fell; and ſent boats often off, of which
one returned well waſhed. About fiue a clocke they pauſed, and the Admirall ſent to his
Fleet: whereupon they tooke a reſolution, either to boord, diſmay, or ſinke vs; and came vp
on our larboord quarter all abreſt, within piſtoll ſhot, and their ſwords drawne, and Trum-
pets ſounding; bidding vs Amaine for Malta. The Captaine cauſed one from the poope to
waft them aboord, and anſwered a point of warre. Then began a hot fight, and too hot for
them; for the *Sampſon* forbare, and gaue them not a ſhot vntill they were very neere, and al-
B moſt vnder vs; and then poured in two Culuerin, and two demy-culuerin, and one Saker
with a round ſhot and a caſe, that raked them fore and aft: and they hauing giuen vs all their
gunnes together, began to fall againe aſterne. But we tasked and ſent them a broad ſide at
parting; and ſo they lay, and renewed their ſterne batterie vntill Sun-ſet. What blowes wee
receiued is in a note following. What harm the Enemie receiued we knew not: only this we
ſaw, the Admirals foremaſt was ſhot by boord, his poope carried away into the ſea; one cul-
uerin round ſhot and caſe that fell in the bow, and went out in the quarter through the bankes
of Rowers; and many other that raked them through. The Admirall lay athwart a good
ſpace to mend ſomewhat, and let men downe her ſides, and neuer came more vp: for that ſhot
that brake out her poupe, made them all at once take in their flagges; which being an vn-
C uſuall thing, we coniectured that the Generall was ſlaine. And ſo they left vs, and hoyſing
their ſailes, and rowing, made all haſte into their port, in ſight whereof they fought. The laſt
ſhot they made came into the gun-roome of the *Sampſon*, the force being ſpent, yet hurt three
men: and ſhe hauing a Culuerin laden, ſent it to take leaue of them, which raked the Admi-
rall. When they came vp with vs, they did not expect ſuch bullets, but hoped to batter vs
to the water out of our ſhot. They left vs at halfe houre paſt ſix a clocke; ſo that the fight
laſted ſeuen houres. The gallies gaue the Sampſon foure hundred great ſhot, and hit her in
the hull, maſts, yards, or rigging, with more than a hundred and twenty; and we ſhot fifty ſix
whole Culuerin, and ſpent in all aboue ten barrels of pouder. Neuer gallies had ſo much ad-
uantage of a time, nor did ſo brauely, but they were at their owne dores. By Gods grace we
D had but one man a paſſenger ſlaine, foure hurt, and ſome bruiſed; but our ſhip terribly batte-
red, her maſts, yards, ſailes, and ropes all torne. That night continued with little wind, and
the ſea ſmooth, and we plugged vp our wounds the beſt we could. The next day wee were
enforced to ſtand out of the way to the Southward of the Iſland Lampadoſa, when we found
our danger: and there we lay fiue days without ſaile, to fiſh our maſts & yards, and mend our
ſailes, and to make firme our breaches by, and vnder water. Which we could not haue done
if it had not continued calme: for thoſe demy-cannon bullets of twenty fiue pounds made too
great holes, and ſplit all plankes and timbers; and the Carpenter was forced to hang like a
Tortoiſe vpon the water, and driue many nailes vnder the ſending of the ſea, waſhing him
ouer contiuually; eight ſhot either with, or within three fingers of the water. So that if that
night, or the next day there had been any ſea, we had neuer made this relation; for the pumps
E of our ſhip were as well exerciſed as the men. But God helped vs.

G

A Note of the ſhot and dammage receiued by the Sampſon in Fight.

In the rigging.

FOure maine ſhrouds cut by ſeuerall ſhot.
Maine Runner. Maine tye.
Maine top-Maſt ſtay. Maine top-gallant Halliers. H
Maine top-gallant braces.
Three Maine top-gallant ſhrouds.
Maine tack. Maine top-ſaile Sheats.
Maine Buntlines. Fore backe ſtay.
One fore ſhroud.
The chaine that ſlung the maine yards cut all to pieces.
Three parrels of the maine yard.

Shot in the Sailes. I

Miſen top ſaile two ſhot. Miſen one.
Maine ſaile in the brailes fourteene. Maine top ſaile thirteene.
Fore ſaile nine. Fore top ſaile fiue.

In the Maſts and Yards, Demy-cannon of twenty fiue pound weight.

The maine Maſt ſhot through halfe way betweene the decke and head.
The maine Yard cloſe by the parrels. K
The Foremaſt halfe way betweene the decke and head.

Demy-Culuerin.

The Spritſaile yard through by the ſlings and ſpoiled.

Dangerous ſhot through the Hull; being all Demy-cannon of twentie fiue pound the bullet: beſides many Demy-Culuerin, Saker, and Minion, that did not or not much damage vs. L

Demy-Cannon.

Three in the ſterne cloſe by the water, through the bread roome and bread into the ſackes of wooll.
One in the ſterne in the gunne-roome vnder the tranſome port, hurt three men.
One through the Cuddy.
Two through the great Cabbin killed a Parrat.
One grazed vpon the ſteeredge, and carried away the Bend. M
Two by the Maine maſt: one through the Cabbines killed a Iew a paſſenger: the other brake the larboord ruſter and three timber heads.
One through the forecaſtle into the furnace, hurt two men.

One

A One ouer the forecaſtle killed two ſheepe, and carried away a timber head.

On the Starreboord ſide nine; whereof one in the quarter, and three forward on by the edge of the water. Fiue betweene decks amongſt our men and Ordnance.

On the Larboord ſide foure all below the decke; whereof two betweene winde and water; the other two not much aboue: and one betweene Deckes, that ſplit the bits.

One ſhot that crackt the ſheat Anchor at the flouke.

One that ſtaued the Ladder in the chaines.

B These eight ſhot betweene winde and water were all dangerous: they ſtaued on our lower decke two barrels of beefe, two of peaſe, a Butt of Wine; ſome of the ſhot paſſing through nineteene inches of planke and timber, pierced into bales of Grogerams, and carried one into another: two went through all the bread and two ſackes of ſtiued wools: They bare in whole plankes, ſhooke and ſplit the timbers, and ſtarted the trunnels, and made vs very leakie.

When we arriued at Ligorne, we vnderſtood of eighteene Knights of Malta killed in the Fight: but after, by an Engliſh man that came from thence it was knowne, That the Generall of the Gallies was ſlaine, and thirtie ſix Knights and Officers, and two hundred ſixtie foure ſlaues, Rowers and Souldiers. Which was too great an exchange for one Iew. But ſuch is the reward of arrogance, and ſhall be the protection euer of a good cauſe, and of them that truſt not in the broken reed of Fleſh, but in the Almightie God.

⁂

FINIS.

Courteous Reader, we heartily deſire you before you peruſe this laſt Continuation, to mend with your pen theſe following errours; which for want of time to tranſcribe a faire and perfect copy, and opportunitie to overſee the prooues before they were printed off, haue to our great diſcontent happened in the ſame. And then we doubt not but it will giue you your deſired ſatisfaction; eſpecially if you haue a regard rather to the matter, than the eſcape of a word or letter.

Errata.

Page 1397, *line* 4. *for* ſomewhat neceſſarie, *read* neceſſarie. *l.* 9. the ſaid prouince, *r.* that prouince. *l.* 19. Florins, *r.* Dollars. *l.* 22, *omit* euery day. 1398. *l.* 2, *omit* as was ſaid before. *l.* 5, times, the *r.* yeares that. *l.* 10. *r.* who had. *l.* 31. grand Vizier, *r.* great Vizier and. *l.* 47. aſſieged, *r.* beſieged. *p.* 1400. *l.* 42. changed, *r.* ſeemed to change. *p.* 1402. *l.* 47. Petras, *r.* Patras. *p.* 1404, *lines* 3, 8, 11, the Vizier replied, *r.* hee replied. *p.* 1407, *l.* 18, ad this, *r.* at this. *l.* 44. may drinke gold or the innocent bloud, *r.* and may drinke gold or innocent bloud. *p.* 1408, *l.* 11, omit *iam.* *l.* 52, *ſtareue*, r. *ſtarent.* *p.* 1409, *l.* 14. monarchs, *r.* monarchie; *viris*, r. *vires.* *l.* 46, *inanit*, r. *inerat.* *p.* 1410, *l.* 50, though, *r.* thought. *l.* 51. miſſenſible, *r.* inſenſible. *l.* 55. owe, *r.* awe. *p.* 1411, *l.* 3. were, *r.* was. *l.* 21, though, *r.* thought. *l.* 23, head, *r.* bridle and head. *p.* 1412, *l.* 10. Arſorome, *r.* Atzirum. *p.* 1413, *l.* 33. imitation, *r.* intimation. *l.* 41. the Aga, *r.* their Aga. *l.* 43. Letter of, *r.* life of. *p.* 1416, *l.* 54, mutinies, *r.* mutiniers. *p.* 1418. *l.* 4. Order, *r.* murther. p. 1421, *l.* 2. notice, *r.* giue notice. *l.* 4. *omit* giue. *l.* 15, ſhall enter, *r.* ſhall not enter. *p.* 1423, *l.* 38, concord, *r.* conquer. *l.* 46. diuerſitie, *r.* diuerſion; wars, *r.* wayes. *l.* 47. Countie of, *r.* Count of. *p.* 1424, *l.* 31, careleſſe, *r.* in their colours. *p.* 1431, *l.* 12. Romaſa, *r.* Comoran. *p.* 1433, *l.* 12, his, *r.* the. *p.* 1434, *l.* 24, *r.* he ſhould. *p.* 1435, *l.* 13, of the fact, *r.* of fact. *p.* 1442, *l.* 30. *r.* accord & peace. *p.* 1443, *l.* 22. *r.* that in. *p.* 1444, *l.* 7. contracts, *r.* contraſts. *l.* 15, conuented, *r.* conuerted. *p.* 1445, *l.* 37, *r.* be any. *p.* 1448, *l.* 2. contracts, *r.* contraſts. *p.* 1454, *l.* 31, *r.* faulty and guilty. *l.* 32, confirmed if, *r.* informed. *p.* 1459, *l.* 23, *Ageſilaus* great, r. *Ageſilaus.* Great. *p.* 1462, *l.* 15, *r.* diſtance off. *p.* 1464, *l.* 6, *r.* other things. *p.* 1467, *l.* 30. r. *Shachin Gheray.* *pag.* 1472, *l.* 35, *Muſſulman*, r. *Ottoman.* *p.* 1474, *l.* 28, *r.* are to vs. *l.* 41. *r.* to them done. *p.* 1475, (*in the margent*) *for* Cuſtomes, *r.* Church-duties. *p.* 1476. *l.* 48. *r.* vniuerſall ends. *p.* 1478, *l.* 5. *r.* ſpecious ſhew. *l.* 41, *r.* laments. *p.* 1484, *l.* 27, r. *vbi plures.* *p.* 1480, *l.* 13, *r.* to the aduice. *l.* 37, *r.* to their Prophet. *p.* 1486, *l.* 52, *r.* great Vizier. *p.* 1487, *l.* 29, Word, *r.* Sword *l.* 38, *r.* was beyond. *p.* 1494, *l.* 38; *r.* inſuperable. *l.* 41, vnited, *r.* parted. *l.* 46, firſt, *r.* iuſt. *p.* 1496, *l.* 8, *r.* an hundred and eleuen Metropolitans. *l.* 15, lectures, *r.* letters. *l.* 47, *r.* prouoketh. *p.* 4497. *l.* 33. ſhriſt, *r.* ſtrict. *p.* 1498, *l.* 28, *r.* Patriarchate. *l.* 21, *omit* This Com- *and read it in the end l.* 22.

A briefe Diſcourſe of the greatneſſe of the Turkiſh Empire: as alſo wherein the greateſt ſtrength thereof conſiſteth; and of what power the bordering Princes, as well Mahometans as Chriſtians, are in compariſon of it.

By RICHARD KNOLLES.

THe Hiſtorie of the Turkes (being indeed nothing elſe but the true record
of the wofull ruines of the greater part of the Chriſtian commonweale)
thus as before paſſed through, and at length brought to an end; and
their Empire (of all others now vpon earth farre the greateſt) as a proud
Champion ſtill ſtanding vp as it were in defiance of the whole world: I
thought it good for the concluſion of this my Labour, to propoſe vnto
C the view of the zealous Chriſtian, the greatneſſe thereof; and ſo neere as
I could to ſet downe the bounds and limits within the which it is (by the goodneſſe of God)
as yet contained, together with the ſtrength and power thereof, as alſo in what regard it hath
the neighbor princes bordering or confining vpon it, with ſome other particularities tending
vnto the ſame purpoſe. All or moſt part thereof, although it be by the conſiderate well to
be gathered out of the whole courſe of the Hiſtorie before going, yet ſhall it more plainely
here together in the full thereof appeare, than by the long and particular conſideration of
the riſing and encreaſe thereof be perceiued: not much vnlike the ouergrowne tree, at the
greatneſſe whereof euery man wondereth, no man in the mean time either perceiuing or marking
how by little and little in tract of time it grew vp to that biggeneſſe, as now to
D ouertop all the reſt of the wood. The Imperiall ſeat of this ſo great and dreadfull an empire,
is the moſt famous city of Conſtantinople, ſometime the glory of the Greeke Empire, but
now the place where *Achmat* the firſt of that name, and fourteenth of the *Othoman* Emperors,
acknowledging no man like vnto himſelfe, triumpheth ouer many Nations: a city fatally
founded to command, and by the great Conqueror *Tamerlane*, of all others thought to be
the beſt ſeated for the Empire of the world. In which city (taken from the Chriſtians by *Mahomet*
the ſecond, by the Turks ſyrnamed the Great, and the Greeke Empire by him ſubuerted)
as the *Othoman* Emperors haue euer ſince ſeated themſelues, ſo haue they wonderfully,
euen to the aſtoniſhment of the world, out of the ruines of that ſo glorious a State encreaſed
both their ſtrength and Empire, almoſt altogether fixed euen in the ſelfe ſame Kingdomes,
E countries, and regions, as was ſometimes that; though not as yet (God be thanked) able to
attaine to the vttermoſt bounds that that Empire ſometimes had, eſpecially in Europe; albeit
that it hath oftentimes in pride thereof moſt mightily ſwolne, & in ſome few places thereof
ſomewhat alſo exceeded the ſame. Amongſt the reſt of the *Othoman* Emperors, this great
Monarch of whom we ſpeake (namely *Achmat* the firſt, which now raigneth in that moſt ſtately
and Imperiall city) hath at this preſent vnder his command and Empire, the chiefe and
moſt fruitfull parts of the three firſt knowne parts of the world: onely America remaining
free from him, not more happy with the rich mines thereof, than in that it is ſo far from out
of his reach. For in Europe he hath all the ſea coaſt from the confines of Epidaurus (the vttermoſt
bound of his Empire in Europe Weſtward) vnto the mouth of the riuer *Tanais*, now
F called Don, with whatſoeuer lieth betwixt Buda in Hungarie, and the Imperiall Citie of
Conſtantinople: in which ſpace is comprehended the better part of Hungarie, all Boſna,
Seruia, Bulgaria, with a great part of Dalmatia, Epirus, Macedonia, Grecia, Peloponeſus,
Thracia, the Archipelago, with the rich Iſlands contained therein. In Affrica hee poſſeſſeth

Conſtantinople the ſeat of the Turks Empire.

The bounds of the Turks empire in Europe, Africa, & Aſia.

The greatneſſe of the Turkes Empire.

all the ſea coaſt from Velez (or as ſome call it Belis) De Gomera, or more truly to ſay, from the Riuer Muluia (the bounder of the Kingdome of Fez) euen vnto the Arabian Gulfe, or Red-Sea Eaſtward; except ſome few places vpon the riuage of the Sea, holden by the King of Spaine; *viz.* Merſalcabir, Melilla, Oran, and Pennon: and from Alexandria Northward vnto the citie of Aſna, called of old Siene, Southward: in which ſpace are contained the famous Kingdomes of Tremizen, Algiers, Tunes, and Ægypt, with diuers other great Cities and Prouinces. In Aſia all is his from the ſtreights of Helleſpontus Weſtward, vnto the great Citie of Tauris Eaſtward: and from Derbent neere vnto the Caſpian Sea Northward, vnto Adena vpon the Gulfe of Arabia Southward. The greatneſſe of this his empire may the better be conceiued by the greatneſſe of ſome parts thereof: the Meere of Meotis, which is all at the Turkiſh Emperors command, being in compaſſe a thouſand miles; and the Euxine or Blacke-Sea in circuit two thouſand and ſeuen hundred; and the Mediterranian coaſt, which is ſubiect vnto him, containing in compaſſe about eight thouſand miles. But to ſpeake of his whole territorie together; he goeth in his owne Dominion from Tauris to Buda, about three thouſand two hundred miles. The like diſtance is from Derbent vnto Adena. From Ballera vpon the Perſian Gulfe, vnto Tremiſena in Barbarie, are accounted little leſſe than foure thouſand miles. He hath alſo in the ſea the moſt noble Iſlands of Cyprus, Euboea, Rhodus, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and others of the Archipelago. In this ſo large and ſpacious an empire are contained many great and large countries, ſometime moſt famous Kingdomes, abounding with all manner of worldly bleſſings and natures ſtore: For what kingdome or country is more fruitfull than Ægypt, Siria, and a great part of Aſia? What countrie more wealthy or more plentifull of all good things, than was ſometime Hungarie, Grecia, and Thracia? In which countries he hath alſo many rich and famous cities, but eſpecially foure, which be of greateſt wealth and trade; namely Conſtantinople, Caire, Aleppo, and Tauris. Conſtantinople for multitude of people exceedeth all the cities of Europe; wherein are deemed to be aboue ſeuen hundred thouſand men; which if it be ſo, is almoſt equall to two ſuch cities as Paris in France. Aleppo is the greateſt citie of Syria, and as it were the centre whereunto all the merchandiſe of Aſia repaire. Tauris, of late the Royall ſeat of the Perſian Kings, and one of the greateſt cities of that kingdome, from who it was in this our age taken by *Amurath* the third, hath in it aboue two hundred thouſand men. Caire amongſt all the cities of Affrica is the chiefe, leauing all others farre behinde it, (although that ſome make the city of Cano equall vnto it in greatnes) being as it were the ſtorehouſe not of Ægypt onely, and of a great part of Africa, but of India alſo; the riches whereof being brought by the Red-Sea to Sues, and from thence vpon Camels to Caire, and ſo downe the riuer Nilus to Alexandria, are thence diſperſed into theſe Weſterne parts: albeit that this rich trade hath of late time been much impaired, and ſo like more to be; the Chriſtians (eſpecially the Portugals) trafficquing into the Eaſt Indies, and by the vaſt Ocean tranſporting the rich commodities of thoſe Eaſterne countries into the Weſt, to the great hinderance of the Grand Seignior his cuſtomes in Caire.

The foure chief cities for trade in the Turkes Empire.

The Othoman gouernment meere tyrannicall.

The *Othoman* gouernment in this his ſo great an Empire is altogether like the gouernment of the maſter ouer his ſlaue, and indeed meere tyrannicall: for the great Sultan is ſo abſolute a lord of all things within the compaſſe of his empire, that all his ſubiects and people, be they neuer ſo great, do call themſelues his ſlaues, and not his ſubiects: neither hath any man power ouer himſelfe, much leſſe is he lord of the houſe wherein he dwelleth, or of the land which he tilleth, except ſome few families in Conſtantinople, to whom ſome few ſuch things were by way of reward, and vpon eſpeciall fauor giuen by *Mahomet* the ſecond, at ſuch time as he won the ſame. Neither is any man in that empire ſo great, or yet ſo far in fauor with the great Sultan, as that he can aſſure himſelfe of his life, much leſſe of his preſent fortune or ſtate, longer than it pleaſeth the Sultan. In which ſo abſolute a ſoueraignty (by any free borne people not to be endured) the tyrant preſerueth himſelfe by two moſt eſpecial means: firſt, by taking off all armes from his natural ſubiects; and then by putting the ſame and all things elſe concerning the ſtate and gouernment thereof into the hands of the Apoſtata or renegate Chriſtians, whom for moſt part euery third, fourth, or fift yeare (or oftner if his need ſo require) he taketh in their childehood from their miſerable parents as his tenths or tribute children. Whereby

The meanes whereby the Turkiſh Emperours preſerue themſelues in ſo abſolute a ſoueraignty.

A Whereby he gaineth two great commodities: firſt, for that in ſo doing he ſpoyleth the prouinces he moſt feareth, of the flower, ſinues, and ſtrength of the people, choice being ſtill made of the ſtrongeſt youths, and fitteſt for war: then, for that with theſe as with his owne creatures he armeth himſelfe, and by them aſſureth his ſtate; for they in their childehood taken from their parents laps, and deliuered in charge to one or other appointed for that purpoſe, quickely and before they be aware become Mahometans; and ſo no more acknowledging father or mother, depend wholly on the great Sultan; who to make vſe of them, both feeds them and foſters them, at whoſe hands only they looke for all things, and whom alone they thanke for all. Of which fry ſo taken from their Chriſtian parents (the only ſeminarie of his wars) ſome become horſemen, ſome footmen, and ſo in time the greateſt commanders of his ſtate and empire next vnto himſelfe; the naturall Turkes in the meane time giuing B themſelues wholly vnto the trade of merchandiſe, and other their mechanicall occupations; or elſe to the feeding of cattell, their moſt antient and naturall vocation, not intermedling at all with matters of gouernment of ſtate. So that if vnto theſe his ſouldiers, all of the Chriſtian race, you ioyne alſo his fleet and mony, you haue as it were the whole ſtrength of his empire: for in theſe foure, his horſemen, his footmen, his fleet and money, eſpecially conſiſteth his great force and power: whereof to ſpeake more particularly, and firſt concerning his mony, it is commonly thought, that his ordinary reuenue exceedeth not eight millions of gold: and albeit that it might ſeeme, that hee might of ſo large an empire receiue a far greater reuenue, yet doth he not, for that both he and his men of warre (in whoſe power all things are) haue their greateſt and almoſt onely care vpon armes, fitter by nature to waſt and deſtroy C countries, than to preſerue and inrich them: inſomuch that for the preſeruation of their armies, and furtherance of their expeditions (euery yeare to do) they moſt grieuouſly ſpoyle euen their owne people and prouinces whereby they paſſe, ſcarce leauing them neceſſaries wherewith to liue: ſo that the ſubiects diſpairing to enioy the fruits of the earth, much leſſe the riches which by their induſtrie and labour they might get vnto themſelues, do now no further endeauour themſelues either to husbandrie or traffique than they needs muſt, yea, than very neceſſity it ſelfe inforceth them. For to what end auaileth it to ſow that another man muſt reape? or to reape that which another man is ready to deuoure? Whereupon it commeth, that in the territories of the *Othoman* country, yea euen in the moſt fruitfull countries D of Macedonia and Greece are ſeen great foreſts, all euery where waſt, few cities well peopled, and the greateſt part of thoſe countries lying deſolate and deſart: ſo that husbandry (in all well ordered commonweales the Princes greateſt ſtore) decaying, the earth neither yeeldeth her encreaſe vnto the painfull husbandman, neither he matter vnto the artificer, neither the artificer wares to furniſh the merchant with, all together with the plough running into ruine and decay. As for the trade of merchandiſe, it is almoſt all in the hands of the Iewes, or the Chriſtians of Europe, *viz.* the Raguſians, Venetians, Genowaies, French, or Engliſh; the naturall Turks hauing therein the leaſt to do, holding in that their ſo large an empire no other famous cities for trade, more than the foure aboue named, *viz.* Conſtantinople, Tauris, Aleppo, and Caire: whereunto may be added Caffa and Theſſalonica in Europe; Damaſcus, Tripolis, and Aden in Aſia; Alexandria and Algiers in Affricke. In our countries here in this E Weſt part of Europe, of the aboundance of people oftentimes ariſeth dearth; but in many parts of the Turks dominions, for want of men to manure the ground: moſt part of the poore country people drawne from their owne dwellings, being inforced with victuals and other neceſſaries to follow their great armies in their long expeditions, of whom ſcarce one of ten euer returne home to their dwellings againe, there by the way periſhing, if not by the enemies ſword, yet by the wants, the intemperateneſſe of the aire, or immoderate paines taking. But to come neerer vnto our purpoſe, although the great Turks ordinary reuenues be no greater than is aforeſaid, yet are his extraordinary eſcheats to be greatly accounted of, eſpecially F his confiſcations, forfeitures, fines, amerciaments (which are right many) his tributes, cuſtoms, tythes and tenths of all preyes taken by ſea or land, with diuers other ſuch like, far exceeding his ſtanding and certaine reuenue: his Baſſa's and other his great officers like *rauening* Harpies as it were ſucking out the bloud of his poore ſubiects, and heaping vp *ineſtimable* treaſures, which for the moſt part fall againe into the grand Seigniot his coffers. *Ibrahim* Vizier

Foure things wherein the greateſt ſtrẽgth of the Othoman Empire conſiſteth.

The Turks ordinary reuenues, and why they are no greater.

The Turks caſualties more than his ordinary reuenue.

Baſſa (who liued not long ſince) is ſuppoſed to haue brought with him from Caire to the value
of ſix millions: and *Mahomet* another of the Viziers was thought to haue had a far greater G
ſumme. His preſents alſo amount vnto a great matter; for no Embaſſador can come before
him without great gifts, no man is to hope for any commodious office or preferment
without mony, no man may with empty hands come to the preſence of him ſo great a prince,
either from the prouince he had the charge of, or from any great expedition he was ſent vpon;
neither vnto ſo great and mighty a Prince are trifles preſented. The Vayuods of Moldauia,
Valachia, and Tranſyluania, before their late reuolt, by gifts preſerued themſelues in
their principalities, being almoſt daily changed, eſpecially in Valachia and Moldauia: for
thoſe Honors were by the grand Seignior ſtill giuen to them that would giue moſt; who to
performe what they had offered, miſerably oppreſſed the people, and brought their prouinces H
into great pouerty. In briefe, an eaſie thing it is for the great tyrant to finde occaſion for
him at his pleaſure to take away any mans life, together with his wealth be it neuer ſo great:
ſo that he cannot well be ſaid to lacke money ſo long as any of his ſubiects hath it. Neuertheleſſe
the late Perſian war ſo emptied the moſt couetous Sultan *Amurath* his coffers, and
exhauſted his treaſures, that all ouer his empire the value of his gold was beyond all credit
enhanced, inſomuch that a Chequine was twice ſo much worth as before: beſide that, the
mettall whereof his gold and ſiluer was made was ſo embaſed, that it gaue occaſion vnto the
Ianizaries to ſet fire vpon the city of Conſtantinople, to the great terror not of the vulgar ſort
only, but of the grand Seignior himſelfe alſo. And in the city of Aleppo onely were in the
name of the great Sultan ſixty thouſand Chequines taken vp in preſt of the merchants there, I
which how well they were repayed we leaue for them to report.

The Turks Timariots of greater value than his reuenues.

Now albeit that the Turks reuenues be not ſo great as the largeneſſe of his empire and the
fruitfulneſſe of his countries might ſeeme to afford, all the ſoile being his owne; yet hath he
in his dominion a commoditie of far greater value and vſe than are the reuenues themſelues:
which is the multitude of the Timariots or penſioners, which are all horſemen, ſo called of
Timaro, that is a ſtipend which they haue of the great Sultan, *viz.* the poſſeſſion of certaine
villages and townes, which they hold during their life, and for which they ſtand bound for
euery threeſcore duckets they haue of yearely reuenue to maintaine one horſeman, either
with bow and arrowes, or elſe with targuet and launce; and that as well in time of peace as K
war: for the *Othoman* Emperours take vnto themſelues all ſuch lands as they by the ſword
winne from their Enemies, as well Mahometans as Chriſtians, all which they diuide into Timars,
or as we call them Commendams, which they giue vnto their ſouldiers of good deſert
for terme of life, vpon condition that they ſhall (as is aforeſaid) according to the proportion
thereof keepe certaine men and horſes fit for ſeruice alwaies ready whenſoeuer they
ſhall be called vpon. Wherein conſiſteth the greateſt policie of the Turkes, and the ſureſt
meane for the preſeruation of their empire. For if by this meanes the care of manuring the
ground were not committed vnto the ſouldiers, for the profit they hope thereof, but left in
the hand of the plaine painefull husbandman, all would in that ſo warrelike an Empire lie
waſte and deſolate; the Turkes themſelues commonly ſaying, That whereſoeuer the grand L
Seigniour his horſe ſetteth his foot, the graſſe will there no more grow: meaning the deſtruction
that their great Armies bring in all places where they come. The inſtitution of
theſe Timariots, and the taking vp of the Azamoglans, (for ſo they call thoſe children
which are taken vp from their Chriſtian parents to be brought vp for Ianizaries) are the two
chiefe pillars of the Turkes Empire, and the ſtrength of their warres: both which ſeeme to
be deuiſed vnto the imitation of the Romans, as are diuers things moe in the Turkiſh gouernment:
for the Romane Emperours vſed their owne ſubiects in their warres, and of them conſiſted
the Prætorian Armie, which neuer departed from the Emperours ſide, but were ſtill
to gard his perſon, as do the Ianizaries the great Turke. And in the Romane empire lands
were giuen vnto ſoldiers of good deſert, for them to take the profit of during their liues, in M
reward of their good ſeruice and valour, which were called *Beneficia*, and they which had
them, *Beneficiarij*, or as we terme them Benefices, and Beneficed men. *Alexander Seuerus*
granted vnto ſuch Souldiers heires that might enioy thoſe lands and Commendams, vpon
condition alſo, That they themſelues ſhould ſerue as had their fathers, otherwiſe not. *Con-*

The two chiefe Pillars of the Othoman empire.

ſtantine the Great alſo gaue vnto his Captaines that had well deſerued of him, certaine lands for them to liue vpon during the terme of their life. The like fees in France, which they called *Feuda*, were of temporaries made perpetuities by theſe their late Kings. Theſe Timariot horſemen in the Turkiſh Empire, ſerue to two great and moſt notable purpoſes: whereof the firſt is, That by them the Grand Seigniour, as with a bridle, keepeth the reſt of his ſubiects in euery part of his great Empire in awe, ſo that they cannot ſo ſoone moue, but that they ſhall haue theſe his Timariots as faulcons in their neckes; for to that purpoſe they are diſperſed all ouer his dominion and Empire. The other vſe of them (and no leſſe profitable than the former) is, for that out of them he is alwayes able to draw into the field an hundred and fifty thouſand horſemen well armed, ready to go whither ſoeuer he ſhall command them; with all whom he is not at one farthing charge. Which ſo great a power of horſemen cannot continually be maintained for leſſe than fourteene millions of duckets yearely. Wherefore it is to be maruelled, that ſome comparing the Turkes reuenues with the Chriſtians, make no mention of this ſo great a part of the *Othoman* Emperours wealth & ſtrength, ſeruing him firſt for the ſuppreſſing of all ſuch tumults as might ariſe in his Empire, and then as a moſt principall ſtrength of his continuall warres, alwayes ready to ſerue him in his greateſt expeditions. The number of theſe Timariot horſemen is now growne very great, taking encreaſe together with the Turkes Empire. It is reported, That *Amurath* the third, grandfather to *Achmat* that now reigneth, in his late warres againſt the Perſian, ſubdued ſo much territorie as ſerued him to erect therein fortie thouſand Timariots: and appointed at Tauris C a new receit which was yearely worth vnto him a million of gold. Theſe Timariots are in all accounted to be ſeuen hundred and nineteene thouſand fighting men, of whom two hundred and fifty ſeuen thouſand haue their aboad and dwelling in Europe, and foure hundred ſixtie two thouſand in Aſia and Affricke. Beſide theſe Timariots, the grand Seigniour had a great uumber of other horſemen alſo, vnto whom he giueth pay; which are his Spahi, Vluſagi, and Carapici of his Court, being indeed the nurſeries and ſeminaries of the great Officers and gouernors of his empire: for from among them are ordinarily choſen the Sanzacks, which afterwards, through their good deſerts, or the Sultans great fauor, become Viziers, Beglerbegs, and Baſſa's, the chiefe Rulers of that ſo mighty a monarchie. He hath alſo ſtill in his army a great multitude of other horſemen called Acanzij, being indeed but rurall D clownes, yet for certaine priuiledges which they haue are bound to go vnto the warres, being euen of the Turks themſelues accounted of ſmall worth or value in compariſon of the Timariots. He receiueth great aid alſo from the Tartar in his wars, as alſo from the Valachians and Moldauians, (vntill that now of late by the example of the Tranſyluanians, they haue to the great benefit of the reſt of the Chriſtian commonweale reuolted from him) all which are to be accounted as the Romans *Auxiliarij*, that is to ſay, ſuch as come to aid and aſſiſt him. And thus much for his horſemen.

The great vſe of the Timariot horſmen in the Turks empire.

The number of the Timariots.

The Spahi, Vluſagi, and Carapici ſeminaries of the great offices in the Turks empire.

The Acanzij.

Another great part of his ſtrength conſiſteth in his footmen, and eſpecially in his Ianizaries: in whom two things are to be conſidered, their Nation, and Dexteritie in armes. Concerning their Nation, ſuch of the Azamoglans as are borne in Aſia are not ordinarily inrolled E in the number of the Ianizaries, but ſuch as are borne in Europe; for they of Aſia are accounted more effeminate, as they haue been alwaies, more ready to fly than to fight: whereas the people of Europe haue euen in the Eaſt been accounted for better and more valiant ſouldiers, hauing there, to their immortall glorie, ſet vp the notable trophies of their moſt glorious victories. The ſouldiers of Aſia be called Turkes, after the name of their nation, and not of their countrey, (no countrey being indeed ſo properly called) and they of Europe, Rumi, that is to ſay, *Romani*, or Romans; as the countrey, eſpecially about Conſtantinople, is called by the name of Rum-Ili, that is, the Roman countrey, as it was in antient time, of the notable Roman Colonies therein, knowne by the name of Romania. Now as concerning their Dexteritie, ſuch male children are culled out from the Chriſtians, as in whom appeareth the F greateſt ſignes of ſtrength, actiuitie, and courage: for theſe three qualities are in a ſouldier eſpecially required. This choice is made euery third yeare, except neceſſitie enforce it to be made ſooner, as it happened in the late Perſian warre: wherein not *onely* oftener choice was made, but they were glad to vſe the Azamoglans alſo, a thing neuer before by them done: for thoſe youths, the children of Chriſtian parents, being by them that haue taken them

The Ianizaries the ſecond ſtrength of the Turkiſh empire

What manner of children are taken vp to make Ianizaries of.

The Azamoglans are ſuch vntrained youths as are taken vp to become Ianizaries, but yet are not of their Order.

vp brought to Conſtantinople, are taken view of by the Aga of the Ianizaries, who cauſeth
to be regiſtred the name of the youth, with the name of his father and country wherein he G
was borne: which done, part of them are ſent into the leſſer Aſia (now called Natolia) and
other prouinces, where learning the Turkiſh language and law, they are alſo infected with the
vices and manners of them with whom they liue, and ſo in ſhort time become true Mahometans.
Another part of them, and thoſe of the moſt towardlieſt, is diuided into Cloyſters

The manner of their bringing vp.

which the Grand Seigniior hath at Conſtantinople and Pera, of whom the faireſt and moſt
handſome are appointed for the ſeraglio of the great Sultan himſelfe. All the time that theſe
youths thus ſent abroad liue in the leſſer Aſia or other the Turks prouinces, they are not appointed
to any certaine exerciſe, but ſtill kept buſied, ſome at husbandry, ſome in gardening,
ſome in building, ſome in other domeſticall ſeruices, neuer ſuffered to be idle, but alwayes
occupied in painfull labor; where after certaine yeares they haue been thus inured to labour H
and pains taking, they are called thence into the cloiſters of the Azamoglans (for ſo they are
called all the time vntill they be inrolled into the number of the Ianizaries) and are there deliuered
vnto certaine ſpeciall gouernors appointed to take charge of them: who keepe them
ſtill exerciſed in painfull worke and labour, entreating them euill enough, as well in their dyet,
as in their apparell and lodging; they ſleepe together in large roomes, like vnto the religious
Dormitories, wherein are lampes ſtill burning, and tutors attending, without whoſe
leaue they may not ſtirre out of their places. There they learne to ſhoot both in the Bow
and Piece, the vſe of the Scimitar, with many feats of actiuitie: and being well trained in
thoſe exerciſes, are inrolled amongſt the Ianizaries or Spahi; of whom, the Ianizaries receiue

The daily pay of the Ianizaries and Spahi.

no leſſe than fiue aſpers, nor more than eight for their daily pay, and the Spahi ten. Being I
recorded among the Ianizaries, they are either ſent away into the wars, or into ſome garriſon,
or elſe attend at the court. Theſe laſt haue for their dwelling three great places like vnto
three Monaſteries in the city of Conſtantinople, there they liue vnder their gouernours to
whom they are deputed, the yonger with great obedience and ſilence ſeruing the elder, in
buying of things for them, in dreſſing their meat, and ſuch like ſeruices. They that be of one
ſeat or calling, liue together at one table, and ſleepe in long walkes. If any of them vpon occaſion
chance to lie all night abroad without leaue, the next euening he is notably beaten,
with ſuch nurture and diſcipline, that after his beating he like an Ape kiſſeth the gouernours

The Ianizaries inſolent.

hands that ſo corrected him. Theſe Ianizaries haue many large priuiledges, are honored, although
they be moſt inſolent, and are feared of all men, yea euen of the great Sultan himſelfe, K
who is ſtill glad to make faire weather with them. In their expeditions or trauell they
rob the poore Chriſtians cottages and houſes, who muſt not ſay one word to the contrarie.
When they buy any thing they giue for it but what they liſt themſelues: they can be iudged
by none but their Aga, neither can they be executed without danger of an inſurrection; and

Their great priuiledges and royalties.

therefore ſuch execution is ſeldome done, and that very ſecretly. They haue a thouſand roialties:
ſome of them are appointed to the keeping of Embaſſadors ſent from forrein princes:
other ſome of them are aſſigned to accompany ſtrangers, trauellers, eſpecially them that be
men of the better ſort, to the intent they may ſafely paſſe in the Turks dominions; for which
ſeruice they are commonly well rewarded. They haue made choice of their Prince, namely L
of *Selymus* the firſt, his father *Baiazet* yet liuing; neither can any the Turkes Sultans account
themſelues fully inueſted in the Imperial dignity, or aſſured of their eſtate, vntill they
be by them approued and proclaimed. Euerie one of their Sultans at his firſt comming to the
Empire doth giue them ſome great largeſſe, and ſometime the better to pleaſe them, encreaſeth
alſo their pay. In euery great expedition ſome of them goeth forth with their Aga, or
his Lieutenant, and are the laſt of all that fight. There is no office among the Turkes
that moe enuie at, than at the office of the Aga of the Ianizaries, for the greatneſſe of his
authoritie and command: onely hee and the Beglerbeg of Grecia chuſe not their owne
Lieutenant, but haue them nominated vnto them by the Grand Seigniour. Vnto this great
man the Aga of the Ianizaries, nothing can portend a more certaine deſtruction, than to be M
of them beloued; for then is hee of the Great Sultan ſtraightway feared or miſtruſted,

The order of the Ianizaries in our time much imbaſed.

and ſo occaſion ſought for to take him out of the way. The number of the Ianizaries of
the Court is betwixt ten and fourteene thouſand. This warrelike Order of ſoldiers is
in theſe our days much imbaſed: for now natural Turks are taken in for Ianizaries, as are alſo

ſo

A for the people of Aſia; whereas in former times none were admitted into that Order but the Chriſtians of Europe onely: beſide that, they marrie wiues alſo, contrary to their antient cuſtome, which is not now forbidden them. And becauſe of their long lying ſtill at Conſtantinople (a city abounding with all manner of pleaſure) they are become much more effeminate and ſloathfull, but withall moſt inſolent, or more truly to ſay, intollerable. It is commonly reported, the ſtrength of the Turkiſh Empire to conſiſt in this Order of the Ianizaries: which is not altogether ſo; for albeit that they be indeed the Turks beſt footmen, and ſureſt gard of the great Sultans perſon, yet vndoubtedly the greateſt ſtrength of his ſtate and empire reſteth nothing ſo much in them, as in the great multitude of his horſemen, eſpecially his Timariots. Beſide theſe Ianizaries, the Turkiſh Emperour hath a great number of baſe footmen, whom B the Turks call Aſapi, better acquainted with the ſpade than with the ſword, ſeruing rather to the wearying of their enemies with their multitude, than the vanquiſhing of them with their valour: with whoſe dead bodies the Ianizaries vſe to fil vp the ditches of townes beſieged, or to ſerue them for ladders to climbe ouer the enemies walls vpon. But as the Romans had both their old Legionarie, and other vntrained ſouldiers which they called Tirones; of whom the firſt were the chiefe ſtrength of their wars, and the other but as it were an ayd and ſupply; euen ſo the Turke accounteth his Timariot horſemen the ſtrength of his army, and the Acanzij (which is another ſort of baſe and common horſemen) but as an acceſſorie: and ſo amongſt his footmen he eſteemeth of his Ianizaries, as did the Romans of their Prætorian legions, but of his Aſapi as of ſhadowes. The Ianizaries are by none to be commanded, more C than by the great Sultan himſelfe, and their Aga: as for the *Baſſa's*, they much regard them not, but in their rage oftentimes foule entreat euen the greateſt of them. The Aſapi, as they are but baſe and common ſouldiers, ſo haue they alſo their ordinarie captains and commanders, men of no great place or marke.

The Turks Aſapi: what ſmall regard they are had.

The whole ſtate of the great Empire of the Turks is commanded by the great Sultan, by the graue aduice and counſell of his Vizier Baſſa's, which were not wont to be in number aboue foure, ſo prouiding for the ſecrecie of his high deſignes or important reſolutions, hardly by a greater multitude to be concealed: howbeit that the Sultans of later times haue had ſometimes moe, ſometimes fewer, as their pleaſure was. Theſe men are of all others in that empire the greateſt, and for their high places moſt honoured: vnto them euen the greateſt D princes that haue any thing to do in the Turks court, ſue and ſend their honorable preſents. By their aduice the great Sultan taketh his wars in hand, neither without them concludeth he any peace. They giue audience vnto the Embaſſadours of forreine princes, and from them receiue their diſpatch. The greateſt honors and preferments (which are many in that ſo great and large an empire) are all by their meanes to be obtained: which maketh them of all others to be ſought vnto. Some one or other of them are ſtill Generals ouer the great armies of the Turks, eſpecially in theſe their late wars, their three laſt Emperors neuer themſelues going forth into the field (excepting once that *Mahomet* the third for the maintenance of his credit with his men of warre) came downe into Hungarie, and there wonne the citie of Agria:) which leading of ſuch mighty armies is ſtill with great emulation and ambition of the Vizier E Baſſa's amongſt themſelues ſought after, as well for the great profit thereby vnto them ariſing, as for the honour thereof, which is of all other the greateſt. But leauing theſe great ones, the chiefe counſellors for his ſtate; the whole body of his ſo large and mighty an Empire (all in the hands of martiall men) is gouerned by other great Baſſa's, whom they by a moſt proud barbarous name cal Beglerbegs, that is to ſay, Lords of Lords, euery one of them hauing vnder him certaine Begs or Sanzackes, who are lords and rulers alſo ouer ſome particular cities and countries, with the Timariots therein; yet all ſtill at the command and becke of their Beglerbeg. In antient time there was wont to be but two of theſe proud Beglerbegs in all the Turks empire: the one commanding ouer all the prouinces the Turke had in Eu-F rope; & the other ouer all that he had in the leſſer Aſia, now of the Turks called Natolia. But the Turkiſh empire greatly augmented in Aſia by *Selymus* the firſt, and alſo afterwards much enlarged both in Europe and Aſia by *Solyman* his ſon, the number of the Beglerbegs were by him encreaſed, and in ſome ſort alſo changed: who although that they be all Beglerbegs, and that one of them (eſpecially in the time of peace) in the managing of his ſoldiers, and affaires of

The great commanders of the Turks Empire.

The great authority of the Vizier Baſſa's.

The great authority of the Beglerbegs.

of his countrey is not ſubiect to any other, but is onely at the command of the great Turke; G yet notwithſtanding in the time of warre, where the Beglerbeg of Romania is, all are obedient vnto him, as the chiefeſt of the reſt; inſomuch that none of them but onely he and the Baſſa of Natolia are called by the ſtately name of Beglerbegs, the others being then only called the Baſſa's of ſuch and ſuch places, as of Buda, Aleppo, and ſuch like; although indeed they are in nature Beglerbegs, and ſo written in their Records. For the more manifeſting of which their gouernment, as alſo that they which come hereafter may by comparing of that which is here written, with the ſtate that then ſhall be, ſee how much this great Empire in the meane time encreaſeth or diminiſheth, I haue thought good here briefely to ſet downe all the ſaid Beglerbegs, with their Sanzackes and Timariots, and as neere as I could (either by H reading, or the credible relation of others well trauelled in thoſe countries) together, and as it were at one ſhew, ſet forth the whole ſtrength and power of this ſo mighty an Empire, as alſo in what countries and prouinces the ſame is eſpecially placed.

The Beglerbegs or great Commanders of the Turkes Empire in EVROPE.

1. *The Beglerbeg of Romania, chiefe of the Beglerbegs of the Turks empire in Europe.*

The firſt and chiefeſt of all the Beglerbegs in the Turkiſh Empire, is the Beglerbeg of Romania or Grecia, called of the Turks Rum-Ili (as we ſay the Roman Countrey) *the principal* reſidence of whoſe Beglerbegſhip is at Sophia, a city of Bulgaria, ſo appointed for the commodious ſcituation thereof, for the better command of the reſt of the prouinces of Europe; I howbeit that he for the moſt part, or rather altogether abideth at the court: which the other Beglerbegs cannot do, for they are bound not to depart from the gouernment of their Prouinces: in which charge they ordinarily continue but three yeares onely, the great Sultan ſtil changing and altering them at his pleaſure. This Beglerbeg hath vnder his owne enſigne and command forty thouſand Timariots alwayes ready at his call, vnder the conduct of theſe and twenty Sanzackes following; namely the

Sanzack of
1 *Sophia* in *Bulgaria*.
2 *Nicopolis*.
3 *Cliſſe*, or *Quadraginta Eccleſiæ*.
4 *Vyza* in *Thracia*.
5 *Kirmen*
6 *Siliſtria* } all in *Macedonia*.
7 *Giuſtandil*
8 *Bender*, neere vnto the Euxine.
9 *Acherman*, in the confines of *Moldauia*.
10 *Vſcopia*.
11 *Priſrem*
12 *Salonichi* } all in *Theſſalia*.
13 *Trichala*
14 *Miſitra*, of old called *Sparta*, in *Morea*. K
15 *Palæopatra*, in the ſame prouince.
16 *Ioannina*, in *Ætolia*.
17 *Deluina* } both in *Achaia*.
18 *Elbaſſan*
19 *Auelona* or *Aulona* in *Albania*.
20 *Ducagin* in *Epirus*.
21 *Iſcodra*, or *Scodra*, in *Albania*.

2. *The Beglerbeg of Buda.*

The Beglerbeg of Buda, who there reſideth in the frontiers of the Turkiſh empire, hauing vnder his charge eight thouſand Timariots, beſide 12000 other ſoldiers, which in continuall L pay lie ſtill ready in garriſon in the confines of Hungary, Croatia, Stiria, and other places bordering vpon the Chriſtians, but eſpecially the territories belonging to the Houſe of Auſtria. He had of late vnder his enſigne and command theſe fifteene Sanzackes, *viz.* the

Sanzack of
1 *Nouegrad*.
2 *Filek*.
3 *Zetſchen*.
4 *Zolnock*.
5 *Gran* or *Strigonium*.
6 *Segedin*.
7 *Alba Regalis*.
8 *Sexard*.
9 *Simontorna*.
10 *Copan*.
11 *Muhatz*.
12 *Zigeth*, or *Saſwar*.
13 *Petſcheu* or *Quinque Eccleſiæ*.
14 *Sirmium*. M
15 *Semendria*.

. Of which, Filek, Zetſchen, and Strigonium are in theſe late wars won from the Turks by the Imperials, and ſo yet by them holden; as was alſo Alba Regalis, which but of late was by the Turks againe recouered.

The

3 *The Beglerbeg of Temeſwar.*

A **The Beglerbegh of Temeſwar in Hungarie, who there hath his abode, hauing vnder his command ſeuen thouſand Timariots, with theſe eight Sanzackes, the**

Sanzacke of
1 *Temeſwar.*
2 *Mudaua.*
3 *Vilaoſwar.*
4 *Tſchinnad.*
5 *Wiſchitirni.*
6 *Iſwornick.*
7 *Vidin.*
8 *Lippa.*

4 *The Beglerbeg of Boſna.*

The Beglerbegh of Boſna, who lyeth at Bagnialuca, hath vnder him theſe Sanzackes, the

Sanzacke of
1 *Bagnialuca.*
2 *Poſchega,*
3 *Cliſſa.*
4 *Hertzegouina.*
5 *Lika.*
6 *Sazeſchna.*
7 *Giula.*
8 *Briſrem.*
9 *Alatſchia.*
chiſſar.

B

5 *The Beglerbeg of Coffe or Capha.*

The Beglerbegh of Coffe or Capha, who there reſideth in Taurica Cherſoneſus, and beſide the countrey thereabout, commandeth ouer all the Sanzackes neere vnto the great Riuer Tanais, and the Fennes of Meotis. It was at firſt but a Sanzackeſhip, ſubiect to the Beglerbeg of Grecia; and is in truth rather a Beglerbegs place in name, than in ſtrength and power.

The Beglerbegs or great Commanders of the Turks Empire in Aſia.

C

The Beglerbegs of the Turkes empire in Aſia.

The Beglerbeg of

1 *Anatolia*, who hath his reſiance in *Cutaie*, the Metropoliticall city of the greater *Phrygia* (called in antient time *Catyai*) and hath vnder his enſigne and command thirty thouſand of the Timariot horſemen, with 12 Sanzackes.

2 *Caramania*, who hath his abode at *Caiſaria* (in antient time called *Caſaria*) a citie of Cilicia, and hath vnder him ſeuen Sanzackes, with twenty thouſand Timariots.

3 *Siuas*, who hath his abiding at *Sebaſtia*, a city of the leſſer *Armenia*, and hath vnder his gouernment ten thouſand Timariots.

4 *Tocatun*, who reſideth at *Amaſia*, the Metropolis of *Capadocia*, and hath vnder him fiue Sanzackes.

D

5 *Dulgadir*, ſometime part of the kingdome of *Aladeules*, and commandeth ouer foure Sanzackes.

6 *Halep*, commonly called *Aleppo*, a city of *Syria*, and one of the moſt famous marts of the Eaſt, who hath vnder his Regiment fiue and twenty thouſand Timariots.

7 *Sham*, otherwiſe called *Damaſco*, a moſt famous city of *Syria*, who commandeth ouer forty thouſand Timariots.

8 *Tarapolos*, or *Trapolos*, commonly called *Tripolis*, another famous city of *Syria*.

9 *Maras*, a city vpon the great riuer Euphrates, betwixt *Aleppo* and *Meſopotamia*, who hath vnder his command ten thouſand Timariots.

E

10 *Diarbekir*, otherwiſe called *Meſopotamia*, who maketh his abode at the city of *Amida*, or as the Turkes call it, *Cara-hemid*, who commandeth ouer twelue Sanzackes, and thirty thouſand Timariots.

11 *Bagdat*, or new *Babylon*, where he reſideth, not farre from the ruines of old *Babylon*, who hath vnder him forty thouſand Timariots.

12 *Balſara*, not farre from *Bagdat*, vpon the Perſian gulfe, who hath vnder his rule or gouernment fifteene thouſand Timariots.

13 *Laxa*, towards *Ormus*, and neere vnto the Perſian, hath vnder his regiment ten thouſand Timariots.

F

14 *Gemen* and *Aden*, two famous cities in *Arabia Fælix*, vpon the coaſt of the Red-Sea, who hath vnder him thirty thouſand Timariots.

15 *Chebetx*, or *Zebet*, vpon the coaſt of the Arabian gulfe, neere vnto the kingdome of the great Æthiopian King *Preianes*, commonly (but corruptly) called *Presbiter Iohn.*

The Beglerbeg of

16 *Cyprus*, who lieth at *Nicoſia* or *Famaguſta*, commanding ouer all that great Iſland, ſometime of it ſelfe a Kingdome. G

17 *SchehereZul* in *Aſſyria*, bordering vpon the Perſian, who hath vnder his gouernment ten thouſand Timariots.

18 *Wan*, a city in the confines of the greater *Armenia* towards *Media*, who hath vnder him twelue thouſand Timariots.

19 *ArtZerum*, or *ErZerum*, in the borders of *Armenia* towards *Capadocia*, about foure dayes iourney from *Trapezond*, who commandeth ouer twentie thouſand Timariots.

20 *Teflis*, neere vnto the Georgians, erected by *Muſtapha Baſſa*, General of *Amurath* the third his Army againſt the Perſian, in the yeare 1578.

21 *Siruan*, or *Media*, erected by the ſame *Muſtapha*, and at the ſame time, commandeth ouer all that great countrey, ſometime a famous kingdome. H

22 *Temir-Capi*, or *Derbent*, neere vnto the Caſpian Sea, taken by *Oſman Baſſa* the ſame yeare 1578: who hauing ſlaine *Schehemet Chan* his father in law, reduced that countrey into the forme of a Beglerbegſhip.

23 *Cars*, a city of *Armenia* the greater, diſtant from *Artzerum* foure dayes iourney, by *Muſtapha Baſſa* made a Beglerbegſhip in the yeare 1578.

24 *Tſchilder* or *TZildir*, in the confines of the Georgians, erected by the ſame Generall *Muſtapha*, in the ſame yeare 1579.

25 *Faſſa*, or *Phaſis*, in *Mengrelia*, neere vnto the Georgians, erected by *VluZales* the Turks Admirall, the ſame yeare 1579. I

26 *Sochum*, in the borders of the Georgians, erected by the great Baſſa *Sinan*, in the yeare 1580.

27 *Batin*, there erected alſo by the ſame *Sinan Baſſa*.

28 *Reiuan*, erected by *Ferat Baſſa*, Generall of the Turks Army, taken from *Tochomac Chan* the Perſian in the yeare 1582, whereof *Cicala Baſſa* was the firſt Beglerbeg.

29 *Sumachia*, in the countrey of *Media*, erected by *Oſman Baſſa* in the yeare 1583.

30 *Tauris*, a moſt famous city of *Armenia* the greater, ſometime the Regall ſeat of the Perſian kings, but of late taken from them by *Oſman Baſſa*, and conuerted into a Beglerbegſhip in the ſame yeare 1583. K

But theſe late erected honours, namely the Beglerbegſhips of Teflis, Siruan, Temir-Capi, Cars, Tſchilder, Faſſa, and the reſt gained by *Amurath* from the Perſians and the Georgians, although they containe a great territorie, are not of themſelues any of them worthie of thoſe proud titles, or yet able to maintaine the ſame (Siruan, Reiuan, and Tauris onely excepted) but were by the great Baſſa's, *Muſtapha*, *Sinan*, *Ferat*, and *Oſman*, *Amurath* his Lieutenants, for their owne greater honour, and the encouraging of them which were to defend thoſe their new conqueſts, erected, being indeed nothing either in power or ſtrength comparable with the other more antient Beglerbegs either in Europe or Aſia. But hauing thus paſſed through the great kingdomes and prouinces by the Turks holden in Europe and Aſia, with their proud honors therein, let vs go forward toward the South, to ſee what great kingdomes and territories they at this preſent hold in Africke alſo. L

The Beglerbegs or great Commanders of the Turkes Empire in AFRICKE.

The Beglerbeg of

1 *Miſſir*, who ſtill making his abode at the great city of *Caire*, hath vnder his command all the Kingdome of *Ægypt*, with ſixteene Sanzackes, and an hundred thouſand Timariots. M

2 *Ceſair*, in antient time called *Iulia Cæſaria*, but now commonly *Algiers*, where the Beglerbeg ſtill reſiding, commandeth ouer all that Kingdome, wherein are forty thouſand Timariots.

A The Beglerbeg of
3 *Tunis*, where he ſtill remaining as a Viceroy, commandeth all that great and large kingdome.
4 *Tripolis*, the ſeat of his Beglerbegſhip, by *Sinan Baſſa* taken from the Knights of Malta in the yeare 1551.

There are beſide theſe, two other kingdomes in Africke inrolled in the Turkes records as their owne, although they be not as yet by them brought into the forme of Beglerbegſhips, namely the kingdomes of Fez and Moroco, but are as yet holden by them as their tributaries and Vaſſals.

But hauing thus as it were taken view of the greatneſſe and forces of this ſo mighty a monarchs empire by land, and ſo in ſome ſort bounded it out, let vs conſider alſo his power by ſea. With the great Ocean he much medleth not, more than a little in the gulfes of Perſia and B Arabia, moſt of his territories lying vpon the mediterranian and Euxine ſeas, or elſe more inwardly into the heart of Aſia neere to no ſea. Now for theſe ſeas, no prince in the world hath greater or better means to ſet forth his fleets than hath he: for the ouergrowne woods of Epirus & Cilicia, and more than they, thoſe of Nicomedia and Trapezond are ſo great and thicke, and ſo full of tall trees fit for the building of ſhips and gallies of all ſorts, as is almoſt incredible. Neither wanteth he ſtore of ſhipwrights and carpenters for the framing of that ſo great ſtore of timber, large pay drawing euen the Chriſtian ſkilfull carpenters and workemen into his Arſenals at Conſtantinople, Synope, Callipolis, and others. For proofe wherof it is worth the noting, that *Selymus* the ſecond in our freſh remembrance, the next yeare after that notable ouerthrow by him receiued at the Echinades (commonly called the battel C of Lepanto) rigged vp a fleet wherewith *Vluzales* his Admirall was not afraid to face the whole power of the confederate Chriſtian Princes at Cerigo. Neither hath the Turke euer wanted good ſtore of expert ſeamen after the manner of thoſe ſeas; for beſide thoſe hee hath in ſtore at Callipolis and Sinope, out of his gallies which hee hath alwaies in readineſſe at Lesbos, Chios, Rhodus, Cyprus, and Alexandria, and from the pyrats which he continually receiueth into the ports of Tunis, Bugia, Tripolis, and Algiers, he can and doth from them when need is, chuſe captaines, mariners, and rowers ſufficient for the manning and ſtoring of his fleet. What he is able ao do in thoſe ſeas was well ſeene in our time, by thoſe fleets which he had at Malta, Cyprus, the Echinades, and Guletta. He hath beſide of all neceſſary and warlike prouiſion aboundant ſtore, and of great ordnance to furniſh himſelfe withal both by ſea D and land an infinite quantity. Out of Hungary he hath carried away aboue 5000 great pieces, out of Cyprus 500, and few leſſe from Guletta, not to ſpeak what he hath more got from the Chriſtians in diuers other places alſo. What ſtore he hath of ſhot and pouder hee ſhewed at Malta, where hee diſcharged aboue 60000 great ſhot; at Famaguſta, where hee beſtowed 118000; and at Guletta, where in the ſpace of 39 dayes he by the fury of his great ordnance ouerthrew the fortifications which the Chriſtians had bin 40 yeares in building. So that to returne againe to our purpoſe, the Great Turke ſo well prouided of men, mony, ſhipping, and great ordnance, and hauing done ſo great matters at ſea as is before rehearſed, is not in reaſon otherwiſe to be accounted of, than as of a moſt mighty and puiſſant prince as well by ſea as land: which to be ſo, the greatneſſe of his Denizi Beglerbeg or great Admiral (commonly called E *Capitan Baſſa,* of whom we haue not yet ſpoken) well declareth. This great man hauing charge of all the grand Seigniors ſtrength at ſea, is alway one of the Vizier Baſſa's, not bound ſtill to follow the court, as the other Viziers be, but alwaies or for moſt part reſiant at Conſtantinople or Callipolis, ſo to be the neerer vnto his charge. He that now hath this honourable place is called of the Turks *Cigala Baſſa*, deſcended of an honorable family of that name in Genoa: who commonly reſiding at Conſtantinople or Callipolis, hath vnder him fourteen Sanzacks, all of them great commanders and men of great place: namely the

The great power of the Turke in the Mediterranian and Euxine ſea.

From whence he hath his chiefe ſea men.

6.
The Denizi Beglerbeg, the Turkes great admirall, to be accounted ſixt of the Beglerbegs in Europe.

F Sanzack of
1 *Gallipolis*, or *Callipolis*.
2 *Galata*, or *Pera*.
3 *Nicomedia*.
4 *Limnos*, or *Lemnus*.
5 *Mitylene*, or *Lesbos*.
6 *Chios*, or *Scio*.
7 *Nexia*, or *Naxus*.
8 *Negropont*, or *Eubœa*.
9 *Rhodus*.
10 *Cauala* in the frontiers of *Macedonia*.
11 *Napolidi Romania*.
12 *Lepanto*, or *Naupactus*.
13 *S. Maura*.
14 *Alexandria*.

The princes as well Mahometans as Chriſtians, vpon whõ the great Empire of the Turke confineth, and of what power they be in compariſon of the Turke.

The Perſian too weake for the great Turke.

The greatneſſe, wealth, and ſtrength of this ſo mighty an Empire, as well by ſea as land,
thus in ſome ſort declared, let vs now ſee vpon what princes it alſo confineth, and of what G
power euery one of them is in compariſon of it ſo great and ouergrowne a State. The Turks
toward the Eaſt border vpon the Perſians, acccording to a right line drawne by imagination
from Tauris to Balſara: vpon the Portugals at the Perſian gulfe, and ſo there likewiſe to-
ward the South: at the Red Sea, vpon the great Æthyopian King *Precianes*, commonly called
Preſter Iohn: towards the South, in Affricke vpon the King of Moroco: and in Europe,
vpon the kingdome of Naples, with ſome part of the Venetian ſigniorie: toward the North
vpon the Polonians, and the territories of the houſe of Auſtria. Now to begin with the Per-
ſian, the great Turke no doubt is in field too ſtrong for him, as by proofe hath beene often-
times ſeene; for *Mahomet* the Great in plaine battell ouercame the valiant *Vſun Caſſanes*: *Se-
lymus* the firſt, and after *Solyman* his ſon put to flight the noble *Hyſmael* and *Tamas*, the two H
great and famous Perſian Kings: and now of late in our time *Amurath* the third by his lieu-
tenants hath taken from the Perſians all Media, with the greater Armenia, both ſometimes fa-
mous kingdomes, together with the regall city of Tauris. That the Turke ſo preuaileth, is
by reaſon of his footmen, which the Perſian wanteth; and of his great ordnance, whereof
the Perſian hath neither ſtore nor vſe: and although the Perſians by valour of their horſmen
haue ſomtime in open field foiled the Turke, yet haue they ſtill loſt ſome part of their coun-
try; *Solyman* taking from them Meſopotamia, and *Amurath* Media and Armenia. Neither
did the Perſians alone feele that harme, and loſe their owne, but vndid their Confederates
alſo; *Selymus* the firſt ſpoiling the Mamalukes of Ægypt and Syria, and vtterly rooting them
from off the face of the earth; and *Amurath* by his lieutenants hauing brought to a low ebb I
the warlike Georgians, both of them the Perſian Kings friends and confederats. Now is not
the Turke ſo much too ſtrong at land for the Perſian, but that he is as much too weake at ſea
for the Portugals; in thoſe ſeas I mean where their forces haue more than once to the Turks
coſt met together in the Eaſt Indies: the Portugals hauing in thoſe rich but remote countries,
many ſure harbours and ports, yea faire countries and territories abounding with victuals and
all prouiſion neceſſarie for ſhipping, with ſome alſo of thoſe great Eaſterne princes their allies
and confederats: wheras the Turke on the other ſide hath nothing in the Perſian gulf ſtrong,
beſide Balſara; the ſea coaſt of Arabia which might ſtand him in beſt ſtead, hauing no more
but foure townes, and thoſe but weake and of ſmall worth. So that there, as alſo in the Red
ſea, it is a matter of exceeding charge and difficultie for him to ſet out any great fleet into K
thoſe ſeas, for that thoſe countries are vtterly deſtitute of wood fit to make ſhips of. For
which cauſe, thoſe few times that he prepared his fleets in the Red ſea (to haue cut off the
Portugals trade into the Eaſt Indies) being not able to performe the ſame in the Perſian gulf,
he was inforced to bring the timber for the building of his gallies out of the ports of Bithi-
nia and Cilicia (out of another world as it were) vp the Nile vnto Caire, and from thence vp-
on camels by land to Sues, where he hath his Arſenall, a thing almoſt incredible. And yet
hauing done what he could, as oft as he hath made any expedition againſt them, he neuer
gained any thing but loſſe and diſhonor: as in the yeare 1538 at the city of Dium; and in the
yeare 1552 at the Iſland of Armuz; and after that at Mombaza, where foure of the Turks L
gallies, with one galliot, which by the fauour of the king of Mombaza had thought to haue
ſtaied in thoſe ſeas, were by the Portugals taken: who ſtill haue a ſpeciall regard and care that
the Turks ſettle not themſelues in thoſe ſeas; but as ſoone as they perceiue them to prepare
any fleet, they forthwith ſet vpon them, and to that end oftentimes without reſiſtance enter
into the Red ſeas. *Preſter Iohn*, of whom although men ſpeake much, yet is hee nothing in
ſtrength to be compared vnto the Turke, but far inferior vnto him both for commanders and
ſoldiers, as alſo for weapons and munition: for that great prince hath a great kingdome with-
out fortification, and a multitude of ſoldiers without armes: as appeared by the ouerthrow of
Barnagaſſo his Lieutenant towards the red ſea; who hauing loſt all that ſea coaſt vnto the
Turks, was brought to that extremitie, that to haue peace with them, he yeelded to pay vnto M
them a yearely tribute of a thouſand ounces of gold. In Africke the Turke hath more Terri-
tories than hath the King of Moroco, otherwiſe called the *Xeriſe*; for hee poſſeſſeth all that
there lyeth betwixt the red ſea and the kingdome of Fez: but the *Xeriſe* hath the better part,
the richer, ſtronger, and more vnited: yet dare neither of them well make war vpon the other,
for

The Portugals too ſtrong for the Turke in the Eaſt Indies

Preſter Iohn too weake for the Turke.

The King of Moroco & the Turke both in doubt of the king of Spain.

for the neereneſſe of the King of Spaine, enemie vnto them both. Now then there remaineth the reſt of the Chriſtian princes bordering vpon the Turke; and firſt the king of Polonia. What theſe two Princes can do the one againſt the other, hath beene ſeene in ſome former expeditions, wherein the Polonian had ſtill the worſe: yet it ſhould ſeeme, that of later time the Turke hath not bin greatly deſirous to moue the Polonian too farre, for that being prouoked by diuers occaſions, (namely in the reigne of *Henry* the third, in the wars that *Iohn* the Vayuod of Valachia had with the Turks, many Polonian horſemen ſerued the ſaid Vayuod, though not indeed ſent from the King: and in the time of *Sigiſmund* the Polonian Coſſackes haue with diuers incurſions not a little troubled them: beſide the late motions of *Iohn Zamoſchie* the great Chancellour and Generall of the Polonian forces, for the ſtaying of the Tartars by the Turks ſent for) he hath been content to comport the ſame, and not with his wonted pride ſought to be thereof reuenged, as he hath for far leſſe vpon ſome other princes. And on the other ſide, the Polonians ſince the vnfortunate expedition of King *Ladiſlaus*, neuer tooke vpon them any warres againſt the Turkes, neither gaue ſuch aid as they ſhould vnto the Valachians their confederates, but ſuffered to be taken from themſelues whatſoeuer they had toward the Euxine or Blacke ſea: a thing imputed rather vnto the want of courage in their Kings, than in the Nobilitie of that Kingdome. *Sigiſmund* the firſt being by Pope *Leo* X. inuited to the warres againſt the Turks, anſwered them in theſe few words: Set you the Chriſtian princes at vnitie amongſt themſelues, and I for my part will not be wanting. *Sigiſmund* the ſecond ſo abhorred the wars, that he not onely declined the Turks, but prouoked by the Muſcouites, neuer ſought to reuenge the ſame. King *Stephen* (by the commendation of *Amurath* choſen King of Polonia) an indifferent eſteemer both of his enemies Forces and his owne, thought it a moſt dangerous thing to ioyne battell with the Turke, and yet in priuate talke with his friends, would oftentimes ſay, That with thirty thouſand foot ioyned vnto his Polonian horſmen, he durſt well to vndertake an expedition againſt the Turke: which he was ſuppoſed oftentimes to haue thought vpon. The Emperour, with the reſt of the Princes of the houſe of Auſtria, are by a longer tract of ground ioyned vnto this great empire of the Turks, than any one other prince of the world, and beſtow in fortifications and the maintenance of their garriſons, (wherein they haue continually aboue twenty thouſand horſe and foot) the greateſt part of their reuenues euen in the time of peace, much more in theſe their long wars: and with the German forces ioyned vnto their owne, are more carefull how to defend that they haue yet left, than how to recouer that they haue alreadie loſt, or to enlarge their empire. The Emperor *Ferdinand* with greater force than ſucceſſe vndertooke the vnfortunate expeditions of Bada and Poſſega: which ſo euill fell out, not for that his forces were not ſufficient or ſtrong enough, but for that they wanted agilitie and dexteritie. The truth is, thoſe his armies were ſtrong enough, and ſufficiently furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, but conſiſted for the moſt part of Germans and Bohemians, ſlow and heauie people, vnfit to encounter with the Turkes, a more ready and nimble kinde of ſouldiers. The Venetians alſo confrontier the Turks by many hundred miles, both by ſea and land, and defend themſelues rather by peaceable policie than force of armes: notably fortifying their ſtrong Holds vpon their frontiers, declining by all means the dangers and charges of warre, by Embaſſages and rich preſents, leauing nothing vnattempted (their liberty and ſtate preſerued) rather than to fall to wars. To ſay the truth of them, although they had both coyne and warlike prouiſion ſufficient, yet want they men and victuals anſwerable to ſo great a war againſt ſo puiſſaint an Enemie. There remaineth onely the King of Spaine, of all other the great Princes either Chriſtians or Mahometanes bordering vpon him, the beſt able to deale with him; his yearely reuenues ſo farre exceeding thoſe of the Turks, as that they are alſo probably thought to counteruaile the greateſt part of his Timariots: and his great Dominions in Spaine, Portugall, Naples, Sicilia, Millaine, Sardinia, and the Low-Countries (if they were with him at vnitie) able to affourd vnto him ſo great and powerfull a ſtrength both by ſea and land, as might make him dreadfull euen vnto the Great Turke when hee ſwelleth in his greateſt pride: but conſidering how his Forces are diſtracted for the maintenance of his warres at once in diuers places; as alſo for the neceſſarie defence and keeping of his ſo large and diſperſed territories, not all the beſt of themſelues affected to the Spaniſh gouernment,

The king of Polonia vnwilling to meddle with the Turke, or the Turke with him.

The Emperour with the reſt of the princes of the houſe of Auſtria, together with the aid of the Germanes, haue much adoe to defend themſelues againſt the Turke.

The Venetians by policy rather than by force, maintain their ſtate againſt the Turke.

The King of Spaine, of all other Princes that border vpon the Turk, beſt able to wage war with him.

why the Turke is not to bee thought inuincible, neither his power ſo ſtrong, as in ſhew it ſeemeth to be.

ment,he is not to be thought of himſelfe ſtrong enough againſt the vnited forces of the great G Turke,whenſoeuer they ſhall chance to be imployed vpon him. So that by this we haue alreadie ſaid, is eaſie to be gathered, how much the Turke is too ſtrong for any one the neighbor princes,either Mahometans or Chriſtians, bordering vpon him, and therefore to be of them the more feared. Yet leſt ſome miſtaking me, might thinke, What, is then the Turke inuincible? Farre be that thought from me,to thinke any enemy of Chriſt Ieſu (be his arme neuer ſo ſtrong) to be able to withſtand his power, either quite to deuoure his little flocke, rage he neuer ſo much about it. As for the Turke,the moſt dangerous and profeſſed enemie of the Chriſtian Commonweale, be his ſtrength ſo great, yea and haply greater too than is before declared (the greatneſſe of his dominion and empire conſidered) yet is hee not to be thought therefore either inuincible,or his power in deed ſo great,as it in ſhew ſeemeth for to H be: his Timariot horſmen(his greateſt ſtrength)diſperſed ouer his whole empire,being neuer poſſibly the one halfe of them by him to be gathered into the body of one army: neither if they were ſo,poſſible in ſuch a multitude long to be kept together,liuing vpon no pay of his, but vpon ſuch ſtore and prouiſion only as they bring with them from their Timari,neuer ſufficient long to maintaine them. Beſides that, the policie of his ſtate hardly or neuer ſuffereth him to draw aboue a third part of his Timariots out of his countries where they dwell, for feare leſt the reſt of the people,by them ſtill kept vnder,ſhould in their abſence take vp armes againſt him in defence of themſelues and their antient libertie: whereafter the greateſt part of thoſe poore oppreſſed Soules, as well Mahometans as Chriſtians in euery prouince of his Empire, awaiting but the opportunitie, moſt deſirouſly longeth. So that more than two I parts of them being alwaies to be left at home for the neceſſarie defence of the ſpacious borders of his ſo large an Empire, as alſo for the keeping in obedience of ſo many diſcontented Nations; it is a great matter, if he euen in his greateſt warres draw together of theſe kinde of ſouldiers the full number of an hundred and fifty thouſand ſtrong, making vp the reſt of his huge multitude with his Acanzij, liuing of no pay of his, but vpon the ſpoile of the enemy onely, the fifth part whereof they pay vnto him alſo. All which put together, what manner of men they be, and of what valour, not onely the ſmall Armies of the Chriſtians vnder the leading of their worthy Chiefetaines, *Huniades*, *Scanderbeg*, King *Matthias*, and others, haue to their immortall glory in former times made good proofe: but euen in this our age, and that as it were but the other day, the Tranſyluanian Prince, with diuers other captaines K and Commanders yet liuing, haue done the like alſo, as well witneſſeth the late battell of Agria, wherein the Chriſtians, in number not halfe ſo many as the Turkes, by plaine valour draue the great Sultan *Mahomet* himſelfe, (with *Ibrahim Baſſa* his lieutenant General) out of the field, and had of him had the moſt notable victorie that euer was got againſt that Enemie, had they not by too much careleſneſſe,and vntimely deſire of ſpoile,themſelues ſhamefully interrupted the ſame. But thus to let his horſemen paſſe,the chiefe ſtrength of his footmen are his Ianizaries, neuer in number exceeding twelue or fourteene thouſand,yet ſeldom times halfe ſo many euen in his greateſt armies,except he himſelfe be there in perſon preſent in the middeſt of them: who beſide the ſmall number of them, in the time of theſe their L late voluptuous and effeminate Emperours, corrupted with the pleaſures of Conſtantinople, and for want of their wonted diſcipline, haue together with their antient obedience and patience, loſt alſo a great part of their former reputation and valour: all the reſt of his footmen filling vp the bodie of his populous Army, being his Aſapi, rather pioners than ſouldiers, men of ſmall worth, and ſo accounted of both by the Turkes and their Enemies alſo. So that all things well conſidered, his beſt ſouldiers being the leaſt part of his greateſt armies, and they alſo farre vnlike their predeceſſours the ſterne followers of the former *Othoman* Kings and Emperours, but men now giuen to pleaſure and delight, it is not otherwiſe to be thought,but that he bringeth into the field farre moe men than good ſouldiers,more brauerie than true valour,more ſhew than worth, his multitude being his chiefeſt ſtrength,his ſup- M poſed greatneſſe the terrour of his neighbour princes, and both together the very maieſty of his Empire. Which although it be indeed very ſtrong, for the reaſons before alledged,yet is it by many probably thought to be now vpon the declining hand,their late emperors in their owne perſons far degenerating from their warrelike progenitors, their ſouldiours generally giuing

The ſignes of the declining of the Turks Empire.

A giuing themſelues to vnwonted pleaſures, their antient diſcipline of war neglected, their ſuperſtition not with ſo much zeale as of old regarded, and rebellions in diuers parts of his Empire of late ſtrangely raiſed, and mightily ſupported: all the ſignes of a declining State. Which were they not at all to be ſeene, as indeed they be very pregnant, yet the greatneſſe of this Empire being ſuch, as that it laboureth with nothing more than the weightineſſe of it ſelfe, it muſt needs (after the manner of worldly things) of it ſelfe fall, and againe come to nought, no man knowing when or how ſo great a worke ſhould be brought to paſſe, but he in whoſe deepe counſels all theſe great reuolutions of Empires and Kingdomes are from eternitie ſhut vp: who at his pleaſure ſhall in due time by ſuch meanes as he ſeeth beſt, accompliſh the ſame, to the vnſpeakeable comfort of his poore afflicted flocke, in one place or B other, ſtill in danger to be by this roaring Lyon deuoured. Which worke of ſo great wonder, He for his Sonne or Sauior Chriſt his ſake, the glory of his name, and comfort of many thouſand oppreſſed Chriſtians, fed with the bread of carefulneſſe amidſt the furnace of tribulation, in mercie haſten, that we with them, and they with vs, all as members of one body, may continually ſing, *Vnto him be all honour and praiſe world without end.*

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¶ A Table or Index, pointing vnto all the moſt notable things in the Hiſtorie of the Turks before written: wherein ſuch directorie Letters as are ſet without numbers, are to be ſtill referred to the next number of the Page precedent.

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Ameſa employed by his uncle Scanderbeg for the recouerie of Croia out of the hands of the Turks, 284 h. corrupted, flieth to Mahomet the Turke, 373 b. his firſt ſpeech to Mahomet, c. honourably entertained, 376 i. by Iſaack Baſſa created King of Epirus, 375 d. taken priſoner by Scanderbeg, 381 d. ſent priſoner into Italy, 382 h. enlarged, returneth to Conſtantinople, and there dieth, 383 b.

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Turks, 320 i. by great promiſes ſeeketh to corrupt the garriſon of Sfetigrade, l. by the practiſe of one man hath the citie of Sfetigrade yeelded vnto him, 321 e. hauing loſt thirtie thouſand of his Turks at the ſiege of Sfetigrade, returneth to Hadrianople, 322 h. with a great armie commeth againe into Epirus and beſiegeth Croia, 323 c. in two aſſaults loſeth 8000 of his ſouldiers, 326 k. content to buy the life of one Chriſtian with the loſſe of twentie of his Turks, 327 a. ſeeketh by great gifts to corrupt Vranacontes the Gouernour of Croia, 328 i. ouercome with melancholie, tormenteth himſelfe, 330 g. by his Embaſſadours offereth Scanderbeg peace, h. his laſt ſpeech vnto his ſonne Mahomet concerning ſuch things as at his death grieued him moſt, k. dieth, 331 b. buried at Pruſa, 332 g.

Amurath the ſonne of Achomates flieth vnto Hyſmael the Perſian King, 504 k. marrieth his daughter, 505 a. ſpoileth Capadocia, and for feare of his vncle Selymus retyreth, d.

Amurath the third taketh vpon him the Turkiſh Empire, 919 c. pacifieth the Ianizaries and augmenteth their priuiledges, d. ſtrangleth his fiue brethren, e. His letters vnto the Nobilitie of Polonia in the behalfe of Stephen Bathor Vayuod of Tranſyluania, 920 i. attentiue to the ſtirres in Perſia, 923 f. informed thereof by Vſtref Baſſa of Van, 924 m. reſolued to take the Perſian warre in hand, 925 d. by Muſtapha aduertiſed of the ſucceſſe of the Perſian warres, 938 g. conſulteth of his proceeding therein, 941 e. diſchargeth Muſtapha of his Generalſhip, and calleth him home to Conſtantinople, 946 l. appointeth Sinan Generall for the Perſian warres, 951 b. in deſpight of Sinan appointeth Mahamet Baſſa Generall for thoſe warres in his ſtead, 957 e. circumciſeth his eldeſt ſonne Mahomet, 957 a. diſplaceth Sinan Baſſa, and caſteth him into exile, 962 l. appointeth Ferat Generall for his warres ~~in Perſia~~, 965 d. ſendeth for Oſman Baſſa into Siruan, 974 b. maketh him chiefe Viſier; and Generall of his Armie into Perſia, 976 k. in diſporting with his Muts taken with a fit of the falling ſickeneſſe, 977 d. cauſeth great triumph to be made throughout his Empire for the winning of Tauris, 996 h. maketh choice againe of Ferat Baſſa to ſucceed Oſman Baſſa dead in the Perſian warres, 999 b. concluded a peace with the Perſian King, 1005 b. his anſwer to the Letters of Sigiſmund the third, King of Polonia, 1004 h. glad himſelfe to yeeld vnto inſolencie of the Ianizaries, 1005 f. his letters to Elizabeth Queene of England, 1006 k. perſuaded by his Viſier Baſſa's to take ſome new warre in hand, 1007 e. in doubt whom firſt to begin withall, 1008 k. reſolueth to make warre vpon the emperour, with the reaſons leading him thereunto, 1104 k. giueth leaue to Haſſan Baſſa of Boſna as it were without his knowledge to picke quarrels with the Emperour, and ſo to diſturbe the peace, m. ſendeth home the bodie of the Perſian Hoſtage dead in his Court, 1015 c. proclaimeth warre againſt the Emperour, 1023 f. the proud and blaſphemous manner of his denuntiation of warre, 1024 h. he dreameth, 1028 l. ſicke of the falling ſickneſſe, 1048 h. dieth, 1053 d.

Andrew King of Hungarie maketh an expedition into the Holy land, 88 k. bathing himſelfe in the riuer of Iordan, returneth with all his power, l.

Andronicus aſpireth to the Empire, 43 d. ouerthroweth Angelus ſent againſt him with a great power by Alexius the great Preſident, 44 l. encampeth ouer againſt Conſtantinople, 45 a. taketh vpon him the gouernment and tyranniſeth, 47 b. cauſeth Marie the daughter of Emanuel the Emperour, with her husband Caſar to be poyſoned, e. cauſeth Xene the faire Empreſſe to be vniuſtly condemned and ſtrangled, 49 k. by his fauourits and flatterers ioyned in the fellowſhip of the Empire with Alexius the young Emperour, 46 c. depriueth Alexius of the Empire, and cauſeth him to be ſtrangled, 50 h. deſtroyeth the Nobilitie to eſtabliſh his eſtate, i. ſeeketh in vaine to appeaſe the people in a tumult riſen vp againſt him, 52 h. forſaken of his flattering fauourits, flyeth, is taken and brought backe in chaines to Angelus, 53 c. committed to the fury of the people, who with extreame cruelty put him to moſt ſhamefull death, 54

Andronicus Palæologus the yonger exceedingly beloued by old Andronicus his grandfather, 158 h. by the perſuaſion of Syrgiannes conſpireth againſt his aged Grandfather, 159 f. being ſent for, commeth vnto him ſecretly armed, with purpoſe to haue ſlaine him, 160 k. ſecretly flieth out of Conſtantinople, 161 b. proclaimed traitour, and proſcribed, c. ſtirreth vp the people of Thracia to rebellion, d. reconciled to his Grandfather, 164 i. crowned fellow in the Empire with his Grandfather, m. againe conſpireth againſt his Grandfather, 165 b. his craftie ſpeech vnto his Grandfathers Embaſſadours, 167 c. ſeeketh in vaine by night to haue been receiued into Conſtantinople, 169 e. is receiued into Theſſalonica, 170 g. taketh in the greateſt part of Macedonia and Thracia, m. by treaſon entereth into the citie of Conſtantinople, 171 e. forbiddeth his Captaines and ſouldiours to violate the Maieſtie of the old Emperour or any about him, 172 i. humbleth himſelfe vnto his Grandfather, 173 a. euill perſuaded, committeth him to ſtreight keeping, 174 g. wounded in the battell with Orchanes at Philocrene, 180 m. by his owne departure from his Campe, diſcomfiteth his whole Armie, 181 a.

Andronicus Palæologus the old Emperour in reſtoring againe the Greeke Ceremonies, by his Father before altered, falleth into great troubles, 146 h. ſparing to maintaine his Nauie, weakeneth his Empire, k. ſuſpitious of his brother Conſtantine, l. by taking him away, leaueth the Eaſt ſide of his Empire to bee ſpoiled by the Turkes, 147 e. repoſing more truſt in forreigne aid than in his owne Subiects, greatly hurteth his State, 149 b. immoderately fauoureth his Nephew Andronicus, 158 h. ſetteth Syrgiannes to obſerue his doings, 159 a. ſendeth embaſſadours vnto him, 161 d. in his trouble, as of an heauenly Oracle aſketh counſell of the Pſalter, and ſo maketh peace with his nephew, 164 h. enformed of the euill meaning of his nephew, forbiddeth him to come into the citie, 166 g. his notable ſpeech vnto the Patriarch and the reſt of the Biſhops and Nobilitie concerning the young Emperour his Nephew. 168 k. forſaken of the Patriarch and ſome others of the Biſhops, 169 b. repoſeth his whole truſt in God, 172 i. his pittifull requeſt vnto the young Emperour his Nephew, l. by him depriued of his Imperiall Dignitie, 174 g. falleth blind, h. againſt his will made a Monke, and called Anthonie, k. his notable anſwer vnto the catching queſtion of the proud Patriarch, l. enforced to ſweare, Neuer againe to reſume vnto himſelfe the Empire, 175 d. dieth, 176 g. his death by many prodigies

digies foreſhowne, h.

Antioche deſcribed, 18 h. by the Patriarch betrayed to Saladin, 65 a.

Apulia ſpoiled by the Turks, 671 f.

Ares Chan hanged, 939 a.

Artillerie of exceeding greatneſſe made by Mahomet at the ſiege of Scodra, 418 g.

Aſam-Beg with his armie ouerthrowne, and taken priſoner by Scanderbeg, 383 f.

Aſmehemedi iuſtly rewarded for his trecherie, 178 k.

Aſſan Aga derideth the meſſengers ſent vnto him from Charles the Emperor, 719 b. taketh the Spaniards to mercy 724 k.

Auria with his fleet doth the Turkes great harme in Peloponeſus, 626 h. beſiegeth Corone, and hath it yeelded vnto him, 627 a. taketh and ranſacketh Patras, with the caſtles of Rhium and Molycrenm, c. returneth to Genua, e. troubleth the Turkes Fleet, and taketh twelue of their gallies full of Ianizaries and Solymans other beſt ſouldiers, 672 l. braueth Barbaruſſa in the bay of Ambracia, 688 g. ſhamefully flyeth with his Fleet, 689 e. dyeth, 787 c.

Auſtria ſpoiled by the Turke, 616 i. Altenburg taken, k.

Auſtria ſore waſted by Caſon, 621

Axalla a Chriſtian in great fauour with Tamerlane, and his lieutenant Generall in his warres againſt the Turke, 214 h. takes Baiazet the great Turk priſoner, 219 d. without reſiſtance taketh Pruſa, 221 b. ouerthroweth one of the Turkes Baſſa's with the ſlaughter of thirtie thouſand Turkes, 235 d.

B

Babylon taken and ſacked by the Tartars, 113 b. with the countries of Meſopotamia and Aſſyria yeeelded to Solyman, 651 a.

Baiazet the firſt why ſyrnamed Gylderun or Lightening, 195 f. ſuceedeth his father Amurath in the Turkiſh Kingdome, 203 b. inuadeth Seruia, e. by Feriſes his Lieutenant ſpoyleth Valachia, f. oppreſſeth moſt of the Mahometane Princes the Succeſſors of Sultan Saladin in the leſſer Aſia, 204 k. inuadeth Valachia, ouerthroweth the Vayuod, and cauſeth him to become his Tributarie, 205 a. beſiegeth Conſtantinople eight yeares, c. In a great battell at Nicopolis ouerthroweth Sigiſmund King of Hungarie with his Confederates, 206 g. returneth againe to the ſiege of Conſtantinople, k. marrieth Deſpina the faire daughter of Lazarus the Deſpot, 207 a. pretily reproued by his Ieaſter, d. in battell ouercommeth Aladin the Caramanian King, and deliuereth him priſoner to Temurtaſes his lieutenant, 208 m. ſubdueth the Caramanian Kingdome, 209 a. hath the great cities of Amaſia and Sebaſtia yeelded vnto him, a. oppreſſeth the Mahometane Princes of the leſſer Aſia, d. vnciuilely entertaineth the Embaſſadours of the Mightie Tamerlane ſent vnto him in the behalfe of the poore princes by him oppreſſed, 211. accounteth a ſheepheard more happie than himſelfe, 216 k. ioyneth a great and mortal battell with Tamerlane, 219 b. forſaken of his owne ſouldiour c. ouerthrowne and taken priſoner by Axalla, d. brought to Tamerlane, 220. ſhut vp in a yron cage like a beaſt, m. dieth miſerably, 227 b. his iſſue, as alſo his immediate Succeſſor vncertaine, 231 c. his true poſterity, 232 g.

Baiazet the ſecond excluded from the ſucceſſion in the Turkiſh Empire by his ſonne Corcutus, commeth to Conſtantinople, 437 e. by the mediation of the great Baſſa's obtaineth the Kingdome of Corcutus, 438 g. goeth againſt his brother Zemes vp in rebellion againſt him, i. in doubt to haue beene betrayed by his ſouldiers, 441 c. reuiled by the Ianizaries, 444 h. putteth ſome of them to death, 445 a. purpoſeth their vtter deſtruction, b. glad to diſſemble his purpoſe, and to reconcile himſelfe vnto them, f. ſendeth Dautius his Embaſſador to Alexander Biſhop of Rome, 451 d. glad to heare that diuers of the Chriſtian Princes had combined themſelues againſt the French King, 456 i. in danger to haue beene ſlaine by a Deruiſlar or Turkiſh Monke, 463 c. Baiazet by nature peaceable, d. his children, 467 k. ſendeth Embaſſadours with preſents vnto his ſonne Selymus, 480 i. ſeeking to prefer Achomates his eldeſt ſonne to the Empire, himſelfe yet liuing, is mightily withſtood by the ſouldiours of the Court before corrupted by Selymus, 481 b. hee forbiddeth Selymus to come vnto him and threateneth him, 482 h. fearing to loſe Conſtantinople, departeth from Hadrianople, i. his reſolute ſpeech vnto the Ianizaries and other ſouldiours of the Court, 484 l. in plaine battell ouercommeth his ſonne Selymus at Tzurulum, 485 d. willing the ſecond time to haue reſigned his Empire to Achomates, is againe withſtood by his men of warre, 487 b. his reſolute anſwer vnto Muſtapha and the other traiterous Baſſa's after that Selymus was by their practiſe, by the Souldiours of the Court ſaluted Emperour, 494 k. poyſoned by Hamon his Phyſition a Iew, 495 f. dieth 496 g.

Baiazet Solyman his younger ſonne ſeeketh to aſpire vnto the Empire, his father yet liuing, 768 h. ſetteth vp a counterfeit Muſtapha to make an head to his intended rebellion, k. the ſubtile and craftie dealing of the ſuppoſed Muſtapha to deceiue the people, l. forſaken of his followers, is taken and brought to Solyman at Conſtantinople, 770 g. ſecretly with his complices drowned, h. Baiazet ſent for by his father, goeth vnto him in feare, l. in few words comforted by his mother, 771 a. ſharpely for his diſloyaltie reprooued by his father, and ſo by him pardoned, b. returneth againe to his charge, d. after the death of Roxolana his mother raiſeth new ſtirres, e, admoniſhed of his dutie by his father, 772 h. vnwilling to go to Amaſia the prouince appointed him by his Father, ſeeketh delayes, 773 k. by a Chiaus requeſteth his father not to intermeddle betwixt his brother and him, 774 h. making ſhew as if he would go to Amaſia, ſtayeth at Ancyra, and there raiſeth his forces, l. his quarrell generally fauoured of the ſouldiours, 775 b. his purpoſe, d. hee goeth againſt his brother towards Iconium, e. fighteth a bloudie battell with his brother Selymus, wherein were fortie thouſand Turkes ſlaine, 776 g. put to the worſe retyreth, and ſo goeth to Amaſia, h. more commended by the Souldiours in his ouerthrow, than was his brother in his victorie, i. ſeeketh againe for his fathers fauour, 777 f. deſpairing thereof flyeth into Perſia, deceiuing by the way the Baſſa's of Sebaſtia and Erzirum, 778 k. at the firſt well entertained by the Perſian King, 779 e. his followers by the cunning of the fearefull Perſian diſperſed and ſlaine, 780 k. he himſelfe with his ſonnes impriſoned, l. his miſerable eſtate in priſon, 780 f. with his foure ſonnes at the inſtance of his father by the Perſian ſtrangled, 782 h.

Baiazet Baſſa ſent by Amurath againſt Muſtapha the Rebell, forſaken of his Souldiours, yeeldeth, 255 e. vpon a falſe ſurmiſe executed, f.

Baldwin Countie of Edeſſa, and Brother to Godfrey ſecond King of Ieruſalem, 25 a. winneth Caſarea from the Infidels, b. ouerthroweth the Turkes. hard by Rama, c. beſiegeth Ptolemais, and in retyring thence is mortally wounded, e. beſiegeth it aagaine, & hath it by compoſition yeelded vnto him, e. after many ſharpe aſſaults winneth Berythus, 26 h. taketh Sidon by compoſition, and in vaine beſiegeth Tyre, i. maketh an expedition into Ægypt, and neere vnto Laris dieth, m.

Baldwin ſyrnamed Brugenſis, Countie of Edeſſa, beſiegeth Carras, and there taken priſoner, after fiue yeares captiuitie redeemeth himſelfe, 25, d. after the death of Baldwin the firſt, choſen King of Ieruſalem, and called Baldwin the ſecond, 27 a. ouerthroweth the Turkes, and joyneth the Principalitie of Antioch to his owne Kingdome, d. by Balac the Perſian Sultan ouerthrowne and taken priſoner; after eighteene moneths captiuitie, for the ranſome of 100000 Duckets ſet at libertie, 28 l. in three notable battels ouerthroweth the King of Damaſco, 29 a. dieth, h.

Baldwin the third of that name crowned King of Ieruſalem, 31 a. hardly diſtreſſed by Noradin the Turke, b. he fortifieth Gaza, and taketh Aſcalon by compoſition, 34 i. in a ſet battell ouerthroweth Naradin the King of Damaſco at the Caſtle of Sueta, 35 f. falleth ſicke and dieth, 36 h.

Baldwin the fourth of that name ſeuenth King of Ieruſalem, 58 l. with a great ſlaughter ouerthroweth Saladin inuading his Kingdome, 59 d. putteth him with his great armie againe to flight, 60 k. reſigneth the gouernment of his Kingdome to Guy Luſignan Countie of Ioppa and Aſcalon, 61 b. ſendeth Embaſſadours vnto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, and immediatly after dieth, 62 i.

Baldwin the fift of that name, yet but a boy, was crowned eighth King of Ieruſalem, and within ſeuen months after dieth, 62 i.

Baldwin Countie of Flanders and Henault choſen by the Latines Emperor of Conſtantinople, and ſo ſolemnely crowned, 83 c. ſubdueth Thracia, and beſiegeth Hadrianople, 85 a. ouerthrowne in a battell by the Scythians and taken priſoner, is by the commandement of their barbarous King moſt cruelly put to death, d.

Baldwin the ſecond of that name fift and laſt Emperor of the Latines in Conſtantinople, 79 a. pawneth his ſonne vnto the Bruges Merchants for money 112 m. flyeth out of the Citie of Conſtantinople, being ſurpriſed by Alexius Strategopulus ſent from Michael Paleologus the Greeke Emperour, 124 m.

Balabanus ſent by Mahomet againſt Scanderbeg 393 b. put to flight, taketh diuers of Sanderbegs beſt Captaines priſoners at Alchria, 396 g. with his armie ouerthrowne at Oronicheum, l. the third time ouerthrown in the battell at Sfetigrade, 397 b. Ouerthrowne by Scanderbeg the fourth time in the battell at Valcha, 389 a. left by Mahomet to continue the ſiege of Croia, 400, l. ſlaine, c.

Barbaruſſa ſucceedeth his brother Horruccius in the Kingdome of Algiers, 636 i. his wonderfull ſucceſſe k. ſent for by Solyman, l. enuied in the Turks Court, 637 b. by Solyman himſelfe reiected to Abraham the great Baſſa, d. trauelleth by land vnto him into Siria, and by him commended to Solyman, e. his ſpeech to Solyman to perſuade him to inuade the kingdome of Tunes, 638 g. he is made Solymans great Admirall, 639 d. ſpoyleth the coaſts of Italie, 640 m. paſſeth ouer into Affricke, and hath Biſerta yeelded vnto him, 643 b. commeth to Guletta, deceiueth the Citiſens, and is receiued into Tunes, f. diſcomfiteth the citiſens riſen vp againſt him, b. hath the citie of Tunes yeelded vnto him, 645 e. is much diſcouraged with the comming of Charles the Emperour into Affricke, 656 h. in his rage executeth Aloyſius Preſenda, i. encourageth his ſouldiers, l. his chiefe Captaines, 657 b. the Countie of Sarne his head and right hand by Salec ſent vnto him for a preſent, 658 l. his fleet taken by Charles the Emperour at Guletta, 661 a. he rageth, b. calmed by Sinan the Iew, c. in field with his army againſt Charles the Emperor 665 e. flyeth to Tunes, 666 g. diſſuaded by Sinan the Iew from killing the Chriſtian Captiues; who ſhortly after breaking priſon, driue the Turkes out of the caſtle of Tunes, 666 l. flyeth to Hippona, and there comforteth his ſouldiers, 668 k. eſcapeth to Algiers, 669 b. ſent by Solyman againſt the Venetians, 687 a. repulſed in Crete, b. reprooued of cowardiſe by one of the Turks Eunuchs, 688 h. ieaſteth at the flight of Auria, 689 e. braueth the Chriſtians at Corcyra, 690 g. ſuffereth ſhipwrecke vpon the Acroceraunian Rockes, k. with a great fleet ſent by Solyman to aid the French King againſt Charles the Emperour, 735 a. burneth Rhegium, and taketh the caſtle, b. becommeth amorous of the Captaine of Rhegium his daughter, c. maketh them affraid in Rome, d. commeth to Marſeilles, f. for lacke of employment groweth diſcontented, 742 l. with the French beſiegeth Nice in Prouence, 743 c. rageth againſt the French, and threateneth Polinus, 784 h. Giueth ouer the ſiege of the caſtle of Nice, and ſetteth fire on the Citie, i. derided by the Turkes Captaines, ſharpely anſwereth their taunts, 744 l. rewarded and diſcharged by the French King, departeth out of Prouence, 749 d. requeſteth of Appianus Gouernour of Elba, to haue a ſonne of Sinan the Iewes there priſoner, deliuered vnto him, e. ſpoyleth the Iſland, and hath the young man deliuered vnto him, 750 g. in his returne to Conſtantinople doth much harme vpon the coaſt of Italie m. dieth, 751 c.

Barbadicus the Venetian Proueditour a notable man, 874 l. ſlaine in the battell of Lepanto 880 g.

Barbarous cruelty, 909 e

the Barbarous manner of the Turkiſh Sultans to murther their brethren in the beginning of their raigne, when & by whom firſt begun, 201 a

Bare ſhift for money, 345 c.

the Baſſa of Boſna and his brother ſlain, 1002 i.

the Baſſa of Temeſwar ouerthrowne by the Raſcians and ſlaine, 1138 k

the Baſſa of Buda taken priſoner, 1110 i.

the Baſſa of Boſna ſlaine, 1110 k

the Baſſa of Natolia taken priſoner by the Prince of Sarcan, 217 c. his ſtout anſwer to Tamerlane, d. by Tamerlane ſet at libertie and rewarded, e.

the Baſſa of Buda ſlaine, 1136 l.

the Baſſa of Agria with 10000 Turkes ouerthrowne by Ferrant Gonzaga, and chaſed to the gates of the Citie, 1141 g.

Baſilicus a faithfull man vnto his prince 170 b.

Battels.

A cruel Battell fought betwixt Solyman the Turke and the Chriſtian Princes going towards the Holy land, 16 l. an hundred thouſand Turkes ſlaine in the battell neere vnto Antioch, betwixt Corbanas the Perſian Sultans Lieutenant, and the Chriſtian

an Princes, 20 h. 100000 Turkes and Saraſins ſlaine in the great battel not far from Aſcalon, fought betwixt Godfrey of Buillion and the Turkes and Saraſins, 24 l. the great battell betwixt Amurath the firſt, and Lazarus the Deſpot, fought in the plaines of Caſſouia, 200 i. The battell of Nicopolis betwixt Baiazet the firſt and Sigiſmund king of Hungarie, 206 g. The great and mortall battell betwixt Baiazet and the great Tamerlane, 219 b. the battell of Vaſcape betwixt Huniades and Abedin Baſſa, 273 e. the wofull battell of Varna betwixt King Vladiſlaus and Amurath the ſecond, 297 b. the great battell of Coſſoua fought three days together betwixt Amurath and Huniades, 307 d. the battel betwixt Vſun-Caſſanes the Perſian King and Mahomet the Great, 410 l. the battell of Tzurulum betwixt Baiazet and his ſonne Selymus, 485 d. the great battell betweene Selymus and Hyſmael, 510 m. the battell of Singa betwixt Selymus and Campſon, 529 e the battell betwixt Sinan Baſſa and Gazelles, 535 e. The great battell of Rhodania betwixt Selymus and Tomombeius, 539 e. The great and dreadfull battell of Caire fought two dayes together betwixt the Mamalukes and the Turks, 545 e. the battell of Mohatzch betwixt Solyman and King Lewis, 602 k. the battell of Tockaie betwixt the armies of King Iohn and king Ferdinand, 606 h. the memorable battell of Lepanto betwixt Haly Baſſa and Don Iohn, 878 h. the battell of Sancazan betwixt the Perſian Prince and the Turkes, Oſman their Generall then lying ſicke, 994 m. the battell of Alba Regalis betwixt the Imperials and the Turks, 1026 h. the battell of Strigonium, 1068 h. the battell of Agria, betwixt Mahomet the third and Maximilian the Archduke the Emperors brother, 1097 d.
Bedredin the counterfeit Prophet hanged, 251 d.
Begum the Perſian Queene made away, 941 a.
Belgrade beſieged by Amurath the ſecond, 263 c. notably defended by the Chriſtians, 266 g. againe beſieged by Mahomet the Great, 357 b. woon by Solyman, 569 b.
Belgrade in the confines af Epirus beſieged by Scanderbeg, 370 h.
Bloudie precepts left by Selymus vnto his ſonne Solyman, 563 b.
Bodo conſtant to King Iohn, 606 k.
Boſna of a kingdome conuerted to a prouince of the Turks Empire 365 b.
Boſna with ſome part of Seruia taken from the Turks by Mathias King of Hungarie, 404 k.
Bragadinus Gouernour of Famaguſta encourageth his ſouldiers, 864 i. yeeldeth vnto the requeſt of the Citiſens of Famaguſta, in time to deliuer vp the Citie, not now longer to be defended, 866 k. entereth into parley with the Turkes, l. comming to the falſe Baſſa Muſtapha vnto his faith, for his ſafetie before giuen, is by him moſt ſhamefully and horribly murthered, 867 a.
Buda beſieged by the Lord Rogendorff King Ferdinand his lieutenant, 702 i. ſurpriſed by Solyman, 710 k. beſieged, and the lower citie taken by the Lord Palſi, 1105 c. the Caſtle by him battered, vndermined, and in vain aſſaulted, 1105 c. the lower citie of Buda againe taken by the Chriſtians, 1146 i. the vpper Citie and caſtle beſieged, 1174 b. in vaine aſſaulted, f. the ſiege for feare of the Tartars giuen ouer by the Chriſtians, 1149 c.

C

Caffa with the countrie of Taurica Cherſoneſus ſubdued by the Turks, 412 l.
Caire deſcribed, 542 m. taken by Selymus 545 i.
Calo Ioannes after the death of Alexius his father ſucceedeth him in the Empire, 27 c. hee taketh Tarſus in Cilicia, beſiegeth Antioch, and vpon compoſition raiſeth his ſiege, 30 g. wounded with a poyſoned arrow, dyeth, k.
Calcis the chiefe citie of Eubœa beſieged by the Turkes, 405 d. taken by the Turks, 406 h.
Callipolis taken by the Turks, 186 g.
Caly Baſſa diſſuadeth Mahomet from the ſiege of Conſtantinople, 344 l. Caly Baſſa cruelly executed, 350 g.
Calybeius Baſſa and Cherſeogles after a long and mortall battell taken by Vsbeg, and ſent priſoners to Caytbeius, 450 b.
Campſon Gaurus with what cauſes moued to fall out with Selymus, 522 g. his moderate and happie gouernment, 524 l. his anſwer vnto the embaſſadors of Selymus, 525 a. perplexed, 527 b. ſlaine, 530 i. his dead bodie layd out to be ſeene of all men, 531 a.
Canalis the Venetian Admirall doth the Turkes great harme, 405 a. with his whole familie exiled, 406 l.
Caniſia beſieged by the Turks, 1131 c. cowardly yeelded, 1132 b. beſieged by Ferdinand the Archduke, 1137 b. the ſiege by reaſon of tempeſt and extremitie of weather giuen ouer, 1138 k.
Capcapus Gouernor of Damaſco reuolteth from the Tartars to the Turkes, 126 i.
Caraſina yeelded vnto Orchanes, 184 h.
Caraguſa a Turke offereth a challenge vnto any of the ſouldiers in Scanderbegs armie 312 h.
Caragoſes Baſſa Beglerbeg of Aſia in a great battell ouerthrowne by Techellis, 472 h. taken priſoner, 473 a. horribly empaled by the high-wayes ſide, 474 g.
Caramania by Baiazet vnited to the Othoman Empire, 447 e.
Caracoza the famous pyrat ſlain, 881 e.
Carazies Baſſa ſlaine, 357 d.
Cardinall Bathor taketh vpon him the principalitie of Tranſyluania, 1109 f. in a great battell ouerthrowne by Michael the Vayuod, 1113 c. his head ſent for a Preſent vnto the Emperour e.
Caſſan Baſſa ſlaine, 510 m.
the Caſtle of Buda by the garriſon ſouldiers without the conſent of their captaine yeelded to Solyman, 610 g.
Caſſanes the Tartar inuadeth Syria, 125 c. in a great battell ouerthroweth Melcenaſer the Ægyptian Sultans Lieutenant, d. repaireth Ieruſalem, and giueth it to the Chriſtians, hath Damaſco yeelded vnto him, e.
Caſtronouum taken from the Turks, and by the Imperials vniuſtly detained from the Venetians, 690 g. recouered againe by Barbaruſſa, 691 d.
the Catalonians entertained by Andronicus the Emperour, for want of pay, ſpoile his Subiects, 151 a. take the ſpoile of Calipolis, and there fortifying themſelues, doe great harme both by ſea and land, d. aided by the Turks, ouerthroweth Michael the Emperor in plaine battell, 152 k. ſpoile a great part of Thracia, 153 a. ſeat themſelues in the Cities of Athens and Thebes, 154 i.
Caytbeius the Ægyptian Sultan ſendeth Embaſſadors to Baiazet in the behalf of Zemes, 440 l. dieth, 450 i.
Cayerbeius Gouernour of Comagena bearing a grudge to Campſon, hath intelligence with Selymus, 528 k. plaieth the cunning traitor, 529 d. by Selymus made Gouernour of Cayre and Ægypt 554 b.

Cazianer Generall of King Ferdinands armie againſt the Turkes, 677 e. beſiegeth Execke, 680 i. to retire with more haſte, would haue broken his great ordnance, 681 c. a general feare in his campe, 682 i. his diſhonorable flight, 683 e. generally hated, 685 f. breaketh priſon, 686 h. ſhamefully murthered, and his head ſent to King Ferdinand, i.

Cephalenia taken from the Turkes by the Venetians, 460 k.

Chamuzes Baſſa and Catabolinus the Turks Secretarie hanged by Wladus, 361 d.

Charles the French King inuadeth the Kingdome of Naples, 453 d. receiued into the citie of Naples, 455 d.

Charles the Emperor his great preparation againſt Solyman, 616 b. his power at Vienna, 622 l. after the departure of Solyman returneth into Italy, 626 g. his great preparation for the inuaſion of Tunes, 654 m. he paſſeth ouer into Affricke, 656 g. landeth his armie at Guletta, 657 e. deſerueth the Oken Garland, 663 e. he marcheth towards Tunes, 664 i. content to be commaunded by his Lieutenant, 665 d. putteth Barbaruſſa to flight, f. hath Tunes yeelded vnto him, 667 c. reſtoreth it to Muleaſſes now become his tributarie, 669 d. returneth into Italie, e. with the Venetians and the Biſhop of Rome entereth into a confederation againſt Solyman, 686 l. inuadeth Algiers, 718 i. ſendeth a meſſenger to Aſſan Aga gouernour of Algiers for Barbaruſſa, m. his meſſenger and meſſage ſcorned by Aſſan Aga the Eunuch 719 b. his notable courage in ſtaying the flight of his armie, 721 e. moſt part of his Fleet loſt by tempeſt, 722 h. the miſerie of his armie, 723 a. horſes good meat in his Campe, c. raiſeth his ſiege and departeth from Algiers, d. drowneth his horſes of great price, to make roome for his common ſouldiers, 724 h. after many troubles, arriueth at length at new Carthage in Spaine, 725 a. reſigneth his Empire vnto his brother Ferdinand, and ſhortly after dieth, 783 a.

Charles Countie Mansfelt ſent by the King of Spaine out of the Low-countries with 2000 horſe and 6000 foot to aid the Emperour in his wars againſt the Turke, 1061 d. by the Emperour appointed Lieutenant Generall of his armie in the lower Hungarie vnder Matthias the Archduke, and created one of the Princes of the Empire, 1061 c. with ſeuerity appeaſeth the mutinous Germanes, 1064 g. remoueth ſuddenly with his armie from Dotis to Strigonium, 1065 b. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Baſſa of Buda comming to the reliefe of Strigonium, 1068 i. dieth at Comara, 1070 k.

Chars in three and twentie dayes fortified by the Turks, 943 f.

Chaſan Chelife and Schach-Culi two hypocriticall Perſians, authors of the ſect of the Cuſel-baſſa's or Red-heads among the Turks, 495 e. ſtirre vp a great rebellion, 469 e. Chaſan Chelife ſlaine, 474 i.

Chendemus Baſſa by many graue reaſons diſſuadeth Selymus from inuading the Perſians, 506 b. he is by the commandement of Selymus vnworthily ſlaine, 507 b.

Cherſeogles Baſſa what he was, and why he turned Turke, 484 g. a fauourer of learning, i. the onely of great men faithfull to Baiazet, perſuadeth him to giue battell vnto his rebellious ſon Selymus, 483 d.

Chios taken by the Turks, 819 c.

Chiroche diſſuadeth the Baſſa's Partau and Haly from giuing battell vnto the Chriſtians at Lepanto, 875 b. encountereth with Contarenus, 800 i. ſlaine, and his galley taken, l.

Chriſtians fight againſt Chriſtians, to the confuſion of themſelues and benefit of the Turke, 340 k. in ſeeking too greedily after the ſpoile, ouerthrowne and diſcomfited in the battell at Kareſta, 1089 g.

Cicala Baſſa by the appointment of Oſman the Viſier Baſſa, commandeth the Turkes great Armie after his death, in the returne thereof from Tauris, 995 c. diſchargeth the Armie at Van, 996 h. afraid to giue aid to Giaffer Baſſa at Tauris, 998 l. reſtoreth the battell before loſt at Kareſta, 1098. with a great fleet commeth to ſee his mother the ladie Lucretia at Meſſina, 1107 b.

Columnius the Popes Admirall interpoſeth himſelfe as a mediatour betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius the Venetian Admirall, and ſo well appeaſeth the matter, 874 g.

Compariſon betwixt Baiazet and Tamerlane, 227 c.

Confederation hard to truſt vpon, 840 h.

Conrade Marqueſſe of Montferrat ſlain by two deſperat ruffians, 17 d.

Conrade the third, Emperour of Germanie taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy land, 31 c. cannot be ſuffered to enter into Conſtantinople, but is treacherouſly dealt withall by the Greeke Emperour, 32. with a notable ſpeech encourageth his Souldiours to aduenture the riuer Meander, 33 a. with a great ſlaughter ouerthroweth the Turkes, 34 g. beſiegeth Iconium, and ſo returneth, h.

Conſtantine Prince of Bulgaria, with the Tartars inuade the territories of Paleologus the Greeke Emperour, and ſpoileth Thracia, 117 b.

Conſtantine the Deſpot ſent by the old Emperour Andronicus his brother, againſt young Andronicus his Nephew, 163 a. taken priſoner at Theſſalonica, and miſerably vſed, f.

Conſtantine the Greeke Emperor in vain craueth aid of the other Chriſtian Princes, 340 h. at the winning of Conſtantinople by the Turks troden to death, 347 b.

Conſtantinople built by Pauſanias, deſtroyed by Seuerus, re-edified by Conſtantine the Great, 342 a. how ſeated, 340 a. taken and ſpoiled by the Latines, 83 a. recouered from the Latines by Alexius Strategopulus, 115 d. betraied vnto the young Emperour Andronicus, 171 d. in vaine beſieged by Amurath the ſecond, 257 f. againe beſieged by Mahomet the Great, 340 k. aſſaulted by the Turks, 346 k. woon, 347 c.

Contarenus the Venetian Admiral ſlain, 413 e.

Corcutus ſaluted Emperour before his father Baiazet, 437 d. kindely reſigneth the Empire to his father, 438 g. giuen to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, and therefore not beloued of the Ianizaries, 478 k. commeth to Conſtantinople, 491 d. his notable ſpeech vnto his father to perſuade him to reſigne vnto him the Empire before the comming of his brother Selymus, 491 e. comforted by his father, and put in hope of the Empire, 492 m. flieth to Magneſia, 495 a. ſought after by Selymus, hideth himſelfe in a caue, 501 f. is found and taken, 522 g by the commandement of Selymus ſtrangled, h.

Cortug-Ogli the pyrat perſuadeth Solyman to beſiege the Rhodes, 570 g.

Corone, Pylus, and Criſſeum cities of Peloponeſus belonging to the Venetians, yeelded vnto the Turks, 460 h.

Corone beſieged by the Turkes, 627 f. relieued by Auria, 629 d. abandoned and forſaken by the Spaniards, 631 c.

Cornea and Serbellio two antient Spaniſh Captaines perſuade the giuing of battell vnto the Turks at Lepanto, 872 i.

Coſtly diſhes, 745 d.

Cowardiſe

Cowardiſe puniſhed, 1093 e.
Crete deſcribed, 868 h.
Croia beſieged by Amurath the ſecond, 323 b. in vaine aſſaulted, 324 k. beſieged by Mahomet the Great, 400 i. relieued, 401 c. againe beſieged by Mahomet, 402 h. the third time beſieged, 413 d. yeelded to the Turkes, 417 a.
Cubates Selymus his Embaſſadour commeth to Venice, 839 f. but homely entertained there, 840 f. his ſpeech in the Senate of Venice, k. for feare of the people ſecretly conueyed away 842 g.
Curzola forſaken by the men, defended by women, 865 e.
Cuſahin Baſſa of Caramania riſeth vp in rebellion againſt Mahomet the third, 1114 k. ouerthroweth the Sanzackes ſent to haue oppreſſed him, l. at the comming of Mehemet the Viſier Baſſa ſent againſt him, flieth, 1115 b. forſaken of his followers, is taken and tortured to death at Conſtantinople, d
the Cuſelbaſſa's when and how they begun amongſt the Turks, 465 f.
Cyprus deſcribed, 843 b. how that kingdome came to the Venetians, e. taken from them by Selymus the ſecond, 867 f.
Cyrene yeelded vnto the Turkes, 852 i.
Czarnieniche corrupted, giueth the Turks paſſage ouer the Danubius, in to Valachia. 911 d. reuolteth vnto the Turks, 912 k.

D

DAmaſco betrayed to Saladin Sultan of Ægypt, 58 m. taken and ſacked by the Tartars, 113 e. yeelded to Selymus, 532 m.
Damiata and the deſcription thereof, 89 a. taken by the Chriſtians, being before vnpeopled by the Plague, 92 m.
Dandalus Admirall of the Venetian fleet, 85 a.
Dauid and Alexius Comneni, nephewes to Andronicus the Emperor, erect vnto themſelues a new Empire in Trapezond, 84 l
Dauid the laſt Emperour of Trapezond put to death by Mahomet the Great, and that Empire ſubuerted 336 m.
Daut Chan for his good ſeruice rewarded by Amurath the third, 996 i.
Dearth in the Turks armie at Triala, 970 h.
Debreus ſlain, and his armie ouerthrown by Scanderbeg, 367 e.
Dedeſmet the Georgian widow, with her ſonne Alexander ſubmit themſelues to Muſtapha the great Baſſa, 937 e.
Delimenthes with fiue thouſand Perſians purſueth the Turkes armie, 652 k. aſſaileth their campe by night and maketh of them a great ſlaughter, m.
Demetrius ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto Mahomet the Great, 355 b.
Demetrius the Rhodian Traitor ſlaine, 329 a.
Deſdrot gouernor of Stelluſa, to the terror of the Turks in Sfetigrade, before their faces executed, 287 a.
Didymotichum yeelded vnto the Turks, 189 e.
Diogenes the Emperour diſcomfiteth the Turks, 8 h. himſelfe by the treaſon of Iohn Ducas by them againe ouerthrowne, 9 e. taken priſoner, 10 g. honourably vſed by the Turks Sultan, h. ouerthrowne and taken priſoner by Andronicus, hath his eyes put out, whereof he dieth, m.
Diſſention among the Turks, about the ſucceſſion, after the death of Mahomet the Great, 437 b.
Diſſention betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius the Venetian Admirall 873 e
Dium a caſtle of the Venetians in the Eaſt Indies in vaine aſſaulted by th Turks. 670 l.
Doganes Aga of the Ianizaries whipt and diſplaced, 339 b.
Dotis taken by the Turks, 1099 c.
Dragut a moſt famous Pyrat of the Turkes, by Auria driuen out of the citie of Affrica in the Kingdome of Tunes, 752 i. commeth to the ſiege of Malta, 797 b. his ſouldiers enforced ſhamefully to retyre, 799. ſlaine, 801 b.
Dracula Vaynod of Valachia diſſuadeth King Vladiſlaus from farther proceeding in his warres againſt Amurath, 205 e. aideth him with his ſonne and 4000 horſe, 296 b. his laſt farewell vnto the King, i.
the Druſian people what they are, 982 i.
Dulcigno, Antiuari, and Budua, ſtrong townes of the Venetians vpon the coaſts of Epirus and Dalmatia, yeelded to the Turke, 869 a.
the Duke of Muſcouie his Letters and Preſents ſent vnto the Emperour, 1071 a.
Duke Mercurie Generall of the Emperours forces in the lower Hungarie, commeth in vaine to relieue Caniſia, 1131 e. in retyring loſeth three thouſand of his men with certain pieces of great ordnance and his baggage, 1132 g. beſiegeth Alba-Regalis, 1134 m. winneth it, 1135 f. enforceth Haſſan the Turkes Generall with the loſſe of 6000 of his Turkes to retyre, 1136 l.
Dyrrhachium, now called Durazo, taken by the Turks, 461 c.

E

EArthquake moſt terrible in Conſtantinople, 476 h.
Edward eldeſt ſonne to Henrie the third King of England, taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy land, and arriueth at Tunes, 119 c. arriueth at Ptolemais, 120 g. taketh Nazareth and putteth the Turks to flight, h. by a deſperat Saraſin dangerouſly wounded with an enuenomed knife, k. cured of his wound, maketh peace with the Sultan, and returneth into England, 121 a.
the Egyptians diuerſly affected towards the Mamalukes, 542 i.
Eiuaſes Baſſa hath his eyes burnt out, 258 m.
Elpis the Ægyptian Sultan beſiegeth Tripolis and taketh it by force, 122 l. winneth Sidon and Berythus, and raſeth them, taketh Tyre by compoſition, and winneth all the ſtrong Holds in Syria and Paleſtine from the Chriſtians, except onely the ſtrong City of Ptolemais, 122 m. maketh peace with the remainder of the Chriſtians, m.
Emanuel the Greeke Emperour with a great power inuadeth the Dominions of the Sultan of Iconium, 38 h. looſeth a great part of his armie, 39 c. in danger to haue beene taken, notably defendeth himſelfe, 40 l. in his greateſt diſtreſſe hath peace offered him by the Sultan, which he gladly accepteth, 42 i. he vanquiſheth Atapacke the Sultans Generall, m. falleth ſicke and dieth, 43 c.
Emanuel the Greeke Emperour vpon hard conditions obtaineth peace of Baiazet the great Turke, and becommeth his tributarie, 206 l. by his embaſſadours offereth his Empire vnto Tamerlane, and ſo to become his vaſſale, 221 d. commeth himſelfe vnto him at Pruſa, 222 h. honourably entertaineth him, comming in priuate ouer to Conſtantinople, i.
Embaſſadors ſent from Tamas the Perſian King to Selymus, 836 h. honorably entertained by the Turkes at Hadrianople, 837 b. the Perſian embaſſader in going to viſit Muhamet the Viſier Baſſa, in danger to haue beene ſlaine, d. the rich Preſents by him giuen to Selymus, 838 g.
Emir-Hamze the Perſian Prince commeth into Syruan, 939 c. killeth Caitas Baſſa, and recouereth Eres, d. ouerthroweth the Tartars, and
taketh

taketh Abdilcheray, 940 g. recouereth Sumachia, i. returneth to Caſbin, k. ouerthroweth the vanward of the Turks armie, 990 l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Cicala Baſſa and the Baſſa of Caraemit, 993 b. dareth Oſman the Turkes Generall to battell, c. with his owne hand killeth the Baſſa of Caraemit, f. killeth alſo the Baſſa of Trapezond with twentie thouſand Turkes moe, 994 g. ouerthroweth 20000 of the Turks at the battell of Sancazan, 995 b. ouercommeth the rebellious Turcomans, and executeth their Leaders, 998 h. ſacketh Salmas, 10000 k. putteth the Baſſa of Reiuan to flight, l. ſlaine by one of his Eunuchs, 1002 h.

Emir Chan hauing his eyes put out, dieth miſerably in priſon, 973 c.

the Emperour, the French King, and the King of Polonia intangled in their Leagues with the Turke, refuſe to giue aid vnto the Venetians againſt him, 842 k.

the Empire of Trapezond ouerthrowne and ſubuerted by Mahomet the Great, 361 a.

Ertogrul with his brother Dunder and foure hundred families of the Turkes ſtay in their returne towards Perſia, 133 f. by his good ſeruice obtaineth of Sultan Aladin a place at Suguta for himſelfe and his Turkes to dwell in, 134 k. taketh the Caſtle of Cara-Chiſar from the Chriſtians, 135 a.

Eubœa taken from the Venetians by Mahomet the Great, 406 k.

Euremoſes his rich Preſent vnto Amurath at the marriage of his ſon Baiazet, 193 b.

Eudocia the Empreſſe contrarie to her oath, deſirous to marrie, dealeth cunningly with the Patriarch to diſpenſe with her oath, 7 d. marrieth Diogenes Romanus a priſoner condemned to die, and maketh him Emperor, f. ſhee is depoſed by the traitours Iohn Ducas, Pſellus, and others, and thruſt into a Monaſterie, 10 i.

Euſtace gouernor of the kingdome of Ieruſalem diſcomfiteth the Saraſins in a great battell neere vnto Aſcalon, and not long after dieth, 28 i.

F

FAmaguſta beſieged by the Turkes, 852 k. hath a new ſupplie put into it by Quirinus, 855 o. deſcribed, 863 b. the number of the defendants in it, c. twice aſſaulted and notably defended by the Chriſtians, d, e. vndermined, 865 a. furiouſly by the Turkes aſſaulted, and valiantly by the Chriſtians defended, b. a great part of the wall blowne vp, and the citie againe aſſaulted, 866 g. yeelded vp to the Turks, m.

Famine in Scodra, 426 g.

Faulconers and huntſmen in great number in the Turks Court, 338 k

Ferat Baſſa ſent by Solyman againſt Alis-Beg the mountaine Prince, 600 i. trecherouſly murthereth him and his foure ſonnes, l.

Ferat Baſſa by Amurath choſen General of his Armie againſt the Perſians in ſtead of Sinan, 965 d. in the ſpace of fifteene dayes buildeth a Fort at Reiuan, as he was by Amurath commanded, 966 i. breaketh vp his armie at Erzirum, 967 d. raiſeth a new Armie, f. fortifieth Lori, 968 k. buildeth a fort vpon the ſtrait of Tomanis, 969 a. reproueth Veis Baſſa of Aleppo, 970 k. is himſelfe reuiled by the Ianizaries and Spahi, l. by them diſobeyed and threatened, 971 d. his ſtout anſwer to his mutinous ſoldiers, f. his Tents ouerthrowne and hee againe threatened, 972 g. diſgraced, breaketh vp his armie at Ardachan, k. grieuouſly complained of to Amurath, 973 e. by Amurath againe made Generall againſt the Perſians, 999 b. commeth to Van, 1000 g. putteth ſuccours into Tauris, 1001 d. taketh Genge, 1004 m. ſent by Mahomet Generall of his Armie into Hungarie, 1060 l. diſgraced at his firſt comming to the Armie, m. ouerthrowne in Valachia, 1062 h. ſent for to Conſtantinople, and there ſtrangled, 1073 b.

Ferdinand King of Bohemia layeth claime to the Kingdome of Hungarie, 605 b. taketh Buda, c. crowned King of Hungarie, 606 k. ſeeketh for the fauour of Solyman, 608. is by him reiected and threatened, k. perſuaded by the Hungarian fugitiues to inuade Hungarie, 698 g. diſſuaded by Laſcus, k. ſendeth Laſcus to Solyman, and other Embaſſadors to the Queen of Hungarie to demand of her that Kingdome, 699 b. hee inuadeth Hungarie, 700 g. taketh Peſth and Vacia, and beſiegeth Buda, h. dieth, 791 d.

Fileck taken by the Chriſtians, 1027 c.

Foſcarus a graue Senatour, 693 f. vnworthily diſgraced by the multitude, 694 g.

Fourteene wagons loaded with the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians, 1017 c.

Francis the French King the more to trouble the Emperour, ſoliciteth Solyman to inuade his territories, 725 c.

Francis Acciauol Duke of Thebes by the commandment of Mahomet murthered, 354 l.

Fredericke the Emperor taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy land, 66 h.

Fredericke Duke of Sueuia the Emperours ſonne in his fathers ſtead choſen Generall of the Chriſtians Armie, 66 m. hath Antioch deliuered vnto him, 67 d. dieth of the Plague, and is buried by his father in the Cathedrall Church at Tyre, 68 g.

Frederick the German Emperor vndertaketh an expedition into the Holy land, 98 l. crowned King of Ieruſalem, which is by him repaired, 99 e.

the Frenchmen and Wallons in mutinie at Pappa, 1116 k. compact with the Turks to deliuer to them the towne, 1117 a. ſeeking ſecretly to haue fled, are moſt of them ſlaine, and the reſt that were taken put to moſt horrible tortures, 1119 b.

Friuli part of the Venetian Territorie miſerably ſpoyled by the Turks, 414 l. againe ſpoyled by Scander Baſſa and the Turks, 458 h.

the fronteers of the Emperors territories grieuouſly ſpoyled by the Turkes, 1150 k.

the frugalitie of the Turks, 713 f

Fulke Countie of Turin, Maine, and Aniou taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy land, 29 h. dieth of a fall off his horſe in hunting, and is buried at Ieruſalem, 30 m.

Fuſcarinus in his abſence, by the general conſent of the Venetian State choſen Admirall, 887 f. incourageth the Confederates to giue the Turks battel, 890 l. in vaine perſuadeth the Confederats to take the aduantage of the Turkes diſperſed Fleet, 893 a. earneſtly diſſuadeth Don Iohn and the Spaniards from returning without giuing the Turks battell, 899 a.

G

GAlile ſpoyled, and the caſtle of Bugrie taken by the Turks, 60 i.

Garzias of Toledo Viceroy of Sicilia after long delay at laſt ſetteth forward with his fleet to relieue the beſieged at Malta, 814 k. by tempeſt driuen into the Iſland of Æguſa, 815 e. arriueth at Malta and landeth his men, 816 i.

Gazelles his wholeſome counſell vnto Campſon, for protracting the warre againſt Selymus, 527 c. comming to haue oppreſſed Sinan Baſſa at Gaza, is by him himſelfe ouerthrowne, 534 i. his notable ſpeech in ſubmitting himſelfe to Selymus, 546 m. by Selymus made gouernor of Siria, 560 l. rebelleth againſt Solyman, 568 b. ſlaine, l.

Gaza yeelded vnto Sinan Baſſa, 534 g.

George the Deſpot of Seruia a man of no religion, 356 i. driuen out of his kingdome by Amurath, 262 g. reſtored by King Vladiſlaus, 289 b. denieth paſſage vnto Scanderbeg through his country, 295 b. glad to craue aid of Huniades, whom he had before euil entreated, 310. his death, 356 i.

George Biſhop of Veradium a notable man, 697 c. murthered in his owne houſe, 756 i.

Geordiron the phyſitian notably deludeth the Ianizarie's and Spahi of the court, 252 k.

George Baſta by the Emperour appointed Lieutenant General for his wars in the vpper Hungarie, 1104 m. commanded by Matthias the Archduke to giue aid vnto Michael the Vaynod againſt the Tranſyluanians, aideth them againſt him, 1124 h. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Vaynod, 1126 h. his ſtout ſpeech to the Chiaki and the reſt of the Nobilitie of Tranſyluania, 1129 b. his errour, 1130 g. receiued by the Tranſyluanians as the Emperours Lieutenant, vntill further order were by him taken for the gouernment of that Prouince, l. ſuddenly taken priſoner by the Tranſyluanians, 1139 c. ſet at libertie, and aided by Michael the Vaynod, ouerthroweth Sigiſmund the Tranſyluanian Prince with a great ſlaughter, and driueth him out of his countrey, 1140 i. conſpireth the death of Michael the Vaynod, 1141 a. taketh in moſt part of the countrey of Tranſyluania for the Emperour, c. for feare of Sigiſmund and the Tranſyluanians, flieth, f. in battel ouerthroweth Zachel Moyſes the Tranſyluanian Princes lieutenant, and bringeth that country againe vnder the Emperors obeiſance, 1143 c.

Geruaiſe Rogers an Engliſh man commended for his good ſeruice at the ſiege of the Rhodes, 430 k.

Geraſimus the Patriarch dealeth vnfaithfully with the old Emperor Andronicus, 161 b.

Giaffer Captain of the Ianizaries ſlaine, 659 f.

Giaffer the Eunuch Baſſa of Tripolis by Oſman Baſſa with a garriſon of twelue thouſand ſouldiers left Gouernour of Tauris, 994 i. beſieged by the Perſian Prince, 997 e. prayeth aid of Cicala Baſſa, 998 k. put to flight, 1097 a.

Godfrey duke of Lorraine with other the Chriſtian Princes with an Armie of 300000 fighting men vndertaketh the firſt expedition into the Holy land 14 i. concludeth a league with Alexius the Greeke Emperour, 15 a. beſiegeth Nice and taketh it, 16 g. in a great battell ouerthroweth Sultan Solyman with his Turks, taketh Antiochia in Piſidia, Iconium and Heraclea, winneth Cilicia, Armenia, and Capadocia, 17 a. c. putteth the Turks to flight at the Riuer Orantes, 18 g. after long ſiege taketh Antioche in Siria, 20 m. winneth Ieruſalem by aſſault, 22 d. is choſen King of Ieruſalem, 23. his Letters to Bohemund King of Antioche, 24 i. in a great and mortall battell ouerthroweth the Turks at Aſcalon, 24 l. Crowned King of Ieruſalem, and dieth of the plague, m.

the Gouernour of Alba-Regalis taken, 824 k. his ſharpe anſwer vnto a Spaniard, l.

Great treaſure found by the Turks at the winning of Conſtantinople, 347 e.

a Greeke Prieſt his notable ſpeech perſuading the Great Maſter of the Rhodes to yeeld vp the Citie, 594 h. with the moſt reſolute anſwere of a common ſoldiour to the contrary, 595 a. and that his ſpeech notably refelled by a Greeke, and the yeelding of the citie vrged, e.

the Greeke Church by Michael Palaologus the Greeke Emperour ſubiected to the church of Rome, and why, 114 l

the Greekes careleſſe of the Turkes firſt ſmall footing in Cherſoneſus, ieaſt thereat, 185 f.

the Guiſe Lord Graund Prior of the Knights of S. Iohns in France, Admirall of Malta taketh certaine of the Turks gallies, 767 d.

Guletta how ſcituated, 657 c. beſieged by Charles the Emperour, 658 g furiouſly battered, 660 k. aſſaulted and woon, 661 a. beſieged by the Turks, 914 l. taken from the Chriſtians, 915 a.

Guy Countie of Ioppa and Aſcalon the ninth and laſt King of Ieruſalem, 62 l. in battell ouerthrown and taken priſoner by Saladin, 63 e. ſet at libertie beſiegeth Ptolemais, and fighteth a great battell with Saladin, 65 f.

H

HAalon brother to Mango the Great Cham of Tartaria, with a great armie inuadeth the Turks, 113 a. his great victories againſt the Turks c, d.

Hadrianople yeelded vnto the Turkes, 189 f. by Amurath the firſt made the royal ſeat of his kingdome in Europe, 191 b.

Haider marrieth Martha the daughter of the great King Vſun-Caſſanes by Deſpina, and hath by her Hyſmael afterwards King of Perſia, 464 l.

Haider murthered by Iacup the Perſian King, 484 a.

Haly Baſſa ſlaine, 881 c. his two ſons taken in the battell of Lepanto, f. the Greeke that ſlew him honourably rewarded, 884 g.

Hamon the Iew for his treacherie iuſtly rewarded by Selymus, 496 i.

Hardeck Gouernour of Rab corrupted, yeeldeth the city vnto the Turks, 1044 l. executed at Vienna, 1046 b.

Haſſan Baſſa relieueth the diſtreſſed Turks in garriſon at Teflis, 944 l. breaketh promiſe with Aliculi Chan, 945 c. rewarded for his good ſeruice, 946 g. ſent by Ferat Baſſa to the reliefe of Teflis, 967 a. againe rewarded by Amurath, b. left by Ferat with a garriſon of 8000 ſouldiers in the new fort at Tomanis, 970 h. Generall of Sultan Mahomets armie in Hungarie, commeth out of ſeaſon to relieue Alba-Regalis, 1136 i.

Haſſan Baſſa the Queenes Eunuch ſent Gouernor to Caire, 980 h. caſt in priſon at Conſtantinople, and his euill gotten goods confiſcated, 981 d. his life ſpared at the interceſſion of the Queene, and he himſelfe ſet at libertie, e.

Haſſan Baſſa of Boſna inciteth Amurath to make war vpon the Emperor, 1014 l. taketh Wihitz the metropolitical citie of Croatia, 1015. lodeth ſix wagons with the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians, 1016 g. ſpoileth Turopolis, l. deceiued by the Abbot of Siſeg, 1021 c. his threatening letters vnto the Abbot d. beſiegeth Siſeg, 1022 g. in a great battell ouerthrowne, 1023 a. drowned, b.

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians, 1093 d. taken by aſſault, 1094 g. againe forſaken by the Chriſtians, i.

Henry brother to Baldwin choſen ſecond Emperor of the Latines in Conſtantinople, 58 f.

Henry Duke of Saxony with a great armie ſent into the Holy land by Henry the ſixt, Emperour of Germanie, goeth accompanied with many great Princes, 73 e. falling ſicke of a feuer, dieth, 74 h.

Henrie the French King by his Embaſſadour

ſadour ſoliciteth Solyman to inuade the King of Spaine his territories, 767 c.

Heraclius the Greeke Emperour by the helpe of the Arabians recouereth Siria and the Holy citie from Choſroë the Perſian King, 22 g.

Hoccata the Tartar by his Captaines ſubdueth Armenia the greater, Cholchis, and Iberia, 76 i. ſucceeding his father Zingis, inuadeth the Eaſt and Weſt parts of Aſia, ſubdueth the Eaſt Indies, and buildeth Cambalu, 75 e. driueth the Turks out of Perſia, and ſubdueth many Countries, 76 g.

Horruccius and Hariadenus how they of baſe pyrats aſpired to the Kingdome of Algiers, 635 c. Horruccius his ſucceſſe, f. ſlaine, and his head in triumph carried about in Spaine, 636 h.

Hungarie diuided into two factions vpon the choice of Vladiſlaus King of Polonia, 163 a. againe diuided vpon the diſſention betwixt King Ferdinand and King Iohn, 605 c. becommeth a prey vnto Solyman, and by him conuerted into the forme of a Prouince of the Turkiſh Empire, 713 a.

Huniades by King Vladiſlaus made Vaynod of Tranſyluania, 266 l. In a great battell ouerthroweth Iſa-Beg Amurath his Lieutenant in Seruia, 267 d. ouerthroweth Meſites Baſſa, and killeth him with twentie thouſand Turkes moe, 269 e. of the ſpoyle of the Turkes ſendeth a Preſent vnto King Vladiſlaus and the Deſpot of Seruia, 270 g. his moſt Chriſtian ſpeech to encourage his ſouldiours againſt the Turks, 271 d. in a great and mortal battell ouerthroweth Abedin Baſſa with his armie at Vaſcape, 274 l. with ten thouſand horſemen ouerthroweth a great armie of the Turks by night, 277. f. eight times repulſeth the Turkes purſuing him in his retreat downe the mountaine Hemus, 279 d. with a great ſlaughter diſcomfiteth Carambey the Baſſa of Romania and taketh him priſoner, 280 k. flying out of the battell of Varna, taken priſoner by Dracula Vaynod of Valachia, 298 i. by generall conſent choſen Gouernor of Hungarie in the minoritie of King Ladiſlaus, 304 l. goeth againſt the Turkes, 305 b. with a notable ſpeech encourageth his ſoldiers againſt the Turks, 306 i. fighteth three dayes together with Amurath in the Plaines of Coſſoua, 307 d. ouercome, flyeth, 309 b. falleth into the hands of two notable theeues, e. in doubt of a ſheepheard, is by him relieued, 310 g. taken priſoner by the falſe Deſpot, g. ſet at libertie, reuengeth himſelfe vpon him, i. requeſted, giueth him aid againſt the Turks, 311 a. his moſt Chriſtianlike death, 358 l.

Hyſmael after the death of his Father Haider flyeth to his fathers friend Pyrchales, 465 b. his behauiour in the time of his exile, 466 g. recouereth his Inheritance, k. taketh Sumachia, l. obtaineth Tauris, 467 b. ouercommeth Eluan the Perſian King, and killeth him, 468 g. peaceably receiued into Scyras, h. preacheth his fathers doctrine, i. putteth Moratchamus to flight and obtaineth the Perſian Kingdome, 469 b. the inſcription of his coyne, d. commeth to his army at Coy, 508 m. ſendeth an Herauld vnto Selymus, 509 b. with 30000 Perſians giueth battell to Selymus with 300000 Turks, 510 i. wounded, retyreth, 512 g. the cauſe why he came with ſo ſmall an armie againſt Selymus, 517 d. his large territories, 518 h. the reaſon why he inuaded not Selymus wholly buſied in the Ægyptian wars, 560 h.

I

Iacup Arnaut ſlaine, and his Armie diſcomfited by Scanderbeg, 399 d.

the Ianizaries firſt inſtituted by Amurath the firſt, 191 e. ſtand vpon their gard, and reuiling Baiazet their Emperor, refuſe to receiue him among them, 445 f. in mutinie againſt Selymus, 512 m. vp in armes againſt Solyman for the vnworthie death of the noble Muſtapha, 764 i. vnwilling to go in the quarrell of Selymus againſt his brother Baiazet, 773 f. their inſolent and threatening ſpeech vnto Ferat Baſſa their General, 970 l. in a tumult at Conſtantinople, 1005 d. in an vprore with the Spahi, 1104 h. threaten the depoſing of their Emperour, 1115 c. in mutinie at Conſtantinople, 1142 k.

Iathatines Sultan of Iconium ſucceedeth his father Aladin, 86 i. beſieging Antiochia, is ſlaine by Theodorus Laſcaris the Greeke Emperour, 87 c.

Iathatines the ſecond of that name Sultan of Iconium, maketh great preparation againſt the Tartars, 109 b. ouerthrowne, flieth to the Greeke emperour Theodorus for aid, e. maketh peace with the Tartars, and yeeldeth them a yearely tribute, 109 f. againe by them oppreſſed, flyeth to Palæologus the Emperor at Nice, 114 l. dyeth in exile, 117 e.

Ibrahim Baſſa by Amurath made Gouernour of Caire, 980 l. oppreſſeth the People, and enricheth kimſelfe, 981 e. goeth againſt the Druſians, 982 g. ſpoyleth the countrey of Man-Ogli the Druſian Lord, 986 h. with fire and ſword deſtroyeth the countrey of Seraphadin, 987 a. createth Aly-Ebne-Carſus Baſſa of the Druſians, b. the rich Preſents by him giuen to Amurath and the Ladies of the Court, 688 h. in danger to haue been taken, 1095 d. flieth out of the battel of Agria, 1097 e. ſent againe General into Hungarie, 1104 l. commeth to Buda, 1112 h. purpoſing war, entreateth of peace, i. with a great army beſiegeth Caniſia, 1131 b. hath the towne yeelded vnto him, 1132 h. his letters vnto Countie Serinus, 1133 b. returneth with his armie to Belgrade, c. dieth, 1134 l.

Imailer what men they be amongſt the Turks, 477 b.

Imirza ſtirreth vp Solyman againſt his brother Tamas the Perſian King, 751 d. betrayed to his brother Tamas and by him murthered in priſon, 752 g.

Innocencie of great force, 782 i.

Iohn Batazes made Emperour of the Greekes in Aſia, 97 d. taketh in many Iſlands of the Ægeum, and forrageth the countrey of Thracia euen to the gates of Conſtantinople, being verie aged dyeth, 108 g.

Iohn Countie de Brenne by Innocentius the Pope appointed King of Ieruſalem, 87 c. in deriſion called Roy ſauns ville, 88 g.

Iohn Caſtriot Prince of Epirus for feare giueth his foure ſonnes in hoſtage vnto Amurath, 260 l.

Iohn Sepuſius Vaynod of Tranſyluania choſen and crowned King of Hungarie, 605 a. after the battell of Toccay flyeth into Polonia, 606 i. by Laſcus his Embaſſadour craueth aid of Solyman, 607 c. commeth to Solyman at Belgrade, 609 b. by him reſtored to the Kingdome of Hungarie, 614 l. in his old yeares marrieth Iſabella the daughter of King Sigiſmund, 695 d. dyeth, 696 k.

Don Iohn of Auſtria General of the confederat Princes forces, 860 k. in a terrible fight encountereth with Haly Baſſa in the battell of Lepanto, 881 b. killeth him, c. delayeth the Venetians, 889 d. in doubt whether to ſend them aid or not, 890 k. ſendeth word vnto the Confederats to meet him at Zacynthus, 893 f. faileth them, 894 i. meeteth them at Corcyra, 895 a.

offereth the Turks battell, d. refuſeth to follow the counſell of the Venetian Admirall, 896 k. breaketh promiſe with him, and returneth to Meſſana, 901 a.

Iohn the Vayuod of Moldauia falleth into ſuſpition with the Turks, 906 g. his notable ſpeech vnto his Nobilitie and ſubiects, concerning the Turks demand, 907 a. in vaine craueth aid of the King of Polonia, 908 g. with a great ſlaughter ouerthroweth the Palatine and the Turks, 909 a. giueth the Turks a ſecond ouerthrow, 910 b. betrayed by Czarnieuich, 911. ouerthrowne by the Turks, 912 m. ſhamefully and perfidiouſly by them murthered, 913 e.

Ionima, Ballabanus his brother, & Hedar his ſon taken priſoners by Scanderbeg, 401 b.

Ionuſes Baſſa ſent againſt Techellis, putteth him to flight, 475 e. hurt at the winning of Caire, 545 f. enuieth at the vnworthie preferment of Cayerbeius, 554 l. is himſelfe ſecretly hated of Selymus, 555 b. put to death, 556 i.

Irene the faire Greek beheaded by Mahomet the Great, 353 d.

Iſa after the captiuitie of his father Baiazet ſeiſeth vpon the Citie of Pruſa, 232 h. ouerthrowne in battell by his brother Mahomet, 238 i. with a great Armie ſent by his brother Solyman againſt Mahomet, 240 i. burneth Pruſa, l. dyeth in obſcuritie, 241 c.

Iſmael laſt of the Iſfendiars yeeldeth his principalitie of Caſtamona and Sinope to Mahomet the Great, 359 f.

Iſhender Baſſa ouerthrowne by Aladules, taken and ſent priſoner to Caitbeius to Caire, 383 f.

Iſlan of a priſoner made a King, 975 e.

Iſmael the ſonne of King Tamas ſaluted King of Perſia, 922 l. murthereth eight of his younger brethren, altereth the Perſian Religion, and tyranniſeth, m. by the deuice of his Siſter Periaconcona himſelfe murthered, 921 b.

the Italians left by the Emperour for the aid of King Ferdinand in his wars in Hungarie, ariſe in mutinie, 623 f. eight thouſand of them forſake their Captaines and returne into Italie, 625 d.

Iulia Gonzaga a faire Ladie of Italy put in great feare by Barbaruſſa, 641 c.

Iulian the Cardinall ſent by Pope Vrban to appeaſe the diſſenſion in Hungary, and to ſtir vp the Hungarians againſt the Turkes, 275 d. his effectuall ſpeech in Parliament to perſuade the war, e. cunningly perſuadeth King Vladiſlaus to breake the honourable and ſolemne League hee had before made with Amurath, 290 k. diſannulleth the league, abſoluing the King and the reſt from their oath before giuen to Amurath, 291 i. himſelfe ſlain, 298 k.

K

the Kingdome of Hungarie by Solyman conuerted into a prouince of the Turkiſh Empire, 713 a.

the Knights of Malta craue aid of Garzias the Viceroy of Sicilia, 805 a. his cold anſwer, b.

Komara beſieged by Sinan Baſſa, 1045 b.

Koppan ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians, 1002 l.

L

Ladiſlaus a childe crowned King of Hungarie at Alba-Regalis, 236 a.

Lazarus Deſpot of Seruia becommeth tributarie vnto Amurath the firſt, 193 e. purpoſing to make war againſt Amurath, craueth aid of the King of Boſna, 197 c. in a mortall battel ouerthrowne in the plaines of Coſſoua and ſlaine, 200 i.

Lepanto yeelded to the Turks, 459 c.

Lewis the eighth of that name, the Frēch King, making an expedition into the Holy land, is by the malice of Emanuel the Greeke Emperor therein much hindered, 34 m. he beſiegeth Damaſco, where by the enuie of the other Chriſtian Princes he was enforced to raiſe his ſiege, and ſo to returne home into his countrey, 35 b.

Lewis the ninth the French King making an expedition towards the Holy land, arriueth at Damieta, 102 m. taketh the city forſaken by the Turks, 113 h. with his whole armie ouerthrowne, and himſelfe taken priſoner, 115 e. vndertaketh a ſecond expediti toward the holy land, with his ſons and moſt of his Nobilitie, 118 k. ouerthroweth the Moores, and beſiegeth Tunes, 119 a. falleth ſicke of the bloudie flix and dieth, b.

Lewis the eleuenth the French King giueth aid vnto the Venetians againſt the Turks, 461 c.

Lewis King of Hungarie with an armie of fiue and twenty thouſand fondly goeth againſt Solyman, being two hundred and ſixtie thouſand ſtrong, 602 h. ouerthrowne in his flight, drowned in a ditch, 603 a.

Liſcanus the couetous Spaniard dealeth vncourteouſly with Perenus, 732 k. is himſelfe in like ſort ſerued, and merrily ſtripped of his wealth by Halis captaine of the Ianizaries, 738 l.

Liſſa taken by the Turkes, and the bones of Scanderbeg digged vp and by them worne for Iewels, 425 e.

Lodronius encourageth his ſoldiers, 685 h. ieaſted at by an old ſouldior, k. ſlaine, and his head with the heads of two other Captaines in a ſiluer baſon preſented to Solyman at Conſtantinople, 685 c.

M

Mahomet the firſt ſendeth ſpies into Tamerlane his Campe, 232 l. becommeth famous in Tamerlanes Court, 234 i. in battell ouerthroweth his brother Iſa, 238 i. honourably burieth the bodie of his father Baiazet at Pruſa, l. againe ouerthroweth his brother Iſa ſupported by his brother Solyman, 240 m. giueth him a third ouerthrow, together with the other Mahometane Princes his Confederates, 241 c. beſieged by his brother Solyman in Amaſia, 242 i. vpon report of his brother Muſa his euill gouernment, goeth againſt him into Europe, 246 k. ouerthrowne, flyeth backe againe into Aſia, 247 a. commeth againe into Europe, 248 g. beſiegeth Hadrianople, h. ouerthroweth his brother Muſa in battell, and cauſeth him being taken priſoner to be ſtrangled, 249 c. wholly poſſeſſeth the Othoman Kingdome both in Europe and Aſia, d. oppreſſeth Orchanes his brother Solymans Sonne, and putteth out his eyes, 250 h. taketh the Caramanian King and his ſonne priſoners, k. enforceth the Valachian Prince to become his Tributarie, l. dyeth at Hadrianople, 251 f. his death cunningly concealed by the three great Baſſa's, 252 g. he worthily accounted the reſtorer of the Othoman Kingdome, almoſt quite ouerthrowne by Tamerlane, l.

Mahomet the ſecond, ſyrnamed the Great, an Atheiſt, of no Religion, 337 d. murthereth his brethren, 338 g. reformeth the Turks Commonwealth, i. ſubdueth Menteſia, 339 b. winneth Conſtantinople, 347 b. ſolemniſeth his feaſts in Conſtantinople with the bloud of the Grecian Nobilitie, 348 k. notably diſſembleth his hatred againſt Caly Baſſa, 349 d. firſt Emperour of the Turkes, 350 i. amorous of the faire Greeke Irene, l.

Irene, l. with his owne hand ſtriketh off her head, 353 d. beſiegeth Belgrade, 357 b. wounded and carried away for dead, 358 i. falſifieth his faith with David the Emperour of Trapezond, 360 i. ſeeketh to entrap Wladus Prince of Valachia, 361 b. in danger to haue beene ſlaine by Wladus Dracula his Ganymede, 363 b. his Letters to Scanderbeg, 384 k. ſueth to Scanderbeg to haue the League renewed betwixt them, 390 b. commeth himſelfe in perſon to the ſiege of Croia, 400 i. forſaketh the ſiege of Croia, 402 i. breaketh his faith with Paulus Ericus Gouernor of Chalcis, 406 i. he is no leſſe troubleſome vnto the Mahometane Princes than to the Chriſtians, 408 i. commeth himſelfe to the ſiege of Scodra, 417 c. notably encourageth his Captaines and ſouldiers to a generall aſſault, 418 m. melancholy for the repulſe of his men, 420 l. blaſphemeth, 423 d. curſeth Epirus, and ſo returneth to Conſtantinople, 425 e. by Meſites Paleologus one of his great Baſſa's beſiegeth the Rhodes, 429 b. inuadeth Italie, and by Achmetes his great Captaine taketh Otranto, 432 i. going againſt the Caramanian King, dieth by the way at Giuiſen, in Bythinia, not without ſuſpition of poyſon, and lieth buried at Conſtantinople, 433 a.

Mahometes one of the Viſier Baſſa's by the mutinous Ianizaries ſlaine, 437 c.

Mahometes the ſon of Caytbeius, with foure Sultans moe, one after another ſlaine by the Mamalukes, 450 l.

Mahometes Solymans ſon diſguiſed goeth to ſee his brother Achomates, 477 c. as a ſea-fairing man commeth diſguiſed to Conſtantinople, and ſo into his fathers Court, e. by the commandement of his ſuſpitious father poyſoned, dieth, 478 i.

Mahometes Gouernour of Belgrade ayded by the other Sanzackes, maketh head againſt Cazzianer Generall of King Ferdinands Armie, 677 f. wiſely refuſeth battell offered by Cazzianer, and by temporizing diſtreſſeth the Armie of the Chriſtians, 680 k. troubleth the Chriſtians in their retreat, 682 g. giueth them a great ouerthrow, 684 l. commeth to the reliefe of Belgrade, 705 e. his vehement Oration vnto Solyman to perſuade him to take the Kingdome of Hungarie into his owne hands, and ſo to vnite it vnto his owne Empire, 711 c.

Mahomet the Tartar King with his two ſonnes ſtrangled by Oſman Baſſa, 975 f.

Mahomet Baſſa in deſpight of Sinan ſent Generall of his armie for the reliefe of his garriſons in Chars and Teflis, 957 e. diſcomfited by the Georgians, and his prouiſion of money and victuals taken from him, 959 a. with his diſcomfited armie arriueth at Teflis, b. his heauie oration in the caſtle of Teflis, c. maketh a purſe for the reliefe of the diſtreſſed garriſon, 960. plotteth the death of Manucchiar the Georgian, m. himſelfe in danger to haue beene by the Georgian ſlaine, 961 d.

Mahomet the third ſaluted Emperour of the Turks, 1056 i. murthereth his brethren, and cauſeth certaine of his fathers wiues and concubines to be drowned, k. with much adoo appeaſeth the mutinous Ianizaries, l. ſendeth Embaſſadours vnto the Tranſyluanian Prince, 1062. carefull of Strigonium beſieged by the Chriſtians, 1066 h. perplexed, 1087 e. cauſeth the continuation of his warres againſt the Emperour and the Tranſyluanian to be proclaimed at Conſtantinople, 1089 a. commeth to Buda with an armie of two hundred thouſand men, 1094 h. beſiegeth Agria, l. furiouſly aſſaulteth it, 1095 a. hath it yeelded vnto him, 1096 h. with Ibrahim the great Baſſa flieth out of the battell of Kareſta, 1097 e. by the Tranſyluanians and Valachians troubled in his returne to Conſtantinople, 1098 m. his Embaſſadour euill entreated by the Perſian King, 1134 h.

the Mahometane Princes of the leſſer Aſia oppreſſed by Baiazet, diſguiſed flie vnto Tamerlane for reliefe, 210 h

Malta deſcribed, 795 b. inuaded by the Turks, 796 k.

Mamalukes, the beginning of their Kingdome in Ægypt, 524 g. their Imperious gouernment in Ægypt, Iudea, and Syria, 523 c. their Kingdome vtterly ſubuerted by Selymus, 554 h. the Mamalukes in priſon at Alexandria, by the commaundement of Selymus murthered, 553 f.

Manto cruelly ſlain by her iealous husband Ionuſes, 557 d.

Man-Ogli his Letters to Ibrahim Baſſa, 983 f. ſendeth him preſents, 985 b.

Manucchiar his ſpeech to Muſtapha the Viſier Baſſa, 931 f. with his brother Alexander by Muſtapha ſent to Amurath, 938 h. turneth Turke, and hath his elder brothers Principalitie giuen him, 941 l. in danger to haue beene betrayed by Mahomet Baſſa, 960 l. notably reuengeth himſelfe of the treacherie by the Baſſa intended againſt him, 961 c. reuolteth from the Turks, and doth them great harme, 967 a.

Marquis S. Crucis taketh one of the Turks gallies in ſight of their whole fleet, 897 d.

the Maſſagets entertained by Andronicus againſt the Turkes, ſpoyle his Countries in Aſia, 149 e. in their returne homeward, themſelues ſpoyled by the Catalonians and Turcopuli, 152 l.

Maſut the Sultan of Iconium diuideth his kingdome among his three Sonnes 36 k.

Matthias the Archduke the Emperours Lieutenant taketh Nouigrade from the Turks, 1030 l. beſiegeth Strigonium, 1033 c. raiſeth his ſiege, 1037 d. ſhamefully put to flight by the Turks 1043 b.

Matthias Coruinus of a priſoner choſen King of Hungarie, 394 k. at the requeſt of the Senat, taketh a great part of the Venetian Territorie into his protection againſt the Turkes, 364 m. relieueth the Vayuod of Tranſyluania, 426 m. no leſſe dreadful vnto the Turks than was his father Huniades, 404 l.

Maximilian choſen King of the Romans, and after crowned King of Hungarie, 789 a. he and Solyman both deſirous of peace, 829 a. he ſendeth Embaſſadors to Solyman, f. Preſents giuen by the Embaſſadours vnto the Baſſa of Buda, 830 k. his Embaſſadours honourably receiued by the Turkes at Conſtantinople, 831 c. Preſents giuen by the Embaſſadours vnto the great Baſſa's, e. preſents ſent to Selymus, 832 i. a homely feaſt giuen to the Embaſſadours Followers in the Turkes Court, 833 c. the Embaſſadours brought in vnto Selymus, with the manner of the entertainment of them and their Followers, 834 g. a Peace concluded betwixt Maximilian and Selymus, 835 e.

Maximilian the Archduke by the Emperour his Brother appointed Generall of his Armie in Hungarie, 1093 c. marcheth but ſlowly to the reliefe of Agria, 1095 c. flyeth out of the battell of Kareſta, 1098 i.

Maylat treacherouſly taken priſoner by Peter the Moldauian, 716 i.

Meligalus a notable traitor perſuadeth Mahomet to beſiege the Rhodes, 427 c.

327 c. his worthie death, e.

Meledin Sultan of Ægypt, and Corradin Sultan of Damaſco, ſend Embaſſadors for peace to the Chriſtian princes at the ſiege of Damiata, 90 m. recouereth Damiata, before taken by the Chriſtians, 95 e. ouerthroweth the Chriſtians, and raſeth Ieruſalem, 101. dieth, 103 c.

Melechſala Sultan of Ægypt ouerthroweth Robert Earle of Arthois the French Kings brother, 104 l. taketh Lewis the French King priſoner and ouerthroweth his Armie, 105 e. maketh peace with the French King, and is ſuddenly ſlaine by two Mamalukes, 106

Melech the Ægyptian Sultan inuadeth Syria, and winneth Damaſco from the Tartars, 114

Melechſares the Ægyptian Sultan determining to root out all the Chriſtians in Siria and the land of Paleſtine, is by ſudden death taken away, 122 k.

Melechſala Sultan of Damaſco by the treaſon of his Nobilitie diſpoſſeſſed of his Kingdome, 58 m.

Meſites Baſſa ſent by Amurath to inuade Tranſyluania, 267 f. he with 20000 Turks moe ſlain by Huniades, 269 e.

Michael Ducas the Greeke Emperour by Nicephorus Botoniates depoſed of his Empire, after he had raigned ſix yeares and ſix moneths, 11 e.

Michael Palaeologus flieth to the Sultan of Iconium, 109 a. called home again by the Emperor Theodorus, and made Great Conſtable, f. aſpireth, and by common conſent made Tutour vnto the young Emperour, 111 e. himſelfe proclaimed Emperour and crowned, 112 h. by Alexius Cæſar his Lieutenant ſurpriſeth Conſtantinople, 115 e. repaireth the decayed Citie, 116 h. cauſeth the young Emperors eyes to be put out, 117 a. his Armie ouerthrowne by the Turkes in Paphlagonia, 118 g. ſubmitteth the Greeke Church vnto the Latine, and for what cauſe, 144 l. perſzadeth his Subiects to accept of the alteration of their Religion and Ceremonies, 145 a. raiſeth perſecution in the Greeke Church, c. hindered by domeſticall trouble, hath no leiſure to attend vnto the danger ariſing from the Turkes in Aſia, d. obſcurely buried, e.

Michael Coſſi by Othoman taken priſoner, by him againe ſet at libertie, 136 m. father of the honourable Familie of the Michael-Oglies among the Turkes, 137 a. diſcouereth vnto Oſman the treaſon intended againſt him, 140 l. enforced rather than perſuaded by Othoman, turneth Turke, 144 h.

Michael the young Emperor ouerthrown by the Catalonians and Turks, in danger to haue beene taken, 152 k. againe ouerthrowne by the Turks at Cherſoneſus, 155 e.

Michael Horwat by Amurath created Vayuod of Valachia, 1051 a. perſuaded by the Tranſyluanian Prince, reuolteth from the Turks, and killeth all the Turks and Iewes in his countrey, 1052 h. killeth one of the Turkes proud Emirs with all his followers, 1053 b. doth the Turkes great harme, c. ſuffereth the Turkes Embaſſadors vnto the King of Polonia by his Subiects to be ſlaine, 1060 k. ſpoyleth the Turkes frontiers, 1061 a. yeeldeth his obeyſance againe vnto the Turke, yet refuſeth to aid him againſt the Chriſtians, 1099 d. weary of the Turke, ſubmitteth himſelfe with his people to the Emperours protection, 1100 l. ſacketh Nicopolis, 1107 d. with a great armie entereth into Tranſyluania, 1112 l. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Cardinall Bathor, 1113 c. ſendeth his head for a Preſent to the Emperour, f. hath the gouernment of Tranſyluania by the Emperour confirmed vnto him, 1120 i. receiueth Preſents from the Turke, l. in a great battell ouethroweth Sigiſmund the late Tranſyluanian Prince, with the Vayuod of Moldauia, 1122 i. tyranniſeth in Tranſyluania, 1123 a. enforced by the Tranſyluanians to flee, craueth aid of George Baſta the Emperours Lieutenant in the vpper Hungarie, b. by Baſta and the Tranſyluanians in a great battell ouerthrowne at Miriſlo, 1126 b. reconcileth himſelfe to Baſta, 1127 a. for feare of being betrayed vnto the Polonians, taketh his flight into the mountaines, d. by Zamoſchie the great Chancellor driuen out of Valachia, and another Vayuod there placed in his ſtead, 1128 b. ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto the Emperor, 1139 b. returning into Valachia, giueth aid vnto Baſta againſt Sigiſmund the Tranſyluanian, 1140 g. hauing with Baſta driuen the Prince out of Tranſyluania, with great inſolencie vſeth his victorie, k. his preſumptuous ſpeech to Baſta, l. ſuddenly ſlaine in his own tent, 1141 a.

the Miſerie of the captiue Conſtantinopolitanes, 348 b.

Mitylene yeelded vnto the Turke, 364 g.

Moden taken by the Turks, 460 g.

Moyſes Golemus corrupted, reuolteth vnto the Turke, 372 b. with an army of the Turks by Mahomet ſent into Epyrus againſt Scanderbeg, k. ouercome and put to flight by Scanderbeg, 374 g. contemned of the Turkes, flyeth from Conſtantinople, and againe ſubmitteth himſelfe to Scanderbeg, m. he with diuers others of Scanderbegs beſt Captaines by Balabanus taken priſoners, and by Mahomet ſlaine quicke, 396 i.

Muhamet and Partau two of the Viſier Baſſa's, by the inſolent Ianizaries foulely entreated, 823 f. Muhamet for feare of them for a time refraineth to come into the Diuano, 824 g. diſſuadeth Selymus from the inuading of Cyprus, 839 b. as a ſecret friend vnto the Venetians, putteth them in hope of peace, 857 b. cunningly diſſuadeth Selymus from the maſſacring of the Chriſtians, by filling his head with more neceſſary conſiderations, 886 b. ſtrangely murthered, 950 l.

Muleaſſes King of Tunes cruel and vnthankefull, 642 g. for feare of Barbaruſſa flyeth out of Tunes, 643 e. ſumptuous in his fare, 645 d. commeth to Charles the Emperor, 661 d. his ſpeech vnto the Emperour, e. his behauiour, 662 b. his opinion concerning the preſent war, l. three things by him eſpecially lamented in the ſpoile made by the Chriſtians in the Caſtle of Tunes, 668 b. fearing the comming of Barbaruſſa, departeth from Tunes into Italie, to craue aid of Charles the Emperour, 745 c. ſhut out of his Kingdome in the mean time by his ſonne Amida, e. returneth into Affricke to Guletta, 746 g. going to Tunes, is by the way ouerthrowne, taken priſoner, and hath his eyes put out by his vnnaturall ſonne, 747 d. at the requeſt of Touares is ſent to Guletta, 748 l. by Charles the Emperour ſent into Sicilie, there to be kept of the common charge, 749 b. refuſeth to kiſſe the Popes foot, c.

Marzufle by the tumultuous People created Emperour, attempteth to burne the Venetian Fleet, 81 b. with his owne hands ſtrangleth the young Prince Alexis, d. encourageth his ſoldiors, e. being in diſpaire flyeth, 81 i.

Muſa ſonne to Baiazet the firſt, his ſpeech vnto his brother Mahomet, 243 c. marrieth the Prince of Valachia his daughter, e. in the abſence of his brother Solyman receiued at Hadrianople as King, f. goeth againſt his brother Solyman, 244 i. fighteth

with

with his brother Mahomet, 246 l. his chiefe captaines reuolt to Mahomet, 248 l. taken and ſtrangled, 249 b, c.

Muſachius a Chriſtian Captain contendeth with a Turke his priſoner for his ranſome, 367 d. is afterward ſlaine, 370 m.

Muſtapha the ſuppoſed ſonne of Baiazet raiſeth rebellion againſt Amurath, 255 c. being in feare, flyeth, 256 m. is ſhamefully hanged, 257 c.

Muſtapha the younger ſonne of Mahomet raiſeth new troubles againſt Amurath, 258 k. is betrayed and ſtrangled, l.

Muſtapha Baſſa ſent by Amurath againſt Scanderbeg, 302 m. being aſſaulted in his campe, flyeth, 303 d. deſirous to redeeme his former diſgrace, craueth leaue of Amurath to enter into Epirus, and obtaineth it, 311 d. Amuraths letters of aduertiſement to Muſtapha, e. fighteth with Scanderbeg the ſecond time, 313 a. is ouerthrowne and taken priſoner, b. and afterwards ranſomed, c.

Muſtapha Baſſa perſuadeth Solyman to the beſieging of the Rhodes, 569 e. vpon the euill ſucceſſe of the ſiege falleth into diſgrace with Solyman, 585 c. in danger with Pyrrhus Baſſa to haue beene executed, 588 k. made Gouernor of Caire, 589 d. by Solyman ſent as Generall of his Armie to Malta, 794 l. landeth at the Port Marza-Sirac in the Iſle of Malta, 796 k. beſiegeth the caſtle Saint Elmo, 797 a. aſſaulteth the caſtle, e. in vaine giueth a ſecond aſſault, 798 g. with loſſe aſſaulteth it the third time, m. in moſt furious manner battereth it by the ſpace of eighteene dayes, and aſſaulteth it the fourth time, 799 c. with great furie giueth the fift and moſt terrible aſſault vnto the Caſtle, 801 a. with all his armie giueth the ſixt and laſt aſſault, 802 i. winneth the Caſtle, 803 a. exerciſeth moſt barbarous crueltie vpon the bodies of the ſlaine Knights, b. in vaine aſſaulteth the Caſtle Saint Michael, 809 e. at one time aſſaulteth the new citie and the caſtle Saint Michael, 810 i. he by meſſengers certifieth Solyman of the ſucceſſe of the ſiege, 811 a. leaueth nothing vnattempted, 812 i. at once aſſaulteth the townes Saint Angelo and Saint Michael, and in both places notably repulſed, 813 a. giueth a freſh aſſault and entereth the new Citie, 814 g. with a great ſlaughter driuen out againe, i. deſperately aſſaulteth the towne of Saint Michael, 815 c. repulſed, raiſeth his ſiege, 817 a. put to flight by the Chriſtians, c. hauing loſt about foure and twentie thouſand of his Turks at the ſiege, departed from Malta, d. he with Pial Baſſa impugneth the counſell of Muhamet the chiefe of the Viſier Baſſa's, and perſuadeth Selymus to inuade Cyprus, 839 c. for his hatred againſt the Chriſtians made Generall of his Armie for the inuaſion of Cyprus, 846 g. his Letters vnto the Venetians in the Iſle of Cyprus, i. he landeth his Armie in Cyprus, m. beſiegeth Nicoſia, 848 c. in vaine perſuadeth them of Nicoſia to yeeld, 850 k. he encourageth his ſouldiors, and giueth a moſt terrible aſſault, 851 a. winneth the Citie, e. beſiegeth Famaguſta, 852. raiſeth his ſiege, b. returneth againe to the ſiege, 862 m. after many aſſaults hath the Citie by compoſition yeelded vnto him, 866 m. ſhamefully and contrarie to his faith before giuen, murthereth the valiant Gouernour Bragadinus, 867 b. tyranniſeth vpon his dead bodie, d. by Amurath made General of his Armie againſt the Perſians, 929 d. commeth to Erzirum, e. muſtereth his Armie in number an hundred and ten thouſand ſtrong, 930 g. relieueth his ſouldiours diſtreſſed by the Perſians, 931 c. maketh a bulwarke of the heads of the ſlaine Perſians, d. hee ſurueyeth his Armie at Archichelecke, and lacketh fortie thouſand of his men, 932 k. fortifieth Teſlis, 933 a. loſeth ten thouſand of his forragers, 934 h. reuengeth their death, l. his notable anſwer vnto his mutinous ſouldiours, 935 b. loſeth eight thouſand of his men in paſſing the Riuer Canac, c. famine in his hoſt, e. he fortifieth Eres, 936 g. ſendeth Oſman Baſſa to take in Sumachia and Derbent, h. relieueth his diſtreſſed garriſon at Teſlis, m. his Armie in great miſerie in paſſing the ſtraits of Georgia, 937 c. commeth to Erzirum and diſchargeth his Armie, 938 g. maketh preparation for the next yeares warres, 942 k. aſſembleth his Armie at Erzirum, 943 d. in three and twentie dayes fortifieth Chars, f. ſendeth ſuccours to Teſlis, 944 c. returneth to Erzirum and there diſchargeth his Armie, 945 d. diſcharged of his Generalſhip, and called home to Conſtantinople, 946 l. maligned by Sinan, 949 a. dealeth warily with the Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe to haue ſtrangled him, d. appeaſeth the diſpleaſure of Amurath, e. dyeth ſuddenly, 952 k.

Muſtapha Solyman his eldeſt Sonne in great eſtimation with the people, 757 b. ſent Gouernour into Caramania, d. maligned by Roxolana, e. in danger to haue beene poyſoned, 760 k. ſent for by his father, and warned of his preſent danger, e. conferreth with his Doctor, 762 g. troubled with his melancholie dreame, k. commeth to his fathers tent, 763 a. in the ſight of his father moſt cruelly ſtrangled, c. his ſonne Mahomet ſtrangled alſo, d. a prouerbe taken from his death, 765 c.

Mutius Tortona a Spaniſh Captain raiſeth a mutinie in the Chriſtian fleet at Paxo, 873 c. Tortona and his Antient hanged, d.

Muzalo by Theodorus the Emperor appointed gouernor to his yong ſon Iohn, 100 g. enuied by the nobilitie, is traiterouſly murdred in the church, 111 a.

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N*Aupactum, otherwiſe called Lepanto, in vaine beſieged by the Turkes, 413 b. yeelded to Baiazet, 459 e.*

Neapolis the firſt Regall ſeat of the Othoman Kings, 143 b.

Negligence ſeuerely puniſhed, 856 g.

Neocaſtrum built by Mahomet the Great, 339 d.

Neritos, now called S. Maura, taken by the Venetians, 462 k.

Nice taken by the Turks, 142 k. recouered againe by the Chriſtians, 180 g. againe ſurpriſed by the Turks, 181 e. by Orchanes made the regall ſeat of his kingdome, 183 e.

Nicholaus Cataluſius Prince of Mytilene turneth Turke and is executed, 364 k.

Nicholas Karetſchen corrupted, betrayeth Giula to the Turks, 824 i. the traitor iuſtly rewarded, k.

Nicephorus Botoneatus diſplaceth his maſter the Emperor Michael Ducas, and taketh vpon him the empire, 11 e.

Nicomedia yeelded vnto the Turkes, 183 c.

Nouigrade yeelded vnto the Chriſtians, 1030 l.

O

O*Thoman of greater courage and ſpirit than his other brethren the ſonnes of old Ertogrul, 135 d. amorous of Malhatun a countrey Maid, f. in danger for his loue, 136 k. by generall conſent choſen Gouernour of the Oguzian Turkes, 137 d. ſurpriſeth the Caſtle of Calce, 138 h. fighteth a battell with the Chriſtians* at Opſicium, k. winneth the Caſtle of Cara Chiſar, and killeth the Captain, m. ſetteth in order his little commonwealth, 139 c. killeth the Captaine of Cupri-Chiſar, e. his death contriued by the Captaine of Bilezuga, 140 i. turneth the treachery deuiſed againſt him, vpon the head of the Captaine that deuiſed it, whom he killeth, and ſurpriſeth his Caſtle, 141 e. ſurpriſeth the caſtle of Iar-Chiſar, e. taketh the caſtle of Einegioll, and cruelly executeth the Captaine, 142 g. by the good adminiſtration of Iuſtice ſtrengtheneth his gouernment, h. taketh the citie of Nice, k. taketh vpon him the honour of a King or Sultan, 143 a. maketh Neapolis his regall ſeat, b. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Chriſtians, 143 c. beſiegeth Pruſa, d. whileſt the Greekes are at diſcord among themſelues, layeth the foundation of the great Othoman Empire that now is, 162 g. 166 k. dieth, and lieth buried at Pruſa, 177 a. the wealth he left vnto his ſonnes Orchanes and Aladin, 179 c.

Orchanes, his father Othoman yet liuing, mannageth the Turks kingdom, 179 c. ſurpriſeth the caſtle of Tzupri-Chiſar, 180 g. fighteth a doubtfull battell with Andronicus the Greeke Emperour at Phylocrene, m. ſurpriſeth Nice, 181 e. hath Nicomedia yeelded vnto him, 183 c. committeth the gouernment thereof vnto his ſon Solyman, c. firſt of the Turkes that built Monaſteries, e. ſubdueth the countrey of Caraſina, 184 h. dieth, 187 b.

Orchanes and Mahometes two of Baiazet his nephewes ouerthrowne by Chelife & Techellis the rebels, 471 c

Oſman Baſſa by Muſtapha made gouernor of Siruan, taketh Sumachia, 936 b. hath Derbent yeelded vnto him, i. by the Perſian Prince driuen out of Sumachia, flyeth to Derbent, 940 h. kils Sahamal his wiues father, 941 d. is by Amurath ſent for into Siruan, 974 h. laid in wait for by Mahomet the Tartar King, 975 b. ouercommeth the Tartars lying in wait for him, c. by Amurath made chiefe Viſier, and General for his wars againſt the Perſians, 976 k. raiſeth a great armie, 989 c. wiſely appeaſeth his mutinous ſouldiers vnwilling to go for Tauris, 990 g. commeth to Tauris, 991 b. taketh the citie, e. in thirtie dayes buildeth there a ſtrong caſtle, 992 i. giueth the citie to be ſpoyled by his ſouldiours, k. leaueth Giaffer the Eunuch Baſſa of Tripolis with a garriſon of 12000 ſouldiours Gouernour of Tauris, 994 i. dieth, 995 c. much lamented for at Conſtantinople, 996 b.

P

Paleapolis by Sultan Aladin giuen to Othoman, 138 l.

Palotta yeelded to the Turks, 1025 d.

Pantogles with the Turks fleet commeth to the ſiege of Conſtantinople, 342 l. diſplaced, 344 k.

Paphlagonia and Pontus, with a great part of Cappadocia woon by Mahomet the Great, 360 l.

Partau the Viſier Baſſa ſent by Solyman againſt the ſuppoſed Muſtapha, brought him to Conſtantinople, 769 e. ſent by Solyman to haue brought Baiazet to Amaſia, is by him with good words ſent backe againe, 773 e. ſtandeth indifferent for giuing or not giuing of battell vnto the Chriſtians at Lepanto, 875 e. encourageth his ſouldiers, 876 i. flieth himſelfe out of the battell, 879 c.

Paradiſer executed for yeelding vp of Caniſia vnto the Turks, 1133 e.

Peace concluded betwixt King Vladiſlaus and Amurath the ſecond, 289 b. by the perſuaſion of Iulian the Cardinall vnfortunately broken by Vladiſlaus, 295 d.

Peace concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg, 386 i. betwixt Baiazet and Caytbeius, 450 i. betwixt Baiazet and the Venetians, 463 a. betwixt the Venetians and Solyman, 694 l. betwixt the Venetians and Selymus the ſecond, 904 k. betwixt Amurath the third and Mahomet the Perſian King, 1005 b.

Peloponeſus deſcribed, 353 e. made tributarie to the Turke, 354 b. ſubdued by the Turks, 355 e.

Pera yeelded vnto the Turks, 349 c.

Perenus the noble Hungarian, vpon the ſuſpition of aſpiring, apprehended, 732 k. matters ſurmiſed againſt him, 733 a. He, Valentinus, and Maylat, three of the chiefe of the Hungarian Nobilitie, vnworthily kept in perpetual priſon, 734 h.

Perſecution in the Greeke Church for matters of Religion, 145 e.

Perſians better horſmen than the Turks 517 b.

Peſth taken by Caſon Admirall of the Turks fleet vpon the Danubius, 709 a. beſieged by the Marquis of Brandenbourg, 729 e. in vaine aſſaulted, 713 c. the ſiege giuen ouer, 732 h. taken by the Chriſtians, 1146 e.

Peter a French Hermit going an pilgrimage to Ieruſalem, obſerueth the miſeries of the Chriſtians vnder the Turks and Saraſins, 12 l. in the Councell of Claremont deliuereth his meſſage in the behalfe of the poore diſtreſſed Chriſtians, 14 g. hee with Gualter Senſauier the firſt that ſet forward in the great expedition of the Chriſtians into the holy land, 14 k. loſeth greateſt part of his armie, 15 d. diſcouraged, about to haue ſtolne home, brought backe, and enforced to take a new oath for his fidelity and perſeuerance in that warre, 18 k.

Peter Damboyſe Grand Maſter of the Rhodes, a carefull Gouernour, 427 e. his cheerefull ſpeech vnto the reſt of his Knights and ſouldiers, 428 h.

Peter Emus for his barbarous crueltie beheaded at Venice, 978 l.

Petralba yeelded to Scanderbeg, 285 d.

Petrella yeelded, 285 e.

Petrinia taken by the Chriſtians, 1074 k.

Philaretus the Greeke Emperours Lieutenant put to flight by the Turkes, 8 l.

Philadelphia taken by Baiazet, 204 h.

Philes a deuout man, but no ſouldiour vndertaketh the defence of the Greeke Empire againſt the Turkes, 156 i. in plaine battell ouerthroweth them, 157 e.

Philip the ſecond of that name, the French King, in going towards the Holy land, ſuffereth ſhipwrecke vpon the coaſt of Sicilia, 68 i. arriueth at Ptolemais, m. his ſpeech vnto Richard King of England, and the other Chriſtian Princes, in his ſickeneſſe, 70 i. he ſweareth vnto King Richard, Not to inuade his territories in France, and ſo returneth home, k.

Phocas by killing of Mauritius the Emperor with his children, poſſeſſeth himſelfe of the Greeke Empire, 22 g. ſlaine afterwards by them of his owne guard, g.

Piall Baſſa Solymans Admirall ſent to remooue the Chriſtians out of Zerbi, 784 h. in diſgrace with Solyman, ſhunneth to come to Conſtantinople, 787 a. by Selymus the ſecond ſent againſt the Venetians, 845 e. in vaine attempteth the Iſland of Tenos, 846 g.

Piſaurius the Venetian Admiral doth verie great harme vnto the Turkes, 460 l.

Plague and famine among the Turkes, 1060 m.

Plague in the Venetian fleet, 849 a.

Polinus the French embaſſador with preſents from Francis the French King,

mon

meeteth Solyman comming from Buda, 725 d. his requeſt to Solyman, e. returneth into France, 726 g. ſent backe againe to Solyman, by the way ſoliciteth the Venetians to take vp armes againſt Charles the Emperour, h. grieued, not to finde the Turke ſo readie to ſend his fleet in the aid of the King his Maſter, as he had before hoped, m. is ſharpely ſhaken vp by Solyman Baſſa, 727 c. brought to the ſpeech of Solyman himſelfe, 728 i. by him reiected vntill the next Spring, k. ſetteth forward with Barbaruſſa and the Turks fleet, 735 a. by his letters from Oſtia comforteth the Popes Legat in Rome, d.

Podolia and Ruſſia inuaded by the Turks. 457 a.

the Pope and the King of Spaine fearing leſt the Venetians ſhould make peace with the Turke, haſten their confederation with that State, long before by them delayed, 859 a. a perpetual League concluded betwixt the Pope, the King of Spaine, and the Venetians, 860 h. the League proclaimed, m.

the Popes Letters vnto the King of Polonia, to diſſuade him from inuading of Moldauia, to the trouble of the Tranſyluanian Prince, 1081 b.

Preianes commeth to the Rhodes, 581 c.

Preſents of great value ſent by the Perſian King vnto Selymus, 837 f.

Prince Ciarcan ſlaine, 219 b.

Princes of Germanie ioyne their Forces with K. Ferdinand againſt the Turke in Hungarie, 728 l.

Pruſa yeelded vnto the Turkes, 176 l. burnt by Iſa, 240 l. repaired by Mahomet, 241 a. againe burnt by the Caramanian King, 249 f.

Q

QVeene Iſabella with child, 695 e. deliuered of a ſon, 696 i. that ſonne by the name of Stephen crowned King of Hungarie, 697 a. her anſwer vnto the Embaſſadour of King Ferdinand, demanding of her the Kingdome of Hungarie, 699 d. inuaded by King Ferdinand, craueth aid of Solyman, 701 b. by the commaundement of Solyman departeth with her young ſonne out of Buda, 713 e. yeeldeth vp to King Ferdinand all the right ſhee had in Tranſyluania and Hungarie, 756 h.

Quinque Eccleſia yeelded vnto the Turks 736 b.

Quinſay in the prouince of Mangi, of all the cities of the world the greateſt 75 f.

R

RAb beſieged by Sinan Baſſa, 1041 b. battered and aſſaulted, 1044 h. by treaſon yeelded vnto the Baſſa, l. notably againe ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians, 1103 b.

Rama forſaken by the Turks, 21 l.

Ramadan Baſſa ſlaine by the inſolent Ianizaries, 978 m.

Rayſchachius for ſorrow of his ſonne ſlaine by the Turkes, ſuddenly dieth, 760 k.

Rhodes by the Knights Hoſpitalers recouered from the Turkes in the yeare 1308, 162 h. beſieged by Meſites Palaeologus, 428 l. for feare of the Turkes the Rhodians deſtroy their Suburbes and places of pleaſure without the Citie, 578 l. the Rhodes deſcribed, 581 d. beſieged by Solyman, 584 g. in fiue places at once by the Turks aſſaulted, 587 b. the diſtreſſed eſtate of the Rhodians, and their reſolution therein, 592 g. the Rhodes yeelded vnto Solyman, 600 i.

Richard the firſt, King of England, ſetteth forward toward the Holy Land, 68 h. reuengeth the iniuries done to him by the Cypriots, and taketh priſoner Iſaacke Comnenus their King, 69 a. arriueth at Ptolemais, c. cauſeth all the Turkes his priſoners in the ſight of Saladins Armie to be executed, 71 a. giueth Cyprus to Guy in exchange for the titular Kingdome of Ieruſalem, f. with great ſlaughter ouerthroweth Saladin in plaine battell, 72 h. returning homeward, taken priſoner by Leopold Duke of Auſtria, 73 b.

Rodolph the Emperour prayeth aid of the Germane Princes againſt the Turke, 1017 e. his Embaſſadour ſhut vp in cloſe in his houſe at Conſtantinople, 1018 l. his Letters to Amurath, 1019 a. his letters to Sinan Baſſa d. preſented with the ſpoyle of the Turks ouerthrow at Alba-Regalis, 1029 b. requeſteth aid of the great Duke of Muſcouia, the King of Polonia, and of the Prince of Tranſyluania, 1031 b. holdeth a Dyet of the Empire at Ratisbone for the withſtanding of the Turks, 1038 m. receiueth aid from the Pope, the King of Spaine, and the Princes of Italie, 1134 k.

Robert Duke of Normandie by generall conſent choſen K. of Ieruſalem, which honour he refuſeth, 22 f.

Robert Sonne to Peter, fourth Emperor of the Latines in Conſtantinople, 96 l. goeth to Rome, and in his returne dyeth in Achaia, 97 a.

Rogendorff his name terrible vnto the Turkes, 613 e. with King Ferdinands armie entereth into Hungary, and beſiegeth Buda, 702 i. threateneth the Queene, k. derided by the Biſhop, l. in vaine aſſaulteth Buda, 703 d. in raiſing of his ſiege by night, receiueth a great ouerthrow, 708 k. conueyed vp the riuer to Comara, there dieth, 709 b.

Ronzerius, ſometime a notable pyrat, entertained by Andronicus the Emperour againſt the Turkes, 150 k. relieueth Philadelphia, l. for lacke of pay ſpoyleth the Emperours Territories in Aſia, 151 a. ſuddenly ſlaine, c.

Roſcetes riſeth againſt his brother Muleaſſes King of Tunes, 642 l. flyeth to Barbaruſſa, and by him caried to Conſtantinople, 643 a.

Rouerius robbeth Damius, Baiazet the Great Turks Embaſſador to Pope Alexander, 451 e.

Roxolana conſpireth with Ruſtan Baſſa againſt the noble Muſtapha, and faineth her ſelfe religious, 758 g. ſent for by Solyman, refuſeth to come, i. plotteth the confuſion of Muſtapha, 759 f. bringeth him into ſuſpition with his father, 760 g. ſhe with Ruſtan put Solyman in feare of his life and Empire by his ſonne Muſtapha, 761 a. loueth her yonger ſonne Baiazet better than her eldeſt ſonne Selymus, 768 g. entreateth Solyman for Baiazet, and obtaineth his pardon, 770 i. comforteth him, going in feare vnto his father, 771 a.

Ruſtan Baſſa a man of a miſchieuous nature, 757 e. furthereth the deuices of Roxolana for the deſtruction of the noble Muſtapha, 760 g. ſent by Solyman with an Armie into Aſia, to haue taken or ſlaine Muſtapha, 761 c. returneth in haſte, and with falſe ſuggeſtions ſtirreth vp Solyman himſelfe againſt his ſonne, d. his exceeding treacherie at the comming of Muſtapha to his fathers Campe, 762 i. diſgraced by Solyman, flyeth to Roxolana at Conſtantinople, 765 a. by her meanes reſtored againe vnto his former honours, dyeth afterwards of a dropſey, 765 e.

S

SAhib after the death of Sultan Aladin his Maſter, taking vpon him the gouernment, is by the Nobilitie thruſt out, and the Turkes kingdome in Aſia rent in ſunder amongſt them. 127 c.

Sahamal the Georgian cutteth off the head of Aider, 922 i. ſubmitteth himſelfe to Muſtapha the great Baſſa, 936 k. ſlaine by Oſman Baſſa his ſonne in law, 941 d.

Saladin the Turke choſen Sultan of Ægypt, killeth the Calyph and all his poſteritie, 57 e. inuadeth the kingdome of Ieruſalem, and by Baldwin ſuddenly ſallying out of Aſcalon, ouerthrowne, 59 d. beſiegeth Berythus both by ſea and land, taketh Edeſſa and Carras, 60 l. ſpoyleth the Holy-land, 61 c. in vaine beſiegeth Ptolemais, 63 b. beſiegeth Tiberias, and by the treaſon of the Countie of Tripolis ouerthroweth Guy the King, comming to the reliefe thereof, and taketh him priſoner, 63 e. winneth Ieruſalem, with all the other cities and townes in the Holy land, except Tripolis, Tyre, and Antioch, 64 g. beſiegeth Tyre, and with the loſſe of his beſt ſouldiours and of his Tents retyreth, l. taketh Antioch with all the prouinces and townes thereunto belonging, 65 a. putteth to death the Chriſtian captiues, 71 a. dieth, and forbiddeth any funerall pompe to be vſed at his buriall, 73 c.

Saluagius a worthie Knight, 797 c.

Salazar a Spaniſh captaine goeth as a ſpie into the Turks campe at the ſiege of Malta, 811 d.

Sanguin the Turke ouerthroweth King Fulke, comming to the reliefe of the caſtle of Mont-ferand, and hath the caſtle yeelded vnto him, 30 h. taketh Edeſſa, and there vſeth all manner of crueltie againſt the Chriſtians, 31 a. beſieging Cologenbar, is there ſtabbed by one of his owne friends, and ſlaine, b.

Sarmentius ſlaine, 691 d.

Sarugatin, Oſmans brother, ſlaine, and accounted of the Turkes for a Saint, 138 k.

Scanderbeg with his brethren by their father Iohn Caſtriot giuen in hoſtage to Amurath, 260 l. wiſely diſſembleth his deſire for the deliuerie of himſelfe and his countrie, 283 d. by great policie recouereth the citie of Croia out of the hands of the Turkes, 284 i. hath the ſtrong cities of Epirus yeelded vnto him, 285 c. ſpoyleth Macedonia, 287 c. in a great battell ouerthroweth Alis Baſſa with two and twentie thouſand of his Turkes, 288 l. going to the aid of King Vladiſlaus, is by the faithleſſe Deſpot denied paſſage through Seruia, 295 b. ſpoyleth the Deſpots countrey, and ſo returneth into Epirus, 299 c. his reſolute anſwer vnto Amurath his melancholie letters, 301 d. putteth Feriſes to flight, 302 l. ouerthroweth Muſtapha the ſecond time, and taketh him priſoner, 313 b. carefully ſetteth all things in order againſt the comming of Amurath, 314 g. his effectual ſpeech vnto the ſouldiers and citiſens of Sfetigrade, to encourage them againſt the comming of the Turke, 315 b. cunningly entrappeth ſome of the forerunners of Amuraths armie, 316 l. troubleth his great armie, 319 a. with his own hand killeth Feri Baſſa, 320 g. troubleth Amurath his great armie at the ſiege of Croia, 324 l. in danger to haue beene ſlaine or taken, m. deceiueth Mahomet the yong Prince in his owne deuice, 326 h. flieth by night into Epirus, 371 c. his anſwer by letters vnto the letters of Mahomet, 385 c. his anſwer vnto Mahomets letters concerning the renuing of the league, 391 a. in danger, 398 h. Scanderbeg dieth, 402 m. buried at Liſſa, 403 a. his bones digged vp by the Turks, and of them greatly honored, 404 b.

Scodra beſieged by Solyman Baſſa, 411 e. relieued by Mathias King of Hungarie, 412 h. a yearely fee appointed by Mahomet to one, to put him dayly in minde of the ſiege of Scodra, i. Scodra the ſecond time beſieged by Mahomet the Great, 415 e. ſore battered, 418 i. the fourth time aſſaulted, 419 e. twelue thouſand Turks ſlain in this laſt aſſault, 420 m. moſt furiouſly the fifth time aſſaulted by the Turks, 421. by compoſition yeelded vnto the Turke 426 k.

the Scriuano rebelleth againſt the Turke in Caramania, and giueth Mehemet Baſſa a notable ouerthrow, 1134 g. in a great battell ouerthroweth him againe the next yeare with an armie of fiftie thouſand Turks, 1142 b. hauing ouer-run a great part of the Turks dominions in Aſia, dieth, 1150 g. his younger brother ſteppeth vp in his ſtead, and in a great battell ouerthroweth Haſſan Baſſa and killeth him, 1150 b.

Selymus ambitious, and of a turbulent ſpirit, and therefore of the Ianizaries and men of warre better beloued than his other brother, 478 l. aided by Mahometes the Tartar King, riſeth againſt his aged father, 479 b. coloureth his rebellious purpoſe with the inuaſion of Hungarie, 480 g. marcheth with his armie towards Hadrianople, 482 e. in a great battell ouerthrowne and put to flight by his Father Baiazet at Tzurulum, 486 h. by the perſuaſion of the Baſſa's, by his father ſent for home, 491 c. choſen Generall by his father, to go againſt his rebellious brother Achomates, is by and by after by the Ianizaries ſaluted Emperour, 494 g. cauſeth his father to be poyſoned, 495 d. putteth three of his fathers pages to death for mourning for their Maiſter, 496 h. bountifully rewardeth the ſouldiours of the Court, 499 c. murthereth fiue of his brothers ſons, 500 g. cauſeth Corcutus his brother to be ſtrangled, 502 h. treaſon intended againſt him, diſcouered, 503 a. craueth aid of Aladeules and the other mountaine Princes againſt the Perſians, 507 c. Selymus perplexed, 508 i. receiueth great loſſe in paſſing the riuer Euphrates, 513 c. hee and Hyſmael compared together, 515 d. Selymus with a great armie entereth into Armenia, and taketh Ciamaſſum a Citie of the Perſian Kings, 518 k. vanquiſheth Aladeules the mountaine King, putteth him to death, and conuerteth his Kingdome into the forme of a Prouince, 520 l. inuadeth Hungarie, 521 b. ſendeth his Embaſſadours with Preſents to Campſon the Ægyptian Sultan, 525 f. encourageth his ſouldiours to go againſt the Mamalukes, 526 h. paſſeth the mountaine Amanus, and commeth into Comagena, l. in the battell of Singa ouerthroweth the Mamalukes, 530 g. in doubt leſt Sinan Baſſa had beene loſt, becommeth exceeding melancholie, 536 k. meeteth with Sinan Baſſa at Gaza, 537 c. paſſeth the ſandie Deſarts, and meeteth with Tomombeius at Rhodanus, 538 e. giueth him battell, and putteth him to flight, 540 m. encourageth his ſouldiours to the winning of Caire, 544 l. fighteth a great and mortall battell with the Mamalukes in the citie of Caire, 445 b. cauſeth the citie to be ſet on fire, c. putteth Tomombeius and the Mamalukes to flight, and ſo taketh the citie, 546 i. his Embaſſadours ſent to Tomombeius ſlain by the Mamalukes, 548 k. ouerthroweth Tomombeius againe at the riuer Nilus, 550 h. cauſeth him being taken, to be tortured and put to death, l. cunningly reduceth the Arabians to his obedience, 553 b. purpoſing to turne his forces vpon the Chriſtians, is ſtrucke in the backe with a canker, 561 a. his death concealed by Ferat Baſſa, 567 e.

Selymus the ſecond by the Ianizaries ſaluted Emperour, 827 c. appeaſeth the tumultuous Ianizaries, 828 g. ſendeth Cubates his Embaſſadour to

Venice

Venice, to demand Cyprus of the Senat, 841 e. rageth to haue it denied him, 842 m. he inuadeth the Venetians, 845 e. in his rage about to haue put to death all the Chriſtians in his dominions, 885 f. ſendeth out Vluzales his Admirall with 200 gallies againſt the Chriſtians, 888 l. deſirous of peace, concludeth the ſame with the Venetians, 904 k. by his Baſſa's taketh Guletta from the Spaniards, and the city of Tunes, 915 d. dieth, e.

Serinus Gouernor of Sigeth, 821 e. his comfortable and reſolute ſpeech vnto his ſouldiours, 822 g. burneth the new towne, not now to be longer defended, and retyreth into the old, i. his laſt ſpeech vnto his ſouldiers, 823 d. ſlaine, and his head ſent to Countie Salma, f.

the Seruians in mutinie amongſt themſelues, are with a great ſlaughter ouerthrowne by the Turks, 192 i.

Seruia becommeth tributarie vnto the Turks, 192. wholly yeelded vnto the Turks, 356

Sfetigrade beſieged by Amurath, 316 l. in vaine diuers times by the Turks aſſaulted, 319 b. by the working of a Traitor, Amurath hath the ſtrong citie yeelded vp vnto him, 321 f.

Sigiſmund King af Hungarie, with the Chriſtian princes his confederats, with a great armie inuadeth the Turks dominions. 205 b. his proud ſpeech vpon the greatneſſe of his armie, d. in a great battell ouerthrowne by Baiazet at Nicopolis, 206 h. hardly eſcapeth himſelfe by flight, i.

Sigiſmund Prince of Tranſyluania in danger by his owne ſubiects to haue been betrayed vnto the Tartars, 1046 l. the conſpirators apprehended and executed, 1047 d. giueth his ſubiects leaue to ſpoyle the Turks, e. entereth into a confederation with the Emperour, 1048 k. perſuadeth Michael the Vayuod of Valachia, and Aaron the Palatine of Moldauia, to reuolt from the Turke, 1049 e. ſendeth Aaron the Palatine with his wife and ſonne priſoners to Prague, 1062 l. marrieth Maria Chriſtina the late Archduke Charls his daughter, 1072 k. ouerthroweth thirtie thouſand Turks comming as vnbidden gueſts to his marriage, l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Sinan Baſſa with his Turks, 1073 e. receiueth the Zaculians into his protection, and hath from them great aid, 1074 m. putteth Sinan Baſſa to flight, 1075 d. by force taketh Tergouiſta from the Turks, f. taketh alſo Bucareſta, 1076 i. goeth vnto the Emperour at Prague, 1088 g. beſiegeth Temeſwar, 1092 g. with 18000 men commeth to the aid of Maximilian the Archduke going to haue relieued Agria, 1096 l. doubting the power of the Turke, reſigneth his principalitie of Tranſyluania vnto the Emperour, 1100 k. repenting himſelfe, returneth againe into Tranſyluania, and taketh vpon him the gouernment, 1106 g. by his Embaſſadours offereth againe his principalitie vnto the Emperour, 1109 d. in a great battell ouerthrowne, together with the Moldauian, by Michael the Vayuod of Valachia, 1122 h. by the fauor of the Nobilitie recouereth his ſtate againe in Tranſyluania, 1139 d. in battell ouerthrowne by Baſta and Michael the Vayuod, flyeth out of Tranſyluania, 1140 i. by the fauour of his ſubiects, and countenance of the Polonians, recouereth againe his ſtate, 1142 g. doubting him to be able to hold it againſt the Imperials, yeeldeth it by compoſition vnto Baſta the Emperors Lieutenant, and goeth himſelfe vnto the Emperor, 1143 c.

Sigiſmund King of Polonia his Letters vnto Amurath, 1003 e.

Simon Countie of Montford ſent by Philip the French King into the Holyland, repreſſeth the fury of the Turks, and ſo concludeth a peace with them for ten yeares, 74 k.

Sinan Baſſa the Eunuch ouerthrowne by Achomates, 503 c. reſtoreth Selymus his battell againſt Campſon, before almoſt loſt, 530 g. by Selymus ſent before into Iudea, 533 c. hath Gaza yeelded vnto him, 534 g. diſcomfiteth Gazelles, comming to haue oppreſſed him at Gaza, 535 c. ſlaine in the battell at Rhodania, 540 g.

Sinan the Iew his ſhort anſwer to Barbaruſſa, 661 b.

Sinan Baſſa by Amurath choſen Generall for the Perſian wars, 951 b. relieueth Teflis, 954 l. loſeth ſeuen thouſand of his ſouldiers, 955 b. derided of his owne ſouldiers, 956 g. his proud anſwer to Amurath, 962 b. diſplaced and caſt into exile, l. againe receiued into fauour, 1003 d. ouerthrowne in the vpper Hungarie, 1006 h. his letters vnto the Emperor, 1020 g. ſent Generall of the Turks armie againſt the Emperour, 1023 f. taketh Veſprinium, 1025 c. hath Palotta yeelded vnto him, d. with an army of 150000 men commeth againe into Hungarie, 1040 i. taketh Dotis and S. Martins, l. beſiegeth Rab, 1041 b. in aſſaulting thereof loſeth 12000 of his men, 1044 h. by corrupting of the Gouernour, hath the citie yeelded vnto him, l. beſiegeth Comara, 1045 b. raiſeth his ſiege, and breaketh vp his armie, d. craftily ſeeketh to trie the Emperors minde concerning peace, 1058 l. ſent for home to the Court, 1060 l. by Sultan Mahomet appointed Generall of the warres againſt the Emperour, 1073 b. inuadeth Valachia, d. in a great battell ouerthrowne by the Prince of Tranſyluania, e. in flying in danger to haue been drowned, f. with a great armie commeth againe into Valachia, 1075 b. ſeeing the generall feare of his armie vpon the comming of the Tranſyluanians, flyeth, d. for feare delayeth his comming to Conſtantinople, vntil his peace were made, and there ſhortly after dieth, 1087 d.

Siſeg by the Turks beſieged, 1022 g. notably relieued, 1023 a. againe beſieged and taken by the Turkes, 1024 l.

Solyman, Orchanes his ſonne, by his father made Gouernor of Nicomedia, 183 c. taketh the caſtle of Zembenic in Europe, 185 b. he the firſt that brought the Turks ouer into Europe, with purpoſe there to conquer and inhabit, d. taketh the caſtle of Maditus, e. winneth Calipolis, 186 g. dyeth, 187 a.

Solyman the Vnfortunate, Baiazet his eldeſt ſonne, by the great Baſſa's ſet vp in his fathers ſtead at Hadrianople, 221 b. goeth ouer with a great armie againſt his brother Mahomet, 241 e. by policie taketh the caſtle of Pruſa, 242 i. beſiegeth his brother in Amaſia, i. returneth into Europe, to appeaſe the ſtirres there raiſed by his brother Muſa, ard recouereth Hadrianople, 244 b. in his exceſſe regardeth not the approch of his brother Muſa, k. forſaken of his ſouldiers, flyeth, l. taken priſoner, is by the commandment of his brother Muſa ſtrangled, 245 a.

Solyman the Eunuch Baſſa dealeth treacherouſly with the Kings of Arabia, 670 m.

Solyman hardly perſuaded that his father was dead, 567 d. ſaluted Emperour by the Ianizaries, f. his Letters to Villerius Great Maſter of the Rhodes, 571 b. his Oration to his men of war, declaring his purpoſe for the beſieging of the Rhodes, e. he maketh great preparation for the ſiege, 573 a. his threatening letters vnto them of the Rhodes, 578 h. commeth himſelfe in perſon to the ſiege, 583 b. his cholericke Oration to his ſouldiers, d. diſplaceth his Admiral, and puniſheth him like a ſlaue, 589 a. about to haue forſaken the ſiege, b. comforteth his diſcouraged ſouldiors, perſuading them with patience to continue the ſiege, f. his Letters to the Great Maſter and the Rhodians, ſent by their owne Embaſſadours, 593 d. his ſpeech vnto the Great Maſter, at his comming to yeeld vp the citie, 598 l. he entereth into the Rhodes vpon Chriſtmaſſe day, in the yeare 1522, 600 i. Solyman vpon the diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes, and diſordered State of Hungarie, taketh occaſion to inuade that Kingdome, 601 b. commeth into Hungarie againſt King Lewis with an Armie of two hundred thouſand men, c. ouerthroweth him in battell at Mohatz, 602 k. commeth to Buda, 603 a. Solyman in the quarrell of King Iohn, againſt King Ferdinand commeth into Hungarie with an armie of 150000 men, 609 a. without reſiſtance entereth into Buda, and beſiegeth the caſtle, 609 d. layeth ſiege to Vienna, 610 k. without ranſome releaſeth certaine Chriſtian priſoners, 612 g. loſeth his great ordnance vpon the Danubius, k. burieth 8000 of his Turkes in the Mines, l. hauing loſt 80000 of his Turkes, raiſeth his ſiege, and returneth to Buda, 614 i. he reſtoreth the kingdome of Hungarie vnto King Iohn, k. returneth himſelfe to Conſtantinople, 615 a. maketh great preparation for the ſubduing of the territories belonging to the Houſe of Auſtria, as alſo for the conqueſt of Germanie, with the ſhort time he prefined vnto himſelfe for the performance thereof, 615 c. Solyman with a mightie armie commeth againe into Hungarie, 618 e. beſiegeth Gunza, i. his proud letters to Charles the Emperor, m. ſhunneth to meet him at Vienna, and ſo turneth out of the way into Corinthia, 621 a. the cauſes mouing him ſo to do, b. returneth towards Conſtantinople, 623 d. Solyman perſuaded by Abraham Baſſa, reſolueth to go againſt the Perſians, 649 a. commeth with his armie to Tauris, f. followeth Tamas the Perſian King into Sultania, 650 g. his army ſtrangely diſtreſſed by tempeſt, k. hath Babylon with the countries of Meſopotamia and Aſſyria yeelded vnto him, 651 a. he ranſacketh Tauris, f. diſcouraged by the harme done him by Delymenthes, giueth ouer his warres in Perſia, and returneth to Conſtantinople, 653 c. he with a wonderfull charge prepareth a great Fleet at Suetia againſt the Portugals in the Eaſt-Indies, 670 b. Solyman by the French Embaſſadour incited to inuade Italy with an armie of two hundred thouſand men, commeth to Aulona, 671 c. ſendeth Lutzis Baſſa and Barbaruſſa with his Fleet before him into Italy, d. conuerteth his forces prepared for Italie, againſt the Venetians, 673 b. in danger to haue beene ſlaine in his tent in the middeſt of his army, 673 d. inuadeth Corcyra, e. carrieth away aboue ſixteene hundred priſoners, and doth good Iuſtice vpon ſuch Turks as had violated their faith at Caſtrum, 674 k. Solyman angrie with the ſecret confederatian betweene King Ferdinand and King Iohn, 695 c. promiſeth to protect the Queene and her ſonne, 701 c. with a great armie commeth to Buda, 709 b. ſendeth for the young King into his Campe, c. courteouſly receiueth him, 710 h. craftily ſurpriſeth the citie of Buda, i. detaineth the Nobilitie of Hungarie, l. diuerſly perſuaded by his Baſſa's for the diſpoſing of that Kingdome, 711 b. he ſacrificeth after the Mahometane manner in Buda, 712 m. pronounceth the doome of Hungarie, and conuerteth it from a Kingdome, into a prouince of his Empire, 713 a. his proud anſwer vnto King Ferdinand his Embaſſadors, 714 k. hee returneth to Conſtantinople, 715 b. ſendeth his Fleet to Barbaruſſa his Admirall, to ayd the French King againſt the Emperour, 734 k. Solyman with a great Armie commeth againe into Hungarie, 736 g. taketh Strigonium, 738. entereth into the Citie, and there ſetteth vp the Mahometane Superſtition, m. winneth Alba-Regalis, 742 h. returneth to Conſtantinople, k. by the inſtigation of Dragut the Pyrat, ſendeth out Sinan Baſſa with a great Fleet, to reuenge the wrong done vnto him by Auria, 752 l. Solyman amorous of Roxolana, 757 c. manumiſeth her, 758 h. marrieth her, l. by her perſuaded, reſolueth to put to death his eldeſt Sonne the noble Muſtapha, 761 d. goeth himſelfe with a great armie into Aſia to kill his ſonne, e. ſendeth for Muſtapha, who comming, is cruelly ſtrangled in his ſight, 763 c. his ſtout ſpeech vnto the Ianizaries vp in armes for the vnworthie death of Muſtapha, 764 k. hee glad to yeeld vnto the Ianizaries, m. Solyman deſirous with as little ſtirre as might be, to appeaſe the grudges betwixt his two ſonnes Selymus and Baiazet, ſendeth Partan and Mehemet two of his Viſier Baſſa's to bring them to the Prouinces by him appointed for them, 773 d. maketh preparation againſt Baiazet, and ſendeth aid to Selymus, e. for countenancing of Selymus, goeth himſelfe in perſon with his Armie ouer into Aſia, 776 l. diſſembleth with Baiazet, 778 g. ſeeketh to ſtop his flight into Perſia, deceiued of his purpoſe, procureth to haue him and his foure ſonnes ſtrangled in priſon, in Perſia, 791 d. Solyman by his Embaſſadour Abraham Strotza confirmeth his league with Ferdinand the Emperour for eight yeares, 789 b. his proud Letters vnto the Emperour Ferdinand, c. his Preſents ſent vnto the Emperour, 791 d. he maketh preparation againſt the Knights of Malta, 793 a. his Oration vnto his Captaines for the inuaſion of Malta, b. his fleet arriueth at Malta, 795 a. with ſhame returneth, 817 c. Solyman purpoſing now the ſeuenth time himſelfe in perſon to inuade Hungarie, cauſeth a bridge of a mile long with incredible labour to be made ouer the great Riuer Sauus and the deepe fennes toward Sigeth, 821. beſiegeth Sigeth, e. commeth himſelfe with a great power into the Campe, 822 h. winneth the old Towne, l. falleth ſicke and dieth of the bloudie flix at Quinque Eccleſie, 882 m. his death by Muhamet the Viſier Baſſa concealed, and the ſiege continued, 813 a. his bodie with great ſolemnity by his ſon Selymus buried at Conſtantinople, 828 h

the Spaniards reioycing at the ouerthrow of the Italians by Salec, are themſelues foyled by Tabacces, 658 m.

Stelluſa with Deſdrot the gouernor therof deliuered to Scanderbeg, 285 f.

Stephen Rozwan in ſtead of Aaron by the Tranſyluanian prince placed Vayuod of Moldania, 1062 l. thruſt out by Zamoſchie Chancellor of Polonia, 1080 g. taken priſoner and put to death, 1081 a.

Stephen Vayuod of Tranſyluania vpon the commendation of Amurath choſen King of Polonia, 921 a.

Styria forraged by the Turks, 1132.

Strigonium in vaine beſieged by King Iohn, 616 k. beſieged by Solyman, 736 a. diuers times by the Turkes in vaine aſſaulted, c. the ſtrength thereof by a fugitiue Chriſtian diſcouered, d. yeelded vnto the Turke, 738 h. beſieged by the Chriſtians, 1033 c. fiue times in vaine aſſaulted with the loſſe of fiue thouſand men, 1034 l. the ſiege by Matthias the Archduke giuen ouer, 1037 d. beſieged by Countie

Manſ

Manſfelt, 1065 b. twice in vaine aſſaulted, e. the lower town taken, 1070 g. yeelded vnto the Archduke Matthias, 1072 h.

Suguta by Sultan Aladin giuen to Ertogrul, 134 k.

Sumachia taken by Oſman Baſſa, 936 b. recouered by the Perſian Prince, 940 i.

Swartzenbourg by two Italian priſoners flying out of Rab, informed of the ſtate of the towne, 1102 g. conſulteth with the Lord Palſi, h. ſurpriſeth that ſtrong towne, 1103 b. in vain attempteth to haue ſurpriſed Buda, 1110 h. commeth to Pappa to appeaſe the French and Wallons there in mutinie, 1117 a. beſiegeth the towne, 1118. ſlaine, i.

Syrgiannes appointed by Andronicus the Emperor, to obſerue the doings of yong Andronicus his nephew, treacherouſly diſcouereth the ſame vnto him, 159 c. cunningly coloureth his treaſon, 160 b. contemned of the younger Andronicus, reuolteth againe vnto his grandfather, 162 l. apprehended, impriſoned, and his houſe raſed, 164 l.

T

TAmas the Perſian King hearing of the comming of Solyman to Tauris, flyeth into Hircania, 651 d. in feare of Baiazet, killeth his followers, and impriſoneth him with his ſonnes, 780 l. ſendeth Embaſſadours with Preſents to Solyman, 781 a. the cauſe why he would not by any meanes let Baiazet go out of his hands, d. his anſwer vnto the Venetian Embaſſador, perſuading him to take vp armes againſt the Turke, 862 k.

Tamerlane his reaſonable and modeſt anſwer vnto the other Mahometane Princes, crauing aid againſt Baiazet, 210 k. in their behalfe ſendeth Embaſſadours with Preſents to Baiazet, l. prouoked by the proud anſwer of Baiazet, the ſolicitation of the oppreſſed Princes, and the perſuaſion of Axalla, reſolueth to make warre vpon him, 211 b. his honourable Parentage and Aunceſtors, 212 i. the cauſes why ſome report him to haue been a Sheepheard or Heardſman, k. he himſelfe not delighted in bloud, m. marrieth the daughter and heire of the Great Cham of Tartarie, the ground of his greatneſſe, 213 a. ſetteth forward againſt Baiazet, 214 k. his great campe ſtill like vnto a well gouerned citie, 215 b. the number of his great Armie, c. he taketh Sebaſtia, and burieth all the people quicke 216 h. ſtayeth the comming of Baiazet, 217 a. diſpoſeth of the order of his battell, 218 k. fighteth a great and mortall battell with Baiazet, 219 b. taking him priſoner, cauſeth him like a wilde beaſt to be ſhut vp in an yron cage, 220 m. refuſeth the Empire of Conſtantinople, offered him by Emanuel the Emperours Embaſſadours, 221 e. goeth priuatly himſelfe to Conſtantinople, 222 i. much delighted with the ſcituation and pleaſures of that citie, k. ſpoyleth the Turkes dominions in Aſia, l. reſtoreth vnto the poore Mahometane Princes oppreſſed by Baiazet, all their antient inheritances, 223 b. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Sultan of Ægypt neere vnto Aleppo, c. winneth Damaſco, d. commeth to Ieruſalem, f. taketh Damiata, 224 h. aſſaulteth Caire, 225 a. driueth the Sultan out of Caire, d. purſueth him to Alexandria, 226 g. chaſeth him into Lybia, h. leaueth Calibes to gouerne the countries of Ægypt and Siria, l. conquereth Meſopotamia and Babylon with the kingdome of Perſia, 227 a. returneth to Samarcand, b. the great power he continually kept, 235 c his death, e.

Tangrolipix the Turke ſent to aid the Perſian Sultan, 4 g. by conſent of the ſouldiers choſen Sultan of Perſia, l. firſt Sultan of the Turks, m. hauing ſlaine Piſaſiris Calyph of Babylon, in battell, ioyneth his Dominions vnto his owne, 5 b. inuadeth the Greek Emperours dominions, f. putteth to death his brother Habramie, 6 i.

Tancred created Prince of Galliley, winneth Apamea and Laodicea, 25 c after the death of young Bohemund created King of Antioch, 26 i.

Tarſus in Cilicia yeelded vnto Baiazet, 446 m.

Tartar Han his letters vnto the King of Polonia, 1083 c.

Tauris yeelded to Selymus, 512 c. who contrarie to his promiſe, exacteth a great ſumme of money from the Taurisians, and ſo departeth, 513 a. ſacked by Solyman, 651 f. taken by the Turks, 991 d. hath a new caſtle therin built by the Turks in ſix and thirtie dayes, 992 i. miſerably ſpoyled, l.

Taurica Cherſoneſus with the Tartars Pracopenſes and Deſtenſes ſubdued by the Turks, 412 m.

Techellis inuadeth the Turkes Dominions, 469 e. ouerthroweth Orchanes and Mahometes, Baiazet his Nephewes, 471. diſcomfiteth Caragoſes the Viceroy of Natolia, 472 i. killeth Alis Baſſa 474 l. flyeth into Armenia, 475 e. robbeth a Carauan of merchants, and therefore burnt at Tauris, 476 h.

Temeſwar taken by the Turks, 756 g.

Temurtaſes Baiazet his Lieutenant in Aſia, taken priſoner by Aladin the young King of Caramania, 208 k. againe ſet at libertie, hangeth the Caramanian King, m.

Teuffenbach taketh Sabatska, 1026 k. winneth Filecke, 1027 c. beſiegeth Hatwan, 1032 g. ouerthroweth the Baſſa of Buda, h. giueth the ſame Baſſa a ſecond ouerthrow, 1037 f.

Theobald King of Nauarre maketh an vnfortunate expedition into the Holy land, 99 f. with Lewis the French King goeth againſt the Moores, 118 k. in his returne dieth of the plague in Sicilia, l.

Theodorus Laſcaris flyeth into Bythinia, and poſſeſſing himſelfe of many countries, taketh vpon him the name of the Greeke Emperor at Nice, 84 l. hee killeth Iathatines the Turkiſh Sultan, 87 e.

Theodorus Laſcaris ſonne to Iohn Bataſes, choſen Emperor, 108 m. aideth the Sultan of Iconium, 109 e. falleth ſicke and dieth, 110 g.

Theupulus Earle of Paphos vnworthily hanged by the faithleſſe Baſſa Muſtapha, 861 d.

Thracia ſpoyled by the Turks, 256 g.

Tomombeius by the generall conſent of the Mamalukes choſen Sultan of Ægypt, 533 d. maketh great preparation againſt the Turks, and ſeeketh to entrap them, 538 g. his deuices diſcouered, i. he fighteth a great battell with Selymus, and is put to the worſe, 540 m. raiſeth new forces at Caire, 541 e. fortifieth Caire, 542 k. fighteth a great battell in the citie, 545 b. ouercome, flyeth, 546 h. driuen out of Caire, raiſeth new forces in Segeſta, 547 d. diſtreſſeth the Turkes in paſſing the bridge made ouer Nilus, 549 b. giueth a notable attempt to haue gained the bridge, f. repulſed and put to flight, 550 i. taken and brought to Selymus, l. tortured and ſhamefully put to death, m.

Trapezond yeelded to Mahomet the Great, 360 k.

Tranſyluania giuen by Solyman to the childe King Iohn his ſonne, 716 l.

Tripolis in Barbarie beſieged by Sinan Baſſa, 753 a. battered, b. the weakeſt places thereof, and fitteſt to be battered, by a fugitiue Chriſtian diſcouered to the Turks, d. vpon hard conditions yeelded to the proud and faithleſſe Baſſa, 755 d.

Tunes beſieged by Lewis the French King, 119 a. yeelded to Charles the Emperour, 667 c. by him vpon an eaſie tribute againe reſtored to Muleaſſes, 669 d. again yeelded to the Turks, 915 d.

Turks, their original beginning diuerſly reported, 1 c. diſcended from the Scythians, 2 h. the cauſes why they left their antient and naturall ſeats in Scythia, to ſeeke for other in Countries more Southerly, 2 l. where they firſt ſeated themſelues in Aſia after their departure out of Scythia, 3 b. their firſt kingdome erected in Perſia by Tangrolipix their firſt Sultan, 4 l. the Turks firſt called into Europe by the Catalonians, 152 g. they differ not from the Perſians about the interpretation of their law, but about the true ſucceſſor of their falſe Prophet Mahomet only, 462 i.

Turqueminus choſen Sultan of Ægypt, 160 h.

Tzihanger refuſeth the noble Muſtapha his brothers wealth and treaſure offered him by his father Solyman, and for ſorrow killeth himſelfe, 763 e.

V

Valachia when firſt ſpoyled by the Turks, 204 g. inuaded by Mahomet the Great. 362 g. oppreſſed by the Turks, 1050 h. in great troubles, 1143 d.

Valmes fortified by Mahomet the great, 402 g.

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Wolfgangus Hoder vpon the Danubius doth good ſeruice againſt the Turks, 612 k.

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XAycus pay-maſter of the Rhodes intrapped by the Turks, and ſent priſoner to be tortured at Conſtantinople, 575 c.

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YOland daughter to King Iohn crowned Queene of Ieruſalem, and after by her father giuen in marriage to Fredericke the Emperor, 96 g.

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Zacynthus, Neritus, and Cephalenia taken by Achmetes Baſſa, 426 l.

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FINIS.

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